

**Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting:
Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)**

By

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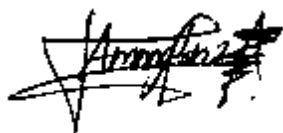
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to

1. My late father Gakuba Faustin who would be proud to see his son's dreams come true;
2. Professor Dr. RWIGAMBA Balinda who inspired me to follow a linguistics and humanities research journey.

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I thank Rugira, the Almighty, for his blessing upon me, my family and my nation. He raised us from statelessness, led us to our mother country and rebirthed us as a united nation that can dream and achieve big things. May glory be given to him forever and ever!

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Through your kindness, I am learning to be a better person!

Abstract

This study investigates multilingual literacy practices in Rwanda. It first assesses selected writings produced by young children whose L1 is Oluchiga while learning writing skills in Kinyarwanda (L2) in Grade 1 to Grade 3. This assessment of writing specimens aimed at identifying morphosyntactic intrusion from the L1 to the L2. Secondly, the study examined the local teachers' literacy pedagogy practices while teaching writing in Kinyarwanda to native speakers of Oluchiga in lower primary (Grades 1-3). This consisted of the analysis of teaching practices and attitudes towards L2 and L1.

Data were collected using semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and a corpus of the learners' writing. The data collection and analysis was informed by the mixed method of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. The quantitative data collection consisted of compiling a corpus of 109 texts of learners' past writing exercises. This helped to determine the L1 influence on L2 writing through morphosyntactic analysis. The qualitative data were collected using both semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with grades 1-3 learners and their literacy teachers to understand their attitudes towards Oluchiga (L1) and Kinyarwanda (L2). The interviews with teachers helped also to explore the teachers' own views on how they use literacy pedagogy strategies to cope with the disparity between the multilingual realities on the ground and the monolingual educational policy in Rwanda (grades 1 to 3).

The findings of this study show that local literacy teachers adopted multilingual approaches to teaching writing in Kinyarwanda (L2) to learners speaking Oluchiga (L1), regardless of the national policy of a monolingual teaching approach.

The findings of this study are twofold: on the one hand, the results of the theoretical linguistic findings revealed the types of transfer errors from L1 to L2 and consequently the L1 influence on the L2, both negative and positive. The types of transfer errors identified in this study are (1) concordial agreement errors (affixes, noun class markers, adjectives and demonstrative markers); (2) errors in the agglutinative structure of words (augment and phonological transfer errors); and

(3) lexical transfer errors. The analysis of the findings revealed the influence of the L1 on L2 writing in terms of concordial agreement of sentences and agglutinative structure of words. The concordial agreement patterns are violations of the subject-verb-object agreement and transfer errors of tense markers (affixes determining future and present tense). It was found that learners, by retaining L1 structure (in some instances) and by substitution of consonants /k/ for /c/ and /s/ for /ʃ/, violated the Kinyarwanda agglutinative structure of words as a result of L1 influence on L2.

These results were discussed in the light of cross-linguistic influence and supported the prediction of the Typological Primacy Model (TPM). The results of this study showed positive and negative transfer errors as predicted by TPM. The occurrence of negative and positive transfer was explained as the result of the linguistic closeness of L1 and L2 (in this study, similar morphosyntactic or lexical structures between L1 and L2). The findings of this study do not support the CEM prediction that there are only positive transfer errors from L1 to L2. The findings on the influence of Oluchiga (L1) on Kinyarwanda writing (L2) were discussed in terms of the possibility that language acquisition is not cumulative as predicted by CEM. It is possible that languages in contact are in continuum and influence each other during learning and actual communication. This was also argued in the applied linguistics findings of this study.

On the other hand, the applied linguistics findings showed that local literacy teachers explored the influence of L1 on L2 writing as a language teaching approach that bridges the transition between home language and school language. That approach was termed the multilingual proximity teaching method in this study and it consists of teaching L2 by explaining to learners the similarities and differences between L1 and L2. This approach was argued to be multilingual because it allows the use of two languages in the classroom. In addition, the local literacy teachers who were observed reported using translanguaging approaches such as multimodality, even though they reported that they are not confident that they are doing the right thing. The study concludes with advocacy for multilingualism in education in Rwanda.

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List of abbreviations

APROSOMA: L'Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse

CA: Contrastive Analysis

CAT: Communication Accommodation Theory

CBC: Competency Based Curriculum

CEM: Cumulative Enhancement Model

CLI: Cross-Linguistic Influence

CLT: Communicative Language Teaching

CNUR: Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation

CONFEMEN: Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation Nationale

CPC: Communist Party of China

DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo

EA: Error Analysis

EAC: East African Community

EFA: Education For All

EPLM: Ecole Pratique des Langues Modernes

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

IDH: Interdependent Development Hypothesis

L1: The First Language

L2: The Second Language

LFE: Lingua Franca English

LMD: Licence/ Master/ Doctorate system

MDG: Millennium Development Goal

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education

MINEPRISEC: Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire

MINICAAF: Ministry of Cabinet Affairs

MoI: Medium of Instruction

NIC: National Itorero Commission

NISR: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda

NPR: National Public Radio
NUR: National University of Rwanda
NURC: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
RALC: Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture
REB: Rwanda Education Board
RPF: Rwanda Patriotic Front
SDH: Separate Development Hypothesis
SLA: Second Language Acquisition
SSH: Single System Hypothesis
TESOL: Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TPM: Typological Primacy Model
TSS: Technical Secondary School
UK: United Kingdom
UKZN: University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIK: University of Kibungo
UR: University of Rwanda
USA: United States of America
VTC: Vocational Training Centre
WE: World Englishes

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Chapter 1: General introduction

This study draws from an ecological framework for multilingualism in education (Hornberger 2002; Garcia 2009; Pennycook 2010; Wei 2011; Kramsch 2012; Canagarajah 2018) and from theories pertaining to indigenous African language literacy pedagogy in multilingual contexts (Makalela 2014). These theories suit my research objective, which is to explore how teachers and learners negotiate their multilingual identities while teaching/learning writing through a monolingual curriculum.

My research takes place in Rwanda. Rwanda is one of 48 sub-Saharan countries which alongside Asia have been identified as being more multilingual than any other places in the world (Garcia 2009; Makalela 2014). However, educational models are predominantly conceived in Canada and the USA, where levels of multilingualism are comparatively lower than in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Garcia 2009). Garcia (2009) criticises these ‘borrowed’ theories as ‘monolingually driven’. Monolingual education has been considered as the norm versus multilingualism practice in education. In her article, *Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the twenty first century*, Garcia (2011) questioned the ideology and methodology behind the assumption that monolingual is the norm rather than multilingual. Based on the twenty-first century use of multiple languages and increasing multilingualism, she argues that translanguaging is the norm for multilingual speakers.

1.1 Introduction

In this study, the assumption that Rwanda is a monolingual country in terms of Bantu languages is challenged by the current case study presenting learners learning Kinyarwanda as their second language while their first language is Oluchiga. The findings of this study showed a number of types of transfer errors traced back to Oluchiga (L1) in learners’ past writing in Kinyarwanda (L2). The findings have also revealed the influence of Oluchiga (L1) on the writing of Kinyarwanda (L2), which is visible in concordial agreement of sentences and the agglutinative structure of words. This was discussed in the light of crosslinguistic influence that showed the

typological proximity between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. This was explained by the fact that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are both Bantu languages which share similarities, but they are separate languages as well which have a number of differences. Consequently, they should not be taken as one language. Moreover, the assumption that Rwanda is a monolingual country has an impact on learning Bantu languages in the imposition of a monolingual teaching methodology through the curriculum and the language education policy. The findings of this study have shown that local literacy teachers have adopted home-grown strategies of giving opportunities to learners to use their home language in order to facilitate learning to write the L2.

In this chapter, I explain my linguistic background that influenced my choice of studying the minority languages in a multilingual context. I provide an overview of the setting of this case study and later highlight the aim and research question of this study. I conclude this chapter by providing an overview of the overall structure of this thesis.

1.2 Motivation for the study: My multilingualism in education journey

Looking back to my linguistic background, it seems as though I have been preparing, throughout my entire life, to research multilingualism in education and the impact of mother tongue pedagogy on academic success. I am Rwandan and I was born into a multilingual environment where the home language differs from the medium of instruction. My parents spoke Kinyarwanda as their primary language because they originated from Rwanda. I could listen to them speaking Kinyarwanda but I used to respond to them in Swahili and some French. Swahili is a language which was used in Zaire, currently known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). My grandparents had been forced to move to the DRC on November 3, 1959. During 1959 the new political movement in Rwanda, eager to fight for power, had begun terrorizing and killing old Tutsi aristocracy and this forced many Tutsi to flee the country to neighbouring countries. After independence, many Rwandans in refugee camps lost hope of returning home because the government in power was developing policies against the Tutsi and practically preparing genocide.

I was born during the assimilation period and I was given a Swahili name AMINI to hide to some extent my Rwandan identity so that I could be accepted easily into the education system in Zaire. During this time, the 1980s, Rwandans living in Zaire were no longer considered as refugees but as stateless people, because the government of Rwanda had denied them the right to return to their home country, explaining that they were not Rwandans but immigrants from Ethiopia. This is the reason why they were trying to integrate their children by giving them foreign names to get at least access to education.

In 1994, after the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, the new Rwandan government encouraged all refugees to return home, which was the dream of many Rwandan refugees. My family and I returned home when I was about to complete grade 2. The new school environment was different from the one that I was used to, in particular with regard to the language of teaching and learning. At the time, I was a fluent speaker of Swahili and could follow lessons in French. However, my new medium of instruction was Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda was assumed to be my mother tongue but my comprehension of the language was very limited. Having to learn in a foreign language that was assumed to be my mother tongue led not only to my having to repeat grade 2; I was actually advised to restart schooling from grade 1 in order to learn to speak and write Kinyarwanda, which is the medium of instruction for grades 1-3 in Rwandan primary schools. I quickly acquired speaking skills in my assumed first language but writing proved to be difficult and I repeated a year learning the basics. Therefore, considering my own struggle related to a foreign language of teaching and learning, I am motivated to investigate how one might best accommodate multilingual children in an 'assumed mother tongue education system' that currently operates on the basis of a monolingual language policy.

1.3 Location of the study

This study was carried out at Mukama Primary School (grade 1 to grade 3) located in the Nyagatare district in the Republic of Rwanda. Geographically speaking, the Republic of Rwanda is a country with an area of 26,338 km² located 6.570 km east of the Atlantic Ocean, 6.412 km west of the Indian Ocean, and 216.91 Km south of the equator. Hence it is located the Southern

hemisphere. Rwanda has got the nickname of “a country of one thousand hills” because of the many mountains and valleys in the country (Twagilimana 2007; Pamella 2016).

I have chosen the Nyagatare district in the north-eastern part of Rwanda as the location of this study. This choice is motivated by the fact that previous research in linguistics has identified the northern area of Rwanda as having more language varieties (Kimenyi 1980; 2002; Nkusi 1983; 1995) than other parts of the country. Another reason is that the educator indicators show that Nyagatare has the highest mean walking distance to a primary school (above 37 minutes); it is also classified among the few districts with the low literacy rate among the population aged 15 and above which is 67.5% (actual rate of literacy) (NISR 2014). However, even if many studies show that the access to education in Rwanda has improved, many students complete primary school still struggling to read and write (UNICEF 2016).

The Nyagatare district is located in the north-east part of Rwanda but it is actually one of the districts of the Eastern Province. The fact that it belongs to the Eastern Province (and not to the Northern Province) might suggest that it is not situated in the northern part of Rwanda. However, this is explained first by its location on the map showing its geographical situation (north-east) and secondly by its historical administrative transfer from north to east. It was transferred into the Eastern Province in the 2006 administrative reform of Rwanda. Before that, it was linked with northern parts of Rwanda such as Byumba, Ruhengeri and Mugambazi, which are now in the Northern Province. The Government of Rwanda explained that it established the new provinces not only to decentralise power but also to weaken ethnic and regional divisions that had resulted in genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (NISR 2017). Previously, the local administration of Rwanda was composed of 12 provinces and these were associated with ethnic and regional divisions. Nyagatare was a part of the former Umutara prefecture.



Source: <http://minaloc.gov.rw>

Historically speaking, Nyagatare was formerly part of the Kingdom of Ndorwa. The kingdom was located in Rwanda's north-eastern region currently including four districts, namely Gicumbi, Nyagatare, Burera and Gatsibo. The Kingdom of Ndorwa was governed by the Abashambo dynastic clan, from which derived the name *Ndorwa y'Abashambo* (Nyirahabimana & Nkejabahizi 2016:2). The kingdom was conquered and annexed to Rwanda after many expeditions led by King Kigeli III Ndararasa in the 18th century (Muzungu 2003). It is important to highlight that due to the great size of the kingdom it was divided into two parts; one part remained in the Northern part of the Republic of Rwanda and the other part was placed in the south of the Republic of Uganda at the Berlin Conference in 1884 during which Africa was divided into countries.

It is also important to highlight that the people of the Kingdom of Ndorwa were known to speak two related dialects, Oluchiga and Runyankore. Oluchiga is 84%-94% lexically similar to Runyankore and this has made some researchers refer to them as two dialects of the same language, Oluchiga-Runyankore (Lewis 2009). However, during my interviews with indigenous teachers, they told me that although there is a great lexical similarity between Oluchiga and Runyankore, there is a great difference in the use of words and their connotations, bearing in mind the identity of the Banyankole (Cattle keepers) and of the Bakiga (Cultivators). Thus, their

daily use of vocabulary differs, in that Runyankore has many words to talk about cattle-keeping and Oluchiga has many words to describe land cultivation activities. In addition they pointed out that Banyankole speak in a low tone and with slow, perfect pronunciation while Bakiga speak in a high tone and with quick pronunciation. The Bakiga way of dancing is also different to the Banyankole dancing. There is, however, a lack of empirical research to confirm or disprove the hypothesis of the difference between Oluchiga and Runyankore. My field visit confirmed that indigenous teachers and learners of Mukama Primary School claimed to be speakers of the Oluchiga language. This study focuses on the learning of writing in Kinyarwanda by learners who are primary speakers of Oluchiga. In the following section, the aim of this study and the research questions are explained in detail.

1.4 Aim of the study and research questions

The aim of this study is to gain deeper understanding of teachers' and learners' experiences of learning and teaching writing in an assumed monolingual mother tongue context while they are in a multilingual context. This study focuses on analysing linguistic data and applied linguistic data to find out what coping strategies learners and teachers adopt to address the disparity between national language policy and local practices. The study pursues the following specific objectives:

- Exploring whether the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) has any influence on the learners' writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda) in terms of concordial agreement.
- Exploring whether the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) has any influence on the learners' writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda) in terms of transfer errors visible in the agglutinating structure of words.
- Exploring the insight of learners into their own language 'constellation'.
- Exploring the learners' attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga.
- Exploring whether the learners are aware of any language challenges that they face.
- Exploring whether local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation.
- Contributing to the growing body of research on the perspectives and practice of mother tongue literacy in an African multilingual pedagogy, specifically in Rwanda.

These research objectives were translated into specific research questions in order to achieve the main aim of this study. Through the research questions below, I have gathered information that contributed to a deeper understanding of how learners' writings illustrate the influence of their L1 (Oluchiga) while writing in Kinyarwanda, and their own understanding of their own language constellation. I have also pursued the local literacy teachers' use of literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation. This knowledge contributed to challenging the assumption that Rwanda is a monolingual country and that the dominance of colonial languages is the only danger to multilingualism, not only in Rwanda but also in sub-Saharan Africa generally. In the long term the findings of this research can be used to influence the making of pedagogical choices based on learners' linguistic diversity by giving learners opportunities to use their home languages to improve the quality of learning in lower primary schools in Rwanda. I was guided by the following research questions to achieve this main aim of this study:

1. Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of concordial agreement errors can be traced to the L1?
2. Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of errors in the agglutinative structure of words can be traced back to the L1?
3. What are the perceptions of learners' L1 (Oluchiga) towards their language constellation? What insights do the learners have into their language constellation; e.g. do they perceive themselves as being bilingual?
4. What attitudes do they have towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga? Are the learners aware of any language challenges?
5. Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them?

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. In the first chapter, which is the current one, I have presented a general introduction to the whole thesis and to what motivated me to conduct this study. I also describe the location where this study was conducted. The choice of study location is supported by earlier studies that were carried out in the multilingual education field. Moreover, the first chapter explains the aim of the study and states the research questions.

The main focus in the second chapter is on studies that have examined the sociolinguistic background of Rwanda. The emphasis was put on the contradiction between educational language policy which states that Kinyarwanda is the unique mother tongue of all Rwandans and the reality that in practice there are five mother tongues including the Oluchiga language. The chapter has argued for acknowledgement of multilingual mother tongues of Rwandans, which might have an impact on the recognition of multilingual education. It concludes with narrating the language policy change in the education system from the pre-colonial to the post-genocide period.

Chapter 3 reviews the existing literature on vernacular writing pedagogies, the role of mother tongue in multilingual education and an overview of the morphosyntax of both Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. This chapter discusses the distinction between monolingual and multilingual writing pedagogy. It shows the advantages of using multilingual pedagogy in multilingual African classrooms instead of imposing borrowed monolingual pedagogy from the western world. The chapter concludes with language influence phenomena and discussion of differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda as the case study of this thesis.

The fourth chapter discusses the theoretical foundation of this research, which is multilingual in nature. This study adopted crosslinguistic influence (CLI) and translanguaging frameworks. After explaining the reason for using both theories while considering the data and findings of this study, this chapter explains how they are applied to this study. In this chapter I explain both crosslinguistic influence and translanguaging theories and their relevance to this study. I conclude

the chapter with emphasis on translanguaging theory which might help to analyse the 21st communication in multilingual classrooms.

In chapter 5 I explain the data collection procedures that were used in order to answer the research questions of this study. I start by explaining the location of this study, which is the north-eastern part of Rwanda, and the participants, who are native speakers of Oluchiga who are required to learn Kinyarwanda as their L1. Then I explain the research design of this study, which is a cross-sectional design. It explains the motivation for choosing mixed methods and related procedures for data collection and analysis. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the quality considerations of the study in terms of its trustworthiness in examining multilingual practices in a classroom setting.

In Chapter 6 I present my findings, which are categorised into two types. The first type is theoretical linguistic findings derived from the morphosyntactic analysis of a corpus of 109 written texts. The second is applied linguistic findings analysed from qualitative data collected through interviews and classroom observations. In this chapter the data are presented and analysed in three sections. In section one, I present the findings on the influence of learners' L1 on the L2 in terms of concordial agreement and transfer errors visible in the agglutinative structure of words. In section two, I focus on findings collected via interviews about the learners' attitudes towards L1 and L2 and challenges related to L2 education. Lastly, in section three, the literacy pedagogy strategies used by local literacy teachers to address the disparity between official language policy and the actual language situation are presented and analysed.

Chapter 7 focuses on discussing the findings presented in chapter 6. The findings are discussed in the light of the literature review and the theoretical framework. I first discuss the theoretical linguistic findings and later the applied linguistic findings. In this chapter, the types of morphosyntactic error and the influence of the L1 on L2 writing identified in chapter 6 are discussed. Secondly, the linguistic findings including the attitudes of learners toward their L1 and L2 and the literacy pedagogy strategies used by local literacy teachers are discussed and found to respond at multilingual context.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents the conclusion of this thesis. In this chapter, I have provided the summary of the findings and their implications for education. The chapter reiterates the relevance of adopting two theories as the theoretical framework. The adoption of both theories has assisted the discussion of the findings of this study. On the one hand, CLI (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008; Ludovica 2013; Odlin 2016) was used to discuss the theoretical linguistic findings which showed the transfer errors from L1 (Oluchiga) to L2 (Kinyarwanda) writing and the related influence of L1 on L2. On the other hand, translanguaging (Garcia 2009; Makalela 2015; Canagarajah 2018) was used to discuss the applied linguistic findings where teachers adopted their local literacy pedagogy that helped learners to use their L1 linguistic knowledge to learn the L2 and adapt themselves to multilingual classroom communication. The chapter ends with recommendations and areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Sociolinguistic background of Rwanda

2.1 Introduction

Like many African countries, Rwanda is a multilingual country. In fact, the constitution of the Republic of Rwanda (2015) instates Kinyarwanda, French and English as the three official languages of Rwanda. In 2017, Kiswahili became the fourth official language.

However, in terms of mother tongue education, language policies stipulate that Rwanda is essentially monolingual. Kinyarwanda is assumed to be the mother tongue of all Rwandans and it is therefore the medium of instruction in lower primary school across the country while English is the sole medium of instruction from upper primary (grade 4) to university level (Gafaranga & Niyomugabo 2010; Samuelson 2013). The assumption of there being one single Rwandan mother tongue, Kinyarwanda, affects the education of children who learn through Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in grades 1-3 and whose assumed mother tongue is in fact their second language.

According to a 2002 census, Kinyarwanda is spoken by 99.4% of all Rwandans, French by 3.9%, Swahili by 3.0%, and English by 1.9% (Rudacogora and Rurangirwa 2013). A more recent census, conducted in 2012 and published in 2014, is silent on language distribution statistics. However, the 2012 census does provide 'languages of literacy' statistics in Rwanda. Roughly sixty-eight percent (67.7%) of Rwandans are literate in Kinyarwanda, 11.4% in French, 14.7% in English and an estimated 3.7% in other languages (unclassified). In addition, it is important to highlight that the statistics provided are the result of self-declared literacy in a language of the subject's choice, which means that the statistics are not based on reliable, independent literacy tests (NISR 2014).

This chapter explains the language situation in Rwanda and provides a sociolinguistic background to my research. The chapter helps to understand the reason why this study is looking at multilingualism in education in Rwanda even though the country is frequently characterised as monolingual in terms of its population's mother tongue.

This chapter has seven sections. The first section introduces the chapter. The second section describes the language situation in Rwanda. The third section explains the monolingual myth and the multilingual reality of Rwanda. The fourth section explains language attitudes in post-colonial African countries in general and in Rwanda in particular. The fifth section provides details on the educational language policy of Rwanda while the sixth section describes the educational system of Rwanda. The chapter ends with section 7 that summarises this chapter.

2.2 The linguistic landscape of Rwanda

According to official statistics, Rwanda is a unique country in Africa with an interesting position in terms of its linguistic landscape (Rosendal 2011:77). Statistics show that it has an almost monolingual population (99.4% of speakers) who speak Kinyarwanda. The alleged monolingualism of the country is reflected in the official Rwandan language policy, which has changed many times during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. The changes have affected the use of local and foreign languages in Rwanda, mainly Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, French and English.

However, changes have always maintained the status of Kinyarwanda as the sole mother tongue of all Rwandans. In contrast, this study argues that it is possible that many Rwandans speak languages other than Kinyarwanda as their mother tongues. This hypothesis furthermore suggests that available statistics might discount languages that differ from Kinyarwanda as the mother tongues of Rwandans. This may be due to the widespread misconception that local African languages are mere dialects of Kinyarwanda rather than languages in their own right (see chapter 2.3 for detail). This subchapter describes the linguistic landscape of Rwanda and provides the sociolinguistic background to my research.

2.2.1 Kinyarwanda

Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language belonging to the central branch of the Niger-Congo language family (Nkusi 1995; Adenkule 2007:4). It is alternatively referred to as Rwanda, Ikinyarwanda, Orunyarwanda, Ruanda, and Urunyarwanda (Lewis 2009). In this study, I adopt the name Kinyarwanda because it is close to the name Rwandans use for their language, “Ikinyarwanda”,

and for the linguistic reason that knowing Kinyarwanda includes knowing not only the language but also knowing the way speakers of Kinyarwanda use it and behave with their language (Rwigamba et al. 1998). In addition, I chose to use the term Kinyarwanda as this is common among linguists, see e.g. Nkusi (1995), Rwigamba et al. (1998) and Kimenyi (2007). I agree with Rwigamba et al.'s (1998:5) choice of Kinyarwanda rather Runyarwanda as the name, as explained in the following statement:

In the scientific literature, this language is sometimes referred to as *rwanda*. At the beginning of this century, two glossonyms were in competition: *ikinyarwanda* and *urunyarwanda*. In fact, we know that the most commonly used prefixes to indicate the names of languages in the Bantu sphere are: *-Ki-* (probably referring to the word for thing), the prefix *-ru-* (referring to the word for *language*) and the prefix *-ma-* (referring to the word for *words*). Etymologically, *Kinyarwanda* could thus mean *the thing of Rwanda, the thing that belongs to Rwanda....* In many Bantu languages, the prefix *Ki-* refers to “lifestyle” or to “place”. Thus the expression “*kubaho Kinyarwanda*” means to live in the Rwandan style or “to live like the Rwandan people”. Therefore, *Kinyarwanda* means more than just the language. It also refers to the Rwandan culture, to the habits and customs of the country. To know Kinyarwanda, for a Rwandan, is not only just knowing the language and mastering its grammatical structures; it is also knowing its history, the art of living with fellow citizens (linguistic, social and moral behaviour).

Kinyarwanda is mainly spoken in Rwanda and is widely recognised as the language of Rwandans (Kimenyi 2007). However, it is also commonly spoken in various countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (in North Kivu), Tanzania (Akagera District) and Uganda (Kimenyi 2007) and is an official language in both Rwanda and Uganda. Estimates indicate that Kinyarwanda may have about 40,000,000 speakers overall; however, it is difficult to know exact numbers because census data are only available from some of the countries with Kinyarwanda speakers (Opobo 2016).

Rwanda is located in the Great Lakes region of East-Central Africa and it is referred to as “the land of a thousand hills” because of the mountainous highlands present in Rwanda (Rosendal 2011). Rwanda borders on Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to the west (See figure 1).

Figure 1: Rwanda and its surrounding countries



Source: <http://minaloc.gov.rw>

The constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003, amended in 2015, stipulates that Kinyarwanda is the sole national language even though some of the Rwandan population do not speak Kinyarwanda as their mother tongue (see chapter 2.3 for a closer consideration of this fact). The constitution furthermore regulates the addition and removal of official languages (Article 8: The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda 2015).

2.2.2 Kiswahili

Kiswahili is a Bantu language, which is an official language in five countries: Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Rwanda. It serves as one of the working languages of the African Union and the East African Community (EAC 2019). Recently Kiswahili, which has been taught in Rwanda since the German occupation, was promoted to be the fourth official language of the country.

The German colonial administration introduced Kiswahili to Rwanda in 1898 and subsequently made it the administrative language in German East Africa ('Deutsch-Ostafrika') (Ntakirutimana 2002). To date, Kiswahili has never been a medium of instruction but has served as both a business language and a military language throughout the post-genocide era.

On February 8, 2017, the members of the Rwandan parliament passed an organic law establishing Kiswahili as an official language of Rwanda (Bishumba 2017). This decision responds to ongoing sociolinguistic changes and the desire to facilitate the economic and political integration of Rwanda into the regional and international community (Ruburika 2009, MacGreal 2009). The Minister of Sports and Culture, Julienne Uwacu, explains: "Swahili as an official language means, on the one hand, fulfilling an obligation as a member country of the East African Community and, on the other hand, a way of increasing the benefits that Rwanda can derive from economic integration," (Bishumba 2017:1).

2.2.3 French

French was established as an official language of Rwanda in 1920 by the colonial Belgian administration and was retained as an official language by the post-independence government (Twagilimana 2007, Pamella 2016). Adekunle (2007:9) observes that French is the only language in Rwanda that has been used as both an administrative language and as a language of instruction from the colonial period to recent times. However, in 2008 the language of instruction at the secondary and tertiary levels shifted from French to English. Even though French has been an official language in Rwanda for a long time it is nevertheless spoken by only a few people in Rwanda, namely those with a university education from the former sole university of Rwanda, the National University of Rwanda (NUR), or those who received a university education in

Belgium, France or other francophone countries (Adekunle 2007). The current situation of French in Rwanda might be worse than in previous years because of the popularity of English and its promotion since 2009.

The French language has lost its prestige as a language spoken by the educated elite since the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 and has largely been replaced by English. The debate around sociolinguistic changes in Rwanda is centred on reasons for the demotion of French. Some researchers argue that French lost its high prestige in Rwanda because of political reasons, i.e. tensions between Rwanda and France, which arose after active French military participation in the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (Ntakirutimana 2007; Rurangirwa 2010; Rurangirwa & Rudacogora 2013). An alternative explanation alleges that the Rwandan government replaced French with English because they wanted to enhance Rwanda's participation in the global community (MacGreal 2009; Ruburika 2009). Maybe both the political reasons and the hegemony of English within globalised markets as well as in modern information and communication technology might have contributed to the loss of French's prestigious status in Rwanda.

2.2.4 English

The English language has gained a position of power and prestige in the administrative and educational sociolinguistic spheres in Rwanda. English was made an official language in 1996 and was given medium of instruction status in Rwanda in October 2008 (Samuelson 2013; Sibomana 2018).

The promotion of English reflects a rapid sociolinguistic change because England has no colonial ties with Rwanda. In contrast, other foreign languages, such as French, became powerful in Great Lakes countries such as Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) during the colonial occupation. Former Rwandan refugees from English-speaking countries such as Uganda and Kenya introduced English to Rwanda after the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994; hence English is relatively new to the country (Kimenyi 2007). Today, many top government officials are English-speaking.

Originally, the Ministry of Education in Rwanda intended to fully implement a shift to English as the medium of instruction in Rwanda within a period of merely three years, i.e. 2009 to 2011 (MINEDUC 2008; Samuelson 2013; Pamela 2016). This means that teaching in English started in the 2009 academic year and the plan was to use English progressively so that by 2011 there would be a complete transition to English as medium of instruction for all subjects from nursery school to university level (Niyibizi 2010). However, this did not happen. Instead the Ministry of Education re-established Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction from nursery school to the lower level of primary school (grade 1 to grade 3) in 2011 due to complaints that the mother tongue of the learners was completely absent from Rwandan education (MINICAAF 2011; Dwyer & Ngabonziza 2017). Consequently, English became the medium of instruction from grade 4 of primary school to university level. This policy reflects the current situation.

2.2.5 Other languages

Apart from the official languages (Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, French and English), there are other languages which are ignored by the current language policy. These include minority languages such as Oluchiga, Amahavu, Amashi, Ikirashi and Kirundi (Kimenyi 2007). I discuss these Bantu languages in section 2.3 of this chapter. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, two further Bantu languages, namely Lingala and Luganda, became part of the Rwandan linguistic landscape through the repatriation of Rwandan refugees from Uganda (Luganda) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Lingala) (Rosendal 2011; Niyibizi 2014). In addition, there are some non-African languages that are spoken in Rwanda. These are religious languages, including Arabic and Latin, which are used and taught for devotional purposes, on the one hand and languages with some economic power, like German and Chinese, on the other hand. In the following paragraphs I describe the role of Ecclesiastical Latin, Arabic, German, and Chinese in Rwanda.

First, Ecclesiastical Latin is a lingua franca of the Roman Catholic Church; church officials produce official liturgical texts, official texts of canon law and many other doctrinal and pastoral communications and directives in Ecclesiastical Latin. The Pope uses Ecclesiastical Latin for encyclical letters, *motu proprio* ('apostolic letters'), and declarations *ex cathedra*. About half of the Rwandan population (56.5% according to the 2006 census) belongs to the Roman Catholic

Church. Latin is taught in nine minor seminaries (schools reserved for training future priests) and some Catholic Church schools such as the Ecole de Christ Roi located in the Southern Province, Nyanza District. The Latin language was introduced into Rwanda by the White Fathers in 1908 and the first masses of the Catholic Church in Rwanda were read in Latin until the 1960 reform allowing African and Asiatic countries to celebrate masses in their local languages (Pullella 2012).

Currently, Latin is an administrative language of the Catholic Church in Rwanda and some songs are sung in Latin during the mass. It is not spoken by either priests or lay Christians. The historical background of the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda shows that the church has been implicated in preparing for and committing the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (Bizimana 2001; Mugesera 2015; Gasanabo et al. 2015). A number of priests and bishops participated in the genocide in a way no different from the majority of the population; this was interpreted as a spiritual crisis in the Catholic Church (Bizimana 2001; Mugesera 2015). After recurrent accusations by the government that the Church had participated in the genocide, the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda apologised for its role in the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994:

We apologize for all the wrongs the church committed. We apologize on behalf of all Christians for all forms of wrongs we committed. We regret that church members violated (their) oath of allegiance to God's commandments. Forgive us for the crime of hate in the country to the extent of also hating our colleagues because of their ethnicity. We didn't show that we are one family but instead killed each other. (Mbonyinshuti 2016:1).

The statement was released on 1 November 2016 and was signed by the nine bishops representing the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda. The statement was read by priests during holy masses in all Rwandan parishes and published in newspapers. This marked a new chapter in the relationship between the Holy See and the Government of Rwanda and might favourably influence the Rwandan government's decision-making with respect to teaching Latin in Rwandan schools.

Second, the Arabic language is used by the Association of Muslims in Rwanda. According to the 2006 religious census, Muslims in Rwanda constitute 4.6 % of the total population (Rosendal 2011; Pamela 2016), a minority. The Muslim population in Rwanda increased after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi mainly for two reasons. First Muslim leaders did not participate in the genocide against the Tutsi and hid many Tutsi in mosques during the genocide; second, genocide survivors converted to Islam because of the role that some Catholic and Protestant leaders played in the genocide (Bizimana 2002; Mugesera 2015; Gasanabo et al. 2015). The conversion of Christians to Islam involves learning the Arabic language. Arabic is the language of the Koran (the Holy Book of Islam) and it is read and spoken during weekly prayers. Furthermore, Arab business people living in Rwanda also speak Arabic.

Third, apart from religious languages, German is taught in Rwanda by the Goethe Institut – Kigali’s Language Department since 2014. The German Embassy in Rwanda opened the Goethe Institute to offer German language classes (Opobo 2016). Even though the centre opened its doors as late as 2014, German language teaching was first introduced into Rwanda between 1907 and 1916, during the German colonial administration. The Kinyarwanda language borrowed some words from German, for instance the word *ishuri* (‘school’) was borrowed from German. The German language was taught during the German colonial administration with the objective “to train translators who could be used to facilitate communication between the German colonial administration and the local population” (Niyibizi 2014: 15).

Finally, Chinese was introduced into Rwanda following the establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1971. The Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in Rwanda established a Confucius Institute in Rwanda in 2009 (Yanzigiye et al. 2014). The Chinese Confucius Institute operates at the University of Rwanda’s College of Education in Kigali with the aim of teaching and promoting Chinese culture and language. Since its establishment, it has 30 classes and teaches more than 600 local people per year. Yanzigiye et al. (2014) explain that young Rwandan people are motivated to learn the Chinese language because they expect to get either a scholarship in China¹ or a translation job in Chinese companies operating in Rwanda.

¹ Over 100 Rwandan students get higher education scholarships to study in China annually.

Furthermore, the Chinese population in Rwanda is growing due to diplomatic relations between Rwanda and China. Some Chinese move to Rwanda to open their own businesses in tourism or modern agriculture; others are brought by the Chinese government to work in state-supported projects. The economic ties between the two countries are illustrated by the July 2018 visit to Rwanda of Chinese President Xi Jinping, who witnessed the signing of 15 agreements, covering a range of sectors including air transport, a new roads construction initiative, technology, medicine, education, business and other sectors (Tabaro 2018).

Ngabonziza (2017:1) explains that China has been expanding its investment and diplomatic cooperation in Rwanda since it opened its embassy in Rwanda:

China has been Rwanda's biggest export market, the third largest source of imports and the 4th trading partner [sic]. For instance, as of end of last year, China's non-financial direct investment in Rwanda reached over \$100 million. Some of these key investments include covering digital television and garment manufacturing industry, C&H garment – an apparel industry producing massively for a both local market and for export and creating jobs to Rwandans...Local transport companies are shipping buses from Chinese automobile companies to assure smart transport in Rwanda. Meanwhile, in March 2016, Zhang Dejiang, the Speaker of China Parliament laid a foundation stone for a construction of a \$26.5 million administrative building that will host the Prime Minister's office, other ministries and public institutions. The project is sponsored by Chinese government and construction will be completed in 2018. The Communist Party of China (CPC) has strong ties with Rwanda's ruling party, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) Inkotanyi.

It is possible that Chinese will be a future business language in Rwanda due to the growing number of Chinese investors in the transportation, energy, mining, tourism and education sectors in Rwanda. Rwandan exports to China include coffee and tea. In addition, there are Chinese people who have migrated to Rwanda such as Chinese medical doctors and nurses who have worked in Rwanda for over 30 years (Opobo 2014). Thus with the movement of people and the growing presence of a Chinese population in Rwanda, it is possible that in future the Chinese language will gain the status of, or official recognition as, a business language and one of the languages spoken in Rwanda.

2.3 Multilingualism in Rwanda

The historical background of Rwanda reveals that Rwandans speak a multitude of local languages, many of which are their mother tongues. However, the language policy of Rwanda reiterates that Kinyarwanda is the sole mother tongue of Rwandans. This section explains this monolingual ‘myth’ and shows the multilingual realities of Rwanda, considering not only foreign languages but also local languages spoken by Rwandans. The chapter ends with emphasising the dominance of Kinyarwanda and its role in subduing minority languages.

2.3.1 The monolingual myth

For centuries Rwanda has been believed to be a monolingual country in terms of its local African language, and researchers concluded that, “linguistic minorities in Rwanda are practically non-existent” (Rosendal 2011:77; also see NPR 2008 for the same conclusion). It is possible that this statement was made without considering the earlier work of Rwandan linguists who demonstrated the existence of minority languages in Rwanda (Rwigamba et al. 1998).

As mentioned earlier and such findings notwithstanding, Kinyarwanda is widely assumed to be a common language for all Rwandans and officially it has the function of the national lingua franca of Rwanda. The alleged feature of speaking one common language is often cited as a unique trait of Rwanda, which is surrounded by multilingual countries. A Ministry of Education official explains the function of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda:

We have a common language: Kinyarwanda. This is really a rare benefit. Cabinet meetings are in Kinyarwanda because some ministers speak English and some speak French. Anyone going to a government office can speak Kinyarwanda. (McGreal 2009, para. 19)

The idea of a local monolingualism of Rwanda is supported by the statistics of Kinyarwanda speakers. According to the 2002 census, Kinyarwanda is spoken by 94.4% of all Rwandans and a recent census conducted in 2012 and published in 2014 is silent on the item “language distribution by speakers”. It is surprising that across the two censuses only official languages are counted and that other languages are not included in the statistics. For example, the census conducted in 2002 reports that apart from Kinyarwanda, which is spoken by 94.4% of all Rwandans, other languages share the remaining percentage of speakers, namely French, which is spoken by 3.9%, Swahili by 3.0% and English by 1.9% (NISR 2005:38). However, it is important to ask, what are the numbers of speakers of other local languages spoken in Rwanda, such as Ikirundi, Oluchiga, Amashi and Igihavu? Ikirundi, which is the official language of the Republic of Burundi, is spoken in the Southern and the Eastern Provinces of Rwanda; Oluchiga has been spoken in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces from the pre-colonial era to date; Amashi and Igihavu in turn are both spoken in the Western Province.

The lack of statistics for speakers of local languages apart from Kinyarwanda is probably influenced by the monolingual ideology of equating a language and a country. Makalela (2016) explains that the ideology of “one nation one language” follows from the Eurocentric understanding that French people speak the French language, British people speak the English language, Spanish people speak the Spanish language, etc. Accordingly, Rwandan people speak the Kinyarwanda language.

This myth is translated into the exclusion of minority languages, which, under the pretext of “nation building” (Makalela 2016; Canagarajah 2018), are not taught in the classroom. In the case of Rwanda, local languages are excluded not only in classroom teaching but also in public and in research as they are also considered dead languages. For example, Lewis (2009) and Freedman et al. (2006) argue that the only living local language in Rwanda is Kinyarwanda and

that other African languages such as Oluchiga, Ikinyambo, and Igihavu are dialects of Kinyarwanda. These statements were made without considering that these languages are not mutually intelligible and that they are classified as different languages in ethnologies (Grimes 2000).

2.3.2 Multilingual reality

This study argues that Rwanda is a multilingual country, not only because of the presence of European languages, but also because of the co-existence of various African languages. The multiplicity of African languages is explained by a variety of causes including Rwandan history, colonisation, education, trade, and the movement of people (Habyarimana et al. 2017). Rwanda became a big kingdom by conquering other kingdoms which had their own separate languages (Freedman et al. 2006), for example, the kingdom of Ndorwa (speakers of Igihima currently called Oluchiga–Runyankore), which was first annexed to Rwanda in 1774, and the kingdom of Gisaka (speakers of Urunyambo currently referred to as Ururasi or Urunyagisaka), which was annexed in 1830. There are other former kingdoms such as Bugesera, Bushiru and Bukunzi in addition to a number of small kingdoms, which are currently unknown, that had their own languages. It is important to mention that at the beginning of the 19th century, three substantial kingdoms Ndorwa, Gisaka and Bugesera, were still independent and had their own living kings. However, when King Kigeli IV Rwabugiri unified the Rwandan Kingdom into one large kingdom, Kinyarwanda became the sole language of the new dispensation. Kinyarwanda retained its status as the language of all Rwandans throughout the colonial period and the independence period to date.

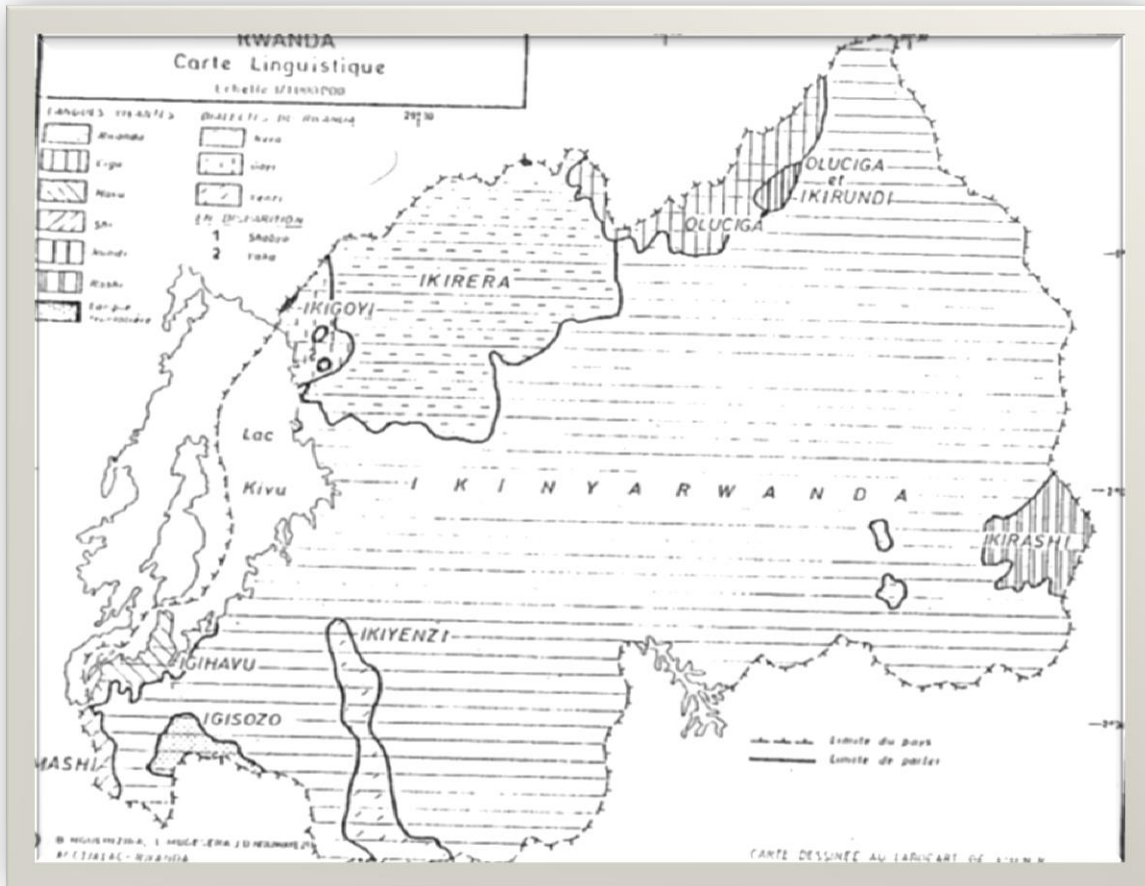
The assumption that all Rwandans share one single mother tongue caused language planners to ignore the multilingual landscape of Rwanda (Rudacogora & Rurangirwa 2013). Even the little research which has been done on multilingualism in Rwanda (Niyomugabo 2008) fails to consider the sociolinguistics of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda and in the Great Lakes region.

Approximately 40,000,000 people in the Great Lakes region (Opobo 2016) speak Kinyarwanda. Speakers of Kinyarwanda include Banyarwanda (citizens of the Republic of Rwanda), Bafumbira (ethnic Banyarwanda in Southern Uganda), Banyamulenge (ethnic Banyarwanda in

South Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo), ethnic Banyarwanda in Masisi and Rucuro (in North Kivu of the Republic of Congo) and people of Karagwe (in the United Republic of Tanzania). Kinyarwanda is an agglutinative language (as are many other Bantu languages) with a complex morphology and word order sentence structure. It has sixteen (16) noun classes and modifiers such as adjectives, numerals, possessives and demonstratives, which must agree with the head noun by taking its class marker (Kimenyi 2002). Thus, it is important to conduct morphosyntactic studies on this language, comparing it to other languages spoken in the Great Lakes region of Africa such as Oluchiga.

Nkusi (1995) demonstrates that Rwandans speak many languages, which fall into four groups: (1) the Ikirashi-Urunyambo and Oluchiga-Hima group, spoken in the Northern Province; (2) the Amashi-Igihavu group, spoken in the Western Province; (3) the Igishobyo-Ikiyaka group, spoken in the western part and (4) the Ikinyarwanda-Ikirundi group, spoken in the central and southern parts of Rwanda.

Figure 2: Linguistic map of Rwanda in 1984



Source: **Source: Nsanzabiga (1988, p. 34)**

He then explains that those groups of languages can be localized according to geopolitical borders between Rwanda’s provinces and may be categorised according to their linguistic similarities. He furthermore demonstrates that Kinyarwanda and its ‘dialects’ can be grouped into two ‘zones’:

1. Central Kinyarwanda, which is the standard language spoken in the palace of the ancient kingdom and the historical region called Nduga. This Kinyarwanda is perceived as a “pure” language and it is taught in the classroom as the standard language. In 2012, the Government of Rwanda founded the Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture (RALC) in order to protect and promote the Kinyarwanda standard language and Rwandan culture. The RALC released a statement on national television and radio

regarding what should be considered as “Standard Kinyarwanda” and which linguistic practices should be avoided, as they are not pure Kinyarwanda (RALC 2019).

2. Peripheral Kinyarwanda spoken by the remaining population is localized in the area surrounding the Nduga region. Peripheral Kinyarwanda includes dialects, which are perceived to be non-standard and are not used in the education system of Rwanda. Those dialects are judged to be a deviation from standard Kinyarwanda and were once used by comedians to make fun of dialect speakers in public.

The above assumptions about Kinyarwanda dialectology and the sociolinguistic situation in Rwanda are based on the previous research conducted by the group of researchers (Rwigamba, Nkusi & Ruzindana 1998) from the former National University of Rwanda (NUR), currently called the University of Rwanda (UR). The research demonstrates that standard Kinyarwanda is spoken in the central part of Rwanda. Its dialects include Ikigoyi spoken in the Rubavu district (Western Province), Ikirera spoken in the Musanze and Burera districts (Northern Province), Bulimi, also called Igikiga, spoken in the southern part of Rwanda, as well as a number of dying dialects such as Igisozi, Urushobyi and Kiyaka (see also Rubanda 2006).

While Nkusi (1995) and Rwigamba et al. (1998) challenge the monolingual ideology of Rwanda they argue that local African languages spoken in Rwanda are all dialects of Kinyarwanda (“*Dialectologie rwandaise*”, Nkusi 1995:15), which might be wrong, considering various linguistic features which determine the difference between languages and dialects. In the Lewis classification of languages (Lewis 2009), Kinyarwanda, Oluchiga, Amashi, Igihavu and Ikirashi appear as different languages and not as dialects of Kinyarwanda.

This conclusion agrees with research done by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in Rwanda in 1984, which recognizes six linguistic minorities in Rwanda. Nkusi (1995) and Niyibizi (2014:7) list those linguistic minorities as follows:

- a) Oluchiga, which is also called Oluciga-Runyankore or Oluciga-Igihima: it is a Bantu language spoken in areas bordering on Uganda in the Northern Province. The speakers of this language were estimated to number 96,000 in 1984; currently there are no statistics on the number of speakers for this language; however, it is known

that the inhabitants of the Northern Province of Rwanda speak Oluchiga. They have their own community radio called Ishingiro, which broadcasts news in Oluchiga for efficiency of communication between the local authorities and the population. Three former prefectures (currently subdivided into districts) which are known to speak Oluchiga are Byumba, Ruhengeri and Umutara.

- b) Igihavu, which is also called Havu or Amahavu: it is a Bantu language spoken along Lake Kivu, in the Western Province, near the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Igihavu is spoken by the inhabitants of the former Kamembe, Gisuma, Gafunzo and Kagano districts; the former Cyangugu prefecture is currently the Western Province of Rwanda. The speakers of this language were estimated to number 97,000 in 1984 but there are no statistics on the current numbers of its speakers.
- c) Amashi called Mashi: it is a Bantu language spoken in the area close to the DRC, in the Western Province of Rwanda. Its speakers were estimated at 35,000 in 1984. Its speakers are called Abashi and they previously had their own kingdom before it was conquered by the Rwandan Kingdom. The speakers of Amashi are the inhabitants of the former Gishoma, Cyimbogo and Kamembe districts of the former Cyangugu Prefecture.
- d) Ikirashi, also called Ikirashi-Runyambo, Runyambo, Ikirasi, Ururasi or Rasi: it is a Bantu language spoken in Kibungo and it is said to be mutually intelligible with Oluchiga; however, because of the geographic distance between the Oluchiga- and Ikirashi-speaking areas, researchers (Niyibizi 2014) were led to consider them as separate languages. Some researchers argue that Oluchiga and Ikirashi “could be said to be dialects [of one language] that are not geographically close” (Rosendal 2011:77). However, while the mutual intelligibility of Oluchiga and Ikirashi was confirmed in 1984, there is a need to conduct a linguistic study to compare and contrast both languages, considering that they are spoken in two different areas and contact between speakers might not be obvious (CONFEMEN 1986:258). Ikirashi is

spoken in the Eastern Province of Rwanda, specifically in the former Rukira and Rusumo districts of the former Kibungo Prefecture. The speakers of this language were estimated to number 25,000 in 1984; there are no recent statistics available on the number of speakers. Ikirashi is aired on Radio Izuba, whose name is derived from a local community in Kibungo.

- e) Ikirundi is a Bantu language spoken in Rwanda and Burundi. It is a national and official language of the Republic of Burundi, a neighbour country of Rwanda. Ikirundi was spoken in Rwanda a long time ago by the Rwandans living close to the Burundi border.

Further speakers of Ikirundi are Burundians who came to Rwanda as refugees from the post-independence Burundian civil war that erupted in 1962. The number of Burundian refugees in Rwanda increased with the 2015 election tensions, when the Burundian population demonstrated against the third term of President Nkurunziza Pierre, who changed the constitution of Burundi to extend the term of the president in office. This was followed by a civil war that resulted in the death of some opposition members, and the population of Burundian refugees in Rwanda and Tanzania increased. Currently, Rwanda hosts 71,490 Burundian refugees (UNHCR 2019).

Ikirundi is furthermore spoken in Rwanda by the Rwandans who were expatriated from Rwanda due to the ethnic segregation in Rwanda that forced Tutsi citizens to flee the country in 1959 and after the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (Mugesera 2015). This means that people who speak Ikirundi in Rwanda are either people who were exiled from Burundi to Rwanda or Rwandan citizens who were exiled to Burundi at some point and subsequently returned to their country of origin.

- f) Kiswahili is also called Swahili: it is a Bantu language spoken in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. It has been an official language of Rwanda since 2017. Arab traders introduced Kiswahili into Rwanda before colonisation and

Rwandan translators to the King of Rwanda spoke Kiswahili to facilitate trade between the Rwandan Kingdom and Arab countries (Ntakirutimana 2002).

During and after the colonial era, Kiswahili was expanded and spoken by Arabs and Muslims living in Rwanda, and afterwards by members of some other religions like Adventists and Pentecostal churches (Niyomugabo 2008). In 1984, the number of Kiswahili speakers in Rwanda was estimated at 500,000 (CONFEMEN 1986:259) and the 2002 census reported that there were 236, 624 speakers of Kiswahili in Rwanda, which amounts to 3% of the Rwandan population (NISR 2005). More details on the role of Kiswahili are provided in section 2.2.2 of this chapter.

Apart from the above listed distinct languages, researchers list a number of dialects of Kinyarwanda: Kigoyi, Kirera, Kinyagisaka, Kiyaka, Gishobyo, and Gisozo (Munyakazi 1984; Nsanzabiga 1988; Nkusi 1995).

Adopting the Meyerhoff classification of language vitality (Meyerhoff 2006: 108), I can classify those dialects into three categories: Dying dialects, living dialects and dialects in danger. Living dialects are Kigoyi, Kirera, Kinyagisaka, Ikinyabuganza and the Kinyarwanda standard dialect. Starting from the standard dialect, as previously mentioned, standard Kinyarwanda is spoken in central Rwanda in a region formerly called Nduga. It is possible that it was declared the standard dialect because the Kingdom of Rwanda's capital was in the Nduga region, where the King, the Queen Mother and the Queen of Rwanda dwelled for a long time (Niyomugabo 2008). Second, Kigoyi and Kirera are living dialects spoken in the Northern Province of Rwanda (Nsanzabiga 1988). The Ministry of Education in Rwanda, formerly known as Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire - MINEPRISEC (1984), claims that Kiyaka, Gishoshyo and Gisozo, which were once spoken throughout the Western Provinces, are dying but it is possible that they died a long time ago (Nsanzabiga 1988), considering that Nsanzabiga conducted this research 30 years ago and claimed those dialects to be dead.

In addition, there are unclassified dialects, which have attracted the interest of only a very few researchers (Rwigamba et al. 1998) as they are "secret languages". These languages are first,

“*Urukonjo*” spoken in Rwandan traditional religious rituals of “*Kubandwa Imana*”, meaning ‘to be unified’ with *Imana*, i.e. ‘God’; Kubandwa traditional rituals are also practised in regions bordering Rwanda such as in Burundi, the DRC and Uganda; second, *Urucuzi*, the blacksmiths’ language, and third, *Igifefeko*, youth slang, where people switch around syllables within words to communicate within their own group (Rwigamba et al. 1998).

The classification that I present here is based on a rather dated sociolinguistic study of the dialects of Rwanda conducted by MINEPRISEC in 1984. Thus there is a need to conduct research on the status of the linguistic landscape in Rwanda. For instance, Munyakazi (1984) argues that in the Rubavu district of the Western Province there was a dying dialect called Rushoby. In addition, Freedman et al. (2006) argue that there are many dialects of Kinyarwanda spoken beyond Rwanda’s borders in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), western Tanzania and southern Uganda, which are unknown to date. Yet, Rwigamba (1982:2) conducted a sociolinguistic study of Kinyarwanda spoken in the DRC and listed four dialects spoken in various regions: *Ikinyamasisi*, *Ikinyabwisha*, *Ikinyarugari* (spoken in North Kivu in the regions of Masisi, Rutshuru and Walikale) and *Ikinyamulenge* (spoken in South Kivu in the regions of Uvira and Fizi). Currently those dialects, which were previously spoken only in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), are spoken in Rwanda, specifically in the Gicumbi, Nyamagabe, and Rutsiro districts, due to the presence of Rwandophone refugees from the DRC originating from North Kivu. UNHCR (2019) explains that Rwanda has been hosting some of the Congolese refugees for more than 20 years. Since 1996, the DRC has been characterised by political instability, war and the presence of militia from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and South Sudan. The militia destabilised the North Kivu province of the DRC; this caused many inhabitants of the region to flee to Rwanda. The UNHCR (2019) reported 81,226 refugees from North Kivu (DRC) in Rwanda.

Furthermore, the Rwandan deaf community uses sign language, but Rwandan sign language is not standardised and there may be different varieties across the country. Therefore, there is a great need for sign language research in Rwanda.

The following table summarises the different African languages and dialects spoken in Rwanda according to the above literature:

Table 1: African languages and dialects spoken as L1 in Rwanda

#	Dialects/ languages	Status (Approximate)	Location	
1.	Ikirashi-Nyambo	Living language	Kirehe District	Eastern Province
2.	Urunyagisaka	Living dialect	Ngoma District	Eastern Province
3.	Ikirundi	Living language	Gisagara District Kirehe District	Southern Province Eastern Province
4.	Oluchiga	Living language	Gicumbi District Nyagatare District	Northern Province Eastern Province
5.	Orunyankore	Living language	Gatsibo District	Eastern Province
6.	Igihima	Living language	Gatsibo District	Eastern Province
7.	Oruganda	Living language	Musanze District, Nyagatare District and Kigali	Northern Province, Eastern Province and Kigali
8.	Ikirera	Living dialect	Burera District	Northern Province
9.	Ikigoyi	Living dialect	Rubavu District	Northern Province
10.	Igishobyoyi	Dying dialect	Nyabihu and Rubavu Districts	Western Province
11.	Kiswahili	Living language	Rubavu District and Kigali	Western Province and Kigali
12.	Ikigogwe	Living dialect	Nyabihu District	Western Province
13.	Ikinyamasisi	Living dialect	Gicumbi, Rubavu and Nyamagabe Districts	Northern Province Western Province Southern Province
14.	Ikinyabwisha	Living dialect	Gicumbi, Rubavu and Nyamagabe	Northern Province Western Province

			Districts	Southern Province
15.	Ikinyarugari	Living dialect	Rusizi District	Western Province
16.	Igisozo	Dying dialect	Nyamasheke District	Western Province
17.	Igihavu	Living language	Rusizi District	Western Province
18.	Amashi	Living language	Rusizi District	Western Province
19.	Standard Kinyarwanda (referred as Nduga dialect)	Living dialect	Nyanza District Muhanga District Gasabo District	Southern Province Kigali city
20.	Dialects of the <i>Uburimi</i> people near Nyungwe forest	Living dialects	Nyamagabe District	Southern Province
21.	Ikinyamulenge	Living dialect	Gasabo District	Kigali
22.	Lingala	Living language	Kicukiro District	Kigali
23.	Rwandan Sign Language/s	Living language or language/s	All districts	All provinces

Apart from the above languages, there are a number of non-verbal communication systems developed by Rwandans. Those consist, for example, of *Kwimyoza*, which is a dental click expressing disapproval, and *Guhigima*, a nasalised vocal sound that shows either interest in communication when it is high or expresses disdain for communication when it is low. There are also many interjections to express joy, suffering, worry, sadness, and disapproval.

Rwigamba et al. (1998: 13) explain that it is important to understand non-verbal communication in order to fully grasp the meaning conveyed in Kinyarwanda because non-verbal communication signals are often present in verbal communication and it is mandatory to understand them in order to grasp the full meaning of the message. For example, a popular Rwandan saying equates the spoken and unspoken message as follows: “*N’uhigimye aba avuze*”, which means ‘even the one who coughs a little has spoken’.

In addition, it is important to mention that the above languages as well as dialects are spoken by Rwandans without the distinction between the so-called ethnic groups in Rwanda. The distribution of languages and dialects according to ethnic groups was wrongly assumed by the Rwanda education system between independence in 1962 and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi (Nkusi 1995).

That education system treated the Hutu and the Tutsi as two distinct ethnic groups, portraying the Tutsi as foreigners in their own country, Rwanda. That ideology of treating the Tutsi as ‘the other’, encouraged by a colonial policy of divide-and-rule, presumed that the Hutu were Africans belonging to Bantu-speaking groups, whereas the Tutsi were foreigners belonging to Afroasiatic language groups. According to the Belgian colonial administration and the post-independence Rwandan government, “The Twa were the first to live in Rwanda and survived by hunting. The Hutu, who were farmers, and who were said to come from Cameroon and Chad, followed them and [they were] later followed by the Tutsi. The Tutsi came from North-Eastern Africa, namely Ethiopia” (CNUR 2011:60; see also Mugesera 2004 for a similar account).

The history told by the colonial administration emphasises that the Tutsi, in spite of their minority status, imposed themselves on the rest of the Rwandan population, namely the Hutu and the Twa, and governed the nation. Even though Rwandan archaeological findings do not confirm this narrative about the origins of the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa, it nevertheless contributed to the creation of the genocide ideology of labelling the Tutsi as foreign to the native population of Rwanda (CNUR 2011). The ideology maintained that they should be (physically) removed from Rwanda. This idea is supported by a speech delivered in 1992 by one of the top officers of the ruling party of Rwanda, Leon Mugesera, who encouraged the Hutu to exterminate all Tutsi by dumping them into the Nyabarongo River as a short cut to Ethiopia, whence the post-independence government assumed the Tutsi to originate (Fletcher 2014).

Militants of our movement, as we are all met here, *I think you will understand the meaning of the word I will say to you.* I will talk to you about only four points [...]. The mistake we made in 1959, when

I was still a child, is to let you go. I asked him if he had not heard of the story of the Falashas, who returned home to Israel from Ethiopia? He replied that he knew nothing about it! I told him “So don’t you know how to listen or read? I am telling you that your home is in Ethiopia, that we will send you by the Nyabarongo so you can get there quickly [...]. So in order to conclude, I would remind you of all the important things I have just spoken to you about: the most essential is that we should not allow ourselves to be invaded, lest the very persons who are collapsing take away some of you. Do not be afraid, know that anyone whose neck you do not cut is the one who will cut your neck. Let me tell you, these people should begin leaving while there is still time and go and live with their people, or even go to the “Inyenzis”, instead of living among us and keeping their guns, so that when we are asleep they can shoot us. Let them pack their bags, let them get going, so that no one will return here to talk and no one will bring scraps claiming to be flags! (The Kabaya speech 1992:1-2) [the italics are mine].

In his capacity as Deputy Chairman of the former ruling party (MRND) that planned and executed the genocide against the Tutsi, Mugesera delivered this hate speech and this was interpreted as an incitement to commit genocide (Rwirahira 2016).

In 2012, Leon Mugesera was extradited from Canada to Rwanda to face genocide charges. In 2016, he was found guilty of incitement to commit genocide, inciting ethnic hatred and persecution. This was judged as a crime against humanity and he was therefore sentenced to a life term for genocide crimes (Rwirahira 2016).

Regarding the language spoken by the Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa, the post-independence accounts explain that the three ethnic groups share the same language, which is Kinyarwanda. However, Histoire (1987: 128) adds “Since their [Tutsi’s] arrival in the country, Tutsi adopted the Kinyarwanda language”. Gasanabo et al. (2015) argue that if the Tutsi learnt Kinyarwanda on

their arrival in Rwanda, then the Hutu must have also learnt Kinyarwanda from the Twa. The Twa, who belong to the pygmies and who live by hunting, are regarded as the first inhabitants of Rwanda and are considered the original natives of Africa (Kanimba 2016). Consequently, according to post-independence accounts, neither the Hutu nor the Tutsi are categorised as original natives of Rwanda, both having learnt Kinyarwanda from the original natives. It is hence illogical to consider only the Tutsi as foreign.

The ethnic division based on language still confuses some international researchers, who state that Rwanda is composed of three ethnic groups which speak three different dialects of Kinyarwanda, namely the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa (Rosendal 2011:77). This confusion can be traced back to the colonial period when the colonisers maintained that there were three different ethnic groups in Rwanda: Hutu, perceived as a Bantu group and inferior to the Tutsi, who are descendants of Hamites. According to Freedman et al (2006) Hamites is a linguistic term that can be traced back to the Afroasiatic language family. The term was extended to the Tutsi to explain their origin from the Semitic race and position them as ethnically superior to the Bantu population. Thus, the Tutsi are purported to be of the Hamitic race that migrated to central Africa and introduced pastoralism, new technologies, advanced administrative skills and civilised customs. In 1959, the Tutsi were represented as foreign colonial administrators rather than the Belgian colonisers (Semujanga & Galabert 2013).

The historical presentation of the Tutsi as foreign Hamites who migrated to Rwanda and were considered to be superior to Bantu people, namely the Hutu, has been challenged by a number of studies. Semujanga & Galabert 2013; Gasanabo et al. 2015 explain that the Belgian colonists failed to understand the organisation of Rwandan society namely Tutsi (cattle keepers), Hutu (farmers), and Twa (hunters). All local artistic styles of singing and dancing and comical ways of telling a story were attributed to the Twa. Some confused Rwandan art with their own dialect called “Intwatwa” or “Igitwa” (Kimenyi 2007).

Later however, it was revealed that Rwandan art, attributed to the Twa people as their main cultural contribution, was in fact shared and produced by different clans and social groups, including the Hutu and the Tutsi (Gasanabo et al. 2015). Likewise, the earlier distinction of

social groups into herders, farmers and artists, did not correlate with ethnic groups either, because the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa share the same clans (see Table 2). Thus, it is possible to argue that there is no relationship between the distribution of the Kinyarwanda language and its dialects on the one hand and what the Belgian colonial administration assumed to be ethnicity in Rwanda on the other hand, as stated by Rwigamba et al. (1998:12):

From the socio-cultural viewpoint, it has to be said straight away, there is no correlation in Rwanda between language, ethnicity, and culture because Kinyarwanda is spoken by the three human groups which are traditionally presented, with too much simplicity, as "Bahutu farmers", "Batutsi shepherds" and "Batwa potters". From a synchronic point of view, all three "ethnic groups" speak the same language, i.e. Kinyarwanda. There is no diachronic or synchronic evidence that ethnicity-based linguistic differences are or were ever attested.

Other researchers argue that the confusion of social categories and ethnic groups might be a result of the misinterpretation by the Belgian colonial administration of the word *ubwoko*, the translation equivalent of which is *ethnie* in French. In Kinyarwanda, the word *ubwoko* means both 'clan' and 'ethnic group'. However, in the pre-colonial period, the term also meant 'clan [nish] identity' (Sebagabo 2004; Rwigamba 2010). Ngabonziza (2013: 34) argues that the term *ubwoko* means 'identity' and for Rwandans their identity, *ubwoko*, is a group of families, who originate from the same family and have common ancestors. Thus Rwandans' *ubwoko* is distributed across 20 clan identities, namely *Abanyiginya*, *Abega*, *Abashambo*, *Ababanda*, *Abacyaba*, *Abasinga*, *Abagesera*, *Abahinda*, *Abazigaba*, *Abungura*, *Abashingwe*, *Abenengwe*, *Abasita*, *Abatsobe*, *Abakono*, *Abanyakarama*, *Abarihira*, *Abahondogo*, *Abasindi* and *Abongera*. These clan identities include the socio-economic status of Rwandans, namely *Umututsi*, *Umuhutu*, and *Umutwa*, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of clans per social categories (Nyagahene 1997:231)

Names of clans <i>Ubwoko</i>	Hutu %	Tutsi %	Twa %
Abanyiginya	53.50	41.50	–
Abasindi	88.16	11.52	0.32
Abega	74.38	25.07	0.54
Abasinga	93.48	6.25	0.26
Abashambo	63.07	36.70	0.21
Abagesera	93.57	5.87	0.54
Abakono	32.57	67.43	–
Abatsobe	54.96	43.40	1.63
Abaha	19.90	78.15	1.94
Ababanda	94.12	4.98	0.88
Abazigaba	93.92	5.53	0.53
Abacyaba	87.18	12.76	0.08
Abungura	95.94	3.69	0.48

The above table shows that the Hutu and Tutsi share the same identity, the same *ubwoko*. They also share the same language(s). For example, Oluchiga-Hima, is spoken in the north-eastern area of Rwanda which was inhabited by the Abashambo, Abazigaba and Abasinga clans who speak the same language. In brief, there have never been separate languages for the Hutu and the Tutsi; both groups have spoken the same language(s) from the pre-colonial period to date.

2.4 Language attitudes in post-colonial African countries: Case of Rwanda

This study aims to contribute to the few studies on language attitudes among speakers of local languages in Africa (Bylund & Oostendorp 2013; Niyibizi 2014). It thus contributes to filling the research gap which exists with respect to attitudes of African language speakers toward other African languages as compared to the many studies on attitudes of African language speakers towards dominant European languages.

The current section starts by explaining the link between language attitudes and quality education. It draws on research that shows the positive attitudes towards English as a prestigious language which provides access to global opportunities. The discussion concludes with case studies conducted in Rwanda revealing positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda over English and European languages.

2.4.1 Language attitudes and their significance for education

Positive language attitudes are important for students to succeed not only during their language learning but also during learning through a language as a medium of instruction (MoI). A number of studies in applied linguistics highlight that students learn a language better when their attitude towards it is positive and motivation runs high (e.g. Bylund & Oostendorp 2013). Elyildirim and Ashton-Hay (2006) also argue that there is a connection between positive attitudes and successful learning of a second or foreign language. However, the authors recognise that there are many other variables that are involved in creating positive attitudes towards a certain language. For example, they state that students' motivation to learn a second or foreign language can be influenced by their appreciation of the L2 culture, L2 social values and target language speakers. However, the authors did not focus on attitudes influenced by students' perceptions of the target language speakers. For example, I might argue that if students perceive their own language to be superior to a particular target language and thus do not realise the importance of learning the L2, they will probably not learn it well. In contrast, if students understand the advantage of learning the second language and appreciate the target language speakers' culture, this positive attitude might speed up their learning of the target language.

UNICEF (2016) conducted a study on the impact of language on the quality of education in Africa and revealed that the attitudes of parents and educators placed a high value on English in terms of accessing jobs and being a global citizen who is able to participate in a world economy. This positive attitude of parents and educators towards English influenced them to diverge from the policy of mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the lower primary level and to use English as the MoI from nursery and lower primary levels. The change from mother tongue as

MoI in a favour of English does not consider the findings of research which link the use of the child's home language with the quality of education. It seems that language attitudes dictate the choice of the MoI to be used regardless of its impact on learners' achievements.

In Rwanda, the baseline survey on barriers to the quality education conducted in three districts of Rwanda, namely Gicumbi, Rwamagana and Kicukiro, revealed that the negative perception of students towards their teachers' lack of proficiency in English as MoI is one of the barriers to quality education in Rwanda (Nizeyimana & Nkiliye 2015). During the focus group discussions with students, researchers revealed that students argued that they do not master English because they perceive that their teachers also do not master English.

One student at G.S. Rwamagana A in Rwamagana District said "We don't master English since our teachers also, still have problems of pronunciation and then we become very confused. An example is that an English teacher comes with his own pronunciation, a Biology teacher with his own, and a chemistry teacher with his own. Our teachers confuse us while pronouncing words. The student tried to show how the word "exercise" has 3 different pronunciations from 3 different teachers (Nizeyimana & Nkiliye 2015: 26).

In fact, learners were showing the reason why they do not master the English language, but on the other hand, they were also showing the perception they have towards different pronunciations of English. In other words, in their opinion, people who use pronunciation different to "standard pronunciation" do not master English. This attitude might prevent someone from listening to different people with different English backgrounds. However, my interpretation of students' attitudes towards different English accents does not argue for teachers' proficiency in English.

In the same perspective, Rosendal (2011) reported that the status of Kiswahili and its use in Rwanda depended on the change in attitude of Rwandans towards Kiswahili speakers in Rwanda. It was explained that before the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994, Kiswahili was spoken mainly by Muslims and it marked their cultural-religious identity (Rosendal 2011:236). The Muslims

used to be called “Baswahili” to illustrate the negative attitudes towards Kiswahili speakers, who were believed to be a marginal group with low levels of education who worked in small-scale trade and were perceived to be using deception to conduct their business. The term “Baswahili” is still used in Rwanda but it is not applied now to Kiswahili speakers but to cunning people. After the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 Muslims were found not to have been involved in the genocide and many Christians, disappointed with the role of their own bishops in the genocide, joined Islam. From there the negative attitudes towards Muslims and Kiswahili started shifting. In 2017, Kiswahili was made one of the four official languages of Rwanda and it is taught in Rwandan secondary schools.

2.4.2 Language attitudes in Rwanda

Language attitudes in post-colonial countries and in Rwanda are characterised by the preference for colonial languages over national languages in education. Numerous studies confirm that English is preferred to the mother tongue in former British colonies, regardless of its number of speakers or the teachers’ level of fluency in English (UNICEF 2016). The choice of English can be explained as due to the parents’ and the teachers’ belief that their children will get access to jobs and worldwide opportunities through English. In other words, English as a hegemonic language has become the ipso facto MoI of most African countries (British Council 2017).

Against this background, attitudinal studies at Rwandan schools during the post-genocide period show surprising results. Niyibizi (2014) conducted a study with 300 students, 18 teachers and 6 principals in order to assess their attitudes towards the shift from English to Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in the lower primary (grades 1-3). The study revealed that the participants from rural schools reported positive attitudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in 2011. This result is astonishing considering that other studies conducted in Rwanda and elsewhere reveal a universal preference for English over indigenous languages as the MoI. For instance, similar studies conducted by Habyarimana (2014) and Maniraho (2013) show different results.

Habyarimana (2014) reports that 215 primary grade pupils, six learners and six teachers in Rwanda hold positive attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction. Teachers

emphasised that the learning of English provides access to good public and private job opportunities and speakers of English get respect from their peers. This confirms the argument of Alexandra (2010) that English is not preferred because it is the most beautiful language in the world but that it is preferred because of the prestigious status associated with it.

Maniraho (2013), who examines the attitudes of 625 lecturers and students at the teacher training college in Rwanda, supports these findings. He argues that irrespective of the lecturers' and the students' French and/or English background, they report positive attitudes towards English as MoI. The participants said that English as MoI is preferred at the teacher training college because of its official status as the language of education in Rwanda. They also report that the mastering of English offers the opportunity to get a well-paying job in Rwanda and other East African countries.

The fact that teachers show positive attitudes towards the shift from English to Kinyarwanda, as argued by Niyibizi (2014), might stem from the teachers' experience that starting with a foreign language as MoI from grade 1 does not work. Previously, Ntakirutimana (2003) also observed that Rwandan students taught in foreign languages demonstrated low intellectual outputs. He suggests that Rwandan learners should be taught in Kinyarwanda if the benefits of 'Education for All' (EFA) goals were to be achieved. From the same perspective, Lewis et al. (2015) argue that the attitudes of eastern and southern Africa's populations towards their African languages have changed and are now widely positive because of the transmission of local languages from one generation to the next. In addition, they explain that even though there are positive attitudes towards foreign languages as prestigious languages in Africa, these languages have not replaced African languages as the languages spoken daily amongst these Africans in their own villages.

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) accounts for variations in attitudes and explains how speakers adjust their linguistic behaviour and attitudes to fit their interlocutors' position on the one hand and their own identity on the other hand (Giles & Soliz 2014). The adjustment of linguistic behaviour entails either convergence, or divergence, or maintenance.

For example, speakers of minority languages in Rwanda (Oluchiga, Amahavu, Ikirashi speakers) may adopt Kinyarwanda as second language in order to access education, job opportunities and official information from the government. It means they adjust their own language and their own Rwandan linguistic identity accordingly. This is an example of convergence (when speakers choose to accentuate the similarity of the interlocutors' language behaviour (sound or style). However, minority language speakers may alternatively choose to use their local languages when they perform their own culture and songs in order to accentuate linguistic differences between themselves and Kinyarwanda speakers. This is a case of divergence where speakers choose to accentuate the differences between their own and their interlocutors' linguistic behaviour.

Dragojevic et al. (2016) explain that apart from convergence and divergence there is a third option, the adjustment strategy called "maintenance". Maintenance happens when speakers choose to sustain their own way of speaking without adjusting to their interlocutors' way of communicating. Bourhis, 1984 (cited by Dragojevic et al., 2016) provides examples of the speech behaviour of female Anglophones in downtown Montreal. When asked directions in French, they maintain their own language by responding in English. I could not find similar examples in Rwanda.

Moreover, Dragojevic et al. (2016), Gallois and Giles (1998) as well as Bourhis (1991) provide a number of reasons that could motivate speakers to adopt convergence or divergence or to maintain their own language. Gallois and Giles (1998) hold that speakers can adjust their speech behaviour to a more prestigious language variety (upward convergence) or can shift their speech behaviour towards a less prestigious language variety (downward convergence).

They state further that both types of convergence have a social value. This means that if speakers of a certain language are socially valued, convergence phenomena will apply accordingly. For example, Rwandan education adopts English as a medium of instruction because language policy makers believe that English opens job opportunities in East African communities and elsewhere in the world. In contrast, speakers can choose to maintain their own language, regardless of their interlocutors, according to their attitudes towards the language of the interlocutors. Hence,

according to CAT, language choice involves attitudinal factors towards the languages and their speakers

Positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda are revealed in studies conducted in the Gicumbi district of Rwanda on the use of textbooks in classrooms. Textbooks written in Kinyarwanda were preferred and used in the classroom more often than the English and French textbooks available (Malik et al. 2014). This signifies a positive change towards an African language as the MoI in Rwanda. However, what are the attitudes of speakers if they are confronted with a choice between Kinyarwanda, which is allegedly the mother tongue of all Rwandans, and other local languages, which are mother tongues of minority speakers? The current study investigates this question and it endeavours to understand the attitudes of teachers and learners who teach and study through Kinyarwanda even though it is in fact their L2.

2.5 Educational language policy of Rwanda

The educational language policy in Rwanda has been characterised by a number of language policy shifts (Sibomana 2018; Ngabonziza 2014). These educational language policy shifts happened in three phases: phase 1, monolingual educational language policy; phase 2, bilingual educational language policy and phase 3, trilingual educational language policy. The three phases are characterised by shifting from one language as a medium of instruction to another due to political and economic reasons. The languages recognised in educational language policies are Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili.

2.5.1 The monolingual educational policy (1000-1907)

Before colonisation, Rwandans allegedly spoke one language: Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda was used in all the main socio-economic and political sectors of the Rwandan Kingdom, namely agriculture, farming, hunting, war-reporting (*kuvuga amacumu*), story-telling (*guca imigani*), poetry, and all religious ceremonies (Niyibizi 2014; Niyomugabo 2008). In education, Kinyarwanda was the sole medium of instruction in *Itorero* and *Ibohero* traditional training schools (Kagame 1975). Rwandan expansion consisted of Rwanda's conquering neighbouring kingdoms, which had their own languages. However, it is unclear how the conquered kingdoms were integrated into Rwandan society because the historical references are silent on this issue

(Kagame 1975). It is possible that the Rwandan Kingdom used assimilation as its strategy to unite those kingdoms under one nation and one language.

The educational language policy of Rwanda during the Kingdom period seems to have been stable because Kinyarwanda was used in both *Itorero* and *Ibohero* traditional training schools for all Rwandans (Niyomugabo 2008; Niyibizi 2014). However, it is difficult to know how minority language speakers coped with the policy and practices of training their children in Kinyarwanda. In contrast, the current study focuses on recording the coping strategies of minority language speakers who are obliged to learn in Kinyarwanda as their alleged mother tongue.

2.5.2 The bilingual educational policy (1907-1962)

During the colonial period, under Germany (1907-1916) and Belgium (1917-1962), language policies changed from monolingual to multilingual; the languages of teaching and learning varied according to who the current colonisers were. Under the German occupation (1907-1916), French missionaries “les Pères Blancs”, ‘the White Fathers’, were allowed to teach Kiswahili, some German and Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda was a medium of instruction in biblical studies of the Catholic Church whereas Kiswahili was a medium of instruction at school and was taught as a subject (Rurangirwa 2012). As far as foreign languages are concerned, the German colonial administration supported the use of the Kiswahili language spoken by Muslims and used as a tool for the unification of the East African German area (‘Deutsch-Ostafrika’), into which Rwanda was about to be integrated (Ntakirutimana 2002).

After the Belgians, assisted by the British army, overthrew German rule in Rwanda in 1917, they occupied Rwanda and put emphasis on French and Kinyarwanda as mediums of instruction (Rosendal 2011; Pamela 2016). Between 1917 and 1962, the Belgian colonial administration made three language policy reforms. The first was the introduction of French as both MoI and the language of administration in 1917. The second reform, in 1929, divided the educational language policy into a rural and an urban language policy.

While in urban schools the medium of instruction was French, rural schools used Kinyarwanda as the medium of instruction while French was optional (Niyitanga 2003). The third reform, in

1948, allowed owners of schools to make the decision about which language they wanted to use as the MoI according to their preferences (ibid.). It was in this context that Indian schools in Byuma and Ruhengeri introduced Hindi as their MoI whereas Kiswahili was the main MoI of Islamic schools. Dutch was also taught to pupils as a foreign language, as it was a major language of Belgium (Rosendal 2011; Rurangirwa 2010).

In the 1930s, the Belgian colonial administration established a new educational language policy whereby the primary grades 1-3 were taught in Kinyarwanda, and the upper primary and secondary grades were taught in French (Nzabalarwa 2014). This policy was maintained even after the colonial era. As explained in the paragraph above, the Belgian colonial administration dropped Kiswahili as a medium of instruction and replaced it with French. This also affected other languages introduced into Rwanda and intended to be studied as subjects, such as German and Latin. Learning German as a subject was dropped and Latin was only allowed to be taught in Catholic Church minor seminaries (Ntakirutimana 2002; Samuelson & Freedman 2010).

2.5.3 From a bilingual to a multilingual educational policy (1963-to date)

After independence in 1962, the new government of Rwanda kept Kinyarwanda and French as the mediums of instruction. The school law passed in 1966 stated that Kinyarwanda is an MoI but it entrusted to the Ministry of Education the power to authorise the use of any other language as MoI. It stated that Kinyarwanda and French were compulsory subjects at all levels of education (School Law of 1966; article 69 and article 70). Due to this school law of 1966, Kiswahili was abandoned in primary education along with other foreign languages introduced during the Belgian administration.

In 1978, the government of Rwanda introduced a system of emphasizing Kinyarwanda as a national language and as a medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 8 (Niyibizi 2014; Ngabonziza 2014). This reform is known as ‘Rwandisation’, which was aimed at valuing the national culture as well as the national language, Kinyarwanda, which consequently became the medium of instruction for all subjects (Rwanda 1978:8). The Government of Rwanda financed the project of developing scientific terminologies in Kinyarwanda to be used in all subjects and they were used in school textbooks during the academic year 1979/1980.

Ntakirutimana (2002:5) argued that the education reform in 1979 followed a trend that aimed to reinstate African languages in education; this trend was followed in a good number of African countries during the 1950's, 1960s and 1970's and it changed many things in the education system. The reason for this change was the fact that many pupils failed their courses because of a poor understanding of the foreign languages. French, with its different social and linguistic contexts, posed a particular challenge for African pupils. During this time, i.e. from 1978 onward, English, French and Kiswahili were taught as language subjects in the Rwandan schooling system. English was first introduced as a school subject in upper secondary schools (grades 9-12); French was taught as a subject from primary school to grade 8. Similarly, Kiswahili was reintroduced in secondary schools as a school subject in 1977 (Rurangirwa 2010).

In 1991, the Ministry of Education initiated a new reform reinstating French alongside Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction. This reform consisted of a return to six years of primary education with Kinyarwanda as MoI and French being taught as a subject from Primary 3 onwards (Rosendal 2011:126). The earlier reform of 1979, which instated Kinyarwanda as the sole MoI, had met with substantial resistance from external funders, the general population and teachers and thus had to be abolished for political reasons and because of widespread negative attitudes towards it. On the one hand, the reform of 1979, which had promoted Kinyarwanda, was not supported by the Europeans who were financing Rwanda's development of the educational sector. The lack of external funding between 1979 and 1991 led to a paucity of pedagogical and teaching materials in Kinyarwanda and this had the effect that local teachers also resisted the 1979 policy (Ntakirutimana 2002; Niyibizi 2010). On the other hand, parents who were themselves taught in the French language and were actually proud of their French, wanted their children to learn French as well (Rurangirwa 2010).

Against this background, it seemed necessary to re-establish the previous schooling system of six years of primary education, with Kinyarwanda as the MoI and French being taught as a subject from grade 3, and then the switch to French as the MoI in secondary school. Following the reform of 1991, Kiswahili and English were still taught as subjects in secondary school and at university.

After the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in 1994, the new government introduced a trilingual educational policy whereby Kinyarwanda would be the MoI from grade 1 to grade 3 and then there would be a switch to French as medium of instruction from grade 4 to grade 6. English and French were taught as language subjects from grade 4. The educational language policy was flexible about the medium of instruction in secondary schools. This meant that schools could choose to use either English or French as the medium of instruction at secondary level (World Bank 2011; Nzabalirwa 2014). The flexibility of the educational language policy in allowing the use of English or French might be due to the wish to accommodate Rwandan refugees returning from Anglophone countries and wishing to continue their secondary studies. However, this flexibility raised a number of problems including the division of classes according to the medium of instruction (Francophone/Anglophone classes). Furthermore, it also affected the medium of instruction at university level, as the language policy was silent about the MoI at university. This influenced the National University of Rwanda (NUR) to adopt both English and French as mediums of instruction, depending on lecturers' background. The school of modern languages (EPLM) was established in order to prepare students within one year to follow lectures either in French or in English. This policy was maintained until the end of 2008, when the educational language policy was changed once again (Pamella 2016).

In October 2008, a major shift in language in education happened: The shift was from French and Kinyarwanda as mediums of instruction to English as the sole language of instruction from primary school to university level (Niyibizi 2010; Ngabonziza 2014). This was interpreted not only as a shift of the medium of instruction, but also as the shift of the Rwandan linguistic system from the French to the English linguistic system (Pamela 2014). Rwanda was considered to be a francophone country following the colonization by the Belgians in 1916, but it became an Anglophone country in 2008. This was obvious to tourists who used to visit Rwanda and realised that the linguistic shift from French to English was real. The following is the observation of a tourist after 2008:

Well, it was sort of interesting. I heard a lot of people who'd grown up speaking French – at least outside of their home, it was the

language of business previously – struggling to speak in perfect English. It was a real shock for me because I’ve been going to Rwanda every couple of years for about 10 years. And I got off the plane this time, and I said, “Bonsoir,” and expected someone to say, “Bienvenue,” and instead I got, “Welcome to Rwanda.” And the taxi driver said, “Welcome to Kigali.” And I thought, “Hang on a second”.

(NPR 2008: par.2)

International journalists as well as researchers commented on the shift and drew the inference that the actual shift from French to English was motivated by the participation of the French government in the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994 (Ruburika 2009). The government of Rwanda accused the government of France of sending a thousand soldiers to Rwanda who supported the Hutu-led government that organised the genocide. French soldiers trained the Interahamwe militia that implemented the genocide plan (Current Report of the Government of Rwanda, 2007). The government of France, instead of acknowledging their role in the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, continued to worsen the diplomatic situation by supporting the opposition after 1994 and training militia to return to Rwanda to continue the genocide against the Tutsi (Semujanga & Galabert 2013). In response, the government of Rwanda closed many French companies and cultural activities in Rwanda (Baldauf 2007: para 10).

The Franco-Rwandaise Cultural Society – once the beating heart of all things French in Kigali – has been closed, along with the French international school, the French embassy, and many of the offices of French multinational companies. For language study, Rwandans are turning to a growing industry of English-language academies.

While the diplomatic fallout with France might be the most prominent reason that shifted the Rwandan language landscape from Francophone to Anglophone, it is debatable whether it was the only cause for the language policy shift, because the Rwandan government explained that the language policy shift was designed to achieve economic integration into the regional and global community (MacGreal 2009; Ruburika 2009) and had nothing to do with Rwandan diplomatic

relations with France. For example, Ndabaga (2008) suggests that it is not accurate to associate the decision regarding the new language policy with the souring of diplomatic relations between Rwanda and France due to the French role in the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. He emphasises that the decision to shift the medium of instruction from French to English is explained by the fact that Rwanda joined the East African Community and the Commonwealth of Nations, which strengthened Rwandan collaboration with English-speaking countries (Ndabaga 2008; McCrummen 2008). The English-speaking countries with which Rwanda is expected to boost its trade are Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. It is also expected to promote high-tech modernity developed by English-speaking nations in Rwanda, as well as offering Rwandans the opportunity to live and study in English-speaking countries such as the USA and the UK, to mention but a few (Ruburika 2009).

However, it is important to note that Rwanda was never a British colony and it is not localised geographically in the eastern part of Africa. Indeed, Rwanda was admitted to the British Commonwealth in November 2009 as the second country without colonial ties with the UK (the other one being Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony). Is it really possible to claim that it is a mere coincidence that the language policy shifts from 1994 to 2009 followed the diplomatic crisis between Rwanda and France? It is definitely possible to argue that politics was a prominent reason for the changes in educational language policy in Rwanda.

The far-reaching change of the language policy from Francophone to Anglophone caused the government of Rwanda to be active in implementing the decisions both in the education system and in the general public sector. For instance, a cabinet resolution requested the Ministry of Education “to put in place an intensive programme for using English in all public and Government sponsored primary and secondary schools and higher learning institutions” (Rosendal 2011: 99). In addition, the cabinet requested the Minister of Public Service and Labour in Rwanda “to put in place a programme to help Government employees at all levels learn English, starting with top ranking officials” (Rosendal 2011: 99). These were clarified in the cabinet meeting held on the 8th of October 2008, stated in the national language:

In order to enable Rwanda to participate fully in the East African Community (EAC) in particular and in international communities in general, the Cabinet meeting requests the Minister of Education to set up a quick programme of teaching in English in all primary and secondary schools as well as universities, both public and Government-assisted; the Minister of Labour to set up programmes to assist all public servants to learn English, starting from the top leaders of the country. (Cabinet meeting report, translated by Niyibizi 2014: 24)

As instructed, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour organised teachers’ training in English skills during holidays. However, it was difficult for many teachers to teach in English with little (if any) background in English. Moreover, few teachers were able to use English as a medium of instruction without sufficient numbers of textbooks designed in English (Rurangirwa 2010; Ngabonziza 2014). This forced teachers to adapt themselves to the uncomfortable position of teaching through a language they had not yet mastered.

The most recent language in education policy shift in Rwanda was made in 2011, when the government of Rwanda made Kinyarwanda a medium of instruction from nursery to lower primary level (grades 1 to 3), replacing the English language (MINEDUC 2011).

**Table 3: Language(s) as MoI in primary school 1907 to date
(adapted from Rosendal 2011:124)**

Period		Level		
		Lower primary	Upper primary	University
Colonial period	German rule (1907-1916)	Kiswahili	-*	-*
	Belgian rule (1916-1962)	Kinyarwanda **	Kinyarwanda/French	-*
Period after	1962-1978	Kinyarwanda	French/ Kinyarwanda	French

independence	1978 – 1991	Kinyarwanda	Kinyarwanda	French
	1991-1994	Kinyarwanda	Kinyarwanda	French
	1994-2008	Kinyarwanda	French and English	French and English
	2008-2011	English	English	English
	2011-2019	Kinyarwanda	English	English

*There were no upper primary, secondary schools or universities during this period.

**Gujarati was used in some Indian schools (2-3) and Kiswahili in Islamic schools.

The shift from English to Kinyarwanda as the medium of instruction in nursery school and lower primary resulted from UNESCO’s support of the use of a child’s mother tongue as the medium of instruction in lower primary schools. This was in contradiction of the 2008 law establishing English as a medium of instruction from nursery school to university level. This law was criticised for its lack of recognition of Kinyarwanda as the local language. Rosendal (2011: 292) argues that: “The low regard for African languages, which is revealed through decisions like the one made by the Rwandan government to promote English, is a reflection of myths about both African and European languages”. Rosendal discusses the decision not to include Kinyarwanda in addition to English as reflecting the monolingual ideology of one language one nation. The monolingual ideology has been challenged as not reflecting reality, even in so-called monolingual countries, because even in allegedly monolingual countries different languages coexist (Phillipson 1992; Hornberger & Hult 2008).

2.6 Rwandan education system shifts: Reasons and the impact on quality education

The education system of Rwanda has never been stable as it has undergone various major changes during the pre-colonial period, the colonial period and the post-colonial period (Adekunle 2007; Mugisha 2010; Gasanabo et al. 2010). This subchapter explains those educational changes from the pre-colonial period, through the colonial period, to the post-colonial period and the post-genocide period. It also explains the reasons why those changes were made and their importance to this study.

2.6.1 Pre-colonial education system of Rwanda

In the pre-colonial period, the education system of Rwanda was divided into two phases: children (3-14 years old) and teenagers (14-18 years old) (NIC 2011). Children were trained in storytelling (*Imigani*) for improving and polishing the skill of expression and in discipline (*Ikinyabupfura*). It was considered important for very young Rwandans to acquire discipline skills at an early age. Discipline skills included self-discipline, for example, not eating too much in public, dissimulation of unspoken (avoid talking about toboos in public), self-control and other values. It also included respect for elders (Adekunle 2007; NIC 2011).

Teenagers' education was characterised by separate official training of boys and girls. Boys were trained in military and war skills, Rwandan values, patriotism, discipline, mutual respect, tolerance, dancing and principles of dignity. The training place for boys was in community-based schools called *Itorero*, which literally means 'selection place'. Girls were trained in basket-making, social relations, sexual education, hygiene, discipline, and patriotism. The training place for girls was in community-based schools called *Ibohero*, which literally means 'basket-making place' (NUR 2009; NIC 2011).

In 2008, the government of Rwanda introduced a modern variant of traditional education as an annual, informal education programme in Rwanda, in which secondary school leavers are trained in peace building, the spirit of volunteerism for nation building and the ethics and culture of Rwanda. NURC (2009:27) explains that the reintroduction of Rwandan traditional education is in a programme entitled *Itorero*. The *Itorero* programme aims at training youth to be *intore* (excellent), through civic education and cultural training in living according to Rwandan values. The programme is expected to build new Rwandan citizens who are neither characterised by past inner divisions based on ethnicities and regions nor by the collective violence that led to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

2.6.2 The colonial education system of Rwanda

During the colonial period, the Belgian authorities suppressed *Itorero* and *Ibohero*, the Rwandan community-based training schools, and established the primary and secondary school system. It is important to mention that the German colonial authorities did not suppress *Itorero* during their

administration. The Germans administered Rwanda through indirect rule (Histoire I 1987), while the Belgian administration of Rwanda was more direct and harsh compared to the German. The Belgian colonial rule contributed to ethnic divisions between Tutsi, Hutu and Twa by making them static, whereas they had been dynamic before colonisation (Rosendal 2011; Pamella 2016). This made the Rwandan education system segregative, a characteristic that marked the colonial and post-colonial periods. Mugesera (2004) explains that access to this education was discriminatory as the Tutsi were offered the best education, actually preparing them for colonial administrative jobs, while the Hutu enrolled in primary schools but were denied the opportunity to pursue administration-related courses in secondary schools. This was based on the Belgian belief in ethnic supremacy and its 1993 census of the Rwandan population, which classified Rwandans along three ethnic lines (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) (Mugesera 2004; Semujanga & Galabert 2013). As it was a period of emancipation in Africa, the Rwandan elites, mainly Tutsi, were requesting independence from Belgium. This led the Belgian colonial authorities to orchestrate tensions between Hutu and Tutsi. They encouraged Hutu to kill Tutsi by suggesting that if the Belgian colonial administration were overthrown, the first government would be led by a majority of Tutsi. The tensions spiralled into civil war in 1959, during which many Tutsi were killed and others were forced into exile in the DRC, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and other countries (Semujanga & Galabert 2013).

2.6.3 The post-colonial education system of Rwanda

In 1962, Rwanda got her independence from Belgium. However, the education system was still based on ethnic segregation albeit the admission to schools now prioritised the Hutu and practically denied Tutsi access to secondary and higher learning education (Mugisha 2010). The segregation in the education system, which was based on ethnicity, was the official policy from 1962 to 1994. Mugesera (2015) explains that the post-independence period was characterised by a policy entitled ‘equilibrium politics’ which aimed at oppressing the Tutsi in terms of education. Equilibrium politics stated that learners were admitted to secondary schools according to their ethnic demographic percentages. This means that in schools Hutu were admitted to 85% of the places available, Tutsi to 14% and Twa to 1%.

In order for the policy to be implemented, learners were categorised according to their ethnic group, which was recorded in their education brochure and other pedagogical documents (see Image 1). The promotion of learners from primary to secondary school and from secondary school to university did not proceed on the basis of academic merit but according to ethnicity-based criteria (Gasabo et al. 2015).

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE - MINISTERE DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE			
FICHE SCOLAIRE			
AMAZINA Nom, Prénom, Surnom (ITALIKI YAVUTSHEHO) Date de naissance AND YAVUKYE Lieu de naissance		Nationalité	Ethnie HUTU * TUTSI * TWA *
IGITSINA : Sexe		UMURENGE Colline	KOMINI Commune
NYINA : Mère * S'ajouter les mentions utiles		AKARERE Secteur IFASI : Arrondissement	Degré de parenté avec la personne qui l'héberge
LIEU DE RESIDENCE DE L'ELEVE			
DATE	COLLINE	COMMUNE	PREFECTURE

Image 1: learners' identification form (between 1962 and 1994)

Source: Genocide archive of Rwanda (2019)

The ethnic segregation was official and written into various policies. Mugisha (2010) quotes the *Manifeste des Bahutu*, (this literally means 'manifesto of the Hutu'), an official document from 1959-1994. It laid out how the Hutu population should be prioritised in public employment and in terms of access to education in order to achieve their social upliftment, based on their numerical majority in Rwanda:

We want education to be strictly monitored. The system should be improved and made more realistic and modern through the rejection of the system of selection whose results can be seen in secondary schools. We think that this should be respected, if the places are not enough, identity cards should be used in order to respect quotas. We

wish that the award of scholarships takes place because the population pays taxes. Bahutu should not be victims of Tutsi monopoly, which had kept them in eternal and unbearable social and political inferiority. For tertiary education, we think that sending students to “Congo Belge²” is good because this country can accommodate many students but this will not prevent us from sending our most brilliant students to continue their studies in Europe metropolis (Mugisha 2010: 20-21).

The percentages (Hutu 85%, Tutsi 14% and Twa 1%) applied also to public employment, the military and politics, regardless of the competency of the candidate. Ntirenganya (2015:1) quotes Mugesera who explains the consequences of equilibrium politics:

The equilibrium politics deprived a person of their rights to education or work, because it argued that the number of places reserved for them or their region were [sic] over, despite their good performance. That was unfortunate as it violated human rights... It resulted in promoting people with poor performance to the detriment of best performers.

The equilibrium politics contributed to hatred propaganda and the dehumanisation of the Tutsi in schools and public spaces, ultimately, it paved the way to the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. For example, in December 1990 a Rwandan print newspaper, Kangura Print News, republished the “ten commandments of the Hutu” in order to instigate hatred against the Tutsi, four years before the genocide against the Tutsi.

² Congo Belge simply means Belgian Congo, which was the name of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) during the colonisation period

1. Every Muhutu [singular of Hutu] should know that a Mututsi woman, wherever she is, works for the interest of her Tutsi ethnic group. As a result, we shall consider a traitor any Muhutu who:
 - marries a Tutsi woman;
 - befriends a Tutsi woman;
 - employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or a concubine
2. Every Muhutu should know that our Hutu daughters are more suitable and conscientious in their role as woman, wife and mother of the family. Are they not beautiful, good secretaries and more honest?
3. Bahutu [plural of Hutu] women, be vigilant and try to bring your husbands, brothers and sons back to reason.
4. Every Muhutu should know that every Mutusi is dishonest in business. His only aim is the supremacy of his ethnic group. As a result, any Muhutu who does the following is a traitor:
 - makes a partnership with Batutsi in business;
 - invests his money or the government's money in a Tutsi enterprise;
 - lends or borrows money from a Mutusi;
 - gives favours to a Batutsi in business (obtaining import licenses, bank loans, construction sites, public markets . . .).
5. All strategic positions, political, administrative, economic, military and security should be entrusted to Bahutu.
6. The education sector (school pupils, students, teachers) must be majority Hutu.
7. The Rwandese Armed Forces should be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October [1990] war has taught us a lesson. No member of the military shall marry a Tutsi.
8. The Bahutu should stop having mercy on the Batutsi.
9. The Bahutu, wherever they are, must have unity and solidarity, and be concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers.
 - The Bahutu inside and outside Rwanda must constantly look for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their Bantu brothers;
 - They must constantly counteract the Tutsi propaganda;
 - The Bahutu must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961, and the Hutu ideology, must be taught to every Muhutu at every level. Every Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Any Muhutu who persecutes his brother Muhutu for having read, spread and taught this ideology, is a traitor.

Source: African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair, and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1995), 42–43.

Image 2: The Hutu ten commandments

Even at school, the curriculum aimed at teaching an ideology of hatred against the Tutsi and actually preparing the genocide against Tutsi. For example, the use of learners' identity forms and class registers showed statistics of the number of Tutsi and Hutu pupils in each classroom in Rwanda; this measure created an identifiable Hutu or Tutsi identity for primary and secondary learners (Semujanga 2013). CNUR 2011; NIC 2011; Gasanabo et al. (2015) argue that by teaching learners to know their ethnic affinity, the education system of Rwanda after independence was training the Hutu majority to act against the Tutsi minority rather than training intellectual Rwandans. The education system thus cultivated intolerance rather than a spirit of academic knowledge; it instilled in the learners a spirit of hatred rather than the ability to think

critically. This general culture of hatred is reflected in the sixth Hutu commandment “*The education sector (school pupils, students and teachers) must be majority Hutu*” The Hutu sixth commandment supported an education system that served the ideology of the ruling class and effectively made genocide perpetrators aware of ethnic divisions and trained them in genocide ideology.

It is important to mention that the Hutu Ten Commandments were written by Joseph Gitara Habyarimana, the president of the APROSOMA extremist political party. He announced the commandments on the 27th of September 1959 during his political party convention at Butare (current Huye, in the Southern Province of Rwanda). The commandments were revised, especially commandment 7, by the Chief Editor of Kangura newspaper, Hassan Ngeze, and republished in the December 1990 edition. In 2003, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) convicted Hassan Ngeze of genocide against the Tutsi and sentenced him to 35 years’ imprisonment.

2.6.4 Post-genocide education system of Rwanda

After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the government of Rwanda abolished segregation policies and ethnic divisionism in Rwandan education and established an inclusive education system (MINEDUC 2008, Mugisha 2012). The inclusive education system established after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi focused on providing free primary and secondary education to all Rwandan children without any kind of discrimination (UNICEF & MINEDUC 2017). The post-genocide education system consists of three years of pre-primary school (from 3 to 6 years old), six years of primary school (from 7 to 12 years old), and six years of secondary school (from 13 to 18 years old). This is followed by tertiary education, which includes seven levels of exit awards: Level 1, Certificate of Education; Level 2, Diploma in Higher Education; Level 3, Advanced Diploma in Higher Education; Level 4, Ordinary Degree; Level 5, Bachelor’s Degree with Honours; Level 6, Masters Degree and Level 7, Doctorate (Pamela 2016; MINEDUC 2018).

Because this study is concerned with primary schools, it is important to highlight that the primary school system is divided into lower primary (from grade 1 to grade 3) and upper primary

(from grade 4 to grade 6). There is a similar division into two sections in secondary schools: three years of junior secondary school and three years of senior secondary school (MINEDUC 2017). The government of Rwanda has made nine years of education compulsory and free for all Rwandan children aged between 7 and 15.

In addition, the government of Rwanda established technical and vocational schools to empower youth and unemployed people with technical skills needed in the job market. Technical skills are taught at secondary school level (Technical Secondary Schools - TSSs), rural and urban technical centres (Vocational Training Centres – VTCs), and at tertiary level (Technical Tertiary Institutions) (MINEUC 2017). These changes in education policy in the post-genocide era in Rwanda have enabled Rwanda to be among the top-performing countries in sub-Saharan Africa in education with regard to achieving the second Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of access to universal primary education. Rwanda has an enrolment rate of 97% (MINEDUC 2018).

In 2015, a new curriculum introduced by the Ministry of Education signalled a systematic change for Rwandan education. The new curriculum, identified as the Competency Based Curriculum (CBC), reforms the body of knowledge delivered in Rwanda in order to improve the quality of education. The Rwanda Education Board (REB) explains that the initiation of a new curriculum is in line with the 2050 vision aimed at developing a knowledge-based society and the growth of regional and global competition in the job market (REB 2015: 16). The main emphasis in the CBC is to ensure that students graduate with lifelong learning habits, that students become independent and can apply school-gained knowledge to real-life situations. According to Scardamalia et al. (2012) CBC is recognised as effective in teaching skills required by 21st century learners to succeed in academia and in today's knowledge-based economy. The Ministry of Education explains that the reason for shifting from a knowledge-based education curriculum to CBC is the global competition in the jobs market:

The ambition to develop a knowledge based society and the growth of regional and global competition in the jobs market has necessitated the shift to a competence based curriculum to address the issue of the shortage of appropriate skills in the Rwandan education system.

Learners will now get the opportunity to apply what they have learned to real life situations and to make a difference in their own lives with the help of the teacher whose role is central to the success of the curriculum delivery. (REB 2015: III)

In addition, Rwanda decided to reform its curriculum into CBC in order to harmonise with East African Community (EAC) countries (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda) of which it is a member (EAC 2019). The educational approaches within the different countries in the EAC might be somewhat different according to the individual national needs of each member country, whilst keeping the core mission of the EAC in mind during educational reform and focusing on what differentiates a CBC from a traditional knowledge-based curriculum (Kabita & Ji 2017). The REB (2015) explains that the difference between the CBC and traditional knowledge-based education is centred on the application of knowledge. As explained by Kabita & Ji (2017:4) “a competency-based curriculum is a curriculum that emphasizes what learners are expected to do rather than mainly focusing on what they are expected to know”.

The CBC is implemented from pre-primary education right through to the end of the secondary phase. A graduate of secondary school (18 years old) is expected to be a responsible citizen as well as a patriot and ready to take his/her place in the labour market; he/she is expected to be an agent of change and a successful lifelong learner (REB 2015:3).

Even though the CBC has been argued by researchers to be “instrumental in helping students to increase the mastery of skills, knowledge and developing of self confidence in problem solving” (Makunja 2016:30; Kabita & Ji 2017), there are a number of challenges in implementing the CBC in EAC countries including Rwanda. For example, Tanzania has been using CBC for 13 years but studies conducted in various primary schools reveal that neither parents nor teachers are involved in curriculum development, which results in parents, teachers and school leaders being ill prepared to support the implementation of the CBC (Makunja 2016). In Rwanda, the CBC was introduced in 2015 and started being implemented in the 2016 academic year. Some challenges have already been reported, such as delays in the provision of school materials (textbooks, teaching aids, etc) designed in the CBC context, not enough training for teachers to

implement the CBC, top-down processing in the development of the CBC, and low engagement of school stakeholders (Kanamugire 2017). It is possible to argue that in order to implement the CBC to achieve its expected positive outcomes, strategies including leadership skills should be in place; otherwise the CBC will not produce the desired quality of education.

Quality education in Rwanda cannot be achieved without resolving the language policy related issues and practices. UNICEF (2016) shows a clear link between language policy and quality of education. It states that:

Using the mother tongue in the classroom enhances classroom participation, decreases attrition, and increases the likelihood of family and community engagement in the child's learning. Use of the mother tongue is also found to enhance the child's cognitive learning processes. Further studies have shown that effective learner-centred learning must be carried out in a language the child speaks. (UNESCO 2016: 3)

A vast number of researchers support these statements as their research has indicated that using the mother tongue of learners helps them to understand what they are learning and motivates their participation in learning (e.g. Augustin et al. 2009; Dowd 2016). On the other hand, if learners are taught in a second language as MoI, it is possible that they do not understand the meaning of the lessons and might drop out of school because of losing interest (Makalela 2016; Kabita & Ji 2017). It is in this context that this study has been conducted in order to investigate the teaching of Kinyarwanda writing from grade 1 to grade 3 in areas where the learners' mother tongue is Oluchiga. This study aims at contributing research on the perspectives and practice of mother tongue literacy in a multilingual African pedagogy, specifically in Rwanda.

2.7 Summary

This chapter focuses on explaining the contradictions between language policy and practices - a policy which assumes monolingualism (Kinyarwanda) in a de facto multilingual country. The

national policy recognises Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, French and English as official languages. However, as highlighted throughout this chapter, there are other languages which are spoken by Rwandans apart from the official languages. Those languages include both local and foreign languages. Rwandan multilingualism dates back to before colonisation, but it is not recognised by the national language policy. This chapter has put an emphasis on local languages because one of them, Oluchiga, is the main concern of this study.

Drawing on the presence of local languages spoken in Rwanda and their historical background, this chapter has tried to argue for the recognition of multiple local mother tongues rather than the assumption made by the national policy of there being one mother tongue shared by the entire Rwandan population. It has demonstrated that apart from Kinyarwanda five other African languages are spoken in Rwanda and are the mother tongues of a number of children in Rwanda. Those languages are Oluchiga, Amahavu, Amashi, Ikirashi, and Kirundi. There are further languages, such as Kiswahili, Lingala and Ouganda that have been introduced into Rwanda due to colonisation and the 1959 post-genocide repatriation of refugees. Based on the five African languages that have been spoken in Rwanda for a long time, and which are the mother tongues of children in the given regions, this chapter has argued for local multilingualism that can rectify the assumption that Kinyarwanda is the mother tongue of all Rwandans.

This chapter has also given an account of the changes in language policy and in the education system from the pre-colonial to the post-genocide period. During the pre-colonial period, Kinyarwanda was the sole official language and was used in traditional education, namely *Itorero* (Rwandan traditional education for boys) and *Ibohero* (Rwandan traditional education for girls). During the colonial period, under the German and Belgian administrations, Kiswahili and French were introduced as media of instruction in addition to Kinyarwanda. After independence was gained from Belgium in 1962, Kinyarwanda was established as a medium of instruction in grades 1-3 and French from grade 4 to tertiary level. In 1978, the government of Rwanda made a general reform establishing Kinyarwanda as the sole medium of instruction for the first eight years of education. In 1991, the Ministry of Education announced the shift back to the previous system because of the assessment that showed that learners were not able to continue their studies in secondary school using French as a medium of instruction without prior learning in

French. Another major change in educational linguistic policy was made in 2008 with the establishment of English as the sole medium of instruction from primary to university level. Due to criticism that learners were starting learning in a medium of instruction that they did not understand, in 2011 Kinyarwanda was established as the sole medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3. It is in this framework of explaining the advantages of teaching and learning using the learners' mother tongue that the motivation for this study lies.

Chapter 3: Literature review

3.1 Introduction

My study challenges the assumption that the dominance of former colonial languages (e.g. English and French) is the only ‘danger’ to multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa; I argue that the dominance of certain African languages further endangers less dominant African languages. The dominance of African languages is discussed in the context of the dominance of certain African languages (e.g. Swahili, Zulu, or in the current context Kinyarwanda) in relation to other less dominant African languages (e.g. Kikuyu, Venda, or in the current context Oluchiga).

Previous research assumes that Rwanda is an unusual country in sub-Saharan Africa as the entire population allegedly speaks one local language, Kinyarwanda (Adekunle 2007; Rosendal 2009; Rurangirwa 2010; Kagwesage 2013; Rudacogora & Rurangirwa 2013). This assumption is not only false but it also endangers other indigenous languages such as Oluchiga, Amahavu, Ikirashi, Ikinyambo and indigenous varieties of Kinyarwanda. Oluchiga can be mistaken as a dialect of Kinyarwanda as they share some vocabulary items (a feature which is common to all Bantu languages). However, Oluchiga is a separate language as it is classified in the Niger-Congo family, Benue-Congo subgroup in the branch of Bantu languages (Lewis 2009 as cited by Mambwe et al. 2013).

With reference to morphosyntax, Oluchiga is different to Kinyarwanda in terms of subject verb agreement as the two languages have different concordial agreement rules. (In Section 3.7 of this chapter there are more contrastive illustrations in terms of noun classes, tenses and affixation.) For instance, in Oluchiga concordial agreement should be marked by the infix *-g-* in classes 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9 in the agglutinative structure of nouns, verbs and separate sentences when determining demonstrative actions. On the other hand, the infix *-g-* does not exist in Kinyarwanda to mark concordial agreement.

In this chapter, I discuss vernacular writing pedagogies from critical perspectives (Section 3.2) which leads to multilingual writing pedagogies versus assumedly monolingual ones (Section 3.3). I also discuss the attitudes to languages and language choice in multilingual contexts (Section 3.4). Thereafter, I review studies that have discussed the role of mother tongue in

multilingual education as well as general phenomena of language influence in multilingual communities (Section 3.5). In Section 3.6, I provide an overview of morphosyntactic studies done on Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. Finally, in Section 3.7, I discuss how Kinyarwanda as a second language of learners in Mukama Primary School differs from and resembles Oluchiga as the mother tongue of the learners.

3.2 Previous research on vernacular writing pedagogy

Most of the previous research done on vernacular writing pedagogy focuses on comparing texts produced by vernacular³ language speakers to texts produced by standard⁴ language speakers (Makalela 2009). The comparison was based on research findings showing that the texts produced by non-speakers of a colonial language contain errors originating from their mother tongue background (Mackey 2006). This was supported by empirical study comparing L1 and L2 writing, and the findings revealed that most errors in L2 writing can be traced back to L1 transfer errors (Ellis 1997; Canagarajah 2006). Canagarajah (2006) explained further that the interference of L1 in L2 writing was judged negatively by language teachers and made them adopt teaching strategies focusing on eliminating L1 interference in L2 writing. This finding was supported by research suggesting that suppressing L1 transfer errors would contribute to L2 writing proficiency (Yunlin & Xu 2011).

The writing pedagogy aimed at eliminating the transfer errors in L2 writing has influenced two main writing teaching approaches: feedback and the sociocultural teaching approach. First, feedback as writing pedagogy requires literacy teachers to correct students' errors and provide them with constructive feedback (Ferris & Robert 2001). This writing pedagogy has been debated by a number of researchers. On the one hand, some have suggested that teachers should provide feedback that helps learners to eliminate mother tongue grammatical transfer errors in their L2 writing (Yunlin & Xu 2011). This view is held by Qi and Lapkin (2001), who argue that

³ Vernacular language here refers to a language spoken by a certain community/group and associated with low status in education (Nkusi 1995).

⁴ Standard language here refers to a language which is commonly accepted as appropriate, and which is associated with the highest status in a community or a nation which uses it as a medium of instruction (Ntakirutimana 2002).

correcting learners' errors, mainly grammar and vocabulary, has a positive impact on their L2 writing. On the other hand, correcting learners' errors has been criticised, as the findings on the effectiveness of feedback pointed out that teachers' feedback concerned mainly form-focused errors such as grammar, vocabulary and mechanics (Ashwell 2000). This approach was criticised mainly because it promotes the error-free product text during the learning process and assumes that eliminating learners' errors would contribute to the accuracy of writing.

In addition, such practices (the error form focused feedback approach) result in a teaching approach which focuses on the standardised norm of the target language and ignores the language background of vernacular speakers. This has been practised by language teachers all over the world and for a long time (Andrews & Smith 2011). While it is still widely assumed to be a successful method for teaching writing to non-native speakers of English (You 2005; Li 2011) it has also continuously been challenged by a number of researchers (e.g. Zamel 1976; Smitherman 2000; Matsuda 2003; De Kleine 2006; and Myhill 2010) because not only does the 'correct form approach' fail to train learners to reproduce a correct form but it also ignores the advantages of using the learners' prior linguistic knowledge of their L1. From the same perspective Andrews & Smith (2011) explained that the approach to teaching writing that aims at correcting learners' errors hinders young learners' writing development, first because it wrongly assumes that learners learn to write by following a grammatical linear process and secondly because it confuses learning grammar with learning writing. After studying young learners' writing over a certain period of time, Andrew & Smith (2011) further recommend that the teaching of writing to young learners should consider the writing process and the multilingual environment of the writer. This research was supported by Dakin (2012) who investigated the effect of L1 background on L2 writing and found that the writing teaching approach that values children's home language helps to improve the writing of young learners, contrary to the belief that it affects their writing negatively.

The second writing approach that involves the elimination of transfer errors is the sociocultural approach. The sociocultural approach to teaching writing aims at suppressing the influence of L1 culture and adopts the second or foreign culture while writing. Hyland (2002:60) explained that proficient L2 writers are those with competency to "act effectively in new cultural settings".

Thus, to be a fluent writer in L2 requires being socialised to change your identity and your ways of writing (Cumming 2001). The literature on the sociocultural approach suggests that the socialisation process involves acquiring a new identity by conforming to the values, norms, foreign ways, rules, and culture of the target community speaking L2 as their L1 (Hyland 2002). Cumming (2001) gave an example of a Japanese student who went to study at an American university, and found that at the end he was mostly concentrating not on the subject of his study but on adopting an American identity by shifting his Japanese self-image and culture while writing. This socialisation leads English language teachers to believe that English ways of being are superior to those of speakers of languages which are not English. Kramsch (2008) explained that the belief in the superiority of English is a result of long-time socialisation which changes English teachers' ways of thinking and acting in a specific way.

However, this practice (the sociocultural approach) has been challenged by a number of researchers, namely Philpson (1992) Makalela (2009); Pennycook (2010) and Canagarajah (2011), by labelling it “Anglo-American imperialism” or “British imperialism”. These terms were suggested to refer to the sociocultural approach to teaching writing as well as to other English language teaching methodologies that ignore the L1 context. This phenomenon was interpreted as Anglicization of African countries, in which language is used to maintain the political and cultural power of native English speakers (Makalela 2005). Canagarajah (1999:57) explained further that the practice of suppressing L1 transfer errors has a long history in teaching the English language and affects English teachers:

The English language has had a history of imposition for political and material reasons in most periphery communities, often in competition with native languages. It is still deeply implicated in struggles for dominance against other languages, with conflicting implications for the construction of identity, community, and culture of the local people. In opting to learn and use English, therefore, students are making complex ideological and social choices. For users of English in these communities, the language embodies its controversial history since colonial times. The fact that their perception of English is

colored by these conflicts of the past makes it important for English teachers to develop a historical perspective on their profession and the language.

The writing pedagogy aiming at suppressing L1 transfer errors in L2 writing has been discussed and viewed differently by research conducted in the United States of America (USA), in the United Kingdom (UK), Asian and African countries. Writing pedagogy research in the United States of America (USA), for example, focuses on immigrant populations whose home languages differ from the mainstream language of teaching and learning (here English). It is common practice for teachers to strive to replace the features of the vernacular dialects (i.e. vernaculars of English with traces of the children's mother tongues) with features of Standard English (Bloome et al. 2001; Smitherman 2000) i.e. vernacular features are treated as errors (Makalela 2009). For instance, the English spoken by Black American people (known as Ebonics) is treated as an improper language in the USA. This language is disparaged by some Americans because it does not have features of Standard American English (Smitherman 2000). This disparagement has consequences for young learners speaking Ebonics at school as they are judged to be less intelligent and have inherited to a lazy way of speaking English (Murray 1998) and are consequently required to replace their own language features by features of Standard English. However, Ebonics or African American Vernacular English has been proven to be rule governed, with its own phonology, lexicon, grammar, and dialects (Labov 1972; Wolfram 1991). Moreover, Adger (1997:14) stated that instead of forcing learners to replace features of their mother tongue, teachers should build on learners' prior knowledge (features of their mother tongue) and help them to see the difference between their language variety and the standard variety, which "gives students a knowledge base for developing a second language".

For African countries, vernacular language teaching pedagogy has been discussed from the perspective of mother tongue education versus foreign language education and presenting foreign languages as a threat to vernacular language teaching (Bamgbose 2000; Fagerberg-Diallo 2001). Quane (2003) has explained that the majority of African populations enjoy only limited civil and literacy rights because of the imposition of foreign languages for written communication. This has been illustrated in studies conducted in Senegal and South Africa. For

instance, Fagerberg-Diallo (2011) conducted a study comparing indigenous writing systems in Senegalese local languages and French. He found that literacy was promoted in French, which was wrongly assumed by language policy makers to be the literacy language of the population of Senegal. Thus he realised that the indigenous writing system in Pulaar (an African language spoken in Senegal) would promote the personal and social literacy of the native speakers in contrast to French. This led the researcher to conclude that the domination and imposition of literacy practices in foreign and/or colonial languages has led to adults failing to learn reading and writing. This is supported by Triebel (2001), who stated that the mass literacy campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s in Africa failed because literacy was imposed in foreign languages and ignored indigenous languages. On the other hand, consideration of indigenous languages in teaching reading and writing was proven successful (Heugh 2003; Fagerberg-Diallo 2011).

The failure of literacy projects based on hegemonic practices favouring foreign languages and ignoring indigenous languages has raised the issue of imported knowledge versus local context. Kumaradivelu (2003) argues that African countries import language teaching methodologies from English speakers' countries which ignore the L2 local sociocultural milieu of speakers of other languages learning English. This has been discussed by Heugh (2003), arguing that in African and Asian countries which are mostly multilingual context is dominant; imported pedagogies from the UK or USA do not work. In response to this shortcoming, she proposed the context-oriented pedagogies which have been proven to be effective. For instance, Bax (2003) provides reasons to shift from Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) to a context-based approach to language teaching. Bax (2003) explains that Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) dominates language teaching because it covering up some weaknesses of previous methodologies, namely Grammar-Translation and the Direct Method. CLT became popular and made teachers think that it was the best method to use and that any teacher who did not use it was too conservative and could not succeed (Harmer 2007; Qing-Xue & Jin-Fang 2007). However, Bax (2003) argues that to consider CLT as a uniquely successful language teaching method is based on wrong assumptions. He illustrates his argument by referring to different countries (Holland, Japan, Taiwan, and the Czech Republic) that do not use CLT but succeed in training fluent users of English.

Bax (2003) argues that CLT is now failing owing to its application as a one-size-fits-all solution, and should be replaced by a context approach to language teaching. He explains that CLT ignores context and other factors in learning a language. In contrast, Bax (2003) claims that a context approach to language teaching takes the whole context into account before deciding on a method to be used and considers many factors involved in learning a language. Moreover, a context approach to language teaching includes CLT as well. Bax (2003) highlights the fact that a context approach to language teaching is not a new teaching approach because it is used by experienced teachers. Then he suggests that a context approach to language teaching should be used to raise context awareness that positions a particular context at the top of the list of priorities before teaching. Thus, consideration of the particular multilingual contexts of most African countries is recommended as a solution to the one-size-fits- all approach.

The language teaching practice that takes context into account has also been discussed by Cook (2013) and she has suggested reviewing the goals of language teaching. She argues that the aim of teaching English should not be to achieve a native speaker's proficiency, and adds that imitation of native speakers is not really a goal of language teaching. This is explained by the fact that the currency of English has changed and "in future [English] will be a language used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second language and for communication between non-native speakers" (Graddol 1999:57). Graddol (1999) projected that in 2050 the number of users of English as second language (668 million) will outnumber the users of English as a first language (433 million). These statistics might support Crystal's (1997) projection that in 2050 speakers of English as second language will number 462 million compared to speakers of English as first language who will number 433 million. Even these numbers are not exact but a projection that signals to us that there is a need to care about the second language teaching methodology in a multilingual context.

Cook (2013) has demonstrated that the group of L2 users is distinct from monolinguals by listing six characteristics of L2 users: L2 users (1) think differently from monolinguals, (2) use language in different ways from monolinguals, (3) have a keener awareness of language itself compared to monolinguals, (4) have a different knowledge of their L1, (5) have a different brain structure from monolinguals and (6) the majority of the world's population uses more than one

language. It means there are more L2 users in general than users of any specific L1. In view of the L2 users' characteristics, she states that the monolingual perspective based on the native speaker model should be replaced by a multicompetence perspective. Multicompetence is defined as 'the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind or the same community' (Cook 2013:45). Knowledge of more than one language is increasing, even in European countries traditionally known as monolingual, because of various factors including immigration and the globalization of the 21st century. This leads Cook (2013) to explain that language goals should include both external and internal goals. The external goals are skills that help learners to achieve communicative function and the internal goals refer to the learner's inner life, i.e. the internal mental part that correlates with personal identity versus social interaction. The author recommends drawing attention to both external and internal goals in order to train multicompetent learners. She emphasizes that the goals of language teaching should be focusing on producing skilful L2 users, not shadows of native speakers. This will lead to the understanding that:

Multicompetence involves the whole mind of the speaker, not simply their first language (L1) or their second. It assumes that someone who knows two or more languages is a different person from a monolingual; and so needs to be looked at in their own right rather than as a deficient monolingual. (Cook 2013:45)

Therefore she concludes by stating that the aim of education is not to develop a linguistic repertoire to match native speakers' proficiency. Cook (2013) argues that the aim of language education should be to enable learners to participate in a multilingual world. The approach of taking the multilingual context of learners into account is explored in this study.

3.3 Multilingual versus monolingual teaching approaches

Multilingual teaching approaches have been considered since the finding that the assumption of monolingualism as a norm has caused the teaching of L2 to adopt L1 teaching methodologies. Kachru (1991) argued that the language teaching methodologies aiming at safeguarding the standard language as a pure language versus other varieties of language have failed because they ignore the local context, identity and culture. He illustrated his argument by the example of the teaching of English as L2 which was characterised by the ideology of protecting the purity of the English language and which views language variations as a problem and threat to Standard English.

Kachru (1991) developed a paradigm of the linguistic pluralism reality versus the monolingualism perception. The perception of monolingualism consists of considering monolingualism as a norm and multilingualism as a deviation. This perception has been illustrated by the example of Britain that is socially multilingual, i.e., inhabited by people who use more than one language. Kachru (1990) adds that the phenomenon of English language variation has been studied in the United States of America (USA) since the 1940s. Then he developed the idea of the evolution of the three concentric circles of Englishes. The word 'Englishes' was used by Kachru (1991) to denote the variation of Standard English into varieties of multiple languages referred to as Englishes.

The evolution of the three concentric circles of Englishes was explained as the spread of English and its variation. The theory rejects the idea that varieties of English should be regarded as natural phenomena to be institutionalized versus Standard English or that they should be dismissed as non-standard English which needs regular correction to fit Standard English. Kachru (1991) classifies English language spread and variation into three groups according to the sociolinguistic profile of English. He establishes three concentric circles, namely an inner circle, an outer circle and an expanded circle. The inner circle refers to countries where English is used as the first language, and where it is the traditional cultural and linguistic base (Kachru 1990). The outer circle includes countries which have been colonized by the United Kingdom

(UK) and which use English as a second language. The last circle is the expanded circle which refers to the countries that use English as a foreign language.

The concentric circles proposed by Kachru correspond to the English models suggested by Quirk (1988). The first model is the demographic model, which refers to the movement of native speakers of English to other countries such as North America, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. This model comprises varieties such as American English, Australian English, Canadian English and New Zealand English. The second is the imperial model, which involves countries that have been colonized by the United Kingdom (Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Uganda, Tanzania, Bangladesh, Zambia, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka). Those countries have indigenized their English and their varieties are spoken in different ways from those of the native speakers. The third model refers to countries that use English to meet economic needs from the English-speaking world. This model applies to countries, including Rwanda, that use English as a foreign language.

The demographic, imperial, and economic models suggested by Quirk were viewed as sociolinguistic phenomena by Kachru (1991), who developed the idea of three concentric circles to explain the spread of English into multiple Englishes. Hence, the inner circle, outer circle and expanded circle result in World Englishes. Kachru (1991) argues that World Englishes are a result of diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse ways of using language in different contexts that are real sociolinguistic situations in the world. He suggests a theoretical perspective that integrates multilingual and multicultural contexts. The theoretical perspective includes a theoretical and methodological framework that connects the form and function of outer circle English features. This framework should also recognize the varieties of English phenomena by reconsidering the identity and use of English in the sociolinguistic reality of World Englishes (WE). The considering of WE implies a revolution in the teaching of English as second language in the outer circle and integrates the pragmatic creativity of language learning and teaching. It also helps to challenge the ideology of monolingualism in education.

The ideology of the 'monolingual norm' in education is challenged by, e.g. Creese and Blackledge (2010), who investigate how immigrant communities (here Chinese, Gujarati, and

Turkish) in the United Kingdom succeed in maintaining multilingual/multicultural identities by the use of multiple languages in classrooms, which also creates successful learning/teaching environments. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that separate bilingualism does not fit the context of bilingual communication and they recommend flexible approaches to pedagogy. The flexible approaches to pedagogy include the translanguaging approach, which recognizes no boundaries between languages but focuses on promoting the use of the learners' language repertoires to make meaning. Creese and Blackledge's (2010:107) claim was a result of their observation of pedagogic practice in complementary schools in the United Kingdom (UK). The complementary schools are private schools established for the reproduction of social, community, and pedagogic values and goals. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that teachers at complementary schools use flexible bilingualism as a pedagogical strategy that connects the learners' classroom and their background (in the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains). They conclude by highlighting that bilingual pedagogical strategy in these schools enables the overlapping of languages that gives learners confidence and makes teaching successful because teachers may explore learners' languages to mediate knowledge. These results are corroborated by earlier research (e.g. August & Shanahan 2006; Cummins 2008).

From the same perspective, a number of studies have been conducted (Kramsch 2012; Bonacina-Pugh 2013; Cook 2013) to change the perception of the practice of multilingualism in education as a problem rather than as a resource for language education. They defend new approaches to language teaching versus old approaches and methods used for a long time. Finally, they suggest that translanguaging is a pedagogical strategy for learning and teaching in multilingualism.

Bonacina-Pugh (2013) investigated how a monolingual teacher can use multilingual classroom resources while teaching multilingual learners. She observed a class of new immigrant children and recorded teaching sessions in which a teacher who speaks only the French language was teaching children who speak seven different languages. Afterwards, she analysed audio-recorded data and found that the teacher used a label quests strategy to achieve multilingualism. The multilingual label quests consist of asking students to use their L1 in an L2 classroom. This means that teachers allow the use of learners' languages in the classroom to facilitate discussion of the meaning of the lesson. In other words, the monolingual teacher teaches a concept in one

language and, once mediation of meaning fails, he/she encourages learners to check one another's meaning in their L1 and repeat the target meaning in L2. Bonacina-Pugh (2013) explained that multilingual label quests occurred in two circumstances. First, when learners fail to give an L2 label and the teacher asks them to name an object in their L1, she provides an L2 name to be reinforced. Second, when learners fail to recognise an L2 name given, the teacher asks them to try to name the object in their L1 so that they can understand the L2 name of the object. This enables learners to link the meaning of the concept learnt in L2 with their prior knowledge in L1.

Based on her findings, Bonacina-Pugh (2013) argued that asymmetrical multilingual practice in the classroom is possible. Asymmetrical multilingualism refers to a situation in which a teacher does not share language repertoire with learners. She therefore recommends the use of asymmetrical multilingualism because it increases the confidence and participation of learners. She added that asymmetrical multilingual practice helps learners to build on their L1 knowledge. She concluded by recommending the use of asymmetrical multilingual practice where a teacher and learners do not speak the same language. She also suggests the design of new teaching practices that take multilingual contexts including the asymmetrical context into consideration.

The suggestions of Bonacina-Pugh (2013) were earlier discussed by Kramersch (2012), who advances reasons for shifting from monolingual to multilingual teaching practice. She argues that English as foreign language (EFL) teachers need to be aware of meaning variation and to teach accordingly by using multilingualism as a resource. She demonstrates that world communication evolved with multilingual ways of making meaning in everyday life, which were strengthened by technology change and social media use (Facebook, Twitter, E-mail, etc.). Information technology and global change do not only affect communication modality but also produce communication ambiguity for monolinguals. Kramersch (2012) has added that proliferation of meaning is due to multilingual practices of style, cultural diversity, and conventions. L2 teachers should shift from monolingual practice to multilingual practice due to globalization, information technology, immigration, and social and cultural diversity. In order to function in such a society, multicompetence is needed, which implies consideration of multilingualism. In this case, the teachers' job becomes to train learners who can operate between two or more languages and

cultures, and this requires them to acquire translanguage/transculture competence. Kramsch (2012) adds that multilingual practice for the monolingual L2 classroom should be based on training students to be aware of stylistic choice, translations as multilingual practice, translation across linguistic codes/discourse frames and transposition from one medium to another (spoken to written or vice versa, painted, virtual, visual, etc.).

The New London Group (1996) and Kress (2003) argue the necessity of shifting from the traditional language-based approach to consideration of multiple literacy (“multiliteracies”). They argue that the teaching of reading and writing skills (old literacy) does not help learners to live in society because to consume and produce texts requires more than one linguistic mode. They recommend a multiliteracies pedagogy that includes various modes of making meaning which give learners not only access to the evolving language of power, work, civic and public lives but also the available critical engagement to design their social justice in the future. Moreover, The New London Group (1996) explains how multiliteracies can be taught in the school context. They state that four integrated components are necessary to implement multiliteracies at school: situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed practice. The four components focus on recognizing learners’ ability to apply knowledge in different contexts and in their own interests. The first component, situated practice, requires teachers “to take into account the effective and socio-cultural needs and identities of learners” (New London Group 1996:85).

The arguments presented by the New London Group are supported by those researchers into second language teaching who criticise the many literacy teachers who have inherited correct method to literacy (You 2005; Makalela 2009). In this study, I suggest that the first language of the learners, as well as the teacher’s context, should be considered in order to implement multiliteracies pedagogy. While the above studies open a space for challenging a monolingual pedagogy as the norm, they rarely go beyond exploring immigrant languages on the one hand versus English on the other (Garcia 2009). However, it seems simplistic to assume that a one-size-fits-all approach will be sufficient. Rather, we need to explore interactions between languages which are vastly different from English. We might see both different types of learner attitudes/motivations and different types of interactions between the language systems in

question when none of the languages under consideration is English - a situation we find, for example, in post-genocide Rwanda.

3.4 Attitudes to languages and language choice in a multilingual context

In a multilingual society, there are several factors influencing the language choice, including political and social factors as well as attitudes (Giles et al. 2007; Dragojevic et al. 2016). To start with political factors, these are the institutional support that makes a certain language an official language to be used in government and parliament, as the medium of instruction in education, and in administrative services. This might also affect the use of language in mass media, industry, culture and religion to some extent. Secondly, social factors include the numbers and the distribution of speakers of certain languages within the national territory, their concentration in one area or their proportion. Finally, attitudinal factors involve people's preferences for a certain language, which might be justified by its status, and/or by religious and cultural attachment. Attitudinal factors are influenced by both social and political factors (Giles et al. 2007). They have explained that if the speakers of a language enjoy high social status within a society, the language they speak is likely to be highly respected too.

Giles et al. (2007) state, that each of the three language choice factors can guarantee the vitality of a language in a multilingual community. The vitality of a language is shown by the indicator of whether or not a language will be spoken in several years' time or whether it will die. This means that a particular language can be promoted to long-term use when a particular government has made it an official language and recommended it as a medium of education. However, it is possible that a language is not official but continues to be used just because it is supported by popular mass media, business, culture and religion. For instance, Rajah-Carrim (2003) illustrated that Arabic was regarded as a heritage language of Mauritius by Mauritian Muslims although Mauritius historical censuses showed that Arabic was not expected to be a Mauritian heritage language. Another example is Kiswahili, which was not at first included in the Republic of Rwanda language policy (Kiswahili was made one of the official languages of Rwanda only in March 2017) but was widely used for a long time by Rwandans as the language of business, the

military and religion in Rwanda (Rudacogora & Rurangirwa 2013). This goes with language attitudes which can reinforce and reflect the reason for a language choice as well as its vitality.

Attitudes to languages have been studied by various scholars. This was done to test the acceptability of proposed changes in language policy to local speakers of certain languages (Papapavlou 2007; Maria-Adelina et al. 2017) or in the investigations into the role of language attitudes in language choice or the rejection of mother tongue in educational language planning and practices (Gora & Mutasa 2015; Nwagbo 2015). However, the orientation of research on language attitudes depends on the definition of attitudes. Attitudes have been defined in different ways and have attracted debates on their significance in language studies as well as in other domains.

For instance, attitude is defined as (a) positive or negative feeling/thinking that people have about people, objects, social groups or events (Korth 2005:23). However, this definition has been challenged as it explains the individual state of mind but says nothing about the link between people's thinking and their behaviour. In the context of language attitude, the definition has attracted opposing views on whether language attitudes are translated into language behaviour or not. Some assume that language attitude is limited to positive/negative feelings towards the speakers of a certain language. For example many Black South African teachers are gatekeepers of pure English even if they do not speak it (Makalela 2013). This might mean that they have a positive attitude toward pure English but it is not translated into language behaviour by their adopting pure English. Carson (2005) stated that people can claim to have positive attitudes towards a certain language but display contradictory behaviour. He stated that "we can believe one thing, yet maintain a totally contradictory behaviour" (Carson 2005:32).

The definition of language attitude as limited to positive and negative feelings towards a certain language has been rejected by recent studies that claim a close relationship between language attitudes and language use (Gora & Mutasa 2015; Maria-Adelina et al. 2017). Gora and Mutasa (2015) argue that negative attitudes towards Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe are caused by post-colonial policies that promote the English colonial language at the expense of indigenous languages. In order to change the negative attitudes towards indigenous languages, they

suggested that African languages should be incorporated into the school curriculum and given functional status. Functional status in this context means that a language is given prestige by being made a medium of instruction, used as an official language and in administration, when knowledge of the language is required in the job market, etc. In this regard, Maria-Adelina et al. (2017) investigated the improvement of the language attitudes of student-immigrants in Catalonia, Spain, and found that their attitudes towards the Catalan language had become more positive over two years compared to a previous study. They argued that the student-immigrants in Spain changed their language attitudes after gaining an understanding of the use of Catalan in Catalonia. Maria-Adelina et al. (2017:340) stated that the use of the Catalan language was a reason for adopting positive language attitudes, and argued that immigrants had been motivated to learn Catalan in order to gain access to the benefits provided by the language:

Catalan is the language of education, culture, and politics, and knowledge of Catalan increases opportunities to access jobs. Knowing and using the regional language confers certain advantages and represents a catalyst of social and professional advancement. These instrumental advantages could become more salient for students as they grow up and start to focus more on their professional lives. The attitudes of immigrant students could also reflect the role of Catalan in fostering social integration, as children perceive the positive reactions elicited by their use of the local language. As a result, positive attitudes and increased use of Catalan enhance interactions with the autochthonous population. Accordingly, their will to integrate in the host society could translate into positive attitudes towards Catalan.

The above research reveals that language attitudes are translated into social behaviour and can be changed by language status promotion. This means that once a language is given a certain status, positive language attitudes will be improved and these will be followed by positive social behaviour. For example, in Rwanda, when the English language was instated as the medium of instruction in 2009, teachers changed their language attitudes towards English and started learning English for use in their professional teaching (Rosendal 2011; Ngabonziza 2014). At the

same time, French lost the status of being a medium of instruction and this affected the language attitudes towards French as well as its use in media and public places (Samuelson 2013; Niyibizi 2014).

The question of how a particular language attracts positive attitudes and another attracts negative attitudes in a multilingual society has also been discussed in the light of power relations. Janks et al. (2014) argued that even if languages are equal linguistically speaking, attitudes towards them may give them unequal status and power:

From the point of view of linguists no language is better than another, no accent is more harmonious, no variety is ungrammatical. No language is more logical or more beautiful. However, even if languages are linguistically equal, they are not equally valued in society (Janks et al. 2014:53).

Then they explained that the attitudes towards a certain language and the economic power attached to it give high status to that language. For instance, immigrants have to learn an additional language in order to survive in a foreign country (e.g. the case of immigrants learning Catalan in Catalonia) and native speakers of a language associated with low status have to learn a second language to get access to education and employability (e.g. the case of Rwandans learning English). Hence they conclude that language attitudes are connected to the functional status of a given language. It means that if a language is a medium of instruction, is spoken by elites, is required in the job market to access employment opportunities, that language enjoys high status and attracts positive attitudes from the people.

While the relevance of attitudes to reveal social behaviour has been studied, Jain (2014) has demonstrated that there is a lack of a theoretical model from which attitudes could be analysed in a systematic way. He then developed a theoretical model showing different types of attitudes according to the interrelationships between components of attitudes. The components of attitudes are affective, behavioural and cognitive. While the affective component is defined as feelings and emotions towards an object; the behavioural component “consists of actions or observable responses that are the result of an attitude” (Jain 2014:12). This means that the affective

component refers to the psychological and emotional states and the behavioural refers to the translation of feelings into actions. The actions can be positive or negative depending on the feelings towards the object. The last component of attitudes is the cognitive. The cognitive component is a belief containing information that a person has about the object.

Jain (2014: 7) has explained that those components summarise previous models. Then he developed those components of attitudes into a three-dimensional (3D) model and got eight different states of attitudes. The eight different states of attitudes were obtained by combining different positive and negative components of attitude; i.e. each triode in the eight triodes that emanate from the 3D model is marked by a specific combination of the signs “P” to mean positive and “N” to mean negative. For example, when a person has a positive affective predisposition, behaviour, and cognitive reaction to a given entity, their attitude triode is categorised as PPP. The combination of the three attitude components is called a triode; in other words there are eight different triodes, which are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Summary of the triodes adapted from Jain (2014:7)

TRIODE	AFFECT	BEHAVIOR	COGNITIVE
PPP	Positive	Positive	Positive
PPN	Positive	Positive	Negative
PNP	Positive	Negative	Positive
PNN	Positive	Negative	Negative
NPP	Negative	Positive	Positive
NPN	Negative	Positive	Negative
NNP	Negative	Negative	Positive
NNN	Negative	Negative	Negative

Even if the above 3D model has been discussed for domains other than language studies, the triodes can help to elucidate the status of language attitudes. The eight triodes shown above are discussed and adopted to analyse the language attitudes of learners and teachers in my data analysis (see chapters 5 and 6). From this perspective, this study investigated the language

attitudes of learners who were speakers of Oluchiga as their premier language learning writing in Kinyarwanda, which was assumed to be their first language while it was in fact their second language. The attitudes towards that multilingual phenomenon helped me to understand better the multilingual literacy perceptions of young learners and literacy teachers.

3.5 Language influence as a multilingual phenomenon

Many studies on error analysis focus on demonstrating the types of errors made by non-native speakers of English and the influence of L1 in the L2 learning process; however few of them have focused on the influence of African languages in the process of learning other African languages. One of the objectives of this study is to explore whether the learners' L1 (Oluchiga, an African language spoken in Rwanda and Uganda) has any influence on their writing in L2 (Kinyarwanda, an African language spoken in Rwanda, the DRC, Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi). The influence of L1 on L2 writing is investigated in terms of the agglutinative structure of both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. This study hypothesises that the types of transfer errors visible in the agglutinative structure of words might be different to errors identified in previous studies as they were conducted either to compare an analytic language versus an agglutinative language (e.g. English versus African Bantu languages) or an isolating language versus an analytic language (e.g. Chinese versus English).

The previous studies focused on transfer errors committed by non-speakers of colonial languages and did not pay much attention to transfer errors occurring among African language learners of other African languages, which is the focus of this study. This section has two sub-sections. Sub-section 3.4.1 discusses mother tongue influence in second language acquisition and sub-section 3.4.2 provides details on error analysis studies and language influence.

3.5.1 Mother tongue influence in Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

The research on language influence between mother tongue and second language has been a challenging issue in applied linguistics owing to the use of various terms to express the nature and orientation of the influences. Mother tongue influence on L2 has been termed mother tongue

interference, interlanguage, language transfer and crosslinguistic influence (Bennui 2008; Sabbah 2015; Bylund & Oostendorp 2013; Abid Thyab 2016). Abid Thyab (2016:1) explained that mother tongue interference refers to “the influence of the native language of the learner on her/his acquisition of the target language”. In this case, target language means L2. Abid Thyab (2016) demonstrated that Arab learners of English make errors in their use of articles because of the background of the Arab use of articles, which is different from article use in English. The background of the Arab learners was cited as the source of interference by the learners’ mother tongue. Another term used to refer to the effect of learners’ L1 on L2 is ‘language transfer’. Language transfer refers to the effect of learners’ L1 on L2 use. Sabbah (2015:271) defined the different types of transfer: “Transfer can be of two types: positive transfer and negative transfer. Positive transfer refers to the process of using rules from L1 which facilitate or have a positive influence on learning L2. This transfer is mostly due to similarities between L1 and L2. In contrast, negative transfer is the transfer of rules from L1 which impede or have a harmful influence on the command of rules of L2. This is due to differences between L1 and L2”. Thus, the terms mother tongue interference and language transfer are similar except that interference refers to the *errors* originating from L1 while language transfer classifies those linguistic phenomena depending on whether they contribute positively to L2 use, as positive transfer, or constitute errors in L2 use, as negative transfer. The difference between those terms is centred on defining the influence of L1 from different angles. This is the also the case with other terms used to denote the influence of L1 on L2 use, such as interlanguage and crosslinguistic influence.

As far as the terms interlanguage and crosslinguistic influence are concerned, Bylund & Oostendorp (2013) explained that interlanguage is a language system created by the process of learning an L2 which is characterised by distance between the L1 and L2. During the process of learning the L2, learners might formulate rules on how they think the L2 works. These rules created by L2 learners might become stable if the learners stop learning the second language before they reach proficiency level. One of the important discussions regarding interlanguage is whether language features of the learner language (in this case it means the language being learned by the learners, the L2) during the interlanguage process are systematic or not. Bylund & Oostendorp (2013) argued that interlanguage is systematic and can change as the learning

process proceeds even if it violates L2 grammar. A different approach to this linguistic phenomenon of interlanguage is expressed by the term crosslinguistic influence.

Crosslinguistic influence refers to “the process by which a person’s knowledge of a language influences that person’s knowledge and use of another language. Crosslinguistic influence occurs naturally in L2 learning and use, and can be easily observed” (Bylund & Oostendorp 2013:249). This is illustrated by the influence of L1 pronunciation on L2 or by some translation of L2 phrases into L1. In other words, crosslinguistic influence does not only observe the influence of L1 on L2 but also the other way around. This might be made easier by the similarity between the L1 and L2 languages, as is the case in this study, in that both Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are Bantu languages. In brief, it is important to mention that the terms mother tongue interference, interlanguage, language transfer and crosslinguistic influence are discussed to illustrate how L1 influence on the learning and use of L2 can be viewed from different angles.

Mother tongue influence on L2 learning has been discussed as one of factors delaying L2 proficiency. Abid Thyab (2016) and Sabbah (2015) argued that the interference of the mother tongue is a challenge to the development of writing skill in a second language and has a negative effect on language learning. They explain that the interference in writing is an indicator that learners do not master the second language structure and wrongly adapt syntactical items of their L1 into L2 written work. Abid Thyab (2016) explains that Arab students of English make mistakes or even errors in their use of English articles because of the influence of their L1: i.e. the differences between the Arabic and English languages in respect of the article system are seen as the main challenge to attaining L2 proficiency.

Attaining L2 proficiency has been discussed as either a temporary process in learning an L2 or a permanent stage of learners who cannot achieve L2 proficiency. Bylund & Oostendorp (2013) defended learners by pointing out that interference errors may function as a temporary support strategy for them. Such interference errors illustrate the learners’ efforts to communicate in the second language even if they are filling gaps in the L2 by using their prior linguistic knowledge of the L1. This means that learners with different L1s who are learning the same L2 will exhibit

different types of L1 transfer, originating from differences between their L1s. For example, French and Japanese speakers learning English make different transfer errors.

However, one of the main issues with second language acquisition is confusion between errors and mistakes. The difference between errors and mistakes is focused on whether or not a learner has linguistic knowledge of something. Mistakes, on the one hand, happen when a learner knows what is correct and does not apply her/his linguistic competence in a particular situation. These mistakes are held to happen because different factors may impede language processing (such as time pressure, tiredness and psychological challenges). Errors, on the other hand, occur when a learner does not know what would be correct in an actual communication, i.e. if the learner is lacking the linguistic competence to produce the correct form (Ellis 1997:17).

Apart from the distinction between errors and mistakes, scholars have argued that the interlanguage, in other words an L2 learner language which contains L1 and L2 elements, should not be evaluated as a lack of proficiency compared to the target language spoken by L1 speakers (Makalela 2013; Canagarajah 2018). The measuring of L2 proficiency against the norms of native speakers has been criticised because it ignores the realities of multilingual contexts and equates the competence of native speakers (often English L1 speakers) with the target language. For example, in multilingual countries where English is the lingua franca, such as Uganda, neighbour to Rwanda, English is used between L2 speakers and rarely with native speakers. Thus, it would be useless to claim that a Ugandan speaking English in his/her daily life in Kampala, capital of Uganda, is not proficient because he/she does not follow native speakers' norms. Yet the proficiency of Ugandan speakers of English is measured against native speaker norms of the UK or USA rather than against their ability to use the lingua franca English of Uganda. These approaches thus tend to consider multilingual communication as "interference" and therefore deviant; this is a practice that ignores the reality of multilingual communication settings (Kachru 1990; Canagarajah 2007 and Makalela 2013).

Kachru (1990) claimed that second language acquisition paradigms are inadequate as they do not fit the use of a target language (e.g. English) in multilingual/multicultural contexts. He developed two arguments against using English language teaching methods developed in L1 contexts such

as the UK and USA in multilingual contexts. He first explained that methods developed in L1 contexts entail pure English and treat English used in a multilingual context as an interlanguage.

Kachru (1990:185) judges the interlanguage phenomenon as a misinterpretation of English varieties in a second language acquisition context. Interlanguage here refers, as defined previously, to the language produced by second language learners in the process of acquiring a second language. He argued that the language produced by students should not be interpreted negatively, and added that once that language (interlanguage) is stable it can be considered as a local variety of English. Then he concluded that varieties of the English language are not the result of “acquisition deficiency” but rather of the creativity of the English second language users (Kachru 1990:187). For instance, varieties of English spoken for example in Nigeria (Nigerian English e.g. Adetugbo 1980) or in India and South Africa (Indian English e.g. Kachru 1966), (South African Indian English e.g. Mesthrie 2010) are spoken in their respective countries; these varieties of English reflect the multilingualism of their speakers and are integral to their speakers’ identities.

I agree with the statements about acknowledging that English produced by non-native speakers is not a product of deficient acquisition but a realization of identity and a contextualization of English to the local environment of communication. According to Canagarajah (2007) learners acquire English as a second language and indigenize it to fit the multilingual/multicultural context. He added that it would be unfair to compare the English language acquired in a multilingual environment with native speakers’ language because they are used by different users and to perform different functions. To illustrate this, he gives examples of multilingual communities that use English as their lingua franca. Language learning in multilingual communities succeeds through practice, the use of situational resources, and “social negotiations in a fluid communicative context” (Canagarajah 2007:923). Canagarajah (2007:927) views the analysis of second language English learners’ L2 errors as a dichotomy: interlanguage versus target language. Canagarajah (2007:927) illustrated his argument as follows:

These realizations call into question the idea that the English of multilingual users is an interlanguage. Multilingual speakers are not

moving towards someone else's target; they are constructing their own norms. It is meaningless to measure the distance of LFE speakers from the language of Anglo-American speakers as LFE has no relevance to their variety. Besides, we have to question the assumption in the interlanguage concept that there are gradations, a linear progression, and an end point to be achieved in language learning. We have seen that each LFE interaction is a unique context, raising its own challenges for negotiation. (Canagarajah 2007:927).

In addition, varieties of English should not be treated as lacking perfection but rather as different from native speakers' English, because different is not deficient. Thus, local varieties of English should be accepted as relevant and appropriate in their own contexts. However, it is important to state that the acceptance of local varieties of English is not always considered advantageous. One of the disadvantages is that learners and teachers, as well as governments in multilingual countries, recognise proper English as the standard language to be used by teachers and learners. Moreover, this is related to the debate about teaching or not teaching standard language versus local varieties. Any choice might have its disadvantages as well. For example, if we do not teach standard language to our students, we deny them access to jobs and other opportunities offered by institutions that recognise the standard language. On the other hand, if we continue teaching standard language, we maintain the belief that standard language is superior and local languages are inferior. This discussion corroborates with the question raised by Janks (2010:24), "How does one provide access to dominant forms, while at the same time valuing and promoting the diverse languages and literacies of our students and in broader society?" The dominant forms refer here to standard languages. She argued that this question is a paradox and teachers should find a way of responding to it. The bilingual inclusive method, (discussed in Section 3.2 of this chapter) of allowing local languages in the classroom might help learners to find the differences between their own languages and the standard languages. Thus the students' languages are valued and retained during the period of learning the standard languages.

3.5.2 Error analysis studies and language influence

This study analyses transfer errors visible in the agglutinating structure of words produced by learners of Kinyarwanda whose first language is Oluchiga. The types of errors that are analysed in this study are transfer based or due to the influence of L1 on L2 learners' writing. Bennui (2008) defined language transfer errors as the errors made through the influence of L1 structures on students' learning process to master L2. He argued that language transfer of L1-speaking Thai is visible in their English writing owing to direct translation from L1 into English or the influence of L1 grammatical structure on the L2 writing process. Therefore, errors are discussed herein in terms of their significance in second language learning.

Much research on writing in a second language focuses on writing errors and their impact on second language teaching and learning (Roca de Larios, Murphy & Marin 2002; Murad & Khalil 2015). Harmer (2007) explained that writing and reading are skills that you cannot acquire by any means unless you learn them. This is different to oral skills (speaking, signing and listening) that can be acquired through conversation and human contact. In addition, writing is considered as a skill in which native speakers and non-native speakers share the same challenges, as both are required to learn it at school (Brown 1994; Ngabonziza 2014). In other words, there is no native writer of language. However there is an additional task for non-native speakers. Roca de Larios, Murphy and Marin (2002:27) argue that writing in a second language is demanding as it requires L2 writers to adopt the following behaviours:

The ability to manage complex mental representations, the ability to construct rhetorical and organizational goals and hold them in mind while composing, the efficient use of problem-solving procedures in order to formulate their texts, the ability to distinguish between editing and revision as two different operations distributed in different stages of the composition process, and the adoption of a flexible attitude toward the use of rhetorical devices.

According to Mackey (2009) error analysis has shown that the effect of mother tongue on second language writing makes a difference between L1 writing and L2 writing. Bennui (2008) analysed L1 influence in paragraph writing by university students learning English in Thailand. He found that a paragraph written in English was characterised by literal translation of Thai words as well as borrowing Thai syntactic structure in terms of subject-verb agreement, noun positioning in syntactic construction and word order. In addition, he explained that L1 culture and oral tradition were visible in the learners' L2 paragraph. This was discussed by Weerachairattana & Wannaruk (2016), who illustrated that apart from linguistic transfer from L1 (Thai), L1 culture is one of the factors affecting the production of L2. Thus, once learners are learning a language which is different from their mother tongue, the learners of L2 might not change their ways of speaking and writing and consequently English written by L2 speakers might reflect L1 structure and culture norms.

Furthermore, mother tongue was shown to be not the only influence on L2. Schepens, Van der Slik et al. (2015) argued that apart from mother tongue influence on L2, linguistic distances between previously learned languages also affect the learning of the target language. Linguistic distance means the differences and similarities between the linguistic structures of two or more languages. This was confirmed later in the study of adult language acquisition of L3 Dutch (Schepens, Van der Slik et al. 2015). Schepens, Van der Slik et al. (2015) argued that, from their analysis of students learning Dutch, multilingual speakers with a lower linguistic distance from Dutch (e.g. learners with German language) were acquiring Dutch faster than multilingual speakers from a background with a greater linguistic distance (e.g. learners from a Chinese background). While the studies on learning Dutch as L3 researched typologically unrelated languages, they were still discussed in the context of European languages. This study's perspective of analysing morphosyntactic errors made by L1 speakers of Oluchiga while learning Kinyarwanda will contribute to an understanding of the development patterns in the learning and teaching of writing skills in non-European languages and in a context in which a dominant African language in Rwanda is learnt as a second language.

The studying of errors made by second language learners has been enlarged from different perspectives by linguists, language teachers and researchers (Heydari & Bagheri 2012; Rostami

& Boroomand 2015). Many researchers either identify errors made by the second language learners (Wee & Jusoff 2010; Al-Khasawneh 2014) or identify the sources of errors made by second language learners (Al-Shormani 2012; Rostami & Boroomand 2015).

Researchers have used two frameworks to analyse errors, namely Contrastive Analysis (CA), which compares learners' mother tongue and second language structures, and Error Analysis (EA), which consists of describing errors found in second language learners' products (Abid-Thyab 2016). The findings of researchers identifying errors have revealed that second language learners make the following errors during writing: syntactic errors (misuse of word order, subject verb agreement), morphological errors (such as verb form errors), article misuse, and spelling and punctuation errors (Eric 2008; Mozlan 2015). The two frameworks have been used to explain the sources of and reasons behind the making of errors in L2. Mazlan (2015) argued that CA predicts that the errors made by L2 speakers originate from the degree of difference between the learners' L1 and L2. The prediction of errors in L2 implies that similar items in both L1 and L2 are easy for students to learn and items that differ between L1 and L2 are difficult to learn. However, there is a problem with CA. For instance, this framework assumes that all errors in L2 can be tracked back to L1 while there are a number of errors which are due not to L1 influence but to overgeneralisation. Overgeneralisation occurs when a learner has mastered a grammatical rule (for example an irregular past tense or wh-construction) and tends to apply it in most cases (Bylund & Oostendorp 2013). This might be the reason why some studies combine CA and EA to include both L1 transfer errors in L2 and other unrelated errors such as generalisations. However, this study will focus on language transfer studies as it is concerned with L1 influence on L2 writing.

Extensive studies have been conducted on language transfer from and interference of the mother tongue during the acquisition of English as an L2 (Calvo 2005; Lopez 2011; Kaweera 2013). Dam (2010) conducted a study on transfer between Spanish and English and found that Spanish mother tongue speakers make a number of interference errors (including articles, gender, number, personal pronouns, relative pronouns, adjectives, prepositions, possessives, question formation, negation, verb tenses, passive voice, word order, and false cognates) by borrowing from their mother tongue (Spanish). This agrees with Kaweera's (2013) study on Thai native

speakers learning English. These studies have been conducted by requesting native speakers of a certain language to write some papers in English over a fixed period such as one or two semesters.

The findings of research on L1 interference in L2 writing have illustrated that L1 grammatical structures and vocabulary items are mostly transferred into L2 writings (Lopez 2011). This has been explained as the result of the transfer of linguistic habits from L1. However, the effects of transfer errors have been discussed as either negative or positive in learning language. Ellis (1997) argues that errors illustrate the gaps in the learners' knowledge, i.e. when learners do not master the second language's grammatical structure. This is different from mistakes, which happen to native speakers who suffer lapses while producing their own language. On the other hand, Calvo (2005) explained that even if studies condemn transfer practices as negative signs of using false friends and language errors, they should be considered positive because they indicate that L2 learners are in the process of learning a new language.

The present study agrees with the above-mentioned studies that language errors should be considered as a part of the process of learning writing. However, this study focuses on considering African language pedagogies in isolation from European languages. It is important to highlight that this study was conducted in a rural area of Rwanda where children are rarely exposed to foreign languages. Though schools in Rwanda might be perceived as multilingual, in view of their use of Kinyarwanda (the medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3), English (the medium of instruction from grade 4 to university), and French and Kiswahili (which are official languages and are taught as language subjects), yet research done on European languages (English and French) has revealed that the use of European languages in daily communication in Rwanda is very limited, and the proficiency of self-declared proficient in English or French is questionable. Indigenous languages are used by the whole population and Kinyarwanda, one of the indigenous languages, is said to be spoken by 99% of the Rwandan population (Rosendal 2011; NISR 2014). However, the dominance of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda might hinder the recognition of minority languages such as Amashi, Igihavu, Ikirashi, Ikirundi and Oluchiga. For example, some researchers have declared that there is no minority language in Rwanda (Rosendal 2011). This study falls into the area of researching minority language in Rwanda.

Thus this study explores whether Oluchiga (the learners' L1) may have an influence on the learners' writing in Kinyarwanda (their L2). Hence morphosyntax, the study of a combination of morphology and syntax, might help to identify L1 transfer to L2.

3.6 Morphosyntactic studies

A number of studies have explained that morphosyntax is a branch of linguistics in its own right rather than confusing it with a mere acknowledgment of the two separate fields morphology on the one hand and syntax on the other (Kibort 2010). Embick (2016) states that, morphosyntax covers the questions which morphology alone or syntax alone cannot explain. For instance, syntax cannot explain the internal forms of words while morphology on its own cannot explain the impact that a particular word formation may have on word order. Thus, morphosyntax focuses on the relationship between syntax and morphology and mainly focuses on, but is not limited to, seeking an explanation for agreement properties and concordial agreement (Ochieng 2013:10). This is supported by Kibort (2010:80), who stated that morphosyntax consists of structures that are related to either agreement or government. She then explained what counts as a morphosyntactic feature:

A morphosyntactic feature is a feature whose values are involved in either government or agreement. Since agreement requires the presence of a controller which is specified for the feature value it imposes on the target, the values of a morphosyntactic feature may be contextual (when found on targets and governees) or inherent (when found on controllers of agreement). (Kibort 2010:80)

Kibort (2010) explained that the investigation of both agreement and government often entails the study of inflectional morphology and its behaviour in a sentence. Agreement and government play a role in determining the feature value on an element in the clause. Ochieng (2013:14) discussed the feature values of morphosyntactic structure realised through either agreement or government and they are referred to as "morphosyntactic features". Those features are gender

(classes of nouns), number (plural marker), person (nouns or pronouns, but they may also be pronominal affixes) and case. This is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Morphosyntactic features, adapted by Ochieng (2013:14)

	Participates in agreement	Participates in government
Gender	✓	
Number	✓	
Person	✓	
Case	✓	✓

The morphosyntactic features above have been discussed in second language learning as most confusing to learners and the main cause of their making errors. For example, Mammeri (2015) analysed a corpus of 120 English written compositions collected from second-year LMD students enrolled in the English Department of Bejaia University, Algeria. His findings revealed that most of the errors made by L2 learners are morphosyntactic errors. Those errors are in word order, subject-verb agreement, verb structure, noun/adjective/adverb structure, word/morpheme addition, word/morpheme omission, short forms/abbreviations, and conversational informal words. Those morphosyntactic errors in learners' written compositions have been discussed as an indicator of the influence of L1 on L2 and the overgeneralization of rules discussed in Section 3.5. However, this study was limited to the analysis of written compositions of learners learning English as their L2. This can be classified as research studying African languages (L1) versus European languages (L2). The present study explores another direction, in that interaction between African languages is studied without interference from a European language.

The current study investigates morphosyntactic analysis of the writing of learners studying writing in Kinyarwanda while they are primary speakers of Oluchiga. This relates to a few morphosyntactic studies on African languages, which are far different from European languages. Kube (2006) explained that African languages have not been promoted and described, as English and French have been supported in African educational language policies. In particular, the English language is one of the languages that have been described both in their own right and in relation to other languages (Grimes 2000). The English language has been described at various

grammatical levels; morphosyntactically, the relationship between English word formation and the syntactic structure of English sentences has been studied by many researchers, for example Crystal (2000). In contrast the morphosyntax of a vast number of the world's languages has not yet been studied at a satisfactory level.

3.6.1 The morphosyntax of Kinyarwanda

Kinyarwanda is a language that is spoken throughout the Great Lakes region of Africa. It is one of the official languages of the Republic of Rwanda, alongside English, French and Kiswahili. It was classified as belonging to the language family of Bantu languages in 1948 (Guthrie 1948:40). It is a sister language of two different languages, namely Kirundi spoken in the Republic of Burundi and Giha spoken in the United Republic of Tanzania. Kimenyi (1980) argued that linguistically speaking the three languages (Kinyarwanda, Kirundi and Giha) are sister dialects of one language because of their high mutual intelligibility. However, as a result of socio-political factors, including the borders fixed by colonialism, it is important that they are considered separate languages.

Kinyarwanda is spoken by more than 30,000,000 people living in the Great Lakes region. Speakers of Kinyarwanda include Banyarwanda (citizens of the Republic of Rwanda), Bafumbira (ethnic Banyarwanda in southern Uganda), Banyamulenge (ethnic Banyarwanda in South Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Masisi and Rucuro residents (ethnic Banyarwanda in Masisi and Rucuro in North Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and people of Karagwe (in the United Republic of Tanzania) (Nkusi 1985; Kimenyi 2002).

Earlier studies on the morphosyntax of Kinyarwanda aimed at demonstrating that Kinyarwanda is a complex language in itself which should not be explained through and/or described by just comparing it to French (Coupez 1980; 1983; Jouannet 1983). During the 1980s researchers working on Kinyarwanda expressed growing discontent with colonial research that primarily resulted in translations of French grammar into Kinyarwanda. Such translations were conducted with the aim of analysing and subsequently teaching the grammatical rules of Kinyarwanda (Bizimana 1998)As indicated in the preceding paragraph, the grammatical rules of Kinyarwanda

used to be written predominantly by French speakers (mostly of Belgian origin), and they were superimposing grammatical aspects of French onto Kinyarwanda. The first book written to explain Kinyarwanda structure, entitled “*Manuel de la langue Kinyarwanda*” (Textbook for the Kinyarwanda Language) was written by Father Eugene Hurel and published in the Berlin Gazette (Germany) in 1911. This book assumed that Kinyarwanda sentence structure could be explained through comparison to Latin, Greek, and French. Thus he argued that Kinyarwanda verbs act sometimes as adjectives. The second book, entitled “*La phonétique du Kinyarwanda*” (The Phonetics of Kinyarwanda) was written in 1921 by Schumacher. The book was published in four instalments (1921-1922, 1923-1924, 1929 and 1931). Apart from demonstrating alphabetic phonetics in Kinyarwanda, Schumacher explained the morphology and syntax of Kinyarwanda. Both books were later criticised for equating Kinyarwanda with European languages.

One early response to this practice was Nkongoli Laurent’s (1946) first book “*Ikibonezamvugocy’amashuri yo mu Rwanda*” (Grammar for Rwandan Schools). The book was welcomed because it addressed the previous shortcomings and because it was written by a Rwandan author in Kinyarwanda. From 1952 onwards the book was recommended by the Catholic Church for teaching in Rwandan schools. The church owns many schools in Rwanda (Karareba et al. 2018). One major criticism that was raised against research conducted in French to explain the linguistic structure of Kinyarwanda was that researchers like Hurel (1911) and Schumacher (1921-1931) essentially did not consider Kinyarwanda as a Bantu language. However, being a member of the Bantu language family entails that Kinyarwanda will have features that are distinct from those that are found in European languages (Gasana 1983).

In this context, Nkusi (1983) argued that the monophonic vowel preceding the prefix and nominal stem (called the augment by Bantu scholars) was treated as being equivalent to French articles while its presence or absence in Kinyarwanda depends on conditions that are very different from those underlying the use of the French article. Nkusi (1995: 125), for example, argued that in Kinyarwanda the augment appears at the beginning of the stem as a pre-prefix in non-marked occurrences and disappears in co-occurrences with a particular index of the nominal stem; see examples (1) and (2) below:

(1) *u-mu-gab-o*

AUG-CN-Man-SFX

‘A man’

(2) *ku-mu-gab-o*

At-CN-Man-SFX

‘At a man’

Thus, a number of both Rwandan and international researchers found that Kinyarwanda was continuously being misrepresented by comparing it to European languages (Bouquiaux & Thomas 1976; Gasana 1983). Gasana (1983) argued that it was essential that linguists change the way of determining Kinyarwanda’s grammatical categories by defining them within the framework of the language itself rather than in relation to the categories of typologically unrelated languages; See Coupez (1980) and Bizimana (1998) for further discussion of the issue. This argument also resonates with Bouquiaux & Thomas’ (1967:75) statement:

To determine grammatical categories of any language should depend on syntactic analysis, otherwise people will be confused about prescribed grammatical categories of a language and the actual description of that language. This prescription of language can lead to generalisation of grammatical categories of a certain language. Thus, the determination of grammatical categories should be objective and not subjective of the actual description of language depending on its actual meaning.

The above statement summarises the criticism of determining Kinyarwanda grammatical categories depending on a prescribed French language structure (European language) and not describing the Kinyarwanda language structure (African language) in its actual use. It rejects a form of approach to grammatical analysis that results in a prescriptive grammar rather than a descriptive grammar. A number of researchers such as Leech, Deuchar et al. (2005), as well as Greenbaum & Quirk (1990), have criticised linguistic research that uses a prescriptive ideology. Prescriptive linguistics rests on an ill-informed distinction between ‘good’ languages versus ‘bad’ languages and results in dictating the way they have to use their own language to first

language speakers. As a reaction to the far-reaching criticism discussed above, Kinyarwanda is researched by international (e.g. Zeller 2006; Jerro 2016; Zeller & Ngoboka 2018) and Rwandan (e.g. Kimenyi 1980, 2002; Ntakirutimana 2012) linguists.

3.6.1.1 The agglutinative structure of Kinyarwanda words

Kinyarwanda is an agglutinative language (as a Bantu language) with a complex internal structure of words (morphology) as well as word order sentence structure (syntax). One of the reasons for the complexity of Kinyarwanda morphosyntax is its agglutinative nature. Nkusi (1995) explained that in Kinyarwanda a noun or a verb is composed of various morphemes. It is important to remember that Kinyarwanda as a Bantu language is different to European languages and some linguistic definitions of words and sentences do not apply. Mambwe et al. (2013) stated that Bantu languages do not adopt the definition of words as the smallest grammatical independent units, because what is considered as a complex sentence in European languages can be translated into one word. This means that Kinyarwanda words are composed by various bound morphemes. Bound morphemes refer to morphemes that cannot stand alone as individual words. In a word, Kinyarwanda morphemes glue together in order to constitute individual words. For example (3):

- (3) *n-za-ba-ig-ish-a*
PPX-Fut.-CL2-study-SFX-Asp
'I will teach them.'

In this study, my description of the agglutinative structure of words in Kinyarwanda will focus on explaining the different parts needed to form a word. The description will adopt Nkusi's (1995) division of words into two main parts: nominal agglutinative structure and verbal agglutinative structure. This concurs with Kimenyi's (2002) classification of nouns in Kinyarwanda into two types, nominal nouns and deverbal nouns (i.e. nouns derived from verbs). In this study, I will explain first nominal agglutinative structure and secondly verbal agglutinative structure and for each part I will illustrate the concordial agreement governed either by noun structure or verbal structure.

A. Nominal agglutinative structure and agreement

Kinyarwanda has an agglutinative structure based on the stem of the noun. This means that in order to get a noun in Kinyarwanda, you have to combine three important parts: Augment (AU) + Noun class marker (CL) + Noun stem + [suffixes (SFX)]. The noun stem (or root) might have a suffix or not and this is common in Kinyarwanda nouns. For example, a simple noun such as *umugabo* (a man) can be analysed into those three types of morphemes in Kinyarwanda: see examples (4) and (5):

(4) *Umugabo*

u-mu-gab-o

PPX-CL1-man-SFX

‘A man’

(5) *Umuntu*

u-mu-ntu

PPX-CL1-person

‘A person’

Noun classes

Kinyarwanda has sixteen (16) noun classes. However, some researchers such as Coupez (1980) and Cadiou (1983) argue for nineteen (19) noun classes. This argument is based on acknowledging the three locatives (*ku, mu, i*) as noun classes in their own right. However, Kimenyi (2002) highlighted the fact that the sixteen noun classes in Kinyarwanda correspond to the traditional conventional Bantu noun classification. This classification, which excludes locatives, has been judged the common standard for Bantu noun classes (see e.g. Jerro 2016; Ngcobo 2010) and the Kinyarwanda noun class system is accordingly used and taught in Rwandan schools. Thus the locatives (*ku, mu, i*) can be seen apart from conventional noun classes.

Moreover, it is possible to argue that noun classes in Kinyarwanda change the meaning of a stem as the noun class controls the semantic behaviour of a stem attached to it. For instance, a stem – *ntu* can have different meanings according to different class markers attached to it: *umuntu* “a man” (CL 1), *ikintu* “a thing” (CL 7), *ubuntu* “humanity” (CL 14), *ukuntu* “a way” (CL 15) and *ahantu* “a place” (CL 16). Thus it is important to mention that a class marker governs the semantic behaviour of a noun as well as governing the concordial agreement of grammatical categories attached to nouns. More details are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Noun classes of Kinyarwanda

No	Noun classes	Singular/Plural	Examples	Explanation
1	<i>mu-</i>	Singular	<i>Umntu</i> (a person)	This class is restricted to human beings
2	<i>ba-</i>	Plural	<i>Abantu</i> (persons)	
3	<i>mu-</i>	Singular	<i>Umuti</i> (medicine)	Plant names, trees and other related names
4	<i>mi-</i>	Plural	<i>Imiti</i> (medicines)	
5	<i>ri-</i>	Singular	<i>Ibere</i> (breast)	Parts of the body and related names
6	<i>ma-</i>	Plural	<i>Amabere</i> (breasts)	Parts of body plus liquids or nouns referring to other uncountable objects
7	<i>ki-</i>	Singular	<i>Igiti</i> (tree)	inanimate objects or dangerous animals
8	<i>bi-</i>	Plural	<i>Ibiti</i> (trees)	Nouns whose respective class markers are -ki- and -bi- for singular and plural
9	<i>n-</i>	Singular	<i>Inka</i> (cow)	The majority of nouns referring to the animal world (animals, reptiles, birds, insects ...)
10	<i>n-</i>	Plural	<i>Inka</i>	

			(cows)	
11	<i>ru-</i>	Singular	<i>Urugi</i> (door)	Some non-countable nouns and countable nouns
		Plural	<i>Inzugi</i> (CL 10)	
12	<i>ka-</i>	Singular	<i>Agacupa</i> (small bottle)	Class 12 includes the majority of names of rivers and hills plus diminutives that are mostly in class 13
13	<i>tu-</i>	Plural	<i>Uducupa</i> (small bottles)	
14	<i>bu-</i>	N/A	<i>Ubutu</i> (humanity)	Some non-countable nouns and names referring to countries or Rwandan provinces or to time expressions
15	<i>ku-</i>	N/A	<i>Ukuntu</i> (the way)	Gerunds or actions
16	<i>ha-</i>	N/A	<i>Ahantu</i> (place)	This class is exclusively for spatial and temporal expressions

Kimenyi (2002) explained that the majority of the above noun classes occur in pairs (i.e. 1/2; 1a/2a, 3/4; 5/6; 7/8; 9/10; 9a/10a; 11/10; 12/13). In most cases, one class marks singularity and the following class marks plurality of a noun: for instance, class 1 marks singularity (*Umuntu* “a person”), class 2 marks plurality (*Abantu* “persons”). However, class 16, which includes the place category, has no pair and spatial expressions in Kinyarwanda are neutral (neither in singular nor in plural).

In addition, Kimenyi (2002) demonstrated that noun classes in Kinyarwanda indicate concordial agreement not only in word formation but also within a sentence. This means that modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals should agree with the head noun by taking the class marker that agrees with the head noun. Examples (6), (7), (8) illustrate this point:

- (6) Adjectives: *Umugabo munini*
u-mu-gab-o mu-nini

Aug- CL1 -man-SFX

‘a big man’

(7) Demonstratives: *Uriya mugabo*

u-riya mu-gab-o

Aug- DEM.-CL 1-man-SFX

‘that man’

(8) Numerals: *umugabo umwe*

u-mu-gab-o u-mwe

PPX-CL1-man-SFX PPX-Numeral (Indicating CL1)

‘one man’

Abagabo babiri

a-ba-gab-o ba-biri

PPX-CL2-man-SFX CL2 – Numeral (indicating CL2) – plural

‘two men’

Thus the concordial agreement between noun, adjective, subject pronoun, object pronoun, demonstrative, and possessive will be the following for each class, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Concordial agreement per noun class, adapted from Kimenyi (2002:9)

Noun class	Concordial agreement
1	u-mu- mu- a- -mu- u- u-
2	a-ba- ba- ba- -ba- ba- ba-
3	u-mu- mu- u- -wu- u- u-
4	i-mi- mi- i- -yi- i- i-
5	i-ri- ri- ri- -ri- ri- ri-
6	a-ma- ma- a- -ya- a- a-
7	i-ki- ki- ki- -ki- ki- ki
8	i-bi bi- bi- -bi- bi- bi-
9	i-n- n- i- -yi- i- i-
10	i-n- n- zi- -zi- zi- zi-

11	u-ru- ru- ru- -ru- ru- ru-
12	a-ka- ka- ka- -ka- ka- ka-
13	u-tu- tu- tu- -tu- tu- tu-
14	u-bu- bu- bu- -bu- bu- bu-
15	u-ku- ku- ku- -ku- ku- ku-
16	a-ha- ha- ha- -ha- ha- ha-

Augment

An augment is an initial vowel preceding the noun class marker and is referred to as a pre-prefix. Three vowels (a, u and i) can function as augments in Kinyarwanda. Nkusi (1995:124) argued that augments are pre-prefixes that change according to the vowels of the prefixes of nouns. His illustration of concordial agreement between augment and noun class is shown in Table 8. He illustrated this in the following examples:

Table 8: Kinyarwanda augments

Augment	Singular	Plural
u-i	<i>Umugozi</i> (rope) [Noun Class 3]	<i>Imigozi</i> (ropes) [Noun Class 4]
u-a	<i>Umwana</i> (child) [Noun Class 1]	<i>Abana</i> (children) [Noun Class 2]
i-i	<i>Ikijumba</i> (sweet potato) [Noun Class 7]	<i>Ibijumba</i> (sweet potatoes) [Noun Class 8]
i-a	<i>Izina</i> (name) [Noun Class 5]	<i>Amazina</i> (names) [Noun Class 6]
a-u	<i>Agacurama</i> (bat) [Noun Class 12]	<i>Uducurama</i> (bats) [Noun Class 13]

In summary, augments occur in determined noun classes, as follows:

u: Occurs in the following noun classes: 1, 3, 11, 14, 15

a: Occurs in the following noun classes: 2, 6, 12, 16

i: Occurs in the following noun classes: 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10

(Nkusi, 1995: 124)

According to Kimenyi (2002), considering illustrations in (9), an augment has no specific meaning and thus can be confused with definite/non-definite articles in English:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (9.a) <i>muganga</i> to mean “the doctor” | <i>Umuganga</i> to mean “a doctor” |
| b) <i>munywanyi</i> to mean “the buddy” | <i>umunywanyi</i> to mean “a buddy” |
| c) <i>mugenzi</i> to mean “the friend” | <i>umugenzi</i> to mean “a friend” |
| d) <i>mwarimu</i> to mean “the teacher” | <i>umwarimu</i> to mean “a teacher” |

This might suggest that the augment in Kinyarwanda is similar to articles in e.g. French or English. However, Hurel (1911) and Kagame (1960) have demonstrated that the semantic behaviour of the Kinyarwanda augment is too rich in significance to be equivalent to the French articles, which are limited to determining whether a noun is definite or indefinite. In addition, studies (Kagame 1975; Bizimana 1998) on the presence and absence of the augment have demonstrated that the augment is most of the time absent in the conditions illustrated in examples (10) and (12); however, each condition has many exceptions (11), (13):

Condition 1: Augment is absent when a noun is considered as a proper noun (in 10.a,b)

(10.a) *Mugabo* (a male name) from the noun “*umugabo*” (A man)

b) *Rugamba* (a male name) from the noun “*urugamba* (A war)

Exceptions: There are many names that violate this above rule (exceptions in 11.a & b):

(11.a) *Umutoni* (A female name)

b) *Umubyeyi* (A female name)

Condition 2: Augment is absent when a noun is preceded by a pronoun or invariable (see illustrations in 12).

(12.a) *Uyu mugabo* (This man)

**Uyu umugabo*

b) *Ku mugezi* (at the river)

**Ku umugezi*

c) *Aba bagabo* (These men)

**Aba abagabo*

Exceptions:

(13.a) *Abagaba aba* (these men that I see)

b) *Inka izi* (The cows that I see)

In brief, augments are pre-prefixes of nouns the presence or absence of which is caused by a number of conditions. However, when those conditions are illustrated, there are also many exceptions to the stated conditions. Thus, more studies are needed to specify the rules of their presence and absence in the agglutinative structure of Kinyarwanda nouns.

B. Verbal agglutinative structure and agreement

The verbal agglutinative structure of Kinyarwanda has been presented as a complex structure that has multiple tenses, multiple object markers, and multiple inflections (Kagame 1975; Coupez 1980; Cadiou 1985; Shimamungu 1991; Nkusi 1995; Bizimana 1998; Kimenyi 2002). Coupez (1980) argued that there are many possible derivational extensions of one stem verb. This means that there are multiple derivational extensions and multiple inflectional suffixes of the verb in Kinyarwanda. Thus the derivation of a Kinyarwanda stem verb consists of the pre-prefix (PPX), the subject marker (SM), tense-aspect-modality morphemes (TAM), direct object pronoun markers (OM), reflexive pronoun (REF), reduplication (RED), the stem, the lexical or derivational extensions (LE), grammatical or inflectional extensions (GE), the passive morpheme (PASS), the aspect morpheme (ASP) and the postsuffix morpheme (PSFX) (Kimenyi 2002; Nkusi 1995). Nkusi (1995:194) illustrated one of the longest verbal agglutinative structures in Kinyarwanda, as shown in example (14):

(14) *Batakihawumuhingishirizanywa*

Ba-ta-ki-ha-wu-mu-hing-ish-ir-ir-y-an-w-a

they-NEG-ADV-LOC-CL3-CL1-cultivate-CAUS-APPL-APPL-ASS-APPL-ASP

‘If they are not obliged to cultivate it with others for him.’

Kimenyi (2002:5) stated that Kinyarwanda agglutinative structures have multiple object pronouns as illustrated in example (15)

Kinyarwanda is one of the Bantu languages which can have multiple object pronouns.

(15) *baranahabibamukoreshereza* •

ba-ra-na-ha-bi-ba-mu--kor-ish-ir-ir-y-a

they-T-also-there-it-him/her-them-do-APPL-CAUS-APPL-APPL-CAUS-ASP

‘They also make them do it for him/her there.’

Referring to example (14), it is difficult to explain all the elements involved in the verbal agglutinative structure. Verbal derivation in Kinyarwanda involves a number of morphemes which are subject to variations depending on the context. However, Kimenyi (2002) argued that the obligatory morphemes are the subject agreement prefix on the one hand and the final vowel, which most of the time is the aspect marker, on the other hand. Thus it is important to explain the main parts involved in deverbial agglutinative structures: a) prefixes, b) infixes⁵ and c) suffixes.

- a) Prefixes mark the concordial agreement of the verb and the subject. In Kinyarwanda, the object pronouns are prefixes that precede the verb stem. Kimenyi (2002) explained that object pronouns enable Kinyarwanda to use complex agglutinative verbs as illustrated in the following long sentence in English that can be expressed in one agglutinative verb (16):

⁵There is a debate whether infixes exist or do not exist in Kinyarwanda. However, I adopted the opinion of linguists who recognise the existence of the infix in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 2002:9; Nkusi 1995:194; Bizimana 1998, Coupez, 1980).

(16) *umugore ararahakizibakunsomeshesherereza*

Umugore a-ra-na1-ha2-ki3-zi4-ba5-ku6-n7- som-esh-esh-er-er-eza

woman she-PRES-also1-there2-it3-it4-them5-you6-me7-read-CAUS-CAUS-APPLAPPL- ASP

‘The woman is also making them read it with them to you for me there.’

The sentence in Kinyarwanda “umugore ararahakizibakundomeshesherereza”, once translated into English as “the woman is also making them read the book with eye-glasses to you for me in the house”, is unclear because of some reduplication which might be the case in Kinyarwanda. However, a sentence of this kind is possible in Kinyarwanda and illustrates concordial agreement between subjects and verbs.

- b) Infixes are most of the time object pronouns and negative markers. (1) Object pronouns are placed in the verbal agglutinative structure to replace the noun. Example: *Ndashaka umwana* (I am searching for a child) = *Ndamushaka* (I am searching for him). The pronoun “mu” is a class marker that agrees with the noun that it replaces (CL1). This means that infixes are generally class markers that behave as pronouns but keep their morphological form to agree with the nouns that they replace. Kimenyi (2002) argues that Kinyarwanda allows multiple object pronouns. For example in sentence (17):

(17) *Aranahakizibakunsomeshesherereza*

a-ra-na1-ha2-ki3-zi4-ba5-ku6-n7- som-esh-esh-er-er-eza

she-pres-also1-there2-it3-it4-them5-you6-me7-read-caus-caus-applappl-asp

‘She is also making them read it with them to you for me there.’

It is worth mentioning that the negative marker precedes the verb agglutinative structure to deny the meaning of the verb. The negative marker in Kinyarwanda is “nti-”. For example (18) compared to (19):

(18) *Abana barasoma*

Abana ba-ra-som-a

Children they-TAM-read-ASP

(19) *Abana ntibasoma*

Abana nti-ba-som-a

Children do not they –TAM-read-ASP

‘Children read’

‘Children do not read’

- c) Suffixes: According to Coupez (1980) Kinyarwandan suffixes can generally be classified into five categories. The first category includes the causatives *-ish-* and *-y-* which mean to make someone do something. For example, when the causative suffix *-ish-* is added to a verb like *kwandika* (to write) a causative verb results, here *kwandikisha* (to cause someone to write). Another example is *kubyara* (to give birth); when the causative suffix *-y-* is added it becomes *kubyaza* (*ku-byar-y-a*) (to cause someone to give birth or to assist someone to give birth).

The second category of suffixes includes the applicative *-ir-* which can be realised as *-esh-* and *-er-* to respect vowel harmony before *-e-* or *-o-*. Please see the examples (20), (21):

(20.a) *Guhinga*

Ku-hing-a

to-cultivate-ASP

‘to cultivate’

b) *Guhingira*

Ku-hing-ir-a

to-cultivate-APPL-ASP

‘to cultivate for’

(21.a) *Kubona*

Ku-bon-a

to-see-ASP

‘to see’

b) *Kubonera*

ku-bon-ir-a

to- see-APPL-ASP

‘to see for’

The third category of suffixes contains the passive morpheme *-w-*. This suffix *-w-* transforms any verb to which it attaches into a passive verb. Cardiou (1983) argued that passivation in Kinyarwanda is probably the same as passivation in French because subject and object interchange their positions in a sentence. However passivation is quite different in the two languages because in Kinyarwanda the addition of the morpheme *-w-* is enough to change the verb’s status (for those that can be passivized) from active to passive, while in French a number of rules apply. The following example (22) demonstrates this point:

(22) *Umugore arahinga ibijumba* (active) \longrightarrow *Ibijumba birahingwa n’umugore* (passive)

‘A woman cultivates sweet potatoes’ \longrightarrow ‘Sweet potatoes are cultivated by a woman’

However there are verbs in Kinyarwanda that cannot be passivized. For example (23):

(23) *Umwana araseka* → * *umwana arasekwa*
'A child smiles' → * 'A child is smiled'

Exceptions are the idiomatic use of some verbs which actually cannot be passivized but are passivized to express an idiomatic meaning. However this kind of idiomatic use does not have the corresponding active voice. They are always in the passive. Please see examples (24) and (25):

(24) *Akabi gasekwa nk'akeza*
'Bad small thing is laughed as good small thing' (Literal translation)
Good and bad things happen in life. Just enjoy it!

(25) *Imboga zibona abana*
'Vegetables are seen by children' (Literal translation)
Opportunities are present to those who are not ready to seize them.

The fourth category of suffix is the commutative *-an-*, which is also called the reciprocal *-an-*. The commutative suffix is known as a suffix that has many semantic interpretations based on its use in a sentence. Commutative suffixes can express reciprocity, associative and simultaneous events. The following examples (26-28) illustrate the multiple meanings of the suffix *-an-*:

(26) *Kalisa ahingana n'umugore we* (associative)
'Kalisa is tilling with his wife.'

(27) *Urashaka guhingana inkweto nshya?* (simultaneous)
'Do you want to till while wearing new shoes?'

(28) *Abakeba barebana ayingwe* (reciprocity)

‘Co-wives hate each other.’

The fifth category of suffix is the stative *-ik-*. The stative expresses the way something is with respect to its characteristic. For instance *Ikirahuri kirameneka* “The vase breaks” expresses the state of the vase. On the other hand *Iriya sambu irahingika* “That farm is cultivable” means that the farm is just easy to cultivate. There are more uncategorised suffixes such as locative suffixes *ho- mo- and yo-* in verbs such as *gusigaho* (to stop), *kwigirayo* (to push), and *guhitemo* (to choose). More details on concordial agreement are given in Table 9.

Table 9: Compiled concordial agreement in Kinyarwanda adapted from Nkusi (1995: 159)

		Prefixes			Infixes										
		Nominal Cl.	Verbal Cl.			Conjunctions			demonstratives						
Class	Noun stems	Adjectives		pronominal	infixes	-a	-aa	-o	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
1	mu-	mu-	a-	u-	-mu-	wa	wa a	w o	uyu	uwo	uno	uriya	urya	waa	
2	ba-	ba-	ba-	Ba-	-ba-	ba	ba a	b o	aba	abo	ban o	bariyya	bariya	baa	
3	mu-	mu-	u-	u-	-wu-	wa	wa a	w o	uyu	uwo	uno	uriiya	urya	waa	
4	mi-	mi-	i-	i-	-yi-	ya	ya a	y o	iyi	iyo	ino	iriyi	irya	yaa	
5	i-	ri-	ri-	Ri-	-ri-	rya	rya a	ry o	iri	iryoy	rino	ririya	riryaa	ryaa	

6	ma-	ma-	a-	a-	-ya-	ya	ya	y	aya	ayo	ano	ariiya	arya	yaa
							a	o						
7	ki-	ki-	ki-	Ki-	-ki-	cy	cy	cy	iki	icyo	kin	kiriyy	kiry	cyaa
						aa	aa	o			o	a	a	
8	bi-	bi-	bi-	Bi-	-bi-	by	by	b	ibi	iby	bin	biriya	biry	byaa
						aa	aa	y		o	o		a	
9	n-	n-	i-	i-	-yi-	ya	ya	y	iyi	iyo	ino	irriya	iry	yaa
							a	o						
10	n-	n-	zi-	Zi-	-zi-	zaa	zaa	zo	izi	izo	zino	ziriya	ziry	zaa
													a	
11	ru-	ru-	ru-	Ru-	-ru-	rw	rw	r	uru	urw	run	ruriyy	rury	rwaa
						a	aa	w		o	o	a	a	
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	Ka-	-ka-	ka	ka	k	aka	ako	kan	kariiy	kar	kaa
						a	a	o			o	a	ya	
13	tu-	tu-	tu-	Tu-	-tu-	tw	tw	t	utu	utw	tun	turiyy	tury	twaa
						a	a	w		o	o	a	a	
14	bu-	bu-	bu-	Bu-	-bu-	bw	bw	b	ubu	ubw	bun	buriyy	bur	bwaa
						aa	aa	w		o	o	a	ya	
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	Ku--	-ku-	kw	kw	k	uku	uko	kun	kuriyy	kur	kwaa
						aa	aa	o			o	a	ya	
16	ha-	ha-	ha-	Ha-	-ha-	ha	ha	h	aha	aho	han	hariiy	har	haa
						a	a	o			o	a	ya	
								o						

3.6.2 Morphosyntax of Oluchiga

Oluchiga (also referred to as Igikiga, Chiga, Kiga, Uruchiga, Rukiga) is a Bantu language classified in the Niger-Congo family, Benue-Congo subgroup in the branch of Bantu languages (Lewis 2009, as cited by Mambwe et al. 2013). It is spoken in northern Rwanda (Northern Province and Eastern Province) and southern Uganda (in the Kabale district). The number of speakers of Oluchiga in Rwanda is not known, but in Uganda it is estimated to be more than 2,390,000 speakers (2014 census).

It is a sister dialect of Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro, which are dialects of Runyakitara. Oluchiga (Igikiga) is the native language of the Kiga people ('Bakiga' is literally translated as "people of the mountain"). All Bakiga are believed to originate from Rwanda as their Kiga kingdom was established in Rwanda under their king Kakiga, born in the Bumbogo kingdom which was located in central Rwanda. Historically speaking, the Kiga kingdom was invaded by the Rwandan kingdom and its population migrated into the Ndorwa kingdom (Nyirahabimana & Nkejabahizi 2014), where the Kiga population stayed until the time of the colonisation. Then some of the Bakiga people migrated to Uganda from the former Ndorwa kingdom in the province currently located in Rwanda. This is emphasized by their folk songs – *Abakiga twena tukaruga Rwanda, omu Byumba na Ruhenjere*, – meaning that *all of us Bakiga, we came from Rwanda in Byumba and Ruhenjere* (Ruhengeri and Byumba are the former prefectures of Ruhengeri and Byumba; currently they are located in the Northern Province of Rwanda) (Kigezi 2019:1). The colonisation system that established African borders caused one part of the Bakiga people to be relocated to southern Uganda and another part to remain in northern Rwanda.

3.6.2.1 Previous research on the Oluchiga language

Oluchiga has been viewed differently by different researchers and policy makers in Rwanda and elsewhere. In Rwanda, the policy on cultural heritage instates Oluchiga as a dialect of Kinyarwanda spoken in the Northern Province of Rwanda (MINEDUC 2008). This assumption that Oluchiga is a dialect of Kinyarwanda is based on previous research done on the dialects of

Kinyarwanda (Hurel 1951) which considers other dialects deviant to standard Kinyarwanda to be inferior dialects or sub-language.

However, some researchers in Rwanda view Oluchiga as a separate language from Kinyarwanda (Nakure 2009; Rubanda 2006 and Murekezi 1988). Nakure (2009) argued that Oluchiga is a separate language as researched previously by Murekezi (1988) and Rubanda (2006). Nakure (2009: 37) added that the language policy makers in Rwanda should consider Oluchiga as a separate language spoken in Rwanda. In the Republic of Uganda, Oluchiga is one of the official languages of Uganda and it is maintained as a medium of instruction at the lower level of primary school (grade 1 to grade 3) in the district of Kabale. Oluchiga is registered as Orunyankore-Rukiga in Uganda, as there is high mutual intelligibility between Oluchiga and Runyankore and the only differences, according to my participants, lie in the area of vocabulary items and pronunciation. During my data collection, my participants explained to me that Orunyankore speakers use many words (including many swear words and exclamations) relating to cows as many of them are herdsmen. In terms of speed of speaking, they speak slowly. In contrast, Oluchiga speakers use many words relating to agriculture as many Oluchiga speakers are agri-cultivators. In terms of speed of speaking, they speak quickly. These seem to be quite accurate observations considering that Orunyankore and Oluchiga share the same standard orthography in Uganda and they have previously been classified by Guthrie (1967) as narrow Bantu languages of the Niger-Congo family sharing the same language family, Nyankore-Kiga. However, there is need of further research on lexicalisation to confirm the explanations provided by my participants.

On the other hand, a number of researchers argue that Oluchiga is a sister dialect of Runyakitara (Guthrie 1967; Bernstein 1998). Runyakitara is a name given by linguists to four similar languages spoken in western Uganda, namely Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro. Even though the explanations of Bernstein are convincing in terms of those languages being mutually intelligible to the extent that their lexical similarity is between 64% and 94%, the current policy of Uganda instates them differently. Runyankore-Rukiga is recognised as an official language just as Runyoro and Rutooro are, regardless of the arguments of linguists such as Karwemera

(1995) and Bernstein (1998), who consider it as a dialect of either Runyankore or forming one language block with Runyoro, Rutooro and Runyankore.

In sum, there are a number of controversial debates about whether Oluchiga may be considered a language in its own right, or whether it is a dialect of either Kinyarwanda or Runyakitara. This study adopts the viewpoint that Oluchiga is a separate language. I base this decision on the recent classification (Lewis 2009) and the work of numerous researchers (e.g. Nkiko 1980; Munyakazi 1984; Murekezi 1988; Bangamwabo 1989; Karwemera 1995; Rubanda 2006; Nakure 2009). In addition, the participants in this study believe that Oluchiga is a separate language from Kinyarwanda.

3.6.2.2 Morphosyntactic description of the Oluchiga language

Oluchiga is an agglutinative language (Nkiko 1980; Murekezi 1998; Rubanda 2006; Nakure 2009). It has a similar linguistic structure to Kinyarwanda but this is based on the fact that the two languages belong to the same language group; i.e. they are both Bantu languages (Rubanda 2006). In order to explain the morphosyntax of Oluchiga, I will again describe the agglutinative structure in the two different sections previously established in my description of Kinyarwanda (i.e. the agglutinative structure of nouns and the agglutinative structure of verbs respectively). Based on the few studies done on Oluchiga agglutinative structure, I have used the examples of Murekezi (1988) to explain the nominal and verbal agglutinative structures of Oluchiga.

A) Nominal agglutinative structure of Oluchiga

Murekezi (1988) explained that Oluchiga nouns are composed mainly of three parts: augment (AU), a noun class marker (CL) and a stem. It is important to note that some nouns in Oluchiga are not composed of these three parts as they do not allow the augment to be added to them; for example the word *tata* (\emptyset - \emptyset -*tata*) “father” falls into this category. In this section, I start by explaining the noun class system and continue by demonstrating how the augment and other morphemes attach to the stem.

The noun class marker in Oluchiga is also referred to as the noun prefix; it determines the noun class and governs the concordial agreement of the composition of nouns and their post modifiers (Bangamwabo 1989). The concordial agreement governed by a specific class marker is respected not only in word structure but also in sentence structure, as illustrated in examples (29), (30), (31):

(29) CL 1: *Ogu mukazi omwe mureingwa*

‘This lady (one) is tall.’

(30) CL 2: *Aba bakazi bashatu bareingwa*

‘These three ladies are tall.’

(31) CL 3: *Ogu muti gumwe mureingwa*

‘This tree (one) is tall.’

Rubanda (2006: 70)

In Oluchiga, as in other Bantu languages, there are sixteen standard noun classes. Locatives are classified separately just as in Kinyarwanda (compare Section 3.6.1 above). Most noun classes are in pairs where one member of the pair is constituted by the singular form and the other is marked by the plural form. However, there are four noun classes which do not appear as singular/plural pairs. These denote, for example, abstract objects and diminutives. Table 10 illustrates the noun classes of Oluchiga.

Table 10: Noun classification of Oluchiga adapted from Rubanda (2006: 69)

Number	Singular	Plural	Semantics	Examples	Gloss
CL 1/2	<i>o-mu-</i>	<i>a-ba-</i>	Human beings	<i>o-mu-kazi</i> <i>a-ba-kazi</i>	a woman women
CL 3/4	<i>o-mu-</i>	<i>e-mi-</i>	Plants/Fruits	<i>o-mu-ti</i> <i>e-mi-ti</i>	tree trees
CL 5/6	<i>e-ri-</i>	<i>a-ma-</i>	Parts of the body	<i>e-ri-isho</i> <i>a-ma-isho</i>	eye eyes
CL 7/8	<i>e-ki-</i>	<i>e-bi-</i>	Objects	<i>e-ki-ti</i> <i>e-bi-ti</i>	chair chairs
CL 9/10	<i>e-n-</i>	<i>e-n-</i>	Animals and borrowed words	<i>e-nte</i> <i>e-nte</i>	cow cows
CL 11	<i>o-ru-</i>	<i>o-ru-</i>	Miscellaneous	<i>o-ru-shozi</i>	mountain(s)
CL 12	<i>a-ka-</i>	-	abstract nouns	<i>a-ka-bi</i>	danger
CL 13	<i>o-tu-</i>	-	Diminutives	<i>o-tu-ro</i>	sleep (small)
CL 14	<i>o-bu-</i>	-	Some objects and abstract nouns	<i>o-bu-ta</i> <i>o-bu-cureezi</i>	bow humbleness
CL 15	<i>o-ku-</i>	<i>a-ma-</i>	Some parts of	<i>o-ku-guru</i>	leg

			the body	<i>a-ma-guru</i>	legs
CL 16	<i>-ha-</i>	-	Location	<i>ahantu</i>	place

The augment is a pre-prefix that precedes the noun class marker. In Oluchiga, the augment can be one of three types (*a-*, *e-*, *o-*) that agree with the noun class markers. This means that the augments in Oluchiga should agree with the vowels of the noun class markers depending on their class. This is illustrated as follows:

- The augment *a-* is attached to nouns with class markers 2 (*-ba-*), 6 (*-ma-*), 12 (*-ka-*), and 16 (*-ha-*).
- The augment *o-* is attached to nouns with class markers 1 (*-mu-*), 3 (*-mu-*), 11 (*-ru-*), 13 (*-tu-*), 14 (*-bu-*), 15 (*-ku-*).
- The augment *e-* is attached to nouns with class markers 4 (*-mi-*), 5 (*-ri-*), 7 (*-ki-*), 8 (*-bi-*), 9 (*n-*) and 10 (*n-*).

According to Rubanda (2006), the Oluchiga augments agree with the above noun classes for vowel harmonisation as illustrated in examples (32), (33), (34), (35), (36) and (37).

a-:

(32) *ababyazi*

a-ba-byazi

AU-CL 2- to plant

‘planters’

(33) *amabara*

a-ma-bara

AU-CL 6- colour

‘colours’

o-:

(34) *Omuzeire*

O-mu-zeire

AU-CL 1- to give birth

‘parent’

(35) *Obuta*

O-bu-ta

AU-CL 14- bow

‘bow’

e-:

(36) *ekiti*

e-ki-ti

AU-CL 7-tree

‘tree’

(37) *enjara*

e-nø-jara

AU-CL 9-hungry

‘hungry’

This means (as the illustrations above show) that the vowel ‘a’ of augment *a-* agrees with the vowel of the noun class marker *-a*, the vowel ‘e’ of augment *e-* agrees with the vowel of the noun class marker *-i*, and the vowel ‘o’ of the augment *o-* agrees with the vowel of the noun class marker *-u*.

B) Verbal agglutinative structure of Oluchiga

The verbal agglutinative structure of Oluchiga has been analysed in affixes (prefixes, infixes and suffixes). These affixes are attached to the stem or root verb which is the main part of a deverbal noun which does not change. The Oluchiga verbal structure can be compared to other Bantu verbal structures as they share the main parts. The Bantu verb template is shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Bantu verb template adopted from Katushemerewe and Hannerforth (2010:3)

Slot	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8
Meaning	Pre-initial	Initial	Post-initial	Tense marker	OM	Verbal base		Final	Post-final
Morpheme	Neg	SM	NEG	Tense	Object marker	Root	Verb extension	Mood Aspect Neg	

The above details are included in the following explanations of affixes:

a) Prefixes

Oluchiga prefixes are mostly the subject pronouns that replace the noun subject. Furthermore, prefixes in Oluchiga agree with the verb. The following are examples given by Rubanda (2006:82):

- 1st pers. singular: (*nyowe*) *ni nkora* “(I) I work.”
- 1st pers. plural: (*itwe*) *ni tukora* “(We) we work.”
- 2nd pers. singular: (*iwe*) *no okora* “(You) you work.”
- 2nd pers. plural: (*imwe*): *ni mukora* “(You) you work.”
- 3rd pers. singular: (*we*) *na akora* “(He) he works.”
- 3rd pers. plural: (*bo*) *ni bakora* “(They) they work.”

b) Infixes

There are many infixes in Oluchiga as in other Bantu languages. The infixes are attached inside the verb to replace nouns and to agree with the nouns they replace. The infixes belong to the same class as the nouns they replace. According to Karwemera (1996) Oluchiga allows multiple infixes and suffixes. For instance, a subject and object can be replaced by infixes and included in the verbal phrase (example 38).

(38) *Nyowe naroonda abashaija* (“I need men.”) → *Nabaronda* (“I need them.”)

c) Suffixes

Oluchiga has similar suffixes to other Bantu languages. The suffixes include the passive morpheme *-w-* (*Ku-ter-w-a* “to be beaten”), applicative *-ir-* (*ku-gab-ir-a* “to give for free”), commutative *-an-* (*ku-jum-an-a* “to abuse each other”, causative *-es-* (*ku-gamb-es-a* “To talk to”) and other suffixes such as stative *-ik-*, repetitive and reversed morphemes. It is important to state that the use of suffixes in Oluchiga is the same as the use of suffixes in Kinyarwanda. However, causative suffixes are different, as explained in Section 3.7.

3.7 Contrastive analysis between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga morphosyntax

Rubanda (2006) had previously explained that only a few researchers were interested in explaining the differences between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda, as many were researching the official and national language, which is Kinyarwanda. This section refers to previous studies done by Murekezi (1984), Bangamwabo (1989) and Rubanda (2006). Those researchers have highlighted the fact that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have quite similar agglutinative structures but each one also has its own specific features for augment, class marker, adjectives, prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

3.7.1 Augments

It is worth repeating that augments are pre-prefixes that should be attached to a noun in Kinyarwanda as well as in Oluchiga. However, the two languages have different augments. In Kinyarwanda augments are the vowels *a*, *u* and *i*, while in Oluchiga augments are the vowels *a*, *o* and *e*. Bizimana (1998) argued that Kinyarwanda nouns cannot take the vowels *e* and *o* as augments. Murekezi (1984) stated that Oluchiga nouns cannot take the vowels *i* and *u* as augments. This persists even in translation equivalents between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga, as illustrated in example (39).

(39)

Kinyarwanda	Oluchiga	Meaning
<i>umwana</i>	<i>omwana</i>	Child
<i>Igiti</i>	<i>eciti</i>	Tree

3.7.2 Noun class markers

Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have 16 noun class markers that govern the concordial agreement of the internal structure of nouns. In both languages noun class markers are indispensable to form nouns and cannot be replaced by other affixes, but Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga differ on the

sixteen noun classes, in that Kinyarwanda has the vowel *i* as a noun class marker, while *i* does not exist in Oluchiga as a noun class marker. In addition, Rubanda (2006:141) has noted that there is a difference between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda locatives related to the 16th, 17th and 18th ,class marker, in that Kinyarwanda has *ku-*, *mu-* and *ha-*, whereas Oluchiga has *oku-*, *omu-* and *aha-* as illustrated in example (40).

(40)

Kinyarwanda	Oluchiga	Meaning
<i>ku ishuri</i>	<i>aha eishuri</i>	at school
<i>mu cyaro</i>	<i>aha cyaro</i>	at the village
<i>ku cyumweru</i>	<i>aha sande</i>	to Sunday

3.7.3 Adjectives

Kinyarwanda has more than 20 adjectives while Oluchiga has 15 (Rubanda 2006). This means that some Kinyarwanda adjectives such as *hire* (happy), *niya*, *nzinya*, *nzuzunyu* (small thing) and adjectives of number are different. For example, Kinyarwanda has *-tatu* (three), *-ne* (four), *-tandatu* (six), *rindwi* (seven), while Oluchiga has *-shatu* (three), *-na* (four), *-mukaga* (six), *-mushanju* (seven).

3.7.4 Demonstratives

Bangamwabo (1989:155) explained that Oluchiga demonstratives are formed around the infix –*g*– while Kinyarwanda demonstratives do not recognise that infix. In Oluchiga as well as in Kinyarwanda demonstratives should agree with the nouns they are indicating. He used examples (41) and (42) for illustration.

(41) Kinyarwanda: *Uyu mugabo mukuru aritonda turamuzi (CL 1)*

Oluchiga: *Ogu mushaija mukuru agambire kurungyi tumuhurire (CL 1)*

English translation: “This big man is wise as we know him.”

- (42) Kinyarwanda: *Uyu muhanda muremure ugeze mu ishyamba turawuzi* (CL 3)
 Oluchiga: *Ogu muhanda mureingwa niguhiha omukibira nitugumanya* (CL 3)
 English translation: “This long road takes us to a forest and we know it.”

3.7.5 Prefixes

In Kinyarwanda and in Oluchiga, prefixes are morphemes that mark concordial agreement in the verbal agglutinative structure of words and in sentences. Kinyarwanda prefixes are different to Oluchiga, as illustrated by Murekezi (1988), who argues that the prefixes that mark classes 3, 4, 6 and 9 are totally different. See illustrations (43), (44), (45), (46), and (47):

Kinyarwanda	Oluchiga
(43) <i>uratema</i> (CL 3)	<i>nigutema</i>
u-ra-tem-a	ni-gu-tem-a
It-TAM-cut-asp	TAM-CL3- -cut-asp
‘It cuts.’	
(44) <i>iratema</i> (CL 4)	<i>netema</i>
i-ra-tem-a	ni-e-tem-a
They-TAM-cut-asp	TAM-CL4-cut-asp
‘They cut.’	
(45) <i>arareba</i> (CL 6)	<i>nigareba</i>
a-ra-reb-a	ni-ga-reb-a
They-TAM-see-asp	TAM-CL6-see-asp
‘They (eyes) see.’	
(46) <i>irahenda</i> (CL 9)	<i>nezimba</i>
i-ra-hend-a	ni-e-zimb-a
It –TAM-expensive-asp	TAM-CL9-expensive-asp
‘It is expensive.’	
(47) urakora (wowe – 2 nd pers.singular)	nookora

wowe u-ra-kor-a
 You Aug- TAM-work-asp
 ‘You work.’

ni-o-kor-a
 TAM-Aug- work-asp

3.7.6 Infixes

Bangamwabo (1989) has demonstrated that Kinyarwanda infixes are different to Oluchiga infixes due to the presence of infix *-g-* in Oluchiga which does not exist in Kinyarwanda. The example (48) illustrates the infixes:

(48)

Kinyarwanda infixes

-wu-

Bawuguze

-yi-

Bayiguze

-ya-

Bayaguze

Oluchiga infixes

-gu-

bagugura

-gi-

bagigura

-ga-

bagagura

3.7.7 Suffixes

As is mentioned in Section 3.6.2.2 of this chapter, the suffixes of Kinyarwanda are the same as those of Oluchiga. Both languages have the causatives *-ish-*, *-y-*, the applicative *-ir-*, the passivation *-w-*, the commutative *-an-*, and the stative *-ik-*. The only difference is in the variation of the causative suffix *-ish-* which in Kinyarwanda may be realised as *-ish-* and *-y-* whereas in Oluchiga it is realised as *-es-*, and *-zy-*. Examples (49), (50), (51) and (52) illustrate the use of suffixes in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga:

Kinyarwanda

(49) *Gutemesha*

Ku-tem-**ish**-a

Oluchiga

kutemesa

ku-tem-**es**-a

‘to cut using something’

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (50) <i>Kuvugisha</i> | <i>kugambisa</i> |
| Ku-vug- ish -a | ku-gamb- es -a |
| ‘to speak to someone’ | |

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| (51) <i>Koza</i> | <i>kwozya</i> |
| Ku-og-y-a | ku-og-zy-a |
| ‘to wash’ | |

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| (52) <i>Kubunza</i> | <i>kubunzya</i> |
| Ku-bung-y-a | ku-bung-zy-a |
| ‘to sell’ | |

3.7.8 The tense aspect modality morphemes

Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are SVO languages like other Bantu languages. This means that modifiers follow head nouns and that in canonical sentence structure verbs are ‘in the middle’ of subject and object (Kimenyi 2002:5). However, the tense, aspect and modality morphemes of both languages are different even for similar verbs with the same meaning. I will illustrate this with a number of translation equivalents below.

Bangamwabo (1989:163) illustrates that Kinyarwanda tense and modality morphemes are different from Oluchiga morphemes referential tenses namely present, habitual, early today, past, late today and future and more tenses of both languages, namely the habitual tense, the still tense (equivalent to English present perfect tense), the late today tense, etc. For example Kinyarwanda has the following morphemes as tense aspect modality morphemes:

- morpheme *-ra-* to mark the present tense

Example (53):

Ndagura

n-ra-gur-a

‘I buy.’

- morpheme *-a-* to mark past tense

Example (54):

Naraguze

n-a-ra-gur-ye

‘I bought.’

- morpheme *-za-* to mark the future tense

Example (55):

Nzagura

n-za-gur-a

‘I will buy.’

Oluchiga has a different set of morphemes to mark tense/aspect modality:

- morpheme *-ni-* to mark present tense

Example (56):

Ningura

Ni-n-gur-a

‘I buy.’

- morpheme *-ka-* to mark past tense

Example (57):

Nkagura

n-ka-gur-a

‘I bought.’

- morpheme *-ri-* to mark future tense

Example (58):

Ndyagura

n-ri-a-gur-a

‘I will buy.’

Apart from the above tenses, Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have multiple tenses and modalities and they have separate tense markers as well as modality markers. Rubanda (2006: 152-157) illustrates some of these tenses in Table 12.

Table 12: Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga tenses adapted from Rubanda (2006: 152-157)

Kinyarwanda	Oluchiga	Equivalent tense in English
<i>ndaguze</i> n-ra-gur-ye I come to buy	<i>nguzire</i> n-ø-gur-y-ir-e I come to buy	Past (recent)
<i>naguraga</i> n-a-gur-ag-a I was buying	<i>naningura</i> na-ni-n-gur-a I was buying	Past (Past continuous)
<i>Ndacyagura</i> n-ra-ki-a-gur-a I am still buying	<i>Ncyagura</i> n-ki-a-gur-a I am still buying	Present continuous
<i>Naguze</i> n-a-gur-ye I have bought	<i>Nkagura</i> n-ka-gur-a I have bought	Present perfect
<i>Ndagura</i> n-ra-gur-a I will buy soon	<i>Ningura</i> ni-n-ø-gur-a I will buy soon	Near future
<i>Nagura</i> n-a-gur-a I can buy	<i>Nkagura</i> n-ka-gur-a I can buy	Conditional present
<i>(mba) naguze</i> n-a-gur-ye I would buy	<i>Nkaguzire</i> n-ka-gur-y-ir-e I would buy	Conditional past

<i>Nazagura</i> n-a-za-gur-a I will buy	<i>Ndigura</i> n-ri-gur-a I will buy	Conditional future
<i>Uzagure</i> u-za-gur-e Buy	<i>Origura</i> o-ra-i-gur-a Buy	Imperative future

Chapter 4: Theoretical framework

4.1 Introduction

This study adopts crosslinguistic influence (CLI) and translanguaging theories. Both CLI and translanguaging are theories that explain multilingualism phenomena. Crosslinguistics refers to linguistic phenomena where learners transfer their first language knowledge into L2 use. Translanguaging is defined as a pedagogical practice where teachers assist learners to use their repertoire of languages (L1 and L2) for effective classroom communication. In this study, CLI is used to explain the transfer errors that were traced back to L1 (Oluchiga) from learners learning Kinyarwanda as their L2, and translanguaging helps to explain the classroom interaction between learners and teachers in terms of using L1 and L2 as an integrated linguistic system.

After the explanation of crosslinguistic influence framework in section two; in section three of this chapter I explain the translanguaging framework and its implications for understanding second language learning and teaching. I also discuss the translanguaging pedagogy strategies developed in the teaching of writing in multilingual contexts. With regard to extending the use of translanguaging in Africa, I review the development of the translanguaging framework into the Ubuntu model for teaching indigenous African language literacy in multilingual contexts. I finally describe the possible changes that translanguaging is making in the field of linguistics from structuralism to post-structuralism.

4.2 Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) framework

Crosslinguistic influence (CLI) refers to the various ways languages affect each other within an individual speaker's utterance or writing (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008; Ludovica 2013; Lee 2016; Odlin 2016). It is known as language transfer, L1 interference or linguistic interference. This study has adopted the terms crosslinguistic and language transfer errors as they express what happens when two or more languages are in contact. The term interference is not used in this study because it implies that crosslinguistic influence is undesirable language behaviour; this is known as the "ignorance hypothesis". The ignorance hypothesis regards crosslinguistic influence as a negative linguistic phenomenon which is caused by "low moral character and limited mental

abilities; sloppiness, narrow-mindedness and lack of mental clarity and sound thinking” (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008:2). However, as explained in section 4.1, researchers have shown that crosslinguistic influence is a natural linguistic phenomenon in a multilingual context and is part of language acquisition (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008; Cummins 2008; Makalela 2009; Kagwesage 2013; Lee 2016; Canagarajah 2018).

Some studies assume that crosslinguistic phenomena involve only two languages (Satomi 2005; Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008; Alonso et al. 2016) but other research shows that CLI can involve more than two languages (Ludovica 2013; Cook 2016). While this study agrees that in a complex multilingual context such as sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world more than two languages are increasingly influencing one another due to mobility of people, globalisation and the Internet technology of the 21st century, it also respects the context of Africa’s remote areas without Internet technology and with low mobility of people. Thus, this study dealt with two languages, bearing in mind the rural context of the case study where the learners have few opportunities to interact with many languages apart from what they speak and what is taught at school. This context has been classified as bilingual acquisition, where learners acquire the first language at home (in this case study the Oluchiga language) and learn the second language at school (the Kinyarwanda language).

Bilingual acquisition is one of the key components that concern the crosslinguistic influence issue of how languages influence one another within a bilingual individual (Odlin 2016). In this context the crosslinguistic influence is observed at linguistic branches, namely morphosyntax (as in this study), semantics, pragmatics, phonology, phonetics and orthography (Odlin 2003). The following sections explain how crosslinguistic influence theories predict the language influence from L1 to L2. They start with observations of crosslinguistic influence in transfer error theories.

4.2.1 Crosslinguistic Transfer types

Lee (2016) explained that language transfer occurs at the beginning stages of L2 acquisition because the two languages which are in contact are still fresh at the level where L2 learners subconsciously use the knowledge of L1, which results in two crosslinguistic transfer

phenomena. On the one hand, when the part transferred from L1 is similar to L2 linguistic structure, the transfer is positive. On the other hand, when the part transferred from L1 is different to L2 linguistic structure, the transfer is negative. The research on the production of negative transfer in learning an L2 has shown various crosslinguistic transfer error subtypes including underproduction, overproduction, miscomprehension, and production errors (such as substitution, calques, under/overdifferentiation and hypercorrection) (Odlin 2016).

According to Odlin (2016); those error types are the result of various linguistic phenomena. First, the underproduction errors are the result of the learners' anxiety about L2 structure and fear to produce more errors, so that L2 learners produce few or no examples of L2 linguistic structure. Second, when the L2 learners have mastered one type of L2 linguistic structure, they will tend to produce it often and in greater frequency compared to native speakers (overproduction). Third, when L2 learners use their knowledge of L1 to interpret the L2 message, this results in misinterpretation of the messages because the prior language culture is different to L2 (miscomprehension). Lastly, production errors are the result of replacing the L2 structure or word by their L1 structure or word (substitution errors). Production errors also happen when L2 learners translate from L1 literally into the L2 (calque). This might result in underdifferentiation (when L2 learners are not able to make distinctions in the L2) or overdifferentiation (when distinctions in the L1 are carried over into the L2). Apart from underdifferentiation and overdifferentiation, Odlin (2016) explained that when L2 learners identify prestigious linguistic forms, they might imitate them to an exaggerated degree and at a level where they sound unnatural. This applies as well when L2 learners apply a general grammatical rule to all forms without realising that there are exceptions to the general rule (overgeneralisation).

These types of errors are produced during the process of learning the L2 and are the product of negative transfer. It has been claimed that positive transfer does not have many transfer subtypes. However, two phenomena have been discussed which illustrate positive transfer when two languages are in contact. The first one is positive structure borrowing from L1 to L2. The second is the positive transfer of L1 sounds into L2 when they are identical. Both positive and negative transfer have been discussed in terms of predictability and the following section explains the factors causing the phenomena.

4.2.2 Crosslinguistic similarity and factors influencing language transfer

Crosslinguistic similarity, which is known also as typological proximity, is the main factor influencing language transfer in this study. The essence of crosslinguistic similarity is that the transfer is more likely to occur when the language user perceives two languages as being similar (Martin 2000:124). This means that once learners of L2, such as in this case study, perceive the resemblance between their L1 and L2, more transfers will occur. Those transfers would be positive when the transferred linguistic structure or words are similar to those of the L2 but would be negative when the transferred structure or words are different from those of the L2. The discussions of differences and similarities have been developed into a model termed the “Typological Primacy Model”.

The Typological Primacy Model (TPM) argues that once learners perceive the similarity between L1 and L2, as is the case in this study, the learners make two types of transfers, which might be caused by either actual typological proximity or perceived typological proximity (García Mayo & Rothman 2012:19). Actual typological proximity confirms the similarity between L1 and L2, as the transferred part from L1 matches with L2 structure. This phenomenon is known as positive transfer. However, if the transferred part from L1 does not match with L2 structure that is perceived typological proximity, which is known as negative transfer. Rothman (2010) argues that positive transfer assists learners to use their prior linguistic knowledge from L1 to learn the L2. Rothman (2011) acknowledges that negative transfers are not facilitative to L2 learning.

Even if TPM considers both negative and positive transfer errors but it did not discuss the role of negative transfer in L2 learning which was previously denied by the Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM). Flynn, Foley & Vinnitskaya (2004) propose that languages are learnt in a cumulative process as explained by the CEM. This means that L2 learners rely on L1 knowledge to support the learning of L2. While this argument might be true it is criticised for assuming that the role of the L1 is only to supply the positive transfer or to remain neutral (Rothman 2014). In other words, it denies the existence of negative transfers. A number of studies conducted on learning L1 and L2 have proved the CEM wrong because they have identified both negative

transfer and positive transfer (Rothman 2010, 2011; Ludovika 2013). Thus, in a multilingual context there are both negative and positive transfers. While the role of positive transfer is known to be facilitative, section 4.2.1 has discussed the role of negative transfer as the constant sign of multilingualism and translanguaging in real communication of the 21st century.

It is important to mention that there are various factors influencing the language transfer between L1 and L2. Those factors are age, proficiency, personality, aptitude, linguistic awareness and social context (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008:175). This study has focused on linguistic similarity because of the nature of study, which explores transfer errors in the scripts of learners learning to write in Kinyarwanda (L2) while they are primary speakers of Oluchiga (L1). Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are both Bantu languages and their linguistic similarity is noted in this study and in the literature review.

4.2.3 Crosslinguistic hypotheses

Three competing crosslinguistic hypotheses have been discussed, namely the Single System Hypothesis (SSH), the Separate Development Hypothesis (SDH) and the Interdependent Development Hypothesis (IDH), also known as the Crosslinguistic Hypothesis (CLI). Those hypotheses serve to respond to the issue of how languages influence one another within a bilingual individual and how we can predict transfer errors. The three hypotheses are contradictory in terms of their internal representation of languages, as explained in the following paragraphs.

The Single System Hypothesis (SSH), which was proposed by Voltera and Taeschner, states that children have a single linguistic system in their minds (Mishina-Mori 2005; Yip 2013). SSH explains that bilingual children start with a single linguistic system which makes them transfer their knowledge in learning the L2, and when they are progressing to proficiency level the single system develops into two systems (Yip 2013). The SSH suggests that bilingual children go through three stages of acquisition in order to reach two separate systems. The first stage learners learning the second language have only a single syntactic system and use L1 syntactic rules. The learners at this stage cannot translate one word in L2. In stage 2, children mix L1 and L2. They

have sufficient vocabulary of L2 but they still have one syntactic system. Thus, there will be more syntactic rules of L1 transferred in their use of L2. In the third stage, bilingual children attain the required proficiency where they have two lexicons and two syntactic systems. In a word, the SSH argues that to be considered fully bilingual, children should have two separate (L1 and L2) linguistic systems in their brains, which requires them to go through the three stages to learn and master the L2. While the order of acquisition of L2 proposed by the SSH seems to be logical considering first language acquisition, it has been criticised for assuming that all bilingual children are first monolingual and learn the L2 afterwards.

In response to this criticism of the SSH, a Separate Development Hypothesis (SDH) was developed, with its main argument that there is no single system for bilingual children but two separate linguistic systems in their brains (Yip & Matthews 2006; Ludovika 2013). The argument of there being two separate linguistic systems arises from the findings of research conducted to compare monolingual and bilingual grammar development (Nottley 2005; Nicoladis 2006). This study found that both monolingual and multilingual children go through the same stages of language development. The SDH predicts that monolingual children acquiring an L2 would acquire two separate linguistic systems in their minds. It argues that learners would not make any transfer errors in L2 because they acquire the two languages separately. However, this was contradicted by a number of studies illustrating transfer errors and more multilingual phenomena such as code switching and translanguaging. This led researchers to develop the third hypothesis.

The third hypothesis, the Interdependence Development Hypothesis, rejects both the SSH and the SDH because it argues that there is no single linguistic system and that the linguistic systems of L1 and L2 are not completely separate. The Interdependent Development Hypothesis, which is also known as the Crosslinguistic Hypothesis, proposes that there is continuous interaction between L1 and L2. The Crosslinguistic Hypothesis predicts that language influence occurs in a bilingual context for L2 and L1. It means that L1 influences L2 by transferring L1 knowledge into the L2 use but the same phenomenon occurs when bilingual children also apply L2 knowledge in using their L1. This was supported by (Ludovika 2013) who argue that during L2 learning, all languages co-exist in the brains of learners and the evidence of their coexistence is

the transfer errors observed in bilingual communication. The Crosslinguistic Hypothesis is supported by Alonso Alonso's (2016:35) argument that second language acquisition is "multiple directional relationships between multiple languages". This is supported as well by the translanguaging theoretical framework which asserts that:

"Rather than focusing on the language itself and how one or the other might relate to the way in which a monolingual standard is used and has been described, the concept of translanguaging makes obvious that there are no clear cut borders between the languages of bilinguals. What we have is a languaging continuum that is accessed" (Garcia, 2009:47).

This means that bilingual children do not have two linguistic systems for L1 and L2 but one linguistic system with bilingual codes, which results in language contact in daily communication and evidence of languages which mutually influence each other (Canagarajah 2018). It has been argued that bilingual children use both L1 and L2 for communication, thus bilingual speakers use L1 and L2 as a continuum of linguistic knowledge as integrated communicative competence which are complementary and influence each other, as explained below (Section 4.3).

4.3 Translanguaging framework

The term "translanguaging" was coined in 1994 by Cen Williams while writing his thesis entitled "An evaluation of teaching and learning methods in the context of bilingual secondary education". Translanguaging is defined as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah 2011:401). This means that multilingual speakers use the multiple languages they speak as a daily integrated communication system. Translanguaging has been confused with other multilingual phenomena such as code switching and diglossia. However, Garcia & Wei (2014) explained that translanguaging is different from the notion of code switching in that it occurs naturally for multilingual speakers as an integration of multiple language systems while code switching is a conscious process. This is supported by Myres-Scotton (1993) who argues

that multilingual speakers alternate codes to fulfil certain functions. In addition translanguaging differs from diglossia as it does not label certain tongues as high prestige or low prestige but integrates the cooperation of language systems that go beyond socially constructed language systems to engage diverse multiple meaning making systems (Garcia 2009).

Garcia (2011) maintains that acknowledging the fact that 21st century language speakers are multilingual is a powerful approach in resisting the hegemony of power language policy over language practices. Garcia (2011) first defends the fact that multilingualism is a norm and a natural language practice in the 21st century. She considers this global change in communication to be a result of the use of information technology, immigration, and families' different ways of speaking. Moreover, children growing up in the 21st century are likely to be bilingual because of the different contexts they are exposed to (family, community, social media platforms, and schools) and the multiplicity of languages used in those different places. Garcia (2012) argues that children throughout the world are translanguaging. She defines translanguaging as the action undertaken by a multilingual person in order to communicate, which includes discovering multiple ways of communicating or the multiple languages he/she has in his/her language repertoire. However Garcia (2011) points out that education system does not recognize the multilingual context that a child brings to school. Then she identifies assumptions that people have about monolingual and multilingual practices as the reason behind the rejection of multilingualism.

That assumption about multilingual practices is centred on contradictory attitudes towards the use of more than one language in the classroom. While teachers in South Africa (and elsewhere in Africa) acknowledge the role of African languages in promoting effective teaching and learning they also insist that students use English only (Ngcobo et al. 2016:14). In addition, Mwinda & van der Walt (2015) mention that the rejection of multilingual practices in the classroom leads to the academic failure of African language speakers in sub-Saharan African countries and Asian countries, as they are disadvantaged both by the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction and by inappropriate language teaching methodologies.

Sub-Saharan African countries and Asian countries are more multilingual than European and American countries. But models adopted in sub-Saharan African countries and Asian countries are developed in and borrowed from Canada and the USA (Garcia 2011). Garcia (2011) says that those borrowed theories are monolingually driven and have nothing to do with the complex multilingualism that she finds in sub-Saharan African and Asian countries. She defines those models and shows their weakness in addressing the multilingual context.

Against this background she also criticises the widely used Lambert model (Lambert 1974) which contrasts subtractive bilingualism and additive bilingualism. Subtractive bilingualism refers to a situation where the L1 (primary language) is suppressed after the L2 (second language) has been added ($L1+L2-L1=L2$). This practice has been criticised in view of the complex multilingualism in South Africa illustrated by Murray (2009). Indeed the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) acknowledges eleven official languages: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. In addition it highlights that it is every citizen's right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice. Looking at the number of languages acknowledged as official languages and the right to the choice of a language of instruction, it appears that the constitution promotes multilingualism in South Africa. However the language-in-education policy (1997) simultaneously guides and limits real multiple language communication by controlling the order of acquisition and choice. The South African language-in-education policy (1997) says that a learner should develop his/her home language and learn one or more additional languages.

The South African education language policy reflects three assumptions that can be judged to be fallacious in the light of the realities of migration across South African provinces (Murray 2009). These assumptions are first, that all learners come to school with the ability to speak and understand their assumed home language, second, that learners have no prior knowledge of the first additional language when they arrive at school, and third, that learners study a second language or additional languages for general communicative purposes. These assumptions assume a static population of South Africans in any one province as normal and unchanging and ignore migration from one province to another, or children of parents who speak different languages. The natural movement of people (migration) creates the possibility that in a single

classroom in South Africa one can observe learners who speak seven or more different languages among them. What then will be the home or first additional language for each of them?

In contrast to subtractive bilingualism, additive bilingualism refers to a situation where a second language is added to the linguistic repertoire without suppressing the first language ($L1+L2=L1+L2$). Additive bilingualism is adopted in multilingual countries as a solution to monolingually driven practices. However, the implementation of additive bilingualism is problematic, because in reality the different languages are kept totally separate in the classroom. For instance Dornbrack (2008) states that the South African education policy is additive multilingualism – developing the learner’s mother tongue while teaching him/her an additional language. Garcia (2011) has criticised this additive language education as it does not match learners’ communication but rather keeps languages separate. The teacher becomes the protector of the boundaries against any contamination of one language by the other. However, as far as South African indigenous languages are concerned, Makalela (2013) argues that boundaries between South African languages are artificial because they have been constructed to support monolingual practices. Makalela’s (2013) findings while studying multilingual practices in South Africa are that most South African indigenous languages are mutually intelligible on a normal dialect continuum with minor phonological variations.

Garcia (2009) argues that neither subtractive bilingualism nor additive bilingualism fits a multilinguaging communicative environment and suggests adding recursive bilingualism (i.e. restoration of a language that was suppressed during second language learning) and dynamic bilingualism (i.e. enabling multiple language practices and allowing users to go beyond the language separation set by monolingualism).

The consideration of “dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia 2011) could help to find a solution to complex multilingual classroom language realities because it values the multilingual/multimodal context of communicative action. This is supported by Makalela’s (2013) findings on artificial boundaries between South African local languages and by his call to allow multilingual spaces and the language repertoires that learners bring with them to class.

The arguments considering dynamic bilingualism have influenced Garcia's (2011) plural vision of language learning and teaching in terms of translanguaging pedagogy in education. Taking bilingualism as a norm Garcia (2011) demonstrates that bilingual education was used in ancient times at least 4000 to 5000 years ago. She illustrates her point by referring to the use of Latin and Greek in bilingual Roman aristocratic education. Then she says that bilingual education has been used in Canada and the United States of America (USA) to respond to immigration and the linguistic heritage from colonization. However she criticises those bilingual education systems which separate languages and maintain a monolingual ideology which considers code alternation such as code switching to be bad.

Contrary to the monolingual ideology introduced by Western countries Garcia (2011) promotes translanguaging as a method that fits the 21st century global communication changes. To support her argument she explains that the methods developed by Western countries have proven to be inadequate to address multilingual communication in the 21st century. In addition she gives examples such as India and the Philippine, where the linguistic environment is complex as far as its multilingualism context is concerned. She explains that in India, where more than 33 languages are used, communication tolerates fuzziness of language boundaries and fluidity in language identity. Based on those examples (India, Hawaii, the Philippines) she argues that there should be a multilingual education policy in place that should be based not only on multiplicity but also on the use of the intertwining of language practice (i.e translanguaging). The reality of multilingual contexts in the classroom led researchers to develop the translanguaging pedagogy reviewed in the following sub-section.

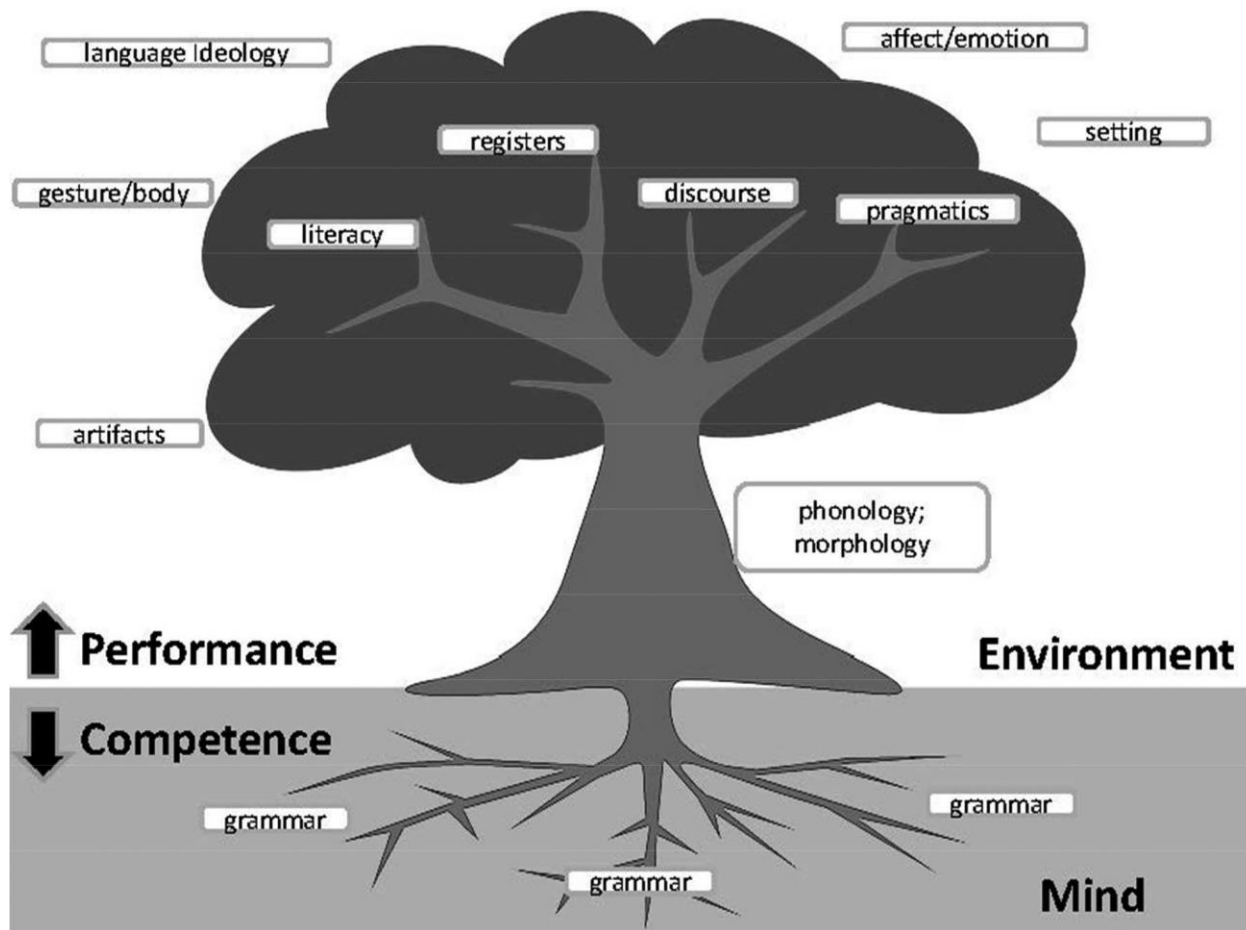
4.3.1 Translanguaging pedagogy for writing

Translanguaging pedagogy evolved from the major weaknesses of language teaching practices in multilingual contexts. Raimes (1991) explained that previous language teaching methodologies in the USA neglected the integration of writing skills into language learning by focusing on developing only speaking skills. This was researched by Matsuda (2003), who demonstrated that the second language instruction of the 1960s and 1970s was carried out by means of the audio-lingual method (a method that, in its most simplistic form, develops only speaking skills). In

addition, in the period between 1970 and the 1990s the teaching of English focused on developing students' command of syntax, reading and writing to advanced levels (Hadley 1993).

Canagarajah (2018:3) argues that this understanding of teaching writing can be expressed in an arboreal metaphor whereby second language acquisition is conceived as a linear process starting from the mastery of grammar. This is explained by Chomsky's language acquisition device that positions grammar as a deep structure in the human mind. He proposes this as a foundation for language mastering, which can be observed at surface level through writing skills and other language competence (Chomsky 1965). Canagarajah (2018) explained that this understanding of language acquisition can be illustrated by the arboreal metaphor in Figure 4 where the focus is on grammar as the roots (deep level in the mind of the human being) of all language skills providing the nourishment for the branches (at the surface level illustrating language competence):

Figure 3: Arboreal metaphor from Canagarajah (2018: 3)



The understanding of grammar as the starting point in language learning, illustrated in the above arboreal metaphor, was criticised for influencing language teaching pedagogy and ignoring actual language use in real communication practice (Makalela 2014; Block 2014; Canagarajah 2017; Canagarajah 2018). Canagarajah (2017) argued that treating grammar as the starting point of learning a language relates to Chomsky's structuralism, which considers grammar to be internalised and providing the external system of meaning making for speakers. He called for the shift from structuralism, that defines language as a closed structure, self-defining, value-free and abstract, to translanguaging, that takes into account complex 21st century communication including verbal and non-verbal semiotics, which are important to communication.

Andrew & Smith (2011) argued that traditional theories of language teaching, and especially writing pedagogy, do not take into account 21st century communication needs in information

technology and globalisation. Thus they suggested a new model of writing pedagogy that meets 21st century communication needs, such as multimodal and digital age communication. Even though Andrews & Smith (2011) did not mention translanguaging by name, nevertheless their recommendations illustrate the advantages provided by translanguaging pedagogy. Cook (2013) explains that the global mobility of humans and goods imposes the use of multiple languages, which requires speakers to have local and global multilingual competence. This is supported by Mwindi's & Van der Walt's (2015) argument that translation, as one of the translanguaging strategies, can be used as a resource to improve and broaden English language vocabulary in the context of Namibian rural primary schools where English is not the learners' home language (Rumanyo). In addition they argued that it is first necessary to analyse the need for learners to decide on the advantages offered by the use of translanguaging teaching strategies.

Garcia (2011) positions her discussions on multilingual education and bilingual education using multiple languages by highlighting the advantages offered by translanguaging practice in education. Based on her argument that it is not possible to live in a bilingual community without translanguaging, she makes it clear that translanguaging enables learners to communicate in the multimodal and multilingual / multicultural 21st century world. She explains that translanguaging is a pedagogical practice that can help learners to build on their community linguistic repertoire and allows them to practise their multilingual culture in a classroom. Translanguaging helps teachers not to rely only on their own language repertoire but to let learners explore and practise their languages, making their classes learner-centered. In addition, a translanguaging classroom incorporates social justice and social practice. Garcia (2011) explains that social justice is promoted because the learner's language multiplicity and identity are valued. It also accommodates the promotion of social practice as learners find a link between theory and their practice in the society they live in, and it helps them to collaborate in social practices. She concludes by emphasizing that the role of multilingual education in the 21st century is to recognize multiple language practices and the heteroglossic environment of learners. From the same perspective Gwyn et al. (2012) listed the advantages of translanguaging in classrooms as follows:

- It promotes deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter.
- It helps with the development of the weaker language.
- It may facilitate home-school links and cooperation.
- It may help the integration of speakers of a certain language with early learners.
- It assists individual intellectual development by refining the ability to think, understand and internalise information in the two languages.
- It prepares individuals to learn additional languages by developing flexibility of mind and a positive approach towards other languages and cultures.
- It prepares individuals effectively for situations where they need to use both languages and transfer from one language to the other.

The above advantages have been supported by Jiménez et al. (2015). Cummins (2007) also recognises that the use of translanguaging in the classroom provides a number of advantages, for example, helping multilingual students to understand lesson content better, developing the weaker language of multilingual speakers, linking home-school language use, and bridging language learning and actual language use in 21st century society.

Despite the advantages of translanguaging in the classroom there are challenges, as, for instance, when teachers do not have the same linguistic background as their students (Lin & Martin 2005; Creese & Blackledge 2010). However, a body of research has demonstrated that teachers and learners do not need to have the same language repertoire to successfully use translanguaging approaches to language and literacy learning (Canagarajah 2013; Garcia & Wei 2014). For example, Pacheco's (2015) and Bonacina-Pugh's (2013) ethnographic research has shown that monolingual teachers use translanguaging approaches while teaching multilingual learners. Bonacina-Pugh (2013), whilst observing a class of immigrant children, found that a monolingual teacher (speaking only French) was teaching immigrant children who speak seven different languages. Similarly Pacheco (2015) observed a teacher who speaks only English teaching Arabic-English speaking students. At one point they were struggling with comprehension of the word 'pumpkin'. Pacheco (2015) explained that the fact that the teacher allowed students to translate and discuss in their first language, Arabic, facilitated their succeeding in differentiating

in English between a pumpkin that is muddy and pumpkin that is filled with mud. He concluded that this kind of comprehension was a product of the negotiation of meaning and increased the knowledge of both the first and the second language of learners. Based on those classroom observations they (Pacheco and Bonacina-Pugh) argued that teachers do not need to speak their learners' languages but do need the critical approach of guiding students into challenging each other's ideas and facilitating communication between the students themselves and the teacher.

Translanguaging may have been explored in speaking and listening classes but it has not been researched to the same extent in writing lessons because of "a strong opinion among some scholars that translanguaging is not permitted in writing" (Canagarajah 2011: 6). Since research into the teaching of writing incorporating translanguaging methods is in its infancy, more work needs to be done in this field. Ngcobo et al. (2017) argued that writing currently needs to be explored in an academic literacy lesson as a consequence of the ignorance of writing in the translanguaging research field. In this context, translanguaging writing refers to

‘the alternative use of different languages for the purposes of reading and writing.... this original meaning views translanguaging as a process whereby “students hear or read a lesson, a passage in a book or section of a text in one language and develop their work in another language. In this context it would mean asking students to read a text that is in English and producing a summary in an African language, and the other way round”.’ (Ngcobo 2017: 16, citing Hornberger & Link, 2012: 242).

As far as writing pedagogy is concerned Garcia & Li Wei (2014) and Canagarajah (2011) have conducted research to investigate the application of a translanguaging framework in the writing classroom. Canagarajah (2011) investigated how graduate students speaking Arabic and English develop their writing process while writing narratives. He found that a particular student used Arabic words to express her thoughts about her English text. In addition the student used her linguistic repertoire in unified and creative texts. Canagarajah (2013) coined a term

“codemeshing” to explain the use of a variety of dialects and language registers while writing. Codemeshing means that in a multilingual context learners do not complete the writing process in one language but use their entire linguistic repertoire as one integrated whole communication system. Canagarajah (2011) gives the following cases to illustrate codemeshing:

- Multilingual learners voice their ideas (discussions with peers) in two or more languages to prepare the writing of a monolingual text.
- Multilingual learners plan and take notes in two or more languages even if their goal is to write a formal essay in one language.
- Multilingual learners may write their narratives (mostly not formal essays) in more than one language when they think their audience (it can be also a teacher) is multilingual and when their intention is to express fully their lived experience in their homes and communities.

The first two cases illustrate that multilingual writers write in multiple languages during the writing process with the aim of producing a monolingual text. Canagarajah (2011) explains that the fact that multilingual writers use multiple languages during the writing process and end up with monolingual texts is due to monolingual academic discourses. However, when multilinguals are not bound by the rules of traditional monolingual academic discourse, they produce and publish multilingual texts.

This has been supported by a number of published translanguaged texts in the media and in literature. For example Janks et al. (2014) argue that multilingual writers in South Africa produce multilingual cartoons as a result of their using their linguistic repertoire flexibly, maintaining translanguaged features of the multiple languages used in South Africa and expressing themselves naturally. This is similar to the case of emergent multilingual learners who are having spaces created for them to use their linguistic resources to participate fully in the learning process (Garcia 2012; D’warte 2014). Baker (2011) illustrated it in the following quote:

It is possible in a monolingual teaching situation for students to answer questions or write an essay about a subject without

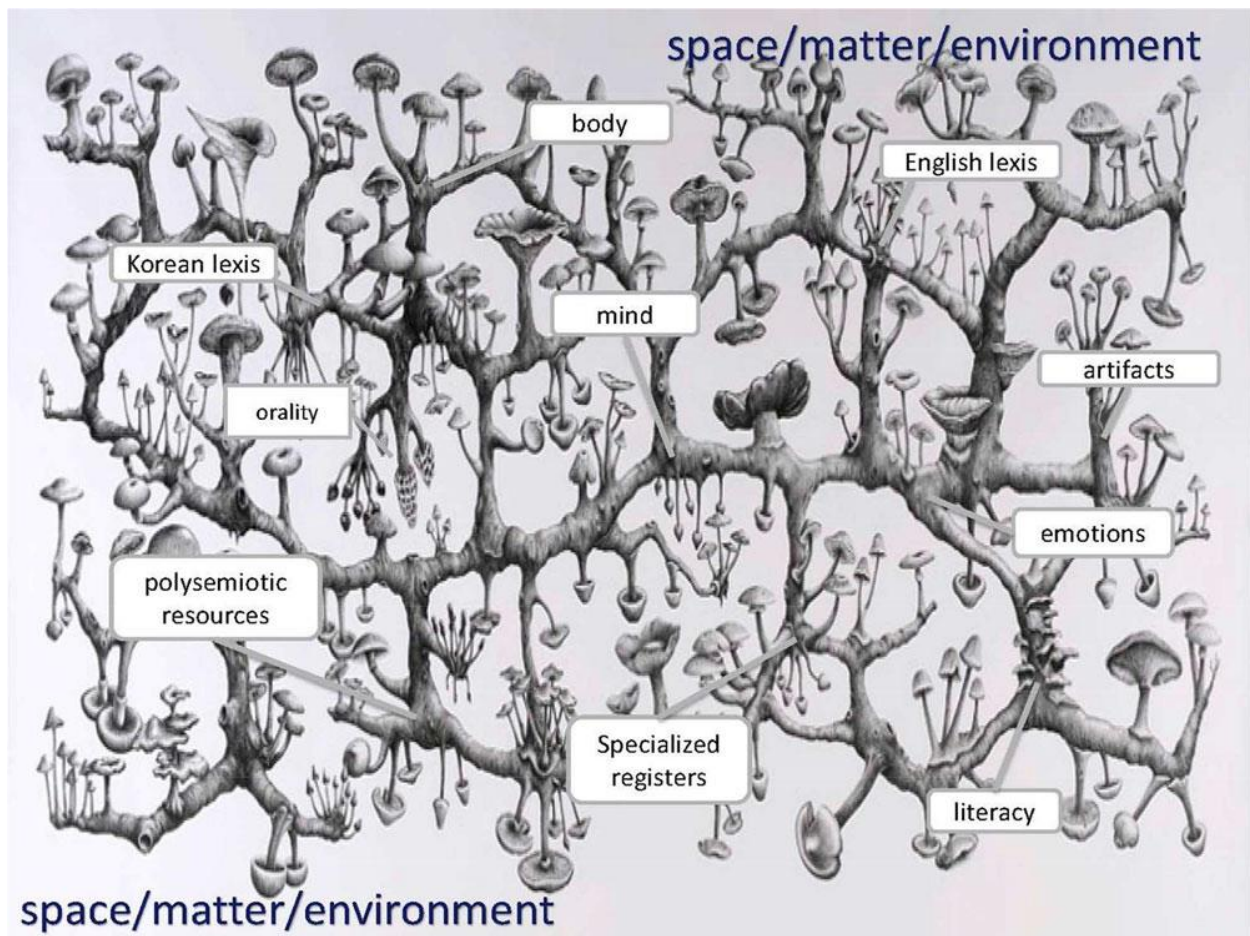
fully understanding it. Processing for meaning may not have occurred. Whole sentences or paragraphs can be copied or adapted out of a textbook, from the internet or from dictation by the teacher without real understanding. It is less easy to do this with ‘translanguaging’. To read and discuss a topic in one language and then to write about it in another language means that the subject matter has to be processed and ‘digested’. (Baker 2011: 289).

The above quote emphasises the possibility, reliability and advantages of using translanguaging in the writing class. Thus 21st century learners are resisting traditional monolingual writing discourse and adopting translanguaging as a result of using their entire linguistic repertoire as one integrated whole rather than writing solely in one formal language during the whole writing process.

In addition Canagarajah (2018) has illustrated that the adoption of translanguaging in the classroom changes the traditional monolingual writing discourse into a multilingual writing discourse in which writers as well as speakers draw from their linguistic and non-linguistic repertoire to make meaning. In his study Canagarajah (2018) analysed the communication between learners and science teachers who were non-native speakers of English and found that the teachers succeeded in communicating with the learners, not because of their structured speech (actually their speech was grammatically broken), but because they used the teaching board well to illustrate scientific schemata. He then argued that the teaching of language should move beyond training learners in cognition and grammar alone and should adopt a translanguaging pedagogy that recognises the assemblage of verbal and non-verbal signs to make meaning. Canagarajah (2018:17) argued that the definition of proficiency changes once verbal and non-verbal semiotics are considered, contrary to the traditional consideration of only cognition and grammar, which predicts that proficiency is linear from basic grammar to advanced literacy. Traditionally speaking, proficiency is measured in terms of native speaker norms but in translanguaging pedagogy proficiency is measured in terms of the ability of the speaker to engage in meaningful social and institutional interactions in multilingual communities

within local conventions (Canagarajah 2018). Thus the new definition of proficiency in language is based on negotiation of meaning. Canagarajah (2018: 17) illustrates the new ways of understanding the notion of competence in language teaching in a rhizome metaphor in which semiotic resources along with grammatical proficiency contribute to making meaning, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 4: Rhizomatic Model of Emplacement from Canagarajah (2018:17)



The rhizomatic model fits with Janks' (2010:4) advice to teachers of writing to adopt verbal and visual texts in order to teach relevant skills to 21st century students in the digital age. She stated it in the following words:

“In our own age new digital technologies have effected a communication revolution enabling permanent records of embodied oral texts, instant reproduction and transmission of both verbal and visual texts and the production of multimodal texts which make meaning by combining a number of modes of communication: Verbal, visual, aural, special, gestural. If we take seriously the different faces of writing then we have to recognise the importance of the visual in modern forms of communication. Not only are photographs, emoticons, pictures and drawings able to carry the message of texts along with the verbal but the choice of fonts, columns, layout (the overall design of a page) shape the meanings conveyed; one has only to think of full-page colour advertisements in magazines for example.” (Janks 2010:4)

4.3.2 Indigenous African language literacy pedagogy in multilingual contexts

In the framework of translanguaging pedagogy Makalela (2016) developed a model for teaching indigenous African language literacy in multilingual contexts. The model is called the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy and it is defined as a multilingual literacy model that promotes the African humanism concept of interdependence between languages as well as literacy skills (Makalela 2015). The Ubuntu translanguaging framework is proposed as a solution fitting the sub-Saharan African multilingual context as opposed to Eurocentric ideological multilingualism. Makalela (2014) criticises Eurocentric ideological multilingualism for maintaining monolingualism by misconstruing multilingualism as multiple unilingualism, which is defined as keeping languages separate in the classroom rather than allowing the use of multiple languages in the classroom. This ideology has consequences for literacy teaching as the literacy pedagogies focus on avoiding cross-contamination between literacy skills and languages and create gaps between the actual use of literacy skills and learning to use those literacy skills (Makalela 2016). Thus the Ubuntu model is a multilingual literacies model focusing on interdependence between

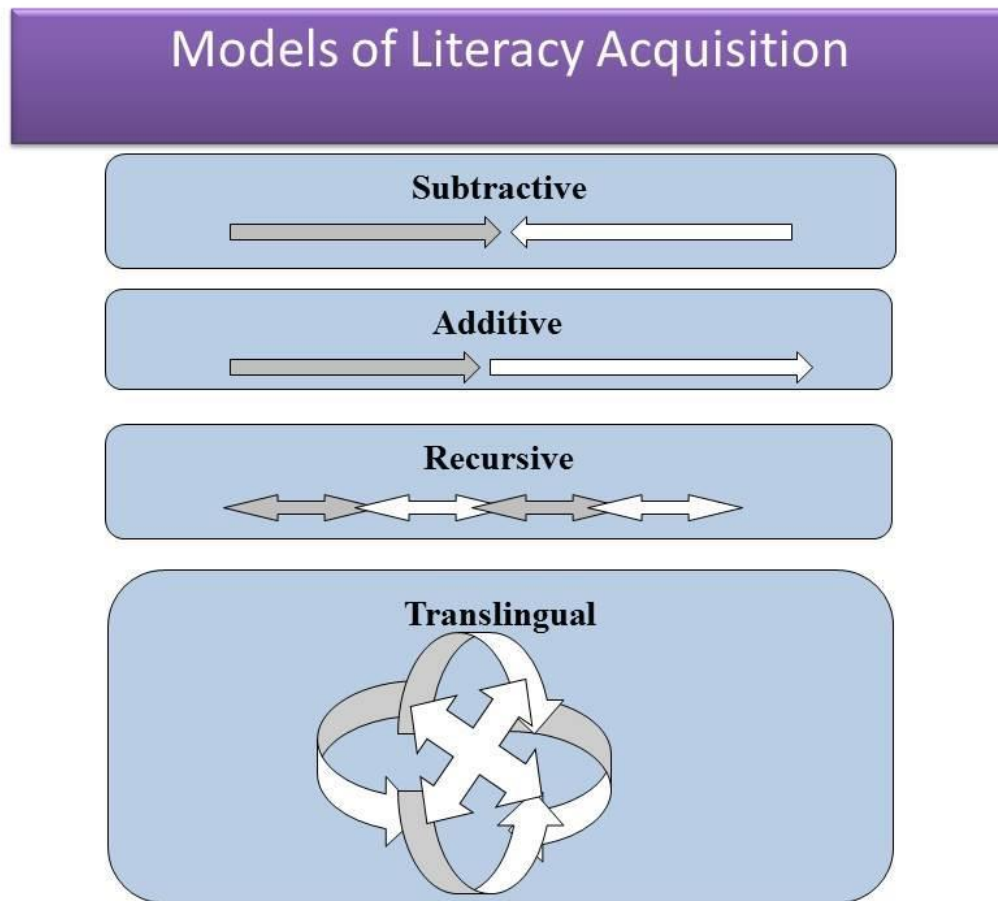
languages and literacies by promoting the African value system of harmonious mutual coexistence and supporting of humanity.

In order to demonstrate the possibility of using the Ubuntu multilingual literacies model Makalela (2016) conducted two case studies. The first case study was conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education in South Africa. The experiment consisted of testing the efficacy of the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy in a classroom of students learning Sepedi as their second African language. The learning of an additional African language for one academic year is compulsory at the University of the Witwatersrand in order to be able to teach in South African multilingual classes. The researcher encouraged students to use their home languages such as isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati in the classroom to develop their second African language, Sepedi. In addition they set up multilingual blogs as a technological multilingual space for student teachers. After classroom observation Makalela (2016) argues that the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy provided an opportunity for students to discover the relationships between their home languages and the second language, which enabled them to develop positive attitudes towards the second language and led to significant development of their vocabulary of Sepedi.

The second case study was conducted at a primary school in a remote rural area of South Africa. The research was done to test the use of translanguaging with students learning reading comprehension in their home language, Sepedi, and their second language, English. The researcher encouraged students to use their first language and the second language interchangeably. The researcher observed that learners were happy to use their home language in the classroom and thus he argued for a correlation between English and the African language during literacy learning. The opportunity of practising both home language and second language through input-output alternation yields a positive development of literacy skills, including an awareness of phonological contrasts between L1 and L2 and mutual development of reading and writing at the same time. The researcher argued not only for the interdependence of languages but also for the interdependence of literacy skills, which breaks down boundaries between teaching reading and writing as well as teaching L1 and L2.

Makalela (2016) concluded that, based on both experiments, the use of the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy provides two main advantages. The first advantage is that the use of the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy enhances identity construction for students. As both L1 speaker and L2 speaker are in non-conflicting identities, it allows the emergence of a complementary identity. This will reverse the traditional ideology of the teaching of English as a second language, which promotes negative stereotypes associated with African languages. This is due to the fact that the teaching of English has ‘othered’ non-English languages. It is interesting to note the name of the English international association labelled TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of **Other** Languages [emphasis in bold is mine]). The word **other** positions English as the top language and other languages, including African languages, are considered to be in a lower position. In addition a number of studies have demonstrated the relationship between identity and language learning (Pavlenko & Norton 2007; Canagarajah 2011). Hence the use of the Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy helps to develop enough linguistic competence to work in a 21st century reality with an interdependent identity and not conflicting ones. The second advantage is integrating writing and reading skills in the literacy development of multilingual learners. This has been acknowledged to be a significant aspect of teaching literacy skills in an integrated way, developing both reading and writing skills as they are used interchangeably in real life (Bishop & Snowling 2004; Shanahan 2006). Makalela (2015) stated that the use of the interdependence model in language and literacy learning would change global language and literacy boundaries by adopting a pedagogy using alternating languages of input and output for constructing a unified identity that produces access to education and to 21st century working requirements for multilingual students. This is supported by Canagarajah (2015), who argues that translanguaging is more advantageous to literacy learning than other teaching approaches (explained by Garcia 2009) such as the subtractive, the additive and the recursive, as illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 5: Models of literacy acquisition adopted from Canagarajah (2015: 7)



The above-mentioned ecological framework of a combination of multilingualism and translanguaging has been acknowledged by a number of researchers (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Canagarajah 2011; Gracia & Wei 2014); however this growing acknowledgment does not (yet) reflect in African languages pedagogy (Makalela 2014; 2015). Therefore the current study follows this pedagogy framework which promotes a ‘multiple language vision’. This is supported by scholars of multilingualism who argue that the imposition of one language as a sole medium of instruction hinders the range of communicative competence of multilingual children as they possess the ability to draw on more than one language from their multilingual linguistic repertoire while interacting with others (Evans 2008; Praxton 2009; Van der Walt & Dornbrack 2011).

In this study I have explored whether teachers who are L1 (Oluchiga) speakers of the local vernacular located in the northern area of Rwanda preserve the multilingual identities of their learners while teaching writing skills in Kinyarwanda (L2), which is the ‘assumed mother tongue’ of their supposedly monolingual learners. In addition I have conducted a morphosyntactic analysis of the learners’ writing which will allow me to identify instances of translanguaging (e.g. Garcia & Wei 2014) and dynamic bilingualism and to differentiate these from lexical borrowing. A morphosyntactic analysis may be less limited by a Eurocentric definition of a word (Lardiere 2008) than a purely lexicon-based analysis. Instances of translanguaging and dynamic bilingualism may be expected to lead to a dynamic interaction of the two language systems which might be evidenced in morphosyntactic patterns (e.g. with respect to concordial agreement and the agglutinating structure of words) which cannot unambiguously be identified as belonging to either the L1 or the L2.

4.3.3 Implications of translanguaging framework for the field of linguistics

The translanguaging framework is changing the field of linguistics in respect of the understanding of language and literacy in applied linguistics. Those changes can be explained in terms of defining language competence and teaching the second language. This sub-section discusses the changes that are ushered in by translanguaging theory and the definitions of terms that are used in this study. It goes beyond language as defined by traditional language teachers to the modern way of including non-verbal resources accessed by the new technology of the 21st century. The changes of the 21st century are discussed in terms of its complex communication and new ways of making meaning.

4.3.3.1 Implication of translanguaging in terms of defining a language

Language has been regarded as pure and a self-standing system situated in the mind of the human being. This concept of language implies that each language has and retains its own separate structure even when in contact with other languages (Block 2014). Block (2014) argued that the concept of the specific separate structure of each language caused linguists to equate a language with a specific nation and to align national borders with languages (one language, one

nation). However this idea was discussed previously (Section 2.3.1) as a monolingual myth because the reality is that “there are about 30 times as many languages as there are countries” (Romaine 1989:8). Thus there is no country where the entire population uses one language, because most countries’ populations use more than one language and the languages’ structures influence each other as they come into contact (Mesthrie 2008). Mesthrie (2008:74) argued that

“The subfield of Language Contact stresses the reality that societies are rarely monolingual; languages exist amidst other languages. The idea of a pure and self-contained language is a poor simplifying assumption compared to the challenges of studying the ways in which speakers of different languages influence each other; how new languages (e.g. pidgins and creoles) are born out of struggle and how multilingualism is ‘managed’ by speakers at a micro level and by societies at a macro level. In some multilingual societies a child may be said to have several native languages, with the order of acquisition not being an indicator of ability.”

Therefore the definition of a language as pure with a specific structure has currently been abandoned and language is considered to be a social construct which is situated in a time and space context. This means that languages are not pure but are always in contact and flux and mutually influence each other. Languages are not conflictual; rather they influence each other in complementary and creative ways, producing new ways of making meaning (Canagarajah 2003; Makalela 2013). For example, thanks to language contact pidgins and creoles are born and once accepted by the society they become new languages (as in the case of Afrikaans in South Africa which was born out of contact between white Dutch and African languages). This supports the call for shifting from the understanding of a language as a rigid structure to new ways of understanding a language as dynamic and flexible, responding to social changes. Haugen (1972:325) stated:

“The concept of language as a rigid monolithic structure is false even if it has proved to be a useful fiction in the development of linguistics. It is the kind of simplification that is necessary at a certain stage of a science but which can now be replaced by more sophisticated models”.

I might argue that the sophisticated models that Haugen is referring to might be the translanguaging framework in multilingual contexts. The new way of regarding language according to the translanguaging framework is to acknowledge that languages are dynamic systems which are embedded in one another in the context of the movement of people in space and time (Canagarajah 2017; Garcia 2009; Makalela 2013). This definition goes beyond traditional language understanding to translanguaging understanding, which includes access to assemblages of ways of making meaning from different languages. The focus of language understanding is no longer on one entity, a single language system, as explained by Garcia 2009:47:

“Rather than focusing on the language itself and how one or the other might relate to the way in which a monolingual standard is used and has been described the concept of translanguaging makes obvious that there are no clear cut borders between the languages of bilinguals. What we have is a languaging continuum that is accessed”.

4.3.3.2 Implications of translanguaging in terms of defining competence

In traditional ways of understanding, cognitive competence and individual proficiency are based on the Chomskyan orientation which “represents language competence as innate, monolingual and arising from a homogenous environment” (Canagarajah 2017:4). This means that competence, according to the traditional definition, is based on mastering grammar rather than

on practice. Therefore in order to communicate a competent speaker of a certain language is the one who has mastered the rules of correctness.

However this understanding of language competence has been challenged by a number of researchers (Pennycook 2007; Garcia 2009; Makalela 2013; Canagarajah 2018) as they argue that the traditional definition of competence, based on Chomsky's theory of cognitive competence and its implication for individual proficiency, is based on monolingual norms that treat one language as discrete from another. Cook (1999) explained that traditional ways of defining competence treat multilingual users, including non-native speakers of the English language, as deficient users because they violate standard grammar and pure language. She argued that multilingual users have multiple competences to communicate in their own context and new ways of proficiency which are different to monolingual norms. Defining competence in terms of native speakers was also challenged by Lam (2000:476), who classified this as a case of discrimination in a class he observed:

“Whereas classroom English appeared to contribute to Almon's sense of exclusion or marginalization (his inability to speak like a native), which paradoxically contradicts the school's mandate to prepare students for the workplace and civic involvement, the English he controlled on the Internet enabled him to develop a sense of belonging and connectedness to a global English-speaking community.”

In the traditional definition of competence multilingual users have separate competences for separate languages but the translanguaging definition of competence is that multilingual users have an integrated competence that enables them to shuttle between languages in complementary ways (Makalela 2013). According to the translanguaging framework the new definition of competence is the ability to shuttle between different varieties of English and different speech communities (Garcia 2009; Canagarajah 2018). Canagarajah (2018) illustrated this definition by conducting his study on the communicative practices of international scholars teaching scientific subjects such as technology, science, engineering and mathematics in the USA. Through his

interviews with them he explained that the successful teaching methods of Korea's international scholars were characterised by shuttling between their mother tongue, Korean, and English. This meant that they usually planned their communications in Korean and wrote them in English. One of his participants reported that he actually used a mixture of Korean and English in his drafts and finally published his articles in standard written English. Thus the translanguaging framework encourages a shift from competence in grammar to performance and practical communication skills. This means that a competent communicator does not draw from the knowledge of cognitive grammar that he/she has mastered earlier but that his/her competence is based on his/her ability to negotiate meaning imposed by the local situation and context. The negotiation of meaning depending on a local context determined in space and time is categorised by Pennycook (2010) as social practice. Canagarajah (2016:5) stated that "translanguaging is a social accomplishment". Translanguaging not only involves a person's drawing from all the languages in his/her repertoire to communicate, it also involves shuttling between the languages brought by the other to co-construct meaning. This means that translanguaging is performative.

4.3.3.3 Implications of translanguaging in terms of teaching and learning L2

The possibility of integrating translanguaging teaching pedagogies is still controversial because of the dominance of standard norms and the pure language ideology. The first resistance comes from the implication that using more than one language would distort the rules of the L2. Lyons (2009) argued that since translanguaging is advocating the use of more than one language in the classroom that would violate language rules and affect its structure. Lyons' argument connects to the debate around errors or mistakes in the translanguaging classroom which allows the use of multiple languages. The notion of interference between L1 and L2 is mostly welcome in the translanguaging fraternity (Lin & Martin 2005). Translanguaging scholars have highlighted that the debate on allowing errors/mistakes originating from L1 in the L2 classroom is also based on traditional ways of English teaching that impose the norms of native speakers and understand competence as mastering grammar (Cook 2009). This results in making L2 teachers guards against cross-contamination of one language by the other (Makalela 2013). Not only does this methodology based on native speakers' norms not work, it also produces L2 speakers of English who carry the burden of thinking that they are not proficient in English because they are not

native speakers of English. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages supports the idea that learners should be taught and should use more than one language. It defines competence as the ability “to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action where a person viewed as a social agent has proficiency of varying degrees in several languages and experience of several cultures. This ability is concretized in a repertoire of languages a speaker can use. The goal of teaching is to develop this competence” (Council of Europe 2000: 168). This explains that competence is the ability to use multiple languages to achieve communication between people.

The second challenge is the interpretation of UNESCO suggestions that literacy is learnt in linear order (Garcia 2006). This means L1 literacy should be developed before L2 literacy. Cummins (1991) supports this argument. While conducting writing studies on second language learning he argued that learners should be introduced to L2 literacy once they are fluent in L1 literacy. It might be possible that these studies were conducted in a monolingual context where there is a clear distinction between mother tongue and second languages. However other studies (Kenner 2000; Garcia 1988) have shown that learners are able to acquire two or more languages simultaneously. For instance Dworin (2003) demonstrated that children exposed to more than one language developed literacy skills in two languages such as English and Spanish.

The use of more than one language (two or more languages spoken by learners) in teaching reading and writing is important in order to include multilingual learners’ culture and identity in the language classroom; however the translanguaging framework recommends that teachers do not teach writing using only verbal resources but also adding non-verbal resources including the visual, audio and spatial semiotic systems afforded by the new technologies (Street 1993; New London Group 1996). Garcia (2006:15) interpreted these translingual teaching approaches as “flexible and multi-modal plurilingual literacy practices that characterize the world of today.” This will require teachers to change their way of teaching writing from monolingual to multilingual norms.

Thus the translanguaging framework calls on language teachers to shift from monolingual norms based on native speakers’ grammar and structure to translanguaging ways of building on the

plural and mobile communicative repertoire at learners' disposal (Makalela 2013). The translanguaging scholars such as Creese & Blackledge (2010), Garcia (2009) and Horneger (2003) argued that there is a need for L2 teachers to allow learners to shuttle between languages in the classroom because by doing so they provide a safe space for learners to build on the home languages that they already know in order to learn the second language.

Whereas in traditional language teaching the teaching of writing keeps the two languages separate, the application of translanguaging methodology requires teachers to include not only the languages of learners but also other semiotic resources in their writing class (Garcia 2009; Janks 2010; Canagarajah 2017). Different scholars in teaching writing have conducted classroom based research testing the effectiveness of letting learners write in English mixed with their mother tongue. They have found that this has proved to be helpful (e.g. the case of Fu (2003) of English mixed with Chinese, and the case of Manyak (2002) of English mixed with Spanish). Makalela (2013) demonstrated that allowing learners to draft their ideas in their mother tongue and write the final copy in English is natural to many Black South African learners. He added also it is possible for skills enhancement: for instance, listening in mother tongue and writing in English. Makalela (2013) argued that output is exchanged in different languages and modes in the process of making the meaning which appears in the final copy. This corroborates Williams' study conducted in a multilingual European context where learners hear and read a lesson in Welsh and develop their work in English (Baker 2001).

In addition current studies on translanguaging explain that translanguaging happens in classrooms informally and is not new at all. Garcia (2006:14) stated, "When children of different linguistic profiles are together plurilingual literacy practices evolve informally as children communicate around writing in two languages, trying to make sense of who they all are, what they understand and know and what they're doing." This illustrates that translanguaging is practised naturally in multilingual classrooms. Canagarajah (2016) added that translanguaging is not new at all because it was practised in Africa and Asia before colonization. He stated the following:

“We do have evidence that translanguaging has been practiced in pre-colonial communities and in rural contexts. In South Asia, Africa and South America rural life has featured considerable heterogeneity and multilingualism. Neighboring villages with different languages and tribal groups adopt translanguaging in contact situations. While villages in the West are homogenous, villages in the Southern hemisphere have always featured diversity.”
(Canagarajah 2016:3)

Finally, translanguaging suggests shifting from structuralism to post-structuralism. Structuralism, which considers grammar and cognition as a priority in mastering a language, is rejected by post-structuralist scholars because it does not address the complex communication of the 21st century (Janks 2010; May 2014). 21st century communication is characterized by verbal and non-verbal signs as well as by hybrid languages due to the Internet, migration, the media and economic relationships between producers and consumers. National boundaries become porous as people, goods and ideas flow across borders and all of this makes languages, cultures and communities hybrid (Janks 2014). Therefore if learners learned the pure grammar recommended by structuralism they would not function well in the 21st century’s complex communication web shaped by fluid social and economic relationships. Thus post-structuralist teaching requires teachers to teach skills which go beyond verbal resources, including semiotic resources, and to train learners in negotiating meaning in order to enable them to be effective in 21st century communication while engaged in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Thus the teaching of writing in the 21st century is shifting from prioritizing mastering grammar and the structure of knowledge only towards the knowledge also of how to use non-verbal resources (Janks 2014; Canagarajah 2018) which marks the change of era from structuralism to post-structuralism.

This study falls into the transition from structuralism (because it considers the transfer language from L1, Oluchiga, to L2, Kinyarwanda) to post-structuralism (because it investigates the hybrid ways of teaching Kinyarwanda to Oluchiga speakers while learning writing in L2 developed by local teachers). The current study responds to Paxton’s (2012) call for researching written text

produced by L2 learners. Paxton (2012: 383) argued that much research has analysed the written text but little consideration has been given to the contexts and production of these texts. This study combines an analysis of (written) texts with an analysis of the strategies of teaching and learning Kinyarwanda as the learners' second language.

Chapter 5: Research design and methodology

5.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to examine multilingual literacy practices. I sought to achieve my objectives by (1) assessing selected writings produced by young Oluchiga (L1) learners (aged 6-12 years) in their L2 (Kinyarwanda). This analysis was aimed at identifying morphosyntactic intrusion from the L1 (Oluchiga) experienced by the pupils while they were learning to write in Kinyarwanda (L2); by (2) an analysis of the literacy pedagogy practices employed by local teachers while they teach writing in Kinyarwanda (L2) to young speakers of Oluchiga (L1); and by (3) an examination of both the pupils' and their teachers' attitudes towards this – officially unrecognised – multilingual teaching and learning situation in which they find themselves.

The research objectives of this study are thus designed for considering both theoretical linguistic data and applied linguistic data. The consideration of theoretical linguistic data in conjunction with applied linguistic data has been considered important for understanding certain linguistic phenomena such as distinctions between a language and a dialect as well as the status of a particular language as indicated in language policies (Mheta 2013; Ntakirutimana 2002). For instance, it may be futile to use only theoretical linguistic criteria to understand why isiZulu in South Africa is considered to be a different language to isiNdebele spoken in Zimbabwe. In this instance, it is important to consider that although isiZulu and isiNdebele are mutually intelligible (they have very high mutual intelligibility in terms of linguistic criteria), they are considered as separate languages mainly because they are associated with socially, politically and to some extent historically distinct groups (Mheta 2013). The example of comparing isiZulu and isiNdebele is equivalent to comparing Kirundi spoken in the Republic of Burundi and Kinyarwanda spoken in the Republic of Rwanda. This study will help to understand how analyses of theoretical linguistic data (collected via a morphosyntactic study) and analyses of applied linguistic data (collected via interviews and classroom observations) may contribute to understanding existing multilingual literacy practices/pedagogies and may thus hopefully make a positive impact on literacy development in post-genocide Rwanda.

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on the research procedures that I used during my data collection and which guided my analyses of the collected data, as well as the processes I went through to generate the results which are presented in this thesis. In this part, I will start by describing the reason for selecting the specific research site (the north-eastern part of Rwanda) and the particular research participants for this study (multilingual speakers). The research setting used in this study was selected because the study was targeting the speakers of a minority language, Oluchiga, in Rwanda. Participants were indigenous teachers and learners who were trying to work around a case of ‘unofficial’ multilingualism in education without specifically designed teaching materials and/or lesson plans to cater for this situation.

Details on participant selection will be provided in section 4. In section 2, I explain the research design that guides the current study. The research design of this study is cross-sectional because of the time constraints underlying the study. The detailed reasons for selecting a cross-sectional study design instead of a longitudinal study design are explained under section 2. The reason for choosing mixed methods is explained in section 3. In section 5, research procedures are described in detail. Data collection procedures, data processing and analysis are presented in section 6.

This chapter furthermore presents the quality considerations of this study. Specifically, I discuss the implementation of the blended method in relation to the consideration of the quality aspects of the study in terms of trustworthiness. The use of a case study which entailed interviews and classroom observations assisted me in examining multilingual practices in a natural setting. It also helped to ensure the validity of the study and facilitated an understanding of complex multilingual literacy perspectives and practices in a society that is still recovering from the genocide against the Tutsi some twenty years ago and is thus still in the process of finding ways to accommodate multiculturalism.

5.2 Research design

This study has adopted a cross-sectional study design in preference to a longitudinal study design. The choice of a cross-sectional design is motivated by the nature of this study, which is examining beliefs and practices of speakers of indigenous languages in an ‘unofficial’ multilingual educational setting. This choice is based on the differences between cross-sectional and longitudinal study designs. Babbie (2008) explains that cross-sectional studies, on the one hand, involve the design of research at one particular point in time. This means that cross-sectional studies deal with data that can be collected within a single time frame. Longitudinal studies, on the other hand, involve a data collection that stretches over an extended period of time (Bryman 2004). The fact that longitudinal studies take a long time and may in consequence also require large budgets (in the current case travelling a long distance to the data collection site) makes such a design inconvenient for this study, which operates within a tight time schedule and a limited budget.

The current study investigates potential morphosyntactic intrusions from an L1 (Oluchiga) into the learners’ writing in their L2 (Kinyarwanda), which are investigated through the analysis of previous writing samples produced by the learners. In addition, I analyse observations of literacy practices employed by learners/teachers as well as their perceptions of how the two languages may be used in literacy education. The latter data on the learner/teacher perceptions were gained through focus group interviews during the 2016 academic year.

5.3 Mixed methods

A mixed method is defined as a research design where “the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study or a program of enquiry” (Tashakkori & Cresswell 2007:4). I used mixed research methods following a case study approach for collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data on how young learners who are primary speakers of Oluchiga (L1) manage to learn orthography and writing in their L2 (Kinyarwanda) and how their

teachers manage to teach them in an ‘unofficial’ multilingual classroom. My case study involved the investigation of multilingual literacy practices in northern Rwanda. The quantitative part of my data analyses consists of assessing the amount and the frequency of morphosyntactic intrusion from the L1 in the L2 writing samples of the learners. The qualitative data analysis entailed the observation of multilingual literacy practices in the classroom and the engagement with both learners and teachers in focus group interviews.

However, researchers have criticised the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in one research design. One of the central disagreements in the context of this discussion concerns the ‘feasibility criterion’. A number of researchers argue that the two methods are totally different, as the qualitative is an ‘easy’ method, subjective in nature, and an interpretative way of doing research, whereas the quantitative method is often believed to be complex and objective, and uses statistics to do research (see Yates 2004; Silverman 2007; Muijs 2011; Bryman 2012 for synopses of the ongoing debate). Hence researchers, like e.g. Bryman (2004) assert that qualitative and quantitative methods have different features as well as their individual strengths and weaknesses. Guba (1990) even argues that qualitative and quantitative methods cannot be combined into one design because they are incompatible in terms of research procedures and results. However, Babbie (2011: 441-442) has a different opinion and argues that:

Although it is important and appropriate to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative research and to discuss them separately, they are by no means incompatible or in competition. You need to operate in both modes to explore your full potential as social researcher. [...] Quantitative analysis can strengthen qualitative studies.

In the same vein, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that the use of both methods helps to combine complementary strengths and to avoid overlapping weaknesses. This view has been adopted in linguistics research by e.g. Hara (2015) in researching the comprehension of text in children who speak Chichewa as their premier language and who learn English as their second

language. She adapted Johnson and Onwuegbuzie's (2004) analysis to juxtapose strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research (see Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13: Strengths and weaknesses of quantitative research (Hara 2015: 152)

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Testing and validating already constructed theories about how (and, to a lesser degree, why) phenomena occur. • Testing hypotheses that are constructed before the data are collected. • Can generalize research findings when the data are based on random samples of sufficient size. • Can generalize a research finding when it has been replicated in many different populations and sub-populations. • Useful for obtaining data that allow quantitative predictions to be made. • The researcher may construct a situation that eliminates the confounding influence of many variables, allowing one to assess more credibly cause-and-effect relationships. • Data collection using some quantitative methods is relatively quick (e.g. telephone interviews). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The researcher's categories and theories that are used may not reflect local constituencies' understandings. • The researcher may miss out on phenomena occurring because of the focus on theory or hypothesis testing rather than on theory or hypothesis generation (called the confirmation bias). • Knowledge produced may be too abstract and general for direct application to specific local situations, contexts, and individuals.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides precise, quantitative, numerical data. • Data analysis is relatively less time consuming (using statistical software). • The research results are relatively independent of the researcher (e.g. effect size, statistical significance). • It may have higher credibility with many people in power (e.g. administrators, politicians, people who fund programmes). • It is useful for studying large numbers of people. 	
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The above table (13) illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative research. The illustrated strengths consist of time efficient research procedures (data collection and analysis) which are replicable and may yield generalizable findings. Quantitative studies also have the advantage of popular credibility and may thus be favoured by donors and governments.

Weaknesses of quantitative research may be that the close focus of the research design may blindside a researcher who may then fail to identify interesting phenomena in the data. Hara (2015) explained that this weakness of quantitative studies can be compensated for by adding complementary qualitative analyses, as they focus on generating theories or hypotheses. The strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research are illustrated in Table 14.

Table 14: Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research (Hara 2015: 153)

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The data are based on the participants' own categories of meaning. • It is useful for studying a limited number of cases in depth. • It is useful for describing complex phenomena. • Provides individual case information. • Can conduct cross-case comparisons and analysis. • Provides understanding and description of people's personal experiences of phenomena. • Can describe, in rich detail, phenomena as they are situated and embedded in local contexts. • The researcher identifies contextual and setting factors as they relate to the phenomenon of interest. • Data are usually collected in naturalistic settings in qualitative research. • Qualitative data in the words and categories of participants lend themselves to exploring how and why phenomena occur. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge produced may not generalize to other people or other settings (i.e., findings may be unique to the relatively few people included in the research study). • It is difficult to make quantitative predictions. • It is more difficult to test hypotheses and theories. • It generally takes more time to collect the data compared to quantitative research. • Data analysis is often time consuming. • The results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies.

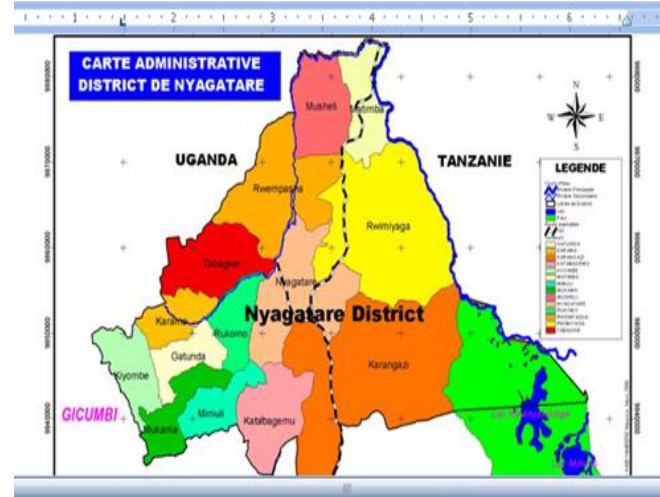
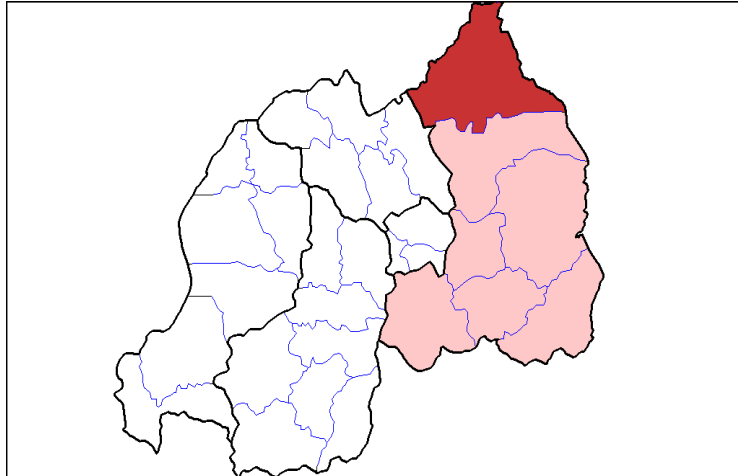
This study will follow a mixed methods approach to get a better and more diverse understanding of both qualitative and quantitative aspects in my data. According to Johnson et al. (2007) the mixed methods approach enables researchers to get a broad and deep understanding of their findings as well as of the overall research problem. This is supported by a number of researchers such as Cresswell and Plano-Clark (2007) who state that the mixed methods approach is more successful than either qualitative or quantitative methods as it provides the combined strengths of both research methods.

5.4 Research site and research participants

5.4.1 Research site

This study was carried out at Mukama Primary School (grade 1 to grade 3) located in Mukama sector, Nyagatare district in the Republic of Rwanda. The Nyagatare district is located in the north-eastern part of the Republic of Rwanda. This choice of the Nyagatare district was motivated by the fact that in previous research in linguistics (Kimenyi 1980-2002; Nkusi 1983 and 1995) the northern area of Rwanda had been identified as having more language varieties than other parts of the country. In addition, the Nyagatare district is both the largest district in Rwanda, with an area of 1741 km², and the second most populous district of Rwanda, with a population of 466,944 (National Census 2012). Nyagatare borders on the Republic of Uganda in the north and the United Republic of Tanzania in the east.

Mukama Primary School bears the name “Mukama” which literally means ‘God’. The school’s name is identical to the name of the region it is located in. Oral traditions reveal that Mukama sector was called “Mukama” because it is located on top of the hill that housed the king’s palace called “mu bitabo bya Gahaya” situated in the Ryamurari site, the capital of the Ndorwa Kingdom before it was annexed by Rwanda (Nkusi 2014).



Retrieved from <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/28/NyagatareDist.png>
Nyagatare district is highlighted in red

5.4.2 Research participants and sample size

In this study, I adopted convenience sampling (Silverman 2007) as fitting the nature of this study, which is a mixed method study. Convenience sampling has been used in mixed method linguistics studies as it can be used in both qualitative and quantitative studies (Cresswell and Plano-Clark 2013). Furthermore, this research targeted a specific population concentrated in one particular geographical area, which is the north-eastern area of Rwanda, and at one research site, i.e. Mukama Primary School.

Convenience sampling is defined by Dornyei (2007: 112) as the most common type of sampling in second language acquisition, in which convenience for the researcher is the only criterion. The convenience for the researcher criterion has been criticised as it does not abide by sample representation and participants are not necessarily selected randomly. Hence a number of researchers argue that convenience sampling is likely to be biased (Robson 1993; Mackey & Gass 2005).

However, research (Dornyei 2007; Mackay 2007; Silverman 2007; Leiner 2014; Zhi 2014) that supports convenience sampling explains that convenience sampling, considering its specific criteria, is not biased. They argue that to call convenience sampling “biased” is assuming that convenience sampling should abide by random sampling criteria whereby everybody has an equal chance to be selected as a participant in the study without having to meet specific criteria. This implies that convenience sampling has incorrectly been understood to be the same as probability sampling. Hence Dornyei (2007) explains that in convenience sampling participants are selected on the basis of specific criteria such as geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, and easy accessibility, as well as the willingness of the participants to participate in the research.

In my study, the selection of participants was based on criteria of convenience sampling. This means that participants were selected from the total population of 241 pupils from grade 1 to grade 3 based on their availability and willingness to participate in this study. Participants in this study were children, male and female, with ages ranging from six to twelve years. All participants were native speakers of Oluchiga who were learning Kinyarwanda as their second language.

I explained to them that participation in the study was voluntary and I obtained 109 consent forms from their parents. Of the 109 learners who had parental consent, 29 volunteered to be interviewed. Unfortunately 132 parental consent forms were not returned. Possible reasons for this low return rate might be that some parents might not have been able to read the consent forms. Research on low return rates for consent forms showed that the parental consent procedure that requires parents to read and sign the consent forms often results in low return rates because many parents are not sufficiently literate (Pokorny et al. 2001).

In addition, six primary school teachers were requested to participate in this research. The school teachers who participated in this study were teachers of Kinyarwanda from grade 1 to grade 3 at Mukama Primary School, Nyagatare district. They were male and female teachers over 30 years old. They joined the research willingly and granted me informed consent after I explained my research objectives to them.

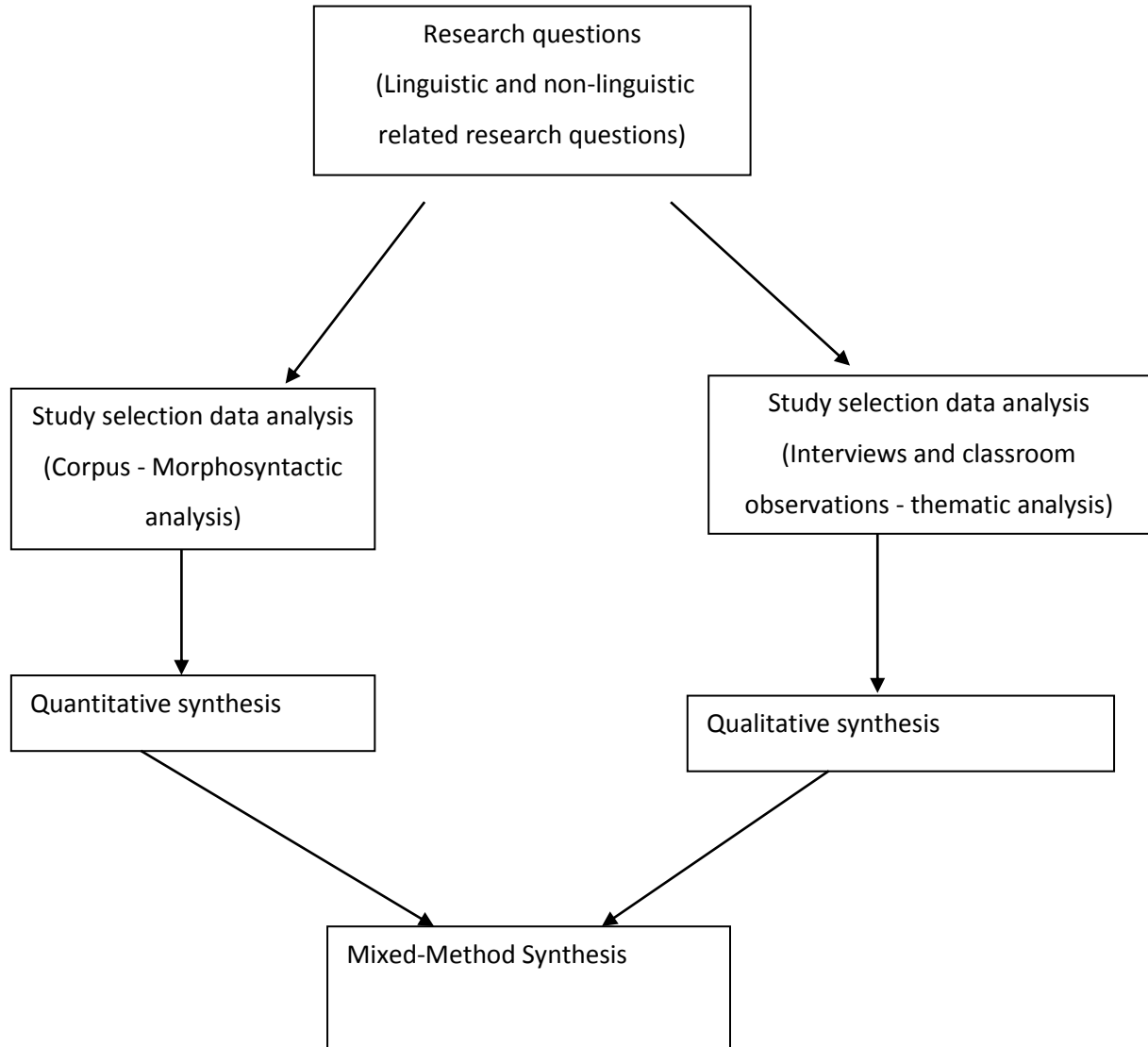
In sum, the total number of people who participated in this study was 115; i.e., 109 learners who submitted previous writing assignments and participated in classroom observations; 29 learners who participated in interviews; six teachers who participated in interviews and classroom observations.

5.5 Data collection procedure

5.5.1 Data collection framework used in this study

This study followed the segregated framework for mixed methods in data collection. According to Sandelowski et al. (2006) the segregated framework for mixed methods enables a researcher to collect data by maintaining a distinction between quantitative and qualitative results and finally to interpret the results in a mixed methods synthesis. This means that the qualitative and quantitative results might confirm one another, refute one another or complement one another. For this study, the segregated framework helped to compare both quantitative, linguistic, data (morphosyntactic findings) and qualitative, non-linguistic, data (language attitudes and literacy pedagogy strategies adopted by local literacy teachers). The adoption of the segregated framework for mixed methods provided advantages in organising my research questions, in conducting the data collection and in presenting my findings in a synthetic way, as predicted by Sandelowski et al. (2006) and as is illustrated in the following figure that I have adapted:

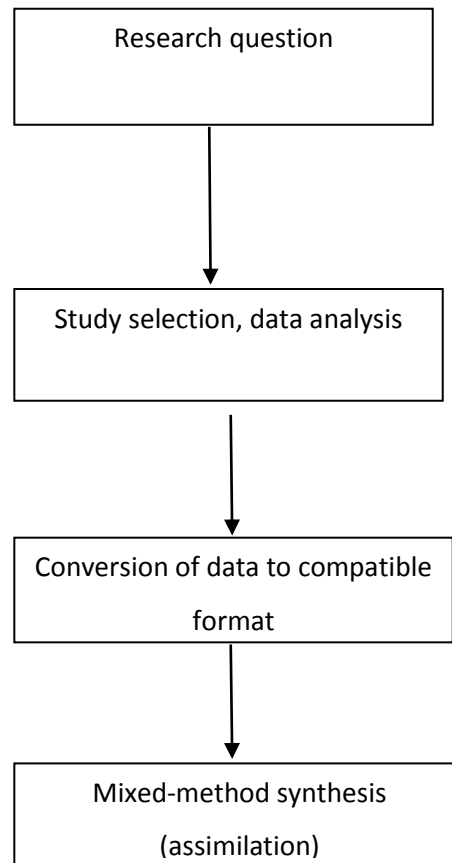
Figure 6: Segregated framework for mixed methods



The segregated framework for mixed methods adopted in this study differs from the integrated and contingent frameworks for mixed methods. Sandelowski et al. 2006 stated that the integrated methodology combines quantitative and qualitative data into a single mixed method by making sure that both forms of data are similar and can be combined into one procedure of data collection and analysis. This methodology might not work for this study as I have two different forms of data (linguistic and non-linguistic data) which are not sufficiently similar to

be combined into a single analysis. The following figure illustrates the integrated framework for mixed methods:

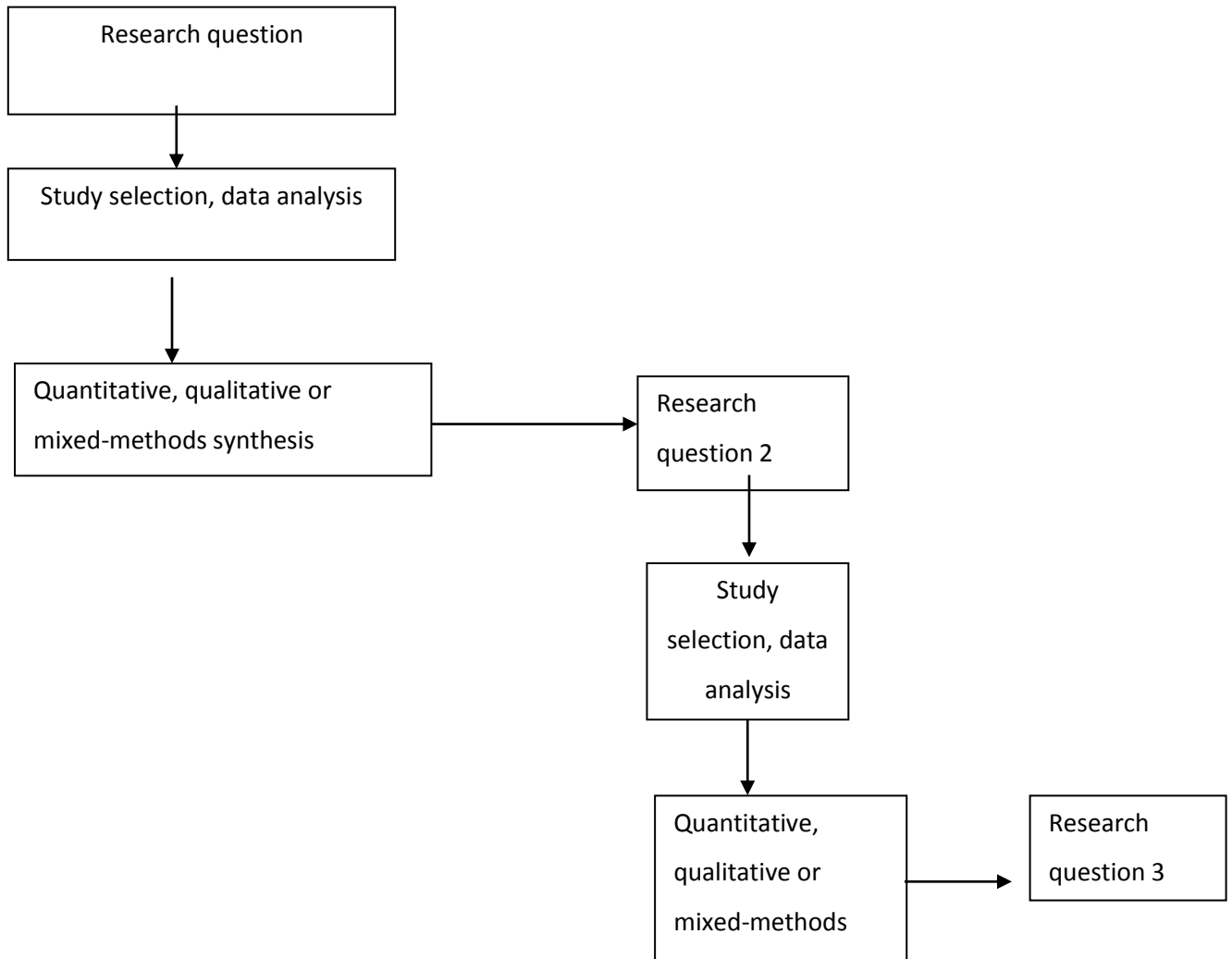
Figure 7: Integrated framework for mixed methods



Sandelowski et al. (2006) explained that the last framework for mixed methods, which is the contingent framework, is far different to the first two frameworks. The contingent framework for mixed methods consists of conducting the research sequentially by dynamically developing new research questions which are based on findings emanating from previous research questions. This requires a complex research process during which you adopt either qualitative or quantitative methods or both for the first research question. Once you have obtained findings from this initial study, you generate the second research question on the basis of these findings; the data obtained for answering the second research question will in turn be used to generate the third research question. The process is continued until the researcher gets results for all research questions within the scope of her/his current investigation. Thus, this contingent

method can include either integrated or segregated synthesis depending on each stage's synthesis. Sandelowski et al. (2006) illustrate the contingent method in the following figure (here repeated as figure 8):

Figure 8: Contingent method



In my own research I opted for the contingent method of research; my choice was motivated by the nature of this study which used interviews, corpus analysis and classroom observations to examine multilingual practices of Oluchiga speakers in a school setting. Thus the use of the contingent method helped me to conduct data collection, analysis and interpretation

sequentially by applying qualitative and quantitative methods according to the research questions of this study.

5.5.2 Data collection steps

Data collection was carried out in three steps encompassing three instruments: (1) A corpus made up of a compilation of learners' previous writing assignments; (2) semi-structured interviews with learners and literacy teachers; and (3) classroom observations. The three instruments of data collection helped me to investigate (1) cases of transfer errors from the L1 in the L2 writing of the learners, (2) the attitudes of teachers and learners to their own language constellations, and (3) pedagogical strategies employed by the teachers in the bilingual classroom. The instruments also helped me to determine the coping strategies of both learners and teachers for learning/teaching in a multilingual context using monolingual norms which are laid down by the national educational policy.

The data collection was done following a sequential order to avoid a mixture of data and abiding by the non-overlapping principle explained in section 3 of this chapter. Sequential data collection has been defined as an approach to data collection where quantitative and qualitative data are collected, processed and analysed sequentially (Cresswell 2009; McMillan and Schumacher 2006). Research on sequential data collection recommends that the researcher should conduct the collection of quantitative data first and then proceed with the qualitative data collection afterwards. McMillan and Schumacher (2006) argue that in this way sequential data collection provides researchers with the advantage of being able to explain their quantitative data further with the help of qualitative results that were collected after the quantitative data were processed.

In this study, the data were collected in three steps. First, in July 2016 I collected writing samples of learners (i.e. previously submitted assignments) and compiled them into a corpus to be analysed quantitatively and later qualitatively. Second, qualitative data were collected in two steps: the first step consisted in interviewing local literacy teachers and learners. These data were collected in September and October 2016. The second step consisted in conducting

classroom observations from grade 1 to grade 3; these were carried out in March 2017. An overview of the data collection procedure is presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Data collection procedure

Steps	Research questions	Research instruments	Sample size
1	<p>1. Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as agglutinative structure of words; what kind of concordial agreement patterns can be traced to the L1?</p> <p>2. Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of patterns in the agglutinative structure of words can be traced back to the L1?</p>	Corpus	Writing samples from 109 learners
2	<p>3. What are the perceptions of learners' L1 (Oluchiga) towards their language constellation? Which insights do the learners have into their language constellation; e.g. do they perceive themselves as being bilingual?</p>	Semi-structured interviews	29 learners 6 literacy teachers

	4. What attitudes do they have towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga? Are the learners aware of any language challenges?		
3	5. Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them?	Classroom observations	6 literacy teachers

5.5.2.1 Corpus

A corpus of previous writing assignments was collected from learners who spoke Oluchiga as their primary language while they were being taught in Kinyarwanda (grade 1 to grade 3). The corpus enabled me to conduct a morphosyntactic analysis in order to investigate the influence of the learners' primary language on the learners' writing in the second language in terms of concordial agreement. In particular, I was interested in transfer errors visible in the agglutinative structure of words. To meet this goal, I had asked learners to bring writing assignments which were completed at the beginning of the third trimester of 2016. All assignments were written in Kinyarwanda and all had the same topic (What will you do during your holidays?). Collected data were processed and analysed as explained in the data processing section (Section 5.7).

5.5.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were scheduled with learners (conducted in September 2016) and mother tongue literacy teachers from grades 1 to 3 (conducted in October 2016). I tape-recorded the interviews; the average length of an interview was 30 minutes. I had planned to

conduct the interviews in Oluchiga with the assistance of a native speaker of Oluchiga, in order to facilitate free expression on the part of the participants but the mother tongue literacy teachers preferred to conduct their interviews in Kinyarwanda. This decision made it easier for me to interview them as I am fluent in Kinyarwanda.

My research assistant helped me to translate complicated concepts from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda because even though the local literacy teachers had decided to conduct the interviews in Kinyarwanda they mixed Kinyarwanda with Oluchiga. The interview topics focused on exploring the views of teachers on whether they used literacy pedagogy strategies to handle the multilingual realities vis-à-vis a monolingual education policy. The topics also focused on learners' attitudes towards their L1 and their L2. Moreover, I asked them about potential coping strategies that they might need to employ while they were learning and being taught in Kinyarwanda, which was assumed to be their L1 while they were native speakers of Oluchiga. These interviews helped to capture the attitudes and the awareness the learners had with respect to Oluchiga as their mother tongue and Kinyarwanda as their assumed mother tongue. The interviews with teachers as well as those with learners were conducted on a one-to-one basis.

5.5.2.3 Classroom observations

I conducted six classroom observations. The classroom observations helped me to capture the actual mother tongue literacy teaching and learning practices. I observed writing lessons at grade 1 to grade 3 classes (each grade had two parallel classes, e.g. Grade 1 had Grade 1A and Grade 1B) with the six teachers who signed the consent forms. I adopted a passive observation approach whereby I made sure not to disturb my participants in the classroom. For practical reasons, I divided my field journal by separating my observations and my comments. During the analysis, it helped me to describe separately my comments and observations. The comments and observation 'notes' were kept in separate boxes to avoid mixing my comments and observations.

The field notes helped me to make general notes on what I personally observed as well as my reactions to the observations. I learnt later that this note-taking constructed my knowledge and understanding of multilingual pedagogy for young learners speaking Oluchiga as their L1 and learning in Kinyarwanda as their assumed first language. The focus of my observations was on classroom interactions between teachers and learners and mainly on speech acts. However, some details such as body movements, facial expressions, and vocal tones were observed to supplement verbatim speech acts as necessary.

It is essential to highlight that prior to collecting the data I had taken two weeks building a good rapport with my informants in order to reduce the effect of a researcher in the classrooms. I had further spent hours explaining to the headmaster that the results of my research would be used for research purposes only and would not be reported to his senior as condemnation that his school was not teaching Kinyarwanda properly. These classroom observations were important for comparing teacher behaviours with teachers' perceptions in teaching Kinyarwanda as a second language to learners who were speakers of Oluchiga as their L1. Thus, the study situates itself in "grounded, local realities...on how humans rethink language and literacy-related policy" (Ramadhan 2005: 99).

5.6 Language used during data collection

Prior to data collection, consent forms were distributed to parents requesting consent for their children to participate in the study. The consent forms were written in three languages: Oluchiga, Kinyarwanda and English (Appendix VI). However, the school administrator told me that if I distributed the consent forms in Kinyarwanda or English parents would resist signing them as they did not understand those languages. Therefore, respecting the advice of the school administrator, I distributed to parents and guardians the consent forms written in Oluchiga, the mother tongue of parents. However, this was not the case with the literacy teachers, as they were happy to sign Kinyarwanda forms without questioning. I gave them a choice and they chose Kinyarwanda forms and being interviewed in Kinyarwanda. For learners, interviews were conducted in Oluchiga and/or Kinyarwanda, depending on the choice of the learners. I used both languages, Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga, to fit my participants' choices, allowing them

to express themselves without facing the language barrier. Most participants chose Kinyarwanda but they mixed it with Oluchiga. In one case, I needed a translation; my research assistant helped me because he is a native speaker of Oluchiga.

5.7 Data processing and analysis

After collecting linguistic data, using a corpus of learners' writings, and non-linguistic data from semi-structured interviews and classroom observations, I proceeded with data analysis. The data analysis complied with the criteria for analysing data collected from multiple sources using the method which is termed triangulation by Denzin (1989). I compared quantitative and qualitative data in order to reach a deep understanding of the literacy beliefs and practices of L1 speakers of Oluchiga while learning Kinyarwanda.

5.7.1 Quantitative data analysis

The corpus which was collected was analysed statistically to determine whether there was L1 influence in learners' L2 writing. In order to respect uniformity of data, I considered the first five sentences of each learner's writing and the first fifteen words. These numbers were chosen as the minimum number of words and sentences that were written by some learners. Thus, quantitative data analysis was performed on 1635 words written in 545 sentences from 109 learners' previous writing assignments.

However, during the data processing, I found that 8 previous writing assignments contained too many typographical errors for me to analyse either concordial agreement cases or transfer errors. After this, the corpus was analysed considering two variables (concordial agreement and transfer error cases). The total number of assignments providing valid data was 101 learners' past papers (92.7%) and of assignments providing invalid data was 8 learners' past papers. These are both shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Case processing summary

Variables	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
CONCORDIAL AGREEMENT * TRANSFER ERRORS	101	92.7%	8	7.3%	109	100.0%

As shown in Table 15 I categorised the data to get a standardised corpus for morphosyntactic analysis. The data were categorised into sentences and agglutinative words (i.e concordial agreement cases were retrieved from the sentences and transfer errors were retrieved from the agglutinative structure of words). Other categories were excluded from the consideration of the data. This categorisation was done to comply with standard corpus criteria. A corpus is judged to be standard for morphosyntactic analysis when it is natural, varied, complete, repetitive, authentic and dialectally uniform (Samarin 1967; Rivierre 1992). This means that a corpus, to be accepted as a pattern for morphosyntactic analysis, should be collected from native speakers of a certain language and from across varieties of its speakers. The collection of this corpus respected the above criteria by focusing on native speakers of Oluchiga studying Kinyarwanda from grade 1 to grade 3. In addition, I excluded the writings of the learners whose parents did not sign the consent forms. During analysis, I also observed the principle of repetition as I considered commonly referred grammatical items of indigenous language as reported in Chapter 6.

After processing a corpus of 109 learners' past writing exercises, I proceeded to analyse them quantitatively. I analysed the data morphosyntactically. Since I had to go through the texts manually, I considered only the first paragraph of each learner's work, which covered the first five lines of each past paper (the total number of word forms in the first paragraphs of 109 past writings was 1635 word forms) in order to analyse them with the same word count .

This helped me to determine the young learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence on their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as the agglutinative structure of words. This study confirmed the influence of L1 (Oluchiga) on the writings of learners in L2 (Kinyarwanda). Afterwards, I calculated the rate of morphosyntactic transfer errors and concordial agreement cases. The results are reported in detail in the presentation of my findings in Chapter 6.

5.7.2 Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data were analysed through thematic analysis. Data collected using interviews were transcribed verbatim. Then all the transcripts were combined in one pile before analysis. I proceeded by looking at the occurrences of similarities and differences in the ideas of native speakers of Oluchiga learning Kinyarwanda as L1 about Oluchiga as their mother tongue and Kinyarwanda as their assumed mother tongue. I looked at the meaning of the similarities and differences in the transcribed scripts and coded them in themes. Those themes helped me to analyse and interpret the participants' utterances.

Data collected from classroom observations were analysed to illustrate the multilingual literacy pedagogy practices of local teachers in teaching L2 writing (Kinyarwanda) to speakers of Oluchiga (L1). First of all, the data recorded were transcribed verbatim and analysed following a thematic analysis. I also checked my research journal to record the written observations as well as my previous comments to describe the classroom, classroom arrangements, body movements, facial expressions and vocal tones. The overall data were analysed and interpreted in the light of the theoretical framework, which is a combination of multilingualism and translanguaging in language education.

5.8 Quality considerations for the study

Assessing the quality aspects of a study has been associated with quantitative research. This has been observed in most of the research conducted in the field of linguistics, as stated by Dornyei (2007:48), who says that setting quality criteria has been "a curiously neglected issue in much

applied linguistic research”. Yet, Dornyei (2007) argues, considering aspects of the study in terms of trustworthiness is not only necessary for quantitative research but also for qualitative and mixed methods research. This section aims at presenting the quality criteria that I observed during the study period.

Validity and reliability are mostly used to confirm the trustworthiness of research (Silverman 2001). In this study, validity and reliability were controlled to try to eliminate any bias that could affect the findings of the study. The control focused on the instruments of data collection (see Table 15 of data collection procedure). Thus validity and reliability were assured by making certain that the research instruments matched with the nature of the research questions. They were also evaluated to make sure that their findings could be replicated.

Furthermore, the validity and reliability of this research are confirmed by the use of triangulation and case study. Triangulation is defined as an approach using two or more methods of collecting data in a study in order to assure the quality of the research (Denzin 1970; Webb et al.1966). In this study, triangulation consisted of using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in collecting and analysing data. Both approaches allowed me to use three different instruments for data collection, which gave me more confidence in my findings. The findings were the product of data collected through classroom observations, interviews and the compilation of a corpus. The analysis consisted of comparing the data collected through multiple data collection instruments, which gave me a chance to be more objective than research that used a single instrument would have given. This helped me to overcome the limitation of using only one method. The advantage of using triangulation had been confirmed previously by Webb et al. (1966: 3) who stated that: “Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes”.

It is worth noting that the case study research adopted in this study contributed to maintaining the validity of the study. The case study method was employed as I collected data from one primary school (Mukama Primary School). This school provided a case study where an African

Bantu language (Oluchiga) competed with a dominant African Bantu language (Kinyarwanda) in a Rwandan context which was mostly judged to be monolingual. Case studies similar to mine are characterised as valid, generalizable and not subject to manipulation (Benbasat et al. 1987; Denzin 2007). Thus, this research has met the criteria of validity and reliability.

However, the use of those two criteria (validity and reliability) has been challenged on the grounds that they are not sufficiently exhaustive to guarantee the quality of research (Bryman 2004). Thus, researchers have proposed more criteria to assure the quality of a study and to justify the generalization of its findings. The criteria proposed are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Bryman 2004). In this study, I have used these criteria to ensure the quality of the research considering the research design for this study.

5.8.1 Credibility

Credibility is defined as “adequate representation of the constructions of the social world under study” (Bradley 1993: 436). This definition was explained by Bryman (2004), stating that research is credible once there is a match between the presentation of findings, the conclusions delivered from the findings and the empirical data collected. In order to ensure the credibility of my study, I have checked my data interpretation against the raw data. I have also given the findings to the local literacy teachers of Kinyarwanda, my former participants, to check whether my data interpretation matches with the multilingual literacy practices of the young learners’ writing in L2 (Kinyarwanda) while they are speakers of Oluchiga as their first language. The comments I have received from the six literacy teachers were positive about the presentation and interpretation of the findings.

5.8.2 Transferability

Kvale (1996: 233) refers to transferability as an analytical generalisation which “involves a reasoned judgment about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation”. In other words, transferability is comparable to

generalizability of findings. In this study, I have respected the transferability criteria by describing the context of the study and separating the presentation of findings chapter into data analysis and interpretations. I have also explained that this research used a specific case study of learners learning writing in their assumed L1 (Kinyarwanda) while they were primary speakers of Oluchiga as their actual L1. This helped me to show readers of this study how the specific situation of this study could be transferred and its findings could be generalized. Thus, the findings of this research could be applicable to most of, if not all, speakers of minority languages in Rwanda and elsewhere.

5.8.3 Dependability

Dependability is another criterion used in discussing the quality of a study. Bradley (1993:437) argued that dependability refers to “the coherence of the internal process and the way the researcher accounts for changing conditions in the phenomena”. In a similar way, Bryman (2004) explained that dependability involves the separation of research activities from the phases of formulating research problems, setting research questions, selecting participants, and interpretation. In my study, I have kept all the records of my research activities from research proposal to data collection and interpretation of findings. The initial phases of this research (formulation of research problems, design of methodology and all stages of research) are detailed in the research proposal that I successfully defended before a panel of five specialists in the field of linguistics. In addition, my data will be kept for five years in my office, as the primary researcher, and my supervisor’s office (See ethical clearance in appendix).

5.8.4 Confirmability

Confirmability of the findings is defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as the objectivity of the research. This means that the researcher should not allow personal motives to generate the findings of the research. Thus the research should be confirmed by other researchers and reviewers who have examined whether the research findings were generated from the data and not from personal attitudes. In this study, I have presented the findings and explained the methodology I have gone through to collect data. In May 2017, I presented the findings of this

research at Africa TESOL's second international conference held in Kigali, Rwanda. The participants gave me positive feedback. Later, this thesis has been successfully examined by internal and international examiners.

5.9 Ethical considerations

Both the design and the methodology underlying this research were approved by the Research and Ethics Committee of the School of Arts, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. Furthermore, ethical clearance was granted after the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Ethics Committee (Human and Social Sciences) confirmed that my research adhered to the ethics guidelines of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, to be found at <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/Human-Social-Science-Ethics.aspx>. My ethical clearance number is HSS/1832/015

I have followed the research ethics guidelines throughout the data collection, interpretation and analysis procedures. The research ethics guidelines are defined by the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Research Ethics Policy. The policy insists on best better practice while conducting research as a student of UKZN. Hence, my study has been bounded by the research ethics determined by the Research Ethics Policy.

I received permission from the school administration to conduct data collection among teachers and learners of Mukama Primary School who were mother tongue speakers of Oluchiga (See Appendix XIII). I applied successfully for ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The ethical clearance certificate was approved and I gave information sheets to my participants and explained to them the research procedure including the purpose and design of this study. Then I secured consent from the teachers, the parents of the children and the children speaking Oluchiga as their L1 while learning Kinyarwanda. Furthermore I explained to them that they had the right to participate in or to withdraw from this research as they wished without any penalties. (See Appendices I – XI)

Throughout the presentation of my findings, I protected the identity of the participants and the information that I had collected. The information which has been provided in this study was stored on a secure, password-protected computer. My code sheet to identify research participants was stored separately from the data to ensure privacy on a secure, password-protected computer. The data will be stored for five years in the offices of the primary researcher and the supervisor. Thereafter data files will be deleted with a “secure delete” programme and any paper-based documentation will be shredded. Names and other facts that might point to the participants’ identity will not appear when I present this study or publish its results. I have used codes to identify participants’ information (e.g. P201511 [2015-Participant 1]) rather than participants’ names on study records. The findings have been summarized and reported in group form or anonymously. No single participant will be identified or referred to personally in such a way that he/she could be identified.

5.10 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to inform the reader about the methodology which was used to conduct this research. Also, it described ethical and quality aspects of the study. A mixed method approach (combining quantitative and qualitative methods) was used in this research. This study was informed by interviews, classroom observations and a corpus of learners’ writing as data collection instruments. The data collection was conducted in the L1 (Oluchiga) of participants and I hired a part-time interpreter (native speaker of Oluchiga) for faithful translation. The proposed data collections and analyses for this research were threefold:

First, I compiled a corpus of 109 texts of the learners’ past writing exercises and conducted a morphosyntactic analysis of these writings. This helped me to determine the young learners’ L1 (Oluchiga) influence on their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as the agglutinative structure of words.

Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with lower level (grades 1-3) learners and mother tongue literacy teachers of grade one to grade three. Semi-structured interviews with learners (grades 1-3) assisted me to capture the attitudes and awareness they have towards

Oluchiga as their actual mother tongue and Kinyarwanda as their assumed mother tongue. The interviews with the teachers were conducted on a one-to-one basis. These interviews specifically aimed at exploring the views of teachers on whether they used literacy pedagogy strategies to handle the multilingual reality which differed from the monolingual 'ideology' in the education policies.

Third, classroom observations were used to capture the actual mother tongue literacy teaching and learning practices. I observed writing lessons at grade one to grade three classes. These classroom observations were important for comparing teachers' behaviour with teachers' perceptions.

Chapter 6: Data description and analysis

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe my data and analyse them into three major sections. Section one focuses on findings which illustrate to what extent the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influences the learners' writing in their L2 (Kinyarwanda) in terms of concordial agreement and transfer errors visible in the agglutinative structure of words. Section two provides more detail on findings about the learners' attitudes towards Kinyarwanda (L2) and Oluchiga (L1) as well as language challenges they face while learning writing in Kinyarwanda. Section three presents literacy pedagogy strategies used by the local teachers to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation. The three sections entail the presentation of two types of findings analysed from linguistic and non-linguistic data (Table 17). As explained in the methodology chapter, the consideration of linguistic and non-linguistic data is of critical importance in this study for achieving its main objectives as discussed in the literature review.

Table 17: Overview of available data

Data source	Type of data	Amount	Type of analysis
Essay on the topic: “What will you do during your holidays”	Written text	109 essays	Morphosyntactic Quantitative
Learner interviews	Responses to semi- structured questions	Interviews with 29 learners	Qualitative
Teacher interviews	Responses to semi- structured questions	Interviews with six literacy teachers	Qualitative
Classroom observations	Written notes	Five hours of observations in six classrooms	Qualitative

6.2 Language background

Since this study is concerned with the language background of learners, I interviewed learners to get to know their language profile. Learners selected for this study were self-declared speakers of Oluchiga as their mother tongue who were learning Kinyarwanda as their second language. This was stated during my interviews with learners (see section 6.3). I have considered the information correct because the information sheets which were written in Oluchiga were read and signed by the parents and guardians. Even if I have observed that the parents and guardians preferred information sheets written in Oluchiga (in preference to those written in Kinyarwanda and English) I did not investigate the parents' language background.

In addition, learners are exposed to English as they study it as a subject in preparation for their study in the upper primary level (grades 4-6), which uses English as the language of instruction. The English language has been a language of instruction from grade 4 to university level since the language shift in Rwandan education dating from 2008. Kiswahili was recently added as a fourth official language in Rwanda; it had already been recommended to be taught as a subject in secondary school from 2017. Before 2017, Kiswahili was taught in Rwandan secondary schools as a subject only in language and tourism-related options. Furthermore, as Nyagatare district borders on the Republic of Uganda, (Bushenyi and Kabare districts) Oruganda is also spoken in the area. However, no participant reported that he/she spoke Oruganda, which is mainly spoken in Uganda although it is also spoken in Rwanda (see Chapter 2 of this thesis). Furthermore, the parents' socio-economic background does not facilitate their exposure to other languages via television and social media. However, it is possible that they are exposed strongly to Kinyarwanda as the national language aired on Radio Rwanda and used in all administrative services including identity cards, health insurance and other citizenship documents.

Table 18: Language background of children and languages of instruction at G.S Mukama

Grade	Mother tongue	Language of instruction	Language(s) as subject
Grades 1-3	Oluchiga	Kinyarwanda	English
Grades 4-6	Oluchiga	English	Kinyarwanda & French
Secondary School	Oluchiga	English	Kinyarwanda, French and Kiswahili

6.3 Lexical and morphosyntactic data

In the research methodology chapter I explained that I initially gathered 109 essays but later on realised that eight essays were invalid data because they did not match with the scope of this research. The eight essays which are not considered in this study contained so many typographical errors that I could not read what was written (see Appendix XV). However, the remaining 101 essays were enough for me to compile them into one corpus and do data analysis. The essays were written by 54 female and 47 male children. Their ages were between six and 12 years old (See Table 19).

Table 19: Participants' numbers by age and gender

Age	Male	Female
Between 6-8	16	11
Between 8-12	31	43
Total	47	54

In the following sub-sections, I present data according to the morphosyntactic categories that I introduced in the literature review chapter (Chapter 3.6). I present the types of transfer errors made by learners while writing in Kinyarwanda. Those errors include lexical transfer on the one hand and the incorrect use of augments, errors in the use of noun class markers, errors in the use of affixes, as well as phonological errors, on the other hand.

It is important to mention that the tense aspect modality agreement was not presented as an independent category in this study because the tense aspect modality agreement is often expressed with affixes in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. An in-depth analysis of the children's use of tense and aspect in their two languages would furthermore go well beyond the scope of my current research.

6.3.1 The corpus of written data

One of the objectives of this study is to explore whether the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) has any influence on their writing in Kinyarwanda (in the L2) in terms of transfer errors visible in the agglutinating structure of words and in concordial agreement. This objective refers to the first research question of this study: Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as in the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of concordial agreement errors can be traced to the L1? The objective relates as well to the second research question: Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of errors in the agglutinative structure of words can be traced back to the L1?

In order to answer the first and second research questions, I proceeded to collect linguistic data by designing a corpus as a research instrument for this study. In order to build a corpus, I asked learners if they had any past written assignments in Kinyarwanda. The essays written by learners were collected at the end of the third trimester, 2016. I attempted to collect data from the second trimester but I found out that the learners' assignments had consisted of copying from the blackboard, fill-in-the-gaps exercises, correcting one to two sentences. That kind of writing could not help me to conduct my study; thus, I requested the favour of teachers to help me by giving learners free writing exercises that could allow them to express themselves without much control. As it was at the end of trimester two, the teachers and I opted to give them an assignment (that would help me) by getting them to express what they planned to do during their holidays with the topic: "What will you do during your holidays?" Learners wrote their assignments and they submitted them to their teachers at the beginning of the third trimester, 2016. I collected the assignments from the teachers and I found that most of them were a

maximum of one page in length, with one or two paragraphs. Only seven assignments numbered activities as a list of words and verbs (see Appendix XVI). I compiled those writings into one corpus as I had initially planned to do (see the research methodology chapter). Thus my method worked well as it helped me to collect the linguistic data which I have included in my data analysis.

The corpus of written data is a collection from one hundred and nine learners who submitted their past papers written at the beginning of the third trimester, 2016. Initially, I was expecting to collect and analyse 109 past papers as a part of my corpus. However, although I collected 109 past papers, I considered only 101 learners' past papers as valid data and rejected 8 past papers because they contained many typographical errors which were not related to either concordial agreement errors or transfer errors, as explained in section 6 of the methodology chapter (Chapter 5). Actually, the data I collected were the same as I wanted to get because the corpus enabled me to identify lexical and morphosyntactic intrusions from L1, which is the first objective of this study. As a result of compiling learners' previous writing assignments into a corpus, I have linguistic data retrieved from 101 essays written by 54 female and 47 male learners between six and 12 years old.

In the following section, I present the analysis of subcategories of the morphosyntactic data. I start with teacher assessment of the essays and continue with linguistic data analysis. The linguistic data range from lexical to morphosyntactic and phonological types. The data analysis helped me to answer the first two research questions of this study. It is important to mention that this description of lexical and morphosyntactic data applies to the following data description and analysis.

6.3.2 Teacher assessment of the essays

According to the teachers' judgements, the essays written by the learners were difficult to understand if you did not have knowledge of both Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. Their judgment is important even if they were using only their intuition and did not base their assessment on scientific insights.

Even if intuition is not a valid measure as such, in this study the teachers' intuitive assessment might suggest that there is a high percentage of transfer errors from the L1 that makes the L2 writing in Kinyarwanda incomprehensible to monolingual L1 Kinyarwanda speakers. The results indicate that the teachers judged only 9.9% of the essays as being written in comprehensible Kinyarwanda, while they considered 90.1% of the learners' L2 writings as not written in comprehensible Kinyarwanda. The expression 'comprehensible Kinyarwanda' herein refers to language output that native speakers of Kinyarwanda (who do not have any linguistic competence in Oluchiga) can comprehend.

In examples (1) and (2), example (1) is a sentence from my corpus, which was produced like this by a total number of three learners. In contrast, in example (2) I present the translation equivalent of the same sentence in standard Kinyarwanda.

(1) **Ninza kurisa embuzi*

(My corpus: learners' data)

n-n-za ku-ris-a e-mbuzi

SUBJ-SUBJ-FUT-ASP-To-herd- goat

'I will herd goats'

(2) *Nzaragira ihene*

(Translation equivalent Kinyarwanda)

n-za-ragir-a ihene

SUBJ-FUT-herd-ASP- goat

'I will herd goats'

The main difference between example (1) and example (2) is constituted by the use of different lexical items. In example (1) the words *embuzi* 'goat' and *kurisa* 'guide animals' are in Oluchiga while their Kinyarwanda translation equivalents are *ihene* 'goat' and *kuragira* 'guide animals'. This means that the learners refer back to their L1 by using Oluchiga words when they experience lexical gaps in Kinyarwanda.

The difference between the learners' writing in Kinyarwanda and the target language is further exemplified in examples (3) and (4). As with the previous examples, the first one, example (3), is

an example sentence from my corpus. This example sentence was produced by a total number of 97 learners. In contrast, example (4) constitutes the translation equivalent of the same sentence in standard Kinyarwanda.

(3) **mama yatere ebicori* (My corpus: learners' data)

mama a-ter-e e-bi-cori

mother SUBJ-plant-PAST-maize

'mother planted maize'

(4) *mama yateye ibigori* (Translation equivalent in Kinyarwanda)

mam a-ter-y-e i-bi-gori

mother SUBJ-plant-PAST-ASP-maize

'mother planted maize'

Examples (3) and (4) show that some transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda do not violate the internal agglutinative structure of words in Kinyarwanda. Rather, they constitute instances of lexical transfer as lexical translation equivalents from Oluchiga are inserted into the matrix language's sentence frame. The transferred words may not be comprehensible to Kinyarwanda speakers. In this context, Oluchiga is the matrix language because it provides the syntactic frame to an utterance. This means that Oluchiga is the first language of learners and provides the grammatical and syntactic underlying structure into which the embedded language, in this context Kinyarwanda, is inserted. In the current case the lexical insertion from Oluchiga is constituted by the word *ebicori* (maize). This classification of matrix and embedded language originates from matrix language model theory (Myres-Scotton 1993:20) that argues that in a code switching context there is one language which dominates by providing the underlying structure and another which is subordinated by fitting into the first language's structure.

Thus, it is important to analyse lexical transfer from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda in order to understand the reason why the intrusion from L1 might affect the meaning in L2. The following section describes the data and analyses how frequently words were transferred into Kinyarwanda from Oluchiga.

6.3.3 Lexical transfer errors

Lexical transfer errors in my corpus consist of words which are transferred into Kinyarwanda from Oluchiga, i.e. words written in Oluchiga, which have no meaning in Kinyarwanda.

6.3.3.1 Lexical transfer errors: Data description

I counted the lexical transfer errors manually and I got a total number of 362 errors, which are the words that can be traced back to Oluchiga. As previously stated, the learners probably used these words because they needed to fill in gaps in their mental lexicon of Kinyarwanda. It is plausible to assume that the prevalence of Oluchiga words in Kinyarwanda writing might make it difficult for monolingual Kinyarwanda readers to understand the meaning of the texts produced by the learners.

In order to describe the lexical transfer errors, I proceeded to count and classify them. During my counting, I identified three types of lexical transfer errors: transfer unrelated errors, similar writing transfer errors and false friends. First, the transfer unrelated errors are lexical transfer items which are far different to Kinyarwanda vocabulary items (see Table 20). Second, the similar writing transfer errors involve pairs of words that have quite similar spellings but different meanings in the two languages, and learners have shown that they used the wrong L2 words because they confused them with similar words in their L1., for example *omukazi* ‘woman’/ *umukozi* ‘a servant’ and *ikumi* ‘ten’/ *inkumi* ‘a girl’. Third, false friends are lexical transfer errors that appear to have the same orthography as Kinyarwanda but are different in meaning. For example, learners used the word *amahuri* instead of *amagi* to mean ‘eggs’. Both words exist in Kinyarwanda but the meaning of *amahuri* in Kinyarwanda is ‘rotten eggs’, which is not its meaning in Oluchiga. There are a number of examples illustrating false friends between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. For example, the word *mukaaga* in Oluchiga means ‘six’ while in Kinyarwanda the word means ‘being in danger’. The word ‘six’ in Kinyarwanda is *gatandatu*.

Table 20: lexical transfer errors

My corpus (Oluchiga)	Target language (Kinyarwanda)	Translation in English
Omugusha	Amasaka	Seeds
Orusuku	Urutoki	Banana plant
Omulisa	Umushumba	Cattle herder
Embuzi	Ihene	Goat
Ente	Inka	Cow
Kaka	Nyogokuru	Grandmother
Omusheija	Umugabo	Man
Omukazi	Umugore	Woman
Obunya	Inyamaswa	Animal

Source: Fieldwork data, 2017

The examples highlighted in this study include only lexical transfer errors which can be traced back to their L1, Oluchiga; however, it is difficult to trace back the transfer of words which are similar and have the same meaning in both languages (Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda). Hence, there is a need for specific studies to differentiate positive transfers and negative transfers that learners of Kinyarwanda can make when their premier language is Oluchiga. Thus, the counting of lexical errors, in this study, has excluded positive transfer and focused on transfer unrelated words, similar writing and false friends.

6.3.3.2 Lexical transfer errors: Data analysis

Lexical transfer errors are the most frequent errors occurring in my data corpus. There are 362 lexical transfer errors which represent 53.3 % of the total errors found in the corpus (i.e the first five sentences of the essays). I counted the lexical transfer errors by enumerating vocabulary items which can clearly be traced back to Oluchiga as they have a different orthography in

Kinyarwanda.⁶ The counting also included transfers of unrelated words and false friends as explained in section 6.3.3.1)

6.3.4 Morphosyntactic transfer errors

The two first research questions ask about the type of transfer errors visible in Kinyarwanda writings produced in a context of L2 education. In order to answer those two research questions I opted first to classify the transfer errors visible in my corpus and then to do an analysis of their occurrences. The data were collected following the data collection procedures explained in the research methodology chapter and section 6.1 of this thesis.

The analysis of errors in the learners' writings showed that the learners made errors relating to the differences and similarities between the morphosyntax of Oluchiga and of Kinyarwanda. Those errors can be categorised as transfer errors because they can be traced back to the L1 and illustrate the influence of L1 linguistic structure on L2 structure. This is in agreement with the prediction of Bennui (2008) and Lopez (2011) who argued that when L1 speakers are learning L2 they make language transfer errors which illustrate the influence of L1 grammatical structure on the L2 writing process. Their predictions are illustrated by the types of errors made by Oluchiga speakers learning writing in Kinyarwanda from grade 1 to grade 3.

Those errors include mostly agglutinative structure related errors, which are errors in the use of the augment, the noun class marker, adjectives and demonstratives, and affixes. Those errors are due to the differences between the Oluchiga and the Kinyarwanda agglutinative structure of words and the concordial agreement rules. These findings confirm previous contrastive studies on Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda morphosyntax. Studies previously done by Murekezi (1984), Bangamwabo (1989) and Rubanda (2006) have showed that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga morphosyntax have similarities and differences. I have opted to analyse each item of the morphosyntax concerned separately, from augment to affixes.

⁶ I did not count transfer errors which affect augments or noun classes because these typically do not affect the Kinyarwanda orthography. Rather, in these error types (presented in 6.5) only individual morphemes are transferred from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda.

The quantitative analysis of this study’s findings on 101 essays revealed 692 transfer errors. The transfer errors were counted in every essay written by the children (all errors in the first five sentences of each essay). The counting facilitated identifying the number of errors for augment, noun class marker, adjectives, demonstratives, affixes, and phonological errors. My local translator double checked my counting but there were inconsistencies between my results and his. Then we counted together and we found that the inconsistencies concerned transfer errors which are similar in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. After consultation with my supervisor, we opted to exclude similar vocabulary items as possible transfer errors because it was difficult to determine if they were transfer errors or if they were used in the correct way. The following is a detailed analysis of each error type in my corpus.

6.3.4.1 Morphosyntactic transfer errors: *Augments*

Learners’ data show that most of the writing in my corpus violates the Kinyarwanda agglutinative structure by not respecting the nouns’ concordial agreement system of Kinyarwanda. In other words, the learners use augments which belong to Oluchiga morphology while they are writing in Kinyarwanda, as illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21: The use of augments in the data of written Kinyarwanda

My corpus	The correct target language form	English translation
<i>Ebiribwa</i>	<i>ibiribwa</i>	Food
e-bi-ribwa	i-bi-ribwa	
AUG-CL8-food	AUG-CL8-food	
<i>Ebiti</i>	<i>ibiti</i>	Trees
e-bi-ti	i-bi-ti	
AUG-CL8-tree	AUG-CL8-tree	
<i>Enkwi</i>	<i>inkwi</i>	Firewood
e-n-kwi	i-n-kwi	
AUG-CL10-firewood	AUG-CL10-firewood	

<i>engurube</i>	<i>ingurube</i>	Pig
e-n-gurube	i-n-gurube	
AUG-CL9-pig	AUG-CL9-pig	
<i>Omugati</i>	<i>umugati</i>	Bread
o-mu-gati	u-mu-gati	
AUG-CL3-bread	AUG-CL3-bread	
<i>Omuriro</i>	<i>umuriro</i>	Fire
o-mu-riro	u-mu-riro	
AUG-CL3-fire	AUG-CL3-fire	
<i>Omurenge</i>	<i>umurenge</i>	Sector
o-mu-renge	u-mu-renge	
AUG-CL3-sector	AUG-CL3-sector	
<i>Omuceri</i>	<i>umuceri</i>	Rice
o-mu-ceri	u-mu-ceri	
AUG-CL3-rice	AUG-CL3-rice	

Source: Fieldwork data, 2017

According to the above illustrations, learners have a tendency to replace the augments *i-* by *e-* and *u-* by *o-*. This violates the concordial agreement system of Kinyarwanda as the augments are not agreeing with the noun prefix of the words. In Kinyarwanda the prefix vowel determines which vowel may be chosen as the pre-prefix (augment) in any given word. For example, if the prefix of a word is the vowel *u-* then the pre-prefix (Augment) should also be *u-*. This is shown in examples (5) to (10).

u-

(5) *umwana*

u-mu-ana

AUG-CL1-child

‘Child’

(6) *umugati*

u-mu-gati

AUG-CL3-bread

‘Bread’

i-

(7) *ibiti*

i-bi-ti

AUG-CL8-tree

‘Tree’

(8) *ibiribwa*

i-bi-ribwa

AUG-CL8-food

‘Food’

a-

(9) *abana*

a-ba-ana

AUG-CL2-child

‘Children’

(10) *amazizi*

a-ma-zi

AUG-CL6-water

‘Water’

However, it is important to highlight that Kinyarwanda excludes the use of the vowels *e* and *o* as initial vowels of nouns. It is also worthwhile to highlight that there is an exception of certain words which are lacking prefixes altogether, such as in example (11).

(11) a) *Imana*

i-Ø-mana

AUG-CL1-God

b) *Inka*

i-Ø-nka

The findings of this study show that there are 181 augment transfer errors visible in 104 essays. The 181 augment transfer errors were made by 48 learners. The errors occur at the beginning of words. Fifty-three essays of the analysed corpus were found to be free of augment transfer errors. Maybe it is because those essays contain very few words and have many verbal expressions. However, it is not absolutely certain that this is the reason; other possible reasons are discussed in the analysis sub-section of this chapter.

The comparison with the frequency of other transfer errors makes augment transfer errors the second most frequent error type, after lexical errors, in the corpus. Augment transfer errors constitute 26.1% of all types of errors observed in the corpus. The difference between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga augments might be the main reason for the high occurrence of such transfer errors.

Rubanda (2006) argues that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have different augments. This is supported by the argument of contrastive analysis that predicts that the errors made during the learning process originate from the degree of difference between the learners' L1 and L2 (Abid-Thyab 2015:1). In other words, the more the L1 is different from the L2, the more the learning of L2 is difficult and the more transfer errors can occur.

However, it is also possible that learners think that their L1 use of augments, in this study, is the same as the L2 use of augments and possibly transfer the L1 augments unconsciously to the L2. Thus, the degree of similarity between L1 and L2 might also be the source of transfer errors. Nevertheless, it is difficult to discern precisely whether the learners, in this study, transferred augments because of the differences or the similarities between their L1 and their L2. Yet, the fact that augments in the L1 are different from augments in the L2 might be the reason why learners made many more augment transfer errors than other errors.

Looking at Table 21 of Chapter 6, which illustrates the augment transfer errors in the learners' writings, it is possible to argue that the incorrect use of augments might be the result of the application of Oluchiga rules governing the occurrences of pre-prefixes in words. In Oluchiga, the only augments are *a-*, *e-*, *o-* and their uses are governed by the vowels of the prefixes (Murekezi 1984; Rubanda 2006). This means that the rules are applied as follows:

- If the noun prefix has the vowel *a-* then the pre-prefix will be *a-* [***a-ma-ta*** (Milk)] ;
- If the noun prefix has the vowel *i-* then the pre-prefix will be *e-* [***e-mi-ti*** (tree)]
- If the noun prefix has the vowel *u-* then the pre-prefix will be *o-* [***o-mu-kar-yi*** (woman)]

The learners apply the above L1 rules while writing Kinyarwanda, probably without realising that they do not apply in Kinyarwanda.

6.3.4.2 Morphosyntactic transfer errors: *Noun class markers*

As mentioned in the literature review chapter, Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga noun classes are largely similar and they only differ with respect to the noun class marker for noun class 16. The noun class marker for noun class 16 classifies locatives in both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. This study has revealed that 1.4% of errors visible in the corpus are noun class markers which illustrate the transfer of the Oluchiga 16th noun class. This happened in two different ways: by the L1 transfer of either the Oluchiga locative *omu-* or the Oluchiga locative *aha-* as illustrated in the examples (12) and (13).

(12) *Kaka yaza ahisoko*

Kaka-a-a-za-aha-i-soko

SUBJ-PRES-come-CL16-AUG-market

'Grandmother comes to the market'

(13) *Nzaza omumotoka*

n-za-jy-a om-u-mo-toka

SUBJ-FUT-go-CL16-car

'I will go by (in a) car'

The findings of this study showed that there are 10 noun class marker transfer errors in the essays. This represents 1.4% of total transfer errors identified in the essays; they occur at a very low frequency. Table 22 shows the examples of noun transfer errors visible in the corpus.

Table 22: The noun transfer errors

My corpus	The correct target language form	English translation
<i>Kaka yaza ahisoko</i>	<i>Nyogokuru azaza ku isoko</i>	Grandmother will come to the market
<i>Nzaja kusura omukikuru wanjye</i>	<i>Nzasura mukuru wanjye</i>	I will visit my big sister
<i>Nzaza omwisoko</i>	<i>Nzajya mu isoko</i>	I will go to the shop
<i>Nzaza omumotoka</i>	<i>Nzagenda mu modoka</i>	I will go by car
<i>Nzanjya om'ubukwe</i>	<i>Nzataha ubukwe</i>	I will attend a wedding
<i>Ahishuri omurimu antere omuceri</i>	<i>Umwarimu azampa umuceri ku ishuri</i>	My teacher will feed me rice at school
<i>Ahasande nzaza kusenga</i>	<i>Nzasenga ku cyumweru</i>	I will go to church on Sunday
<i>Nzajya ahisoko</i>	<i>Nzajya ku isoko</i>	I will go to the shop

Source: Fieldwork data, 2017

The reason for the extremely low frequency of noun class marker transfer errors might be that the noun class markers overlap largely between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. For this reason, it is not possible to see whether the learners are using the noun class markers from their L1 (Oluchiga) or those from their L2 (Kinyarwanda). However where the two languages diverge with respect to the noun class markers, transfer errors become visible in the children's essays. This holds for the noun class marker for noun class 16, which is different in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. For example, learners transferred the Oluchiga locative markers *omu-* and *aha-* (see examples (12) and (13)). This corroborates Rubanda's (2006:69) argument that the Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga noun class marker systems only differ with respect to noun class 16.

The fact that the learners' noun class marker transfer from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda was not much visible in the written corpus can be interpreted as the effect of the positive transfer phenomena. This is consistent with the prediction of Sabbah (2015:271), who explains that positive transfer between L1 to L2 happens when L2 learners use an L1 structure which is similar in both L1 and L2. In contrast, the transfer of the locative noun class marker (noun class 16) from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda can be classified as negative transfer because it affects negatively the structure of L2.

6.3.4.3 Morphosyntactic transfer errors: *Adjectives and demonstratives*

In the corpus that I have analysed there are two transfer errors related to adjectives and demonstratives. The two examples illustrate the transfer of the infix -g-. The infix -g- does not exist in Kinyarwanda. Example (14) illustrates the use of the infix -g- in Oluchiga which is attached to a stem word to show the adjectives and demonstratives. Considering example (14), the infix -g- is mandatory in Oluchiga. However, Kinyarwanda grammar does not allow the infix -g-; in Kinyarwanda it is either simply deleted or replaced by an augment -u-. Hence, while the infix -g- is indispensable in Oluchiga to construct adjectives and demonstratives, it is non-existent in Kinyarwanda (Bangamwabo 1989:155). This means that the transfer of infix -g- from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda to form adjectives or demonstratives can be categorised as negative transfer.

- (14) a) **Nyowe omunsi gumwe nkarya obunya* (Learners' data)
 Nyowe o-munsi g-umwe n-karya o-bunya
 SUBJ – AUG-day<g>day-PRES- eat AUG-animal
 'I, one day, will eat an animal'
- b) *Njyewe umunsi umwe nzarya inyamaswa* (the correct target language form)
 Njyewe u-munsi-u-mwe-n-za-ri-a i-nyamaswa
 SUBJ-AUG-day-AUG-one-SUBJ-FUT-eat-ASP-AUG-animal
 'I, one day, will eat an animal'

6.3.4.4 Morphosyntactic transfer errors: *Affixes*

The analysis of the learners' writings has revealed that there are transfer errors related to the use of affixes that deviate from the grammar of the target language (Kinyarwanda). The term "affix" encompasses prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Affix transfer errors imply errors that are related to concordial agreement. Those concordial agreement errors are related to an incorrect use of future and present tense affixes in the L2. The incorrect use of tense affixes in the children's writing seems to originate in confusion about the differences between the Oluchiga and the Kinyarwanda tense systems. The examples in Table 23 demonstrate some of the transfer errors involving the verbal prefixes (*-ra* and *-a*) and the morphological marker of temporal segments to specify anterior and posterior time.

Table 23: Comparison between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda verbal prefixes and infixes

Corpus	Target language form (Kinyarwanda)
Present	
<i>Mama na Papa nibankunda</i> ni-ba-n-kund-a SUBJ-SUBJ-PRES-INF-love-ASP 'Mother and father love me'	<i>Mama na Papa barankunda</i> ba-ra-n-kund-a SUBJ-PRES-INF-love-ASP 'Mother and Father love me'
<i>Nimbakunda</i> ni-n-ba-kund-a SUBJ-PRES-INF-love-ASP 'I love them'	<i>Ndabakunda</i> n-ra-ba-kunda SUBJ-PRES-them-love-ASP 'I love them'
Future	
<i>Mama nangurira omugati</i> n-a-n-gur-ir-a SUBJ-SUBJ*-FUT-pay-APLL-ASP 'Mother buy for me a bread'	<i>Mama azangurira umugati</i> a-za-n-gur-ir-a SUBJ-FUT-me-pay-APPL-ASP 'She will buy a bread for me'
<i>Ninza kurisa embuzi</i>	<i>Nzaragira ihene</i>

n-n-za ku-ris-a SUBJ-SUBJ-FUT-to-herd-ASP 'I will guide goats'	n-za-ragir-a SUBJ-FUT-herd-ASP 'I will guide goats'
<i>Muhingira ningamubagarire orutoki</i> mu-hing-ir-a SUBJ-dig-(FUT-)APLL-ASP 'I dig'	<i>Nzamuhingira, nzamubagarira urutoki</i> n-za-mu-hing-ir-a SUBJ-FUT-dig-APLL-ASP 'I will dig'
<i>n-n<g>mu-bagar-ir-e</i> SUBJ-SUBJ-infix g-prepare-APLL-ASP 'I prepare'(the land)	<i>(n-za-mu-bagar-ir-a)</i> SUBJ-FUT-prepare-APLL-ASP 'I will prepare' (the land)
Present perfect	
<i>Mama yatere ebicori</i> a-a-ta-ir-e SUBJ-PRES.PER.-plan-ASP 'Mother has planted'	<i>Mama yateye urutoki</i> a-a-ta-ir-ye SUBJ-PRES.PERF-plant-ASP 'Mother has planted'
<i>Kaka yaza ahisoko</i> a-a-za SUBJ-PRES.PERF-come-ASP 'Grandmother has come to the shop'	<i>Nyogokuru yaje ku isoko</i> (a-a-za-ye) SUBJ-PRES.PERF-come-ASP 'Has come'
<i>Kaka yagura akagati</i> a-a-gur-a SUBJ-PRES.PERF-come-ASP 'She has bought'	<i>Nyogokuru yaguze akagati</i> (a-a-gur-ye) SUBJ-PRES.PERF.-come-ASP 'She has bought'
<i>Mama yampa omuneke</i> a-a-ha SUBJ-PRES.PERF.-give 'I was given'	<i>Mama yampaye umuneke</i> (a-a-n-ha-ye) SUBJ-PRES.PERF-give-ASP 'I was given'

Future & indicative (Near future)	
<i>Nzaza kutema ekitoki</i> n-za-z-a ku-tem-a SUBJ-FUT-APPL-ASP-to-cut-ASP ‘I will come to cut’	<i>Nzaza gutema urutoki (Nzatema urotoki)</i> (n-za-tem-a) SUBJ-FUT-cut-ASP ‘I will come to cut’
<i>Nzaza kuhinga omugusha</i> n-za-z-a ku-hing-a SUBJ-FUT-APPL-ASP-to-cut-ASP ‘I will plant sorghum’	<i>Nzahinga amasakan-za-hing-a</i> n-za-hing-a SUBJ-FUT-dig-ASP ‘I will come to plant sorghum’
<i>Nzajya gutashya enkwi</i> n-za-jy-a-ku-tashy-a SUBJ-FUT-go-to-search-ASP ‘I will go to look for firewood’	<i>Nzatashya inkwi</i> n-za-tashy-a SUBJ-FUT-search for firewood-ASP ‘I will go to look for firewood’

Source: Fieldwork data, 2017

The above table (Table 23) illustrates the transfer errors from the L1 due to the incorrect use of affixes that mark Kinyarwanda tenses (present, future and past). These errors are distributed between female and male children as follows: there are 29 errors made by female children and 53 errors made by male children. The affix transfer errors make up 11.8% of all errors analysed in this study.

6.3.4.5 Morphosyntactic transfer errors: *Phonological transfer errors*

A further subcategory of transfer errors found in the pupils’ essays is phonological transfer errors. These are the errors that originate from the L1 pronunciation of words and are transferred in L2 for a case of lexical similar to L1.

The findings from the essays showed that participants in this study tended to replace Oluchiga consonants for the counterpart Kinyarwanda consonants while writing in Kinyarwanda. The substitutions are characterised by the replacement of /K/ by /C/ or /G/ and the replacement of /S/ by /ʃ/ (Table 24).

Table 24: Substitution of consonants

Learners' writings	The correct target language form	English translation
<i>Substitution of /C/ for /K/</i>		
<i>Omucire</i>	<i>Umukire</i> u-mu-kire AUG-CL1-rich	Rich person
<i>Nzitecyera</i>	<i>Nzitekera</i> n-za-i-teka-ir-a SUBJ-FUT-cook-CAUS-ASP	I will cook for myself
<i>Icyinyarwanda</i>	<i>Ikinyarwanda</i> i-ki-nyarwanda AUG-CL7-rwanda	Kinyarwanda
<i>Nzacyina</i>	<i>Nzakina</i> n-za-kin-a SUBJ-FUT-play-ASP	I will play
<i>Substitution of /G/ for /K/</i>		
<i>Kuhinga</i>	<i>Guhinga</i> Ku-hing-a To-cultivate-ASP	To cultivate
<i>Kusenga</i>	<i>Gusenga</i> Ku-seng-a To-pray-ASP	To pray
<i>Kusenya</i>	<i>Gusenya</i> Ku-seny-a To-search for firewood-ASP	To search for firewood
<i>Kushura</i>	<i>Gusura</i> Ku-sur-a To-visit-ASP	To pay a visit

<i>Substitution of /f/ for /S/</i>		
<i>Gushenya</i>	<i>Gusenya</i> Ku-seny-a To-search for firewood-ASP	To search for firewood
<i>Nzashoma</i>	<i>Nzasoma</i> n-za-som-a SUBJ-FUT-read-ASP	I will read
<i>Nzaza kumesha</i>	<i>Nzamesa</i> n-za-mes-a SUBJ-FUT-wash-ASP	I will come to wash clothes

Table 24 (above) shows that the replacement of consonants /K/ by /C/ or /G/ and /S/ by /f/ is frequent in essays written by the native speakers of Oluchiga. This shows the influence of L1 pronunciation in L2 production. However, while pronunciation relates to oral skills, it is surprising that it is observed in written assignments. The analysis of phonological transfer errors showed that there are 55 errors, which represent 7.9 % of all the errors identified in the essays. These types of errors are characterised by the replacement of Kinyarwanda consonants by Oluchiga.

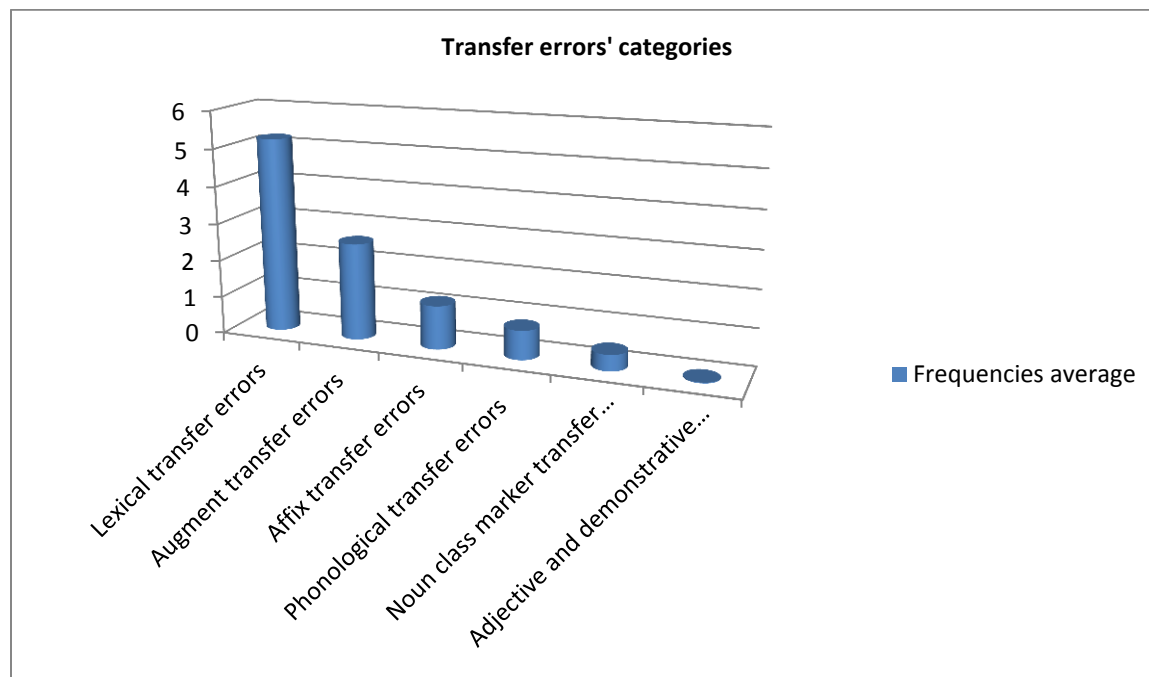
It might be that these types of errors originate from the pronunciation of words in the L1 and are written in the L2 as they are spoken in the L1. This linguistic phenomenon occurred in lexically similar items in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. This shows that Oluchiga speakers transfer their pronunciation of consonants while writing in Kinyarwanda.

6.3.5 Lexical and morphosyntactic transfer errors: Overall frequency and gender-based distribution

The calculation of frequency of transfer errors (see Table 25) shows that the compiled corpus of this study contains 692 transfer errors. The transfer errors are categorised into six groups, namely (1) lexical transfer errors, (2) augment transfer errors, (3) noun class marker transfer errors, (4) adjective and demonstrative marker transfer errors, (5) affix transfer errors, (6) phonological

transfer errors. Among the six categories of transfer errors two have a huge number of errors compared to the rest. Those are 362 lexical transfer errors, which represent 52.3 % of the total transfer errors, and 181 augment transfer errors which represent 26.1% of the total transfer errors. The affix transfer errors also occur with relatively high frequency: in total there are 82 affix transfer errors; i.e. 11.8% of the total transfer errors are affix transfer errors (See Chart 1).

Chart 1: Transfer errors' categories



The remaining transfer error groups constitute less than 10% each of the total transfer errors. In particular, there are 55 (7.9%) phonological transfer errors, ten (1.4%) noun class marker transfer errors and finally only two (0.2%) adjective and demonstrative marker transfer errors.

There is gender disparity in terms of error production. If we compare the essays written by boys with those written by girls, we find that the girls produced more errors than the boys did. This is shown by the statistical frequency of errors: the girls produced 351 (50.7 %) of the total number of transfer errors and the boys produced 341(49.2%) of the total number of errors. On the one hand, this number, which suggests that girls produce more errors than boys do, was calculated without looking at the number of boys and girls. In fact, there were more girls than boys in

grades 1 to 3. The boys numbered 47 while the girls numbered 54. The total number of essays was 101. On the other hand, if we calculated using an equal number of boys and girls (42 boys and 42 girls) we found that while girls made 270 errors, boys made 318 errors. Hence, the boys made 54% of the total errors calculated on an equal number of boy and girl writers (N=82), more than the girls, who made 45% of the total errors calculated over 84 essays. Even if we might expect young girls to be linguistically more advanced than the boys, there is no direct explanation of this gender disparity in the production of errors for this study; however, gender disparity in transfer errors is discussed further in Chapter 7. In addition, it is clear that the more learners progress from grade 1 to grade 3, the more errors they make in their writing. This might relate to the fact that the more learners progress to the next level, the more chances they have to write freely in order to express their ideas rather than just copying one or two words from the board.

Regarding the classification of errors according to the effect of a transfer error on either concordial agreement or the agglutinative structure of words, I have classified noun class marker, affix, adjective and demonstrative transfer errors as concordial agreement errors because their incorrect use violates the concordial agreement of a sentence. In the same vein, I propose to classify augment and phonological transfer errors as errors which affect the agglutinative structure of words. The lexical transfer errors are discussed in this study as a separate class.

Comparing the two groups, the agglutinative structure of words transfer errors are more numerous than the concordial agreement transfer errors (See Table 25). This is explained by the fact, as stated in the preceding paragraphs, that learners start writing a full sentence later and start with writing only single words in grade 1.

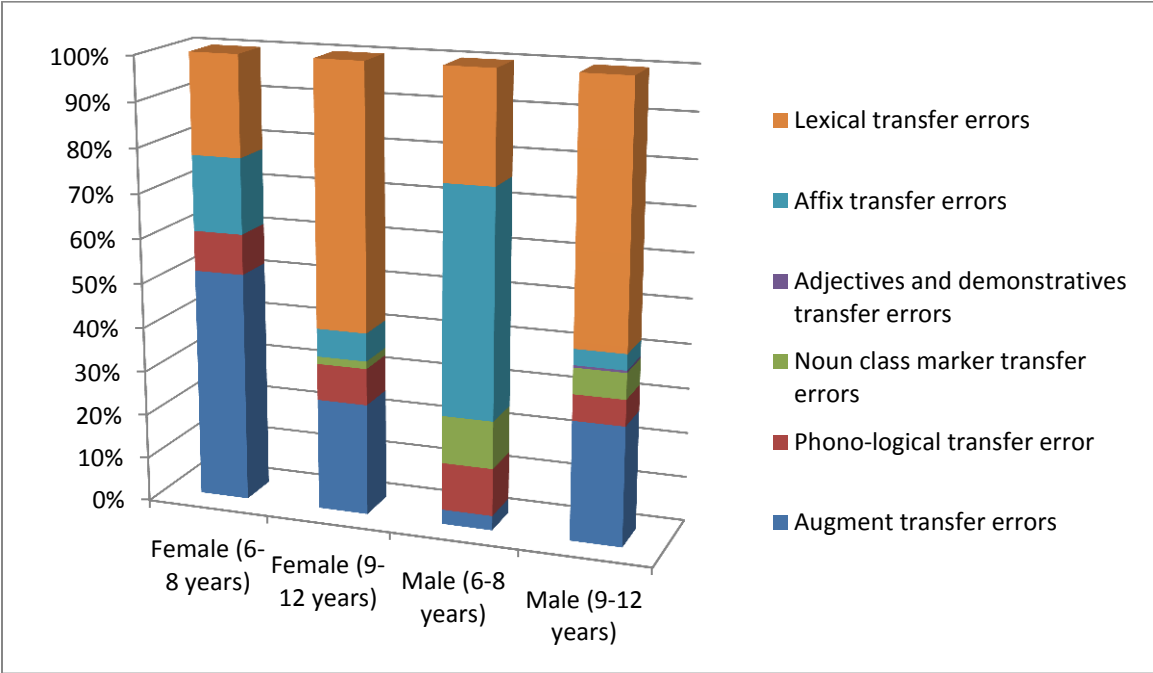
Table 25: Morphosyntactic transfer errors group/s statistics

			Agglutinative word structure errors		Concordial agreement errors			Lexical errors
Gender	Age	Number	Augment transfer errors	Phonological transfer errors	Noun class marker transfer errors	Adjectives and demonstratives transfer errors	Affix transfer errors	Lexical transfer errors
Female	6-8	11	32	6	0	0	11	14
	9-12	43	72	24	5	0	18	169
	Total	54	104	30	5	0	29	183
Male	6-8	16	3	9	0	0	43	21
	9-12	31	74	16	5	2	10	158
	Total	47	77	25	5	2	53	179
	Total G.	101	181	55	10	2	82	362
				Total frequency for agglutinative word			Total frequency for Concordial	Total frequency for lexical transfer errors =

	structure group = 236		agreement errors group = 94	362
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The table above shows that the statistics reflects the actual data because it shows the distribution of errors by gender and ages. For example, neither female nor male children (aged between 6-8 years old) made transfer errors relating to adjective and demonstrative markers, which are a part of concordial agreement errors (See Chart 3).

Chart 2: Distribution of errors by gender and age



The explanation for this finding could be that learners are still on their way to writing fluently and the use of adjectives and demonstratives is not yet established. This is supported by the fact that the older children use adjectives and demonstratives more often than the young ones in this study. The older male children (aged 9-12 years old) are the ones who made more mistakes with

the transfer of noun class markers, as well as with markers of demonstratives and adjectives. In the same perspective, boys and girls aged between 6 and 8 made fewer errors compared to boys and girls aged between 9 and 12 years old. Possible reasons are discussed in chapter 7.

6.3.6 Summary of findings on morphosyntactic data subtype one

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the two research questions ask about types of concordial agreement errors and errors in the agglutinative structure of words that can be traced back to the L1. The findings on subtype one showed that, on the one hand, concordial agreement errors can be classified as transfer errors which affect affixes and noun class markers, as well as adjective and demonstrative markers. On the other hand, transfer errors which affect the agglutinative structure of words can be categorised into two types of transfer errors, namely augment and phonological transfer errors. Furthermore, the identification of transfer errors revealed the existence of lexical transfer errors as a category on their own. The calculation of the number of errors per category showed that the category of lexical transfer errors is the largest transfer error category (a total of 362 transfer errors, which represent 52.3% of the total number of transfer errors identified in my corpus) compared to the agglutinative word structure errors and the concordial agreement errors categories. The comparison between the remaining categories showed that concordial agreement transfer errors occur less frequently than transfer errors which affect the agglutinative structure of words. The concordial agreement transfer errors number 94, which represent 13.5% of the total number of transfer errors, while errors in the agglutinative structure of words number 236, which represent 34.1% of all transfer errors in my corpus. Thus the findings on subtype one respond to the cross-cutting question of research questions one and two on the kinds of transfer errors that can be traced back to the L1. However, they do not respond entirely to questions one and two. The following sections do respond entirely to the first and the second research questions.

6.3.7 Morphosyntactic data subtype two: Data description

Data collected for morphosyntactic study in this research are described in section 6.3.4.1. However, in this section, I will focus on specific features that are related to the first research question. This section shows the data collected for the first research question of this study: Does

the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of concordial agreement errors can be traced to the L1? The second part of the research question about the types of concordial agreement errors that can be traced back to the L1 has been responded to in section 6.3.4.1 of this study. Thus, this section focuses on the influence of L1 in L2 writing in terms of concordial agreement in sentences and the agglutinative structure of words. The data collected for this purpose are the 505 sentences available in the corpus compiled from the learners' essays. In the methodology chapter, I explained that I would collect 545 sentences but this was not possible because 8 essays contained invalid data, with almost 40 sentences that were not considered in the corpus, as explained in section 6.3. However, even if I got less data than I expected, I would judge my methodology to have worked well, because I got 92.6% of the total number of sentences (data) I had expected. The data collected for the first question are described and analysed in the following sub-sections.

6.3.7.1 Concordial agreement influence of L1 on L2 writing

In my corpus, concordial agreement influence of L1 on L2 writing is divided into two parts: concordial agreement influence of L1 on L2 in sentences and in the agglutinative structure of words.

Concordial agreement influence of L1 on L2 writing: Data description

In order to describe the influence of L1 on L2 writing in terms of concordial agreement I have considered the structure of the sentences of my corpus and I looked at subject verb agreement. However, looking at sentence structure by using a European definition of sentences in Bantu languages such as Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga would exclude many sentences from being considered. As stated in the literature review of this study (3.6.1.1), the sentence in Bantu languages can be composed either by separate words or by bound morphemes in one word. Thus I have considered sentences in this Bantu language context which are composed of various words and others which are agglutinative structures (i.e independent words which are composed by various bound morphemes are sentences in a Bantu language context).

The first category of influence of L1 on L2 in terms of concordial agreement is the agglutinative structure of words where a single word contains various morphemes that form a complete sentence (i.e various parts of sentences are combined into one word that has the meaning of a full sentence). The agglutinative structure of words in my corpus is composed by different morphemes which replace various parts of the sentence structure such as subject, verb and object. In my corpus, the concordial agreement between subject and verb is disrupted by the incorrect use of the morphemes of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga in one sentence word. The incorrect use of morphemes in this study entails the use of both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda subject/object markers (morphemes replacing the subject/object) referring to one subject/object in one sentence. This implies that one subject/object is used several times (once in Oluchiga and once in Kinyarwanda) in a sentence. Examples (15) and (16) illustrate the use of subject morphemes several times:

(15) *nibankunda*

n-i-ba-n-kund-a
 OBJ-SUBJ-OBJ- love-fv
 me-they-me-love
 ‘they love me’

Correct target language form in Kinyarwanda: *Barankunda*

(16) *Barankunda*

ba- ra- n- kund- a
 SUBJ- Pres- Obj.- love-fv
 They- are-me- love
 ‘They love me’

The second category of influence of L1 on L2 in terms of concordial agreement is sentences composed of various words where each word constitutes one free part of the sentence structure (Subject – Verb – Object). This category is different from the first one because the first category, which is more agglutinative in nature, combines the parts of the sentence structure into one word. My corpus has illustrated two types of influence of L1 on L2 writing in terms of concordial

agreement, namely subject verb agreement and verb object agreement. The influence of L1 on L2 writing in subject verb agreement is illustrated by example (17) where the subject *ihene* ‘the goat’ is actually in noun class nine of animals (-*n-*) both in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga, but the transfer of an L1 word *embuzi* ‘goat’ (-*mu-* *a-*) has affected the use of the verb, which has adopted the class marker one of people.

(17) **Embuzi yaza kona (Ihene izona)*

e-*mbuzi-a-a-za-kon-a*

AUG-goat it-FUT-damage

‘A goat will damage (crops)’

Example (1) [*ninza kurisa embuzi*] illustrates the influence of L1 on L2 writing in terms of the violation of the verb – object concordial agreement. The transferred use of the verb *kurisa* ‘to eat by itself’ (for animals) in Kinyarwanda writing violates the verb – object agreement because the verb is intransitive as it does not need an object to be completed as a sentence. However, the verb use in Oluchiga is transitive, meaning to guide animals to eat grass, and demands an object to be completed. Hence, it is possible to argue that the violation of verb – object agreement is a result of L1 transfer to L2 writing.

Concordial agreement influence of L1 in L2 writing: Data analysis

In order to find out how the learners’ L1 influenced the learners’ writing in the L2 in terms of concordial agreement, I performed a descriptive analysis of the corpus and calculated the number of times morphological transfer errors from the L1 (Oluchiga) occurred in the learners’ writing in Kinyarwanda, as explained in the research methodology chapter. The calculation of the number of errors in the concordial agreement group showed 94 errors, which represent 13.5% of the total number of errors in my corpus (see Table 25).

The concordial agreement influence is observed through noun class, adjectives and demonstratives, and affixes transfer errors. The affixes transfer errors are common in the essays written by learners compared to other transfer errors. They number 82 and represent 87% of all concordial agreement transfer errors. This might be due to the fact that Kinyarwanda and

Oluchiga are agglutinative languages and make much use of affixes to form words as well as sentences.

Regarding the gender distribution of influence, essays written by the girls show less influence of concordial agreement compared to those written by the boys. The girls made 39 errors while the boys made 60 errors. The girls made no transfer errors in adjectives and demonstratives. The fact that the girls made fewer errors compared to the boys might relate to the belief that girls are better at language than boys. However, there is a need for further study and more analysis of the correlation between gender and learning a Bantu language.

6.3.7.2 Summary of findings on morphosyntactic data subtype two

The findings of this study indicate that the learners' L1 influences their writing in terms of concordial agreement in sentences and the agglutinative structure of words. In this case, the influence was observed through the concordial agreement influence of L1 on L2 in sentences and on the agglutinative structure of words. First, the L1 influence in terms of the agglutinative structure of words (equivalent to sentences) is the violation of concordial agreement between subjects and verbs. The disruption of subject-verb agreement is due to the incorrect use of L1 morphemes (indicating subject) and L2 morphemes at the same time. This was explained as a result of L1 transfer errors into L2. Second, the L1 influence in terms of sentence structure is shown by the disruption of concordial agreement between both subjects and verbs and verbs and objects. The analysis of the findings has revealed that the L1 influence on L2 writing is due to transfer errors in noun class markers, adjectives and demonstratives, and affixes. The last, affix transfer errors, represent 87% of all concordial agreement transfer errors. This might suggest that as Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are both agglutinative languages, they need several morphemes to form a sentence. Hence, learners' L1, Oluchiga, influences their writing in respect of the concordial agreement in sentences and the agglutinative structure of words.

6.3.8 Morphosyntactic data subtype three: Data description

This section describes the morphosyntactic data subtype three which relates to the influence of L1 on L2 writing in terms of the agglutinative structure of words. My corpus shows that the total number of errors in the agglutinative structure of words that can be traced back to the L1 is 236, which represents 34.1% of the total of errors visible in the corpus. The calculation of these numbers and their categorisation are aimed at responding to the second research question of this study: does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of errors in the agglutinative structure of words can be traced back to the L1? The types of errors in the agglutinative structure of words have been discussed in section 6.3.4.1. Thus, the data I collected for this study relate to my original plan: as I said, in the methodology chapter, I collected essays and constituted a corpus which has lexical and morphosyntactic data. My method worked because I got data to describe, analyse and understand better the research in the applied linguistics field, where this current study belongs. In the following sub-section, I analyse the data in order to generate answers to my second research question.

6.3.8.1 Morphosyntactic data subtype three: Data analysis

In order to respond to my second research question, I have analysed data related to the influence of L1 on L2 in terms of the agglutinative structure of words visible in the learners' writings compiled into a corpus. During data collection, I got 101 essays and their description illustrates that the L1 influence on L2 writing is visible in agglutinative word structure errors. The agglutinative word structure errors are shown by 181 augment transfer errors and 55 phonological transfer errors. My local translator double checked my counting and we agreed on counting principles as explained in section 6.3.4

The analysis of the morphosyntactic data has revealed that there is influence of L1 (Oluchiga) on L2 writing (Kinyarwanda) in terms of the agglutinative structure of words. This is shown by agglutinative word structure errors made by the learners, including augment transfer errors and phonological errors. First, the L1 influence is illustrated by the example (see Table 25) that

shows that the augments of Oluchiga were transferred into Kinyarwanda. The influence of Oluchiga in Kinyarwanda disrupts the formation of the agglutinative structure of words in Kinyarwanda because it adopts the L1 grammatical structure into the L2 structure (see 6.5.1). This corroborates Bennui's (2008) argument that the transfer errors are caused by the influence of L1 structure on the learners' learning process of L2 grammatical structure. Thus, the frequency of augment transfer errors in this study illustrates the strong influence of Oluchiga on Kinyarwanda essays written by L1 speakers. This is shown by the total number of transfer errors visible in the essays written by the girls and boys. The essays written by the girls have more (104) augment transfer errors than the essays written by the boys (77 augment transfer errors). However, the fact that the girls made more mistakes than the boys does not imply that generally girls make more mistakes than boys in learning a Bantu language. The reason may be that the girls wrote more essays (54 essays) than the boys (47 essays). Hence, there is a need for a specific study comparing boys and girls learning a Bantu language as a second language.

Second, the L1 influence is illustrated by phonological transfer errors which originate from the L1 pronunciation of words and which are realised in written form by the replacement of consonants such as /K/ by /C/ or /G/ and /S/ by /ʃ/, as explained in section 6.3.4.5. As was found with other kinds of transfer errors discussed in this study, phonological errors are visible in smaller numbers in essays written by the boys (25 phonological transfer errors) than in those written by the girls (30 phonological transfer errors). This might be the result of different aptitudes for learning L2 structures in Bantu languages. However, there is a need for specific research comparing boys and girls learning a Bantu language, because my data are insufficient to support a comparison of genders in learning a second Bantu language.

In addition to one consonant, in the essays of learners there are a few cases of phonological transfer of two morphemes in one word as shown in example (18):

(18) *n-za-sime Imana

(Nzashima Imana)

SUBJ-FUT-praise God

'I will praise God'

Example (18) illustrates the phonological transfer errors of Oluchiga morphemes *-si-* and *-me-* replacing Kinyarwanda morphemes *-shi-* and *-ma-*, which has changed the internal structure of the agglutinative verb *nzashima* into *nzasime*. This has two major consequences in Kinyarwanda. First, the transfer of the aspect morpheme of Oluchiga *-ma* in the correct target language form as *-me* affects the internal agreement between the tense marker and the aspect morpheme. This means that the future tense marker *-za-*, in Kinyarwanda, agrees with the aspect morpheme *-a* and the presence of aspect morpheme *-e* transferred from Oluchiga does not agree with tense marker *-za-*. Moreover, it might affect the meaning, because in Kinyarwanda the aspect morpheme *-e* is mostly of time at the end of conditional mode.

Finally, the L1 influence on L2 writing is illustrated by the two examples showing that learners violate the Kinyarwanda agglutinative structure of words by keeping the Oluchiga structure, as shown in Example (19).

- (19) *m- b (i)-many-a (ndabizi)
 SUBJ- CL2- know- ASP
 ‘I know them’

The violation is due to a transfer error involving the Oluchiga verb *kumanya* that has changed concordial agreement in Kinyarwanda (in the agglutinative structure of words), namely subject verb agreement. Then, instead of producing an agglutinative word in Kinyarwanda *ndabizi*, learners have written *mbikumanya*.

6.3.8.2 Summary of findings on morphosyntactic data subtype three

The analysis of morphosyntactic data subtype three revealed that the augment transfer errors and the phonological transfer errors (traced back to L1) illustrate the influence of Oluchiga (L1) on Kinyarwanda (L2) writing in the agglutinative structure of words. In this study, it was shown that the essays written by the L2 learners illustrate the unequal gender distribution of errors which are the result of the influence of L1 on L2 writing. It was found that the number of augment transfer errors made by boys (77 errors) is less than those made by girls (104 errors) and the number of

phonological transfer errors made by boys (25 errors) is less than those made by girls (30 errors). A possible reason that was discussed to account for this unequal distribution of errors in terms of gender was differences in learning ability (speed) between boys and girls in Bantu languages; this might need a separate study. Moreover, the number of augment and phonological transfer errors (236 errors) that can be traced back to Oluchiga (L1) was discussed as an illustration of the influence of the L1 agglutinative structure of words on L2 writing.

6.3.9 Correlations between lexical and morphosyntactic data

I have analysed the lexical and morphosyntactic data in order to answer research questions one and two, which are specifically concerned with the influence of learners' L1 on their L2 writing. Hence, it might be important to look at the correlations between the transfer errors identified in this study to understand the relationships between them. This might help to respond to the first two research questions of this study, as I expected possible connections between the types of transfer errors, the gender of participants, and the nature of the influence of L1 on L2 writing.

6.3.9.1 Correlations 1: Types of errors and participants

Generally speaking, there is an unequal distribution of types of errors, as lexical transfer errors make up 52% of all transfer errors in this study, followed by agglutinative word structure errors (34% of the total of transfer errors) and fewer errors are observed in the concordial agreement error group (13.5% of all transfer errors). This means that if we calculate the average errors per learner, we find that each learner made an average 3.8 lexical transfer errors, an average of 2.3 agglutinative word structure errors and an average of 0.9 concordial agreement errors. Looking at the statistics for all error types in the data of all the learners, I realised that the girls made fewer errors than the boys, because the girls made a total of 351 errors, which means an average of 6.5 errors per girl compared to 341 transfer errors made by boys, which means an average of 7.2 errors per boy. Despite that, the boys' and girls' averages per age show a similar trend in that the young girls and the young boys made fewer errors than the older girls and boys respectively. This is shown by the calculation of the average number of errors per individual, with the young girls (6-8 years old) averaging 5.7 errors per girl while the older girls (9-12 years old) averaged

6.6 errors per girl. This correlates with the average numbers of errors made by the boys, as the younger boys (6-8 years old) averaged 4.7 errors per boy while the older boys (9-12 years old) averaged 8.5 errors per boy. Possible explanations of the unequal distribution of errors per gender and age are discussed in the following chapter.

6.3.9.2 Correlations 2: Error types

Based on the analysis of the occurrence of lexical transfer errors and morphosyntactic errors, it is possible to argue that lexical errors tend to co-occur with morphosyntactic errors. This is shown by the almost equal of numbers of morphosyntactic errors (330 in total) and of lexical errors (362 in total). However, in the morphosyntactic group, concordial agreement errors do not co-occur with agglutinative word structure errors. This may be because agglutinative word structure errors are composed to a great extent of augment transfer errors (181 in total) and phonological transfer errors (55 in total) which affect the concordial agreement of sentences to a lesser extent. Another possible reason is that the number of concordial agreement errors (94 concordial agreement errors in total) is smaller than the number of agglutinative word structure errors (236 agglutinative word structure errors in total). Thus, it is possible to conclude that there is a negative correlation between agglutinative word structure errors and concordial agreement errors. The negative correlation is illustrated by the high number of agglutinative word structure errors compared to the low number of concordial agreement errors.

6.3.10 Main findings with respect to lexical and morphosyntactic data

The results of my analysis of lexical and morphosyntactic data revealed that the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influenced their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as in the agglutinative structure of words. This was observed in a corpus consisting of a compilation of the learners' previous writing assignments. The quantitative analysis of linguistic data retrieved from 101 essays written by 54 girls and 47 boys aged between six and 12 years old indicated a total of 692 transfer errors.

The transfer errors were classified into three categories: the first category is lexical transfer errors composed of transfer unrelated errors, similar writing transfer errors and false friends. The lexical transfer errors are the largest category of transfer errors in my corpus, with a total of 362 errors, which represents 53.3 % of the total number of transfer errors found in my corpus. The second category is agglutinative word structure errors composed of augment and phonological transfer errors. The agglutinative word structure errors category has a total of 236 errors, which represents 34% of the total number of transfer errors in my corpus. The third category is concordial agreement errors composed of noun class marker, adjectives, demonstratives and affixes transfer errors. The concordial agreement transfer errors category is the smallest of the three categories because it has a total of 94 transfer errors, which represents 13.5% of the total number of transfer errors. The analysis of those errors has showed that the transfer errors identified in this study might illustrate the influence of L1 linguistic structure on L2 structure because they can be traced back to the L1.

In addition, this study also revealed a gender disparity in making transfer errors because girls made fewer errors compared to boys. However, no convincing reason for such a disparity was sufficiently discussed or identified. Perhaps it needs a separate study to investigate the abilities of girls and boys in learning Bantu languages at the early stages. Hence, the description and analysis of this section of the study focused on linguistic data, although in the literature review it was argued that these were not the only measure to determine a linguistic situation. Therefore, the following section deals with non-linguistic data collected via interviews and classroom observation in order to understand better the coping strategies of learners and teachers in literacy education in a multilingual context where the L1 (Oluchiga) interacts with the L2 (Kinyarwanda).

6.4 Qualitative interview data: Data description

The third and fourth research questions of this study focus on investigating the perceptions and attitudes of learners towards their own language situation as well as the challenges they face during studying in Kinyarwanda (grades 1 to 3) which is assumed to be their first language. This relates to three specific research objectives: (1) exploring the insights of learners into their own language ‘constellation’; (2) exploring the learners’ attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and

Oluchiga; and (3) exploring whether the learners are aware of any language challenges that they face. The third and fourth research questions are: What are the perceptions of L1 (Oluchiga) learners towards their language constellation? Which insights do the learners have into their language constellation; e.g. do they perceive themselves as being bilingual? What attitudes do they have towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga? Are the learners aware of any language challenges?

I opted for semi-structured interviews in order to respond to the third and fourth questions. The interviews were conducted with 29 learners and six literacy teachers. Using my recorder, I recorded 35 interviews. The data collection instruments worked well because I collected data as planned in the methodology chapter. The recorded data were transcribed and categorised for data description and analysis. I decided to keep the data recorded from the learners separate from the data recorded from the teachers in order to present my findings well. This helped me to realise that the learners' interviews generated different data from the teachers' interviews. While the learners' interviews helped me to understand the learners' language attitudes as well as the challenges that they face while learning in a second language, the teachers' interviews provided not only the teachers' language perceptions but also their feelings on the literacy pedagogy strategies adopted to teach literacy to learners speaking Oluchiga as their premier language. Hence, the recorded interviews with teachers are analysed after the classroom observation data because they are addressing the same research question. In the analysis section, I identify the main themes identified from the recorded data following the third and fourth research questions of this study. I present the analysis of the findings in terms of the main themes identified in the data description and analysis. Those themes are the linguistic perceptions of learners and teachers, learners' attitudes towards their language constellation and their awareness of language challenges.

6.4.1 Qualitative interviews with learners: Data analysis

During data collection, I interviewed 29 participants (learners) on their perceptions of L1 (Oluchiga) towards their language constellation and their attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and

Oluchiga. While doing the analysis, I identified five main themes from their recorded data, as follows:

6.4.1.1 Perceptions of L1 (Oluchiga) learners towards their language constellation

Participants showed that they perceived themselves as being bilingual by affirming that they speak two languages, namely Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. They confirmed that Oluchiga is the language that they speak at home and that they speak Kinyarwanda as a school language i.e. a language in which they learn writing and which they are obliged to speak while staying at school. The following examples are some of the insights expressed by respondents:

I: *How many languages can you speak?*

L9- P2015110: *Oluchiga.....Kinyarwanda.... it is two*

L2-P201513: *Two ... Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda*

All the participants (29 informants) responded that they speak two languages and named them as Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. However, they stated that they use the two languages in different places and highlighted that they use Oluchiga at home and Kinyarwanda at school:

I: *Where and when do you speak Oluchiga?*

L2-P201512: *We speak Oluchiga at home*

L27-P201528: *We study writing in Kinyarwanda, we didn't study in Oluchiga* (When asked if s/he would like to use Oluchiga in the classroom)

6.4.1.2 Attitudes of learners towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga

Participants said that they have mixed attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. Their attitudes are divided according to the use of each language. For instance, they explain that Oluchiga is used at home with parents and siblings while Kinyarwanda is used at school while interacting with teachers and learning to write Kinyarwanda. The following excerpts show their clarifications:

I: *What do you think about Oluchiga? Do you enjoy speaking Oluchiga? When and where do you speak Oluchiga?*

L28-P201529: *We love Oluchiga We speak it with our mother, father and relatives*

No! We don't speak Oluchiga at school (When asked if s/he can speak Oluchiga at school)

L1- P201511: *I speak Oluchiga at home, Kinyarwanda I do speak it reaching here at school..... At home we do use Oluchiga.*

The above excerpts revealed that the learners have positive attitudes towards Oluchiga as their mother tongue but some stated that they would not prefer to learn writing in Oluchiga because they associate Oluchiga as their home language and Kinyarwanda as their school language:

L21-P201522: *I can't manage studying writing in Oluchiga....it will be difficult*

L17-P201518: *It is school language* (Response when participant was asked to explain why s/he would prefer learning in Kinyarwanda and not their mother tongue, as s/he had initially said that s/he would not prefer to learn writing in Oluchiga).

On the other hand, other learners confirmed that learning in Oluchiga would make them literate both in Kinyarwanda and in Oluchiga. They said that they would be happy if allowed to use Oluchiga, their mother tongue, at school and in the classroom while studying because they have a positive attitude towards it as a beautiful language, easy to understand:

L9- P201519: *I would prefer learning to write in Oluchiga ... Because Oluchiga is beautiful language*

L28-P201529: *because I know it* (response when the participant was asked to state a reason s/he would prefer to learn writing in Oluchiga)

Participants' mixed attitudes towards learning in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga were further explained when they were asked to share the advantages of studying in Kinyarwanda. Most of the participants responded that studying in Kinyarwanda instead of their mother tongue,

Oluchiga, makes them smart in the classroom, appreciated by their teachers, and allows them to be among the high achievers of the class:

I: *What are the advantages of studying writing in Kinyarwanda?*

L22-P201523: *It makes me smart*

L10-P201512: *You are considered at school as an intelligent guy, you become the first of the class*

L26-P201527: *It helps me to read Kinyarwanda*

In addition, when learners were asked to express their views on learning to write Kinyarwanda on the false assumption that it was their mother tongue and if they would like to continue to learn writing in Kinyarwanda, most of them confirmed that they would like to continue to learn writing in Kinyarwanda and did not wish the language of instruction to be changed to Oluchiga, their mother tongue, because they believed Kinyarwanda was a school language:

L24-P201525: *I would prefer to continue to learn writing in Kinyarwanda....because already I know Oluchiga*

L18-P201519: *I need to know to write*

These scripts demonstrate that the learners' attitudes towards Oluchiga as mother tongue are opposite to the attitudes they have towards Kinyarwanda, their second language. They consider Kinyarwanda as a superior language, which has the ability to make them educated and to be ahead of their colleagues who are struggling to master it. Even if most of them recognise the superior status of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction, they have a positive attitude towards Oluchiga as their mother tongue and the language to be used at home while conversing with parents and siblings.

6.4.1.3 Learners' awareness of language challenges

I asked learners whether they faced any challenges while studying writing in Kinyarwanda. Their answers were contradictory. Most of the learners said that they did not meet any challenges while

studying writing in Kinyarwanda. This can be interpreted as implying that the learners were not aware of the language challenges they faced while studying in a foreign language assumed to be their first language:

I: *Do you face challenges while studying writing in Kinyarwanda?*

L3-P201514: *None*

“None” was the answer from most of the learners. However, when I asked them to share with me their experience while studying writing Kinyarwanda and the way they felt about it, they expressed negative attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and shared some challenges, which can be divided into two categories: a linguistic category and a non-linguistic category. The linguistic category is characterised by their mixing vocabulary while writing Kinyarwanda and feeling short of vocabulary in the second language, then borrowing from their first language, and by their experiencing difficulties in writing consonants in words:

L11: P201512: *When I am short of vocabulary items I do mix all of them to get what to write*

L20-P201521: *I don't like Kinyarwandawhen it is difficult I just write in Oluchiga*

L9-P201520: *There are instances that I am speaking Kinyarwanda and then I mix with Oluchiga and I am not comfortable with it.*

L5-201516: *What is easier is writing consonants but writing the full word is difficult*

L7-201518: *For instance combining consonants to make words is difficult*

L10-201511: *Because there is a time they ask me questions in Kinyarwanda and I fail to respond*

The second, non-linguistic, category is characterised by the feelings they had about studying writing in Kinyarwanda which is considered a difficult language for learners to understand because (1) they are learning it but they are not used to it; (2) they are considered as speakers of a language with a negative connotation at school. For instance some students said that their teachers who do not speak Oluchiga tell them to stop speaking Oluchiga as it sounds as if the learners are insulting them:

L3-P201514: *if you (referring to me as a teacher who does not speak Oluchiga) arrive where they speak Oluchiga, then you can imagine we (learners) are abusing you but it is not the case.*

L4-P201515: *I was used to Oluchiga and shifting to Kinyarwanda is difficult.*

L19-P201520: *I feel as I need to speak Oluchigabecause there are things, which I can't comprehend*

In addition, participants said that they have limited resources to manage learning writing in Kinyarwanda because their home language is Oluchiga. Most of them said that they manage studying writing on their own or rely on teachers who have limited time to attend to each learner's challenges:

L27-201528: *Just I try to manage it on my own*

L24-P201525: *Daddy, mommy and all the children speak Oluchiga*

L1-P201512: *At home we do use Oluchiga*

L28-P201529: *I consult my teacher* (The learner responded that she consults her teacher when she wants more help to study Kinyarwanda)

The above responses from participants show that learners have little support at home to learn Kinyarwanda, which might affect their learning of Kinyarwanda literacy. However, this does not mean they have no support at all in the community because it might be that some immigrants in the region speak Kinyarwanda and might help them to have more contact with Kinyarwanda outside of their classrooms. In addition, Radio Rwanda, broadcast in Kinyarwanda, might give some input outside of the classroom. However, I did not investigate the impact of external factors on learning Kinyarwanda as L2 for Oluchiga speakers.

6.4.2 Main findings with respect to qualitative data I: interviews with learners

Data described in this section were collected to try to find answers to the third and fourth research questions as highlighted in section 6.4 above. The third and fourth research questions aimed at exploring the learners' perceptions and attitudes towards their educational linguistic practices as well as the challenges they face. In order to collect data, I used semi-structured

interviews with learners, as mentioned in the methodology chapter of this thesis (Chapter 5). As a result, I recorded interviews with 29 learners aged between 6 and 12 years old, including 15 girls and 14 boys. I had hoped to get an equal number of girls and boys but it was not possible because one parent withdrew parental consent for her son's interview for her own private reasons.

The analysis of the main themes from the transcripts of the interviews showed that learners perceived themselves as being bilingual speakers of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. However, while it is known that Oluchiga is their mother tongue, little can be confirmed about their fluency in Kinyarwanda. It might be that they wished to associate themselves with Kinyarwanda speakers (Kinyarwanda is the national language of Rwanda). Thus their self-declared perception of being bilingual is questionable considering their translingual writing dominated by L1 'texts written in more than one language' (see 6.2 and literature review) and oral communication in the classroom (see 6.4).

Learners expressed mixed attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. While Kinyarwanda is preferred as a school language (medium of instruction), Oluchiga is positively described as a beautiful language spoken at home with parents and relatives. The preference for Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction can be compared to the general preference for the English medium shown in current literature. Thus it seems a dominant language such as English (in this study Kinyarwanda), is preferred over a mother tongue medium because of its symbolic status, which is discussed in Chapter 2. However, the striking finding of this study is that the preference for the dominant language does not result in negative attitudes towards the less dominant for the learners expressed positive attitudes towards their mother tongue, Oluchiga, as a home language. In addition, the preference for Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction over Oluchiga does not prevent them from realising the challenges they face learning in a second language. Thus, learners are aware of the challenges they face while learning in a second language assumed to be their mother tongue. The challenges include lack of enough vocabulary items in the second language as well as the negative discourse about their mother tongue at school. These findings are supported by the classroom observation data and the analysis of the teachers' interviews, described in the following section.

6.5 Classroom observation data and teachers' interviews: Data description

I opted to describe and analyse the classroom observation data combined with the teachers' interview data for two reasons. The first reason is that the combined data assisted me to answer the last research question of this study.

The last, which is the fifth, research question, is the following: Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them?

The second reason is that I conducted interviews with the teachers after their classroom observations. The number of classroom observations conducted (six) matches with the number of interviewees. In other words, the six teachers, who were interviewed, are the same teachers whose lessons were observed in this study. Thus the teachers' answers to the interview questions might have a close relationship to what they do in the classroom.

I interviewed six local literacy teachers, three male and three female. Their ages ranged from 30 to 50 years old. Two of my interviewees had more than 20 years of teaching experience and 4 participants had between 5 and 10 years of teaching experience. As described in the methodology chapter, I explained my research project to the participants both in verbal and in written form. I responded to their questions and promised to treat their information and addresses in strict confidence. The six selected participants signed the consent form and permitted me to record their interviews. The permission I got from the teachers covered both interviews and classroom observations. For practical reasons and the schedule of lessons at G.S Mukama, we agreed to start with classroom observations and conducted the interviews after lessons because teachers were free to talk during break time.

I observed six lessons on teaching Kinyarwanda writing from grade 1 to grade 3. I observed two classes per grade because each grade has two classes (A and B). I completed my observation form (see Appendix XII) during the lessons to facilitate my getting accurate data. In order not to distract the teachers and learners during the observed lessons I positioned myself in one of the

corners where I could still see and hear the teachers and learners. In addition, I avoided asking for lesson plans or other related teaching documents in order to keep the teachers' fears to a minimum. I wanted just to be seen as a researcher, i.e. an interested observer, and not an inspector of education, i.e. a critical judge.

The fact that I had interviewed the learners before starting with the classroom observations might have helped the learners to perceive me as a familiar person, since they did not see me for the first time as a total stranger during the classroom observations.

Hopefully these strategies helped me to obtain authentic data. My classroom observations were scheduled according to the availability of the literacy teachers. I started with grade 1 lessons and then observed grade 3 teaching, and I kept alternating between classes depending on the teachers' availability.

In the following sections I will first provide descriptive accounts of the teacher strategies that I observed in each class (see 6.5.1 - 6.5.6 below). Subsequently, I will provide an interpretation of my observations in order to generate meaningful responses to my fifth research question:

Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them?

The chapter concludes with the teachers' reflections on the literacy pedagogy strategies adopted and the challenges they face while addressing the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation.

6.5.1 Classroom observation I (Grade 1)

The lesson started with a song of greeting in Kinyarwanda. The teacher continued by asking the pupils to greet each other in Kinyarwanda in small groups. Then each group was instructed to nominate two learners to go to the front of the classroom in order to demonstrate how they greet each other in Kinyarwanda. The teacher first gave instructions in Kinyarwanda and then briefly

repeated them in Oluchiga to facilitate the learners' understanding. After the demonstration of various types of greetings by different members of each group, the teacher asked the learners to sit in rows facing the front (with the blackboard). The teacher wrote two vowels on the blackboard, "a" and "e", and learners were asked to write these 'in the air' first and then to copy the vowels in their notebooks. Subsequently, the teacher asked the learners to repeat them after her. Learners repeated in chorus many times the vowels written on the blackboard. Then the teacher called on each learner to read the vowels. The teacher pointed at the vowels (using a long ruler) and the learner read them. At the end, learners were given homework to look for words containing the two vowels which they had learnt on the day.

Generally speaking, learners obeyed the teachers' instructions and those who showed hesitation in doing what the teachers requested were told that they would be punished.

6.5.2 Classroom observation II (Grade 3)

The teacher started the lesson by showing the learners a picture of houses and people standing in front of them. The teachers asked the learners what they saw. The learners responded in chorus that they saw houses and people. The teacher, moving closer to the learners, asked what they saw apart from houses and people. The learners were quiet for a while and then one said that they saw tall and small buildings. Then the teacher asked them what types of colours they saw painted on the buildings. They responded that the colours were *Mutuku* (red), *Kinekye* (yellow), *Mutale* (white), *Kiragara* (green). The teacher said that the answers were not correct and nominated one learner to translate them into Kinyarwanda. The learner did and provided answers in Kinyarwanda - *Umutuku* (red), *Umuhondo* (yellow), *Umweru* (white). Then one colour, "green", remained not translated into Kinyarwanda. The teacher asked the class to try but the learners just remained calm and quiet. The teacher said the colour green, which in Oluchiga is called *kiragara*, is *Icyatsi kibisi* in Kinyarwanda. Then the teacher asked them to write the colours on the blackboard and to copy them in their notebooks.

6.5.3 Classroom observation III (Grade 3)

I went to observe a grade 3 class in the afternoon and it was hot. Learners were reluctant to enter the classroom until the teacher had entered. The teacher asked them why they were not entering and they said it was very hot in their classroom. The teacher started with a song and all of them sang. Maybe it was their favourite song. After singing, they sat down on their desks. The teacher asked the learners what they had learnt the previous day. The learners started responding in chorus and making jokes that they did not study because it was Sunday (a public holiday day). The teacher asked them to be quiet. Then she clarified that she was asking them what they had studied together in their Kinyarwanda lesson. The learners responded in chorus again but the teacher refused answers given in chorus. She nominated individual learners and the nominated learners said that they had learnt to read and write short sentences. Then the teacher told them that they were going to write a short drama and act it after five minutes. The teacher divided the learners into four groups. The learners started working in groups and the teacher started writing in her notebook. After ten minutes, the learners started shouting while working in groups. The teacher asked them if they were ready to act. They replied that they were not yet ready. The teacher gave them five additional minutes. After eight minutes, the teacher asked them to stop working in groups. The teacher gave instruction in Oluchiga on how they would be presenting their small dramas. The first group acted in Kinyarwanda with some mixture of Oluchiga. The teacher stopped them and corrected them, instructing them to speak only in Kinyarwanda. She told them in Oluchiga to stop speaking Oluchiga in class because I was listening to them and they should be ashamed that they were shouting while there was a visitor. After these instructions, it was time to go home. The teacher asked learners to practise their drama and to come on the following day to act in front of their colleagues.

6.5.4 Class observation IV (Grade 2)

The teacher started by asking learners what they had learnt previously. The students answered in chorus that they had learnt the names of places. The teacher said that that was not true and started nominating individual learners to answer his question. Four nominated learners failed and the teacher provided a hint to the learners by revising his question: “Remember that we learnt to

write something, what is that?” The learners started guessing in chorus. Then the teacher nominated one learner, who gave the right answer. The nominated learner said that they had learnt to write double consonants. The teacher asked the learners to clap for the right answer. The teacher repeated the right answer “we have learnt to write double consonants by using names of places”. The learners repeated the right answer aloud. Then the teacher told them that they were going to continue learning to write double consonants. He asked learners to write the words containing double consonants on the blackboard. Learners were happy to move from their desks and wrote many words on the blackboard. Then the teacher started discussing with the learners which words were right and which ones were wrong.

The wrong words were deleted after an explanation that they did not have double consonants. They also deleted words which were not written in Kinyarwanda. The teacher took his time to explain to them the difference between the words written in Oluchiga and their equivalents in Kinyarwanda. The words which were written on the blackboard which were not in Kinyarwanda were *ente* (*inka* in Kinyarwanda) and *omugusha* (*amasaka* in Kinyarwanda), which were given by learners. The teacher commented on the learners’ response by explaining to them the difference between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga words. Learners showed that they did understand and the teacher asked them to give more examples of words which are similar in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. Immediately, a learner sitting in front raised a hand and said that a word *omukazi* was the same in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. The teacher explained to them that even though the word *omukazi* is close to the Kinyarwanda word *umukozi* they are not related. The teacher explained that *omukazi* in Oluchiga means a woman but the word *umukozi* in Kinyarwanda means a worker. Learners seemed not to understand but they did not ask questions. Then the teacher noticed this and repeated the difference, saying that even if words are spelt similarly in two languages this does not imply they are synonyms. The teacher ended the lesson by giving the learners homework on finding more words with double consonants.

6.5.5 Classroom observation V (Grade 2)

The teacher started the lesson by writing combinations of double consonants and vowels on the blackboard. Then he asked the learners to read what was written on the blackboard. The learners

took their rulers and tried to read by pointing to each combination of double consonants and vowels. The teacher talked in Oluchiga and encouraged the learners to read individually. After half of the learners had gone to the blackboard to read aloud, the teacher asked all the learners to read aloud in chorus. The teacher pointed to each combination of consonants and vowels and kept changing quickly so that some learners were not able to guess correctly and when some failed, the whole class laughed. Then the teacher asked the learners to copy the words written on the blackboard. The teaching time ended while the learners were still copying from the blackboard.

6.5.6 Classroom observation VI (Grade 1)

This class was observed in the morning. The teacher started with a prayer in Kinyarwanda. The learners closed their eyes and prayed on their own by saying some inaudible words. After prayers, learners sang a gospel song in Kinyarwanda. Then the teacher asked the learners to sit down and she nominated two learners to demonstrate how they greet each other in Kinyarwanda. The nominated learners went in front of the other learners and they mixed Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda greetings. The teacher corrected them but as they were not getting it right easily, the teacher nominated other learners to come and they did it correctly in Kinyarwanda. The teacher was happy and asked the learners to clap for the pair. They did. The teacher wrote vowels and consonants on the backboard and asked the learners to read them and they did. She asked them to write each vowel in the air using their fingers before writing them in their notebooks. After that exercise of writing in the air, learners were guided to write the vowels in their notebooks. The teacher passed by each desk to correct the learners and show them how to handle their pens properly. The teaching time expired before the teacher had finished correcting the learners.

6.5.7 Classroom observation data and teachers' interviews: Data analysis

In the following section I first present an analysis of my classroom observations. The aim of the analysis is to identify teaching strategies in the teachers' behaviour that aim at addressing the

disparity between the official language policy and the actual situation; i.e. the fact that the learners at the G.S Mukama School are bilingual pupils who are being taught in their L2.

Subsequently, I present an analysis of my interviews with the six teachers whose teaching I observed. In the interviews I address the question whether the teachers are consciously employing specific teaching strategies to address the bilingualism of their pupils. I also use the interview data to validate my analysis of the classroom observation data and to find out how the teachers developed these strategies.

6.5.7.1 Classroom observation: data analysis

After observing the classes I compiled the observation sheets and started looking at the teachers' strategies by focusing on the teaching methods and facilitative processes that were used by the local literacy teachers.

After analysing the teaching approaches used by the local literacy teachers, I concluded that it might be possible that the teachers used various multilingual teaching approaches, namely classroom code switching, translation, use of multimodal texts and more strategies of that sort that might be interpreted as translanguaging strategies (Chapter 4.3). I categorised the observed teaching approaches as multiple multilingual teaching approaches because the description of the learning and teaching of Kinyarwanda from my classroom observations consisted predominantly of giving learners an opportunity to use their L1 to understand the subject content. In this teaching practice, it seems as if teachers and learners have agreed that the use of L1 and L2 interchangeably is their new MoI regardless of the national language policy insisting on only Kinyarwanda as MoI from grades 1 to 3.

For instance, teachers use translations from Oluchiga into Kinyarwanda. Oluchiga, as the learners' L1, is the reference language and Kinyarwanda is the target language as L2. In this teaching practice, it seems as if learners are requested to memorise vocabulary items in Kinyarwanda, which are translation equivalents to lexemes in Oluchiga that are used by the learners. I might argue that the local literacy teachers use translation as a facilitative process to

teach literacy in order to make clear the classroom instructions. It is also used to show learners the differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda.

In addition to translation strategies, it is important to mention that the teachers use code switching between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda in their teaching as well as in multimodal texts. In terms of code switching on the part of the teachers I observed two types of code switching: strategic code switching that the teachers employed with some premeditation and a kind of obligatory code switching that resulted from code switching initiated by the students. I observed strategic code switching strategy during six classroom observations; it seems to be a common strategy where teachers code switch into Oluchiga from Kinyarwanda to ensure that the learners understand all important instructions. Teachers employ this type of code switching when they realise that some of the learners may not have understood their instructions. In contrast, obligatory code switching occurs when learners make transfer errors from Oluchiga while they are trying to communicate in Kinyarwanda. In such cases, the teachers are obliged to code switch in order to explain the difference between the learners' L1 and their L2 (see classroom observations III and IV). Learners, on the other hand, predominantly code switch out of necessity in order to fill lexical gaps: they mostly use code switching from L2 to the L1 because they lack the necessary lexical items in Kinyarwanda.

Apart from translation and code switching as multilingual teaching strategies, the teachers and learners used multimodal texts in the classroom, which might be classified as a translanguaging teaching approach (Garcia 2011:7; Canagarajah 2018). The classroom observations showed that the use of multimodal texts as a teaching strategy involved images and drama. The discussion of the use of multimodality texts in the classroom is important for multilingual classrooms because they are a part of multilingual communicative practices which were thought to be used outside the classroom (Makalela 2015:202). However, during the classroom observations teachers used songs/drama (spoken modes), pictures (visual) and requested learners to write in the air (spatial modes) [see classroom observations I, II, and VI]. The use of multiple modes including verbal modes has been confirmed to be a translanguaging approach of complex 21st century communication including verbal and non-verbal semiotics (Canagarajah 2018: 17; Chapter 4).

The results obtained from my classroom observations affirm that local teachers use multiple literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation. One of the prominent strategies consists in highlighting the linguistic differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda in order to improve the writing skills of learners whose L1 (Oluchiga) differs from the language of instruction (Kinyarwanda). To this end, teachers use translation and language switching teaching strategies in the writing classroom. They correct transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda while teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda. In addition, they use multimodal texts as teaching strategies to teach L2 writing. These multiple literacy pedagogy strategies are further explained by the following accounts of the teachers' interviews.

6.5.7.2 Teachers' interviews: Data analysis

I interviewed the teachers after conducting the classroom observations to complement the analysis of the data from these observations. The analysis of the classroom observations and of the interviews revealed that they complement each other in addressing the overall objective of the last research question of this study. The overall objective of both the classroom observations and the teachers' interviews was to find out whether local teachers used any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation. The teachers' interviews provide accounts by teachers of their own teaching strategies. After collecting the interviews, I proceeded with the transcription and the analysis of the data obtained. The interviews were conducted in Kinyarwanda and later translated into English.

The analysis of the data focused on looking for common themes in the interview transcriptions. The identification of common themes generated six themes related to local literacy teachers' practices. I decided to present them in what I judged to be the logical order: I start with the teachers' understanding of the language challenges that they face; this is followed by an account of the teaching strategies that the teachers adopt and the data analysis concludes with the teachers' own reflections on their teaching practices.

Teachers' awareness of language challenges

As I have reported in the previous sections, learners met with challenges while learning how to write in Kinyarwanda. It might be obvious to argue that those challenges originate in the assumption that the learners' mother tongue is Kinyarwanda which is the MoI from grade 1 to grade 3 in Rwandan primary schools.

During my interviews with the six local teachers, they reported that they faced various challenges while teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda to learners speaking Oluchiga as their mother tongue. The challenges met by the teachers led them to develop alternative strategies for teaching learners whose mother tongue, Oluchiga, is different from the medium of instruction, Kinyarwanda. Those alternative strategies developed by teachers can be qualified as home-grown solutions because they were designed to respond to the challenges faced by local teachers without reference to the curriculum or teaching guides, which are silent about multilingual contexts.

Literacy teachers reported that the main challenges in teaching literacy in this situation emerge from the different grapheme-phoneme relationships in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda and that more generally learners are learning to write in a language which is not their own home language. The following excerpts illustrate the teachers' views on the difference between the learners' home language and their language of teaching and learning as well as the challenges emanating from this disparity:

T01:

I face no challenge but you know it is difficult ... because learners are coming from different parts ... because learners are allowed to attend any school of his/her preference Some learners are coming from areas where they speak a language which is different to Kinyarwanda for instance Ikirera, Ikigoyi and Oluchiga then it becomes difficult to teach them writing in Kinyarwanda as it is not their mother tongue and you know it is the policy to teach in Kinyarwanda and that (is) what we need.

On the above excerpt, a local teacher explained that the disparity between the official language policy which institutes Kinyarwanda as the mother tongue of all Rwandans and the actual language situation, with learners speaking different languages such as Oluchiga, Kirera and Kigoyi, makes literacy instruction in Kinyarwanda difficult for teachers.

The above-mentioned differences in the grapheme-phoneme relationship between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga and the consequences following from these are explained in the following passage:

T03:

There is a challenge of mispronunciation because learners speak Oluchiga at home and want to bring it to school. This requires much time to correct them and we don't have time for attending to each learner's difficulties. I can say that lack of time is another challenge. These children need more time to correct their writing. Most of the time they write C instead of K and instead of writing Kiyombe they will write Ciyombe because when they are home they speak in Oluchiga much of Ciyombe.

In fact, linguistic differences between Oluchiga, the home language of learners, and Kinyarwanda, the prescribed medium of instruction, challenge teachers in their daily teaching practices. In order to address this situation, the teachers use their own home-made strategies to teach Kinyarwanda as a second language and not a first language, as assumed by the educational language policy.

Teaching strategies

The analysed themes regarding teaching strategies are presented in the following sub-topics:

Teacher

1. Teaching strategy 1: Teaching differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda vocabulary items
2. Teaching strategy 2: Translation and language code switching in the classroom
3. Teaching strategy 3: Correcting learners' errors
4. Teaching strategy 4: Use of multimodal texts
5. Teachers' reflection on their adopted teaching strategies.

The above themes are explained and analysed in the following sub-sections:

Teaching strategy 1: Teaching the differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda vocabulary items

Participants explained that due to the differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda they have opted to focus their teaching on explaining the orthographic variation between the two languages. This entails the teaching of similar and different vocabulary items focusing on orthographic features and their semantic implications. The following is an extract from one teacher's response about their strategies for teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda to learners who are native speakers of Oluchiga:

T06:

There are words in Oluchiga that are similar to words in Kinyarwanda for example the word *indege* {an aeroplane} is *endege* in Oluchiga but there are [...] it is different, for example the word *inka* [a cow] in Kinyarwanda is translated in Oluchiga as *ente* then you can see that you have to train learners to know those similarities and differences and they get used to it during their education and can acquire some from their colleagues.

In the same vein, local teachers do linguistic analyses to teach literacy to their learners by finding letters which exist in the target language but are almost absent from the learners' first language. For instance, participants explained that there is a difference between letters used in Oluchiga and letters used in Kinyarwanda. In the example, the teacher highlights the letter "k" which the learners often replace with the letter "C" in their writing. The replacement of the letter K (pronounced as "k" as in /kɪd/ or /kæt/) by C (pronounced as /tʃ/ as in /tʃæt/) in Oluchiga is realised both in pronunciation and in writing. Local teachers explained that they have to emphasise those differences in their teaching because otherwise the learners will not learn the correct spelling in Kinyarwanda:

T01:

Yes it is possible...challenges are there and many...you know maybe they are allowed to progress to grade 2 with the expectation that they have mastered

writing consonants but you still have to teach them not to confuse Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda letters because most of the time they mix them. For instance we ask learners the place he/she comes from and instead of responding to you that he/she comes from the place named **K**iyombe [According to Kinyarwanda spelling], he/she responds to you that he/she comes from **C**iyombe [According to Oluchiga spelling].

The letter C comes from Oluchiga spelling...I don't master Oluchiga well but I know that native speakers of Oluchiga can't spell K well but spell it as C due to the influence of the Oluchiga language that lacks the pronunciation of the letter K....it does require much repetition to make them spell the letter K properly and not C.

T03:

As a teacher I put emphasis on words which are similar to Oluchiga and arrange them according to alphabetical order; you have to teach them letters according to alphabets and then you repeat them very well so that they imitate a correct pronunciation. For instance they have to learn that we read Kiyombe and not Ciyombe, you have to emphasise to teach them correct pronunciation.

The teachers' comments confirmed my classroom observations as I had witnessed that teachers spent much time explaining those linguistic variations to learners. Teaching literacy becomes even more complicated once the teachers are teaching lexemes which are false friends in Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda vocabulary (see Class IV observation).

For example, when I was observing grade 2, a teacher took time to explain that *omukazi* in Oluchiga, which simply means 'a woman', has a different meaning to a similar word in Kinyarwanda *umukozi*. The word *umukozi* in Kinyarwanda means 'worker' but it means also a 'domestic worker' depending on its contextual use (see examples 1-5 below):

- 1) *Umukozi wacu*, our worker, [a domestic worker]
- 2) *Ni umukozi muri banki* he/she is a worker in a bank [bank agent/ officer]
- 3) *Umukozi w'iwacu*, a worker of our home [a domestic worker]
- 4) *Umukozi wo mu rugo*, a worker at house [a domestic worker]

5) *Ndi umukozi wa leta*, I am a worker of government [government official]

It is difficult to know whether their interpretation of the Oluchiga word *omukazi*, ‘woman’ as having the connotation of ‘worker’ or ‘domestic worker’ (*umukozi*) is at least in part motivated by the patriarchal ideology that women remain at home, busy with domestic work, while men go out to cultivate their farms or find other jobs. However, it is certain that the local teachers concentrate on teaching the semantic differences between words which have closely related orthographic features.

Teaching strategy 2: Translation and language switching in classroom

Participants described their teaching strategy of using translation and language switching in the classroom as a bridge facilitating the learning of writing in Kinyarwanda to learners speaking Oluchiga as their mother tongue. During my classroom observation, I found out that local teachers use translation and language switching in the classroom to teach new vocabulary in Kinyarwanda or explain new concepts to learners. Local teachers explained that they switch into Oluchiga to facilitate learners’ understanding:

T02

Yeah, it is obvious because learners can’t understand everything in Kinyarwanda then I am obliged to talk to them some words in Oluchiga but I do warn them to stop speaking in Oluchiga and encourage them to speak in Kinyarwanda.

Teachers explained that switching languages is a useful strategy they use while teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda. The language switching strategy supports the use of teaching aids and repetition. It also helps learners to respond to teachers when they do not know the response in Kinyarwanda. This can be interpreted as indicating that teachers do not encourage code switching but reluctantly tolerate it as a smuggling strategy (see discussion in Chapter 7). However, the teachers stated that they correct learners by translating the answer into Kinyarwanda as the target language:

T04

It is easier for me to teach them because I speak Oluchiga. I do use realia (objects from real life used in classroom teaching) and teaching materials such as images to teach them; for instance I show them an image and they replay it in Oluchiga and then I correct them telling them the correct answer in Kinyarwanda... You know, to teach is to keep repeating because when learners reach their home they speak Oluchiga again and come to school the following day having forgotten all the Kinyarwanda; then the teacher keeps repeating the Kinyarwanda until learners become familiar with it.

When I asked them whether a teacher who does not speak Oluchiga can teach learners literacy in Kinyarwanda without referring to their native language, participants argued that it is not possible to teach them without switching to their home language. Thus, in the teachers' perception, language switching is imposed on them and the learners by the linguistic situation of the learners and the mediation of knowledge would be difficult if they did not actively use the learners' mother tongue:

T04

The first challenge is for the teachers who are not speakers of Oluchiga because communication with learners is difficult if you don't speak Oluchiga. Writing... they just write as they speak; for instance when you ask them to write a word containing a letter "K" which is absent from Oluchiga they will write the word using the letter "C". Then a teacher will need to correct it for them.

T01:

{Laughing} ...When I arrived here they told me that Oluchiga is a dominant language in this region to the extent that parents come to school to register their children and they do so in Oluchiga. And then, it is not polite to respond in Kinyarwanda when a parent is speaking Oluchiga. In addition, it is difficult to start talking to children in Kinyarwanda while they do not understand anything, you have to start with Oluchiga and little by little you introduce Kinyarwanda.

Local teachers explained that new teachers are obliged to learn Oluchiga in order to use language switching as their teaching strategy. They clarified that teachers learn Oluchiga as it is simple to learn from learners and colleagues. This means that learners may get empowered by teaching their teachers Oluchiga and by explaining to teachers what they mean in their language, and then the learners and the teacher can help each other to translate it into Kinyarwanda. I observed that learners were especially active and happy while they were explaining Oluchiga words to their teachers. The following excerpt illustrates the response from the teachers:

T06

It is simple because a new teacher learns some Oluchiga both from learners and colleagues who are native speakers of Oluchiga, we do try to make them like Oluchiga by explaining to them that they need it for their daily communication with learners and parents.

T04:

Exactly! Any teacher has to learn Oluchiga because you can't correct learners' language without knowledge of their first language. For instance, you can't teach vocabulary if you don't know the language they use at home.

Teaching strategy 3: Correcting transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda in learners' writings

Local teachers described how the learners' first language, Oluchiga, interferes in their literacy development in Kinyarwanda. They stated that they have constantly to correct transfer errors from the first language in an effort to eliminate them in second language writing. They believe that the use of Oluchiga either in writing or in speaking in the classroom is a corrected temporary, transitional solution and that the use of Oluchiga and/or code switching between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda should be replaced by the use of correct Kinyarwanda as soon as possible:

T05

They try because when learners speak or write in Oluchiga a teacher has to correct them and tell them how to do it in Kinyarwanda.

T02:

When I am teaching them writing in Kinyarwanda I put emphasis on correcting them by prescribing for them the way they have to speak and when it doesn't work I do form groups where they can perform games and I select weaker students and put them in stronger groups.

T02:

As I teach in grade 1, I often teach orally and teach writing less.... Challenges are mainly based on pronunciation because learners do not know how to speak Kinyarwanda. We focus on correcting the learners' language by explaining to them that they are no longer at home; that they are at school where the medium of instruction is Kinyarwanda. We do encourage them to stop speaking Oluchiga at school.

Looking at the response of T02, the role of the teacher is to replace Oluchiga, the first language of learners, with Kinyarwanda, their second language. Most of the teachers whom I interviewed responded that Oluchiga has many effects on learning literacy in Kinyarwanda and they believe that they have to correct learners' mistakes originating from Oluchiga. Four teachers seemed to think that it is necessary to stop the pupils from speaking Oluchiga. Additionally, they pointed out that a few immigrants from the Kinyarwanda-speaking region help learners to speak Kinyarwanda:

T05

You know there are many consequences because as I told you a teacher can ask them to illustrate the writing of letters it means vowels or its combination of vowels then learners they just provide words, which are in Oluchiga but sometimes when they are studying with immigrants who know Kinyarwanda they can get assistance from them.

Local teachers said that they do not only correct linguistic transfer errors from the first language but they also emphasise the cultural component in language learning. Accordingly, the literacy teachers whom I interviewed believed that they should train learners to adopt cultural practices such as greeting, dancing and the general ‘way of speaking’ in Kinyarwanda.

This belief was confirmed by the classroom observation in grade three, where learners were being corrected in their dancing, i.e. the teachers advised the learners to dance according to the culture of Kinyarwanda speakers while performing a short drama. These teaching practices of going beyond spoken language and including culture are also regarded as translanguaging practices, which are discussed in Chapter 7.

During interviews, teachers furthermore explained that greetings and more generally ‘the way of speaking’ belong to the areas where they feel they need to correct learners in an effort to encourage the learners to fully embrace Kinyarwanda:

T03:

Indeed, I don’t know Kinyarwanda very well but what I have found is that there is a need to correct their pronunciation...I mean to correct their pronunciation...or just to show the way they should speak. It is important to train them to greet each other in Kinyarwanda then you put emphasis on the language they have to speak and put Oluchiga aside.

However, teachers explained that they are not satisfied with correcting the learners’ transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda in the learners’ writings as this strategy does not seem to work in their experience. In addition, the teachers expressed their frustration that despite their efforts, some learners do not seem to be able to cease engaging in code-mixing behaviour. The following response from a local teacher illustrates their dissatisfaction with the learners’ resistance to changing their linguistic behaviour:

T01:

The great challenge is that most of the learners are addicted to Oluchiga and they don't want to speak Kinyarwanda. They often mix Oluchiga consonants with Kinyarwanda consonants. Another challenge is that their parents speak pure Oluchiga and make no effort to speak Kinyarwanda. And then, at home learners speak with their parents every day in Oluchiga and they try Kinyarwanda only once they come to school. We do make efforts to change their language behaviours but in vain; it is very difficult for teachers.

T05:

Most of time they write in Oluchiga when asked to write in Kinyarwanda, for instance, once you ask them to give you examples of some consonants or combination of consonants they write in Oluchiga.

T01:

OK! We do try to correct them both in speaking and writing ...but it can't be at 100%, once they are in grade 3 they have probably reached 70% of not mixing languages.

The words "addicted to" Oluchiga might have been used by T01 to show how much effort teachers make against the use of the children's home language in school. On the one hand, looking at the teachers' interviews, the teachers' statements quoted above show that they tend to protect Kinyarwanda as the MoI, but at the same time they tend to exclude the learners' linguistic background. However, consideration of the learners' L1 background in the classroom and the teaching practice that includes the learners' home language and identity helps to improve young learners' literacy (Andrews & Smith 2011; Dukin 2012). On the other hand, the teachers' practices are somehow different because they tolerate Oluchiga and use it for supporting the understanding of the learning content (see observations). This might be interpreted as showing that the teachers have a positive attitude towards Kinyarwanda as a dominant language but that they use contradictory teaching practices because they find them practical. The literature on language attitudes argued for such contradictions between attitudes and practices (Carson 2005).

Teaching strategy 4: Use of multimodal models

Through my classroom observation, I have observed that the local literacy teachers use multiple models for teaching literacy. These include the combination of visual models (images) and linguistic models (story-telling and acting). Local teachers use those models to make sure learners understand new vocabulary in Kinyarwanda as well as new concepts, which may be difficult to explain to Oluchiga L1 speakers. During the interviews, teachers explained the use of both visual and linguistic models:

T02:

When we are explaining a lesson to learners we do not speak only, we also use images, and then images can help us not to speak much Oluchiga in class.

T05:

You start telling them a story so they can imitate you and introduce to them Kinyarwanda vowels, consonants, then you combine them in words once you are teaching combination of consonants ... they start speaking a little Kinyarwanda and learn to write later because it is difficult for them to write a word in Kinyarwanda before understanding it.

Even if the above teachers reported only the use of visual (images) and oral (story-telling) aspects of multimodality, the classroom observations (6.4.1) showed that the classroom instruction covers various aspects of mixed verbal and non-verbal communication such as acting (use of short dramas and demonstration of greetings in front of the classroom), writing in the air, and singing. The teachers reported that they use semiotic resources to limit the children's use of their home language. However, the literature on multimodal teaching strategies demonstrated that they are meant to fulfil the 21st-century communication needs that require teachers to train learners in how to use verbal and non-verbal resources (Janks 2014; Chapter 4.5).

6.5.7.3 Teachers' reflection on their adopted teaching strategies

The teachers' reflection on their adopted teaching strategies replicates their attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. The attitudes expressed by teachers on teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda are controversial. Some teachers' primary language is Kinyarwanda and others' primary language is Oluchiga.

However, their attitudes are not linked to their different mother tongues. On the one hand, some teachers stated that they do not like Oluchiga and prefer both their learners and their own children to grow up learning Kinyarwanda because the knowledge of Kinyarwanda will make it possible for them to attain literacy:

T01:

Learners like Oluchiga so much because it is their mother tongue. When they are talking in Oluchiga they feel much pride but for me I don't like it. I have been here for nine years but I forbid my child to speak it. I have a child of four years but I think he knows only two words in Oluchiga from his father. Because his father is a native speaker of Oluchiga but we do avoid it at all costs.

I want my kid to learn Kinyarwanda easily. Because when they grow up speaking Oluchiga, studying in Kinyarwanda becomes so difficult and there is a risk of not using Kinyarwanda properly.

T04:

My children can hear Oluchiga, We do speak it with my husband but my children don't because we have moved to a native Kinyarwanda speaking population area and while playing with other learners they speak Kinyarwanda. Sometimes, I do ask a question in Oluchiga and they respond in Kinyarwanda but they feel ashamed to speak Oluchiga due to the influence of their mates.

On the other hand, T06 and T01 (teachers) expressed negative attitudes towards teaching literacy in Kinyarwanda and suggested that it would be better if they were allowed to teach literacy in

Oluchiga, as Oluchiga is the first language of the learners. They stated different reasons for this preference, including the poor performance of learners whose L1 is Oluchiga when they are being assessed in Kinyarwanda.

One of the literacy teachers, who is a native speaker of Oluchiga himself, shared his personal experiences, which illustrate that Oluchiga is important not only for its native speakers but also for communication within the cross-border Oluchiga-speaking region in Northern Rwanda, which includes territories in the neighbouring Republic of Uganda. In Uganda, both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda are official languages. In this wider context, this particular teacher also shared his regret about the fact that the Rwandan language policy ignores Oluchiga and stated that he wished the school's language policy would allow the teachers to teach Oluchiga:

T06:

Yes, it would be better to let us teach Oluchiga as I guess your research is about that! Let me share with you my experience. I had a friend who ignored Oluchiga (as I was trying to teach him) while we were studying together in Kigali and one day he decided to come to pay me a visit. You know, some people in this sector speak a pure Oluchiga and others mix it with Kinyarwanda and then he decided that we have to continue and visit Uganda as it is near to this area. Then we crossed the border and we were permitted to continue in Uganda but when we arrived there we met policemen who asked us our destination and our reason for travelling in Uganda. We were three, and two of us explained well in Oluchiga but my visitor failed to explain. I remember that when we were in secondary school I used to teach him Oluchiga, which he ignored. The policemen found that he couldn't explain anything in Oluchiga as to why we were permitted to cross the border as close neighbours of Uganda; then they arrested him. Then we were obliged to negotiate with the policemen and later on they released him. But, from that time he told us that he used to ignore Oluchiga but he can now see its importance. He invited us to teach him some basics such as greetings and so on and we went to Kabale and saw beautiful mountains there. Then I can suggest that Oluchiga is important and if possible they can let us teach it even if they allocate just a few marks such as 10 or 5, but learners who don't speak Oluchiga, immigrants, can learn Oluchiga. Don't you see that native speakers

of Oluchiga are struggling learning to write Kinyarwanda and it is allocated many marks, equivalent to 80. It is not fair that children native speakers of Oluchiga get low marks in Kinyarwanda such as 40 while an immigrant child speaking Kinyarwanda gets 80. I would suggest that they allow us to teach Oluchiga at school so that it would be fair, so that other children will realise how difficult it is for native speakers of Oluchiga to learn a second language because it is not their home language. Because this is not justice, as children speaking Oluchiga fail and if they allow the teaching of Oluchiga as well, other children speaking Kinyarwanda will also fail even if they lose 5 marks and then it will be fair to both of them because one part will lose in Kinyarwanda and another part will lose in Oluchiga.

Teacher T06 claimed that the ignorance of Oluchiga as the first language of learners and the use of Kinyarwanda as the assumed L1 of learners raise the issue of social justice. He explained that the learners whose mother tongue is Kinyarwanda have a better chance to succeed compared to learners whose mother tongue is not Kinyarwanda. This might be understood as a misinterpretation of the reason for using the mother tongue of learners from grade 1 to grade 3. The MoI should be the mother tongue of learners at least for the first three years of primary school because learners need to develop academic reading and writing in the language they are familiar with (UNICEF 2016). The issues concerning social justice and the related consequences of misunderstanding the reason for using an African language are discussed further in Chapter 7.

Regarding teachers' attitudes and practices, teachers had contrasting attitudes regarding the teaching of literacy in Kinyarwanda, yet they had the same attitudes towards their teaching approach of giving opportunities to learners to use their mother tongue to mediate the content, mainly those involving translation and language switching).

During the classroom observation, I noticed that teachers generally seemed to avoid language switching when the headmaster was close to the classroom. Mostly, language switching seemed to resume once the headmaster was no longer close to their classroom. After these classroom observations, I interrogated the teachers and they explained to me that they are not allowed to mix languages and that the headmasters are tasked with restricting their use of Oluchiga in the

classroom. Thus, teachers use their bilingual teaching strategies clandestinely and they have to hide them from the school management. They stated that using Oluchiga could cost them their employment and indicated that a previous headmistress was released from her job for speaking too much Oluchiga to learners.

Like staff, learners may also face penalties for speaking Oluchiga at school. In the past, learners might even have faced corporal punishment for violating the school's language policy. According to a local teacher, such severe punishments belong to the past; however, there may still be repercussions for learners, who are openly speaking Oluchiga at school, even in the present day:

T01:

It doesn't happen at this school. It is disappearing and adopting just to restrict learners from using Oluchiga at school. For instance the former headmistress was using Oluchiga with learners and spoke it everywhere at school as she was a speaker of Oluchiga. They sacked her and brought another one who speaks Kinyarwanda. He just speaks Oluchiga when there is a parent but avoids it with learners.

The above teacher's response indicates that learners may receive "psychological punishment" for speaking Oluchiga and that it is an acknowledged goal of the current headmaster to stop the learners from speaking Oluchiga. However, it is surprising that they do not consider psychological punishment as a serious punishment. For example, humiliating learners in front of their colleagues might be more damaging compared to corporal punishment. This shows another type of attitude teachers have towards psychological punishment, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

T 04:

We do use advanced learners to correct slow learning learners. The advanced learners translate vocabulary from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda to their colleagues. We don't overcorrect learners; we encourage them to correct each other ... then it creates language behaviour at the level that they will be laughing at any learner speaking Oluchiga...when some learners speak Oluchiga, those who are advanced laugh at them and ... in the school I studied in before it was strict because learners caught speaking Oluchiga were punished. They were obliged to wear a hoe on their neck until they get others who are speaking Oluchiga and give them the hoe.

T06:

It does happen that they get challenges but someone smart can manage. You know you get knowledge in your family and it is natural if a learner is naturally intelligent and studies easily but another one who is not naturally intelligent will learn very slowly ... for instance if he/she wants to go to the toilet and does not know how to ask permission in Kinyarwanda because it is different to their home language you know in Oluchiga you ask permission using the phrase *ninyende oruhusha* which is different to the Kinyarwanda phrase *ndashaka uruhushya* then it becomes challenging and some weak learners end up urinating in the classroom but others come with a little Kinyarwanda so that they can manage.

Moreover, teachers expressed the same attitudes towards the mixing of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda in learners' written assessments. When the teachers were interviewed on whether during evaluation, language causes problems and how they mark learners' scripts written in more than one language, teachers said that they cannot tolerate learners' transfer errors in their examination papers. Teachers explained that they took serious measures to avoid the use of two languages while they are writing. For example they reported that they mark learners' scripts down because of transfer errors found in the learners' scripts:

T02:

There is no tolerance during exams! You know during exams we assess what we have taught! Then when a learner responds in Oluchiga you can't give him/her a mark, yes it shows that he/she didn't get explanations in the classroom...You have to award him/her a zero mark so that he will learn that he made the mistake of mixing languages.

T01:

When a learner mixed language during exams; in that case as a teacher you just give him/her half marks because at least he/she has understood the question even if he/she has not enough vocabulary to write the answer in Kinyarwanda.

In the above answers, teachers stated that they have to mark down learners' scripts containing transfer errors from Oluchiga. Most of the teachers highlight that assessment is crucial to learners' motivation and if they are not encouraged to stop using Oluchiga during an exam they will never improve their writing and speaking of Kinyarwanda.

Nevertheless, one teacher had a different view. Teacher T04 used to award the marks and give a warning to learners to stop mixing in Oluchiga while writing their exams. From my observations, it seems that every teacher does this in her/his own way depending on his/her tolerance of Oluchiga in examination papers. If this is the case, then it might also raise the issue of social justice that learners' home languages are allowed in the classroom during lessons but are not allowed during exams. Then learners speaking Oluchiga are disadvantaged during exams. On the other hand, I guessed that it is possible that the teachers were reflecting their attitudes towards the dominant language, Kinyarwanda. Nevertheless, the teachers' practice is inconsistent with their attitudes because they know their learners' context. The teacher explained that it is because he understands that learners do not have sufficient background knowledge in Kinyarwanda:

T04:

When you realise that a learner has done it right but is mixing Kinyarwanda with Oluchiga, you award him/her marks but you write a comment showing him/her its

translation in Kinyarwanda...you just tell him/her never to repeat that mistake ...you know they are innocent because they don't know the right answers in Kinyarwanda.

T05:

It depends on the teachers! When learners write in Oluchiga and his/her teacher does not speak Oluchiga well, he/she can be confused and award a zero mark...but a teacher who speaks Oluchiga, you award him/her marks because you can see that learners have understood the lesson but they are struggling with Kinyarwanda. For instance you ask learners to illustrate the combination of consonants “ry” and they just give words in Oluchiga *iryoze*, already they have understood it even if they are providing Oluchiga words.

6.5.8 Main findings on qualitative data: Classroom observations and teachers' interviews

The analysis of qualitative data has shown that teachers have adopted a number of teaching strategies in order to address the disparity between language policy and the actual language situation. This responds to the last research question of this study which guided the qualitative data description and analysis: Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them? In order to answer this question, I collected data from six classroom observations and afterwards I interviewed the six local literacy teachers whose lessons I had previously observed.

The data collected from the classroom observations and the teachers' interviews revealed that the local literacy teachers adopt multiple literacy strategies which might be interpreted as multilingual teaching approaches. The classroom observations revealed that teachers and learners have adopted multilingual teaching approaches that include the children's home language in the classroom. Those approaches are classroom code switching, translation, and the use of multimodal texts. The latter was interpreted as a translanguaging teaching approach because it goes beyond verbal communication and is extended to non-verbal communication. The teachers'

interviews showed that teachers adopted four main strategies to teach Kinyarwanda to learners who are native speakers of Oluchiga: (1) teaching differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda vocabulary items; (2) translation and language switching in the classroom; (3) correcting transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda in the learners' written work; (4) use of multimodal texts. Finally, the teaching strategies from interviews and classroom observations were compared and both were found to be inclusive regarding the use of the children's home language. These strategies were observed during classroom observations and were confirmed by the teachers during their interviews.

The teachers' reflections on their own teaching strategies showed that they developed the teaching strategies because of the challenges they face during their daily literacy teaching. However, teachers said that they use their teaching strategies at their own risk because the school administration prohibits any teaching approaches which employ the learners' L1 (Oluchiga), such as code switching and translation. Actually, the school administration is a gatekeeper of Kinyarwanda, as instated in the national educational language policy and translated into the grades 1-3 curriculum. The fact that the school administration does not support local literacy teaching strategies affects the teachers' attitudes to their adopted teaching strategies of including the home language of the learners in the classroom. This was shown by the fact that teachers said that they award lower marks once they find L1 transfer errors in learners' answer scripts. They explained that they do not tolerate code-meshing during exams and that learners are either punished or warned not to repeat the code-meshing. Regarding the punishment aspect, the teachers said that they punish learners in two ways. First, they give psychological punishment such as humiliating Oluchiga speakers in the classroom. Second, teachers said that they mark down learners' exam scripts containing some instances of Oluchiga. These kinds of punishments are discussed in Chapter 7. I did not interview the headmaster to find out his position on the disparity between the monolingual language policy that he enforces and local multilingual language teaching practices as it was not within the scope of this study.

Chapter 7: Discussion of findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis. There are two broad sets of findings. One set pertains to theoretical linguistics. These were generated through the analysis of the corpus of written data (Chapter 6.3)⁷. The second set of findings pertains to applied linguistics (Chapter 6:4 & 5); these were generated via the analysis of responses to the semi-structured interviews as well as through my written notes of classroom observations. The latter set of findings is discussed in this chapter with reference to the crosslinguistic influence and translanguaging frameworks (Garcia & Wei 2014; Makalela 2015; Lee 2016; Canagarajah 2018), to transfer error studies (Al-Shormani 2012; Rostami & Boroomand 2015; Mozlan 2015) and to the morphosyntactic study of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga (Nkusi 1995; Rubanda 2006). The current chapter is organised following the main themes developed from the findings categorised into theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics findings.

The discussion opens with the theoretical linguistics findings and their implications for applied linguistics (i.e. multilingual literacy pedagogies). In sub-section 7.2.1 the kinds of morphosyntactic errors found in this study and how these errors might be used to identify L1 transfer errors into the L2 during the writing process are discussed. Sub-section 7.2.2 centres the discussion on the influence of the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) on their writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda).

The second main part of the chapter (7.3) discusses the applied linguistics findings. Perceptions and attitudes of L1 learners towards their language constellation are discussed in sub-sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2. The section that concludes this chapter focuses on applied linguistics findings concerning mainly literacy pedagogy strategies used by local literacy teachers to cope with the monolingual curriculum in a multilingual context (sub-section 7.3.3).

⁷ It is possible to realise the imbalance between the discussion of theoretical linguistics and that of applied linguistics in this thesis. I would like to highlight that I am aware that the field of theoretical linguistics has not been given the same amount of attention as the field of applied linguistics at this point. However, the core area of the current research is applied linguistics, which does not allow me to divert into theoretical linguistics to a greater extent.

7.2 Theoretical Linguistics findings and their implications for Applied Linguistics (i.e. multilingual literacy pedagogies)

This section discusses the theoretical linguistics findings of this study by following the main findings highlighted in Chapter 6. The discussion is divided into three main parts. The first part discusses the types of transfer errors revealed in this study compared to previous findings. The second part discusses how the findings might inform L2 pedagogical practices. The third part discusses the pedagogical implications of transfer errors and the influence of Oluchiga (L1) on Kinyarwanda (L2) writing. This section discusses findings in relation to the first two questions raised in this study: (1) Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of concordial agreement in sentences as well as the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of concordial agreement errors can be traced to the L1? (2) Does the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence their writing in Kinyarwanda in terms of the agglutinative structure of words; what kind of errors in the agglutinative structure of words can be traced back to the L1?

7.2.1 Types of transfer errors

The analysis of the corpus of written data (Chapter 6.3) revealed three types of transfer errors made by learners whose first language is Oluchiga, when writing in Kinyarwanda. The first type of transfer error comprises concordial agreement errors related to affixes, noun class markers, adjectives and demonstrative markers.

The second type of transfer error affects the agglutinative structure of words; it is caused by a combination of augment and phonological transfer errors.

The last type of transfer error is constituted by lexical transfer errors. It consists of Oluchiga words which are transferred into the Kinyarwanda writing.

Referring to the Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) framework, the three types of morphosyntactic transfer errors which were identified support the CLI hypothesis which explains language transfer predictions. Firstly, the CLI framework predicts that when two languages belong to the same language family there will be more transfer errors and that these are likely to happen at the

beginning of the L2 learning process (Janusz 2003; Lee 2016). This prediction seems to be supported by my data: the fact that Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda are both Bantu languages (Lewis 2009) seems to lead to the frequent occurrence of morphosyntactic transfers for the participants in my study who are in the early stages of learning Kinyarwanda.

Transfers from the L1 to the L2 were categorised into three types which are closely related to the structure of Bantu languages. According to Mambwe et al. (2013), Bantu languages are agglutinative and are characterised by extensive use of affixes and by words which are constructed out of open syllables.

The fact that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are Bantu languages seems to cause transfer errors which are characteristic of agglutinative languages as revealed by the data in this study. Previous studies on transfer errors (Bennui 2008; Abid-Thyab 2015; Mozlan 2015; Sabbah 2015) argued that many transfer errors are syntactic errors (word order, subject-verb agreement) and morphological errors (such as verb form errors).

However, the errors revealed in this study seem to be different in terms of the nature of the interaction between the languages. Thus, the results appear to support the hypothesis stated in Chapter 3 of this study, that the types of morphosyntactic transfer visible in an interaction between two Bantu languages (such as Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda) might be different compared to the types of morphosyntactic transfer between an African language and a European colonial language, for example L1 English-speaking children might make different transfer errors when learning Kinyarwanda as their second language than L1 Oluchiga-speaking children. Likewise Oluchiga-speaking children might make different morphosyntactic transfer errors when e.g. English is the target language of their L2 acquisition as compared to Kinyarwanda as the target language.

The reason why the transfer errors identified in this study seem to differ from those in many previous studies is probably that a large corpus of earlier studies (Lopez 2011; Kaweera 2013; Abid-Thyab 2015) analysed transfer errors made by L2 learners of English. This observation also holds for research where the first language of the learners was not a European but rather either an

African or an Asian language. In the latter two cases, morphosyntactic transfer errors may reflect an interaction between an analytical language (e.g. English) and an agglutinative language (e.g. a Bantu language) or an isolating language (e.g. Vietnamese). In contrast, the findings of the present study are the results of an investigation into morphosyntactic transfer errors that occurred in an interaction between two agglutinative languages (Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda).

However, this does not mean that the transfer errors identified in this thesis are *qualitatively* completely different from morphosyntactic transfer errors identified in previous research; this question cannot be addressed within the scope of this study as it entails a thorough investigation of underlying morphosyntactic processes (i.e. processes within the computational system of the language faculty) that lead to the realisation of morphosyntactic features in the linguistic output (i.e. the writing of learners). A separate study might compare morphosyntactic transfer errors generated from the use of two or more Bantu languages in a classroom in comparison to morphosyntactic transfer errors that originate from other language pairings.

Regarding the prediction that many errors will occur at the beginning of the process of learning an L2 (Lee 2016), the results of this study might confirm that prediction. The number of errors identified in the written texts (101 essays) of learners of Kinyarwanda literacy made by Oluchiga L1 speakers is 692 transfer errors. These errors were perceived to make 90.1% of the essays incomprehensible to teachers of Kinyarwanda who do not speak Oluchiga, as explained in Section 6.3.2. One would expect that the number of errors would be reduced when the Oluchiga L1 speakers reached higher educational levels. Surprisingly, the number of errors increased instead with progression from grade 1 to grade 3 (see Section 6.3.5). One possible reason for the observed increase in the frequency of transfer errors with the progression from grade 1 to grade 3 is that learners attempted to write in the L2 more frequently as they progressed in their schooling. For example, in this study, it was shown that learners in grade 1 only write a few words in Kinyarwanda which they furthermore copy from the board and they do not use any adjectives. This is a strategy which avoids morphosyntactic transfer errors. In contrast, learners in grade 3 write complete sentences which display many transfer errors, including adjective errors. This implies that the more learners progress from grade 1 to grade 3, the more frequently they actually use Kinyarwanda in their writing and thus they quantitatively make more errors

over time within the observed time frame. It would be interesting to observe the continuation of the developmental curve for these learners and to ascertain if and when they become proficient in their Kinyarwanda writing skills. Unfortunately this lies outside the scope of the current research.

Furthermore, the possible reasons for the types of transfer errors revealed in this study are in line with the types of transfer errors predicted by language transfer theory (Mykhaylyk 2015; Odlin 2016). The common types of errors found in this study are substitution (phonological and lexical errors), under-differentiation (false friends) and overproduction. The phonological transfer errors which are revealed in this study showed that participants replaced Kinyarwanda consonants by Oluchiga consonants namely /K/ by /C/ or /G/ and /S/ by /ʃ/ (see details on 6.3.4.5). This was predicted by the transfer hypothesis which suggests that the L1 speaker replaces the L2 structure with a corresponding structure of their L1 (Ludovico 2013; Odlin 2016).

In addition, substitution of Oluchiga consonants for Kinyarwanda consonants is one of the types of patterns in the agglutinative structure of words transferred from L1 to L2 writing, as shown in the findings. The results of this study (Section 6.3.4.5) show that the transfer of Oluchiga consonants into written Kinyarwanda is due to the transfer of pronunciation from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda. This concurs with earlier findings that explain that learners write as they speak (Myhill 2009). Literacy teachers were therefore advised to help learners to differentiate writing from speaking, as writing is not speech written down (Halliday 1985; Myhill 2009). In the present study, learners mixed Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga pronunciation. This affected their learning of writing in a second language. This is explained by Rubanda (2006), who argues that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have some similarities but that there are differences regarding pronunciation and that these differences affect the writing of both consonants and vowels.

Moreover, the findings of this study showed that there are several positive transfers between L1 and L2 because of the typological proximity of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda as they are both Bantu languages. This finding confirms previous research, which observed the typological proximity of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga not only on the lexical but also on the morphosyntactic level (e.g. Rubanda 2006). Thus it is possible that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga are

representationally interconnected and mutually influence each other during the acquisition process. This is supported by the Crosslinguistic Hypothesis, which predicts that there is an interaction between L1 and L2 systems which influence each other during the acquisition process (Cook 2016:35).

Along the same lines, the lexical analysis of the findings of this study has shown that lexical transfer errors identified in this study can be classified into three categories: First, negative transfer errors, where lexemes from the L1 which are different to L2 vocabulary items are transferred into the L2 (unrelated transfer errors); second, transfer errors where lexemes from the L1 which share a quite similar orthography with lexemes in the L2 are transferred, and, third lexemes from the L1 are transferred into the L2 that ‘look’ and sound similar to lexemes in the L2 but which have very different meanings from those in the L2 (false friends).

The two last lexical transfer errors (discussed in 6.3.3) show that generally speaking lexemes are transferred from the L1 to the L2 because the participants seem to perceive a fair amount of similarity between the L1 and the L2. However, the first category of transfer errors occurring with lexemes that are completely different from lexemes in the L2 might be caused by the idea that learners would fill in gaps in their knowledge of the L2 by using familiar L1 words (Mishina-Mori 2005: 308). The two last categories which are discussed in this study might support the argument of perceived similarity between L1 and L2. For example words such as *amahuri*, *ikumi* and *omukazi* were transferred into Kinyarwanda writing because they were perceived to be similar in terms of orthography and meaning to lexemes in Kinyarwanda. These words exist in both Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga and share similar orthography but they are different semantically, as shown in 6.3.3. This might be discussed as part of under-differentiation transfer errors showing the overlap between L1 and L2. According to Odlin (2016:1) and Cook (2016:26) under-differentiation occurs when L1 speakers are unable to differentiate between L1 and L2 lexemes.

One might think that Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda transfer errors show an overlap between the L1 and the L2 because the two linguistic systems might indeed be one single language (Rubanda 2006). However, it is important to remember that Kinyarwanda is different from Oluchiga in

terms of morphosyntactic structures (see 6.3). As indicated in the literature review, the morphosyntactic structures of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga differ in terms of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, including tense markers and negation markers (Bangamwabo 1989). This affects not only the internal structure of sentences but also the concordial agreement within sentences as illustrated in this study's findings. Murekezi (1984) and Nkusi (1995) illustrate that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga share the concordial rules as the prefixes in both languages govern the concordial agreement of sentences, as discussed in the following section.

7.2.2 Learners' L1 (Oluchiga) influence in their writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda)

The findings of this study confirm that there is an influence of the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) on their writing in their L2 (Kinyarwanda) in terms of the concordial agreement within sentences and the agglutinative structure of words.

The types of concordial agreement patterns that were traced back to the L1 are violations of the subject-verb-object agreement, and transfer errors of tense markers (affixes determining future and present tenses). On the other hand, the types of patterns in the agglutinative structure of words transferred from L1 to L2 writing are the violation of the Kinyarwanda agglutinative structure of words by keeping L1 structure and the replacement of consonants /K/ by /C/ and /S/ by /ʃ/. These findings will be interpreted in the following section, referring to the literature review chapter of this thesis, with special focus on crosslinguistic influence (CLI), tense morphology, the agglutinative structure of words and sentences in Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga, and comparative studies on the morphosyntax of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga.

In the literature review (Chapter 3.5), influences from the L1 on the L2 are claimed to be either positive or negative (e.g. Bylund & Oostendorp 2013). This challenges the Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM) developed by Flynn, Foley, and Vinnitskaya (2004), which claims that language transfer is either positive or neutral. This model rejects the existence of negative transfer. In contrast, the findings of this study show that there are both positive and negative transfer errors, as discussed in this study (7.2.1). However, it is important to mention that the CEM is used to predict third language learning based on L1 and L2, but that it is discussed in this study as part of the discussion on language transfer theory.

This study supports the transfer error prediction developed by Rothman (2011) in the Typological Primacy Model (TPM). According to Rothman (2011) the TPM predicts that the transfer may be either positive or negative. The TPM also argues that transfer errors reflect a morphosyntactic mismatch between a previous linguistic system and the target language (Kabasele 2017:1). This is consistent with the findings of this study because the positive influence may be related to similarities between the L1 and the L2 while negative influence may be linked to differences between the L1 and the L2. A discussion of the findings on these influence factors follows.

7.2.2.1 L1 influence on L2 writing, which may be linked to differences between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga

On the one hand, the results of this study illustrate that Kinyarwanda is different from Oluchiga in terms of the concordial agreement of sentences and the agglutinative structure of words. This agrees with the literature review comparing the morphosyntax of the two languages. Existing literature comparing Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga explains that Kinyarwanda is different from Oluchiga in terms of augments, the use of noun class markers, adjectives, demonstratives, affixes, and tense markers (Murekezi 1988; Bangamwabo 1989; Rubanda 2006). For instance, in sentence (1) below the violation of the subject-verb-object agreement is due to the use of the L1 (Oluchiga) present tense marker *ni-*. The use of the present tense marker can be traced back to Oluchiga and violates the agglutinative order in Kinyarwanda because it is placed in the initial position instead of a subject pronoun.

- (1) **Nibankunda*
*ni-ba-n-kund-a
PRS-SBJ-OBJ-love-ASP
Do-they-me-love
'They love me'

This violates the agglutinative order in Kinyarwanda: in Kinyarwanda the subject pronoun *ba-* has to appear in the initial position, followed by a tense marker (*-ra-*) in the second position, the object pronoun (*-n-*) in the third position and finally the main verb (*kunda*); i.e. *barankunda*. Instead, learners (participants in this study) start with the present tense marker traced back to the L1 (*ni-*) [this can be easily confused with an object pronoun from Kinyarwanda or the pre-prefix *ni-* (*negative marker*)⁸], followed by the subject pronoun in Kinyarwanda (*ba*), followed by the object pronoun in Kinyarwanda (*-n-*) and finally the main verb (*kunda*).

Observing the above findings, a question arises: do monolingual children who are learning to write in Kinyarwanda make verb-object agreement errors? Unfortunately, I have not found any literature on the order of acquisition of different elements in the agglutinative structure of Kinyarwanda specifically. However, research on Bantu languages shows that monolingual children acquire an African agglutinative language system by the age of three without overgeneralisation and mostly error-free (Oostendorp 2013: 227). Moreover, Demuth (2003), cited by Oostendorp (2013:227-228), explains that based on literature on the order of acquisition of a Bantu agglutinative language system, monolingual children generally “pass through predictable stages in the acquisition of noun class prefixes” as described below:

- Phase I: No prefixes are used.
- Phase 2: Children use a substitute for the prefixes (such as schwa [ə] or a nasal sound).

⁷The pre-prefixes of Kinyarwanda verb morphology are either the morpheme *nti-* or *ni-*, there are negative and temporal morphemes (Nkusi 1995, Kimenyi 2002). According to Nkusi (1995:194) Kinyarwanda verb morphology has simple and complex forms. The simple form consists of the subject pronoun, the verb stem and the aspect marker. The complex form consists of the pre-prefix, the subject pronoun, the tense-aspect-modality morphemes, the object markers, the reflexive pronoun *-i-*, the verb stem, the lexical verb extensions, the grammatical morphemes, the aspect marker and the post-suffixes *-mo*, *-ho*, or *-yo*.

In addition, Kimenyi (2002:9) explains that “Kinyarwanda can have multiple object pronouns, multiple lexical verbal extensions and multiple grammatical suffixes. Lexical extensions such as *-agur-*, *-iir-*, *uur*, *-aang*, *iriz-*, etc. add lexical information such as inchoativity, iterativity, repetitivity, intensity, frequentativity, reversivity, ... Grammatical morphemes such as the causative morpheme *-iish-*, the applicative morpheme *-ir-*, the comitative/reciprocal morpheme *-an-*, can be added to any verb stem.

The sentence below serves as an example to illustrate a verb with multiple object pronouns and multiple grammatical suffixes:

Umugore a- ra-na1- ha2- ki3- zi4- ba5- ku6- n7- som-eesh-eesh-er-er-eza
 Woman-she-pres-also1-there2-it3-it4-them5-you6-me7-read-caus-caus-appl-appl-asp
 'The woman is also making them use it to do it for you for me there'

- Phase 3: Children start using the full form of the phonologically appropriate noun class prefixes.

According to these publications, it is possible to assume that the participants in the present study might be in the second phase as they not only substitute phonological elements (as shown in 6.3) but also make errors related to affix use, that is tense markers, as shown in this study. However, this would be a wrong assumption because L2 learners who learn the L2 in a formal classroom do not learn their L2 in the same way as native L1 learners acquire their first language during the natural course of L1 acquisition. In addition, there are not enough findings to trace the order of acquisition for noun class prefixes in the L2 in children who are native speakers of Oluchiga learning Kinyarwanda as L2. This is an interesting topic that will need a separate study on the order of acquisition of noun class prefixes in two Bantu languages, one being the children's L1 and the second one being their L2 introduced at primary school.

In addition, the findings of this study might be discussed in relation to generalized uniformity in the morphemes across languages, which predicts that nouns are always and universally acquired before verbs (Gentner 1982 cited by Oosterndorp 2013). This generalisation was challenged by the findings on language acquisition in Korean children which showed that Korean children acquire verbs before nouns (Oosterndorp 2018: 229). The fact that the order of acquisition of Korean was different to that of English was explained by typological differences between the two languages.

Against this background, it is possible that the order of acquisition of Bantu languages in general, and Kinyarwanda in particular, might be different from the order of acquisition proposed by Gentner (1982) because Bantu languages are typologically different from English. Generally speaking, nouns and verbs in Bantu languages are composed of various bound morphemes (Mambwe et al. 2013: 146). This might mean that there are pedagogical implications relating to transfer errors traced back between Bantu languages as discussed in this study.

Moreover, as revealed in chapter six of the current thesis, transfer errors relating to present and future tense markers may be traced back to L1 tense markers. Transfer errors relating to future

and present tense markers can be explained by differences between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga tense markers. Bangamwabo (1989) explains that Kinyarwanda tense markers are different from those of Oluchiga in terms of the writing of tense markers and their position in verbs. For example, the tense marker for the present tense in Kinyarwanda is *-ra-* while the future tense marker is *-za-* and they are positioned after the subject marker. However, in Oluchiga the tense marker for the present tense is *ni-*, which is positioned in the initial position, and the future tense marker is *-ri-*, which appears in the middle position of a sentence. For a discussion of the remaining tenses, see the literature review chapter, section 3.7.8.

It would seem that concordial agreement is not affected by transfer errors in the use of tense markers which can be tracked from the L1 into the L2. However, such a supposition is based on a Eurocentric view that considers affixes of the verb as independent words. Nurse (2006: 682) argues that in Bantu languages verbs have prefixes, infixes and suffixes which are important in concordial agreement as they are agreement markers on verbs. For example, in Kinyarwanda agreement depends on noun class agreement which governs both subject-verb and object-verb agreement. Kimenyi (2002:173) illustrates how noun class agreement works in Kinyarwanda and highlights the relevance of tense markers in respecting the concordial agreement. He analyses the sentences below:

(2) ***Ba-no ba-gabo ba-tatu ba-gufi, mu-ra-ba-bon-a, ba-mez-e neza b-ose***

These men three short you-prs-them-see-asp, they-are-asp well all

‘These three short men, you see them, they are all of them doing well’

This means that, as shown in (2), the head noun (*a-ba-gab-o*) in the plural belonging to class 2 governs all the modifying elements and the concordial agreement of the sentence. Thus, the head noun (*a-ba-gab-o*) governs the demonstrative (*ba-no*) and dictates its adjective prefix (*ba-*) to create adjective-noun agreement (*ba-tatu*; ‘three’); (*ba-gufi*; ‘short’). Analogously, the subject prefix (*-ba-*) needs to be attached to the verb root (*bon-*) with the present tense marker (*-ra-*) and the subject marker attached to the verb agrees with the implicit subject *abagabo* ‘men’ (head noun in the initial position of the sentence). The fact that the head noun is in plural form commands that the rest of the sentence, including modifiers and prefixes attached to verbs,

should adopt plural prefixes agreeing with the subject class marker to respect the concordial agreement of Kinyarwanda.

In addition, there are conflicting findings in this study regarding the use of Kinyarwanda augments. This study has shown that the transfer errors of augments and the replacement of Kinyarwanda augments do not violate the concordial agreement of sentences. This concurs with the findings discussed in the literature review, which argue that augments in Kinyarwanda do not play any semantic and morphosyntactic role that affects sentence agreement (Nkusi 1995; Kimenyi 2002). One needs to remember that augments in Oluchiga are different from those in Kinyarwanda and that both languages share the morphosyntactic rule that the augments should agree with the noun class of words, as explained 6.3.4.1.

In the current research, learners whose L1 is Oluchiga transfer Oluchiga augments into Kinyarwanda when writing and while this negative transfer does not affect the concordial agreement within a sentence, it does violate the concordial agreement within agglutinative words. Crucially, the structure of words in Kinyarwanda requires that a Kinyarwanda word should have an augment, class noun and word base (Nkusi 1995:144). Hence, when L1 augments (Oluchiga) are transferred to the L2 (Kinyarwanda), the noun agreement between augment and noun class is violated. This violation resulted in 181 augment transfer errors, which are explained in section 6.3 of this study (also refer to Table 21 (in section 6.3.4.1)).

The examples below show that the augment might violate the concordial agreement of the internal agglutinative structure of words. For instance, the following words were retrieved from the written data of this study:

Learner's writing	Kinyarwanda writing	English equivalents
(3) <i>Engurube</i>	<i>Ingurube</i>	Pig
(4) <i>Omuriro</i>	<i>Umuriro</i>	Fire

The observation that augments transfer errors do not result in a violation of the concordial agreement within sentences might confirm previous studies which argue that augments in

Kinyarwanda have neither a syntactic nor a semantic role (e.g. Nkusi 1995). However, the finding that these augment transfer errors still violate the concordial agreement within the agglutinative structure of words may contradict the hypothesis that augments do not play any role. In consequence, one might need a separate study investigating a possible structural contribution by augments in Kinyarwanda. This kind of research unfortunately lies outside of the scope of the current study.

7.2.2.2 L1 influence on L2 writing which may be linked to similarities between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga

Even though differences are found between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda, the results also show transfers that may be based on similarities between the two languages. Similarities between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga in terms of morphosyntax may be caused by a similar concordial agreement which is governed by subject marker affixes, as indicated above. These similarities are illustrated by similar subject markers such as *n-* ('I'), *tu-* ('we') and *mu-* ('you'), which are found as noun class markers in both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. Crucially, however, the position of subject markers varies between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda (Rubanda 2006:122): the subject marker in Kinyarwanda takes the initial position, while in Oluchiga it occurs in the middle position, as illustrated below. This difference makes concordial agreement somewhat difficult for the learners.

Kinyarwanda	Oluchiga	English
(5) <i>Ndakora (n<ra>kor-a)</i>	<i>ninkora (ni<n>kor-a)</i>	'I work'
(6) <i>Turakora (tu<ra>kor-a)</i>	<i>nitukora (ni<tu>kor-a)</i>	'We work'
(7) <i>Murakora (mu<ra>kor-a)</i>	<i>nimukora (ni<mu>kor-a)</i>	'You work'

In Kinyarwanda, the subject marker agrees with the rest of the structure of the sentence. For instance, in Kinyarwanda concordial agreement rules state that prefixes govern the concordial agreement between the subject, the verb and the object (Nkusi 1995:110). In Oluchiga the same concordial agreement applies even in middle position. Thus, Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda similarities are based on similarities between the noun classes and a concordial agreement rule

that implies that subject markers govern the concordial agreement, and not the position of concordial markers.

The following examples (8 and 9) from Rubanda (2006:122) illustrate how Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga share similar noun classes and similar concordial agreement rules even if the words and the positions of the subject markers are different.

Kinyarwanda

(8. a)

Cl 1: *umugabo arakora*

(*a*<*ra*>*kor-a*)

AUG-PRES-Work-ASP

‘A man works’

Oluchiga

(8.b)

omusheija nakora

(*ni*<*a*>*kor-a*)

PRES-AUG-Work-ASP

‘A man works’

Kinyarwanda

(9.a)

Cl.10: *inka ziragenda*

(*zi*<*ra*>*gend-a*)

CL- PRES-Go-ASP

‘Cows walk’

Oluchiga

(9.b)

ente nizigyenda

(*ni*<*zi*>*gyend-a*)

PRES-CL-Go-ASP

‘Cows walk’

From the above examples, it is possible to state that the findings of this study support the Typological Primacy Model (TPM). As explained previously (see Chapter 4.2.2) the model (Rothman 2010) generally argues that the typological proximity between the first and the second language is a key factor for crosslinguistic influence. This means that the similarity perceived by the L1 speaker makes him/her transfer lexical items or morphosyntactic rules from the L1 into the L2, as illustrated by the findings of this study.

7.2.3 Pedagogical implications of the theoretical linguistic findings

The findings of this study seem to support the TPM prediction (The Typological Primacy Model), arguing that the L1 can be a source of positive transfer or negative transfer depending on the perception of an L2 structure by an L1 speaker (Rothman 2011). This means that the major factor responsible for multilingual syntactic transfer might be linguistic typology, i.e. the typological proximity between L1 and L2 (Mykhaylyk et al. 2015). This study of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda indicates that positive transfer errors between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda might be a result of similarities between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga as they are Bantu languages with closely related linguistic typology. However, I also found negative transfer errors which may have resulted from differences between the languages, as shown in 7.2.2. On the basis of these findings, this study argues that local literacy teachers might adopt strategies in their teaching of Kinyarwanda which are based on these predictable transfer errors.

Literature on teaching writing skills in a second language argues for the development of a language pedagogy that is based on predictable errors (Yunlin and Xu 2011; Matsuda 2015). With reference to the literature review on the morphosyntax of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga (Murekezi 1984; Bangamwabo 1989; and Rubanda 2006) (see 3.6), I argue that transfer errors from Oluchiga into Kinyarwanda may be predictable as they are grounded in the morphosyntactic differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda.

Furthermore, for target languages other than English, language transfer between languages with similar structures may be predictable based on the morphosyntactic analysis of both languages as indicated by a previous study on the influence of the L1 on L2 writing (Jarvis 2000). For instance, section 6.3.8.1 of the findings chapter shows that learners violate rules which determine the agglutinative structure of words in Kinyarwanda and incorrectly apply corresponding word building rules adopted from Oluchiga. This kind of error is predictable based on differences in the agglutinative structure of words between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. Rubanda (2006) demonstrated that Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga have different augments (while Kinyarwanda has *a*, *u*, and *i*, Oluchiga has *a*, *o*, and *e*). Thus, it would not be a surprise if a young L1 speaker of Oluchiga who is in the process of learning how to write in Kinyarwanda transferred Oluchiga augments while writing Kinyarwanda words instead of using Kinyarwanda augments. An equivalent process may underlie the replacement of some Kinyarwanda consonants by Oluchiga consonants (illustrated in section 6.3.4.5 of the findings chapter).

As indicated in my literature review (see in particular 3.2), Cook (2013) argues that the goal of teaching L2 is not to force learners to achieve L2 proficiency at a native speaker's level but to achieve communicative functionality with the diverse language repertoires needed in the 21st century. For the learners under consideration this means that they need to be familiar with the differences and similarities between their L1 and their L2 in order to be able to communicate in both L1 and L2.

The literature on the influence of a learner's L1 on their L2 writing confirms that errors in L2 writing may originate from the influence of the L1; i.e. that errors are indeed often transfer errors (Ellis 1997; Mackey 2006). Additionally, this corroborates arguments provided by Jarvis and Odlin (2000), Selinker (1992), and Bhela (1999) that interference of the L1 in learners' writing may indicate that learners are not (yet) mastering the L2 language structure properly and therefore apply L1 structures.

However, this line of argumentation has been challenged by Mackey (2006), who argues that influence of the L1 in L2 writing is just a (normal and transitional) part of the learning process and should as such not be linked with the concept of 'errors'. In fact, my own findings show that

Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda have differences and similarities which lead to different types of transfer errors. Insight into how these errors arise may be used in L2 teaching and could generate pedagogies that are tailor-made for teaching Bantu languages more generally by using their rich typological proximity rather than copying Eurocentric pedagogies in African classrooms.

The results of this study support Mackey's (2006) idea that L1 influence on L2 writing is part of a normal learning process. In fact the influence of the L1 may be seen as a facilitator in the current situation as it may be seen as 'bridging' the learners' home language (L1) to their school language (L2). This idea is supported by the findings of this study, that local literacy teachers are already using the L1 (Oluchiga) of their learners to study and improve the learners' writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda) by explaining differences and similarities between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda grammar and vocabulary items. The use of Oluchiga (L1) while teaching Kinyarwanda (L2) writing is discussed in detail below, in sub-section 7.3.3.

7.3 Applied Linguistics findings and their implications for the multilingual literacy pedagogy

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the findings of this study are divided into theoretical linguistics data and applied linguistics data. This section discusses the applied linguistics findings compared to existing literature and the implications of the current trend in applied linguistics in shaping multilingualism and literacy education. The section starts with a discussion of the perceptions and attitudes that the learners held towards their own linguistic situation of speaking two Bantu languages which are in competition. Then the section continues with a discussion of the literacy pedagogies adopted by the literacy teachers who participated in my study. The section ends with a discussion of the overall significance of the applied linguistics findings to multilingualism and literacy education.

7.3.1 The insights of learners into their own language 'constellation'

In this section, I discuss various perceptions of the learners towards their language constellation as reported in the findings. Each part discussed in this section focuses on responding to the third research question of this study "What are the perceptions of learners towards their language

constellation? Which insights do the learners have into their language constellation; e.g. do they perceive themselves as being bilingual?”

All of the learner participants of this study (100%) said that they were bilingual speakers of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. Because of their unanimous answer to this particular interview question, I may be able to say that they are thus conscious of their language constellation. One might question their bilingualism because they are not yet fluent speakers of Kinyarwanda. However, Coste (2001:15) defines bilingualism as language practices which are changing but not equivalent or even homologous in different languages. Clyne (2003) explains that the term ‘bilingualism’ describes the use of complex language practices and values of speakers.

In the current study, learners perceive themselves as bilingual because they use both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda even though they use the two languages at different levels of proficiency and for different functions. The observation that they perceive themselves as bilingual concurs with Beacco and Byram (2003) who argue that bilingualism should entail the awareness that all languages have equal value, even if speakers attribute different functions to each language in their repertoire. Thus it is important that the learners value both Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda as languages, which shows their awareness of both those languages.

Regarding the attribution of different functions to each of the languages, in my interpretation, it is possible to confirm that they perceive their bilingualism as a clear-cut, compartmentalised use of their two languages according to two different language landscapes. Thus, Kinyarwanda is perceived as a medium of instruction and Oluchiga as a home language. The children do not mention any language mixing in their responses. It seems as if they understand the use of both languages as mandatory, as each language is functional in a separate space (one useful at school and the other at home). However, the classroom observation findings reported in this study showed that they use Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda interchangeably. Thus the children seem to have internalised the ‘normative’ diglossia situation to such an extent that they might not realise that they are not acting on it but are rather creating another reality that they do not own up to in the interview.

The fact that they report using Oluchiga at home and Kinyarwanda at school can be interpreted as a diglossia phenomenon (This is based on their perception because the reality is the use of both languages interchangeably). Diglossia is defined as “a situation where two closely related languages are used in a speech community: one for high functions (e.g. administration, church, newspapers) and another one for low functions (e.g. in the home or market)” (Meyerhoff 2009:103). In this study, Oluchiga, on the one hand, is reported to be used at home and can be interpreted as being used for low functions, i.e. as a home language, and Kinyarwanda, on the other hand, is used for high functions i.e. as an official language widely used in society and as such in the education system. This perception might well influence the learners’ attitudes towards Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda (see discussion in section 7.3.2).

In addition, the perception that Oluchiga is their home language and Kinyarwanda is their medium of instruction might result in their developing language skills in both languages. Thus the learners may use the two languages in the ‘designated’ domains for each language: Language skills in Kinyarwanda might be restricted to activities and domains that are typical of school, such as writing essays/papers, knowledge about language forms as well as reading textbooks (Brown 1994; Cummins 1980). Haynes (2007:6-7) argued that the mastery of school-oriented language skills may not help learners to use language in context. Thus, using Kinyarwanda solely at school might not help learners to develop language skills which are demanded in real life outside the classroom, such as day-to-day conversations, taking part in social events, and more generally the use of language in social interactions.

Consequently, the situation of using Kinyarwanda as a school language and Oluchiga as the home language might contribute to a development of limited language skills in either language. This means that learners might develop academic skills in Kinyarwanda but lack the necessary communication skills to use it outside the classroom; in contrast, learners might develop strong cultural, social communication skills in Oluchiga without developing any level of literacy in the language.

In addition, the results of this study of learners’ perceptions towards their language constellation show that learners are conscious that they are taught in a language, which is different from their mother tongue. Research on language learning has shown that the use of L2 as a medium of

instruction in the early grades of primary school (grades 1-3) affects a child's mental development and contributes to low intellectual outputs (Keshubi 2000; Brock-Utne et al. 2004). Thus, the use of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction for mother tongue Oluchiga speakers may affect their mental development at an early age (grades 1-3) and might contribute to their encountering challenges in gaining access to education while the Government of Rwanda is striving to achieve education for all Rwandan pupils.

Using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction for Oluchiga L1 speaking pupils does not only challenge their access to education but may also impair their ability to access opportunities for better employment throughout their lifetime. This argument is consistent with Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) research findings on the academic failure of indigenous people who have initially learnt reading and writing in a language other than their mother tongue. It means that if a child's mother tongue is not used to teach reading and writing initially, it will limit the learners' ability to attain the required proficiency in academic and employment environments. This concurs with Ntakirutimana's (2003) argument that if learners are not proficient in the language of instruction, this impedes their success in the job market. Ntakirutimana (2003) investigated the learning abilities of Rwandan students instructed in foreign languages and demonstrated that low intellectual outputs may be linked to situations where the L1 of the learners is not used as the medium of instruction. He recommends that Rwandan learners should be taught in their L1 in order to get a solid foundation, to access education and later to qualify for a job.

Even though the academic recommendation that initial literacy instruction should be given in the children's mother tongue is convincing, learners and teachers in this study did not agree with this recommendation. Learners in this study preferred to be taught in the L2 instead of the L1. This was justified on the grounds that the L2 was regarded as a powerful language, which Janks (2010: 24) calls the "dominant form". Janks (2010: 24) explains that in terms of power relations there exists a paradox that seems to be insoluble: Neither *giving* students access to dominant forms, nor *denying* them access to those forms provides a solution:

If we provide students with access to dominant forms, this contributes to maintaining the dominance of these forms. If, on the other hand, we

deny students access, we perpetuate their marginalization in a society that continues to recognize the value and importance of these forms.

In relation to this quote, Kinyarwanda is the dominant form, because it is the medium of instruction in Rwanda from grade 1 to grade 3, at the expense of other languages. It is furthermore an official language and the national language of Rwanda. On the other hand, Oluchiga is not recognised in the official language policy and it is not mentioned in the educational language policy of Rwanda. The power imbalance between the two languages creates positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda. This is discussed in detail in the following section.

7.3.2 Attitudes of learners towards Kinyarwanda (L2) and Oluchiga (L1)

This study investigated the attitudes of learners towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga to respond to the fourth research question of this study “What attitudes do they have towards Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga? Are the learners aware of any language challenges?” Based on answers from respondents, it was generally revealed that learners have mixed attitudes towards Kinyarwanda (L2) and Oluchiga (L1). In this section, I discuss the meaning of the mixed attitudes shown in the findings and the implications that follow from my observations that my participants embrace the dominance of Kinyarwanda, even though the learners do not master the language.

The findings of this study reveal that learners have mixed attitudes towards both their L1 and their L2. This is illustrated in the presentation of findings chapter where learners state that they have positive attitudes to Oluchiga as it is their home language which they use to talk to their parents and relatives. They further explain that they appreciate Oluchiga as a beautiful language and easy to learn. This is a sign of appreciation of their home language.

However, they rejected the suggestion that Oluchiga could be their medium of instruction at school instead of Kinyarwanda. First, they consider Kinyarwanda to be a school language, a language that, once you know it, gives you the reputation of being a smart learner. Second, Kinyarwanda is criticised by the participants as being a difficult language to learn. As shown in the findings, learners hold that they would like to continue to learn in Kinyarwanda and that they

are not interested in shifting to their L1, Oluchiga. These ambivalent attitudes might be explained by the argument of Kramersch (2008) that when the prior knowledge of learners is not valued in the classroom, learners adapt their attitudes to favouring the new knowledge acquired in the classroom. Thus learners seem to have recognised that their language is inferior to the new language introduced at school because their first language is not respected at school. They also point out that Kinyarwanda is challenging to them, especially when they are writing, as they lack enough vocabulary and some of them are punished for borrowing lexical material from their L1.

Considering that the learners' first language is Oluchiga and the fact that they have said that they are aware of the challenges they face during learning Kinyarwanda writing as their L2, it is possible to question why they prefer to continue to learn in Kinyarwanda instead of shifting to their mother tongue. In addition, as discussed in section 7.3.1, learners perceive themselves as being in a diglossia situation whereby Oluchiga is associated with being used in low functions (at home) and Kinyarwanda with high functions (at school). As explained by Meyerhoff (2009) a language associated with high functions is equally endowed with higher overt prestige. She explains that this language with higher overt prestige is used as the official language and it is used in more formal contexts and for writing. In this study, Kinyarwanda is a school language (used in formal contexts at school, in local newspapers and on the radio, and recognised as an official language). Thus, Kinyarwanda can be interpreted as a prestigious language. This is explained by Janks et al. (2014:7) who argue that once one language is selected to be a national and official language of a country it is also seen to be "the powerful and prestigious language, with the others ranked below in relation to their status".

I argue that regarding Kinyarwanda as a prestigious language pushes learners to opt for the maintenance of Kinyarwanda as the medium of instruction despite the learning challenges they have expressed in this study. This finding is in line with Carson (2005) and Van Der Walt and Van Rooy (2002) who argue that people might have positive attitudes towards a certain language even if they are unable to perform in it. For instance, it was found that Malaysian students have strong positive attitudes towards the use of English in their mathematics class despite their poor performance in solving mathematics problems when English is used (Zacharia & Abd Aziz 2011). In the same way, teachers and parents in South Africa support English as the language of

teaching and learning for their children instead of their mother tongues (Van Der Walt & Van Rooy 2002).

The reason for the learners' positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda irrespective of their awareness of the challenges the language causes for them, resonates with the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) presented in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Using CAT, Galois and Giles (1998) show that speakers adopt not only positive attitudes to the L2 but also their language choice preference for L2 because it is valued as a prestigious language. This is supported by Evans and Morrison's (2011) research in Hong Kong, which indicates that English is maintained as a medium of instruction due to the recognition of English as a global language, capable of opening up opportunities to the international job market for the students.

It is for the same reason that the Government of Rwanda shifted the medium of instruction from French to English, explaining that English is the regional and global business language needed by developing countries to improve their economic status (Twagilimana 2007; MacGreal 2009; Ruburika 2009; Rosendal 2011). Likewise, the participants in the current study prefer Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction to Oluchiga because they value proficiency in Kinyarwanda as a sign of education that promises access to the local job market. This can be compared to the prestige granted to English (Phillipson 2003) as an international business language which obliges people around the world, including Rwandans, to incorporate it into their literacy practices. Canagarajah (2011) warns that English has become a threat to multilingualism as it continues to 'overwhelm' national and regional languages around the world.

This is also the case in Rwanda, where English is the medium of instruction from grade 4 to university and as such dominates over local and national languages. Within Rwanda, a similar hegemony can be attributed to Kinyarwanda, which is officially assumed to be the mother tongue of all Rwandans and is accordingly privileged as the sole medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3, while local languages such as Oluchiga, Ikirashi and Amashi remain unacknowledged. However, it is important to mention that this practice of ignoring the L1 is disadvantageous to learners, as discussed in Chapter 3.3. In addition, the language classroom that incorporates the L1 in learning the L2 might enjoy the benefit of using translanguaging practices, including

translation, code-meshing and code switching teaching strategies explained in the following section.

7.3.3 Literacy pedagogy strategies used by teachers to cope with the monolingual curriculum in the multilingual context

The discussion in this section focuses on the findings in relation to the fifth question raised in this study: (5) Do the local teachers use any literacy pedagogy strategies to address the disparity between the official language policy and the actual language situation? Which strategies are these? How do the teachers develop them?

This section discusses the literacy pedagogy strategies in decreasing order i.e. from what is interpreted to be common to the less common. It means that the discussion starts with code switching (which is judged to be a common strategy in the multilingual community) and translation, and then moves on to the correction of transfer errors from L1, the use of multimodal texts, and finally the teaching of linguistic items in terms of similarities and differences between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda.

7.3.3.1 Code switching and translation as literacy pedagogy strategies adopted by local literacy teachers

Local literacy teachers revealed that they use code switching and translation as pedagogical strategies for teaching Kinyarwanda writing to Oluchiga L1 speakers. They explained that code switching functions like a bridge between the L1 and the L2. It means that they use code switching to explain some difficult vocabulary items and to facilitate the learning of L2 writing. This is consistent with previous findings that highlight that using code switching in the classroom increases the participation of the learners and boosts their confidence (Bonacina-Pugh 2013; Makalela 2013). Makalela (2013) argues that using code switching in the classroom is helpful as it allows teachers to explain difficult concepts using some vocabulary items from the L1 of the learners and at the same time it affords learners the opportunity of revisiting their L1 to explain their views and to make meaning by drawing from their linguistic repertoire.

In addition, the use of code switching which allows the L1 to be used in L2 learning is viewed as doing justice to learners as it contributes to the creation of a multilingual classroom, where all languages are valued without discrimination (Canagarajah 2007; Kramsch 2012). In this study, code switching allows learners to use their L1 (Oluchiga) while learning how to write in their L2 (Kinyarwanda); teachers use code switching as a pedagogical strategy that helps them to address challenges caused by the official language policy that does not recognise the L1 of the learners as a medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3.

Furthermore, in this study translation from Kinyarwanda to Oluchiga was revealed as one of the strategies used by teachers while teaching L2 writing. Teachers reported that when they guess that learners are not getting the meaning of a given sentence in Kinyarwanda (L2) they translate it into Oluchiga to facilitate comprehension. This translation is different from the historically well-known approach of grammar translation. Grammar translation as a language teaching method uses the translation from the L1 to the L2 mainly to teach grammar and vocabulary. It seeks to promote correct grammatical rules (Larsen-Freeman 2003:251). While this method concentrates on using translation to explain grammatical rules, the findings of the current study illustrate that translation may facilitate comprehension when the medium of instruction fails to do so. Participants (indigenous literacy teachers) in this study revealed that they use translation to mediate knowledge to learners and to get their feedback. This accords with Swain et al. (2011) who suggest teaching writing practices that allow non-native speakers of English to tell their home stories in their home language and then translate them into English, before writing them down. In this case, translation is used additionally as a method of teaching L2 writing that mediates storytelling and writing in both the L1 and the L2.

The use of translation as a tool for successful mediation of learning in an L2 context was also acknowledged by Kagwesage (2013), who demonstrates that translation may be used as a learning practice in L2 learning and teaching contexts in Rwanda. Her study reveals that higher education students in Rwanda use translation as one of the coping strategies for mediating knowledge and understanding courses taught in a foreign language (Kagwesage 2013). Apart from Rwanda, translation was identified as being a natural and inevitable learning practice in

South Africa (Paxton 2009) and in rural primary schools in Namibia (Mwinda and Van der Walt 2015:105).

Findings from this study further corroborate earlier findings regarding coping with challenges posed by learning when the medium of instruction is not the L1 of learners (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011; Evans and Morrison 2010, 2011; Creese and Blackledge 2010). In South Africa, Praxton (2009) finds that once a language, which is a foreign language to learners, is imposed as a medium of instruction, learners and teachers develop coping strategies. In the same vein, the research done by Van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011) argues that the interaction of L1 and L2 in the classroom is widely used at South African Universities. At Stellenbosch University Afrikaans is used in English teaching classes as a coping strategy to facilitate the understanding of English concepts. The simultaneous use of the L1 and the L2 might be interpreted as translanguaging in nature. However, it is important to highlight that researchers have differentiated code switching practices from translanguaging (See Chapter 4.3).

The results of my study confirm that teachers in multilingual contexts develop strategies to address the disparity between a monolingual language policy and an actual multilingual situation. Two of those strategies are translation and code switching, which are interpreted as translanguaging practices by a number of studies (Canagarajah 2011; Garcia 2009; Heugh 1995). Heugh (1995) argues that in South Africa multilingual people use different languages, different registers and code switching between those in order to meet the demands of multilingual contexts. This kind of “functional multilingualism” is widely recognised. Functional multilingualism means that speakers in a multilingual setting use different languages for different purposes depending on functional demands. The findings of Rama Kant Agnihotri’s (2007) research support the idea that multilingual speakers have a multilingual repertoire and linguistic competence, which they use creatively in their daily life to cope with increasingly multilingual societies.

In this study, the use of Oluchiga in teaching the writing of Kinyarwanda illustrates the multilingual strategy of employing the L1 alongside the L2 in the L2 writing classroom. This shows that multilingual teaching strategies are required in a multilingual context not only to

allow “translanguaging to construct meaning” (Garcia 2009:14), but also to alleviate hindrances to learning which originate in language policies that do not match the learners’ language repertoire. In the multilingual classroom, learners use their language repertoire to gain knowledge, to express their thoughts and to negotiate meaning-making in and about their different languages (Li Wei 2011). This idea is supported by Canagarajah (2011), who argues that the use of different languages and translanguaging provides multilingual people with the advantage of benefiting from the different possibilities provided by different languages. He adds that multilingual writers often employ techniques like mixing languages in their writing, which makes their writing resemble spoken language.

In addition, learners writing in Kinyarwanda use morphosyntactic structures adopted from Oluchiga without realising their own mistakes, as they rather concentrate on making meaning than on writing correctly. This unconscious use of two languages is acknowledged by Makalela (2014) as a translanguaging practice because it shows that learners are more focused on making meaning out of their language repertoire beyond language borders.

7.3.3.2 Multimodal literacy pedagogy strategy

In addition to translanguaging, translation and code switching, local literacy teachers reported that they use multimodal texts to teach Kinyarwanda to learners who are L1 Oluchiga speakers. The use of multimodal texts in this study consists of combining images, story-telling and dialogue acting (see 6.5.2). The use of multimodal texts to teach L2 shows that three out of six teachers understand the need for embracing multiple forms of literacy, as advocated by Jewitt and Kress (2003). Such pedagogy is classified by Li Wei (2011) as a translanguaging practice, which is defined as an act of “going on between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities and going beyond them” (2011: 1223). In other words, some teachers in the current study use translanguaging, which includes modes of communication other than language such as acting and images.

The pedagogical practices of these literacy teachers accord with the multilingual teaching practices advocated by the New London Group (1996) and Jewitt & Kress (2003). The new London Group (1996) proposed multiple forms of literacy to meet the multimodal nature of

communication. Thus, using reading and writing in traditional ways, and excluding other non-verbal forms of communication such as images and acting, limit learners of reading and writing competencies in the 21st century. Instead, multimodal communication has been embraced. The use of images and dialogue acting in teaching Kinyarwanda as L2 can be interpreted as an implementation of multiliteracies in teaching the L2. This gives learners access to multiple uses of communication modes, which are required to make meaning in the 21st century. These multiple competences are needed more in the 21st century because technology and social media are adopting multimodal communication.

The use of multimodal teaching strategies in a multilingual educational setting can also be interpreted as a translanguaging pedagogy. This means that some of the local literacy teachers realise that the conventional teaching methodology of using monolingual texts to teach writing in the L2 may not work in their multilingual context. They therefore use various multilingual teaching strategies, including multimodal ones, for meaning-making. They resist monolingual conventions stipulated in the curriculum and the official language policy and instead adopt multimodal and multilingual teaching strategies. This strategy of negotiating meaning with learners reflects what Kramsch (2009:10) calls “symbolic competence”. Symbolic competence implies that multilingual speakers deviate from monolingual norms of successful communication by using their own multilingual repertoire. The integration of semiotic resources in addition to verbal resources is recommended by Canagarajah to create new ways of understanding (2017:1):

Challenging traditional understandings of language relationships in multilingualism, which postulates languages maintaining their separate structures and identities even in contact, translanguaging looks at verbal resources as interacting synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings, beyond their separate structures. According to this definition the prefix ‘trans’ indexes a way of looking at communicative practices as transcending autonomous languages. In recent years, scholars have expanded the ramifications of this definition. An emergent second definition focuses on the need

to transcend verbal resources and consider how other semiotic resources and modalities also participate in communication.

In this study, some of the local literacy teachers used translanguaging practices, multimodal texts, code switching, and translation to facilitate their literacy teaching in the L2. They have not only succeeded in resisting monolingual teaching practices (imposed on them via the monolingual educational policy) but they have also achieved translanguaging, which is moving beyond the traditional assumption equating writing with text as a product of verbal resources (Canagarajah 2017). This kind of translanguaging used by some of the local literacy teachers (in this study) adopts communicative practices, which include semiotic resources advocated by Kress (2009).

In my interpretation, this study's findings confirm that translanguaging strategies are natural and almost 'inevitable' in a multilingual context. In this study, translanguaging strategies are adopted and practised by rural indigenous literacy teachers located in north-eastern Rwanda. This challenges the misconception that associates translanguaging practices with urban life. For instance, Pennycook (2010:1) coined the term "metrolinguism" to describe translanguaging practices among youth in the city. The term "metrolinguism" does not work in this study, because indigenous literacy teachers (in this study, literacy teachers of Kinyarwanda working in a rural area of Rwanda) developed and practised translanguaging techniques in interaction with their young rural learners who use their own translanguaging strategies in order to cope with the demands of a multilingual classroom and learning in their L2.

Moreover, this study argues that Rwanda is a multilingual country, contrary to the official educational language policy of Rwanda that stipulates that Kinyarwanda is the mother tongue of all Rwandans and therefore propagates Kinyarwanda as the sole medium of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3. A number of researchers (Ntakirutimana 2002; Adenkule 2007; Rurangirwa 2012) argue that Rwanda is a monolingual country where all Rwandans speak one language, Kinyarwanda. This reflects a monolingual ideology, equating a language with a nation. Local realities described in the introduction of this study (Chapter 2) paint a different picture, and this study has shown that its learners are wrongly assumed to be monolingual speakers of Kinyarwanda; actually, they are first speakers of Oluchiga and are learning Kinyarwanda as their

L2. This was demonstrated in that indigenous learners have adopted multilingual practices, by borrowing vocabulary and morphosyntactic elements from Oluchiga while writing in Kinyarwanda. The use of the L1 in learning the L2 was revealed by the influence of the L1 on writing in the L2, in terms of violations of concordial agreement of sentences in Kinyarwanda and the agglutinative structure of Kinyarwanda words.

Local teachers understood this, and developed their home-grown solution to the challenges that their learners are facing by using multilingual teaching strategies, including code switching and translation, in order to teach Kinyarwanda writing. The fact that literacy teachers and local learners are embracing multilingual teaching and learning strategies although both the national policy and the curriculum stipulate monolingual norms, corroborates Shohamy's (2006: 165) argument that language cannot be controlled:

Language is like life. There is an aspiration for order, for control, for possession, driven by fear of the unknown, of the powers and sources of evil. But there is always the reality that language, like life, cannot be controlled. Language, like life, is bigger than any one of us. We can go through language, like life, we can be with language, like life, we can use it, but we cannot control it. We can try to create all kinds of controlling devices - rules, regulations, laws, correctness, categories, policies, impositions; in life, we also create ceremonies, anniversaries, prayers, ritual, insurances, and other devices, all through the desire to impose order; but it does not work.

The above statement is a response to the one nation one language ideology (Ricento 2000:170) which is implied in Rwanda's national language policy where Kinyarwanda is assumed to be the sole first language of all Rwandans. Shohamy (2006:165) argues that imposing monolingual practices on multilingual learners and students does not work. This is supported by the results of this study, which reveal that teachers, as well as learners, develop multilingual strategies to fit their multilingual situation regardless of the official monolingual language policy.

7.3.3.3 Correct form pedagogy as a literacy pedagogy strategy

As highlighted in the previous section, many teachers in the current study employ multilingual strategies to address their learners' multilingualism and to assist them with learning to write in their L2. However, my results also indicate that most of the teachers are not yet confident in their home-grown multilingual strategies highlighted in sections 6.5.7.2 and 6.5.7.3. Thus, while they allow translanguaging, code mixing and translation in the classroom, most of the teachers also stated that they do their best to correct learners' transfer errors originating from the learners' L1 (Oluchiga). In fact, the teachers' efforts to eliminate the influence of the L1 on the L2 show that most of the teachers do not believe in the linguistic fluidity which is provided by their multilingual strategies. Hence, the teachers are not really coping with addressing the disparity between the monolingual language policy and the multilingual reality at their school.

This might be the result of the attitudes that teachers have towards Kinyarwanda as a dominant language because it is stipulated in the language policy as the sole mother tongue for all Rwandans. As discussed earlier, Rwanda's language policy promotes a monolingual pedagogy and some of the beliefs and practices of local teachers may reflect this ideology; this holds even when teachers are aware of the multilingual context (such as the one presented in this study) that they are operating in. The teachers' behaviour may be a direct result of an 'internalisation' of monolingual rules which govern the everyday practices of teachers. This internalisation of rules was discussed by Janks (2010:52), who suggests that it amounts to having a 'policeman' in one's mind, a «*flic dans la tête*» (literally a 'cop (policeman) in the head'). This means that the more monolingual policies there are in place, the more self-control measures have to be acquired by teachers because they have to discipline themselves continuously in order to comply with monolingual policies. In the same line of thought, teachers may consider their own multilingual practices as deviating from monolingual policies.

In this study, teachers applied multilingual teaching pedagogies as described in the previous paragraphs. However, many among them (teachers of L2 writing) also stated that they do their best to eliminate L1 transfer errors in L2 writing. One of the findings that I did not expect is that there were instances of language-based discrimination, which was used by some teachers as one way of eliminating L1 transfer errors.

A few teachers employed three different strategies in order to eliminate L1 transfer errors in L2 writing: first, learners were discouraged from using Oluchiga in the classroom (see 6.5.7 and 6.5.8.). Second, learners were punished by low marks on exam scripts when their writing contained Oluchiga, and finally, pupils were humiliated in the classroom for using their L1 (see 6.4). This shows that teachers may be inconsistent in their multilingual approach.

While the first and second strategies are discussed later in this section, the last strategy; i.e. that of humiliating pupils in the classroom, can be interpreted as school violence, where learners are abused in front of other learners for using their mother tongue in L2 learning. This corroborates the findings of MINEDUC and UNICEF (2017), which state that 50 % of the girls and 60% of the boys in Rwanda reported that they experienced violence at school during their childhood. The study emphasises that school violence contributes to high repetition and dropout rates. However, the study conducted by MINEDUC and UNICEF is silent on language-based violence in Rwanda; we might need a particular study to address this specific issue. What is surprising is that participants (the teachers observed) in my study do not consider humiliation as a form of violence (6.5.7.3).

Shaming practices do have long-term consequences, however (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019). On the one hand, native speakers may develop linguistic shame and deny their linguistic identity or hide their status as native speakers of a minority language. On the other hand, speakers of a dominant language might consider speakers of a minority language as “mentally limited” or uneducated and inexperienced because they do not speak the L2 well (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019:5). Thus there is a need to be aware that both psychological and physical punishments of learners, such as humiliation, are dangerous. The humiliating of learners in the classroom because they use their mother tongue might also be classified as discrimination based on language. This should be avoided at school in post-genocide Rwanda as it was shown that the continuous tolerance of discrimination against one ethnic group in Rwandan society eventually led to the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (see Chapter 2).

A teaching practice that primarily aims at eliminating transfer errors from the L1 can be interpreted as an instance of “correct form pedagogy” (Zamel 1976:69). The teachers’ efforts to eliminate L1 transfers illustrate subtractive bilingualism at work. Some of the teachers in my study seem to follow the official language policy and intend to suppress Oluchiga after the pupils are proficient in Kinyarwanda. A practice that is aiming at suppressing the first language of the children is classified as driven by a monolingual ideology. Garcia (2009:146) argues that if the first language is suppressed after the second language is added, the result is monolingualism (L1+L2-L1=L2). Cook (2013:51) explains that a teaching practice that suppresses L1 transfers results in language discrimination in the classroom. This limits the advantages of using multiple languages in the classroom provided by code-meshing (i.e. mixing languages while writing) which normally increases confidence. Moreover, the use of the learners’ multilingual repertoires is suppressed. Multilingual repertoires do, however, enhance meaning making; e.g. they enable peer discussions in the L1, and thus enable learners to build on their language background and thereby to ‘bridge’ home and school knowledge (Canagarajah 2011:401).

Based on the multilingual practices, monolingual beliefs and limited practices of teachers it is possible to argue that teachers find themselves caught between monolingual beliefs and multilingual practices. On the one hand, they think they have to adhere to the monolingual ideology stipulated in their curriculum that asserts that Kinyarwanda is the sole language of instruction from grade 1 to grade 3. Such monolingual beliefs are illustrated in the teachers’ intention to eliminate L1 transfer errors in the writing of learners, even if they testify that this strategy does not work because learners keep mixing Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda in their writing and speaking at school. On the other hand, they are obliged by the multilingual context to adopt multilingual teaching strategies to respond to the multilingual realities of their classrooms. This ‘schizophrenic’ situation⁹ is akin to Carson’s (2005:32) observation that it is possible to believe in one thing (in this case, local teachers believe in monolingualism) and yet maintain a totally contradictory behaviour (in this case, teachers adopt multilingual teaching practices). It needs to

⁹Owing to the scope of this study, it did not conduct research on a way of helping teachers to overcome schizophrenic practices. However, Chapter 8:5 of this thesis gives some suggestions on how one could develop programmes that would help teachers to overcome their ‘schizophrenic’ practice of embracing translanguaging in the classroom on the one hand and of punishing the learners for language transfer on the other hand.

be mentioned, however, that I also found a few local teachers who explicitly said that it is important to use the L1 of learners because it helps them to connect with the learners and to build on their communicative repertoire (see 6.5.7.3)

This schizophrenic situation is repeated twice in this study as there are some teachers who humiliate the students in the classroom for using their L1 and other teachers who punish learners for mixing L2 with L1 during assessment. Both practices are contradictory to their actual multilingual teaching practices discussed in this chapter (7.3.3). This might raise a question such as “What would a Rwandan pedagogy be like?” It might be possible to suggest that Rwandans should re-adopt pre-colonial pedagogy because suppression and humiliation arise from colonial practices (see Chapter 2). This might be a suggestion worth considering if pre-colonial education was characterised by compassion and teachers’ tolerance towards language diversity. However, this might not be the case, considering the literature about pre-colonial Rwandan education (called in that time *itorero*) which aimed at getting strong warriors for defending and conquering neighbouring countries, and where subsequently conquered people were obliged to adopt one language, Kinyarwanda (2.5.1). Then “Do we have alternatives for the new pedagogy which respond to the linguistic variety of Rwandans”? In this study, teachers (involved in this study) have responded to this question by their teaching practices that acknowledge the multilingual background of learners and by adopting multilingual teaching strategies. On the other hand, the monolingual belief imposed by the official monolingual policies (language policy and curriculum) made them believe in monolingualism. Thus there is a need to harmonise the educational language policy with the multilingual realities of Rwandan classrooms by encouraging the existing practices of building on learners’ communicative repertoire.

The practice of building on learners’ communicative repertoire was acknowledged and found supportive to the literacy development of learners (Hornberger and Link 2012; Li Wei 2011; Blommaert 2010). Thus this study contributes to the literature advocating translanguaging pedagogy by revealing that translanguaging pedagogy is used to teach African languages (in this context Kinyarwanda) to speakers of other African languages (in this study Oluchiga), as a second language in primary schools in Rwanda. This study also argues that teachers and learners participating in this study use the learners’ home language alongside the L2 at school. This falls into Garcia’s (2009:45) definition of translanguaging practices, which are described as “more

like an all-terrain vehicle whose wheels extend and contract, flex and stretch, making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective”.

7.3.3.4 Transcultural practices as literacy pedagogy strategy

Errors analysed in this study are related to a linguistic analysis of Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga. However, it is possible to argue that the errors made by Oluchiga speakers while writing in Kinyarwanda are due not only to the linguistic distance between two languages but also to cultural differences and similarities between two communities. For example, cultural transfer errors were both evident in my classroom observation (see classroom observations 6.5.1 and 6.5.6) and were reported by local literacy teachers during interviews (T03 in section 6.5.7.2). This agrees with the findings of Weerachairattana and Wannaruk (2016:138) who showed that linguistic transfer from the L1 to the L2 may be supplemented by, or occur alongside, cultural transfer errors in Thailand, because L2 learners mostly borrow from their L1 knowledge and value and use it in writing and speaking in their L2. Thus, there are two major types of errors observed in this study: linguistic transfer errors and cultural transfer errors.

The cultural transfer errors observed in this study are most evident in the differences between the greeting norms and dance customs of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda speakers. For instance, during interviews, a local literacy teacher (T03) reported that they train learners to greet each other and to adopt Kinyarwanda politeness norms while speaking in Kinyarwanda.

I attribute some of the cultural transfer errors to cultural differences between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda speakers. However, it is necessary to explain why teaching L2 culture with L2 language learning is important. The local literacy teachers have probably understood that the ability to read and write letters does not only depend on the learners’ ability to use a certain language, rather linguistic competence needs to be supplemented with culture-specific pragmatic knowledge. Hence, more than linguistic knowledge of a language is needed to make and get meaning (Janks 2018; Canagarajah 2018). Culture is one of the meta-skills to explore in order to know the use of an L2 in a specific context (Weerachairattana & Wannaruk 2016).

The fact that two out of six teachers (participants in this study) teach learners to adopt the culture of Kinyarwanda speakers and in the process may actually leave behind their own cultural norms shows that they have not yet fully embraced (or understood) translanguaging teaching strategies, even if they practise some of them, as explained above. This is evident in their practice of not allowing learners to use their own culture, as in the dance example in a Kinyarwanda class (see 6.5.1 and 6.5.6).

Garcia (2009:149) explains that in translanguaging practices languages are always in contact and mutually influence each other. Thus it is futile for local literacy teachers to draw clear-cut boundaries between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda on the one hand while they employ some literacy practices which are multilingual on the other hand. Rather, the teachers might have more success if they enabled the learners to be bilingual and thus to be able to access both languages in their brain and to use them simultaneously.

The integration of L1 culture into the writing and speaking of the L2 was observed in the post-colonial literary writing of many African writers. For example, Achebe (1975) illustrated that it is not possible for him to write without inserting his African culture into his English writing. This was supported by another African writer, Okara (1990: 16, 17), who stated:

.... a continuing quest, through experimentation, for a mode of employing the English language, which we have appropriated, to give full expression to our culture and our point of view, to our message, without our seeing ourselves, or others seeing us, as through a distorting mirror. [...] If, therefore, an African wishes to use English as an effective medium of literary expression, he has to emulsify it with the patterns, modes and idioms of African speech until it becomes so attenuated that it bears little resemblance to the original.

The ideas of Achebe and Okara were defended by a number of researchers promoting the idea that the L1 should be used as a resource for, and not as a threat to, the learning of L2 (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Kramsch 2012; Bonacina-Pugh 2013). Against this background, local literacy

teachers might be able to support the learners better by allowing them to dance in their Chiga way, which would help them to connect their cultural background with the Kinyarwanda language. Then the question is, how to do it? Maybe it will need more research to know all the cultural differences between the L1 and the L2 and possibly there is a need to observe the way learners adopt and adapt both cultures in their lives at home and at school. It is important to highlight that even if cultural transfer errors were observed in this study, it was not among the objectives of this study to discuss these in detail as the study focuses on linguistic transfer errors. Thus there is a need for a specific study to investigate cultural transfers from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda¹⁰.

7.3.3.5 Multilingual proximity pedagogy as a new literacy pedagogy strategy to teach Kinyarwanda as L2

This study argues that Rwanda is a multilingual country contrary to what previous literature assumes. For example, Ntakirutimana (2002), Adekunle (2007), Kagwesagye (2013), as well as Rudacogora and Rurangirwa (2013) assume that Rwanda is a monolingual country where everyone speaks Kinyarwanda as their L1. This is not the case. The use of similarities and differences between L1 and L2 seems to be a pedagogic contextual construct, which Kinyarwanda local literacy teachers have developed to overcome challenges arising from teaching Kinyarwanda, which is assumed to be the L1 of learners, but is not.

During the data interpretation exercise, I proposed to call this kind of teaching methodology a “multilingual proximity teaching method”, as a language teaching method which is practised by indigenous literacy teachers to teach writing in Kinyarwanda (L2) in a context where the L1 and the L2 are both African languages which are linguistically close to each other (Bantu languages). Literacy teachers who participated in this study explore the typological distance between the African L1 (Oluchiga) and the African L2 (Kinyarwanda) by focusing on helping learners to

¹⁰ I am aware that this might raise discussions considering that many African communities do fear the loss of their own cultural identity. Yet “many people in the modern world have hybrid identities. They are bicultural, multilingual and are comfortable with difference” (Janks et al. 2014:33). This means that a language as well as a culture is not a rigid or monolithic structure but a dynamic phenomenon.

build on their L1 knowledge (vocabulary, sentence structure and grammatical rules) to develop their L2 writing skills.

A number of researchers, including Dukin (2012) as well as Kobayasha and Rinnert (2002) support the use of the L1 background to teach L2 writing. They argue that using children's home language may improve their L2 writing skills and that it does not affect the children's writing skills in the L2 negatively, as sometimes assumed in an L2 teaching context. However, it is important to mention that some researchers do not agree on the positive impact of using the learners' L1 because they argue that it is destructive to L2 acquisition (Bloome et al. 2001; Smitherman 2000). For example, vernaculars of English with traces of the children's mother tongues spoken in the USA are treated as 'improper' language because of L1 features which are considered to be errors (Murray 1997; Makalela 2009).

Despite these arguments against giving consideration to children's home language in second language teaching, there is a tendency to agree that for the lower level (i.e from grade 1 to grade 3), as in the case study of this research, their L1 ought to be taken into account in the L2 classroom.

In the same vein, Hu (2010:102) argues that even if there are counter arguments against taking children's home language into account in L2 classrooms, "L2 teachers should be more tolerant with low-level L2 learners' reliance on their L1 if their L2 fails them for an effective thinking". In addition, a number of modern researches have showed that the use of L1 in the L2 learning process is a part of inclusive education (where the child's language identity is accepted at school) and integrates speakers of other languages apart from L2 (Janks et al. 2014; Makalela 2016; Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019). In conclusion, this study supports the idea of valuing learners' home language as their prior knowledge which may assist rather than hinder them in learning the L2.

7.4 Summary of discussions of findings

This chapter has discussed the findings that were presented in Chapter 6. The discussions relate my findings to the literature review and the theoretical framework chapters (Chapters 3 and 4).

The discussions respond to my research questions. The focus of this chapter was on two main types of findings.

Firstly, the theoretical linguistics findings revealed that the types of transfer errors found in this study may be different from transfer errors found in previous studies because this study explored the interaction between two Bantu languages (Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga). The theoretical linguistics findings were discussed in response to the first and second research questions (see 1.4)

The influence of the L1 (Oluchiga) on L2 (Kinyarwanda) writing in this study was discussed against the background of my literature review and with a special emphasis on negative and positive transfer errors. In particular, I discussed the crosslinguistic influence hypotheses, and the findings of this study supported the prediction of negative and positive transfer (Typological Primacy Model [TPM]) by Rothman 2010) and did not support the prediction of positive transfer only (Cumulative Enhancement Model [CEM] by Flynn, Foley & Vinnitskaya 2004). The negative and positive transfer errors between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda are due to differences and similarities between the two Bantu languages. This explains that positive transfers between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda occur when similar morphosyntactic or lexical structures of the L1 (Oluchiga) are transferred to the L2 (Kinyarwanda). Negative transfers occur when a structure that exists only in the L1 is transferred to the L2, as predicted by the TPM.

The influence of Oluchiga (L1) on Kinyarwanda writing (L2) was also discussed as an indication that language acquisition is not cumulative, i.e. where the role of the L1 is to provide positive transfer only, as predicted by the CEM. The findings of this study indicate that the L1 is a source of both negative and positive transfers, depending on the L2 learners' perception of the linguistic typology of the L1 and the L2, as predicted by the TPM. The discussion closed with the suggestion that account should be taken of predictable transfer errors in order to enhance L2 teaching and learning, especially in cases where the L1 and the L2 have linguistic proximity.

Secondly, the applied linguistics findings (discussed in relation to research questions 3, 4 and 5 highlighted in 1.4) were unpacked by focusing on the strategies adopted by local literacy teachers that were discovered through my interviews and observations.

The multilingual approaches adopted by some of the local literacy teachers were categorised as positive approaches aiming at giving opportunities to learners to use their home language in order to facilitate learning to write the L2. I argue that these multilingual approaches may be seen as part of translanguaging pedagogy because they allow the interaction of Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda as well as the use of multiple semiotic resources (multimodality).

In addition to the multilingual approaches used by local literacy teachers, this study has identified the use of similarities and differences between L1 and L2 as a language teaching pedagogic strategy for teaching L2 writing when the L1 is linguistically close to the L2 in the African language teaching context. The language teaching pedagogy strategy developed by local literacy teachers in this study was named the “multilingual proximity teaching method”. I argue that this multilingual proximity teaching method is an innovation of local literacy teachers as a response to the monolingual pedagogy imposed on them through the curriculum and textbooks. By drawing from their multilingual classroom context, they have creatively developed a home-grown solution of adopting multilingual teaching strategies regardless of monolingual policies.

The discussions also show that even if some local literacy teachers use multilingual approaches, the teachers are not yet confident about these strategies, for the positive attitudes toward standard Kinyarwanda as a dominant language may result in dire consequences for the learners. Some teachers punish errors by giving low marks on learners’ exam scripts and by humiliating learners in the classroom. The teachers’ and the learners’ positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda were discussed against the background of previous literature that argues that the dominant language is preferred over the mother tongue because of the prestige attached to it.

However, this study agrees with previous research that indicates that when the mother tongue of learners is not used at the lower level (grade 1 to grade 3), learners might be at risk of not developing proficiency in the L2. This would limit their access to knowledge delivered in the L2

and would impede their success in the job market. The use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in multilingual countries such as Rwanda (assumed to be a monolingual country by many previous studies) is addressed in the next chapter (Chapter 8).

Chapter 8: Conclusion and recommendations

8.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to contribute to an understanding of how multilingual children can be best accommodated in an assumed mother tongue education system that currently operates on the basis of a monolingual language policy. In order to meet this aim, I have adopted a mixed research method approach, encompassing both quantitative methodology and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods have been used to compile a morphosyntactic data corpus and subsequently to interpret the data. Quantitative analyses have been helpful in determining the influence of the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) on their writing in their L2 (Kinyarwanda); such an influence may become evident through the occurrence of transfer errors. Transfer errors from Oluchiga may be visible in the agglutinating structure of Kinyarwanda words. Furthermore, I have investigated whether the learners' L1 (Oluchiga) has any influence on their writing in the L2 (Kinyarwanda) in terms of concordial agreement.

On the other hand, qualitative analyses have been used to investigate the language attitudes and perceptions of learners as well as those of local literacy teachers, and the literacy pedagogy strategies used by local teachers to accommodate learners who are native speakers of Oluchiga while being taught to write in Kinyarwanda as their assumed first language. After collecting the data, I analysed the theoretical and applied linguistics data to understand the teachers' experiences in addressing the disparity between the multilingual contexts in which they were working and the national monolingual policy (the educational language policy). This study used mixed methods to collect the data. The quantitative data were collected using the compilation of a corpus of learners' written assignments. The qualitative data were collected by classroom observations and by interviewing teachers and learners. The collected data were analysed (see Chapter 6) and discussed (see Chapter 7).

This chapter provides the summary of my findings and their implications for education. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section (8.2) provides a summary of the findings. The second section (8.3) presents the implications of the findings. The third section (8.4)

highlights the limitations of the study. The last section (8.5) deals with the recommendations and areas for future research.

8.2 Summary of the findings

The findings of this study have demonstrated that both theoretical and applied linguistics data helped in understanding the multilingual literacy practices of teachers instructing young learners to write in Kinyarwanda (L2) while they are primary speakers of Oluchiga (L1). The theoretical linguistics data have helped me to understand the types of transfer errors and the influence of L1 (Oluchiga) on L2 (Kinyarwanda) writing. These were discussed as indications of the hardships learners go through to discover the orthographic and morphosyntactic rules of the second language. On the other hand, the applied linguistics data helped me to understand the coping strategies that literacy teachers use to address the disparity between monolingual policy and multilingual practices.

Firstly, the analysis of the theoretical linguistics data has shown that the types of transfer errors traced back to Oluchiga (L1) in learners' past writing in Kinyarwanda (L2) are different from the types of errors uncovered by previous studies. This study has revealed that the types of transfer errors are concordial agreement errors (affixes, noun class markers, adjectives and demonstrative markers), agglutinative structure of words errors (augment and phonological transfer errors), and lexical transfer errors (words written in Oluchiga and transferred into Kinyarwanda writing). The types of transfer errors identified in this study are different to those of many previous studies. This was explained as a result of the perspective adopted by this study of analysing interaction between two Bantu languages whereas many previous studies have analysed interaction between African/Asian and European languages. It was suggested that a possible reason for conducting so many studies on the interaction between African and European languages was the assumption that the former colonial languages' domination and their use in education are the only dangers to multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa. This study has argued that the imposition of dominant African languages such as Kinyarwanda might endanger less dominant African languages such as Oluchiga, as is shown in this study.

Moreover, the findings have confirmed the influence of Oluchiga (L1) on the writing of Kinyarwanda (L2), which is visible in the concordial agreement of sentences and the agglutinative structure of words. This was discussed as both negative and positive influence. The positive influence is shown by the similarities between Oluchiga (L1) and Kinyarwanda (L2) and the negative influence is shown by the differences between L1 and L2. The findings on the influence of the L1 on the L2 corroborated previous studies. These findings support the Typological Primacy Model (TPM), which predicts the existence of both positive and negative transfer errors depending on the degree of similarity or difference (the typological distance) between L1 and L2. The cause of there being both similarities and differences between Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga was explained as arising from the fact that both languages are Bantu languages but are at the same time two separate languages. The discussion was extended to the role of an L1 in the acquisition of an L2 and this study did not find sufficient evidence supporting the CEM prediction that L1 language learning is cumulative and that the role of the L1 is to influence the L2 learning positively or to remain neutral. On the contrary, the findings of this study supported the TPM prediction that the L1 influences the learning of L2 both positively and negatively. Moreover, the findings indicated that multilingual language learning is not cumulative as predicted by the CEM. The findings of this study supported the view that multilingual learning can use predictable transfer errors (positive or negative) depending on the linguistic typology of the L1 and L2.

Secondly, the findings of the applied linguistics data have shown that local literacy teachers have adopted home-grown strategies of giving opportunities to learners to use their home language in order to facilitate the learning of writing the L2. The literacy pedagogy strategies observed in classrooms are classified as multilingual approaches, namely code switching between L1 and L2, translation and the use of multimodality (use of multiple semiotic resources). Those approaches were discussed according to the translanguaging framework and they were found to correspond to previous studies that argued that when teachers are teaching in a multilingual context, regardless of monolingual policy imposed on them, they adopt translanguaging pedagogical strategies of using the learners' linguistic repertoire. The multilingual approaches adopted by local literacy teachers are translanguaging in nature because they allow fluid interaction between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda and the use of multimodality.

Apart from the multilingual approaches adopted by local literacy teachers, this study has shown that local literacy teachers have developed a new language teaching strategy which consists of teaching similarities and differences between Oluchiga (L1) and Kinyarwanda (L2). This method was termed the “multilingual proximity teaching method”. The multilingual proximity teaching method was discussed as an innovative teaching strategy of teaching an African second language in a situation where the L1 is linguistically close to the L2.

The discussion of this finding highlighted two arguments. The first argument is that local literacy teachers, in order to respond to the multilingual classes they are teaching, developed and adopted a multilingual literacy pedagogy which does not fit the monolingual pedagogy imposed on them. The second argument is that they are not yet confident about the multilingual literacy pedagogy they use because they are afraid of violating the monolingual policy. This was supported by the findings showing the strong preference of local literacy teachers for standard Kinyarwanda as the dominant language, particularly during examinations. The teachers’ preference for Kinyarwanda at the expense of Oluchiga is reported by teachers who punish learners who write some Oluchiga in their exam scripts and humiliate learners in front of their classmates. This was discussed as being the result of the prestige attached to dominant languages as shown in previous literature. This study has discussed the implications of not using the mother tongue of learners at a young age (grade 1 to grade 3) as explained in the following section.

8.3 Summary of the implications for education

The findings of this study have provide evidence that the monolingually driven language teaching methodology (conceived in a monolingual context as the norm) does not work in a multilingual context, regardless of its imposition in educational language policy. This is shown by the educational language policy of Rwanda, which imposes Kinyarwanda as the sole medium of instruction for all Rwandans (from grades 1 to 3), but the results of this study have shown that local literacy teachers who work in a multilingual context such as the northern area, where Oluchiga, not Kinyarwanda, is the mother tongue of children, have adopted multilingual approaches to address the disparity between the monolingual policy and the multilingual reality.

On the one hand, the results of this study have explored the influence of L1 on L2 writing and have developed a language teaching approach which builds a bridge from home language to school language. That approach, named the multilingual proximity teaching method, uses the typological proximity between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda to explain the similarities and differences between the two languages. This was argued as evidence that local literacy teachers view L1 influence on L2 writing as part of a normal learning process rather than as a sign of errors to be eliminated. This argument supports the view advocated by the translanguaging approach to teaching language and literacy in a multilingual context, that Eurocentric pedagogy (which is monolingually driven) should not be adopted by local literacy teachers. It was explained that the translanguaging approach supports the use of the learners' multilingual background in the classroom rather than the use of the medium of instruction alone. In the same perspective, the multilingual proximity teaching method used in this case study is important for writing pedagogy in a context of Bantu languages which are linguistically close. This was viewed as a result of allowing the prior language background of learners to be used in learning the L2, which helped them to produce a blended language that fits 21st century communication. 21st century communication focuses on meaning making and not on the use of pure and dominant languages which are taught using methodologies resisting cross-contamination between languages.

On the other hand, even if local literacy teachers do use a multilingual approach in teaching the second language, they are not yet confident about their own methods. This was illustrated by the practices of teachers who mark down the scripts of learners during examinations and humiliate learners who use their mother tongue at school. This was seen as a result of the power of a monolingual language policy that does not tolerate multilingual practices. In addition, participants in this study reported the diglossia phenomenon, where Kinyarwanda is their preferred language as it is used in school at the expense of Oluchiga as home language. It was argued that this might result in the learners mastering only school-oriented language and not helping them to use the language in a real life context. As a consequence, learners are not assisted to develop language skills which are needed outside of the classroom and this limits their access to the knowledge that might be needed for success in the Rwandan job market. These hindrances to multilingual education in Rwanda are detailed in section 8.4 below.

8.4 Limitations of the study and areas of future research

This research has presented a number of study limitations. The study was not able to include the parents of children speaking Oluchiga as mother tongue in order to find out their perceptions and attitudes towards Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda. The inclusion of parents or guardians might have added more information on how young learners learning in the second language which is assumed to be their first language are supported at home.

This study has not included all the schools in north-eastern Rwanda where learners speak Oluchiga as their mother tongue and are learning in Kinyarwanda (from grade 1 to grade 3) assumed to be their first language. On the one hand, it was not possible to cover all schools in the Oluchiga-speaking part of Rwanda because of the time limits for PhD study at university. However, future study might cover many more years and compare many more schools to get generalizable findings on pedagogical strategies adopted by local literacy teachers teaching in a multilingual context while instructed by official policy to use monolingual teaching approaches. On the other hand, the use of a case study which entailed interviews and classroom observations assisted me in examining multilingual practices in a natural setting. It also helped to ensure the validity of the study and facilitated an understanding of complex multilingual literacy perspectives and practices in a society that suffered genocide against the Tutsi twenty years ago and is thus still in the process of finding ways to accommodate multiculturalism.

These studies have focused on the sociolinguistic context of learners who speak Oluchiga as their mother tongue but who are obliged to learn in Kinyarwanda because it is the sole national language and the assumed mother tongue of all Rwandans. However, Oluchiga speakers are not the only population suffering under the educational language policy of Rwanda, as there are five minority languages spoken in Rwanda, namely Oluchiga, Amahavu, Amashi, Ikirashi and Kirundi. Thus it is my ultimate wish to conduct a study comparing the different coping strategies of speakers of all five minority languages while teaching and learning in the imposed first language in Rwanda which is Kinyarwanda.

In addition, a future study may replicate the findings of this study by testing the multilingual proximity pedagogy based on morphosyntactic, semantic, morphological and lexical proximity between the first and the second language. This future study would be interesting because it would contribute to the current literature supporting new ways of regarding transfer errors and L1 influence on L2 learning as an integral part of the process of learning a second or a foreign language.

8.5 Recommendations

There are four main recommendations that this study makes in accordance with the results discussed above. Firstly, this study has shown that there are several Bantu languages spoken in Rwanda. Thus further research is required to investigate the way the policy makers should recognise the linguistic minority groups existing in Rwanda (namely Oluchiga speakers, Amashi speakers, Ikirashi speakers, Amahavu speakers) as a part of the multilingualism of Rwanda. This further study should separate dialects of Kinyarwanda from other Bantu languages which are spoken in Rwanda because of the tendency of some of the studies discussed in this research which assume that other Bantu languages spoken in Rwanda are dialects of Kinyarwanda. This challenges the previous assumption that Rwanda is a monolingual country where all Rwandans speak only one language, Kinyarwanda.

Secondly, this study has discussed the implementation of a mother tongue policy in Rwanda. It has previously been argued that when young learners (grades 1 to grade 3) learn in their first language they understand better what they are learning. The converse is that when young learners learn in a language which is not their first language, they are more likely not to understand the content of subjects, including the second language as a subject. In Rwanda, the assumption that the dominant language, Kinyarwanda, is the mother tongue of all Rwandans led policy makers to adopt a monolingual educational language policy for grade 1 to grade 3, which affects learners whose mother tongue is not Kinyarwanda. Thus, the policy makers should change the monolingual educational language policy into a multilingual policy that ensures that Rwandan learners are learning in their mother tongue from grade 1 to grade 3. This might also help to address the schizophrenic practice discussed in this study (see 7.3.3) whereby local

literacy teachers who implement translanguaging teaching practices in the classroom are the same teachers who punish learners for L1 language transfer. Once a multilingual policy is in place in the Rwandan education system, various multilingual literacy awareness programmes can be devised for fostering a sense of language identity, for building self-esteem and for developing appropriate pedagogy.

Thirdly, this study has shown that using dominant language methodology (L2) for teaching Kinyarwanda to speakers who are learning to write Kinyarwanda while they are primary speakers of Oluchiga does not work. However, the local literacy teachers have developed a language teaching methodology, the “multilingual proximity pedagogy” which is appropriate to their own context of teaching two Bantu languages which are close in terms of linguistic typology by encouraging positive transfer and alerting learners to the negative transfer errors that might occur. Thus this study suggests future research to test multilingual proximity pedagogy in a context where two languages are linguistically close, such as Kinyarwanda and Oluchiga (Bantu languages).

In addition, this study has investigated the morphosyntactic transfer errors occurring in an interaction between Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda as two agglutinative languages. While it does not claim that the transfer errors identified are completely different in quality from those identified in previous research, it does suggest that more studies should be undertaken on the comparison of morphosyntactic transfer errors traced back to the use of two or more Bantu languages in a classroom with errors arising from other pairings, namely Bantu and European colonial languages used in Africa.

Finally, this study has discussed the implications of using multilingual approaches while teaching writing to multilingual learners. The teaching of L2 writing skills is dominated by the use of one language at a time. However, the language used in 21st century newspapers and on social media employs more than one language. Future research might test the use of more than one language not only in the drafting process but also in the final document, especially in the classroom, to link actual 21st century writing with what is taught in the classroom. This might

support the use of writing pedagogy that respects the learners' linguistic diversity in the classroom.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Interview guide for learners (P1-P3)

Theme: The insight of learners into and attitudes related to their language ‘constellation’

Question 1: How many languages can you speak? What are they?

Question 2: How do you experience studying writing through Kinyarwanda? Do you enjoy the writing lesson; do you have any problem in understanding the lesson or understanding the instruction for writing?

Question 3: What do you think about studying writing in Kinyarwanda as your ‘mother tongue’? Would you like to continue to learn writing in Kinyarwanda (if yes can you please explain why)? Or would you like the language of instruction to be changed (If yes can you please explain why and how would you like it to be changed)?

Question 4: Please explain whether learning writing in Kinyarwanda has some advantages or disadvantages for your learning.

Question 5: How do you handle learning writing in Kinyarwanda on your own? Do you manage on your own, do you meet any problems; do you get any support? Tell me more.

Question 6: What do you think about Oluchiga? Do you enjoy speaking Oluchiga? When and where do you use Oluchiga? Would you like to use Oluchiga in the classroom? If yes, how?

Thank you very much for responding to my questions!

Appendix II: Interview guide for literacy teachers (P1-P3)

Theme: Coping strategies for teaching literacy in a second language in lower primary school

- Question 1:** What is your primary language? Which language are you most comfortable to teach in? Would you prefer to use another language than Kinyarwanda for teaching? If so, why? Please explain your answer.
- Question 2:** Tell me your experience with using Kinyarwanda while teaching writing to Oluchiga speaking children? Does it happen that your learners do not understand your lesson because Kinyarwanda is not their mother tongue?
- Question 3:** When you meet problems, how do you try to solve them?
- Question 4:** When you are a teacher you have to make sure that your learners understand and successfully pass your lesson; how do you manage to make your learners do so? How do you use the different languages that you know to help them to understand your lesson? Tell me your experience so far as a mother tongue literacy teacher.
- Question 5:** In which language (s) do learners respond to your questions? How do you appreciate their answers when they respond to you in other languages than Kinyarwanda? Which language do you feel will facilitate comprehension for your learners when you are explaining content in your lesson?
- Question 6:** Are there any other strategies that you use in order to increase the understanding of your lesson? Please tell me more.
- Question 7:** When it comes to evaluation, when you assess learners' scripts, for example, does language cause any problems? Are the scripts written in one or in two languages? Do you deduct marks because of language errors?
- Question 8:** Do you have any other comment you would like to make?

Thank you very much for sharing your experience with me!

APPENDIX III: INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

PROJECT TITLE: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in a research study which is part of my doctoral research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. With this research I want to find out whether school children in northern Rwanda find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they mainly speak Oluchiga. In addition, I would also like to find out what pupils and teachers think about the two languages. This research is part of my PhD thesis and I am very grateful for your participation.

INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be voluntarily interviewed about your thoughts on languages of teaching and learning in Rwanda as well as about your teaching practices. In addition, I would like to observe one of your writing lessons. During my observations I will take some notes about the use of different languages in the classroom and the use of teaching strategies.

DURATION OF THE STUDY

I anticipate that the interview will last approximately 30 minutes. I will invite you to review the transcript of our interview conversation and my observation notes/transcripts of recordings for accuracy, which may take approximately another 30 minutes.

RISKS

This study does not entail any medical, physical or emotional risks. My research is descriptive in nature and does not entail any evaluation of your teaching in any form whatsoever.

CONFIDENTIALITY

I will not reveal your name or address in this research, rather I will use codes to identify your information (eg: P201511). The information you provide will be stored on a secure, password-protected computer. My code sheet to identify research participants will be stored separately from the data to ensure privacy on a secure, password-protected computer. Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. If you withdraw from the study any data collected from you will be destroyed.

PROJECT MEMBERS:

Project leader: My supervisor Professor TAPPE, Heike, Contact: +27 31 260 1131;

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Student name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, Contact: +250 788 216 509;

Email: aminigabonziza@yahoo.fr

HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE at the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

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DECLARATION OF CONSENT (for teachers)

PROJECT TITLE: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*

RESEARCHER

Full Name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact: + 250 788 216 509

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

SUPERVISOR

Full Name of Supervisor: Professor TAPPE
Heike

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact details: +27 31 260 1131

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

My name is AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (with student number 214585745); I am a PhD student at the Linguistics Department, College of Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project entitled: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*. The objective of this study is to find out whether school children in northern Rwanda find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they mainly speak Oluchiga.

Through your participation, I hope to understand teachers' thoughts about the two languages and teachers' coping strategies about teaching writing in Kinyarwanda to children whose L1 is actually Oluchiga. I guarantee that your responses will not be identified with you personally. Your participation is voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not participate in the study. Your participation will require no more than one hour of your time and will be a one-time occurrence. I will also schedule one classroom observation about your literacy practices pedagogies.

Upon completion of my research I will send a copy of my PhD thesis to your principal for your perusal and I am very happy to give a talk in order to inform you about the outcome(s) of my research.

I..... (Full Name) hereby confirm that I have read and understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project has been clearly defined prior to my participating in this research project.

I..... (Full Name) agree that one of my teaching writing lessons be audio-recorded to facilitate the observation of teaching strategies.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Participant's

Signature.....

Date.....

Contact at the UKZN research office:

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus

Contact: +27 31 260 4557

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APPENDIX IV: Equivalent information sheet and declaration of consent in Oluchiga for teachers

INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS (Oluchiga version)

Amakuru aharyobu Okucondozi gagyenirwe Omwarimu

ENTANDIKIRIRO

Ningirangu mbebase kwetabira okucondozi bundimu kukora nk'omwegyi w'omwishomero rikuru rya Kwazulu-Natal omuri Afurika yeifo aho ndikwegyera kubona empamyabushobozi omubwengye bw'endimi. Omuryobu okucondozi ngendereire kusheshengura okw'abana bari kugamba eciciga bari kwegu kuhandika ekinyarwanda. Nishujuma kureba haba kujwanga endimi birebeka mu kwandika kw'abana ningashi uburyo abashomesa begesa ukwandika ekinyarwanda. Uku kusujuma ndimunimbukora kugirango mpeze kwegu PhD. Nabasimira okuntu kumurabyetabire.

EBISHOBANURO BIGYENDINE NO KWETABIRA OKUCONDOZI

Mwanyemerera kwetabira uku kucondozi, nituza kugamba hamwe aho bikwatirine no kwandika ekinyarwanda omwishomero kugirango uku muri kwegesa ekinyarwanda. Omucihe ninyija mu ishomeru ninza kuhandika ibi ndarebe ahari bikwatirine no kwegesa kuhandika ekinyarwanda ku ahabana b'ishomeru bagamba Oluchiga.

OBWIIRE OKU OKUCONDOZI BURI KUMARA

Ninteganya k'obu Okucondozi butarimara obwiire burii kurenga edakika 30. Eciganiro kiturigirana kiryamara edakika 30. Nyimanyaho ndyaza omukibina kureba oku muri kwegu. Nintekereza ko okucondozi kuza kumara umwanya gurengere ishaha imwe. Ukuganira kuturamare hamwe nikuza kumara indakika 30, ahanyuma ninzakweta nkugambire ibiwangambire yaba bikwatirine n'ibiwangambire. Ebi nabyo nibiza kumara endakika 30.

KYEBURO

Nta kyeburo kimuribugana naco mucihe mwetabira ou kucondozi. Okucondozi ntaho bibuganire n'igenzura ry'abashingirwe oburezi. Okucondozi kugamije kureba ibiri kukorwa mu ishuri.

EBIZIBU

Ebirikukugambaho hamwe n'ebi mwatugambire biryaba biri ekihana ahagati yitu hamwe n'omucondozi. Tihariho izina riryorekwa omukicweka ky'okworeka okucondozi kugira ngu mbike gye okucondozi butwabuganinereho, nzakoresa emibare (ekyokureberwaho P201511) byongire ngabike n'ahari mutashobwa eyine omubare gw'ekihana kirikumanywa na nyin'obucondozi.

KWETABIRA OKUCONDOZI

Nobwende bwawe kwetabira ninga kutetabira obu bucondozi. Omukicweka cori kwetabira oku okucondozi ushobwire kuburugamo bitirwe n'enshonga zawe bwite kandi otabizibirwe. Oramucire oyihiremu kutagumizamu kukorana nitwe omury'obu okucondozi tokabihanirwa kandi n'amakuru guwatangira hahugakurebeka.

EMYERONDORO Y'ABEMERIRE OKUCONDOZI:

Omwarimu okurire omucondozi: Professor TAPPE Heiki, +27312601131; Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

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Ecigo c'okucondozi c'ishomero rikuru

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**DECLARATION OF CONSENT for the teachers (Oluchiga version) –
Amasezerano g’Okucondozi gagyenirwe omushomesha**

Omushinga gw’okucondoza: Okucondozi aha myegeserize yo kuhandika endimi zo muri Afurika kwiha omu mwaka gwa mbere kuhisya omugwa kashatu gw’amashuri g’ibanze. (eciciga-ekinyarwanda)

OMUCONDOZI

OBUSHAKASHAKI

Ezina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Ishuri: Arts

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Ninyetwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Ningaragara ahary’ezi nimero z’omunyishuri 214585745). Ndy’omunyishuri omuciro ca kashatu c’amashuri makuru (PhD) omu kashami k’obuhanga bw’endimi, omw’ishami ry’obumanyamuntu omw’ishuri rikuru rya Kwazulu-Natal, omwihanga ry’Afurika yeifo . Ningira ngu mubitemo amani kwetabira okucondozi obundimu kukora bugyendine n’emyegyesereze yo kuhandika endimi z’Afurika kwiha omukyokubanza (omugwambere) kuhisya omugwakashatu gw’amashuri g’ibanze(gwa purayimare). Oku kucondozi bugendereire kusheshengura emyegyire yo mukuhandika Ekinyarwanda ah’abana bari kugamba Eciciga. Ninsuzuma niba batarimu okujwanga endimi birikurebeka omunyandiko zabo bana hamwe n’oburyo bw’abarimu (abasomesa) bari kukoresa bari kwegga emyandikire y’Ekinyarwanda yabo bana.

Omucihe kimuri kwemera kwetabira oku kucondozi, bizankwasa kuhurira gye iby’abanyishuri bari kutekereza ahandimi zibari kukoresa bari kuhandika Ekinyarwanda omucihe cibari kugamba Eciciga omuka. Nimbaraganisa kw’amazina n’ah’umutwire biriba ekihana kigumire ahagati yanyu hamwe n’omushakashaki. Kwetabira oku kucondozi n’obwende bwawe, tihariho orihanirwa kutabwetabira. Nimushabwa kuta omukono gwanyu

aha masezerano gomecire aharyaga masezerano. Oku kucondozi tiburi kutwara omwanya muhango, nibumara edakika 30 kandi nibukorwa omurundi gumwe.

Oku kucondozi kondibuheza nzayija ah'ishomero kugambira abana babwetabirire ibyaburugiremu.

Nyowe.....(Amazina gawe), ninyemera kwetabira oku kucondozi ahabwende bwangye. Ninyemeza kandi kunashomire kandi nkahurira ebishobanuro aharyobu okucondozi.

Nyowe(Amazina gawe) nikiriza ngu irimwe mu mashomo ndi kwegisa murikwate ivi ndikwegesa kwandika ekinyarwanda kugirangu inyohereze Omucondozi kuhurira je ibyagambire mu ishomero. Nimanyangu konyine orusa kwanga kuza omu okucondozi ubwire bwena ahindahindire.

Omukono gomwarimu wayetabirire obushakashaki.....

Etariki.....

Ekigo cy'okucondozi cy'ishuri rikuru.

Amazina gombi: MOHUN Prem; HSS Research Office, Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus,

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**APPENDIX V: Equivalent information sheet and declaration of consent in Kinyarwanda
for teachers**

INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS (Kinyarwanda version)

Amakuru kuri ubu bushakashatsi (agenewe abarimu)

INTANGIRIRO

Ndagirango mbashishikarize kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora nk' umunyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal muri Afurika y'Epfo. Muri ubu bushakashatsi ngamije gusesengura uko imyigire yo kwandika ikinyarwanda ikorwa ku bana bavuga Oluchiga. Ndasuzuma niba nta kuvanga indimi bigaragara mu nyandiko z'abo bana ndetse n'uburyo abarimu bakoresha bigisha imyandikire y'Ikinyarwanda. Ubu bushakashatsi ndabukora kugirango nzarangize amasomo yanjye mu bijyanye n'ubuhanga bw'indimi (ku rwego rwa PhD). Mbye mbashimiye uburyo muri bubyitabire.

IBISOBANURO KU BIJYANYE NO KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Munyemereye ko muzitabira ubu bushakashatsi, twazagirana ikiganiro ku byerekeye imyigishirize yo kwandika Ikinyarwanda mu ishuri mwigishamo ndetse nkazaza kureba uburyo mwigisha kwandika Ikinyarwanda mu ishuri. Mu gihe nzaba ndi mu ishuri nzaba nandika ibyo mbona ku byerekeranye n' ururimi (cyangwa se indimi) mukoresha mwigisha ndetse n'uburyo mukoresha mwigisha kwandika Ikinyarwanda ku banyeshuri bavuga Oluchiga.

IGIHE UBU BUSHAKASHATSI BUZAMARA

Ndateganya ko ubu bushakashatsi butazagutwara igihe kirenze isaha imwe. Ikiganiro tuzagirana kizamara iminota 30 nyuma yaho nzagutumira ngo usuzume niba ibyo nanditse bihuye n'ibyo wambwiye. Ibi nabyo bizatwara indi iminota 30.

INGORANE

Nta ngorane muzahura nazo mu gihe muzaba mwitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi. Ubushakashatsi bwanjye bugamije kureba ibikorwa mu ishuri no kubisesengura ntaho buhuriye n'igenzura rikorwa n'abashinzwe uburezi.

IBANGA

Imyirondoro yawe ndetse n'ibyo mwatubwiye bizaba ari ibanga hagati yanyu n'umushakashatsi. Nta zina ryanyu rizatangazwa mu gihe cyo kumurika ubushakashatsi. Mu kugirango mbike neza amakuru twasangiyeye nzakoresha imibare (urugero P201511) ndetse nyabike kuri mudasobwa ifite umubare w'ibanga uzwi na nyiri ubushakashatsi.

KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Ni ubushake bwawe kwitabira cyangwa kutitabira ubu bushakashatsi. Mu gihe witabiriyeye ubu bushakashatsi, ushobora kubuvamo bitewe n'impamvu zawe bwite kandi ntubibazwe. Uramutse uhisemo kudakomeza gukorana natwe muri ubu bushakashatsi ntiwabihanirwa kandi amakuru watanze nta hantu azigera agaragara.

IMYIRONDORO Y'ABAHAGARARIYE UBUSHAKASHATSI:

Umwarimu ukuriye ubushakashatsi: Professor TAPPE Heike; +27 31 260 1131; Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Umunyeshuri ukora ubushakashatsi: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu; Nimero za telefone: +250 788 216 509; Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

Ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION OF CONSENT (Kinyarwanda version) –

Amasezerano y’ubushakashatsi agenewe abarimu

Umushinga w’ubushakashatsi: *Ubushakashatsi ku myigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza (Oluchiga-Ikinyarwanda)*

UMUSHAKASHATSI

MWARIMU UKURIKIRANA

UBUSHAKASHATSI

Izina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Izina: Professor TAPPE Heike

Ishuri: Arts

Ishuri: Arts

Ishami: Humanities

College: Humanities

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Nimero za telefone: + 250 788n216 509

Nimero za telefone: +27 31 260 1131

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

E-mail: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Nitwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Urangwa na nimero y’umunyeshuri 214585745). Ndi umunyeshuri mu cyiciro cya gatatu cya kaminuza (PhD) mu gashami k’ubuhanga bw’indimi, mu ishami ry’ubumenyamuntu muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal, mu gihugu cy’Afurika y’Epfo. Nagirango mbashishishikarize kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora bujyanye n’imyigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza. Ubu bushakashatsi bugamije gusesengura imyigire yo kwandika ikinyarwanda ikorwa ku bana bavuga Oluchiga. Ndasuzuma niba nta kuvanga indimi bigaragara mu nyandiko z’abo bana ndetse n’uburyo abarimu bakoresha bigisha imyandikire y’Ikinyarwanda kuri abo bana.

Mu gihe muzaba mwitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi, bizamfasha kumva neza ibyo abanyeshuri batekereza ku ndimi bakoresha n’uburyo abarimu bigisha kwandika Ikinyarwanda abana bavuga Oluchiga. Mbasezeranyije ko imyirondoro yanyu izaba ari ibanga rikomeye hagati yanyu n’umushakashatsi. Kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi ni ubushake; nta wuhanirwa kutabwitabira. Musabwe gushyira umukono wanyu ku ibaruwa yometse kuri aya masezerano. Ubu bushakashatsi ntibuzabatwara umwanya munini: bumara isaha imwe kandi bukorwa mu ngunga imwe.

Ubu bushakashatsi niburangira nzabagezaho ibyavuyemo mbinyujije ku buyobozi bw'ishuri kandi nimubyifuza twazabiganiraho birambuye.

Njyewe.....

(Amazina yawe) nemeye ko nasomye kandi numvise ibikubiye muri iyi baruwa ndetse nanasobanuriwe bihagije ibikubiye muri ubu bushakashatsi mbere y'uko mbwitabira.

Njyewe.....(

Amazina yawe) nemeye ko rimwe mu masomo nigishamo kwandika Ikinyarwanda ryazafatwa amajwi mu korohereza umushakashatsi kumva neza ibyavugiwe mu ishuri.

Nsobanukiwe n'uko mfite uburenganzira bwo kudakomeza kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi igihe icyari cyo cyose naba mbishaka.

Umukono w'uwitabiriye ubushakashatsi

.....

Itariki

Ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus;

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557; Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX VI: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENT / GUARDIAN RESPONSIBLE FOR CHILD

INTRODUCTION

My name is AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) in South Africa, currently conducting research to obtain my degree in Linguistics (PhD). I would like to request you to authorise your child to participate in my research project. I am interested in exploring whether school children in northern Rwanda find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they mainly speak Oluchiga. My interests lie mostly in finding out what pupils and teachers think about the two languages and whether there are transfer errors from Oluchiga to Kinyarwanda.

INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY

If you allow your child to participate in this study; he/she will be requested to hand in one previous writing assignment to the researcher and will participate in a 30- minute interview.

DURATION OF THE STUDY

Your child will participate in a 30-minute interview

RISKS

This study does not entail any medical, physical or emotional risks.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your identity and your child's identity will remain anonymous and no names will be mentioned in the report of this study.

PARTICIPATION

You can choose whether or not you want your child to participate in any of the activities that will be taking place and you can stop at any time. Your child will not be punished for not participating in this study and this study will have no impact on his/her school results. If you withdraw from the study any data collected from your child will be destroyed. Once I have

finalised my analysis you will be able to access my PhD thesis. I will also come back to the school and present my research findings to you.

PROJECT MEMBERS:

Project leader: My supervisor Professor TAPPE, Heike, Contact: +27 31 260 1131;

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Student name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, Contact: +250 788 216 509;

Email: aminigabonziza@yahoo.fr

HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE at the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Contact: +27 31 260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION OF CONSENT (for parent/guardian responsible for child)

PROJECT TITLE: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*

RESEARCHER

Full Name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu
Heike

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact: + 250 788 216 509

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

SUPERVISOR

Full Name of Supervisor: Professor TAPPE

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact details: +27 31 260 1131

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

My name is AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (with student number 214585745); I am a PhD student at the Linguistics Department, college of Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. I would like to invite your child to participate in my research project entitled: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*. The objective of this study is to find out whether school children in northern Rwanda find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they mainly speak Oluchiga.

All participants in my study will be interviewed for about 30 minutes about the languages they speak and what they think of these languages. I also would like to be able to look at one previous writing assignment of your child to see whether there is any influence of Oluchiga when your child writes in Kinyarwanda.

Through the participation of your child, I hope to understand learners' views about the two languages and whether children face difficulties in writing Kinyarwanda while they speak Oluchiga at home. I guarantee that your child's responses will not be identified with you or your child personally. Participation is voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not allow your child to participate in the study. Please sign the declaration of consent to give permission to your child. Your child's participation will require no more than 30 minutes and will be a one-time occurrence.

Upon completion of my research I am very happy to give a talk in order to inform you about the outcome(s) of my research. You are also welcome to contact me at any time if you want to have information about my results.

I..... (Full Name) give my permission for (full name of child).....to participate in this study. I hereby confirm that I have read and understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project has been clearly defined prior to my authorising my child to participate in this research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw my child from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Parent/guardian's

Signature.....

Date.....

Contact at the UKZN research office:

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus

Contact: +27 31 260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX VII: Information sheet and declaration of consent (Oluchiga version) for parent or guardian responsible for children

Amakuru aharyobu Okucondozi gacyenirwe abaziri ningashi urikukurebera

ENTANDIKIRIRO

Ninyetwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, ningirangu mbashabe kuha urusa omwana wanyu kugirangu abe mu bari kukora okucondozi ndi kukoraho nka omwana w'ishomero ya KwaZulu-Natal omuri South Africa. Omuryobu okucondozi ngendereire kusheshengura okw'abana bari kugamba eciciga bari kwega kuhandika ekinyarwanda. Nishujuma kureba haba kujwanga endimi birebeka mu kwandika kw'abana ningashi uburyo abashomesa begesa ukwandika ekinyarwanda. Uku kusujuma ndimunimbukora kugirango mpeze kwega PhD. Nabasimira okuntu kumurabyetabire.

EBISHOBANURO BIGYENDINE NO KWETABIRA OKUCONDOZI.

Muryo kushakashaka nihazakwetagwa abana n'abashomesa bari kwega omuco kubanza kuhika mu ca kashatu. Nituzza kutoranamo abana b'ishomero abarabenibenda bakwingana 241. Kuzomuryo omukushakashaka nikuza kuba ukwikundira. Kumurikirize kuha omwana urusa kuza mu Okucondozi nituzza kugirana urukiko n'omwana ahabikwatirine no kwega kweye okwandika ekinyarwanda.

UBWIRE UKUCONDOZA BURAMARA

Nitekerezangu ukucondoza nikuza kumara indakika 30. Ninza kumushaba ibiyakorire omuka ari kwandika ekinyarwanda.

EBIZIBU

Tihine ebizibu omwana wanyu ari bugane nabyo umobwire araba nakora uku kocondozi.

Ekihama

Amakuru ya mazina yanyu ningashi ayabana banyu nirizakuba ari ekihama hagati y'omwana n'umucondozi. Tihariho izina riryorekwa omukicweka ky'okworeka okucondozi kugira ngu mbike gye okucondozi butwabuganinereho, nzakoresa emibare (ekyokureberwaho P201511) byongire ngabike n'ahari mutashobwa eyine omubare gw'ekihana kirikumanywa na nyin'obushakashaki. Ninzakugaruka ahishomero kugambira abana ebirugiremo mu kicondozi.

KWETABIRA OKUCONDOZI

Ni ubugabe bwawe kwikiriza omwana kwetabira okucondozi ningashi kutabuzamo. Omubwire muramwikirize ntihine ekizibu ecarabugane naco. Kandi nobasa kumwihamo kirikurugirira n'eshonga zawe nk'omuntu kandi tihene urakubuze. Kurihemo omwana wawe tikirakugireho ekizibu kandi ibiyatange tihine ahibirarebeke.

EMYERONDORO Y'ABEMERIRE OKUCONDOZI:

Omwarimu okurire omucondozi: Professor TAPPE Heiki, +27312601131; Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Omwegyi ori kukora okucondozi: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, enimero y'esimu: +250788216509; Email: aminigabonziza@yahoo.fr

Ecigo c'Okucondozi c'ishomero rikuru

Amazina gombi: MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Enimero za simu: +27 31260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION OF CONSENT (Oluchiga version) –

Endagano y’okucondoza etebenkansibwe umuziri w’omwana ningashi uri kumureberera

Omushinga gw’okucondoza: Okucondoza aha myegeserize yo kuhandika endimi zo muri Afurika kwiha omu mwaka gwa mbere kuhisya omugwa kashatu gw’amashuri g’ibanze. (eciciga-ekinyarwanda)

OMUCONDOZI

OBUSHAKASHAKI

Ezina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Ishuri: Arts

Ishami: Humanities

Aho ecigo kiharerire: Howard College

Enimero za Simu +250788216505

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

MWARIMU ORIKUKURATIRANA

Ezina: Professor TAPPE Heiki

Ishuri: Arts

College: Humanities

Aho ecigo kiharerire: Haward College

Enimero za simu +2731261131

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ninyetwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Ningaragara ahary’ezi nimero z’omunyishuri 214585745). Ndy’omunyishuri omuciro ca kashatu c’amashuri makuru (PhD) omu kashami k’obuhanga bw’endimi, omw’ishami ry’obumanyamuntu omw’ishuri rikuru rya Kwazulu-Natal, omwihanga ry’Afurika yeifo . Ningira ngu mubitemo amani kwetabira okucondozi obundimu kukora bugyendine n’emyegyesereze yo kuhandika endimi z’Afurika kwiha omukyokubanza (omugwambere) kuhisya omugwakashatu gw’amashuri g’ibanze(gwa purayimare). Oku kucondozi bugendereire kusheshengura emyegyire yo mukuhandika Ekinyarwanda ah’abana bari kugamba Eciciga. Ninsuzuma niba batarimu okujwanga endimi birikurebeka omunyandiko zabo bana hamwe n’oburyo bw’abarimu (abasomesa) bari kukoresa bari kwegga emyandikire y’Ekinyarwanda yabo bana.

Abariyetabira oku kucondozi bazayetabira ikiganiro kiri kumara endakika30. Eki kiganiro kilyaba kigendereire kumanya endimi ziri kugambwa n’ecibari kuzitekerezaho. Ndyagumizamu no kwekwasisa emikoro y’abana bari kuhandika omu Kinyarwanda kugira ngu nsheshengure yaba hariho obu hari kujwanga eciciga n’ekinyarwanda omucihe cibarimu kuhandika. Omucihe kimuri kwemera kwetabira obu bushakashaki, bizankwasa

kuhurira gye iby'abanyishuri bari kutekereza ahandimi zibari kukoresa bari kuhandika Ekinyarwanda omucihe cibari kugamba Eciciga omuka.

Uku kucondoza kukurawe ninza kubagambira ibirugiremo. Kandi nimubasa kunterera esimu muri kubimbuzaho.

Nyowe

(Amazina yawe) naha omwana wanjye orusa urikwetwa

.....(Amazina ge gona) rwo kuza

omukucondozo. Nimpamya ngo nashoma ebiri murye baruha kandi nkamanya ebiri muro kucondoza ntakahire omwana wanjye urusa rwo kuza omukondoza.

Nimanya ngo inyine urusa rwo kuzibira omwana wanjye kuza muryo kucondoza ubwire bwene undabe ninyenda.

Sayini y'uwaza omukucondoza

.....

Ebiro

Ekigo cy'Okucondozi cy'ishuri rikuru.

Amazina gombi: MOHUN Prem; HSS Research Office, Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Compus,

Enimero za simu: +27312604557, Email : mohun@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX VIII: Information sheet and declaration of consent (Kinyarwanda version) for parents or guardian responsible for children

Amakuru kuri ubu bushakashatsi (agenewe ababyeyi cyangwa abamurera)

INTANGIRIRO

Nitwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, ndagirango mbashishikarize guha uruhushya umwana wanyu rwo kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora nk' umunyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal muri Afurika y'Epfo. Muri ubu bushakashatsi ngamije gusesengura uko imyigire yo kwandika ikinyarwanda ikorwa ku bana bavuga Oluchiga. Ndasuzuma niba nta kuvanga indimi bigaragara mu nyandiko z'abo bana ndetse n'uburyo abarimu bakoresha bigisha imyandikire y'Ikinyarwanda. Ubu bushakashatsi ndabukora kugirango nzarangize amasomo yanjye mu bijyanye n'imyamyabumenyi y'ikirenga mu buhanga bw'indimi (PhD). Mbye mbashimiye uburyo muri bubyitabire.

IBISOBANURO KU BIJYANYE NO KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Muri ubu bushakashatsi hazakenerwa abana n'abarimu babarizwa mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu wa gatatu w'amashuri abanza. Tuzahitamo abanyeshuri babishaka bazava mu mubare wabo bose ungana na 241. Kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi bizashingira ku bushake. Munyemereye ko muzaha umwana wanyu uruhushya rwo kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi, twazagirana ikiganiro n'umwana ku byerekeye imyigire ye yo kwandika ikinyarwanda.

IGIHE UBU BUSHAKASHATSI BUZAMARA

Ndateganya ko ubu bushakashatsi butazatwara umwana wanyu iminota 30. Nzamusaba kandi ko yampa imikoro yakoze yandika Ikinyarwanda.

INGORANE

Nta ngorane umwana wanyu azahura nazo mu gihe azaba yitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi.

IBANGA

Imyirondoro yawe, iyumwana wanyu ndetse n'ibyo yatubwiye bizaba ari ibanga hagati ye n'umushakashatsi. Nta zina ryanyu rizatangazwa mu gihe cyo kumurika ubushakashatsi. Mu

kugirango mbike neza amakuru twasangiye nzakoresha imibare (urugero P201511) ndetse nyabike kuri mudasobwa ifite umubare w'ibanga uzwi na nyiri ubushakashatsi. Ubu bushakashatsi nimburangira muzaba mufite uburenganzira bwo kubusoma. Nzagaruka ku ishuri ribegereye gutangaza ibyavuye muri ubu bushakashatsi.

KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Ni ubushake bwawe kwemerera umwana wanyu kwitabira cyangwa kutitabira ubu bushakashatsi. Mu gihe mutamwemereye kwitabiriyeye ubu bushakashatsi nta ngaruka bizamugiraho, ushobora kandi kubumuvanamo bitewe n'impamvu zawe bwite kandi ntubibazwe. Uramutse uhisemo ko adakomeza gukorana natwe muri ubu bushakashatsi ntiwabihanirwa kandi amakuru yatanze nta hantu azigera agaragara.

IMYIRONDORO Y'ABAHAGARARIYE UBUSHAKASHATSI:

Umwarimu ukuriye ubushakashatsi: Professor TAPPE Heike; +27 31 260 1131; Email:

tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Umunyeshuri ukora ubushakashatsi: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu; Nimero za telefone: +250 788 216 509; Email: aminigabonziza@yahoo.fr

Ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION OF CONSENT (Kinyarwanda version) –

Amasezerano y’ubushakashatsi agenewe umubyeyi w’umwana cyangwa umurera

Umushinga w’ubushakashatsi: *Ubushakashatsi ku myigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza (Oluchiga-Ikinyarwanda)*

UMUSHAKASHATSI

MWARIMU UKURIKIRANA

UBUSHAKASHATSI

Izina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Izina: Professor TAPPE Heike

Ishuri: Arts

Ishuri: Arts

Ishami: Humanities

College: Humanities

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Nimero za telefone: + 250 788n216 509

Nimero za telefone: +27 31 260 1131

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

E-mail: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Nitwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Urangwa na numero y’umunyeshuri 214585745). Ndi umunyeshuri mu cyiciro cya gatatu cya kaminuza (PhD) mu gashami k’ubuhanga bw’indimi, mu ishami ry’ubumenyamuntu muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal, mu gihugu cy’Afurika y’Epfo. Nagirango mbashishikarize guha uruhushya umwana wanyu rwo kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora bujyanye n’imyigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza. Ubu bushakashatsi bugamije gusesengura imyigire yo kwandika ikinyarwanda ikorwa ku bana bavuga Oluchiga. Ndasuzuma niba nta kuvanga indimi bigaragara mu nyandiko z’abo bana ndetse n’uburyo abarimu bakoresha bigisha imyandikire y’Ikinyarwanda kuri abo bana.

Abitabira ubu bushakashatsi bose bazitanira ikiganiro kimara iminota 30. Iki kiganiro kizaba kigamije kumenya indimi bavuga n’icyo bazitekerezaho. Nzakenere no kwifashisha imikoro abana bakoze bandika mu Kinyarwanda kugirango nsesengura niba hari aho bavanga Oluchiga n’Ikinyarwanda mu gihe bandika.

Mu gihe muzaba mwemereye umwana wanyu kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi, bizamfasha kumva neza ibyo abanyeshuri batekereza ku ndimi bakoresha bandika Ikinyarwanda mu gihe bavuga

Oluchiga mu rugo. Mbasezeranyije ko imyirondoro yanyu izaba ari ibanga rikomeye hagati yanyu n’umushakashatsi. Kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi ni ubushake; nta wuhanirwa kutabwitabira. Musabwe gushyira umukono wanyu ku ibaruwa yometse kuri aya masezerano. Ubu bushakashatsi ntibuzatwara umwanya munini: bumara iminota 30 kandi bukorwa mu ngunga imwe.

Ubu bushakashatsi niburangira nzabagezaho ibyabyuvuyemo. Mushobora kandi kumpamagara mubimbazaho.

Njyewe.....

(Amazina yawe) mpaye uruhushya umwana wanjye witwa

.....(Amazina ye yombi) rwo kwitabira

ubu bushakashatsi. Ndemeza kandi ko nasomye kandi numvise ibikubiye muri iyi baruwa ndetse nanasobanuriwe bihagije ibikubiye muri ubu bushakashatsi mbere y’uko mpa uruhushya umwana rwo kwitabira ubushakashatsi.

Nsobanukiwe n’uko mfite uburenganzira bwo kubuza umwana kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi igihe icyari cyo cyose naba mbishaka.

Umukono w’uwitabiriye ubushakashatsi

.....

Itariki

Ikigo cy’ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus;

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557; Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX IX: INFORMATION SHEET FOR CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

My name is AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) in South Africa and I am currently studying to get a doctor title in Linguistics, which is the science of languages. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project. My research project is about what children think about writing Kinyarwanda while they speak Oluchiga at home. Do they find it difficult or not?

INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY

If you participate in this study, I would like to have your permission to see one of your previous writing assignments. Moreover, I would like to talk to you for about 30 minutes about the languages that you speak.

DURATION OF THE STUDY

You will participate in a 30-minute interview

RISKS

You will not be hurt in this study in any way. Should you feel uncomfortable at any point let me know and we will stop immediately.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your identity will remain unknown and no names will be mentioned in the report of this study.

PARTICIPATION

You can choose whether or not you want to participate in any of the activities that will be taking place and you can stop at any time. You will not be punished for not participating in this study and this study has no impact on your school results. If you want to stop being part of my research I will destroy your writing assignment and your interview.

PROJECT MEMBERS:

Project leader: My supervisor Professor TAPPE, Heike, Contact: +27 31 260 1131;

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Student name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, Contact: +250 788 216 509;

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE at the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Contact: +27 31 260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

PROJECT TITLE: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3)*

RESEARCHER

Full Name: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu
Heike

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact: + 250 788 216 509

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

SUPERVISOR

Full Name of Supervisor: Professor TAPPE

School: ARTS

College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College

Contact details: +27 31 260 1131

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

My name is AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (with student number 214585745); I am a student at the Linguistics Department, College of Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project entitled: *Multilingual writing pedagogy for African languages in the monolingual education*

setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (grades 1-3). I am trying to find out whether school children in northern Rwanda find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they mainly speak Oluchiga.

All participants in my study will be interviewed for about 30 minutes about the languages they speak and what they think of these languages. I also would like to be able to look at one of your previous writing assignments to see whether there is any influence of Oluchiga when you write in Kinyarwanda.

Through your help I hope to understand what children think about the two languages (Oluchiga and Kinyarwanda) and whether children find writing in Kinyarwanda difficult because they speak Oluchiga at home. I promise that nobody will know what you said; all your answers will be anonymous. You can change your mind any time and tell me that you do not want to be part of my research after all. I will then delete every piece of information that you gave me and I will not be angry with you.

After I finish my research I will come back to your school and tell all the children what I found out in my research

I..... (Full Name) want to participate in this study. I have read the information that Mr. AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu gave me and I understand that he will interview me about languages for 30 minutes and that he will read one of my writing assignments. I also know that I can change my mind. If I do this, he cannot use any of my information and he will not be angry with me or punish me in any way.

I also know that he will not use my name and he will not tell anyone who I am. So nobody will know what I said or what I wrote.

Child's

Signature.....

Date.....

Contact at the UKZN research office:

Full Name: Mr. MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville

Campus

Contact: +27 31 260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX X: Equivalent information sheet and declaration of consent in Oluchiga for child

INFORMATION SHEET (Oluchiga version)

Amakuru aharyobu Okucondozi gagyenirwe omwana.

ENTANDIKIRIRO

Musibiregye!

Ningirangu mbebaze kwetabira obuskakashaki bundimu kukora nk'omwegyi w'omwishomero rikuru rya Kwazulu-Natal omuri Afurika yeifo aho ndikwegyera kubona empamyabushobozi omubwengye bw'endimi. Omuryobu Okucondozi ngendereire kusheshengura okw'abana bari kugamba eciciga bari kwegu kuhandika ekinyarwanda. Ninyefuza kumanya ecy'abana bari kubitekerezaho. Nibibagumira cangwa nibiborobera? Nabasimira okuntu kumurabyetabire.

EBISHOBANURO BIGYENDINE NO KWETABIRA OKUCONDOZI

Mwanyemerera kwetabira obu bushakashaki, nkabashaba kumpa emikoro yimwakoziye yo kuhandika ekinyarwanda. Nimbashaba kandi kwetabira ekiganiro kiturigirana aha bigendine n'emyegere yanyu yo kuhandika ekinyarwanda.

OBWIIRE OBU OKUCONDOZI BURI KUMARA.

Ninteganya k'obu Okucondozi butarimara obwiire burii kurenga edakika 30. Eciganiro kiturigirana kiryamara edakika 30. Nyimanyaho ndyaza omukibina kureba oku muri kwegu.

KYEBURO

Nta kyeburo kimuribugana naco mucihe mwetabira obu bushakashaki.

EBIZIBU

Ebirikukugambaho hamwe n'ebi mwatugambire biryaba biri ekihana ahagati yitu hamwe n'omushakashaki. Tihariho izina riryorekwa omukicweka ky'okworeka okucondozi kugira

ngu mbike gye okucondozi butwabuganinereho, nzakoresa emibare (ekyokureberwaho P201511) byongire ngabike n’ahari mutashobwa eyine omubare gw’ekihana kirikumanywa na nyin’obushakashaki.

KWETABIRA OBUSHAKASHAKI

Nobwende bwawe kwetabira ninga kutetabira obu bushakashaki. Omukicweka cori kwetabira obu Okucondozi ushobwire kuburugamo bitirwe n’enshonga zawe bwite kandi otabizibirwe. Oramucire oyihiremu kutagumizamu kukorana nitwe omury’oku okucondozi tokabihanirwa kandi n’amakuru guwatangira hahugakurebeka.

EMYERONDORO Y’ABEMERIRE OKUCONDOZI:

Omwarimu okurire omucondozi: Professor TAPPE Heiki, +27312601131; Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Omwegyi ori kukora okucondozi: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, enimero y’esimu: +250788216509; Email: aminigabonziza@yahoo.fr

Ecigo c’uOkucondozi c’ishomero rikuru

Amazina gombi: MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Enimero za simu: +27 31260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION OF CONSENT for the children (Oluchiga version)

Amasezerano g'Okucondozi gagyenirwe omwana.

Omushinga gw'okucondoza: Okucondozi aha myegeserize yo kuhandika endimi zo muri Afurika kwiha omu mwaka gwa mbere kuhisya omugwa kashatu gw'amashuri g'ibanze. (eciciga-ekinyarwanda)

OMUCONDOZI

OBUSHAKASHAKI

Ezina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Ishuri: Arts

Ishami: Humanities

Aho ecigo kiharerire: Howard College

Enimero za Simu +250788216505

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

MUSHOMESHA ORIKUKURATIRANA

Ezina: Professor TAPPE Heiki

Ishuri: Arts

College: Humanities

Aho ecigo kiharerire: Haward College

Enimero za simu +2731261131

Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Ninyetwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Ningaragara ahary'ezi nimero z'omunyishuri 214585745). Ndy'omunyishuri omuciro ca kashatu c'amashuri makuru (PhD) omu kashami k'obuhanga bw'endimi, omw'ishami ry'obumanyamuntu omw'ishuri rikuru rya Kwazulu-Natal, omwihanga ry'Afurika yeifo . Ningira ngu mubitemo amani kwetabira okucondozi obundimu kukora bugyendine n'emyegyesereze yo kuhandika endimi z'Afurika kwiha omukyokubanza (omugwambere) kuhisya omugwakashatu gw'amashuri g'ibanze(gwa purayimare). Oku kucondozi bugendereire kusheshengura emyegyire yo mukuhandika Ekinyarwanda ah'abana bari kugamba Eciciga. Ninsuzuma niba batarimu okujwanga endimi birikurebeka omunyandiko zabo bana hamwe n'oburyo bw'abarimu (abasomesa) bari kukoresa bari kwegga emyandikire y'Ekinyarwanda yabo bana.

Abariyetabira oku kucondozi bazayetabira ikiganiro kiri kumara endakika30. Eki kiganiro kilyaba kigendereire kumanya endimi ziri kugambwa n'ecibari kuzitekerezaho. Ndyagumizamu no kwekwasisa emikoro y'abana bari kuhandika omu Kinyarwanda kugira ngu nsheshengure yaba hariho obu hari kujwanga eciciga n'ekinyarwanda omucihe cibarimu kuhandika. Omucihe kimuri kwemera kwetabira obu bushakashaki, bizankwasa

kuhurira gye iby'abanyishuri bari kutekereza ahandimi zibari kukoresa bari kuhandika Ekinyarwanda omucihe cibari kugamba Eciciga omuka.

Nimbaraganisa kw'amazina n'ah'umutwire biriba ekihana kigumire ahagati yanyu hamwe n'omushakashaki. Kwetabira oku kucondozi n'obwende bwawe, tihariho orihanirwa kutabwetabira. Nimushabwa kuta omukono gwanyu aha masezerano gomecire aharyaga masezerano. Oku kucondozi tiburi kutwara omwanya muhango, nibumara edakika 30 kandi nibukorwa omurundi gumwe. Oku kucondozi kondibuheza nzayija ah'ishomero kugambira abana babwetabirire ibyaburugiremu.

Nyowe.....(Amazina gawe), ninyemera kwetabira oku kucondozi ahabwende bwangye. Ninyemeza kandi kunashomire kandi nkahurira ebishobanuro aharyobu bushakashaki.

Ninyemera ku AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu turigirana ekiganiro ahabigyendine n'endimi zindikugamba n'ekindikubitekerezaho kandi akarinashoma gumwe omumikoro yinakozi ndikwandika Ekinyarwanda.

Nashobokerwa kunyine oburenganzira bwo kwemeza kukomeza kwetabira oku kucondozi icihe icarico cona ahabwende bwangye. Nasobanukirwa kandi k'omucondozi atarinsaba cangwa ngu mpanwe kubera kwetabira cangwa kutetabira obushakashaki.

Omukono gomwana wayetabirire obushakashaki.....

Etariki.....

Ekigo cy'okucondozi cy'ishuri rikuru.

Amazina gombi: MOHUN Prem; HSS Research Office, Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Compus, Enimero za simu: +27312604557, Email : mohun@ukzn.ac.za

**APPENDIX XI: Equivalent information sheet and declaration of consent in Kinyarwanda
for child**

**INFORMATION SHEET (Kinyarwanda version) –
Amakuru kuri ubu bushakashatsi agenewe umwana**

INTANGIRIRO

Mwiriwe!

Ndagirango mbashishikarize kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora nk’ umunyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal muri Afurika y’Epfo aho ndikwigira kubona impamyabumeyi mu buhanga bw’indimi. Muri ubu bushakashatsi ngamije gusesengura uko abana bavuga Oluchiga biga kwandika Ikinyarwanda. Ndifuzza kumenya icyo abana babitekerezaho. Birabakomerera cyangwa biroroshye? Mbye mbashimiye uburyo muri bubyitabire.

IBISOBANURO KU BIJYANYE NO KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Munyemereye kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi nabasaba kumpa imikoro mwakoze yo kwandika Ikinyarwanda. Nabasaba kandi kwitabira ikiganiro tuzagirana ku bijyanye n’imyigire yanyu yo kwandika Ikinyarwanda.

IGIHE UBU BUSHAKASHATSI BUZAMARA

Ndateganya ko ubu bushakashatsi butazagutwara igihe kirenze iminota 30. Ikiganiro tuzagirana kizamara iminota 30. Nyuma yaho nzaza mu ishuri kureba uko mwiga.

INGORANE

Nta ngorane muzahura nazo mu gihe muzaba mwitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi.

IBANGA

Imyirondoro yawe ndetse n’ibyo mwatubwiye bizaba ari ibanga hagati yanyu n’umushakashatsi. Nta zina ryanyu rizatanzwa mu gihe cyo kumurika ubushakashatsi. Mu kugirango mbike neza amakuru twasangiye nzakoresha imibare (urugero P201511) ndetse nyabike kuri mudasobwa ifite umubare w’ibanga uzwi na nyiri ubushakashatsi.

KWITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Ni ubushake bwawe kwitabira cyangwa kutitabira ubu bushakashatsi. Mu gihe witabiriye ubu bushakashatsi, ushobora kubuvamo bitewe n'impamvu zawe bwite kandi ntubibazwe. Uramutse uhisemo kudakomeza gukorana natwe muri ubu bushakashatsi ntiwabihanirwa kandi amakuru watanze nta hantu azigera agaragara.

IMYIRONDORO Y'ABAHAGARARIYE UBUSHAKASHATSI:

Umwarimu ukuriye ubushakashatsi: Professor TAPPE Heike; +27 31 260 1131; Email: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Umunyeshuri ukora ubushakashatsi: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu; Nimero za telefone: +250 788 216 509; Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr

Ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem

HSS Research Office

Govan Mbeki Building

Westville Campus

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

**DECLARATION OF CONSENT for the children (Kinyarwanda
version) –**

Amasezerano y’ubushakashatsi agenewe umwana

Umushinga w’ubushakashatsi: *Ubushakashatsi ku myigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza (Oluchiga-Ikinyarwanda)*

UMUSHAKASHATSI

MWARIMU UKURIKIRANA

UBUSHAKASHATSI

Izina: AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu

Izina: Professor TAPPE Heike

Ishuri: Arts

Ishuri: Arts

Ishami: Humanities

College: Humanities

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Aho ikigo gihereye: Howard College

Nimero za telefone: + 250 788n216 509

Nimero za telefone: +27 31 260 1131

Email: aminingabonziza@yahoo.fr E-mail: tappe@ukzn.ac.za

Nitwa AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu (Urangwa na numero y’umunyeshuri 214585745). Ndi umunyeshuri mu cyiciro cya gatatu cya kaminuza (PhD) mu gashami k’ubuhanga bw’indimi, mu ishami ry’ubumenyamuntu muri Kaminuza ya KwaZulu-Natal, mu gihugu cy’Afurika y’Epfo. Nagirango mbashishishikarize kwitabira ubushakashatsi ndi gukora bujyanye n’imyigishirije yo kwandika indimi nyafurika guhera mu mwaka wa mbere kugeza mu mwaka wa gatatu w’amashuri abanza. Ubu bushakashatsi bugamije gusesengura imyigire yo kwandika ikinyarwanda ikorwa ku bana bavuga Oluchiga. Ndasuzuma niba nta kuvanga indimi bigaragara mu nyandiko z’abo bana ndetse n’uburyo abarimu bakoresha bigisha imyandikire y’Ikinyarwanda kuri abo bana.

Abitabira ubu bushakashatsi bose bazitanira ikiganiro kimara iminota 30. Iki kiganiro kizaba kigamije kumenya indimi bavuga n’icyo bazitekerezaho. Nzakenere no kwifashisha imikoro abana bakoze bandika mu Kinyarwanda kugirango nsesengura niba hari aho bavanga Oluchiga n’Ikinyarwanda mu gihe bandika.

Mu gihe mwaba mwemeye kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi, bizamfasha kumva neza ibyo abanyeshuri batekereza ku ndimi bakoresha bandika Ikinyarwanda mu gihe bavuga Oluchiga mu

rugo. Mbasezeranyije ko amazina n'aho mutuye bizaba ari ibanga rikomeye hagati yanyu n'umushakashatsi. Kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi ni ubushake; nta wuhanirwa kutabwitabira. Musabwe gushyira umukono wanyu ku ibaruwa yometse kuri aya masezerano. Ubu bushakashatsi ntibuzatwara umwanya munini: bumara iminota 30 kandi bukorwa mu ngunga imwe.

Ubu bushakashatsi niburangira nzaza kwishuri mbwire abana bose babwitabiriye ibyavuyemo

Njyewe.....

(Amazina yawe) nemeye kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi ku bushake bwanjye. Ndemeza kandi ko nasomye kandi numvise ibisobanuro kuri ubu bushakashatsi. Nemeye kandi ko AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu tuzagirana ikiganiro ku bijyanye n'indimi mvuga n'icyo nzitekerezaho ndetse akazasoma umwe mu mikoro nakoze nandika Ikinyarwanda.

Nsobanukiwe n'uko mfite uburenganzira bwo guhagarika kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi igihe icyari cyo cyose naba mbishaka. Nsobanukiwe ko umushakashatsi atazambabaza cyangwa ngo mpanwe kuko nitabiriye cyangwa nitabiriye ubu bushakashatsi.

Umukono w'umwana witabiriye ubushakashatsi

.....

Itariki

Ikigo cy'ubushakashatsi cya kaminuza

Amazina yombi: MOHUN, Prem; HSS Research Office; Govan Mbeki Building; Westville Campus;

Nimero za telefone: +27 31260 4557; Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix XII: Observation sheet

Observation sheet

Lesson title: Date:.....

Grade:..... Code number:.....

Teachers' strategies		Components	Skills	Learner's activity	Comments
Facilitative Processes	Teaching methods				

Appendix XIII: Permission letter from school administration:

... REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Eastern- Province

NYAGATARE District

GATUNDA Sector

Tel: + 250788572968

E-mail: isaiemurwany@gmail.com

12th May, 2015

Prof. Heike M.E. Tappe
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Howard College Campus
Memorial Tower Building, G 108
Durban, 4041
Tel.: ++27 031 260 1131
tappe@ukzn.ac.za

To whom it may concern

Re: Permission to conduct data collection for PhD studies at GS MUKAMA

I am writing this letter to inform you that we are pleased to welcome Mr. AMINI NGABONZIZA Jean de Dieu, a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, to G.S MUKAMA for him to collect data towards his PhD studies in Linguistics.

As a PhD student, Mr. AMINI NGABONZIZA will be conducting his research under the guidance of his supervisor; but we are able to offer him access to our school. Furthermore, GS Mukama would like to support Mr. AMINI NGABONZIZA about data collection process on morphosyntactic study of kikiga & Kinyarwanda in written scripts and classroom observations of teacher strategies in a Rwandan context as his findings will be relevant not only to those of us in education administration but also on teachers and researchers working on linguistic & education development in Rwanda.

Thank you for kindly considering allowing us to host Mr. AMINI NGABONZIZA at G.S Mukama.

Sincerely,

Mr. MURWANYI Isaie
Director of G.S MUKAMA

A blue circular stamp of the Ministry of Education, Republic of Rwanda, is overlaid with a handwritten signature in blue ink and the date "12/05/2015".

Appendix XIV: Ethical clearance



11 January 2016

Mr Amini Ngabonziza Jean de Dieu (214585745)
School of Arts
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Jean de Dieu,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1832/015D

Project title: Multilingual writing pedagogy for African Languages in the monolingual education setting: Literacy development for multilingual children in Rwanda (Grade 1-3)

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 15 December 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Supervisor: Professor HME Tappe
Academic Leader Research: Dr Nicola Jones
School Administrator: Mr Sabelo Gumede / Ms Debbie Bowen-Blyth

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snvmanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za


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Appendix XV: A sample essay with typographical errors

Р
2с

уькiаггнuскгаааа
992 shrok-ваоkg
оаг ка wknui бкi баkbkd
к чаоr кv нпгkаbi баkbkd
igkgt gnihta бkgг баd uоbт
аg оss ка каоvоr kbkgт
нv wkkv rodk пкxвr pинкyм
бkоk k hkbri hfiо vо kо
оk о kkg h v k p h k v o k h k o
нd h k k o k h v o r h o b k o h
нo o r h k o k o k o k o k
оvо k i a k o k o k o k
b v r w o k k o k i h k o k o k o

Appendix XVI: A sample essay written in a form of a list of words

1 Zuyiziu
2 Znamua
3 Zonawo enay
4 Znamuay
5 Znamya
6 Znamyanga
7 Znama zona
8 Znamapahapa 21
9 Znamampyaanawayanatna
10 Znamyen
11 Znamoingyo
12 Znamayank
13 Znamay
14 Znamirona
15 Znamana
16 Znamunga
17 Znamany
18 Znamana
19 Znamananatanyananatna
20 Znamononanu