

**Heritage languages in plurilingual secondary school cohorts: Exploring
students' diverse linguistic repertoires.**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

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June 2021

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my friend and fellow educator Janet Hopkins. From introducing me to prawn curry as a child (with a glass of milk to counter the spice) to passing on relevant articles about schools with 'Soph' written in the margins, Janet listened carefully, and was always up for a helpful chat. Janet's active and passionate recognition of the importance of individual characteristics in every child's social and literacy development is a special inspiration that lives on.

Summary of the work

The three studies in this thesis each look at a different aspect of harnessing linguistic diversity in secondary schools in England. The first study examines the characteristics of a sample of heritage language (HL) speakers in a mainstream context. Data is crucial to responsive pedagogies but accurate representation of the languages spoken in schools is not prioritised in official data collection. The sample was explored in order to find out what linguistic survey data reveals about the characteristics of HL speakers and how such data can be applied to other plurilingual secondary school cohorts. Findings highlight a current misrepresentation of the linguistic diversity of schools. A wide range of HL proficiencies is exhibited and a number of contributing factors emerge, which should be considered by schools and policy.

The second study examined student responses to a programme of activities which promoted plurilingual awareness, encouraging HL use in a mainstream setting. The study considers ways in which student responses can inform practitioners when harnessing learners' linguistic repertoires. Findings indicate that activities such as discussions about language and identity, and language portraits, are important in developing translingual approaches that encourage and support HL use. While such pedagogies can have diverse impacts for different students, legitimatising plurilingual practices is a crucial first step in embracing plurilingual pedagogies in the mainstream.

The third study takes into account that while most of the research in the field focusses on theory and strategies for implementation, what students think about the approach has been neglected so far. The study explores HL students' perceptions of

plurilingualism and how these perceptions shape the potential for plurilingual pedagogical approaches in ideologically monolingual environments. The findings show that pedagogies need to be responsive, and a range of activities need to be available which suit the wide variation of receptions that they may have.

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List of Acronyms

DfE: Department for Education

EAL: English as an Additional Language

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ESL: English as a Second Language

GCSE: General Certificate of Secondary Education

GIQ: General Information Questionnaire

HL: Heritage Language

HLS: Heritage Language Speaker

L1: First language

L2: Second language

LA: Local Authority

LOE: Language other than English

LPQ: Language Proficiency Questionnaire

LUAQ: Language Usage and Attitudes Questionnaire

MFL: Modern Foreign Languages

ML: Modern Languages

MTM: Mother tongue medium

NALDIC: National Association of Language Development in the Curriculum

NUT: National Union of Teachers

SES: Socioeconomic status

Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and was conducted during my time as a PhD student at the University of Essex. Several parts of this thesis are written as journal papers:

- Study 1, presented in Chapter 2, is written in the style of a report with a view to be sent to Local Authority education policy advisors.
- Study 2, presented in Chapter 3, is written according to the author guidelines of the book chapter that it comprises for the forthcoming publication; *Multilingualism and multimodality: working at the intersections*, edited by Steph Ainsworth, Dominic Griffiths, Gee Macrory, Kate Pahl (in press, *Multilingual Matters*).
- Study 3, presented in Chapter 4, is written following the guidelines of *Language and Education* journal.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Tracey Costley for all the time, energy and passion you have shared with me. You have been a constant inspiration throughout this process; from making me laugh during MA Research Methods sessions to helping me 'knit' the final parts of my thesis together. Your infinite knowledge, initiative, and willingness to listen and talk ideas through (always with a touch of wise humour) has guided me through this process and I am incredibly lucky to have had you with me. I extend my gratitude to Monika Schmid who taught me how to begin to think about research. Thank you for supporting me in my ideas to start the PhD. SPSS would still be a stranger to me if it weren't for your patient explanations and I have learned a lot from your thorough approach.

Mum, you have ceaselessly acted as a sounding board for this work from start to finish. Thank you for patiently proofreading lengthy sentences and getting your head around new theories to understand them! Your determination and good will is an inspiration in everything I do, and I owe my interest in education reform to your revolutionary spirit. Dad, thank you for the encouragement and for instilling principles of equality and social justice in me. I wouldn't be doing this if it weren't for your passed-down passion for education.

Thank you, Holly, for the cheerleading, Naadu, for the care and honesty, Ellie B, for the regular progress checks, Ellie W, for the warmth and reassurance, Gabby, for the dry jokes to get through duller days. Your love and friendship have made this so much

easier. Jon, thank you for your love and carbonaras during the final push. Finally, thank you to all the students and teachers who made this research possible.

CHAPTER 1

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1.0 Introduction

“Our kids are five days at school. They speak Polish with us, but we can hear this accent – they speak Polish like a foreign person.... Some Polish families’ kids speak in English at home, because they think in English. It’s very important for us [that they speak Polish], because they have to connect with grandparents and aunts and uncles” (‘Our kids speak Polish like a foreign person’: inside Britain’s thriving schools for Poles, Barkham 2016).

The concern about the negotiated position of the heritage language¹ (HL) raised in this report from a Polish Saturday school highlights important questions that relate to the ways in which the languages of the 41% of London’s secondary school students who have a first language known or believed to be other than English (Department for Education 2018) are woven into their day-to-day lives. As a secondary school Spanish teacher and English as an Additional Language (EAL) coordinator, I have encountered many practical and theoretical questions about the position of HLs in education through my pedagogical practice so far. I have been motivated to carry out this research by observations that languages other than English are often not seen by schools or students as being particularly valuable in terms of educational development, unless they are one of the three main ‘Modern Languages’ (ML) taught as part of the curriculum: Spanish, French and German. On a school wide level, the

¹ Heritage Language Speakers (HLSs) are identifiable by a common circumstance of having been born into a family that speaks a language other than the dominant language of the environment of residence. Montrul (2016) defines HLs as ‘culturally or ethnolinguistically minority languages that develop in a bilingual setting where another socio-politically dominant language is spoken’ (Montrul 2016:2).

HLs that students speak appear to vary in the amount of attention given to them, often dependent on the status of the language. French, Spanish, Turkish and Portuguese are often talked about openly and sat exams in, while Yoruba and Twi, for example, are not. I have also observed that it is common to see bilingual² students placed in lower ability groups when tiered because of what is essentially a subscription to a deficit model of bilingualism in schools. Often, if a student is new to English, they are placed in lower ability maths classes, which means that the same grouping would apply to the students' Spanish class, placing expectations at a lower level. I have regularly found the opposite to these expectations, considering that, more often than not, bilingual students excel in language learning despite their perceived position as 'deficient' learners.

While adopting a multilingual³ reflective approach in my language teaching to explore the linguistic resources of the classroom, I noticed that encouraging students to use their other languages in order for linguistic reflection was often a struggle. At best, students would not know how to talk about their other languages, at worst they would not want to. I would often notice that African languages would be laughed at or hidden, in comparison to some European languages which were more readily used for

² While definitions of bilingualism lack consensus, the definition I refer to is that which sees a bilingual student as one who uses two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives (Grosjean 1997). The expectation therefore is not for the person to be equally fluent in each language but for them to have a range of competencies in the different languages or dialects.

³ When using the term 'multilingual' or 'multilingualism' I refer to a community in which multiple languages exist side by side but not necessarily in conjunction with one another as in plurilingualism, defined below.

translation or language comparison. This difference may be attributed to many factors, such as; the time in history at which the migrant group came to the UK, whether the language originates from somewhere where English is used as an official language among others, language status, or linguistic proximity to English or Spanish. Whatever the reason, the reality appeared to be that migrant languages are not valued by their speakers in a secondary school setting. I wanted to explore this further, find out whether this observation was accurate, and if so, examine factors that led to it and how secondary school practitioners might contribute to increasing the value placed on these languages.

These observations serve as examples of the uncertain role that HLs play in the secondary school experience which needs closer examination. Nationally, 16.6% of students have a first language other than English and are therefore categorised as users of English as an Additional Language (EAL)⁴ (Department for Education 2018). This reaches 41.4% in London's secondary school population and in the research context, it is nearly half the secondary cohort at 46.1%. While in many local authorities (LA), there are high proportions of bilingual students, there is no official strategy on how to engage with linguistic diversity. The National Curriculum, which was last updated in 2014, states that 'ability in other languages' must be taken account of when teaching EAL students and recognises that EAL pupils' abilities 'may be in advance of their communication skills in English' (Department for Education 2014:9). However, this does not address the concern that children of school age are particularly

⁴ I use the term use EAL in general but will switch to use the historically accurate terms as and where appropriate.

motivated to integrate into the dominant environment and therefore most prone to language attrition, unless counteracted by previously-acquired literacy skills in the home language (Kopte 2007). Nor does it suggest any use in harnessing the first language for educational gains or suggest strategies to utilise bilingual students' linguistic attributes within schooling.

This thesis is a presentation and discussion of the research that I have conducted in relation to the interest outlined above and the exploration of linguistic resources in inner-city secondary schools in London. The thesis is organised into three papers (thesis by papers). The three different studies presented in the papers have allowed me to use a range of methods and approaches to explore different aspects of the research. Study 1 uses surveys to explore questions around levels of proficiency students have in their HLs as well as attitudes and usage patterns. Studies 2 and 3 employ qualitative approaches such as using language portraits to reveal students' perceptions about their plurilingualism⁵, close examination of plurilingual poetry and classroom transcripts to explore ways in which language is used when students are encouraged to make use of their full linguistic repertoires.

The thesis begins with a literature review (Literature Review Part 1) which draws broadly on the history of HLs in English education, followed by a summary of the overall research aims that drive the work of this thesis. I then provide a brief overview of the literature on the main concepts relating to bilingualism and HLs which are central

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to the overall aims of the thesis including; HL speakers' characteristics, the benefits of HL maintenance in educational development, and plurilingual pedagogies in practice (Literature Review Part 2). The literature review is followed by a summary of the contributions of the three studies presented in the subsequent chapters and a review of the different methodologies used. The thesis concludes with the implications that these findings indicate and a call to action to address the current shortcomings of official approaches to bilingualism in the secondary school context.

2.0 Literature Review Part 1: A short history of heritage languages in education in England

This review focuses on education policy since the 1950s in the context of state-funded education in England, with a focus on minority language speakers, widely known as speakers of English as a second language (ESL) or, more recently, users of English as an Additional Language (EAL). It will explore how minority languages have been represented in the education system in the last 70 years, drawing on attitudes and resources around the maintenance of migrant languages in response to the dramatic change in the linguistic landscape, beginning with post-colonial migration. Leung (2015:159) uses the term 'policy' to refer to 'constellations of official pronouncements, curriculum documents and professional discussions that eventually distil into specific views and/or courses of action'. In this thesis, I follow this definition in order not to be restricted to official policy, which allows space for prevalent attitudes and opinions as well as legislation. In order to organise the text in

terms of the main features of the context, the discussion is structured by the following headings to reflect dominant patterns; (2.1) Asserting 'white monolingual' practices, (2.2) Assimilationist justification, (2.3) Recognising value in difference, (2.4) Debates around inequality, (2.5) A 'step change' in language competency, (2.6) Language teaching – the job of all teachers, (2.7) Current political responses to linguistic diversity, and, lastly (2.8) The multilingual turn.

2.1 Asserting 'white monolingual' practices

When change in the linguistic make up of classrooms began in the 1950s due to migration from the Caribbean, Southern Europe, the Indian Sub-Continent, Hong Kong and East Africa, standard English was expected to be heard and spoken in schools. Anyone who 'departed from received linguistic and cultural norms' was to be 'enlightened' (Edwards 1984:49). Initially, migrants were regarded as a temporary fixture of the population and therefore only needed to get through their stay, requiring no formal policy change in response (Edwards 1984). However, even once it was clear that migrant pupils, whose numbers in London, for example, rose from 8000 in 1956 to 38,000 in 1964 (Carby 1982: 185), were to become a permanent part of the population, Costley (2014:278) states that there was no challenge to the assumption that assimilation was the norm for new citizens of the UK, benefiting them in terms of bringing them closer to the practices of the 'white majority', a notion which fed the assimilation narrative which appeared to rise in response to a perceived threat of non-white students. This approach was exclusive towards minority students and aligned with a racist agenda of maintaining white privilege amongst an increasingly diverse population.

As schools in particular areas received increasing numbers of migrant students, the fact that the response was down to individual Local Education Authorities (LEA) and schools, meant that the approaches taken were ad hoc, and calls for formal policy on how to respond to the changing ethnolinguistic landscape of schools began to surface (Costley 2014). Worries that the increase was threatening the education of 'indigenous' counterparts (Leung and Franson 2001:55 in Costley 2014:279) fed public opinion that schools were becoming 'irretrievably immigrant' (Edwards 1984:52), with black children being constructed as a threat which would disrupt the education of white pupils (DES 1965 in Carby 1982: 185).

2.2 Assimilationist justification

The 1966, Section 11 of the Local Government Act meant that funds were provided specifically for LEAs to make 'special provision' for 'migrant students. The provisions were intended to be the employment of staff but with no mention regarding pedagogical practices or approaches, which might address the needs of the students in the mainstream classroom (The National Archives 2018). Ideologically, the understanding of language in education in the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by the belief in a working-class language 'deficit' which assumed that social status was reflected in language patterns, which influenced attainment in school (Carby 1982).

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Chase 1956) supported the theory that language use determines the ways in which people perceive, interpret and experience the world. This line of thinking led to an interpretation of different 'elaborate' and 'restricted' 'codes' which was misused to inform the belief that working class speech should be 'remedied', following the assumption that if something was different it would need to

be changed to suit the norm (Bernstein 1971 in Rassool 2008). Within the context of education in England, this often manifested in the view that the language that the child had already acquired was an impediment and representative of cultural and intellectual backwardness that needed to be rectified (Carby 1982: 187). Similarly, Black children who spoke a language or dialect other than standard English were perceived as 'backward' as opposed to bilingual and their use of different languages for certain situations and purposes was viewed with disdain (National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) 1971 in Carby 1982: 187). Concerns ranged from teachers' fears of being excluded from communication to students using language as a form of resistance. Additional languages were often represented in the negative and cast off as things that were 'not to survive' (NFER 1971 in Carby 1982: 188).

The power imbalance encouraged by such perceptions led to policies such as new arrivals being placed in induction centres to learn English and 'Bussing', the introduction of a quota system and dispersal, which began in Southall where there was a high number of South Asian migrants, to ensure that the proportion of immigrant children in any one school was not 'unduly high' (DES 1965 in Carby 1982: 186). Such policy is representative of attitudes which subscribe to the idea of an 'intrinsic inferiority' of minority languages and cultural incommensurability (Leung 2015), which justify assimilation (Rassool 2008). Such policy is representative of attitudes which facilitated an exclusive prioritisation of English in the curriculum which aligned with racist attitudes towards the education of multi-ethnic student groups. The implementation of these policies was happening amongst a British political backdrop in which a 1964 by-election was fought with the incredibly racist slogan 'If you want a

nigger for a neighbour, vote Liberal or Labour', appropriating racism into official policy of a major political party (Hall 2017). Race and racism cannot be ignored when thinking about assimilationist policies and is an important consideration when thinking about progression in language policy. An important counter view is that of the teachers' unions on shaping the way in which speakers of languages other than English were considered.

2.3 Recognising value in difference

The National Union of Teachers 1967 (NUT) Report on the Education of Immigrants, published to contribute to debate on what was described as 'one of the most critical problems in education' provided some challenge to the assimilationist ideology. The report advocated integration 'while still respecting and allowing for the expression of differences of attitude, custom and convention, and above all, language and culture, that are not only valuable to those to whom they are natural but may well in course of time enrich the main-stream of our own cultural and social traditions...' (NUT 1967:2). Recommendations bringing about an integrated society include establishing contact between LEAs and immigrant communities through parents and making use of native speakers within the community (NUT 1967:4).

The report notes that migrant students enter the educational system at all ages 'with vastly different linguistic skills and conceptual experiences' (NUT 1967:10). It recognises that standardised tests used to acquire prior attainment had little validity when applied to children with different culture-patterns than to 'native-born' children, suggesting that alternative methods of assessment to assess potential ability were needed. Rather than 'pressing on' with English despite no assessment, the NUT's

support for the development of appropriate measuring devices drew attention to the danger of children being undervalued and denied appropriate educational goals. As for teachers, in order to equip them for appropriate teaching of immigrant students, the report recommended language courses, which combined sociological and pedagogical instruction, promoting teachers' understanding of the background of their pupils (NUT 1967).

However, regarding where and when migrant languages might be used and whether minority language use is advocated in schools, the report is sceptical of practitioners working solely with children of similar origin and expressed concern that it could 'retard their absorption into normal classes and ... prolong and intensify separatist tendencies' (NUT 1967:7). The report does endorse the training of teachers of the same origin as the immigrant community. Interpretive welfare roles for members of the immigrant community are also advocated as a way forward in facilitating intercommunity involvement, but, this does not signal any specific recognition of the pedagogical value of the development and maintenance of the HL. While the report expressed support for an anti-assimilationist approach, it highlighted 'separatist tendencies' as something to be wary of, characteristic of the prevailing ideology in the 1960s surrounding multicultural education and society.

Despite the efforts of the NUT, provision for migrant learners following the 1966 Education Act continued to pursue an assimilationist trend, characterised by a viewpoint which regarded the teaching of English as an urgent priority, in order for students to be able to be competent in the language that was the 'new medium of instruction for all purposes' necessary for 'ordinary lessons' (Department for Education

and Science 1971:9). The drive to bring learners' English language up to scratch quickly was directed by an organisational focus from the government, which aimed to provide organisational solutions to concerns raised, such as students being withdrawn from the mainstream classroom completely, until they had acquired a sufficient amount of English to return, or provision of supplementary specialist English support classes alongside attendance in a mainstream timetable. Support for this approach was also found within (unequipped) practitioners who did not feel able to teach a linguistically diverse class as well as those who held the view that the new landscape of the classrooms was holding back the general school population (Costley 2014).

The late 1960s saw an ideological shift towards integration through cultural pluralism to accompany the 'profound social, cultural and political polarization' of 1968 (Carby 1982:189). The Select Committee on Race Relations 1968-1969, recognizing the worth of action in schools to create 'better understanding of the national and cultural background of immigrants' (in Carby 1982:194), advocated specific teaching about countries of origin, promoting displays including material from those countries, 'West Indian songs' being taught in Hackney, or 'Indian art' shown in Wolverhampton, to 'help bring the immigrant children into the life of the school'. However, it took place amongst an atmosphere in which the concept of 'equality of opportunity' was perceived as a threat to social order and teachers' lack of control in the 'blackboard jungles' were popularised in the press (Carby 1982:190). The report put forward hypothetical situations in which generational conflict may hinder integration, such as a Pakistani mother objecting to her daughter wearing a mini skirt, or a strict parenting approach of an Afro-Caribbean parent stopping involvement in youth clubs. This approach led to a justification of increased state intervention in immigrant families

and homes, attempts to overcome language 'deficiencies' of parents and involving a wider range of agencies, including social services and the police in the schooling of immigrant children, representative of direct social control in race relations policy (Carby 1982:191). A contrary view was represented however, by the emerging recognition of difference as valuable, providing a counter-narrative.

In the mid-1970s, a shift emerged, which moved away from the idea of difference equalling a deficit. Valuing variation for self-esteem's sake was beginning to be considered and facilitation of equality of opportunity was starting to be recognised.

The Bullock Report of 1975 stated:

'No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he [sic] crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two separate and different cultures which have to be kept firmly apart' (The Bullock Report 1975).

This attitude extended support for multilingual education for migrant minority languages in the shape of (limited) support for bilingual education, however this did not acknowledge the impact on equality of access to knowledge in the curriculum (Rassool 2008). In the late 1970s, UNESCO raised the issue of mother tongue medium (MTM) teaching through a European Council Directive on the education of children of migrant workers, which advised that Member States should take appropriate measures to provide the teaching of the mother tongue of migrant children in order to facilitate their reintegration to their countries of origin (Official Journal of the European Communities 1977). In Britain, the advice was met with ambivalence due to cost so the then government stuck to EFL teaching, justifying the move with the idea that the UK was different to other Member States such as

Germany and Italy whose migrant population was more likely to return to the countries of origin than that of the UK (Rassool 2008).

2.4 Debates around inequality

With the report of the Linguistic Minorities Project, a government funded project which aimed to provide an account of the changing patterns of bilingualism in the early 1980s, a glimpse of a bilingual teaching programme was emerging due to the revelation of the scope of minority languages spoken in England and the benefits of MTM education. This was not only led by communities but also enjoyed involvement from the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) as well. Criticisms of existing provision highlighted the lack of awareness to the importance of the interdependence between linguistic and cultural maintenance, a lack of qualified teachers, and lack of training for volunteer mother tongue practitioners (Linguistic Minorities Project 1983:111). Although it was hoped that the project would influence education policy, policy makers did not support the funding of MTM education. The take up of the Project's recommendations was hindered by lack of LEA support, discrimination, and 'feelings of threat from the dominant English language and culture' (Rassool 2008).

The ideological shift exemplified by the Linguistic Minorities Project (1983) was, however, accompanied by wider debate around race and inequality at the time in general, putting pressure on the government to address the issues. This led to the creation of organisations such as the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and the Rampton Report which was commissioned with the aim to find out more about the quality of the provision for ethnic minority students and to 'respond to diversity within the school population in a way that promoted and reflected equality' (Costley 2014:

283). The report found that practices disadvantaged ethnic minority groups, and the final report, the 1985 Swann Report 'Education for All', is referred to as a 'redefining moment in the teaching of new minority languages' (Edwards 2008:261). The committee behind the report recognised the need to maintain links with the culture of origin but opposed separate MTM provision. Possibly on the same basis that it found withdrawal and separation for EFL to be socially and educationally unacceptable, the report stated that 'the needs of learners of English as a second language should be met by provision within the mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for all children (Swann 1985:392). The report's ideal seemed like a 'win' for provision for ethnic minority students, especially since it represented a new regard for linguistic diversity, something seen to enrich rather than divide classrooms and an attribute which would not act as a barrier to every child's entitlement to the National Curriculum (Costley 2014).

However, as much as the mainstreaming of the teaching and learning of EAL students may seem developmental and progressive ideologically, it runs the risk of being undifferentiated. Costley (2014) highlights a contradiction within the policy, illustrated by the fact that it is designed with the assumption that all students have the same language learning needs. The concern is that when mainstreaming for language teaching, distinct language learning needs and ethnolinguistic identities go unrecognised, removing inclusivity from 'Inclusion' in education. Further illustration of a monolingual perspective on the teaching of EAL is the rejection of a set of materials devised by the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project that was commissioned to meet the training needs of teachers by equipping them with the appropriate knowledge about language that could be embedded in the curriculum. The

reasons suggested to be behind the withdrawal and ban of the materials include the materials being too 'woolly' in their approach to Standard English (Maclure and Pettigrew 1997:6 in Costley 2014:285). The LINC project was funded by the government to support the new model of English language outlined in the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language by John Kingman who was central to the implementation of the National Curriculum (The Kingman Report 1988). This report challenged 'old-fashioned grammar teaching and learning by rote' which treated the English language as 'virtually a branch of Latin', and recognised that language conventions were 'related to the varying audiences, contexts and purposes of its use', it laid out a strong line on an 'accurate use of the rules and conventions' and advocated a command of them in order to 'increase the freedom of the individual' (1988:3). Again, alongside a view supportive of inclusivity through recognition and embracing of difference, the report stated: 'it is indefensible to make a pupil feel at any time and in any way ashamed of his or her accent' (1988:42). However, the contrary emphasis on a particular English language development is evident in the advice that 'Teachers should be helping children whose first language is not English to acquire accents in English which will enable them to be understood easily', indicative of an assimilationist approach to language development (1988:43).

Discussing the LINC ban retrospectively, Carter (1997) highlights that the debate about the status of the English language is usually not about language alone and includes the issue of social behaviour. 'The term English is synonymous with Englishness, that is, with an understanding of who the proper English are' (Carter 1997: 40). Grammar occupied a central position in the resources, but, in a move away

from 1950s decontextualised drilling, there is an 'exploration of grammatical difference between speech and writing, between standard and non-standard forms of the language, and between different varieties of English', advocating the comparison and analysis of differences between dialects as an effective means of learning standard English, a move which earned the materials' description as a 'dialect project' in the national press (Carter 1997: 40). A particular objection was to a chapter on multilingualism (Abrams 1991 in Rampton et al 2018:77), and asked, in the words of the minister of state: 'Why...so much prominence [is] given to exceptions rather than the norm.... Of course, language is a living force, but our central concern must be the business of teaching children how to use their language correctly' (Eggar 1991 in Rampton et al 2018:77).

In summary, while initiatives for change on how language was positioned in education were rising to the surface, the assimilationist approach was still in full swing and efforts for progression were challenged too much for official changes to be made. As the number of bilingual students in classrooms increased, the 1990s began to see some greater recognition of language diversity and policy that reflected this, as explored in the next section (2.5).

2.5 A 'step change' in language competency

The 1990s saw a change in the population in terms of particular immigrant groups; between 1991-2001, the UK Pakistani population increased by 56.6%, the UK Bangladeshi population increased by 73.6%, the Chinese population increased by 54.8%, and the UK Black African population increased by 128% (Law & Swann 2011: 31) In 1998, the DfEE Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) replaced Home

Office 'Section 11' funding (NALDIC 2017). Accordingly, many LEAs allocated a major percentage of this money to supporting the cost of employing teachers and bilingual classroom attendants to support bilingualism in schools.

The Nuffield Language Inquiry, set up to review the UK's capability in languages, saw the valuing of new minority languages as an important element in meeting students' linguistic and cultural needs and encouraged policy changes such as; more accreditation opportunities, mainstream initial teacher training provision for teachers of community languages and official compilation of and dissemination of statistical information on the languages spoken in the community to maximise business potential. It pointed out that due to lack of national policy, some LEAs provided minority language education because they had the resources available whereas new immigrant language speakers, who were a small minority in their community, were not recognised in terms of their bilingualism, pointing out the failure to meet children's linguistic and cultural needs, and nurture their talents (The Nuffield Foundation 2000).

Possibly due to a raise in public funds directed towards minority language competency, the National Languages Strategy of 2002 set out an agenda for the coming decade and promised 'to achieve a step change in language competency' in the UK. It called on a wide range of communities, educators, employers and institutions to work together to deliver this agenda which would see language learning embedded from early years through to higher education, in communities and in the workplace. However, the strategy was described as having 'too many players' and being 'more like an inventory of disparate initiatives and quangos with overlapping authorities and vague accountabilities' (Steer 2015).

2.6 Language teaching - the job of all teachers

The 2004 DfES 'Framework for a common national approach to support bilingual pupils' sets out best practice and areas of focus regarding behaviour and attitudes. Among the points mentioned, no reference is made to HLs (DfES 2004 in Costley and Leung 2009:154). Neither, as Costley and Leung (2009) point out, does the document contain pedagogical advice on how to provide for the range of demands that a curriculum in English poses for bilingual students. Due to the fact that EAL does not have curriculum subject status in the National Curriculum, the concern put forward is that there is a lack in teacher training and specialised teaching of minority language speaking students (Costley and Leung 2009). Additionally, there is no dedicated curriculum specification, which leads to the teaching of EAL being left to 'take place' instead of the provision of a detailed language teaching and learning agenda (Leung 2001). The existing policy within the English schooling system is that EAL students are expected to follow the mainstream standardised curriculum of UK schooling, irrespective of their English language competence (Costley and Leung 2009:152). Language teaching thus becomes the job of all teachers and 'English development' is what is understood as 'language development' (Brumfit 1995).

In terms of what the last 70 years have meant for EAL education, there is a strong prominence of the prioritisation of standard English to bring those with English as an additional language in line with English native speakers, and to protect the indigenous majority from foreign or non-standard infiltration. When difference has begun to be understood and valued by some, policy has been led by an assimilationist stance. While mainstreaming may have offered a glimpse of recognition of difference, it also obscured diversity. While these are ways of conceptualising language that have been

prevalent for decades, there are alternatives which go further in recognising linguistic diversity for its benefits, which will be explored further in section 4.4.

2.7 Current political responses to linguistic diversity

Vertovec (2007) described the result of ‘significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables’ which have arisen through patterns of immigration to the UK since the 1990s as ‘super-diversity’. The term is used to describe a context which surpasses the way diversity in Britain has been understood so far which now requires a multidimensional lens. ‘The growth of multilingualism has been recognized and engaged in various ways by both social scientists and policy-makers, although the latter have often arguably failed to respond in positive or adequate ways’ (Rampton et al 1997 in Vertovec 2007:1033).

In a paper concerning the way that monolingual mind-sets play out in multilingual Britain, Blackledge (2021) points out the political discourse surrounding the social unrest in some Asian communities in 2001. The main cause cited was the lack of ‘good English’, and the solutions suggested included restrictions on entry into the country for anyone without ‘a reasonable level’ of English. It argued that a better grasp of English in the Asian community was needed in order for peace in the community, effectively dressing up a discriminatory language policy as an egalitarian argument (Blackledge 2021). This vilification of minority language use is seen again in the implication in a government white paper on diversity in modern Britain that a lack of English proficiency is a threat to democracy (Home Office 2002 in Blackledge 2021), and again in reference to a well cited description of bilingualism by the Home Secretary David Blunkett as ‘the schizophrenia which bedevils generational relationships’, highlighting

the association of low English proficiency with mental or domestic disorder. Blackledge (2021:5) concludes that 'In a society which is essentially monolingual and monocultural in its ideology, powerful structures prevent multilingual people from activating their multilingual and multicultural capital'. This monolingual mind-set can still be seen years later in current rhetoric around representation of community languages. At a People's Assembly in South London in 2017, the Mayor of London Sadiq Khan responded to questions from members of the Latin American community who asked for funding to promote their communities in the UK with a recommendation to learn English. "My message is very simple, rather than translating documents into a different language, I would rather get people to learn English...Proverb for you, give someone a fish, feed them for a day, teach them how to fish, feed them for life, learn English and you're made for life" (Express 2017).

As can be seen from the politico-educational responses to HLs in schools, prevailing ideology has generally been prioritised over practicality or suitability when it comes to decisions made around provision. When thinking about exploring ways in which plurilingual pedagogies can be better incorporated into the mainstream, there is much to be done in order to prepare the ground for a manifestation of the multilingual turn (Meier 2016) in everyday classrooms.

2.8 The multilingual turn

Meier (2016:131) describes the multilingual turn as a recent critical movement in education. In a thematic analysis of recent writings of the multilingual turn, she states that the authors in the movement 'conceive languages as a resource for learning and as associated with status and power; the learners as diverse multilingual and social

practitioners; and learning as a multilingual social practice based on theoretical pluralism, consistently guided by critical perspectives'. Of the pedagogical challenges related to the multilingual turn, Meier finds that lack of support for practitioners is widely observed. The need to empower learners through a recognition of learners' funds of linguistic knowledge is highlighted, and it is suggested that the native speaker goal is revised and replaced with a focus on plurilingual competencies. This focus is extended to a reconceptualisation of the teacher as the sole person with authoritative knowledge in the classroom to plurilingual beings who facilitate collaborative co-construction of knowledge in the classroom, becoming 'agents of change in the multilingual classroom' (Young 2014 in Meier 2016:152).

The multilingual turn encourages us also to think about the importance of culture more widely in pedagogies which empower learners through funds of knowledge. Culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP) require 'Nonhomogenizing attention to local communities' expressed desires, resources and needs' (Paris and Alim 2017:75). A response to deficit approaches to schooling in pluralistic societies, CSP 'exists wherever education sustains the lifeways of communities who have been or continue to be damaged or erased through schooling' (Paris and Alim 2017:1). Ladson-Billings prioritises cultural competence over cultural assimilation or eradication, and sociopolitical consciousness over school-based tasks that have no beyond-school application. She sees the secret to culturally relevant pedagogy as 'the ability to link principles of learning with deep understanding of (and appreciation for) culture' (2014: 77). Heritage language engagement is a key element of cultural competence and sociopolitical consciousness and one which can potentially be used as a gateway to prioritising the importance of students' cultures in education over assimilation. CSP

explicitly calls for schooling to be a 'site for sustaining the cultural ways of being of communities of color' (Paris & Alim 2017:2). The link to race is important as a focus on linguistic pluralism is part of schooling for racial justice which requires disruption of schooling centred on ideologies of White, monolingual superiority (Paris and Alim 2017), as displayed in the literature presented in this chapter so far.

3.0 Research positioning and aims:

Having looked at the relevant education policy in the second half of the 20th century, it is fair to say that the institutional response to increasingly multilingual classrooms has not been conducive to the fostering of the HL, advised in the literature (see also 4.0 below) as crucial to the language development and self-esteem in adolescent bilinguals in migrant settings (Cummings 2005, Montrul 2016). The indication that language policy based on monolingual ideologies can impact negatively on the educational responses to linguistic diversity is not unique to the UK. Montrul (2016) presents a concern for HL speakers of Spanish in the US who do not reach high levels of achievement in both Spanish and English. She attributes attitudinal and political factors to the lack of educational support that HLs receive in the United States. As a priority, Montrul puts forward a concern about an assimilationist reaction in response to substantial growth of immigrant origin student populations in high-income countries of the world, which means that educational systems strongly emphasise the development of immigrants' competence in the dominant language of the society. She challenges this response by presenting the possibility that HL speakers may want to develop their HL for potential career advantages (Montrul 2016:3). Cummins (2007) also identifies assimilationist policies affecting HL speakers, challenging education practices which exclude the use of the

HL, asserting that they are rooted in an ideology 'which serves to reinforce inequities in the broader society' (Cummins 2007: 226).

In secondary schools, the view that bilingual students excel in foreign language (FL) GCSEs is becoming increasingly accepted. When looking further beyond FL learning, however, the acceptance or awareness that engagement with HLs is beneficial in terms of language development and beyond is still somewhat confined to academia and is yet to make its way into mainstream planning. The fact that EAL does not have subject specific status means practice which embraces recourse to individual linguistic repertoires is not encouraged. EAL's status as a non-curriculum subject means that there is little guidance for practitioners on how to harness the HL, meaning that what is considered language development is often limited to English language development only (Costley and Leung 2020, 2009).

The literature review that follows highlights research that shows that students in bilingual contexts excel. This is complemented by an array of research not only showing the cognitive benefits of bilingualism but just as importantly in affective and sociological terms such as increased confidence and feeling of self-worth. Few studies exist in contexts in which there are a range of languages in the classroom, particularly in this research context – inner city London schools. This serves to illustrate the practical need for a closer look at the education of HL speakers in England which accompanies the theoretical basis for an approach to multilingual cohorts which considers students' full linguistic repertoires.

While there are many theoretical points of reference regarding the inclusion of learners' languages in their educational trajectories, documentation of practical application of effective plurilingual pedagogies is scarce, as is accurate data on cohorts which can enable policies to reflect multilingual classrooms. Commenting that innovations have featured in language policy, particularly in the 1980s, Lamb (2015) points out that practice is patchy (e.g. Daryai-Hansen et al 2014 in Lamb 2015) and that research is needed to further explore the potential for nurturing interlinguality. This thesis seeks to contribute to that gap in the literature by examining samples of HL speakers in schools and providing insight into the planning and reception of effective plurilingual pedagogies. The overall questions that this research is seeking to answer are:

- How should we engage with HLs as educators concerned with language development?
- What can be done to maximise the engagement with HLs of highly plurilingual cohorts in inner city secondary schools?

The research is positioned in the view that enhancing plurilingual language practices (García and Li Wei 2014) is an unutilised yet valuable endeavour in terms of language and literacy development. The research embraces the view of bilingualism as 'sets of resources' (Heller 2007:15) which supports identity formation, critical thinking, and social development (Smyth and Toohey 2009).

Before continuing to explore ways in which I address these questions, it is important to refer to the literature which relates to the bilingualism of HL speakers and how

responses to linguistic diversity in migration contexts are playing out currently on a wider scale, in the English mainstream context and internationally.

4.0 Literature Review Part 2: Bilingualism, heritage languages and alternative approaches to the education of linguistic minorities.

This section will provide a broad overview of issues related to bilingualism that particularly relate to the experiences of HL speakers in educational contexts. This information is important in light of the context in which this research is set because it raises questions around the role of policy and shaping ways in which bilingualism is understood. These notions of bilingualism have specific importance to the discussion presented so far because they largely contradict the idea of language that has been presented in Part 1 of the literature review (2.0) in the context of education policy in England. In order to organise the text in terms of the main features of the context, the discussion is structured by the following headings to reflect dominant contexts; (4.1) HL speakers' linguistic characteristics, (4.2) HL maintenance, (4.3) Benefits of HL maintenance in educational development, and (4.4) Plurilingual pedagogies in practice in educational settings. The first part will look at characteristics of HL speakers in relation to bilingual language development.

4.1 Heritage language speakers' linguistic characteristics

This thesis adopts the position that the term 'HL speaker' refers to speakers of a minority language that develops alongside another socio-politically dominant language (Montrul 2016), making them bilingual. The question of bilingualism involves a wide

range of abilities in more than one language, rather than simply speakers who are 'equi- or ambilingual' (Baetens-Beardsmore 1981:1).

In comparison to many foreign language learners, HL speakers have characteristics which are specific to their language development context, as highlighted by the ESL/language minority dichotomy (Durgunoğlu 1997). Whereas literature on reading education, for example, in the ESL context focuses on background, discourse and text structure, bilingual education literature emphasises the social and political contexts affecting bilingual language development (Durgunoğlu 1997:265). The different participant populations of the two fields can be described as the L1⁶ literate, highly educated students who have chosen to learn an L2; and the typical young child who did not choose to learn the L2 and is not necessarily literate in their L1 minority language (Hornberger 1989 in Durgunoğlu 1997:265) therefore representing a broader range of linguistic circumstances. With regard to HL development, a lot of research on HL development and maintenance is carried out in the context of higher education when HL speakers decide to connect or reconnect with the language of their family or ancestors (Valdes 2014). In foreign language learning, the HL speaker is often the language learner in the classroom who has experience of using the language outside of the classroom setting, meaning that the term is closely related to detecting skills and competencies that the learner already has in order to tailor the teaching to the individual's needs. In the context of linguistically diverse secondary

⁶ While I use the term HL predominantly, I will use the terms L1 (first language) and L2 (second language) to keep in line with some of the literature referenced in this section.

schools in which all teachers ‘carry equal responsibility for language’ (Bullock Report 1975), the term HL speaker goes beyond personal connections and proficiency. The idea of the adult individual being motivated to ‘take up’ or connect with their HL is replaced by more external factors such as how much the young person is exposed to the HL, how far they are encouraged to develop and maintain the language, and the role that bilingualism plays in their wider language development and identity construction. Due to differences in input conditions, interference from the dominant language, potential changes in the input, and attrition, Montrul and Polinsky (2019) consider HL speakers a highly heterogeneous population from both a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic point of view. It is through this lens that the present thesis views the term HL speaker and for that reason, the characteristics of HL speakers’ use and factors related to maintenance will be explored in sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.

4.1.1 Heritage language usage

Of particular importance to the exploration of linguistic characteristics of HL speakers is the distribution of language use. Where and when certain languages are used is important when considering competencies, a characteristic that varies widely amongst speakers. Bilinguals acquire and use languages ‘for different purposes... with different people’, resulting in different language requirements for different aspects of life (Grosjean 1997 in Grosjean 2008:23).

In explanation of the complementarity principle, Grosjean (2008) identifies the domains of life in which specific languages are used and those in which two languages are used. Asserting that every bilingual can be characterised in this way, Grosjean

emphasises that every bilingual individual will have a pattern that is specific to them. One consequence of the complementarity principle is that the level of fluency attained in a language will be determined by the need for that language and will often be domain specific. For example, if a bilingual does not need to read and write in one language, the skills will not be developed (Grosjean 2008:24). Despite appearing fluent in both languages, another consequence of the complementarity principle is that bilinguals often lack vocabulary in certain domains, meaning that they do not have translation equivalents on all occasions in which interpretation may be required. For policy this is important as it highlights the need for data to reflect the cohort accurately in order for appropriate pedagogies to be recommended and used. It also indicates the precarious nature of HLs and the likelihood for bilinguals not to be able to access all material in the HL. For example, one learner might benefit from Science material being translated, whereas another learner's competencies may be restricted to every day conversation.

Language mode is the state of activation of a bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms, at a given point in time. 'In the bilingual mode, the speaker chooses a base language, activates the other language, and calls on it from time to time in the form of code-switching and borrowing' (Grosjean 2008:38). Language modes are important when thinking about multilingual access in the realm of literacy in terms of freedom to use both language repertoires. Bilinguals in communication with other bilinguals can enjoy this freedom, whereas bilinguals in communication with monolinguals may not feel the same liberty and may 'attempt to maximize alignment on monoglot norms by consciously reducing and keeping formal "interference" features to a minimum.' (Baetens Bearsmore 1986 in Grosjean 2008:38). The bilingual's decision on which language to use, and how much of the other is needed, is

unconscious. Activation of the other language is dependent on need (Grosjean 2008). Movement along a 'language mode continuum' (Grosjean 1998 in Grosjean 2008:40) can occur at any time and can be affected by factors such as an interlocutor revealing they are bilingual or a realization that something being listened to contains elements from the other language. 'Simply knowing that there is a possibility that elements from the other language will be presented will probably move the bilingual away from the monolingual endpoint on the continuum' (Grosjean 2008:45). Language mode and the requirement to use the HL can be manipulated by learning environments. Bilingual practitioners, translation of resources and encouragement of HL use are examples of ways in which educational practices can support drives for HL language development and maintenance, a crucial element of HL speakers' experiences which is explored in the section below.

4.2 Heritage language maintenance

This section considers the contexts and factors which affect HL development and maintenance as well as language attrition which are closely related and affected by many of the same factors. As mentioned above (1.0), there is currently no reference in the National Curriculum to the potential risk of students missing out on developing the HL, or losing the HL once they are in an English dominant society. Polinsky's (1995) definition of an endangered language includes circumstances resulting from migration of a 'large and 'healthy' speech community' to a new environment in which the dominant language replaces the L1 in terms of the language of 'economic, social, political or cultural prestige'. Included in these new circumstances is a reduction in contact with the L1 speech community and an adoption of the new dominant language

to varying degrees (Polinsky 1995: 87). The following section explores the maintenance of HLs in order to provide a basis for which this concern can be considered in the context of HL speakers in English dominant schools considered in this thesis.

4.2.1 The role of input and use in HL development and maintenance

The amount a person uses their HL can be considered as one of the most important factors in HL maintenance (Schmid 2007:136). Examples can be found in Cook (2003), who emphasises that ‘in circumstances where one language becomes less and less used, people do lose their command of it’ and research shows that infrequent users of the L1 show more attrition over time (De Bot et al 1991, Köpke 1999 in Schmid 2007:136). The widely accepted Activation Threshold Hypothesis predicts language loss due to language disuse, the replacement of less used elements of the L1 with their L2 counterparts, and a longer retention of comprehension than production due to a lower threshold being needed for self-activation than comprehension indicating that ‘attrition is the result of long-term lack of stimulation’ (Paradis 2007:125).

Given the claim that the absence of sustained input and influence of the dominant language can be the cause of attrition in HL speakers (Polinsky 2011:18), it is worth looking at the impact of everyday use of the L1, especially concerning potential ‘incomplete acquirers’. It is accepted that qualitative input has an effect on a bilingual’s ability to reach linguistic milestones in both languages. Since the quantity of input is not 100% in either language, one will, in most cases, be stronger than the other therefore exhibiting ‘acquisition without mastery’ of several aspects of their heritage grammars (Montrul 2016:118). Regarding the quality of input and output, there seems

to be a case for improvement that could be manipulated by educational experiences. Contexts in which certain languages are needed and not needed play a key role in the vocabularies and other linguistic properties that are developed. Montrul (2016) points out that particular contexts require different language, which can range from familiar and presentational to descriptive, hypothetical and argumentative. These requirements can depend on the number and variety of L1 speakers the HL speaker has contact with, indicating the benefits of bilingual practitioners in schools as well as making staff members' array of languages a prominent feature in school environments. As with writing and reading skills, if texts and contexts in the home language are restricted, eventual maintenance is likely to be inhibited (Jia 2008). Montrul (2010) suggests that there is a need to trace more precisely the demise of home language skills as a result of schooling in the majority language and to carry out controlled studies of parental input and of input throughout the life span (Montrul 2010:19).

Armon-Lotem et al (2014 in Montrul 2016:10) distinguish between proximal aspects of input, referring to basic input quantity, such as length of exposure and proportion of daily input, and distal factors, which are the broader, environmental influences that contribute to language development in qualitative ways, such as socioeconomic status, socio-political status of the language, language attitudes, and vitality of the language in the broader speech community (Montrul 2016:10). In order to further explore the distal aspects of language input, over which pedagogies and educational ethos have much more potential influence, I will now turn to an exploration of the literature on attitudes in the development of HLs.

4.2.2 The role of attitude in HL maintenance

In the case of HL speakers who may not have reached L1 proficiency or dominance, factors could include attitudes towards the language and socio-ethnic factors (Schmid 2002:2). These attitudes may come from the speakers themselves or they may originate from the ideas of parents, siblings, teachers, classmates and the media. For example, the teaching of immigrant minority languages can sometimes be seen by dominant speakers and by policy makers as an obstacle to integration (Honeyford 1988, Extra and Yağmur 2004:18). Popular belief sometimes supports an English-only approach to language learning, and experiences of children wanting to assimilate into the culture can lead to a rejection of the home language. Attitudes which agree that immigration is a threat to national identity and native citizens' livelihoods is another factor, which can affect attitudes towards HLs (Honeyford 1988, Janoskie and Glennie 1995 in Extra and Yağmur 2004:21). The notion of integration, as pointed out by Extra and Yağmur (2004), ranges from assimilation, aiming to homogenise cultural differences on the one hand, to a multiculturalist view of difference as an asset to society on the other. The impact of attitude on language maintenance can depend therefore on the notion of integration that the learner is affected by, implying an important duty of educational environments to take responsibility for fostering a linguistically inclusive ethos. Attitudes are closely related to the development of cultural identity in HL speakers, as explored in the following section.

4.2.3 The role of cultural identity in HL maintenance

Regarding high variability in Chinese HL levels amongst individual HL speakers, Jia (2008) considers cultural identity as a predictor in HL proficiency due to associations between strong ethnic identity and higher level HL skills. He (2008) positions ethnic

identity as the 'cornerstone' of HL development which is dependent on the learner's ability to find 'continuity and coherence in multiple communicative and social worlds... and to develop hybrid, situated identities and stances' (He 2008:109). Jia (2008) further supports her claim with reference to studies such as that of Cho (2000 in Jia 2008:191), who studied 114 young Korean immigrants whose HL skills were found to be higher, the stronger their connection with their ethnic group. This was also the case in a study by Tse (2000) who found that the narratives of 39 adult Asian Americans revealed strong associations between attitudes towards an ethnic group and HL abilities.

The relationship between cultural identity and HL maintenance is further supported by the fact that the vitality of Turkish in Western Europe is high compared to other immigrant minority languages which has been attributed to the Turkish language being a core part of cultural identity for Turks (Extra and Yağmur 2004:2). A language community that is in touch with its cultural identity has stronger language awareness which is perceived to be crucial to protecting minority languages because it can contribute to the development of multilingual identities (Cenoz and Gorter 2017).

A study carried out into Polish speakers in Hamburg reports that a large majority of children mostly used Polish to speak to their parents (Extra and Yağmur 2004:176). This finding is reflected in Flynn's identification of a 'confidence' amongst Polish migrants regarding their status as migrants, an interesting contrast to the supposition that migrant mothers are less familiar with British schooling, and therefore lack important social and cultural capital that may be valued by their children's teachers (Reay 1998 in Flynn 2013:338). Flynn (2013) describes a use of structures, which

support social capital such as the popularity of Polish newspapers and radio programmes (Garapich 2008 in Flynn 2013:338), fostering an environment that promotes use of the L1 in the community further supporting the idea that cultural identity plays an important role in L1 maintenance, especially when supported by other attitudinal factors. An implication of this finding for schools could be the need to promote cultural identity amongst parents as well as students in ways such as bringing parents from the same linguistic background together to strengthen mutual support and exchange of information.

4.2.4 The role of motivation and emotion in HL maintenance

According to Paradis (2007), attrition can be accelerated by a negative emotional attitude toward the L1. This theory presents the possibility of the reverse; a strong emotional attitude towards the L1 laying the ground for a slower rate of attrition. Support for the role of emotional investments and disinvestments in the maintenance of the L1 can also be found in Schmid (2002) as well as testimonies from writers such as Gerda Lerner, a refugee who considered her L1 ‘the language of the enemy’ and ‘ceased speaking German altogether’ (Lerner 1997:40 in Pavlenko 2002). Whereas this lack of motivation derives from a situation beyond the speaker or her family’s control, there are situations in which HL speakers can be affected by more modifiable situations such as language shyness, a term used to refer to a state which occurs when the language is known ‘fairly well, but not perfectly’ (Krashen 1998a: 41). Language shyness can be identified through a lack in late-acquired aspects of language which do not impede communication but may invite correction or ridicule from more proficient members of the HL group, often resulting in a tendency for the less proficient HLSs to interact less in the HL. The ‘vicious cycle’ proposed by Krashen

is one which stems from less interaction, leading to less input and subsequently less proficiency and possible alienation from the HL groups (Krashen 1998a: 41). In terms of what can be done to remedy this predicament, Krashen (1998a) argues that the answer lies in attitude change, which would allow for greater tolerance of non-native-like HL interaction in order to encourage accurate HL competence. This could be further strengthened by language awareness in schools and the foreign languages curriculum, and a promotion of the idea that being bilingual is not restricted to being able to speak both languages perfectly but being able to use more than one language to some extent.

Motivation, or lack of motivation can come from perspectives other than ideological ones. Age can be a motivating factor, for example, for adults the L1 may be more of an important part of their identity than for children. Additionally, since children of secondary school age are often more orientated towards their peer group than to the family, they are the most motivated to integrate into the dominant environment and therefore most prone to attrition, unless counteracted by previously-acquired literacy skills in the L1 (Kopte 2007). Despite this susceptibility being alluded to in the literature reviewed in Part 1 of the literature review, recognition of it does not feature in policy.

It is clear from the literature that many factors contribute to the position and maintenance of HLs in society, in school and individual HL speakers' lives. Many of these factors can be manipulated to some extent by the planning of plurilingual pedagogies which are a form of HL maintenance promotion in endeavours to promote HL use, development and maintenance in the educational experiences of HL speakers. The factors outlined so far also shape the reception of such pedagogies by

students who will be the beneficiaries of new approaches so are crucial to understand. The next section explores what these benefits can be, with a focus on positive impacts of bilingual approaches on educational achievement.

4.3. Benefits of HL maintenance in educational development

4.3.1 Effects of L1 proficiency on L2 development

Theories about students' L1 maintenance in migration contexts have long supported the opinion that there is a need to take measures in order to support the maintenance of the L1 when thinking about literacy, both in the majority language and the L1. When considering the curriculum context as outlined in Part 1 of the literature review, there is very little reference to taking such measures in current policy. This section will focus on ways in which engagement with the linguistic repertoires of students can enhance educational achievement in terms of academic skills and personal and social development, and the discussions around such findings in the literature.

Fernandez and Nielsen (1986) compared bilingual students from linguistic minority backgrounds with monolingual students from the same backgrounds and found that proficiency in both English and the other languages was positively related to achievement for bilingual groups, noting that 'exposure to a second language during upbringing appears to be a scholastic asset, not a handicap' (Fernandez and Nielsen 1986:53). The findings concluded that that the degree of HL proficiency was a significant predictor of educational expectations and English vocabulary, and

suggested benefits of ethnic identity and cultural connections in education (Fernandez and Nielsen 1986 in Krashen 1998b:8).

Illustrating the ambiguities of the time on the topic of how minority language proficiency affects school achievement, Fernandez and Nielsen (1986) outline the view that the existence of two languages in the mind represents a drain on mental energy for intellectual tasks in school, referred to as a 'psychological cost of bilingualism' (1986:44). Interference, or 'code-switching' and increased frequency of HL use was thought by some to have a negative effect on scholastic achievement. A cultural interpretation indicates that the view may have been a symptom of the minority status of linguistic minorities (in this case those of Latin American origin) and the role of language as a cultural marker (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 in Fernandez and Nielsen 1986:65). Fernandez and Nielsen suggested that through teacher expectation patterns, bilingual students may be identified as members of a subordinate minority and 'may be socialized by schooling into accepting their position in the social structure, thereby reproducing traditional inequalities' (1986:65).

In contrast, amongst the arguments which predict a positive effect of minority language proficiency on school achievement, is the idea that Spanish, as a Romance language, may facilitate students' abilities to make links between languages and therefore making it easier to access more advanced English vocabulary, resulting in greater achievement in tasks that depend on verbal comprehension for minority language speakers than most native English speakers. It is pointed out that the logic of the argument is the same as that which is used traditionally to convince teenagers to study Latin and ancient Greek because they 'illuminate the structure of the student's native

tongue', facilitating verbal tasks. The more general argument set out for bilingualism impacting positively on achievement is the notion that by virtue of having two codes for every concept, bilingualism is likely to stimulate intellectual development for abstract reasoning tasks (Cummins 1977, 1981 in Fernandez and Nielsen 1986:45). Their conclusion leads to a challenge of the predominant view that there is a language handicap amongst Hispanic bilinguals, and they question the transitional (to English) emphasis in many bilingual education programs. Their research implies that 'bilingual/bicultural programs that have language maintenance as a goal are more effective than those seeking complete assimilation into English' (Fernandez and Nielsen 1986:66). When thinking about this view of the role of HLs in school contexts which contradicts those which have so far influenced policy decisions in England, as highlighted in Part 1 of the literature, a closer look at reading and writing in HLSs, in section 4.3.2 is helpful.

4.3.2 Reading and writing

An investigation into the reading processes of Japanese ESL learners found that students who were more efficient readers in the L1 were more efficient readers in the L2, showing that L2 word recognition efficiency can be associated with that of L1 even when writing systems are distant (Sasaki 2004). This study supports Cummins' interdependence theory which states that proficiency in one language will transfer to another language given there is adequate exposure to the other language (Cummins 2008:38 in Garcia 2009:69). The construct of interdependence is multidirectional and does not posit that the first language needs to be fully developed before the second language is introduced, rather it needs not to be abandoned and that schools are

responsible for guaranteeing a child's adequate exposure to each language (Cummins 2005:25 in Garcia 2009:69). Support for the interdependence theory can be found in further research such as the Rock Point Experience of Navajo HL speakers which demonstrated that students who had received literacy and mathematics instruction in Navajo scored higher on standardised achievement tests than an English instruction group (Rosier and Holm 1980), and by research which examined the predictive role of L1 (German) reading fluency in English reading in an immersion program and found that there were cross language associations between German and English reading comprehension, indicating reciprocal transfer processes (Gebauer et al 2013). Research in foreign language learning has shown that inefficiency in phonological, syntactic and semantic codes in the L1, are stronger factors in unsuccessful foreign language learning than affective differences (Sparks and Granschow 1993, 2001).

Beyond reading and writing systems as such, research has highlighted the transfer of literary skills and conceptual knowledge as a benefit in engagement with the HL in reading. Roberts (1994) provides an abundant list of literary skills, which she asserts can be transferred from the L1 to the L2 including basic decoding skills such as associating symbols with sounds, higher-level skills such as grammatical knowledge, and strategies including hypothesizing and constructing meaning. She also notes self-confidence in reading as a 'most important' skill that can be transferred from the L1 to the L2 (Roberts 1994:3). The view that L1 conceptual knowledge helps to make sense of L2 input and that access to prior knowledge through the HL provides a stronger framework for new learning is well supported and Cummings (2005) advises that students use their L1 to make sense of L2 input and subsequently the languages interact (Cummings, 2005, Smyth and Toohey 2009, Moll et al 1992). The research

presented in this section highlights some strong connections between HL engagement and academic achievement. The next section further evidences this point of view by looking broadly at the cognitive and metalinguistic advantages of bilingualism.

4.3.3 Cognitive and metalinguistic advantages

Exploring the shift in attitudes from perspectives which considered bilingualism as a 'deficit' to those which saw the 'bilingual advantage', Bialystok and Barac (2013) attribute the earlier, more limited view to lack of consideration for aspects of bilingualism such as level of comprehension and production in both languages and individual contexts. The beginnings of this shift lie in a study which showed a bilingual advantage over monolingual peers on nonverbal intelligence, symbol manipulation and reorganisation tests, leading the authors to suggest a bilingual advantage in cognitive ability (Peal and Lambert 1962 in Bialystok and Barac 2013:192). Peal and Lambert concluded that having two codes for every concept leads bilinguals to realise that labels are arbitrary so that they are better at abstract reasoning tasks than monolinguals (Peal and Lambert in Fernandez and Nielson 1986:61).

Bialystok and Barac (2013) attribute bilinguals' ability to separate form and meaning to the executive control system, which is enhanced in bilinguals for nonverbal as well as linguistic processing. Supporting evidence is offered in Bialystok's (1992 in Bialystok and Barac 2013:202) study which showed bilinguals exceeding the scores of their monolingual peers on a task which required them to identify a shape hidden or embedded in a larger complex figure, leading to the suggestion that the performance of the bilinguals was related to their ability to ignore salient, or misleading, characteristics or information.

It has been theorised for decades that bilingualism may affect children's metalinguistic abilities due to an ability to dissociate form from its usual meaning (Vygotsky 1962) and that bilingualism hastens metalinguistic development, enhancing a speaker's 'ear' for regularities of form' (Galambos and Goldin-Meadow 1990:1). Word awareness has also been identified as a strength amongst bilingual learners (Cummins 1978), and has been studied using behavioural measurements and electro-physical measurements of brain activation (Bialystock and Barac 2013). However, educational approaches that engage with bilingualism in order to recognise such potential strengths are not commonplace and, as can be seen from policy in England (2.0), are far from being prioritised. This lack of recognition of the benefits of bilingualism in developing young people can be extended to the importance of bilingualism in self-concept as explored in the next section.

4.3.4 Development of self-concept and self esteem

L1 literacy has been promoted for the part it plays in intellectual growth as well as self-confidence, indicating that bilingual education, which provides L1 literacy, helps minority language students in L1 and L2 literacy (Hudelson 1987:829). Manyak's (2004) identities of competence theory provides further support for the importance of bilingualism in self-confidence by showing that translation based tasks in which bilingual students can act as facilitators for monolingual students result in improved engagement and pride in bilingualism from both the bilinguals and the monolinguals. Bilingualism is therefore allowed to expand students' cultural capital as well as reforming the deficit-based perspective of bilingualism towards one which defines bilingualism as a highly esteemed ability. The cultural recognition perspective

acknowledges the language practice's potential in linguistically and culturally diverse families such as the skills developed through translation of correspondence for parents, and presents the potential in extending these skills to the classroom (Vasquez et al 1994 in Manyak 2004:13).

When attitudes towards reading are weakened by insufficient understanding of the language, reading can be reduced to mere decoding and pronunciation of chunks of letters or memorised words, phrases, or sentences. Trudell and Young (2016) suggest that reading in a known language removes this barrier and allows for better interaction with the meaning of a text. As students see that their ability to ascertain meaning is growing, confidence grows. Students 'anticipate the successful discovery of information, as well as pleasure, and persevere until they find it, as opposed to abandoning the search for meaning that is hidden in a language they do not know' (Trudell and Young 2016:41). The removal of the language barrier allows for discussion of a text, debating, and thinking critically as well as imaginatively. While this idea is particularly relevant to HL students who are more confident in their HL than English, which is usually not the case, it can be applied to some of the members of the wide group categorised as EAL students in England and the idea should be considered when pedagogies are selected to suit certain learners. A similar argument can be found in identifying the importance of emotional expression in the HL which can lead to richer meaning in language production as discussed in the next section.

4.3.5 Emotional expression in the HL

Research examining language of emotions raises interesting questions around how multilinguals talk about emotions in various languages in line with cross-linguistic and

cross-cultural variability (Pavlenko 2002). Pavlenko highlights cultural reconceptualization in bilinguals with the words of a Polish-English bilingual linguist who migrated to Australia. Explaining the reasons behind her sense of the need to 'reroute the trajectory of feeling', Wierzbicka (1994 in Pavlenko 2002:53) emphasises that some Polish lexical categories have no exact translation equivalents in English, which means that when she attempts to express a feeling in an English-speaking context, a feeling which to her means, 'to me it is unpleasant/hurtful', she would use English lexical categories such as upset or frustrated. She feels as if the English lexicon and grammar 'colour' Polish speakers' 'subjective experiences and interpretations of emotions', abandoning the Polish way of seeing emotions, which Pavlenko points out are linked to the moral order of Polish culture, in return for a perspective dictated by the white middle-class Australian value system (Pavlenko 2002:53).

A study on English-Russian bilinguals' narratives in both languages on the same topic revealed transfer, which showed that bilinguals had 'transformed their emotional concepts and readjusted their verbal repertoires to fit better in their new speech community' (Pavlenko 2002:70). The study suggests that it is possible that it is not only internalisation of the dominant language concepts that is taking place, but attrition of concepts and scripts that would be 'marked' in the new community. Research preceding Pavlenko's (2002) findings include that of Ervin Tripp's (1954 in Pavlenko 2005) study which focused on the verbal repertoire of a Japanese-English bilingual. Analysis revealed that the Japanese respondent's narratives were much more emotional, including people going mad with grief, crying aloud in pain and weeping with lost love, in comparison to the ones recounted in English, which involved

mundane activities such as completing a sewing project. Responses on a sentence-completion task appeared more abstract and cold in the English ones, while in the Japanese involved feelings, indicating a loss of genuine emotional expression due to conceptual reconstructions.

A response to this could be a resistance to the change, which Pavlenko suggests could be troublesome if it were to encourage the speaker to sound 'too affectionate, emotional or high-strung' in the dominant language. Another response to this problem can be found in an appeal to lexical borrowing and code-switching in order to emphasise the meaning of their expression (Pavlenko 2002). This latter suggestion links to the aim of this section which is to examine the literature with an eye on ways in which characteristics of bilingualism can be engaged with within the curricula in school.

Many educational benefits of HL maintenance are clear from the literature presented in this section. These include interdependence between reading systems, application of prior knowledge in comprehension, improved cognitive and metalinguistic flexibility and stronger notions of self-esteem and more meaningful emotional expression. However, there still appears to be a scarcity of studies which offer evidence to support the need to change language policy in order to make approaches to literacy and language development more multilingual. This is particularly true for research conducted in linguistically diverse settings in which there is no predominant HL. The following section will look at ways in which the theories presented have been adopted by plurilingual pedagogies in action so far in order to take stock of what is already being considered and utilised by some practitioners.

4.4 Plurilingual pedagogies in practice in educational settings

4.4.1 Theoretical basis for plurilingual pedagogies

García and Li Wei (2014) define translanguaging as ‘an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems ... but as one linguistic repertoire’. Translanguaging in education is viewed as a theme in its own right, described as ‘educational efforts to develop children’s plurilingual abilities or to use those abilities to educate bilingual students’. ‘Bilingual education’ is used as an umbrella term ‘to encompass what is also called trilingual and multilingual education, recognising that bi- does not, in this case, refer to two, but to complex multilingual interactions that cannot be enumerated’ (2014:2).

García and Li Wei (2014) refer to the term ‘linguaging’, as ‘the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world’ (García and Li Wei 2014:8). Language is therefore forefronted as a practice rather than a structure (Pennycook 2010 in García and Li Wei 2014:10), defining bilingualism as; ‘sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones’ (Heller 2007:15 in García and Li Wei 2014:13).

Dynamic bilingualism focuses on the complex and interrelated language practices of bilinguals which do not emerge in a linear way, and given that there is only one linguistic system, the language practices are not considered to function separately,

going beyond Cummins' notion of language interdependence (1979 in García and Li Wei 2014:14). The Dynamic Bilingual Model is compatible with Grosjean's language-mode perspective, apart from the definition of language mode as a 'state of activation of the bilingual's languages' (Grosjean 2004:40 in García and Li Wei 2014:15). In the dynamic bilingual model, activation or deactivation of any of the languages is not a feature. More precisely 'a single array of disaggregated features' is always activated, according to García and Otheguy (forthcoming) in García and Li Wei 2014:15). The following citation acts as an effective illustration of the concept:

'...dynamic bilingual practices do not result in either the balanced wheels of two bicycles... or in a unicycle ... Instead dynamic bilingualism is like an all-terrain vehicle with individuals using their entire linguistic repertoire to adapt to both the ridges and craters of communication in uneven (and unequal) interactive terrains, and to the confines of language use as controlled by societal forces, especially in schools' (García and Li Wei 2014:16).

Canagarajah (2011: 401) defines translanguaging as 'the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system'. The notion of 'shuttling' is particularly useful in terms of the education of HL speakers in that it recognises that the endeavours are not simply changing languages or translating but a constant movement between languages, dependent on each individual's linguistic repertoire. The next section looks at how these theories can be turned into practice in multilingual classroom contexts.

4.4.2 Current drives for plurilingual education

Bak and Mehmedbegovic (2017:2) position their call for a 'healthy linguistic diet' for school children in the UK in a context of 'monolingual default' in which it is not uncommon, as highlighted in the preceding literature, for multilingualism to be seen

as a 'burden'. They highlight that it is uncommon for official bodies, such as census data collection and schools, to recognise that people speak more than one language and that other languages are often positioned as 'versus' English rather than alongside it. To illustrate the perceived burden of multilingualism, Bak and Mehmedbegovic highlight the view that is 'often supported through a scientifically not well-founded idea of the brain as a vessel with finite capacity to store information' (2017:3). In response, they propose a positive re-evaluation of multilingualism, and promote multilingual exposure in order to unleash the benefits of plurilingualism across the lifespan and across society. The main benefits that feature in their rationale are the positive effects of multilingualism on the cognitive performance of children such as better focus on tasks (Bialystock 2009 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:2), wider access to the varied thinking modes, flexibility in thinking encouraged by switching and improved metalinguistic awareness fostered by subconscious comparison of two languages (Cummins 1991 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:2).

The authors stress that these benefits are not restricted to 'perfect' multilinguals who have learned their languages simultaneously and that the ability to communicate in other languages is enough for an individual to reap the benefits. To this end, plurilingualism takes precedence over multilingualism as the definition more accurately illustrates the dynamic nature of a multilingual society, whereas the term multilingualism considers many languages living alongside each other but separately. Bak and Mehmedbegovic (2017) cite the Council of Europe's definition of plurilingualism which considers the interactive nature of the development of communication skills which draw on all linguistic and cultural experiences. The idea of the native speaker as ultimate achievement is replaced with the aim of a 'pluralistic

communicator' who draws on their linguistic repertoire in a creative and dynamic way which includes promotion of home languages through home language support (Council of Europe 2001 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:3-4).

In terms of international drives for plurilingual approaches in schools, it is interesting to look at the official Catalan guidance for language teaching in secondary schools which aims to 'manifest an attitude of respect and positive valuation of linguistic diversity of the immediate environment and beyond' (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015:57). The guidance makes clear that such an attitude can only be acquired when the capacity to value plurilingualism is developed, promoting the manifestation of plurilinguistic knowledge and the use of linguistic experience to achieve effective communication with any given interlocutor. Regarding pedagogy, the guidance advises a perspective which considers the need to influence the acquisition of knowledge, while at the same time contributing to forging an attitude of respect towards languages in the environment. Suggestions for activities range from oral and written texts in different dialectal varieties to showing texts in different languages to recognise the linguistic diversity of the environment. It maintains that it is important that such texts incorporate cultural elements, both implicitly and explicitly, and that activities include texts which foster interest and promote sociolinguistic reflection, language and identity, social uses of languages, including minority languages. To foster the valuing of one's own identity and the respect for the identities of others, the guidance encourages individual and collective reflection, specific themed tutorials, on-going conversation between adults and adolescents and modelling of good behaviour on behalf of staff (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015:62-63). The next section explores

further strategies which are recommended in endeavours to enact plurilingual pedagogies.

4.4.3 Recommendations for strategies in plurilingual pedagogies

Strategies offered by Benson and Young (2016) include organising class groupings by language, or multiple immersion programs combining speakers of different languages in order for them to learn from each other. Making use of the linguistic resources available through the students and practitioners to enhance the educational experience is also promoted, such as using L1 speakers from the community as 'interim teachers' or teaching assistants. Additionally, multilingual teachers may be encouraged to use one 'standard' but make oral adaptations to include learners who speak the teacher's other language. It is suggested that teachers' language proficiencies become part of their job profiles so that hiring and school placement can be done with languages in mind.

The provision of teaching material in multiple languages is particularly relevant to the context of this thesis since there is rarely a unique HL spoken in the school communities in question. Not only does having multilingual resources promote a school approach which accepts all languages but can also serve to remedy the lack of literature encountered in the L1 in many cases. Resources mentioned in Benson and Young (2016) range from books or websites that include stories that might be familiar to children of particular heritages, to everyday practices such as adding post-it notes to monolingual story books to adapt them to languages represented in the classroom. The active participation of families in learning activities is also promoted to support the creation and use of multilingual learning materials, but also to strengthen

ties between parents and teachers and to raise parents' awareness of the benefits of HL development.

In response to the questions 'How do schools which have more than 40 languages represented provide an "affirmative mirror" to all of them?' and 'How do schools communicate that bilingualism is a resource?' Mehmedbegovic (2011 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017) outlines her 'Healthy linguistic diet' vision as one which should be included in the Healthy Schools Programme⁷ to give a clear message to multilingual children and their parents that it is beneficial to speak, read and write in different languages. Amongst the strategies suggested for implementation by Bak and Mehmedbegovic (2017) are; addressing misconceptions, raising awareness of the benefits of plurilingualism and providing opportunities for use of different languages in school. Action for implementation of these principles includes the promotion of awareness in teachers and parents that where HLs are part of teaching and learning, the impact of it will be evident across the curriculum. Positive attitudes are advised toward the specific intellectual potential that HL speakers have, as is partnering schools and parents with relevant bodies such as their local Bilingualism Matters⁸ centre in order to provide access to latest research evidence and advice for stakeholders to make informed decisions around bilingualism. In order to provide

⁷ The National Healthy Schools Programme is a long-term initiative which promotes the links between health, behaviour and achievement.

⁸ Bilingualism Matters is a research and engagement centre set up by the University of Edinburgh to make the latest, research-based evidence on multilingualism and language learning available and accessible to families, communities, and professionals in education, health or policy <https://www.bilingualism-matters.org/>

appropriate circumstances for use of different languages in school, they advise that opportunities are regular and rich, that teachers are provided with examples of good practice, guidance for integrating HL skills into the curriculum, and that approaches used to support HLs should be utilised in MFL learning (to promote continuity between both). Resources which have already been developed such as Languages in Urban Communities for Integration and Diversity in Europe (LUCIDE) (2015) are recommended for encouraging HL use in the family. Promotion of lifelong plurilingualism is encouraged via adherence to the principle that all individuals 'are entitled to develop a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages over their lifetime in accordance with their needs' (Council of Europe in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:6).

4.4.4 Bilingual assessment

Bilingual oracy and literacy assessments are deemed by Xuereb et al (2011:382) 'absolutely necessary' in countries where children are exposed to two languages. If students are assessed in their second language, a misdiagnosis of speech, language or learning disorders can occur when the reality is the commonplace experience of language or communicative difficulties as a normal aspect of the process of second language acquisition (Cummins 1986 in Xuereb et al 2011:382). In contrast, a bilingual assessment provides a more realistic view of the child's language proficiencies (Yzquierdo McLean 1995 in Xuereb et al 2011:382). Rather than using the same evaluative criteria used for monolingual English speakers, an L1 assessment must take into account the cultural and linguistic variables during the process given the premise that the more culturally appropriate the content of the materials, the more

likely the respondents are to demonstrate behaviour truly reflective of their abilities (Armour-Thomas 1992 in Xuereb et al 2011:383).

In order for an assessment to be a true reflection of a HLS's language use, a focus on what Heath (2012: xii) calls the 'sociocentric nature of language use in the complex interdependence of family, school, and community life' is useful. In her work on interaction at home, Heath examines 'teen talk' from the perspective that 'oral language differs from written language, and that both vary in relation to audience, function, stylistic choices and genre'. She states the importance of knowledge of images, sounds and performances that children have, and their impact on oral language, resulting in speech tending toward being multimedia in style and presentation. A dominance of present tense with a narrow range of past or future tenses is typical of adolescent conversational language, compared with a fluency with a range of tenses needed to indicate relationships among ideas and events in academic written discourse (Heath 2012:139).

Given that the use of the HL generally takes place in the home and in the community, it is useful to consider typical social speech of adolescents in view of HLSs language use. Heath's findings may be particularly relevant to the age group that this study considers, making the following recommendation on assessment particularly useful:

'Forms of assessment which do not take into account the full linguistic profile of children risk giving a very limited and inaccurate view of what they are able to do, and therefore what we need to do to support their progress. Any assessment must be based on a broad understanding of how language learning is taking place, and of the complexity and sophistication of bilingual children's skills' (Ross 2007:56).

4.4.5 'Mapping' plurilingual educational contexts

Acknowledging that multi-language contexts are increasing with a range of migration trajectories globally, Benson and Young (2016) ask what can be done pedagogically to maximise L1-based learning in heterogeneous classrooms. They propose recommendations to find out; which languages are spoken by students in the school, linguistic proximity between L1s and other languages taught in the curriculum, and whether the learners are exposed to additional languages outside of school. They also recommend a measure of societal aspirations for the languages in question, as well as how they are prioritised in the curriculum, and the language proficiencies of practitioners alongside their usage and attitudes, given that competent speaker input is highly relevant in the development of language (Krashen 1982 in Benson and Young 2016:10).

In order to consider the degree to which linguistic heterogeneity is a reality for young learners, Benson and Young (2016) promote the practice of 'language mapping', which is described as 'a strategy that can be used to determine the languages spoken in a given area or even throughout a school system'. Typically, linguistic data is collected through self-reports, by families enrolling their children in school, or families are interviewed by practitioners to determine who speaks what languages and the language practices of the home life of the student in order that schools and teachers can plan to accommodate all languages. They assert that 'once the presence of multiple languages in one school catchment area has been established, creative solutions can be reached depending on local conditions' (Benson and Young 2016:10). The next section looks at ways in which such solutions have been enacted and documented in various contexts.

4.4.6 Documentation of plurilingual pedagogies in research

As Li & Luo (2017) point out, the pedagogical side of translanguaging has been underdeveloped, (Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009; Lin & Martin, 2005 in Li & Luo 2017:143) and has ‘traditionally been frowned upon in educational settings’ (Creese and Blackledge 2010:203). Writing about the role of attitudes in Puerto-Rican university students’ reception of translanguaging pedagogies, Rivera and Mazak (2017:5) state that ‘theorizing and having the best intentions will mean nothing unless students are receptive to the instruction methods being utilized’. While theoretical assumptions about pedagogy have an important place, and it is logical and morally sensible to make students’ linguistic repertoires a key part of their education, the practicalities of such an approach need to be clearly explored and explained before it is likely to be taken up by practitioners and policy makers.

Supporting a ‘release from monolingual instruction approaches’ and advocating ‘teaching bilingual children by means of bilingual instructional strategies, in which two or more languages are used alongside each other’, Creese and Blackledge take a ‘language ecology’ perspective in their research on translanguaging in the bilingual classroom which has a focus on multilingual classrooms in complementary schools in four different communities in England. They consider the comfortable position of separate bilingualism or ‘parallel monolingualism’ in education settings and challenge it with examples of translanguaging as bilingual pedagogy (Heller 1999 in Creese and Blackledge 2008:105).

The observations of complementary schools show use of English and Gujarati in a school assembly in order to engage the audience and convey different informational messages, so it is through the bilingualism of the text that the message is conveyed. Rather than the languaging being a forced act, the deliverer of the assembly is described as speaking in a way so that 'her "languages" do not appear separate for her in this social act but rather a resource to negotiate meanings and include as much of the audience as possible' (Creese and Blackledge 2008: 108). This is identified as an example of translanguaging, 'in which the speaker uses her languages in a pedagogic context to make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities using the linguistic signs at her disposal to connect with her audience in community engagement' (Creese and Blackledge 2008: 108-9).

An example of flexible bilingualism used as an instructional tool is given in the shape of clarifying task instructions using both languages. Both languages are used to establish the procedural knowledge but when it comes to the content focus of the speaking skill, Gujarati is used. When the interaction follows the pattern of the teacher using Gujarati and the student using English, Creese and Blackledge (2008) comment that this is common practice in Gujarati complementary schools (Martin et al 2006 in Creese and Blackledge 2008: 110) and recognise that it may be a way to save face with regard to the different levels of proficiencies in the two languages, especially when the students' English proficiency is better than their community language proficiency. However, they suggest that this particular practice is representative of factors beyond covering up a lack of proficiency and propose that bilingual students may be using their bilingualism to carve out their identity; 'a style resource' (Androutsopoulos 2007 in Creese and Blackledge 2008:210), for identity performance to peers. Commenting

on another literacy event in which translanguaging is described, the researchers note that the normative classroom practices are allowed to be broken which may usually constitute disruption or 'naughtiness' as they put it. They attribute this lenience on behalf of the teacher to the teacher's acceptance of the behaviour because the students are involved in the learning simultaneously. The translanguaging interrupts the usual pace of the classroom and keeps the task moving.

Research which explored pedagogical practices which include multilingual texts show positive responses in terms of deeper knowledge construction. Schissel et al (2019) examined the effects of multilingual text stimuli in an English assessment and revealed that learners performed better on the multilingual task than the monolingual English task. This showed that integrating multilingual resources within assessment design can allow students to demonstrate more complex or high-order thinking skills in the language they are learning. The Roma Translanguaging Enquiry Learning Space project used parents as translators in multilingual enquiry-based learning (ROMtels 2018). Translating for the teacher led to negotiation of meaning between students and greater clarity in a retelling of an historical event which had been taught using the students' HL. Deeper meaning through discussion is also evident, as is identification of cognates between the HL and English. There is also some visible resistance from the students due to what seems like shyness or an uneasiness with using the L1 in an environment where it is not usually used (ROMtels 2018)

Sneddon (2000) examined transfer of skills from home language to English using a quantitative research design in which she measured language use, literacy

experiences, support for literacy, and scores on standardised tests. She compared students that attended the Gujarati community centre with those that that didn't. Home and school interviews were carried out and a storytelling task was used in both English and Gujarati. Her research questions focussed on the kinds of support for literacy (both English and HL) parents provided in a multilingual context, the impact both these kinds of support have in children's achievement in the classroom in English, whether there is transfer of skills from HL to English, what language experiences impact children's language use, whether involvement with an organisation supports the community's language and culture has an impact in usage, and whether the linguistic vitality of a community has any impact in children's literacy experiences in the home. She concluded that if the children's multilingual experiences were acknowledged in schools, they could be put to greater use and that transfer of skills would be encouraged if the children could be supported in making connections between their languages. To this end, Sneddon (2000) proposes a closer collaboration between organisations that provide mother tongue teaching and mainstream schools in order to value and develop the skills that children have in the languages of the home and slow down the pace of language shift in the community. She argues that if this were the case, the children in question might derive the intellectual and educational benefits documented in the research studies on 'elite' balanced bilinguals (Sneddon 2000:280). The literature on plurilingual pedagogies in action indicates that there are many varied practices being employed in a range of contexts with the goal to harness linguistic diversity in educational settings.

4.4.7 Bringing it all together

The review of the literature presented in Part 1 of the Literature review highlights that in the absence of policy related to protection of HLs, the maintenance of HLs is left to families and communities, rather than fostered in the school environment. The literature in Part 2 has tried to piece together an argument for schools to contribute to the protection and maintenance of HLs in adolescents. The factors that contribute to this are not solely input and quality of input, but also distal factors such as attitudes and status awarded to languages which are factors that pedagogies can respond to and school ethos can contribute to greatly. The literature shows that HL speakers are unique in their bilingualism and amongst the group there is wide variation. Research highlights the benefits of engagement with HLs as part of learners' educational experience. Pedagogies that respond to these linguistic characteristics cannot simply include the languages represented in the cohort but need to carefully consider the distinct competencies that each HL learner may have in their other languages. Literature on plurilingual pedagogies raises awareness of new strategies and approaches and provides alternatives that are informative and seem to respond to the unique characteristics of HL speakers. While documentation of these pedagogies in action is scarce, it is important to build on this body of research in order to contribute to a more informed picture of HL speakers in schools. In light of this information, my research questions were refined from the broad line of enquiry around how we should engage with HLs as educators concerned with language development and what can be done to maximise the engagement with HLs of highly plurilingual cohorts in inner city secondary schools, to the following questions:

- What happens when practitioners engage with plurilingual repertoires in the current context of multilingual classrooms in the English secondary school?
- How can these practices inform wider practice?

The refined focus was led by the above-mentioned need for documentation of in-practice responses to linguistically diverse settings and a desire for the research undertaken to be an appropriate reference point for informing practice and policy.

While the practice in the first study is not pedagogical, it constitutes engagement with plurilingual repertoires in terms of understanding the context in which pedagogical practices, the focus of the second and third studies, can be implemented. This shapes the sequence of exploration throughout the overall study from a wider lens on the sample from three schools in one borough, to a closer one on individuals within a small group.

In keeping with Agee (2009) who promotes a ‘reflexive and interactive inquiry journey’, the research questions were refined and developed throughout the work and reformulation of questions happened at several stages of the process such as when I entered the field, when cases were chosen, when I conceptualised the data collection schedules, as well as the conceptualisation of the interpretation and which material to select (Flick 2018). For example, in Study 2, I chose to focus on the responses to the pedagogies being enacted because they became the focus of my inquiry, given that they differed so widely amongst the participants. The next section outlines the three studies designed with the main research aims in mind and briefly explains the methodologies applied in the studies.

5.0 Intended contribution of studies and methodological discussion

The three studies in this thesis each contribute to the questions outlined above (3.0) in their own way, each looking at a different aspect of harnessing linguistic diversity in secondary schools. The first study examines the characteristics of a sample of HL speakers in a mainstream context. The second study documents what happens when a plurilingual approach is adopted in a mainstream setting, and the third study explores the perspectives of students in terms of their own plurilingualism. Each study employed different research methods to suit the questions being explored. The following section will briefly outline the methods employed in the studies.

5.1 Study 1:

The first study (Chapter 2) uses questionnaire data and focusses on HL characteristics in inner-city secondary schools. Rich data is crucial to setting responsive learning goals and applying affective pedagogies but there are few studies which have obtained accurate representations of the languages spoken in schools and further linguistic characteristics such as proficiency, usage and attitudes towards HLs amongst young people. Therefore, a sample of HLSs in inner-city secondary schools was explored with these questions in mind. The research questions of the chapter are:

1. What are the linguistic characteristics of the HLSs in the sample?
2. How can this survey and analysis be applied to other plurilingual secondary school cohorts, and what are the potential benefits?

To address these questions, Study 1 (Chapter 2) makes use of a survey which is made up of three parts. Survey data used to obtain accurate data on languages spoken and

characteristics of HLSs in the school context were useful for the data that the study required which was comparable information on linguistic elements of participants' lives including the language spoken, language background information, language use, language dominance and attitudes. The main strength of a questionnaire is the ease with which it can be constructed (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). It could be administered easily in a classroom setting which made it accessible to a large number of participants at once. Questionnaire data allows researchers to make inferences about larger populations which can facilitate decision making and policy recommendations (Dörnyei and Csizér 2012:74). (See Chapter 2 for more information on the three questionnaires and the rationale for questionnaire design).

5.2 Studies 2 and 3:

The second study (Chapter 3) also targeted characteristics of HLSs but it looked at the individuals through a much closer lens. The study examined student responses to a programme of activities which promoted plurilingual awareness and tapped into students' plurilingual identities, encouraging HL use in a mainstream setting. The study considers ways in which the responses can inform practitioners when harnessing the linguistic repertoires of all learners. The research questions of the chapter are:

1. What happens when linguistic repertoires are engaged with in a mainstream setting?
2. How can these responses inform wider practice?

The third study (Chapter 4) looked at the perceptions of the HLSs with regard to their plurilingualism and how it plays out in an educational context. While most of the research in the field focusses on theory and strategies for implementation, what students think about the approach has been neglected so far. For pedagogical practices to be responsive to cohorts' linguistic diversity, practitioners need a clearer understanding of the intended beneficiaries. To this end, the current study explores two key questions:

1. What are HL students' perceptions of plurilingualism?
2. In what ways do these perceptions shape the potential for plurilingual pedagogical approaches in ideologically monolingual environments?

As a result of the questions being addressed, studies 2 and 3 use exclusively qualitative data which is guided by an action research approach. A qualitatively orientated study is useful when there is a need to change the depersonalised nature of the understanding of learners (Ushioda 2009) and inform understanding by accommodating the complexity of individual learner situations.

The methods used in studies 2 and 3, which both take the project which the programme of activities were part of as a research context, required in depth consideration. The initial aim of the project was to address the impact that a programme of plurilingual activities would have on a group of adolescent HLS in a secondary school setting. Initially, I sought measurable outcomes which might show how the activities impacted on the language learning of the group. This was to be measured with a metalinguistic task and a comparison of lexical richness of written

tasks produced in mainstream lessons pre and post intervention. My motive was led by the desire to apply a theory to practice and look at the outcomes. However, for such findings to be reliable, the subjects needed to be comparable, and as soon as I started this project, I became very aware of the heterogeneric nature of HLSs in the group. Given that the aim of the activities was to promote awareness of individual and group plurilingualism and encourage HL use in an education context, an exploration of how this was to be achieved, or what happened during this process, were sufficient and more appropriate questions.

I think it is interesting to look at my decision to take the idea of impact out of my main question, and instead make the focus of the study an exploratory one, in light of how impact plays a role in the work of researchers who work in similar contexts, with similar underlying assumptions behind their research and contexts. Young's (2014) study which looks at how continuous professional development introducing nursery assistants to the benefits of multilingual practices impacts on various aspects of the children's' experience at preschool found that staff were enlightened by the new principles and practices. Findings revealed that parent-staff relationships and children's' confidence improved due to the valuing and utilisation of skills that the children already possess rather than focussing on the perceived deficit that comes with having low proficiency in French. The conclusion of this work is therefore one that acts as evidence to support translanguaging pedagogy which has attracted ministerial interest (Young 2014). The impact was measured through the reports of staff and parents. Other research with similar underlying assumptions is that of Chalmers (2014) who looked at whether L1 mediated home learning tasks improved learning outcomes for bilingual children in a British primary school with a multilingual cohort.

Students in the study were provided with either an English or a HL version of a story. The participants were assessed on quality of the English writing about the story and the study did not detect any statistically significant differences between the two groups. The findings therefore conclude that the use of HL and the role it has to play in second language acquisition remains open for investigation. These two examples show that impact can mean various things. It is worth noting that in the British primary school study, it was reported that some parents fed back that they were very happy that the HL had taken a place in the curriculum. But when looking at impact specifically on writing production, no effect was found. This is likely to be down to the heterogeneric nature of the context, shedding light on the importance with which practitioners and researchers alike should endeavour to find out as much as possible about the research context and participants.

In order to make the study more participant focussed, I switched my research design around so that rather than applying a theory and examining the outcomes, I observed the practice in order to inform theory. Leung and Creese (2010: xviii) advocate that it is through a focus on local classrooms that the possibilities of different approaches and educational principles can be considered. They refer to Denos et al (2009:37 in Leung and Creese 2010: xviii) who also advocate keeping things local in order to combat what they describe as 'imposed slots and categories' which damage the 'vibrant and multifaceted' young people with whom teachers work, a sentiment which supports the revised focus of my study in that without a localised, emic focus on heritage language speakers in context, these 'slots and categories' are more likely to prevail and deny students the opportunities to excel using their full linguistic repertoires. As a result, an action research approach was adopted which suited the

practical nature of the lines of inquiry in this thesis. Stringer (2015) aligns action research procedures with processes of inquiry that seek to investigate features of the classroom, school and community context likely to influence educational processes. He frames action research as a reaction to current procedures which, as a result of the marked difference between the 'life-worlds' of educational professionals and those who are the object of their attention, trap students 'in a box' and fail to accommodate the needs of many diverse students (Stringer 2015:365).

Stringer identifies the strengths of action research in its aims to formulate effective ways of living and working together and taking into account the 'essentially human features of our work' such as emotion, value and identity. The perspectives of all stakeholders are considered, moving away from organizational processes and towards a consensual, friendly search for understanding (Stringer 2015:69). A 'Look-Think-Act heuristic' enables issues to be identified, related data to be gathered, analysis of the information, and actions to be taken in order to work towards resolution of issues (Stringer 2015:365-6).

The selection of the group with which I carried out the research was informed by Stake's (1995) statement that selection of participants should be based on the possibility of maximizing what we can learn from the subject, and Duff's (2012) advice to choose participants in order to meet target criteria in a small scale study (Duff 2012). The participants were the same in studies 2 and 3 and were selected on the basis that they used a language other than English but had lived the majority or all their lives in England. The selection of representative participants I chose to approach was based on a search within the Year 7 register to determine who was categorised as EAL and

their date of arrival in the UK. I then approached the students who met the criteria and spoke to them individually during morning registration, giving them a short overview of the project. If they were interested in participating, they had to select the project when choosing an 'enhanced curriculum' session which was a compulsory session in place of mainstream lessons on a Wednesday afternoon. This approach developed somewhat into a word-of-mouth approach, in that some students who had agreed to participate informed their friends who also chose to participate, as long as they met the criteria. This somewhat purposeful sampling was enabled by my dual role as a researcher and teacher at the school. The approach and conditions meant that participants were selected to best inform the research questions as there was a range of HLs and competencies so that findings could be informed by various characteristics and therefore applied to a range of contexts.

The group was regarded as a case study as a whole but also as individual case studies in their own right for the sake of valuable comparison between subjects when appropriate. Case study research is particularly useful for the aim of examining perspectives because it can generate detailed, personal and contextualised data, contributing to 'thick description' (Geertz 1973 in Duff 2012:96). Duff (2012) asserts that 'the greatest strength of case study is its ability to exemplify larger processes or situations in a very accessible, concrete, immediate and personal manner' (2012:96). The more research questions aim to explain 'how' or 'why', the more relevant case study methodology is for the study (Yin 2014:4). A common criticism of case-study investigation is the limited potential it has for generalizable findings. However, case-studies, even if not generalizable to 'populations or universes' can be generalizable to the theoretical propositions (Yin 2014:41). This view is supported by

that of Duff (2012:96) who asserts that case study findings can be 'confirmatory or disconfirmatory' therefore playing an important role in theory development as possible corroborators of previous findings. In defence of a smaller, or single sample, Duff asserts that 'important developmental patterns or perspectives' are more likely to be revealed than in larger samples where the detail may be lost (Duff 2012:98).

Interviews were also used as part of the action research. The main benefit of interviews as outlined by Edley and Litosseliti (2010:156) is that 'they give us privileged access to a person'. They put forward the idea that people's behaviour is meaningful not mechanical and in order to establish the cause of it, it is necessary to talk to people (Harre and Secord 1972 in Edley and Litosseliti 2010: 156). Edley and Litosseliti also highlight the 'intangible phenomena' that can be extracted using interviews as opposed to observation (2010:157). They trust in the neutrality of the primary means of data collection but warn of the possibility of this being jeopardised by leading or ambiguous questions. The structured interview is offered as a way of preventing loss of neutrality as it ensures that wording and order is the same for each participant. Although semi-structured or unstructured designs pose more risk to neutrality it is expected that the interviewer or moderator withholds their own opinions in the data gathering process and that they remain passive in reactions to respondents' answers (2010: 158).

Contrary to the view that interviews provide access to the 'primacy' of a respondent's words and the world around them, (Freeman 1993: 16 cited in Edley and Litosseliti 2010:161), one viewpoint argues that interview data is inevitably 'manufactured' and should be used as a 'last resort' (Silverman 2001, 2007 cited in Edley

and Litosseliti 2010:161). Potter and Hepburn (2005 in Edley and Litosseliti 2010:161) regard interview data as 'contrived' in comparison to naturalistic data, which occurs independently of the researcher. The advantages, however, stem from the same elements criticised by Potter and Hepburn (2005) in the sense that a researcher's specific interest is not necessarily likely to appear in naturalistic data. Additionally, the economical question of time, money and patience plays a part in the difference between topic-specific interviews and sifting through naturalistic data to find data related to research questions (Edley and Litosseliti 2010:164). In response to the argument that interview data is always 'got-up' (Potter and Hepburn 2005 in Edley and Litosseliti 2010:165). Edley and Litosseliti (2010) argue that since a domain which is 'content-free' does not exist, interviews are no more contaminated than any other data.

Setting out the importance of context and dynamism when researching to contribute to policy and practice in the inclusion of non-national minority languages in the wider European educational agenda, Copland and Creese 2015 advises that 'as local, national, and European governments seek to tailor policy to the needs of individuals and groups, they need to understand people's identities not in terms of apparent or visible categories, but rather as emic positions which are self-identified, dynamic and negotiable' (Copland and Creese 2015:63). The research methods and approaches outlined here have been selected with this in mind as appropriate ways to explore what happens when linguistic repertoires are engaged with in a mainstream setting, what students' perceptions of plurilingualism look like and ways in which perceptions shape the potential for plurilingual pedagogical approaches to inform wider practice, in ideologically monolingual environments.

The use of a range of approaches to data collection contributes to the richness of the data presented in the overall thesis. Different methods tap into participant voices in diverse ways. Interviews draw out considered views of participants which provide insight to specific questions but can be influenced by the participants' perceptions of what they are expected to say, whereas observation of classroom talk (interactional data) allows the researcher to see roles and relationships being negotiated and identities being asserted (Lefstein and Snell 2019). Collection of artefacts gather data on participants' experiences as they happen, without as much risk of participants being influenced by perceived expectations. Such a mix of approaches provides for more rigorous inferences to be made based on snapshots taken from different angles, framing the study in a mixed methods approach, using all means and data at our disposal to understand a situation (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2017).

In terms of the thesis as whole, a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is used. The overall research problem being investigated is multi-layered and therefore required methodological innovation (Riazi 2016). While the focus of my area of study is harnessing plurilingual repertoires (chapters 3 and 4), there is also a need to explore the ground in order to capture the context in which practices are being employed (Chapter 2). The questionnaire data in the first study allowed me to confirm the heterogeneous nature of a school cohort not only in terms of the range of languages spoken but also the extent to which individual circumstances differ greatly from one participant to another. The range of home circumstances and linguistic experiences uncovered by the quantitative approach led me to think about questions to focus on in the latter two studies using methods which allowed for deeper understanding.

For any study, it is important to deal with the implications of impact. In this thesis I draw on explorative rather than experimental designs to answer the questions I pose. This is reminiscent of Mishler's argument that standard approaches to validity assessments are largely irrelevant to concerns and problems in social sciences (Mischler 1990). Given the inquiry-guided nature of the studies presented in this thesis, I refer to Mishler's emphasis on 'the continuous process through which observations and interpretations shape and reshape each other' as opposed to the dominant model of hypothesis-testing experimentation (1990:416). This meant that I was able to explore life worlds of the participants in order to explore the question of how plurilingual pedagogies can effectively take place rather than whether they can or whether they have any benefits.

According to Mishler (1990:429) 'validation is the social construction of a discourse through which the results of a study come to be viewed as sufficiently trustworthy for other investigators to rely upon in their own work.' I include narratives from the participants in the thesis which provides trustworthiness in the sense that my interpretations are 'directly tied to the data' (Mishler 1990:431). Providing the reader (other researchers/ practitioners) with data such as excerpts and images of the participants' responses to the linguistic outlets offered to them as part of the study is in line with Mishler's recommendation that the reader is 'given sufficient information to make a judgment of their (the findings) trustworthiness and can then decide whether or not to depend on them for further work' (Mishler 1990:438).

6.0 Thesis outline

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 present three original studies I have carried out as part of this thesis. Each chapter looks briefly at literature relevant to the study, accounts for the methodology employed, presents the results, and concludes with a discussion and implications for pedagogical practice and policy. Study 1, presented in Chapter 2, is written in the style of a report with a view to be considered by schools and Local Authorities. Study 2, presented in Chapter 3, was written and formatted according to the author guidelines of the book chapter that it comprises for the forthcoming publication; *Multilingualism and multimodality: working at the intersections*, edited by Steph Ainsworth, Dominic Griffiths, Gee Macrory, Kate Pahl (in press, *Multilingual Matters*). Study 3, presented in Chapter 4, is written following the author guidelines of *Language and Education* journal. Chapter 5 concludes with a discussion of findings and implications. For organisational purposes, all chapters have their own table of contents and list of references.

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CHAPTER 2

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A close up examination of speakers' characteristics.

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1.0 Abstract

This study presents a close up view of the presence of heritage languages (HL) in a sample of secondary school-aged students in an inner-city London borough. The research examines the potential for accurate and meaningful data collection that records the diverse linguistic repertoires of inner-city school communities, to inform practitioners and policy makers when planning for inclusion and linguistic representation.

Findings indicate that the proportion of pupils who speak a language other than English in the sample is significantly larger than would be expected from consideration of the data published by the Department for Education. When targeted questions go beyond whether, or not, the student has English as a home language, the data reveals that proficiency in HLs amongst the students in the sample is high and that attitudes towards HLs are generally positive. An exploration of patterns of language use and dominance confirm previously found patterns in heritage language users; such as speakers using the language less with siblings (Extra, Yağmur, & Van der Avoird, 2004, Jernigan 2015), and certain domains being stronger in one language than the other (Grosjean and Li 2013) such as prayer and talking to distant relatives, compared with talking about school.

The data suggest that many factors which in part can be influenced by practitioners and policy, such as attitudes and home language policies, are linked to proficiency, pointing to constructive ways in which education policy can be guided to make the most of the benefits of bilingualism in our highly multilingual cohorts.

2.0 Introduction

In line with post-colonial migration to England, the linguistic landscape has changed dramatically over the last half century. Thanks to the growth of multi-generational groups of minority language speakers, London is home to 42.6% of 'non-English speakers' in England and Wales and contains 9 of the top 10 most linguistically diverse local authorities in England and Wales (Greater London Assembly 2013). Considering Britain's super-diverse population, it has long been advised that policy-makers and practitioners appreciate dimensions and dynamics of super-diversity to understand and deal with modes of difference affecting members of the population. The discovery and acknowledgement of the nature and extent of diversity is considered a crucial first step in the development of adequate policies on both national and local levels, however policy responses to diversification can rest on political will and vision, instead of accurate data (Vertovec 2007:1049).

In the 2011 Census, 90 languages were reported for London. By contrast, in a prior survey of 896,700 children in London, over 300 HLs were reported, indicating an even larger range of languages being spoken in the capital (Baker and Eversley 2000). This discrepancy shows that while we can safely say that London is a linguistically diverse city, current available data is not sufficient to make accurate claims about the number of languages spoken in the capital and its schools. Schools have long been acknowledged as useful settings for mapping wider community multilingualism (Matras, Robertson and Jones 2016). However, this does not necessarily mean that there is recognition that information about the linguistic diversity of the UK is important in terms of recognising and responding to the range of HLs in schools. We know that

bilingual education models have many benefits (Lugo-Neris, Jackson & Goldstein 2010, Lee and Macaro 2013), that there are competency-focussed benefits of bilingualism (Cummings 2005, Smyth and Toohey 2009, Moll et al 1992) and, just as importantly, affective and sociological gains, such as increased confidence and feeling of self-worth (Hornberger 2010, Cummings 2005, ROMtels 2018, Creese and Blackledge 2010). We also know that the adolescent years are critical for identity formation (Erikson 1968 in Umana-Taylor et al 2014) and that there is a concern that children of school age are particularly motivated to integrate into the dominant environment and therefore most prone to language attrition, unless counteracted by previously acquired literacy skills in the home language (Kopte 2007). However, so far, data collection that prioritises linguistic diversity mapping has not been made a priority, which has negative implications on the availability of insight into the lived worlds of our cohorts and the skills and outlooks that students possess as bilinguals, subsequently capping opportunities to engage with the advantages of bilingualism in education.

This research aims to explore ways in which educational settings can obtain accurate data collection on the linguistic repertoires of their students in order to help fill this information void and enable better design of appropriate curricula which is responsive to linguistic environments. The survey carried out in this study provides rich data on a sample of school students including information on the language they personally identify to be their 'other language', who they speak this language with, how they use it, for what purposes, their attitudes towards using the language, the dominance with which they report to use their languages and the proficiency they report to hold. The aim of this survey was to be able to create a profile of plurilingualism for this group of

students which can serve as a model for schools to follow in endeavours to further represent their cohorts in ways which enhance schools' potentials to harness the benefits of plurilingualism.

2.1 Heritage Language - Definition and position in study

The definition of 'heritage language' (HL) that will be referred to in this paper is that of Montrul (2016:2) which sees the heritage language speaker (HLS) as a speaker of a 'culturally or ethnolinguistic minority language who develops in a bilingual setting in which the socio-political dominant language is English'.

Much of the work on HL development and maintenance is carried out in the context of higher education when HLSs decide to connect or reconnect with the language of their family or ancestors, preserving the legacy of the language, encouraged by important personal connections (Valdes 2014). In foreign language learning, the term HLS, often refers to language learners in the classroom who have experience of speaking the language outside of the classroom setting, meaning that the term is closely related to proficiency and detecting skills and competencies that the learner already has in order to tailor the teaching to the individual's needs.

In the context of linguistically diverse secondary schools in which all teachers 'carry equal responsibility for language' (Bullock Report 1975), the term HLS goes beyond personal connections and proficiency. The idea of the adult individual being motivated to 'take up' or connect with their HL is replaced by factors out of the young person's control, such as how much the speaker is exposed to the HL, how far they are encouraged to develop and maintain the language, and the role that bilingualism plays

in their wider language development and identity construction. Due to differences in input conditions, interference from the dominant language, potential changes in the input, and attrition, Montrul and Polinsky (2019) consider heritage language speakers a highly heterogeneous population, from both a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic point of view. It is through this lens that the present study will view the term HLS.

2.2 Heritage Languages documentation in schools

Currently schools are not legally required to capture data about students' languages. Records on school databases range from 'English' or 'Not English' as a first language (Matras et al 2016) to a note of one home language of the student at best (a record of multiple languages is not an option on the internal data system that most schools use; SIMS). The reasons behind official data collection are; monitoring, accommodating for lack of English when communicating to parents, and (which comes closest to harnessing linguistic diversity) working out the business potential of England's multilingual speakers. If educational policy responses are to be informed by reflective assessments of cohorts as they change, the measures used are crucial to success. However, the recording of languages in schools has historically been patchy and under-representative of the range of languages spoken, as will be discussed in this section.

Until 2007, School Census data only contained information about whether or not a student used English as an Additional Language (EAL), not any other languages they may use. A question asking about the language spoken at home was introduced from 2008, when all schools were required to collect these data (vonAhn, Lupton & Wiggins 2010). The first time a question about 'primary' language was asked on the National

Census in England was 2011. According to the published planning documentation, the questions were included to provide “services in appropriate languages where English is not understood [and] English language lessons [...], to gain “information on regional and minority languages [...] to monitor their use for protection and promotion under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages” and “a better understanding of the ethno-religious diversity of the UK population, [...] to understand the impact of English language ability on employment and other social inclusion indicators [and] to identify linguistic resources in the UK for business reasons” (Office for National Statistics 2009:10). The question ‘What is your main language’ was asked with the choice to either answer ‘English’ and move on to the next question, or ‘Other’ and write the language in the 17-letter space. Although this is described as a ‘breakthrough’ in terms of documentation of linguistic diversity in schools, Sebba (2017) notes that a monolingualistic ideology is clear in the choice of wording of the question since it assumes that everyone will be able to identify a ‘main language’. This accords with the purpose of a language question on the Census being monofunctional, rather than being intended to find out about the respondent’s ‘linguistic repertoire, their language use in specific domains like home or work, or even their preferred language’ (Sebba 2017:4).

In 2016, the British government passed legislation to expand the school census to include the country of birth, nationality, and first language of every child on the basis that a lack of information impacts on how effective the education system is for foreign nationals. Although practitioners recognised that the information would be of educational benefit, concern was expressed over third parties, such as the Home Office, to whom the information would be accessible and therefore risk tensions in

relationships between parents and schools (National Education Union 2019). As a result of the controversy, the government decided to change the requirement on the nationality collection but at the same time withdrew the requirement to collect data on first language and English proficiency. This hasty withdrawal of the requirement to collect data on first language, highlights that such data collection was, again, led by a drive to obtain data on how many people do not speak English as a first language rather than a desire to gather richer and more useful data.

The above mentioned motives for language data collection are representative of what has been referred to as an 'instrumentalist approach' to language policy making, equating the learning of English with quality (Tikly 2016:411). In contrast, a 'rights-based' approach is one which considers linguistic rights as a means of achieving rights for disadvantaged and marginalised populations. The latter would favour a recognition of the benefit of documenting the languages other than English that are used within the cohort with an aim to maximise linguistic repertoires of our multilingual school communities. This approach extends to one of social justice which views the capacity to develop linguistic competence in one or more languages as a basic human 'capability' to which access is required and any barriers, which may be encountered in pedagogical environments, need to be removed (Nussnaun 2011 in Tikly 2016:413-414). Asserting that 'a key barrier to the development of linguistic capability at a school level is the capability of teachers to implement appropriate language supportive pedagogy', (2016:420) Tikly's recommendations range from promoting a school ethos and leadership that is supportive of multilingualism, to community engagement, to working with the publishing community to ensure that resources relate to the

accessibility of language and that assessment processes are designed to assess the development of linguistic capability as a central feature of learning.

In a project which aimed to map the languages of an inner-city London borough using the Annual School Census data, the authors state: 'Knowing about who speaks which languages, in particular schools and communities, and about how these patterns are changing, is [...] vital in getting a better understanding of the ways in which language matters in education, and what kinds of services are needed where' (vonAhn, Lupton, Wiggins, Eversley, Sanderson, & Mayhew, 2010:4). Reasons outlined for why local authorities should have a better understanding of the languages of school children include; identifying speakers of languages required to improve local service provision; building on community languages as a resource for in-school learning; forming stronger links between home, communities and schools; understanding translation requirements; and understanding change in terms of the importance that language has on identity construction (Christos & Thomas in vonAhn et al 2010). The authors add that 'knowing about the distribution of languages can thus provide evidence between decennial Censuses of Population about migration and the development of ethnic communities in particular places' (2010:3).

In order for recommendations for responsive pedagogies to be implemented, stakeholders in education 'need the right data in the right format at the right time to serve our students along their unique journeys' (Data Quality Campaign 2021). 'Surveys can provide invaluable information on the views, attitudes and practices of large numbers of people, such as children and young people, teachers, lecturers and support staff, senior leaders, parents, employers and other key stakeholders' (NFER

2021). A recent example of how data collection on linguistic realities of students who use EAL is helpful, is a study which shows the importance of measuring English proficiency when examining outcomes for EAL students, given the 161% rise in the number of students categorised as EAL since 1997, meaning that the category is widely varied in terms of English proficiency and home language (Demie 2018). Acknowledging that students' stage of proficiency in English is an important factor in pupil achievement, Demie asserts that 'to get a better insight into EAL performance, there is a need for more detailed analysis which takes into account language spoken at home together with a measure of pupil proficiency in English' (Demie 2018:642). When the research is consulted further, strategies to improve use, development and maintenance of HLs generally use the competencies of the learners as starting points and in successful cases, the linguistic repertoire of students is recognised and explored (ROMTels 2018, Benson and Young 2016, Xuereb et al 2011). However, as long as there is no official requirement to record linguistic diversity, and records operate within the constraints of the standardised list provided by the DfE (which has major omissions such as Dari, a language spoken by people from Afghanistan, of which there are 61,000 people in the UK) (Office for National Statistics 2021), competencies are unlikely to be known about. If research is to inform strategies for learning that consider the important aspects of bilingualism, a deeper understanding of the cohorts is necessary.

3.0 Research aims

With a view to contributing to models of resources that equip schools with ways to approach multilingualism, this research aims to take a sample of secondary school

students in multilingual school settings within the same inner-city London borough and explore a deeper view of the linguistic diversity beyond that revealed by data collected for instrumentalist means. The present study thus seeks to explore the following research questions:

- What are the characteristics of HLSs in the sample?
- How can this linguistic survey and analysis be applied to other plurilingual secondary school cohorts, and what are the potential benefits?

Once these questions have been explored, the research will be able to provide insight into ways in which such settings might best collect data from their students in order to employ multilingual approaches which respond to the cohorts' characteristics.

4.0 The data

The study considers empirical evidence from a survey carried out with students at three secondary schools in an inner London local authority. Hightown (pseudonym) is one of the most ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse boroughs in Britain. Around 40% of the population come from Black and Minority Ethnic groups and 24.1% of the population is multilingual. Table 1 shows the 23 heritage languages in Hightown that are spoken by 500 people or more. Additional to these languages, a further 62 languages are recorded to be spoken, totalling 85 languages (Office for National Statistics 2011). Of all Hightown secondary school leavers in 2018 (the year the data for this paper was collected), 47.4 % were recorded as speakers of English as an additional language (DfE 2018a).

Main Language	
All usual residents aged 3 and over	234,331
English (English or Welsh if in Wales)	177,886
Turkish	10,551
Other European Language (EU): Polish	3,944
Spanish	3,489
French	3,235
South Asian Language: Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya)	3,003
Other European Language (non-national): Yiddish	2,993
Portuguese	2,739
Other European Language (EU): Italian	2,046
South Asian Language: Gujarati	1,909
Other European Language (EU): German	1,705
Arabic	1,201
African Language: Somali	1,119
East Asian Language: Vietnamese	1,013
African Language: Akan	947
West/Central Asian Language: Kurdish	946
East Asian Language: All other Chinese	875
African Language: Yoruba	791
South Asian Language: Panjabi	741
South Asian Language: Urdu	734
Other European Language (EU): Greek	662
Other European Language (EU): Swedish	662
West/Central Asian Language: Hebrew	651
East Asian Language: Japanese	540

Table 1 Languages in Hightown that are spoken by 500 people or more

4.1 Participants and school contexts:

223 children were surveyed in three secondary schools in Hightown. All three school cohorts ranged from age 11 to age 19. The size of the cohorts ranged from 1170 to 1330 pupils on roll.

	Type of school	Proportion of pupils from minority ethnic groups according to OFSTED	% of Year 11 leavers in 2018, who use EAL (DfE 2018a)	Number of pupils surveyed	Age range of students surveyed
School A	All-girls non-selective academy	Higher than national average	48%	82	11-15
School B	Mixed, non-selective academy	Higher than national average	48.5%	87	11-15
School C	Mixed, non-selective academy	Vast majority. Much higher than national average	38.2%	54	11-12

Table 2 Participant school information

Contact was initially made with schools in the LA who had a high proportion of students with English as an Additional language (EAL) in order for a sample which was representative of the borough. Although the research focused on bilingual students, the survey was administered to whole class groups of Modern Languages (ML) students. Data being reported on is attributable to the bilingual students only (N: 140), which were extracted from the total participant group (N:223).

ML teachers were briefed, and it was agreed that the survey would be conducted during a one-off lesson of the teacher's choice. The ML teachers in the schools explained the survey to their classes and disseminated a letter stating that if the child wished to complete the survey, they needed to obtain signed consent from their parents. The letter explained the background of the research (Appendix 1), a Participant Information Sheet provided the details of the survey (Appendix 2) and was

accompanied by a Parental Consent Form (Appendix 3). The survey was administered to those students who had obtained parental permission and the other students in the classroom were given silent tasks to complete. Some students asked to complete the survey despite not having obtained parental consent, which was allowed for the sake of the students' interest in the research, but these data were not used. Once all surveys had been completed, they were matched with the consent forms and stored in a secure location, only accessible to the researcher. Personal data of the participants were anonymised before they were entered onto a database and electronic files were encrypted.

5.0 Methods

5.1 The survey:

The survey is divided into three parts. Part 1 is a General Information Questionnaire (GIQ), Part 2 is a Language Proficiency Questionnaire (LPQ), and Part 3 is a Language Usage and Attitudes Questionnaire (LUAQ). These instruments were designed to obtain a better picture of the language history of the students, the range of languages spoken amongst the respondents, an indication of HLS' proficiencies in the languages other than English (LOE), patterns of usage, dominance, and attitudes towards HLs. The following section provides a more detailed description of the instruments.

5.1.1 Part 1 - General Information Questionnaire (GIQ)

The GIQ (Appendix 7) was designed to obtain a language history of the participant. The questionnaire consists of biographical questions including age, gender and ethnic

category, and whether the respondent speaks a LOE outside of school. After discussion with teachers in the schools, the description 'other language' was chosen to word the question, over 'mother tongue' or 'first language', to enable understanding that the questionnaire is not asking about the language the respondent is most proficient in, nor the ML the respondent is learning at school, but whether they speak a LOE in the home, with family, with friends or in a religious setting. If the answer to this question is 'Yes', the respondent is asked to write the language down and this is then considered the HL. They are informed that the language that they have written down is the language to be considered when asked about 'the other language' further on in the survey. The GIQ also asks whether the respondent was born in the UK, parents' length of residence, whether the respondent has attended schooling in the HL, who the respondent lives with, family occupations and who speaks the HL in the household. The purpose of including these questions is to examine the range of individual circumstances within the group. This data was intended to then allow for analysis of how these factors might impact on, or predict, HL proficiency and attitudes towards the HL.

5.1.2 Part 2 - Language Proficiency Questionnaire (LPQ)

The Language Proficiency Questionnaire (LPQ) (Appendix 8) is designed to gather data to provide an idea of how 'alive' HLs are amongst the sample. Having an awareness of students' competencies in the HL can be beneficial when designing and predicting how students may respond to plurilingual approaches in the classroom, sourcing materials to supplement curriculum resources in multiple languages and considering the potential for students to prepare to sit exams in heritage languages,

which are sat by 30,00 students yearly, a small number, considering the number of bilingual students within the cohorts (Global Future 2020).

Studies which look at competencies in the non-dominant language, commonly employ tasks such as cloze texts, grammaticality judgement tasks, and native speaker judgments of free speech extracts. Due to the range of languages expected in the participant pool, the design could not include such measures for all the languages that might possibly appear. Self-report measures can be applied to the many different languages that a sample of a population would be expected to have acquired. Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong (2014) advocate self-evaluations citing ample evidence supporting the ability of bilinguals to assess their language experience and language abilities such as Bairstow et al (2014), whose study on bilingual memory revealed a positive correlation between results on a self-evaluation task alongside a translation recognition task. Self-report assessment tools take less time to complete than linguistically objective tasks, they are easier to interpret, no specialised training is required to administer them (Gertken et al 2014:213) they are economical in terms of time, resources and materials and they can promote learner awareness (Brown, Dewey and Cox 2014). Clark (1982) advocates the can-do statement technique as one for which respondents provide disinterested and objective information.

Of particular relevance to the context of the HLS participants in this study, is the argument for self-rating methods being more effective in representing the kinds of language-use that the participant might encounter in real-life situations than major available language skills tests (Clark 1981:25-26). A consideration in planning self-appraisal scales is avoidance of complicated wording and linguistic terminology that

could be difficult for respondents to understand and react to properly, and promotion of situation-orientated behavioural descriptions, particularly for speaking proficiency, steering clear of linguistically-orientated statements in order to achieve a 'pure' measure of communicative or receptive proficiency (Clark 1981: 29). A successful example of clarity in self-rated measures is Yağmur's adaptation of Clark's (1981) self-rating scale for speaking by changing some wording and subject matter. Subjects were asked to rate their speaking proficiency on a variety of topics such as the days of the week, asking for directions, describing jobs, and describing the role of parliament. A self-rating scale for listening skills was also devised, containing tasks such as understanding simple day-to-day talk, comprehending jokes and ironies, and comprehending indirect messages (Yağmur 1997:123-124). Keijzer (2007:179) ensured positive phrasing of can-do statements and exclusion of linguistic jargon and complex syntactic constructions from the formulation of the statements. With regards to validity of the measure, a factor analysis was carried out on Yağmur's (1997) self-rating task, revealing a one factor solution, and a reliability analysis indicated a reliable scale. Schmid (2014) used a self-rating task which correlated strikingly with a C-Test score of the same populations. Brown et al (2014) conducted a study on the reliability of a retrospective can-do self-assessment instrument and found that it was internally reliable. Keijzer's (2007) findings support the claim that can-do scales are 'reasonable' indicators of language proficiency in attriters.

All the questions on the LPQ follow the same format by starting with 'I can' (See Appendix 2). It contains 58 items in total, 23 items relating to English language proficiency and 35 items relating to LOE proficiency. The LOE is referred to as 'my other language' in the questionnaire, for ease of understanding. The reason for the

disparity in the number of questions for English and LOE is because in the pilot study, many items were answered in the same way due to the basic nature of the situation, so only the items which showed some variance in results were maintained. The can-do statements specify a certain language-use activity and ask the informant to indicate the ease with which they can carry out the task in the target language. The questionnaire avoids statements which may affect respondents emotionally, such as whether they can communicate with their grandparents, or whether they can translate for family members. Additionally, avoidance of complicated wording and linguistic terminology that could be difficult for respondents was adhered to, in order for the participants to understand and react properly. The questionnaire is divided into four language skills – reading, writing, speaking and listening. In each section, the situations increase in linguistic difficulty. For example, the speaking section begins with the statement ‘I can use single words and name objects in my other language’ and ends with the statement ‘I can defend myself in an argument or a debate in my other language’. Each can-do statement is worth 4 points and total LOE proficiency scores are made up of an accumulation of these points. The maximum English proficiency score is therefore 92 and the maximum LOE proficiency score is 140.

5.1.3 Part 3 - Language Usage and Attitudes Questionnaire (LUAQ):

The main aim of the LUAQ (Appendix 9) is to obtain data relating to language dominance and language attitudes. Together, the proficiency data from the LPQ, information on frequency of use and attitudes towards the HL, which have been recorded as factors which impact on HL repertoires (Kopte and Schmid 2004), can inform practitioners how students may respond to plurilingual approaches in the classroom. As well as usage and attitudes being indicative of likely levels of

proficiency, an assessment of a participant's language dominance may also be an interesting factor to consider when thinking about how, when and where to intervene educationally in endeavours to promote HL development and maintenance. The language dominance section, designed with a view to gather data which paints a picture of how much the HLs feature in the lives of the students and in which domains, is intended to enable insights into how plurilingual tasks might be inserted into curricula, and which resources might lend themselves to being translated.

Conceptualizing dominance, Gertken et al (2014) highlight the complicated nature of the definition due to the many dimensions and dynamics of bilingualism. In comparison to *proficiency*, dominance can be described as conceptually distinct in that the construct itself derives from having two languages in one mind (Grosjean 1998 in Gertken et al 2014:211) and involves the relationship between competencies in both languages making it relativistic in comparison to proficiency, which can be measured in a monolingual context. Dominance may shift over time, for example an immigrant's second language can come to be the most used language, even if it remains the least proficient language (Harris et al 2006:264 in Gertken et al 2014:211). Harris et al (2006:264 in Gertken et al 2014:211) describe language dominance as a reference to 'which language is generally accessible in day-to-day life. It is the language that is most highly activated and can be the default language for speaking and thinking'. According to Grosjean's complementarity principle a bilingual's fluency will be impacted upon by the range of domains in which the languages are involved.

The dominance score was worked out by scoring each domain individually and dividing the total score to obtain a dominance score. This means that if a respondent

answered '100% other language' to many items, they would have a high dominance score, as it indicates that the LOE is used as the dominant language in a high number of different situations. The questions in this section are adapted from the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) (Birdsong, Gertken and Amengual 2012) which aims to gather information about the functional language abilities of bilinguals. This has been extended to work/studies, home, family, shopping, leisure, administrative matters, holidays, clothes, sports, transportation, health, and politics. There are 28 domains covered and two questions asked per domain. Firstly, the respondent is asked about how often they speak about the domain, ranging from 'daily' to 'very rarely', and secondly, they are asked which language they use to speak about the domain, ranging from 100% English to 100% other language. A respondent's dominance score is calculated by adding up all of his or her scores on each domain and dividing this by the number of domains; 28. The scale was 1-6, 1 indicates the students uses 100% English to talk about that domain and 6 indicates 100% use of HL. The higher the score, the more dominant in the HL the respondent is. This data was also used to look at the scores of each domain. For this, all students' scores were added up for each domain and the total was divided by the total number of respondents.

The last section of the LUAQ is the attitudes section (unchanged from BLP) which provides data on the degree to which participants; feel like themselves when speaking each language, identify with cultures that speak each language and rate the importance of using each language like a native speaker.

6.0 Results

The first part of the results section sets out the range of biographical circumstances within the group.

6.1 Distribution of English monolinguals and speakers of a HL

The number of participants who self-reported to speak a HL is shown below. This data is based on responses to question 6 on the GIQ which asks respondents to choose from two options which describe their other language. One option describes the situation of someone who knows a LOE outside of school and the other option describes the situation of someone who does not know a LOE but learns a language at school (See Appendix 7). Both options require the respondent to state the LOE. The question was designed this way in order to separate the bilinguals from the monolingual English foreign language learners in the participant pool. Pupils who answered as knowing a LOE outside of school are categorised in the data as heritage language speakers (HLS).

	Total	HLS Total	% HLS
School A	82	45	54.9%
School B	87	54	62.1%
School C	54	41	75.9%
Full sample	223	140	62.8%

Table 3 HLS respondents per school

Of the 223 pupils surveyed, 62.8%, (140 pupils) self-reported to speak a language other than English (LOE) and are considered to be HLSs. Since HLSs are the main focus of this paper, the following data will refer only to this group of respondents from the total sample.

6.2 Language distribution

A total of 40 languages other than English were identified. The top 8, used by 63.8% of the pupils in the sample, were Arabic (7), Bengali (16), French (10), Gujarati (15), Turkish (15), Twi (5), Urdu (13) and Yoruba (9). There are 10 languages that are represented by 4 or fewer respondents and 22 languages which are only represented by one speaker (See Appendix 10 for full language distribution).

6.3 Ethnic group distribution

The ethnic category that HLS participants self-reported to identify as is shown in Table 4. This data is based on responses to question 5 on the GIQ.

Ethnic group	Distribution
Asian or Asian British	38.3%
Black African	12.1%
Black British	9.2%
Black Caribbean	1.4%
Mixed	9.9%
Other	14.2%
White British	3.5%
White European	11.3%
Total	100.0%

Table 4 *Ethnic group distribution*

The most represented ethnic group in the HLS sample is Asian or Asian British, followed by Other, then Black African. It is likely that the category which identifies as 'Other' is predominantly represented by Turkish speakers, as with census data reports.

6.4 Place of birth:

Born in the UK	Born outside of the UK
84.1% (N.117)	15.8% (N.22)

Table 5 *Place of birth distribution*

The majority of the respondents were born in the UK.

6.5 Parents' place of birth:

Born in the UK	Born outside of the UK	Combination of both
17.4% (N.24)	70.3% (N.97)	12.3% (N.17)

Table 6 *Parents' place of birth distribution*

The majority of parents were born outside of the UK.

6.6 Parents' length of residence

While many respondents did not know how long their parents had lived in the UK, amongst the 80 respondents who gave an estimation of their parents' length of residence in the UK, the average time was 17.7 years.

6.7 Schooling in the HL

Reported schooling in the HL	No reported schooling in the HL
35.7% (N.50)	64.3% (N.90)

Table 7 *Schooling in the HL distribution*

The majority of respondents had not attended schooling in the HL. For those that had, the comments about HL schooling included a range of HL school settings such as 'a school in France during a 1-year residence and Saturday school in the UK', 'A Vietnamese Sunday school', 'Attended school in Poland', and 'Arabic school (Mosque)'.

6.8 Household data

The average number of people in a respondent's household was 2.8. 100% reported living with a mother, 76.4 % with a father, 83.6 % with siblings and 10% with 'other' (including grandparents, aunts, uncles).

6.9 Household occupations

Occupation category	Distribution (mothers)	Distribution (fathers)
Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	14.3 %	15.7%
Intermediate occupations	22.9%	7.1%
Small employers and own account workers	4.3%	6.4%
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	3.6%	20.7%
Semi-routine and routine occupations	10.7%	4.3%
Unemployed	5.7%	2.1%
Student	2.1%	0.0%
Employed No information	5.0%	2.1%
No information	28.6%	38.6%

Table 8 Household occupation distribution

While the most common occupation amongst mothers was intermediate occupations, the most common amongst fathers was lower supervisory and technical occupations. The majority of siblings were full time students and all the occupations of 'others' in the household were recorded as 'no information' other than two recorded as 'intermediate occupations'.

6.10 HL Household speakers

The data in Figure 1 refer to HL usage with members of the household in response to question 12 on the GIQ: 'Who speaks your other language in your household'?

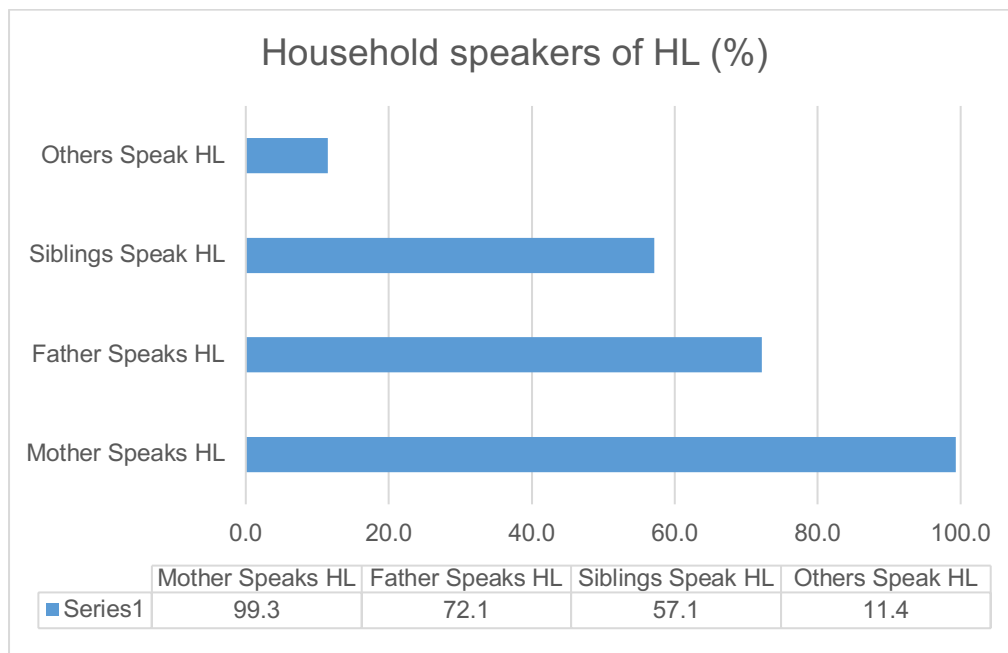


Figure 1 Household speakers of HL

In almost all cases, respondents indicated that their mothers use the HL at home. There was also a high number of fathers that speak the HL in the home considering that only 76.4% of the respondents reported living with their father. 83.6% of respondents reported having siblings in the household, making a figure of 57.1% of respondents reporting speaking in the HL with siblings rather low.

6.10.1 Household speakers of HL by language group

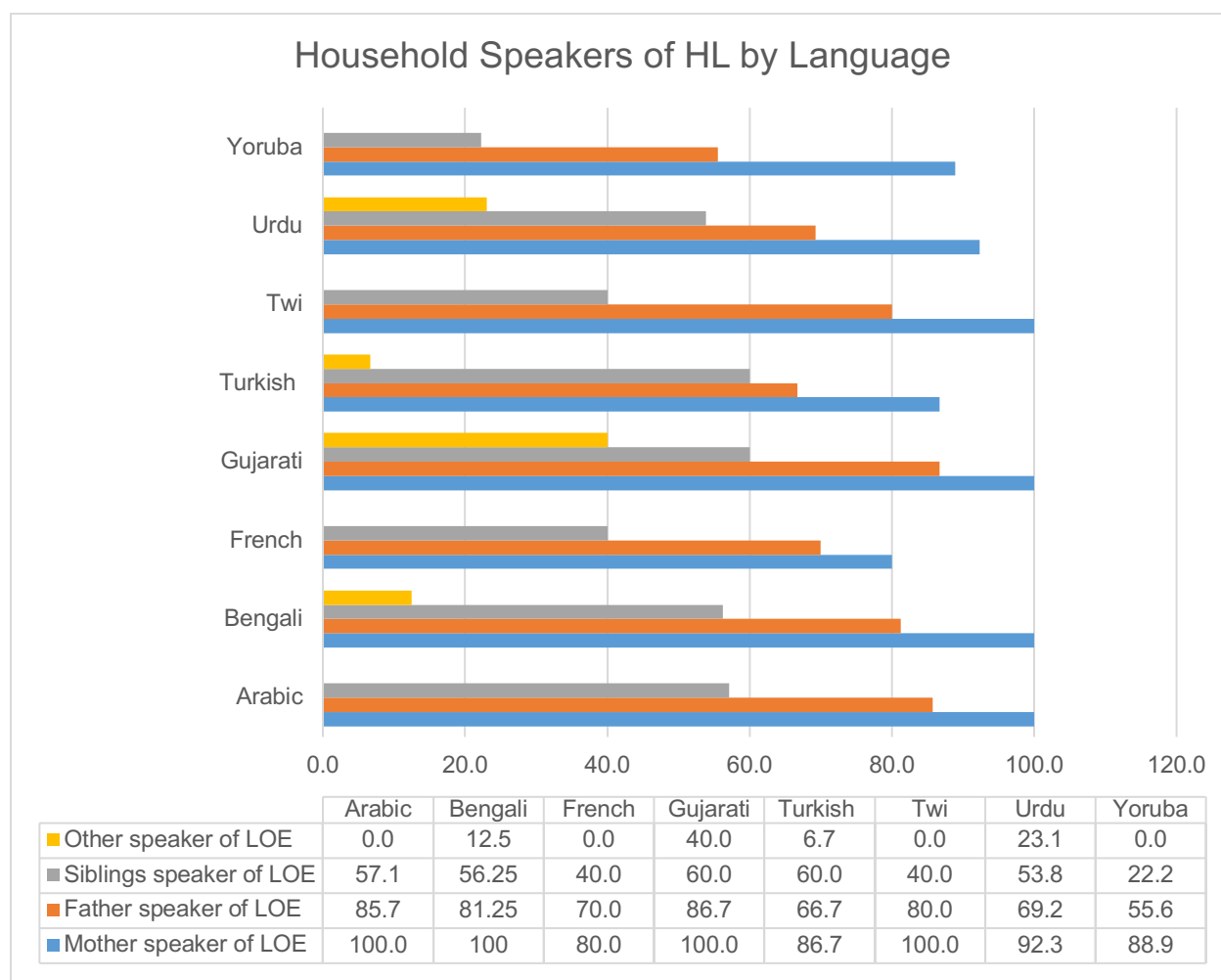


Figure 2 Household speakers of HL by language (%)

When separated by language group, there are similarities between groups, with all languages being spoken predominantly by the mother in the household. On average, 93% of the speakers of the top 8 languages reported speaking the HL with their mothers and 74% with fathers. For siblings, this went down to 49%. The only language group which reported a particularly lower number of siblings speaking the language in

the household was Yoruba. Gujarati stands out as the language group for which most respondents recorded speaking with an 'other' in the household.

6.11 Dominance

Dominance was analysed in three ways. Firstly, by individual respondents' mean dominance scores, secondly by average dominance scores by language, and thirdly by overall scores for each context.

6.11.1 Distribution of mean dominance scores

Figure 3 shows the range of dominance scores. While they are highly varied from one student to another, there is a higher density within the scores of 1-3. The average score within the group was 2.35, indicating a tendency to use 60%-80% English on most domains. There are 3 students who score between 6-7, indicating a very low number of students who report using the HL 80%-100% of the time for most domains.

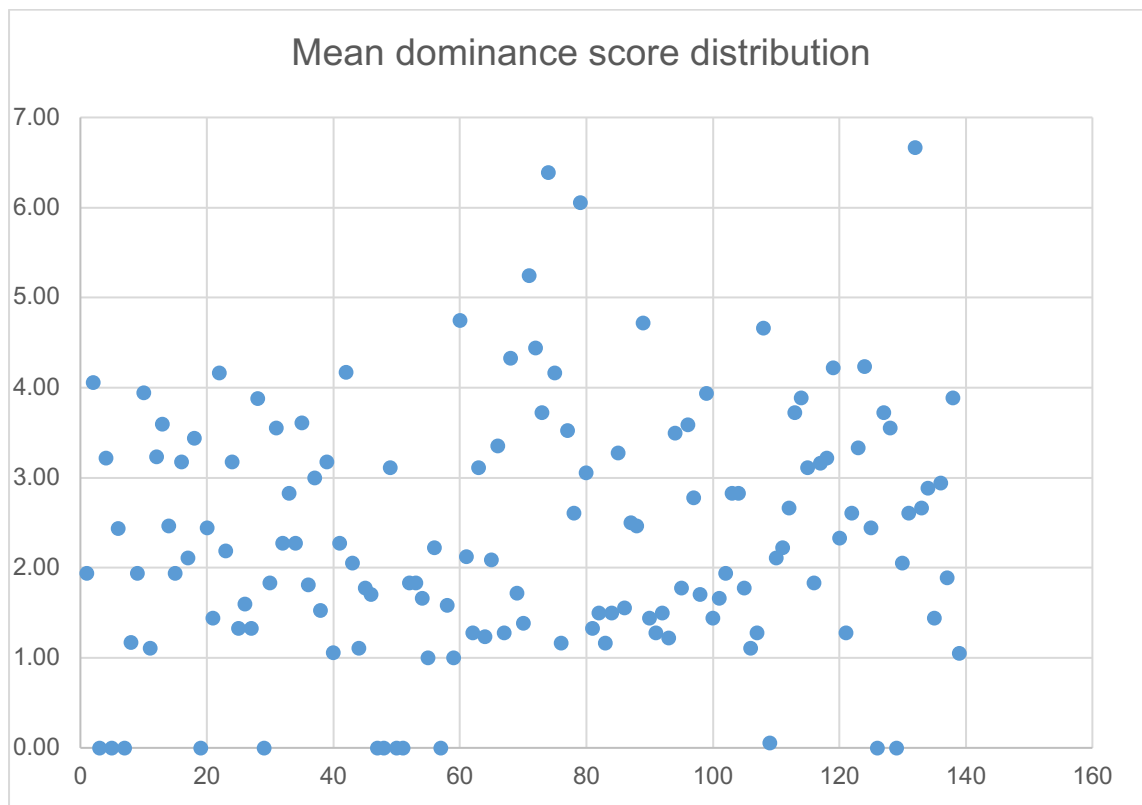


Figure 3 Mean dominance score by individual respondent

6.11.2 Mean dominance by language

Although domains in which speakers are dominant differ greatly between individuals, as each speaker has a different experience of the HL, patterns may be found when dominance is looked at by language.

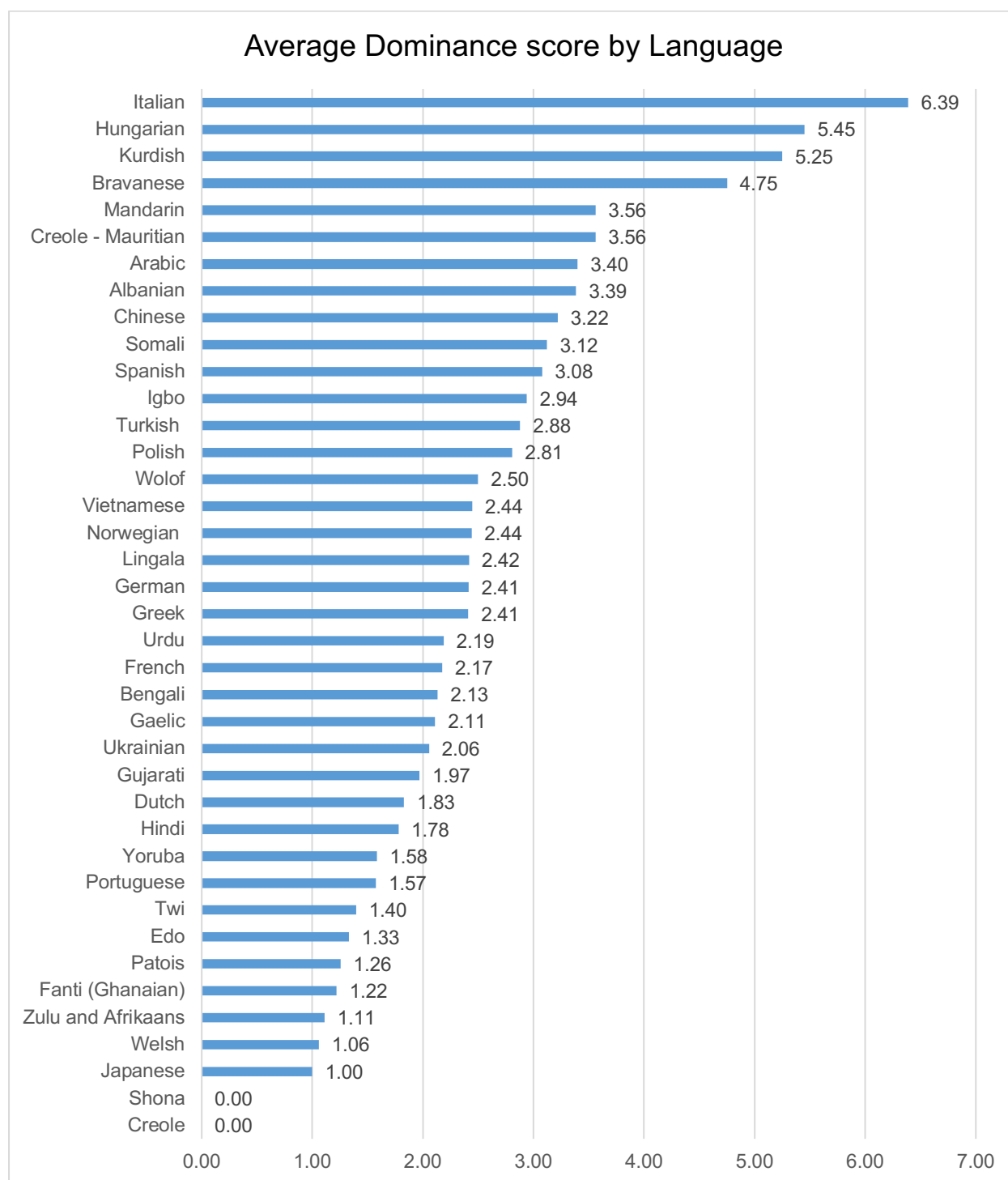


Figure 4 Mean dominance score by language

Language dominance is relatively low amongst most languages, however some stand out as higher such as Italian, Hungarian, Kurdish and Bravanese (Barawa). If languages are grouped regionally, some difference can be noted. Languages from

Caribbean countries are representative of the least LOE dominance (1.5), followed by languages from African countries (2.0), then languages from Asian countries (2.3). Speakers of languages from European countries on average have a dominance score of 2.8 and speakers of languages from Middle Eastern countries have the highest average at 4.3 (a score of 7 would mean total HL dominance in all contexts).

6.11.3 Mean dominance by language context

The data below shows the mean dominance score for each context outlined.

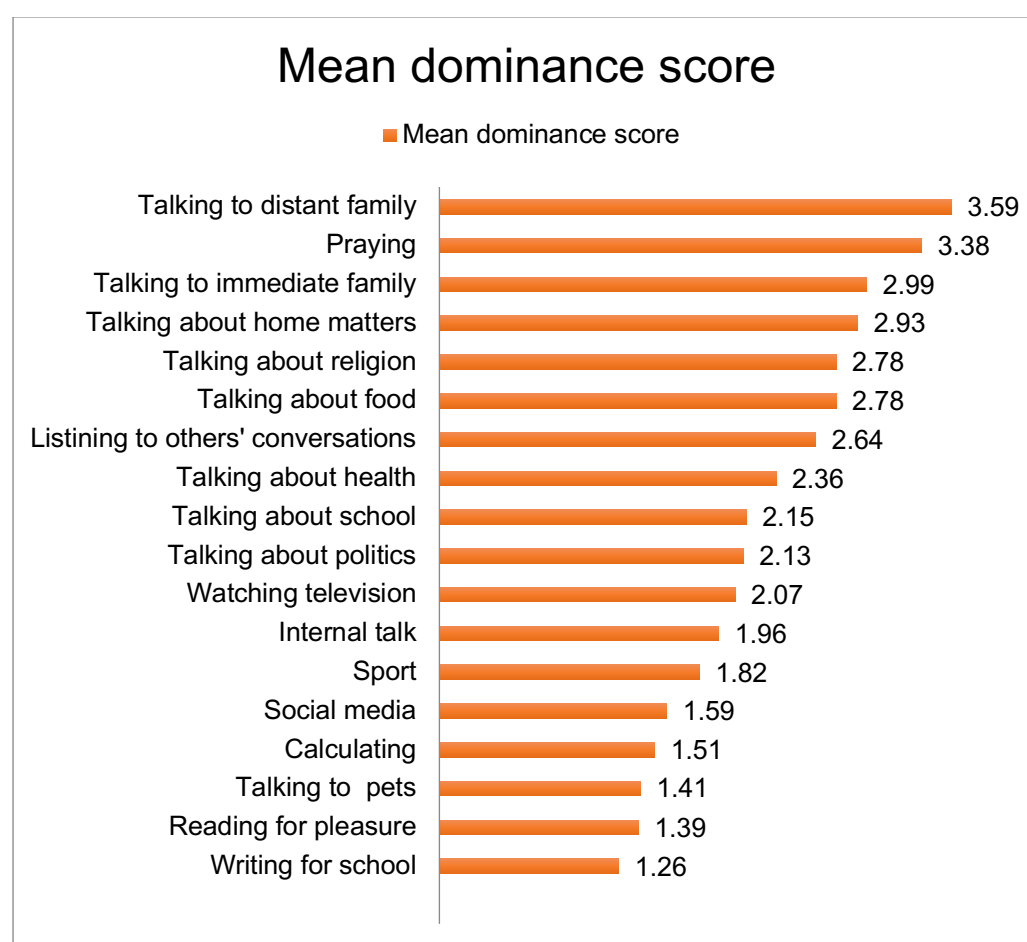


Figure 5 Mean dominance score by context

No singular language domains stand out as exceptionally high, but there are some domains which are reported to involve more use of the HL. These include praying and talking to distant and immediate family. Amongst the domains which are on average between 2-3 points, therefore indicating around 40% activity in the HL, are listening in to other people's conversations, watching TV, talking about religion, talking about health, food, home matters and talking to immediate family. The domains which respondents scored low on dominance in the HL are; reading for pleasure, writing for school, and sport – three activities which are often related to school settings.

6.12 Attitudes

6.12.1 Overall attitudes to the HL and English

Overall, scores on attitudes towards English indicated more positive attitudes, however, attitudes towards the HL were not far behind and when it came to identifying with the culture of the language, attitudes towards the HL and English were equally positive on average (Table 9). A score of 1 meant the respondent strongly agreed with the statement and a score of 6 meant that the respondent strongly disagreed.

	I feel like myself when I speak the language	I identify with the culture of the language	It is important to me to speak the language like a native speaker	Overall Ave
HL	2.4	2.2	2	2.2
English	1.8	2.2	1.7	1.9

Table 9 Mean attitude score by question

6.12.2 Attitudes to the HL by most common languages in the sample

When focussing on the languages which were most strongly represented in the sample (Figure 6), French and Turkish were the languages for which scores indicated the most positive attitudes and Twi was the language which respondents least agreed that they felt like themselves when speaking the language. On average however, scores were generally 2 or below, indicating relatively positive attitudes towards the HL.

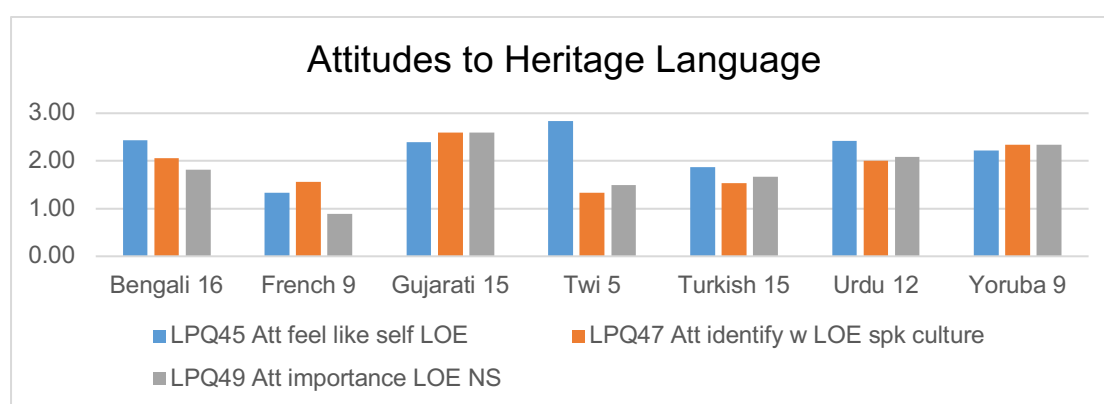


Figure 6 Attitudes to HL in most common HLs

6.12.3 Mean attitude scores by all languages in the sample

When all languages are looked at, there are a number of languages which respondents rate quite low on the attitude statements (Figure 7). The lowest is Patois, with an average score that indicates that the respondent(s) did not agree that the language was important to them. Of the 10 languages which score higher than 2, indicating highly positive attitudes, 7 were European. Of the 8 languages that scored higher than 3, indicating less positive attitudes, 5 were African.

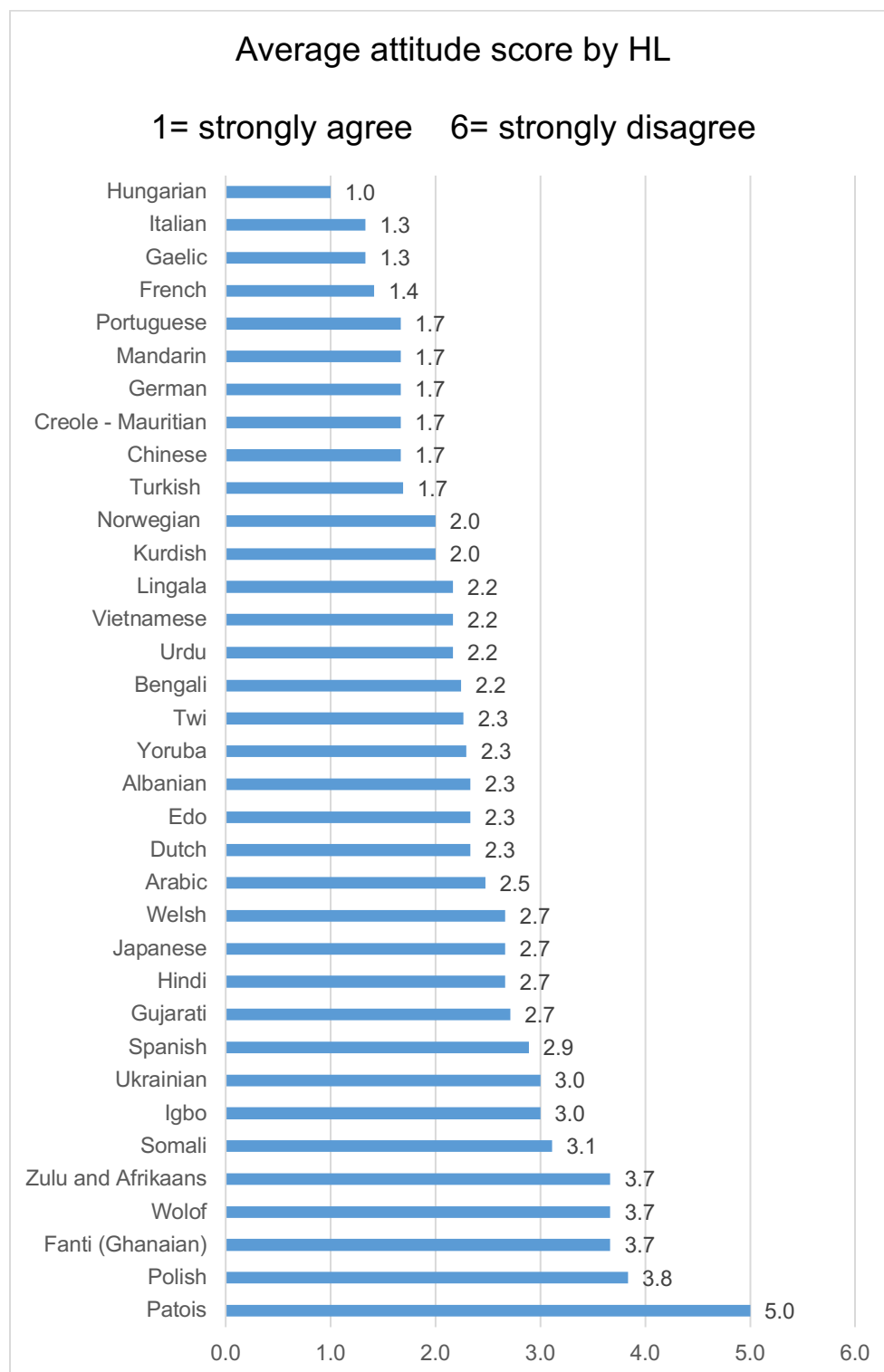


Figure 7 Average attitude score by language

6.13 Heritage language proficiency

6.13.1 Mean HL proficiency score by respondent

The range in self-rated proficiency is shown in the data in Figure 8 in the form of mean score per respondent. Although there is high variability in the proficiency scores amongst the sample, the mean self-rated proficiency score was 72.4% (101.2 out of a total score of 140), indicating a relatively high score collectively. The X axis is the participant number and the Y axis is the proficiency score.

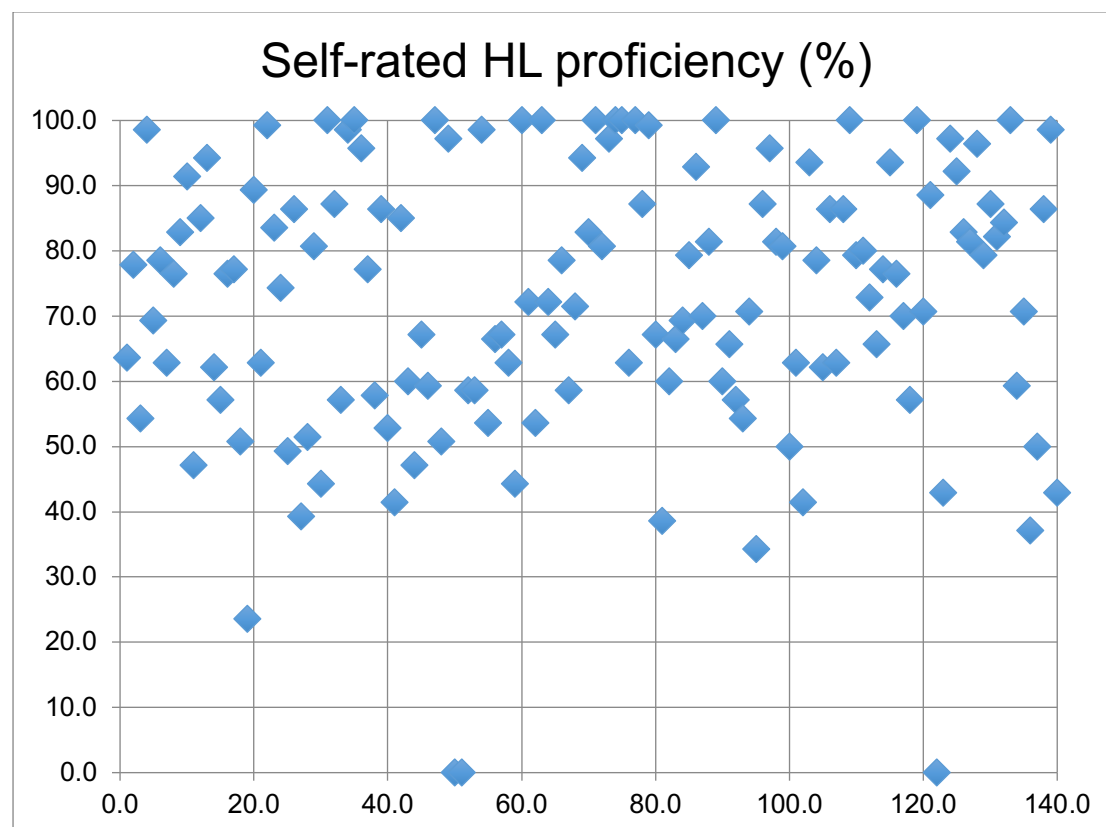


Figure 8 Range of proficiency

When grouped by skills, the average listening score was higher than the reading score and respondents rated themselves higher on speaking skills than on writing skills, but there is still a high level of variation across the board. Listening and speaking rarely

reach below the 40% mark whereas reading and writing are more likely to be scored low.

6.13.2 Mean HL proficiency score by language

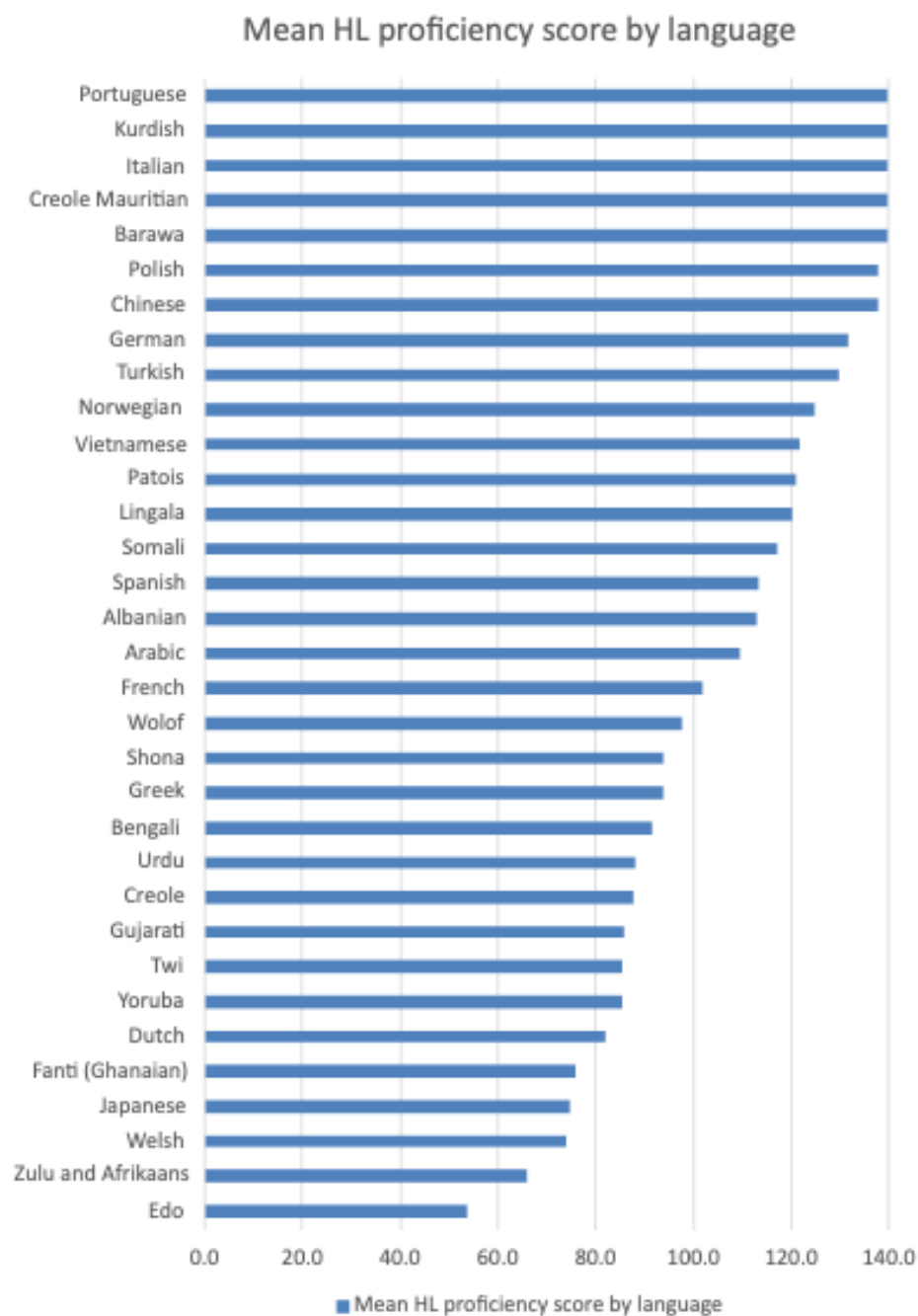


Figure 9 Mean HL proficiency scores by language

Speakers of Portuguese, Kurdish, Italian, Mauritian Creole, Barawa and Polish rated themselves the highest collectively. Those who rated themselves the lowest (below 80) were speakers of Fanti, Japanese, Welsh, Zulu and Afrikaans, and Edo .

6.14 Relationships between characteristics and HL proficiency

The following set of results will look at the relationships between the measures presented above in order to examine any relationships between the factors.

6.14.1 Ethnic group and HL proficiency

Ethnicity	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
Asian or Asian British	91.9	53
Black African	101.6	17
Black British	77.7	13
Black Caribbean	121.0	2
Mixed	107.4	14
Other	122.4	20
White British	99.2	5
White European	116.6	16

Table 10 Mean HL proficiency scores by ethnicity

The ethnic group with the highest mean proficiency score was 'Other', closely followed by 'Black Caribbean'. The ethnic group which scored the lowest on mean proficiency was 'Black British'. It is interesting to note the largest ethnic group; 'Asian or Asian British' has a relatively low mean proficiency score.

6.14.2 Age and HL proficiency

Age	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
11	103.8	25
12	94.4	53
13	97.7	17
14	98.3	8
15	111.2	37

Table 11 Mean HL proficiency scores by age

Mean LOE proficiency was highest amongst respondents aged 11 and those aged 15.

6.14.3 Gender and HL proficiency

Gender	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
Female	106.0	106
Male	85.2	34

Table 12 Mean HL proficiency scores by gender

Girls had a mean proficiency score of 106.0 compared with 85.2 amongst male respondents.

6.14.4 HL Schooling and HL proficiency

HL Schooling	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
No attendance	93.6	90
Attendance	114.7	50

Table 13 Mean HL proficiency scores by HL schooling

Those who reported attendance at a HL school had a higher mean proficiency score at 114.7

6.14.5 Place of birth and HL proficiency

Place of Birth	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
UK	97.5	117
Outside of the UK	119.9	23

Table 14 Mean HL proficiency scores by place of birth

Those born outside of the UK had a higher mean proficiency at 119.8, 20 points above the average score.

6.14.6 Mother's occupation and HL proficiency

Mother's occupation	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	102.9	20
Intermediate occupations	98.156	32
Small employers and own account workers	106.7	6
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	76.8	5
Semi-routine and routine occupations	103.7	15
Unemployed	97.5	8
Student	123.7	3
Employed No information	119.0	8
No information	99.5	43

Table 15 Mean HL proficiency scores by mother's occupation

Those with the highest mean proficiency were those whose mothers were reported to be students. Those who reported mothers' occupations to be 'lower supervisory and technical occupations' scored the lowest mean collectively.

6.14.7 Parents' place of birth and HL proficiency

Parents' place of birth	Mean HL Proficiency score	N
UK	86.2	24
Outside of the UK	105.2	97
Mix	99.7	17

Table 16 Mean HL proficiency scores according to parents' place of birth

There is a large difference between the mean proficiency scores of the respondents whose parents were born in the UK and those whose were not, the latter being accompanied by a higher HL proficiency.

6.14.8 Household usage and HL proficiency

The majority of respondents reported speaking the HL in the household with the mother but this was more mixed on speaking to the father. The mean proficiency score of the 46 respondents who said that they did not speak the HL with their father was 97.7 whereas the mean proficiency score of the 94 respondents who reported speaking the HL with a father was higher at 103.4. In terms of HL usage with siblings, the mean proficiency score of the 68 respondents who reported that they didn't speak the HL with siblings was 96.7 whereas the mean proficiency score of the 72 who reported speaking the HL with siblings was higher at 106.2.

6.15 Relationships between dominance and HL proficiency

When data on all domains measured is looked at together, the trend shows that where pupils report using the 100% HL use in some domains, higher mean proficiency of the respondents also occurs. The data below shows a number of language domains that have stood out in the section above. The data shows the individual language domain and the mean proficiency scores of the respondents, listed by how they scored on HL dominance in the situation.

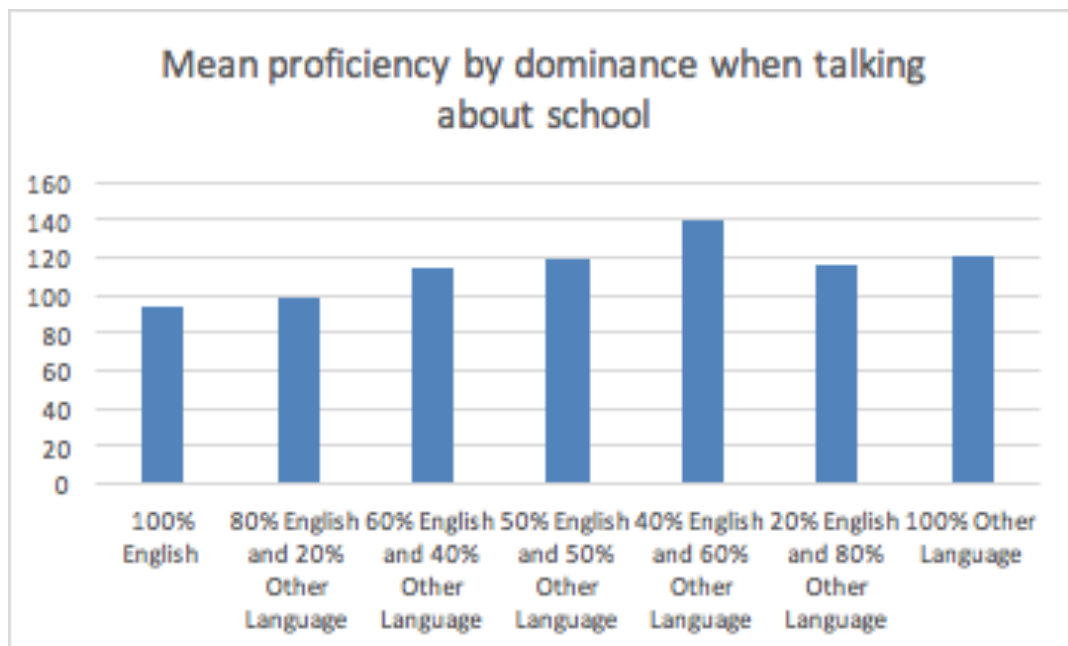


Figure 10 Mean HL proficiency score by dominance when talking about school

The majority of the respondents reported a relatively low use of the HL when talking about school and a minority reported using more than 50% HL for this context. The mean HL proficiency scores when separated by dominance show that those that use the HL to talk about school have higher proficiency scores than those who talk about school predominantly in English.

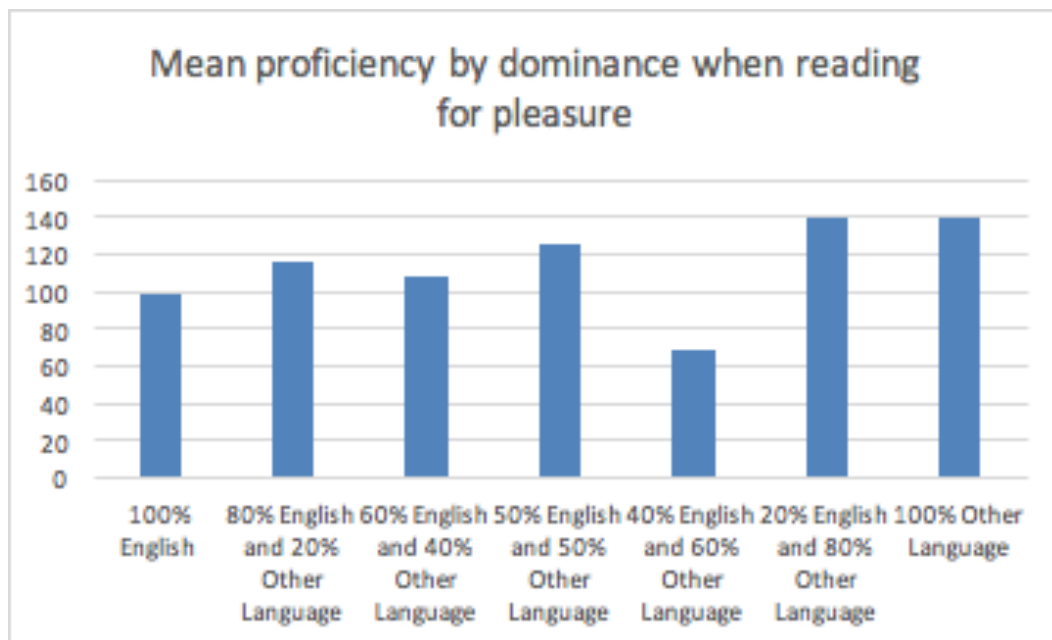


Figure 11 Mean HL proficiency score by dominance in reading for pleasure

The higher mean HL proficiency scores are amongst those who reported reading for pleasure more often in the HL. However, the lowest dominance score in this context is not represented by the lowest HL proficiency score, showing again that the range of factors that affect HL proficiency is wide and varies from speaker to speaker.

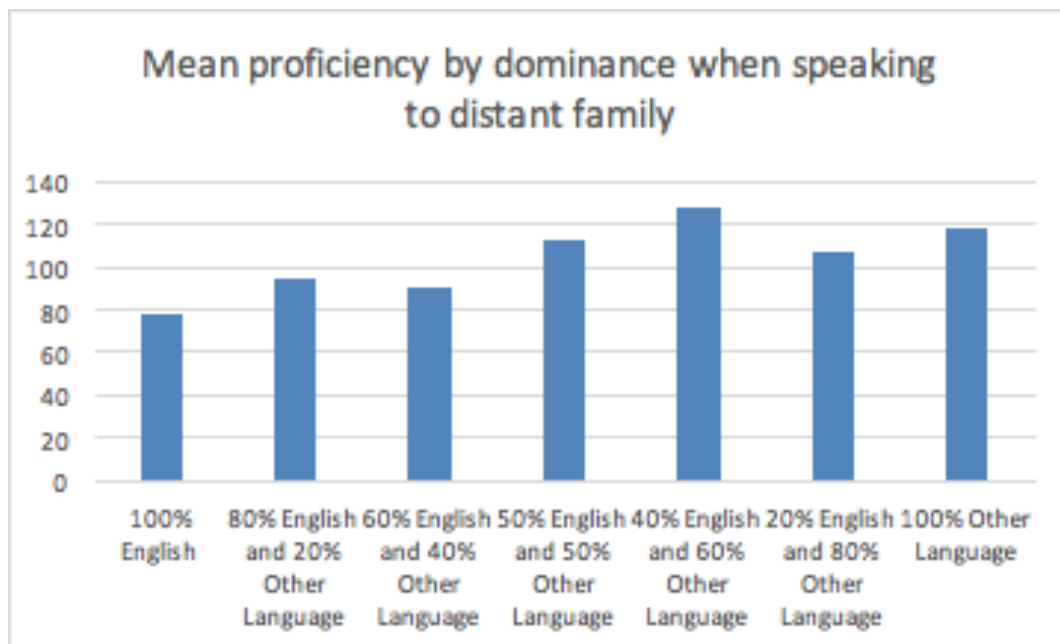


Figure 12 Mean HL proficiency score by dominance in speaking to distant family

While there is a clear difference in proficiency between those who reported to speak to distant family primarily in English and those who predominantly use the HL to speak to distant family, the highest proficiency score is amongst those who report using the HL only 60% of the time when speaking to distant relatives. This accounts for 5 participants only and reiterates the importance of the wide range of factors which may determine HL proficiency.

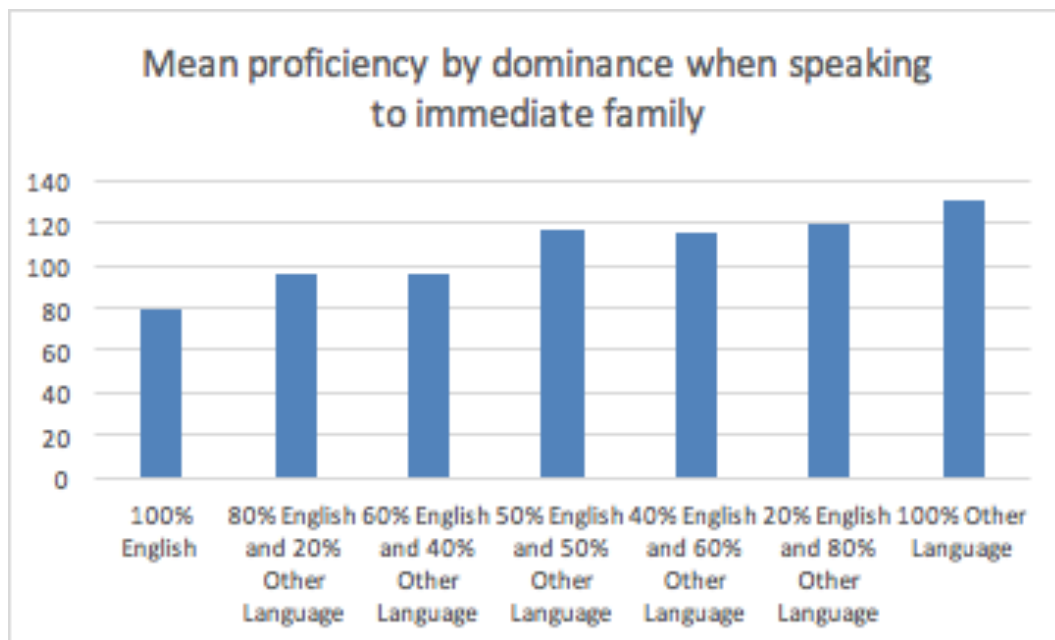


Figure 13 Mean HL proficiency score by dominance in speaking to immediate family

Speaking to immediate family seems to be a good indicator of the mean proficiency of the respondent as this increases as dominance in speaking to immediate family favours the HL.

6.16 Relationships between attitudes and HL proficiency

In general, when comparing proficiency scores and attitude scores, the measures tend to correlate, indicating that a more positive attitude toward the HL will result in stronger development and maintenance of the HL. This is in line with the theory that in the case of HLSs who may have attrited, or may not have reached L1 proficiency or dominance, factors could include attitudes towards the language (Schmid 2002:2). Figures 14-16 show mean proficiency by attitude score on three different questions relating to attitude, visible in the captions.

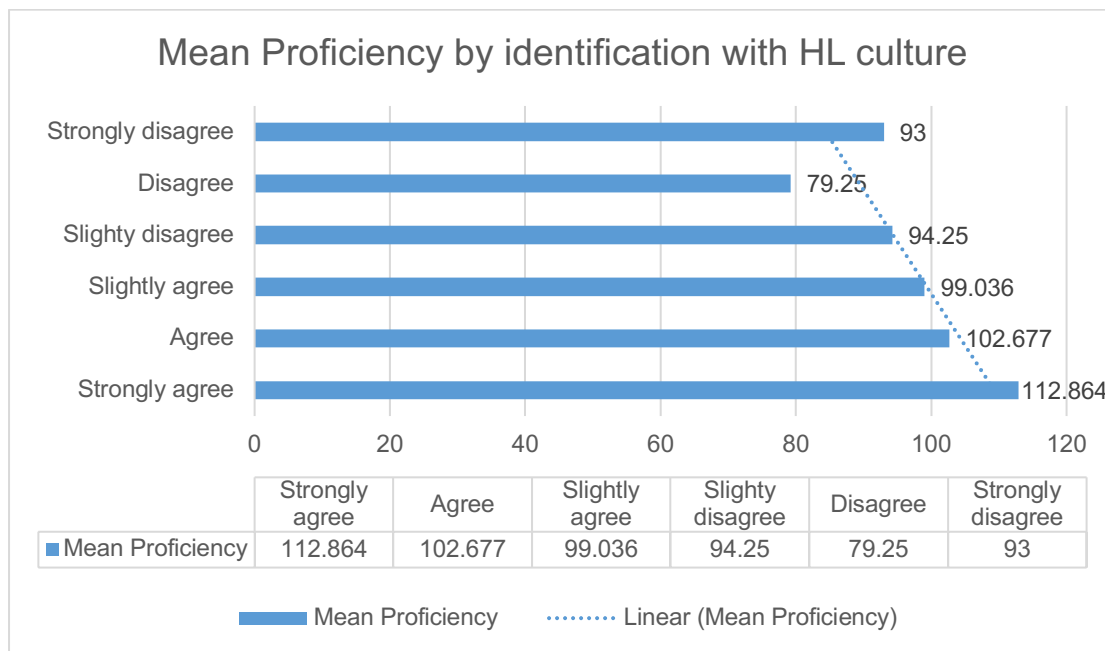


Figure 14 Mean HL proficiency by identification with HL culture

There is a general trend that indicates that the more a respondent identifies with the culture of the HL, the higher their proficiency score is. The respondents who have strongly disagreed do skew the pattern but since we are looking at a mean of 7 respondents, this could have been influenced by a particularly high score of one respondent.

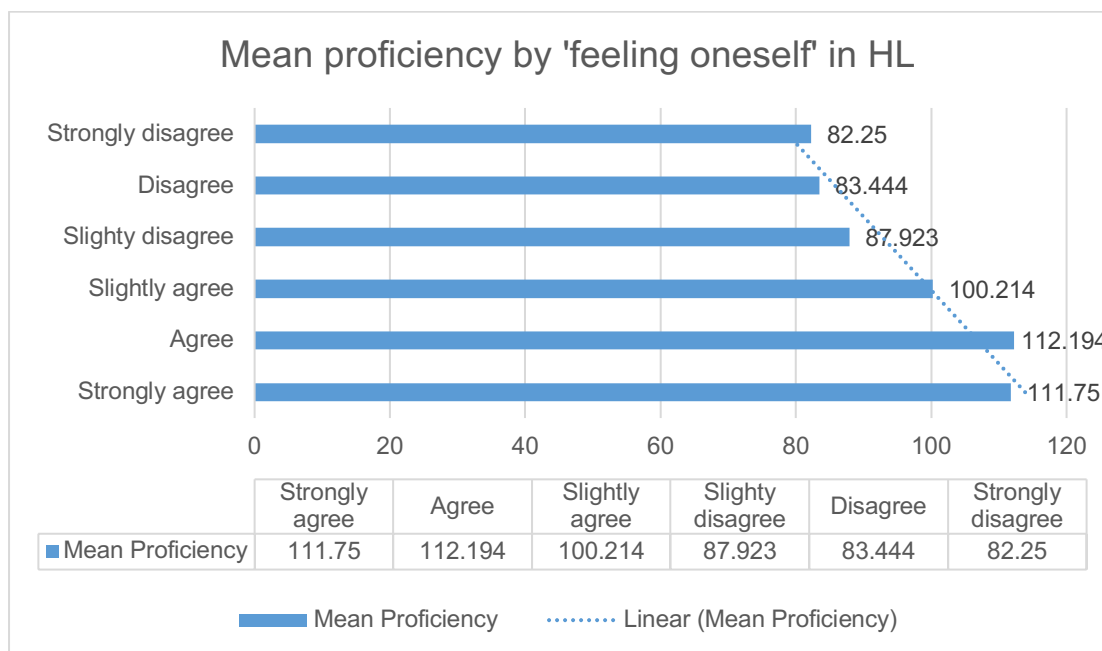


Figure 15 Mean proficiency by 'feeling oneself' in the HL

The trend displayed in Figure 15 indicates a stronger attitude towards 'feeling oneself' when speaking the HL correlates with a higher HL proficiency.

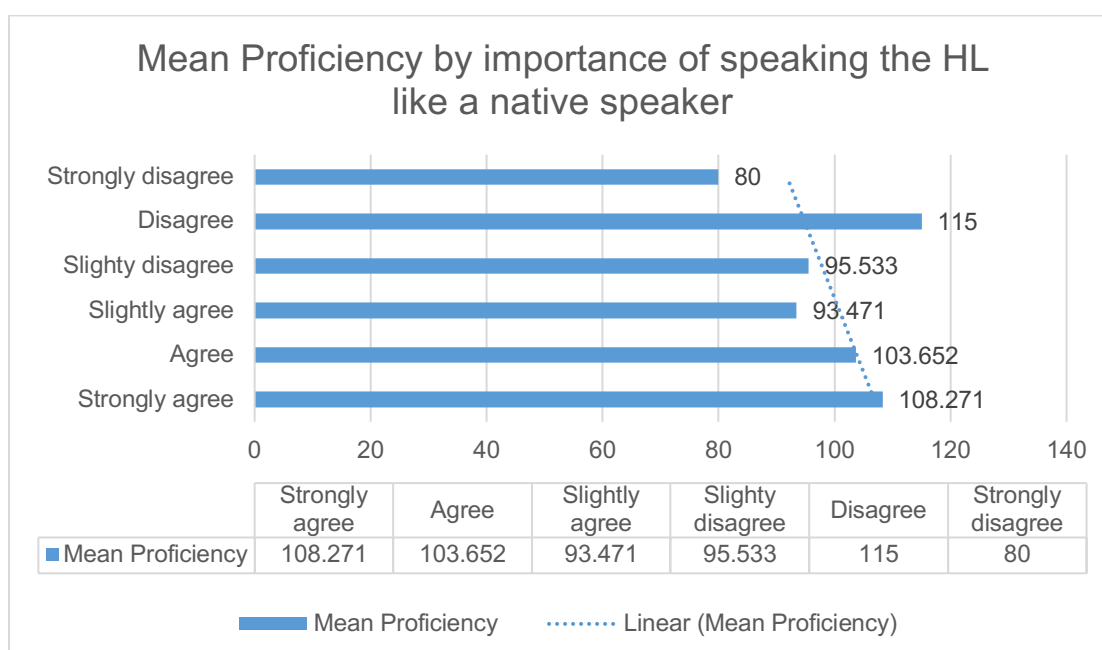


Figure 16 Mean proficiency by importance of speaking the HL like a native speaker

The respondents who consider it important to speak the HL like a native speaker have a higher mean score on average than those who did not agree with the statement. However, there is an interestingly high mean proficiency score for the six students who disagreed with the statement.

7.0 Discussion:

This study sought to find out what linguistic survey data can reveal about the characteristics of HLSs, how analysis of this data can be applied to plurilingual secondary school cohorts, and what the potential benefits of this are. The discussion will focus on the characteristics revealed through the linguistic survey data. Within the discussion, I will highlight ways in which the analysis of the data can be useful to planning in schools and I will conclude with the potential benefits of the survey study on a wider scale.

7.1 Proportions of HLSs

In terms of the proportion of HLSs in the research context, of the 223 respondents surveyed, 140 self-reported speaking a language other than English, representing 62.8% of the respondents. In line with long standing concerns about the misrepresentation of linguistic diversity in official data (Rosen and Burgess 1980, vonAhn et al 2010, Sebba 2017), it was interesting to examine how accurately DfE data represent the linguistic diversity of an inner-city secondary cohort. The data in this study presents a somewhat different picture in comparison to chronologically concurrent school census data nationally which reports that in secondary schools,

16.6% of pupils are exposed to a non-English language in their home (DfE 2018b). While a large difference in comparison with national figures is expected as the LA which serves as the research context is the 6th most ethnically diverse borough in London (Census Information Scheme 2012), when compared with the London figures for the same year, the proportion in this study is 21.4% above the average proportion of students reported to use EAL in London secondary schools, 41.4% (DfE 2018b).

The proportion represented in this data also differs with that of the DfE regarding the number of students who use EAL in the schools in which the research has been carried out, indicating possible discrepancy in official data and data collected by means of the current survey study directly from the pupils. The official data released about the Year 11 cohort which left in 2018 is displayed in Table 17.

	% of sample identified as HLS on the survey	% of school reported EAL (DfE 2018a)	% of pupils in Hightown (LA) whose first language is known or believed to be other than English according to the 2018 Census (DfE 2018a)
School A	54.9%	48%	N/A
School B	62.1%	48.5%	N/A
School C	75.9%	38.2%	N/A
TOTAL	62.8%	44.9%	46.1%

Table 17 Percentages of HLS students according to various samples.

In terms of how far official data truly represent the linguistic repertoires of HLSs of secondary age, the representation is clearly inaccurate because the number of bilinguals in this sample does not correspond to reports from the DfE, data as reported directly from the schools. It is important to recognise that the respondents of the survey are not the same individuals as those in the DfE figures. The sample from the current

study is only a small proportion of the whole cohort in the LA. However, participants from each school have been included in the sample by way of the nature of the methods of recruitment constrained by the research parameters, firstly; by relying on the good will of the class teachers to disseminate parental consent forms and carry out the task in their lesson, and secondly, by the need to obtain written parental consent. On average, each teacher did the task with one or two classes. The classes were given two weeks to hand back individual consent forms. The classes tested ranged in ability and the task information was designed carefully in order not to reveal that the main purpose of the study was to measure proficiency levels of HLSs, in turn preventing differences in levels of interest or compliance from parents of monolingual or multilingual backgrounds. Additionally, the number of students who self-reported as minority ethnic participants in the full sample, 82.9%, corresponds closely with the census data which says that 82.1% of students in Hightown were recorded as minority ethnic students in 2018 (DfE 2018a), indicating that the discrepancy in the numbers of students reported as EAL in the DfE data and HLS in the current data is due to a range of factors rather than solely the different samples.

One reason for this discrepancy could be that the approaches to collecting data on languages are not rigorous enough, indicating that more thorough methods should be employed in order to obtain a clearer picture. Another reason for more students self-reporting as HLS through the survey than there are reported as EAL could also be found in the wording of questions on data sources. As can be seen in Table 17, the sample in the study are considered HLSs. This is because they have self-reported on an individual survey to speak a language other than English, other than the one learned at school. The percentage of whole school reported EAL as of the DfE (2018a)

is collected from the school records which are often passed on from primary school records and may need updating. Given that the EAL definition describes children who speak a language at home other than English, including children who are British citizens who speak another language at home, as well as refugees and migrants, this category could easily apply to someone who considers English to be a first language. The data indicates that due to lack of rigorous approaches to identification of an individual's languages, and wording in questions which is not reflective of the category it is seeking to identify, there is an underrepresentation of the linguistic repertoire of students in the research context. This finding is congruent with past research which highlights disparities in language records (Baker and Eversley 2000).

7.2 Biographical information:

In total, 40 languages were found to be spoken amongst a sample of 223 students in the LA. The range of languages recorded clearly confirms that HLSs and the category 'EAL' is one of a heterogeneous nature. Some pupils had difficulty identifying their languages and used the term 'my language' or a vague category such as 'African', indicating that the range could be wider. This echoes reports that pupils are often unaware of the precise name for the language and refer instead to the country or region, using labels such as 'Afghan' or 'African' (Chlosta et al 2003 in Matras et al 2016:358). The majority of HLSs in the sample were born in the UK but the majority of the HLSs' parents were born elsewhere. This is in line with patterns of migration in the LA and reflects the settled status of many minority language groups in the area, to be expected given the increase in rent and property prices over the last ten years, meaning that it is not an area to which many new migrants arrive currently.

A minority of HLSs in the sample have attended HL schooling but at 35.7%, this is a significant level of attendance and something that schools in the LA should track and engage with, especially since most of this HL schooling was attended locally, indicating attendance at supplementary schools. It is known that supplementary education has a positive impact on educational outcomes for students who use EAL (Evans & Gillan-Thomas 2015) and mainstream schools have a role to play in keeping community language schools a key part of HL speakers' lives. There are common goals between mainstream and supplementary schools, and much to be gained through closer liaison between the two sets of organisations (Strand 2007).

In terms of speakers within the household, this sample shows that HLSs are most likely to speak with their mothers and quite likely to speak the HL with their fathers. 83.6% of respondents reported having siblings in the household, making a figure of 57.1% of respondents reporting speaking in the HL with siblings rather low. While this is in line with research on use of HLs amongst siblings which highlights tendencies and preferences to talk to each other in the majority language (Extra, Yağmur, & Van der Avoird, 2004, Jernigan 2015), it is useful to know that these patterns are apparent among the cohort as it may inform a school's EAL policy in ways such as advising parents to speak to children in the HL where possible and to encourage HL use amongst siblings. The only language group which reported a particularly lower number of siblings speaking the language in the household was Yoruba. One reason for this could be that most Yoruba speaking families also speak English since it is an official language in Nigeria. Gujarati stands out as the language group for which most respondents recorded speaking with an 'other' in the household, which could possibly correspond to a reality of a higher number of elderly members of the family within

households in the Indian community, indicating a higher likelihood of contact with the HL.

Some aspects of the findings are particular to the language such as the notably low usage of Yoruba amongst siblings, which possibly has an impact on the proficiency of the HLSs, indicating the importance of the awareness that bilinguals in a school cohort differ widely from one individual to another and from one language community to another. A certain approach may not work as well with a HLS from one language community as it might with a pupil from another HLS community, posing a question which requires further exploration and would benefit from a qualitative approach to enquiry. An interesting observation is that Yoruba has no reported 'others' in the household, possibly indicative of a smaller age range within the migrant community than Gujarati for example, which relates with the average time of arrival to the UK of these migrant groups.

Analysis of data on parents' occupations suggested that higher level occupations corresponded somewhat with higher HL proficiency. The higher level occupations, indicative of higher levels of education amongst the household members that the respondents spoke the HL with most (eg. mothers) may have some bearing on the HL proficiency of the HLSs (Kopte and Schmid 2004) but also on the language choices the families are likely to make. Research has found that middle class HLSs tended to value HL language skills more than their working class counterparts (Amastae 1982 in Jia 2008:191). Jia (2008) suggests that this difference in values stems from a stronger desire amongst lower class HL speakers to assimilate 'due to a sense of insecurity about their social status' (Jia 2008:191). 'Subsequently', she adds, 'those of

higher [socioeconomic status] with more resources develop a stronger awareness of the importance of heritage culture and language, than those of lower [socioeconomic status]' (Jia 2008:191-192). It is therefore an interesting measure for schools to take when considering how to advise families on their language policies and which language groups certain advice might best be directed to.

7.3 Dominance:

In terms of dominance, the situations in which pupils recorded using the HL most were praying and speaking to distant relatives. This is not surprising as both activities are often closely linked to the HL culturally. The most concerning aspect of the exploration into dominance was that reading for pleasure was amongst the domains in which the pupils were least dominant in the HL. Research tells us that literacy competence has been reported to play a critical role in successful HL maintenance (Kim 2009) and that systematic biliteracy exposure can influence children's sound-to-print associations even in the context of language-specific (monolingual) reading instruction and that educators should encourage and support parents with access to HL reading materials (Kremin, Arredondo, Hsu, Satterfield & Kovelman 2016). Additional to literacy benefits, language proficiency has also been found to be a marker of young people's ethnic identity construction, an element that these findings suggest may not have been given due attention in the research context. This finding is therefore useful in terms of providing a clear indication, in the educational setting, that promotion of HL reading should be prioritised.

No singular language domains stand out as exceptionally high on a dominance score, which is in line with what is expected in a sample of predominantly 2nd, 3rd and 4th

generation students (Valdez 2014). Valdes (2014) observes that high-status language groups generally have access to language use in a number of contexts (e.g., academic, religious, administrative) which indicates that speakers of high-status languages would therefore tend to report higher dominance in situations such as doing schoolwork, praying or talking about health. Tendencies may, however, be led not by traditional status but possibly by numbers of HLSs in the community and the institutional response, such as the extent to which services provide interpretation and translation. Again, the languages which originate from countries in which English is an official language are represented by less dominance such as Yoruba, Twi, Edo, Patois, and Fanti – all languages which originate from countries in which English is a dominant language, indicating that HLSs in these groups may be less engaged in activities which require translation, for example.

The high dominance, which might indicate stronger vitality, represented by speakers of Hungarian could be explained by correlation with the time of immigration of new arrivals from recent EU accession countries (Matras et al 2016). The Kurdish and Bravanese communities have historically been heavily persecuted because of their identities, which may have some bearing on family language choices which favour language loyalty. It does need to be noted, however, that there were few representatives of these languages, so these are speculations rather than theoretical conclusions, which warrant further research. While this data is not drawn from a sample large enough to make wide scale conclusions about the likely vitality of certain language groups, it shows that within schools, a measure can be taken which informs policy and curriculum designers about the languages which are likely to be spoken to a higher degree amongst the students, and therefore which would be useful to

translate documents such as letters home and classroom resources into, for example. The fact that this data corresponds with perceptions of language status is also useful in setting an expectation for schools to target languages other than high-status languages such as French, Spanish and German (which are taught as Modern Languages) when promoting multilingualism and fostering the principle that every language is important.

7.4 Attitudes

The language which scored the lowest attitude score is Patois, with an average score that indicates that the respondents did not agree that the language was important to them. This matches the low dominance score, indicating that there is a link between attitudes and dominance. However, the reasons for which a respondent may not feel themselves when speaking the HL or may not identify with the culture of the HL cannot be attributed to any one factor and differs amongst speakers. While research has shown that emotional detachment due to negative experiences or trauma may be a factor (Schmid 2002), parents' usage and attitude can impact HLS' outlooks as can the attitudes of teachers, classmates and the media. Additionally, the widely varied status of languages can affect attitudes and is dependent on many factors. For example, a language such as Jamaican Patois which develops in diglossic contexts even in Jamaica as well as in an English dominant migration setting, is traditionally viewed as a language for informal purposes only (Marquardt and Dinter 2021) and therefore possibly not considered as important. The teaching of migrant minority languages can sometimes be seen by dominant speakers and by policy makers as an obstacle to integration (Honeyford 1988, Extra and Yağmur 2004a:18) and experiences of children wanting to assimilate into the culture can lead to a rejection of

the home language. Attitudes such as that which agrees that immigration is a threat to national identity and native citizens' livelihoods is another factor, which can affect attitudes towards HLs (Honeyford 1988, Janoskie and Glennie 1995 in Extra and Yağmur 2004a:21).

It is important to note that amongst the languages which were rated average attitude scores of 3 or above, indicating less positive attitudes toward the HL, 5 are languages spoken by Black African speakers. Such a finding for a group of students could indicate that this is an ethnic group that may require more attention in efforts to promote multilingualism more widely in a school. A prioritisation of English over African languages may be a factor in this display of lower proficiency, which would be in line with research which has shown that Black urban community parents in South Africa prioritised English over African HLs for the benefit and success of their children, given its status and prestige in comparison with perceived low status of indigenous African languages (Kangwangamalu 2003).

7.5 HL Proficiency:

HL proficiency is widely varied but pupils appear more proficient than current learning approaches and school environments seem to recognise. It is interesting to note that of a sample of 140, only 24 respondents were not born in the UK. Given that the worry is that the 2nd and 3rd generation speakers will lose the HL, high amounts of vitality are apparent according to the students themselves. Regarding the parents, 78 respondents reported that both parents were born in the UK, indicating that roughly 56% of the sample are 2nd or 3rd generation. The four skills data which shows stronger

proficiency in listening and speaking than reading and writing is not surprising given that 'heritage speakers' strongest suit is generally aural comprehension' (Polinsky and Kagan 2007:5), but it is an important indication of a possible concern regarding levels of HL text literacy amongst HLSs in the sample group.

Turkish has a high mean proficiency score which is in line with reports that Turkish has a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality in Germany (Yağmur 2004). However, if we think about languages which are likely to be perceived as high status in secondary schools (French, Spanish and German), these languages are not represented by the highest proficiency scores in the sample. Kurdish and Barawa feature as high, again possibly explained by language loyalty due to persecuted populations. Of the 15 languages that score lower than 100 points, 7 are Black African languages, indicating support for the argument that this is a group that may need to be targeted in endeavours to promote multilingualism.

7.5.1 How do these characteristics relate to proficiency in the HL?

According to the findings of this study all items included in the survey seem to play a role in the vitality of HLs amongst the students and are therefore factors that individual practitioners and local authorities should be made aware of when considering plurilingual practices in schools.

On examination of mean proficiency score by individual characteristics, some factors presented as more likely to impact on proficiency than others. Those factors which generally predicted higher HL proficiency included gender, HL schooling, place of birth, parents' place of birth and household usage. There is a large difference in mean

proficiency between males and females in the sample, favouring females. This is in line with research which suggest tendencies for women to be more likely to maintain HLs than men because of factors such as women's networks encouraging more extensive use of the HL and women placing higher value on the social functions of the HL (Holmes 1993). In terms of HL schooling, there was a higher mean proficiency amongst respondents who had attended HL schooling, supporting the theory that more exposure to the HL improves proficiency, as shown by a higher mean proficiency amongst respondents who were born outside the UK. The difference was around 20 points, indicating a strong impact of contact with the heritage country. This is further strengthened by analysis of proficiency by parents' place of birth since there was a higher mean proficiency amongst respondents whose parents were born outside the UK. The majority of the respondents reported speaking the HL at home, with those who reported use of the HL with fathers as well as mothers scoring higher on the proficiency scores than those who did not. The same went for those who spoke to siblings in the HL compared with those who reported not to speak to siblings in the HL scoring considerably lower collectively on proficiency. This presents an argument for teachers or pastoral advisors to use when discussing family language policy with parents. From such data, practitioners can confidently say that the students in the setting who speak their HL more confidently use the language with a range of people in the home.

Analysis of mean proficiency by ethnic group indicates that respondents who selected 'Other' were most likely to have higher proficiency in the HL. This may be explained by Turkish speakers' presence in this category due to a lack of conclusive ethnic category for this group. If so, this is in line with expectations that Turkish HLSs are

likely to benefit from higher ethnolinguistic vitality in migration settings (Yağmur 2004). Despite being the largest group in the sample, 'Asian or Asian British' was amongst the groups that scored the lower proficiency scores. Relationships between ethnicity and proficiency are useful to know as schools can target the ethnic groups that might be less positive in attitude or may have been more influenced by past policies. For example, Asian communities predominantly arrived in the 1960s so may be more likely to have been told to stop using the HL at home and replace with English.

Rather than comparing overall dominance scores and proficiency scores, the analysis focussed on particular contexts to observe any patterns within these. The four contexts included two which had low overall HL dominance scores; talking about school and reading for pleasure, and two contexts which had higher overall HL dominance scores; talking to distant relatives and talking to immediate family. The mean proficiency scores were higher amongst those who reported to use the HL more than 50% when talking about school. This suggests that, since this domain is one for which the majority of the sample choose to use English, the general usage within the family of those who talk about this domain in the HL must be quite high, indicating an argument for encouragement to use the HL for such topics at home to promote HL proficiency. The same went for reading for pleasure. The higher mean HL scores are amongst those who reported reading for pleasure more often in the HL, providing practitioners with data to evidence the importance of reading in the HL in order to broaden linguistic repertoires. It is worth noting however, that the lowest dominance score in this context is not represented by the lowest HL proficiency score, showing again that the range of factors that affect HL proficiency is wide and varies from speaker to speaker.

In terms of relationships between attitudes and proficiency, the finding of a clear relationship between identification with HL culture and mean proficiency is in line with the theory that cultural identity is a predictor in HL proficiency due to associations between strong ethnic identity and higher level HL skills (Jia 2008) and the view that ethnic identity is a 'cornerstone' of HL development which is dependent on the learner's ability to find 'continuity and coherence in multiple communicative and social worlds... and to develop hybrid, situated identities and stances' (He 2008:109). This finding is crucial for practitioners and policy makers in terms of how positive attitudes can be fostered for better language development. Stronger agreement on feeling oneself when speaking the HL correlated with higher HL proficiency, further indicating that a sense of identification with the HL increased potential for proficiency. On the importance of speaking the HL like a native speaker, there was a general pattern of higher proficiency the more the statement was agreed with, however, there was a particularly high mean for the students who disagreed. One reason for this could be that 'native speaker' is an unknown concept to the respondents, or it could also mean that speakers can have a high level of proficiency even though their own opinion about their HL is not particularly high. Like many elements of the findings of this research, this is a question that would benefit from further qualitative exploration to ascertain whether the assumptions around this were supported by individual students' responses. Despite suggestions that demographic factors such as age and time of arrival override the potential influence of the sociolinguistic variables (Gharibi & Boers 2017), findings in this study show that factors such as attitude, HL schooling, dominance and usage can have an impact on proficiency.

8.0 Pedagogical implications and conclusions:

This research has highlighted the potential for accurate and meaningful data collection that records the diverse linguistic repertoires of inner-city school communities to inform practitioners and policy makers when planning for inclusion and linguistic representation.

As well as for research purposes, the data generated by the survey is useful for school data as it provides a deeper picture of students' HL competencies and proficiency. Such improved understanding of HL proficiency would be useful, for example, when buddying up new students, or selecting and preparing students to take GCSEs in community languages, rather than relying on anecdotal or observational conclusions often passed on from previous settings, and quite often inaccurate, or out of date.

Obtaining a clearer picture of the ways in which students are proficient in their HL will help to combat the assumption that they do not need support to develop this language alongside English language development. In order for students to participate in bilingual learning, their knowledge of vocabulary and language structures needs to be enriched (Kenner et al 2008). Unless as teachers, and by default language development experts, we are aware of the proficiencies, we will be unable to provide accurate support for development. The insights gained from this study indicate that a survey like the one used here can, and should, be included in schools' individual data collection. Whilst this survey was carried out using pen and paper methods, this served the research context in which access to computer or electronic tablet suites was not

possible. However, within the school organisation, the survey could be turned into an electronic version and administered in a session at the beginning of the year.

The findings on usage and proficiency are in line with other studies which measure input and proficiency, so serve as another source to refer to when encouraging family use of the HL. In terms of how this data can be used in education policy and practice, in the research contexts, such data could be published as part of a newsletter to families explaining the benefits of speaking the HL within the family, and on a national level, the data could be used to form part of teacher training on language development.

While this research is important and useful, it should be bolstered and furthered with insights from respondents about the reality of plurilingualism. A Languages in Urban Communities Integration and Diversity for Europe (LUCIDE) report on multilingualism in London sets out a research approach which considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These include representational use of language as well as transactional, communicative and pragmatic use of languages other than the national language by authorities on the ground for communicative efficiency (Mehmedbegović, Skrandies, Byrne, and Harding-Esch 2015). With this in mind, further research should zoom in, using case study research to enable closer views of smaller groups of students which would lead to stronger conclusions.

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CHAPTER 3

Heritage language speakers' responses to plurilingual pedagogies in a secondary school context

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1.0 Introduction:

A significant proportion of England's school population speak languages other than English and in London, 41% of students in secondary schools are classified as users of English as an Additional Language (EAL) (Department of Education 2018). This characteristic means that these students can also be defined as speakers of a Heritage Language (HL), a culturally or ethnolinguistic minority language that develops in a bilingual setting in which, within this national context, the socio-political dominant language is English (Montrul, 2016:2). It is widely recognised that embracing and utilising learners' plurilingualism is valuable in terms of language development and identity in young learners (Lee, 2013; Gibbons and Ramirez, 2004), enabling them to negotiate paths for themselves in terms of how they use and view their languages in such a context (Creese et al, 2011:1206). It also offers benefits in terms of understanding the role of heritage languages (HL) in literacy, enhanced critical thinking and social development (Cummings 2005, Smyth and Toohey 2009, Moll et al 1992). However, despite efforts by researchers and practitioners to promote the benefits of plurilingualism, there is currently no statutory guidance on how education practitioners should interact with linguistic diversity in England, highlighting the need for more research that focuses on the classroom. In order to contribute to addressing this gap, this chapter reports on a project examining student responses to plurilingual activities in order to better understand how to construct and implement plurilingual pedagogies.

This chapter begins with a discussion of plurilingual education and documented responses to translingual pedagogies. An outline of the context and the methodology is then followed by a presentation of data on students' responses to the application of

plurilingual pedagogies in a mainstream setting. The discussion section considers ways in which the responses can inform practitioners seeking to challenge monolingual practices that fail to harness the linguistic repertoires of all learners.

1.2 Plurilingualism and education

While many terms are used to describe diverse linguistic contexts, here, the term plurilingualism is used to more accurately illustrate the dynamic nature of a context in which at least 40% of secondary school students are users of EAL with varied language backgrounds. Plurilingualism recognises that ‘holistic communication competence’ constitutes the different languages used by an individual, however partial the knowledge of the languages may be (Council of Europe 2001 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017: 3-4). This definition is particularly relevant to the context of the participants in this study since the learners in question are HL speakers, who use their HLs with a great degree of variation in proficiency (Montrul and Polinsky, 2019).

Cook’s notion of a multicompetent mind is important from an educator perspective as it helps to envision its application in a school setting: ‘A L2 is not just adding rooms to your house by building on an extension at the back: it is rebuilding all the internal walls’. This image illustrates Cook’s premise that recourse to the L1 should be facilitated and the L1 should be used positively in the classroom rather than being seen as a ‘regrettable fact of life that has to be endured’ (Cook 2001).

The concept of translanguaging helps to explain how plurilingual secondary school students can potentially benefit from pedagogies which take into consideration their full linguistic repertoires. Canagarajah’s definition of translanguaging has been developed in multilingual learning contexts and spotlights the importance of linking

languages within one mind, defining the practice as the ‘ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages’ (2011: 401). García and Li Wei conceptualise translanguaging as ‘sustaining bilingual performances that go beyond one or the other binary logic of two autonomous languages’ (2014: 92-93). When referring to how the concept is applied in school, they describe the practice as ‘educational efforts to develop children’s plurilingual abilities or to use those abilities to educate bilingual students’ (2014:2).

As Li & Luo (2017) point out, the pedagogical side of translanguaging has been underdeveloped, (Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009b; Lin & Martin, 2005 in Li & Luo 2017:143) and has ‘traditionally been frowned upon in educational settings’ (Blackledge and Creese, 2010:203). Writing about the role of attitudes in Puerto Rican university students’ reception of translanguaging pedagogies, Rivera and Mazak (2017:5) state that ‘theorizing and having the best intentions will mean nothing unless students are receptive to the instruction methods being utilized’. While theoretical assumptions about pedagogy have an important place, and it is logical and morally sensible to make students’ linguistic repertoires a key part of their education, the practicalities of such an approach need to be clearly explored and explained before it is likely to be taken up by practitioners and policy makers.

1.3 Student responses to plurilingual pedagogies

A powerful example of student responses to plurilingual pedagogies is the Roma Translanguaging Enquiry Learning Space project which used parents as translators in multilingual enquiry-based learning (ROMtels, 2018). Translating for the teacher led to negotiation of meaning between students and greater clarity in a retelling of an

historical event which had been taught using the students' HL. Deeper meaning through discussion is also evident, as is identification of cognates between the HL and English. There is also some visible resistance from the students due to what seems like shyness or an uneasiness with using the L1 in an environment where it is not usually used (ROMtels, 2018). Findings from Creese and Blackledge's work into language practices in complementary schools show that responses to endeavours to extend the bilingualism of students range from 'ecological' use of both languages (Hornberger, 2002:30 in Creese and Blackledge, 2011b:4), to resistance and making choices to exclusively use English. Choices are perceived to be based on saving face regarding differing levels of proficiency in the languages or 'identity performance' of a range of identity positions.

Beyond these examples, there is limited research documenting student responses, and which addresses the reality of a classroom in which plurilingual pedagogies are being introduced as a new practice within monolingual settings, particularly in secondary school settings. Creese and Blackledge suggest that 'if we are to ease the burden of guilt associated with translanguaging in educational contexts, further research is needed on classroom language ecologies to show how and why pedagogic practices come to be legitimised and accepted by participants' (2010:214).

While translanguaging approaches are ones which may benefit learners, the broader educational context is a long way from embracing pedagogies which challenge the monolingual habitus of the state-school system in England. Without classroom examples, it will be very difficult to implement pedagogies based on translingual ideology on a wide scale, long term basis. As Costley and Leung (2020:11) put it, 'policy rhetoric without the support of informed professional practice is unlikely to lead

to any change'. This study explores what happens when such pedagogies are enacted in an inner city English secondary school setting.

2.0 Research context

This study was carried out in a London secondary school where I worked as a Spanish teacher. 38.2% of the school's pupils are reported to use EAL. As part of the school's compulsory after school enrichment program, I designed a 15-week schedule of activities to promote plurilingual awareness and tap into students' plurilingual identities/repertoires. I designed activities guided by the principle that when applying plurilingualism to education, linguistic repertoires are drawn on in creative and dynamic ways including promotion of home languages through home language support (Council of Europe 2001 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:3-4). I subscribed to an 'ecological perspective on multilingualism' seeking to create an 'ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible' (Hornberger, 2002:30 in Blackledge and Creese, 2010:202). These activities ranged from presentations about HLs, to plurilingual poetry and the joint creation of a mural mapping the group's linguistic diversity (See Table 1 below for a list of activities and for fuller descriptions see Appendix 12).

Activity
Introductions in the HL
Group Discussions
Short films viewings featuring HL speakers
Identification of multilingual/plurilingual selves
Plurilingual Poetry
HL Book Design
Class Languages Survey
Plurilingual Awareness Quiz
'Tube Tongues' Mapping
Linguistic Landscape Mural
Multilingual Word Sort
Translation Challenge
HL Dictionary Challenge
Language portraits
Written Presentations in the HL
Spoken Presentations about the HL
Project Cover Pages
HL Language Lessons
Language Attitude Card Sort

Table 1 Activities

4.0 Methodology

Copland and Creese (2015:63) advise that, for policy change, there needs to be understanding of 'people's identities not in terms of apparent or visible categories, but rather as emic positions which are self-identified, dynamic and negotiable'. Case study methodology (Stake, 1995) guided this study, seeking multiple student perspectives and realities in-order to better understand the 'unheard' position of languages in the wider societal frame (Pahl, 2014). The object of study was the learning space, or curriculum, for which I collected data in the form of field notes, audio recordings, interviews and artefacts produced as part of the sessions. The events in the field guided the development of categories. 'Persistent patterns' were drawn out in each of the data-sets (Yin, 2010:219-124), with iterative readings of artefacts, transcripts, and

interview data. The data suggested different categories of responses to plurilingual pedagogical practices and the ways in which the responses varied became the main analytical focus. Illustrative examples of these are reported below.

The 12 participants (detailed in Table 2 below) were aged 11-12 from a range of HL backgrounds. All except two (Sara and Desi who arrived as babies) were born in the UK. Participant information was disseminated and consent was obtained from parents (see Appendices 4,5 and 6).

Name	Age	Gender	Languages	Born in UK	HL school attendance
Sara	12	F	Spanish/Hungarian	No	No
Emenike	12	M	Yoruba/Hausa	Yes	No
Desi	11	F	Spanish	No	Yes
Abdul	12	M	Twi	Yes	No
Mohamed	12	M	Somali	Yes	No
Khalifa	12	F	Brawanese	Yes	No
Lena	11	F	Yoruba	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	12	M	Twi	Yes	No
Geraldine	12.	F	Twi	Yes	No
Paula	12	F	Twi	Yes	No
Omar	12	M	Arabic/Spanish/French	Yes	No
Modupe	12	M	Yoruba	Yes	No

Table 2 Participant language profiles

5.0 Findings

The present findings focus on student responses to three of the activities that I carried out with the students: presentations about the HL, a HL book design and the creation of plurilingual poetry. It was important to cultivate a space in which HLs were viewed as assets and that students were given time to confidently identify as plurilingual. We began by discussing what plurilingualism meant and ways in which we fit within the definition. We watched clips of people speaking in multiple languages and explored

websites such as 'Tube Tongues' which provides data on the linguistic diversity of London around different tube stations. I used the concept of possession in football to explain language dominance which sparked conversation around bilingual language practices, ranging from watching television to being at a wedding, or praying. A vignette reporting on this discussion highlights a challenge in clarity, or sense of unboundedness, around which languages are spoken when:

When talking about praying, Emenike said that he does this in English but at the beginning he starts off in Yoruba. He wasn't sure why it changes from Yoruba into English. Lena said that she prayed in English but with some parts in Yoruba because of the faith songs.

Much of the initial discussion centered around when and where the HLs were spoken. This varied amongst the group, some students reporting that they watched television in their HL and some saying that their main contact was overhearing family members. As a participant researcher I was keen to ensure the students understood that I too identified as plurilingual and shared my own experiences of living in two languages to draw out similar or contrasting experiences of the students.

5.1 Presentations about HLs

Students were given two hours to prepare a presentation on their HL (or one of the HLs) in response to the following prompts:

Create a presentation about your other language

Slide 1 – Write the language and find some pictures that represent it

Slide 2 – Say where in the world the language is spoken

Slide 3 – Give some examples of greetings/numbers/ any words you feel like in the language

Slide 4 – When do you use the language? Who with? For what purposes? Do you like to use the language? Why do you like it?

Figure 1 Presentation Prompts

I encouraged students to focus on linguistic features, but most wanted to find pictures of cultural representations of their languages, such as food, and images of prominent figures, indicative of the inextricable connection between culture and language. This worked well as a starting place for many of the presentations and a centrepiece when talking about language. As shown in Extracts 1, 2 and 3, as I introduced the idea of the students delivering presentations, some resistance was displayed around speaking their HL in a public space and identifying as plurilingual.

Extract 1

1. *T⁹ – We are all happy (to be recorded)*
2. *Ss¹⁰ – (Collectively) Yes*
3. *Kalifah – Miss, but I'm not speaking in my language!*

Resistance is shown in a subtler way by Emenike when he intervenes in a discussion about Khalifa's language and says that he speaks 'algebra' rather than stating Yoruba as his language.

Extract 2

1. *T – (to Kalifah) Geraldine doesn't know what language you speak*
2. *Kalifah (smiles) eeehhh*
3. *Emenike – I speak Algebra*
4. *Mohamed – Barawa. She speaks Barawa*
5. *T – Yeah that's it*
6. *Kalifah – I speak Barawa and yeah... erm...*

This is followed by a more direct refusal to identify as plurilingual:

Extract 3

1. *T- Do you think any of your teachers know that you are plurilingual?*
2. *Paula – What's that*

⁹ Teacher

¹⁰ Students

3. *T – Remember we are all plurilingual because we speak more than one*
4. *language every day*
5. *Emenike – No I don't. I just speak English*
6. *T – Ok maybe not every day but within your life, you speak more than one*
7. *language*

Emenike's response to being categorised as someone who speaks two languages every day shows that he is not comfortable with this at this point. Once Emenike started to work on the presentation, however, the time he has been given to produce a piece of work about his language has given him the opportunity to reconsider and acknowledge his Yoruba identity, which he is keen to share with the group.

Extract 4

1. *Emenike – Ok, um, my name is Emenike and I'm from Nigeria and I speak*
2. *Yoruba and my favourite food is everything on the screen*
3. *T – So what is everything on the screen?*
4. *Emenike – Oh so the thing on the top left is jollof rice with plantain and I don't*
5. *know, there's salad then there's flavoured leaf, a leaf which has flavour, and*
6. *then I think it's fish and chicken then, the thing next to it is pounded yam*
7. *Modupe – Yeah*
8. *Emenike – There's okra, the green thing yeah and the red thing is 'pata' and*
9. *the thing there is chicken. Then the thing on the right is yam and egg. The*
10. *egg is the one that has peppers and the yam is the white thing. And on the*
11. *bottom is chin chin, its brown*
12. *Ss – Chin chin chin chin*
13. *Emenike – And the thing to the left is mo mo. Erm.. yeah. Oh and the other*
14. *Thing Jerk chicken. So these are the numbers in Yoruba 'odo' means zero,*
15. *a..Means 1, meji is 2, mata is 3, mari is 4, mavi is 5 mafa is 6, meji is 7, mejo*
16. *is 8 , mesa is 9 and maroa is 10. And on the bottom is the greetings in Yoruba*
17. *so (pauses) eke...*
18. *Lena – Eka ar ba*
19. *Emenike – Ek ar o ba - that says good morning and ka so it means good*
20. *afternoon and kule is good evening is good night and ba wo mi means*
21. *how are you. And that's it.*

Both languages are used in his presentations and at times both are needed to convey meaning. Emenike moves between languages and rather than distinguish the

language when using Yoruba names for food, his heteroglossia constitutes language forms simultaneously (Creese and Blackledge, 2010:208).

It is interesting to note that when Emenike stumbles on the greetings, he is helped by a fellow Yoruba speaker. This is an example of peer support which grew throughout the project, as well as an uncertainty which often arose in terms of pronunciation and meanings. This uncertainty around how to pronounce words or find accurate translations, which at times becomes a source of frustration, appears again in response to my question about whether students ever talk with teachers in the HL. Lena describes a time when the school cover supervisor, who is Nigerian, spoke in Yoruba, not directly to her but within her hearing. When I asked Lena to translate the anecdote, the negotiation between the students is revealing in terms of domains that they are comfortable with. Their perseverance is testament to the positive response they are having to being provided with an outlet that showcases their knowledge of Yoruba.

Extract 5

1. *T – Can you say it in Yoruba and then explain it?*
2. *Lena – (Laughs) Erm...OK.. Erm...*
3. *Modupe – Okule...*
4. *Lena – She... said...*
5. *Modupe – (Saying parts of sentences in Yoruba)*
6. *Lena – oh.. I'm trying to think of how to word it, but like... (Pained*
7. *laugh)...OK ...*
8. *erm...she said..erm.. ah...*
9. *Modupe – Say it in English*
10. *Lena – She said 'This is one of my students she is walking in front of me I bet*
11. *she doesn't turn around'*
12. *T - Oh. Say it in Yoruba then. Can you say it (to Modupe)*
13. *Eminike – Me? No*
14. *Modupe – Ermmm...*
15. *Eminike – Oh Modupe! I forgot oh yeah (that he speaks Yoruba)*
16. *Modupe – (Some Yoruba parts of sentence)*
17. *Lena – I can say some words*

18. *T – Go on*
19. *Lena – It's like ok*
20. *Modupe – Ola meeee*
21. *Lena – I don't.., like.. can't say it...*
22. *Modupe – Ok! ola me... eh... ola me.. I cant say forward... Ola meeni yeh*
23. *Emenike – No no no, that's son*
24. *Lena – Yeah. Yeah it's a simple way, in a simple way*
25. *T – What like they are going away from you?*
26. *Modupe – Ola meeni yeah*
27. *Emenike – Ba da sa o that's son!*
28. *T – What does that mean?*
29. *Lena – that means 'my child'*

In contrast to the uncertainty and battle to perform shown in Lena and Modupe's response to being asked to use the HL to retell a story, Sara, a Spanish and Hungarian speaker is confident and easy during her presentation, for example saying a word in an English accent and a Hungarian accent and proudly uses 'we' when talking about the language:

Extract 6

1. *Sara - So I am from Hungary and I'm Hungarian and in Hungary, you say*
2. *Majaro (said in English accent) Majaro (said in Hungarian accent) and*
3. *normally you put two dots on the 'o' and we have a lot of erm like flicks and*
4. *all that...*

She also uses metalinguistic terms to describe what she is presenting and includes a cultural representation:

Extract 7

1. *Sara - And then I've got some nouns like flower (...) and like cloud (felha)*
2. *and next pancakes are a traditional dessert*

At one point, Sara hypothesises that had her dad been Hungarian, her name would have been pronounced differently, sparking interest from the other students whose intrigue is evident in their repetition of the Hungarian variation of her name:

Extract 8

1. *Sara: This is Hungary, this is the capital city and I... my city is somewhere*
2. *here, which is called Deperton and Szia up there is how you say 'Hi' and*
3. *normally...if... for... soo well, since I was born in Hungary, if my dad was*
4. *Hungarian, my name would have been spelled S-Z-A-R-A 'cause if you have*
5. *a Z you always put a S after it but if you have an S you always put the Z after*
6. *it and like if you have a G you put the Y after it and if you have the Y you put a*
7. *G after it Ss (collectively) – Ssszzara, Sara, Zara*
8. *Geraldine– Then how would you pronounce your name?*
9. *Emenike- Zara*

While proficiency is not the focus here, it is interesting to note that similar levels of inaccuracy occur in Sara's language production but in her case, it is not accompanied by so much trepidation. This could be related to the fact that she is the only Hungarian speaker in the classroom, whereas Lena, Modupe and Emenike were more careful not to make mistakes in front of peers who speak the same HL, in line with the language shyness theory that some HL speakers use their language less due to being ridiculed about imperfections (Krashen 1998).

5.2 HL Book design

Students created a book designed for learners or speakers of their HL. They were given examples as guidance, including a counting book and a parallel text, but they were able to decide their content and design. Sara opted to label a picture in Hungarian rather than write a story, indicative of a lack of confidence in writing sentences in Hungarian, which she comments on in her interview when asked whether she would like to use her languages more in school subjects:

Extract 9

1. Sara - *I would think that's a great opportunity for me to get confident because*
2. *I don't actually know how to write in my languages that well but I'm learning*
3. *Spanish in my Spanish lessons but Hungarian I still need to learn like erm,*
4. *the symbols*

She drew a picture of a park and chose to label words such as fruit, tree, chair and frost and used correct spellings. Sara did not seem particularly focused on this task, especially in comparison to talking Hungarian or talking about the language, during which she was very animated.

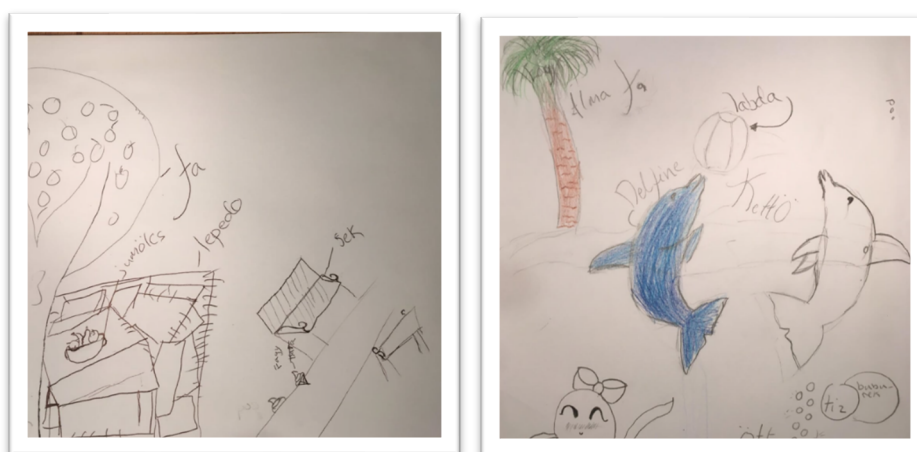


Figure 2 Sara's HL book design

As an extra activity to encourage metalinguistic reflection, the students were prompted to think about how you would write 'Maria's house' in their languages. Sara attempted this and wrote 'Mori Hazsa'. She chose to change Maria to Mori, a Hungarian name, and formed a possessive. The word for house in Hungarian is Haz and she correctly included the 'a' sound at the end of the noun to indicate that it belongs to Mori. This response shows the potential to use the HL in sophisticated ways, and how strategies

can be focussed to guide students towards accessing it in ways that enrich linguistic understanding.

Emenike started off this task with a picture dictionary book design. He was reluctant at first, but I gave him a laptop to use and he soon became encouraged. While Google translate was not very useful for the task, he found websites with word lists and used them to create an A-Z. Emenike changed his attitude over the course of the project and his response to this activity shows him taking an interest in finding out new words in Yoruba.

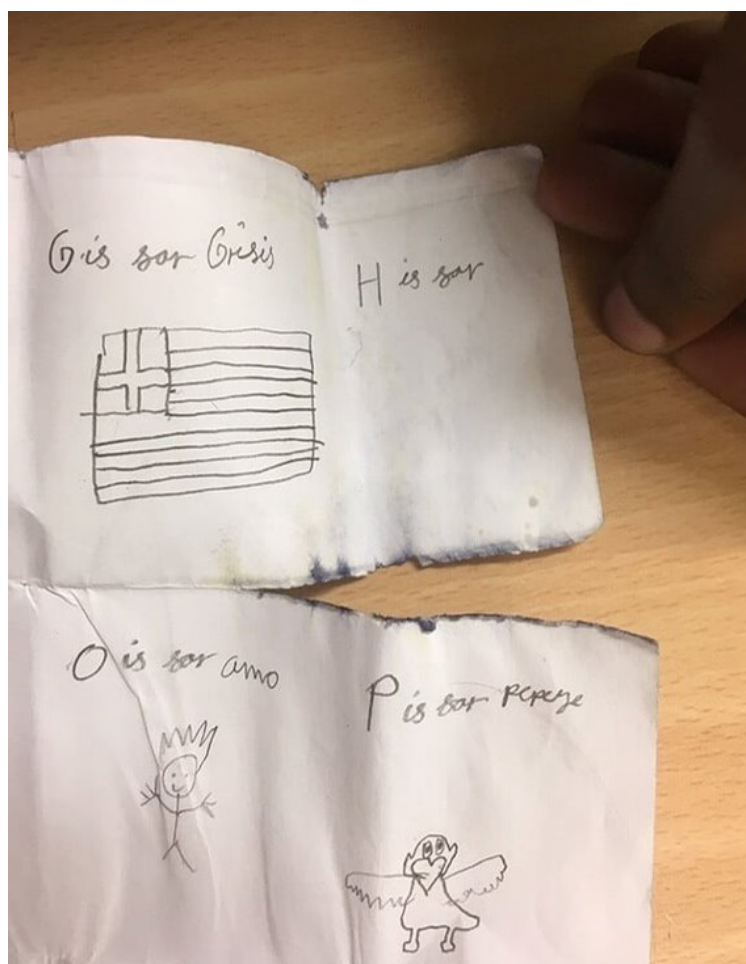


Figure 3 Emenike's HL book design

Two students produced a fable which they wrote as a parallel text. Desi's ability to write a parallel text demonstrates strong text literacy in her HL. She has included a cover page with an illustration that she has spent time on, using colour and careful illustration showing pride in her work. Desi's English text seems to be inspired by her use of Spanish to draft the fable. She translated idiomatic phrases in Spanish giving the English text an interesting touch that would not have been created if she had not used Spanish for the task. For example, she writes: 'the cat was looking at the fish with a hungry look'.

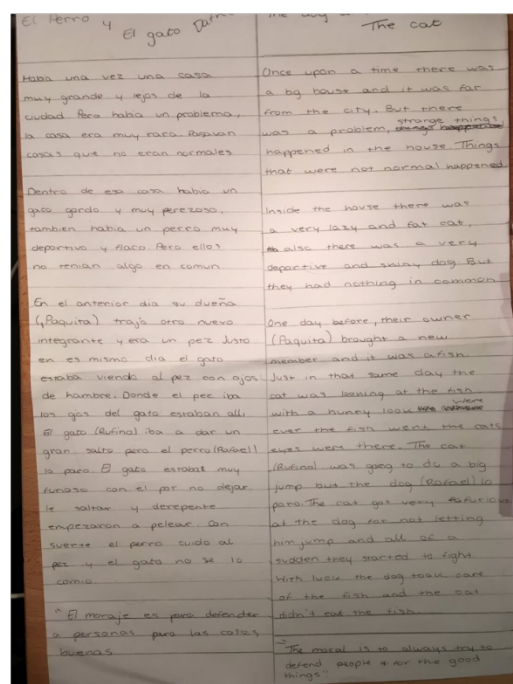


Figure 4 Desi's HL book design

Lena also wrote a fable which she initially wrote in English and translated to Yoruba. According to a native speaker of Yoruba who checked the work, the writing was 'good with some errors'. He also said that the use of translating software hinders some of the authenticity of the text and that there was no idiomatic expression. However, the text differs from a Google translation of the English text, indicating that Lena did use

her existing knowledge of Yoruba for some of the writing. Her translating process is clear from the typed text as she has marked where each sentence starts and finishes. We submitted the work to a University of Oxford competition - on Multilingual Creativity. She received a commendation for her work and was surprised and very proud receiving this.

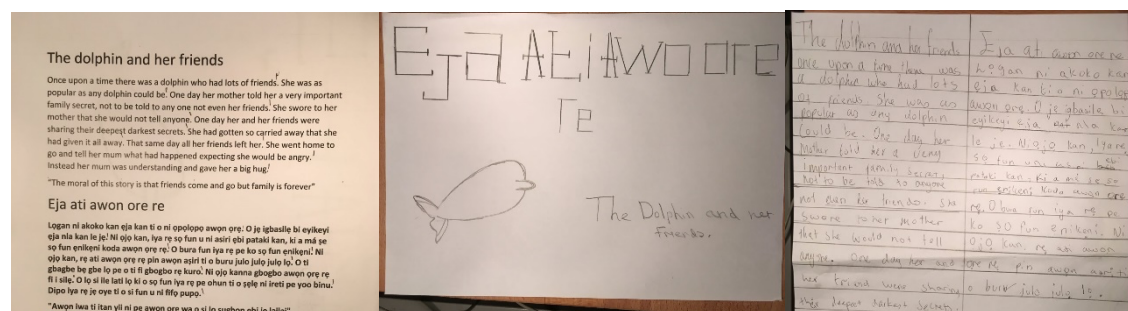


Figure 5 Lena's HL book design

These responses indicate the possibility of richer creative writing when students are encouraged to access their full linguistic repertoires. The opportunities to write in the HLs were positive experiences for the students which instilled pride and gave them the chance to act as experts. However, while the responses indicate that such strategies need practice and should be incorporated more frequently into lessons, practitioners need to be fully aware of the large variation in proficiency and the skills that need to be developed to use the strategies to the benefit of the students.

5.3 Plurilingual poetry

With the objective of creating plurilingual poems, we read and discussed a poem together. The key words in the discussion were then given to the students and they were asked to translate as many as they could into their HLs. The next step was to write a poem inspired by the theme of the original poem, which was freedom, using the translated words. Students were encouraged to mix languages in the poem.

Abdul annotated his word list, translating the words 'running' 'power', 'money' and 'play' into Twi. His poem focussed on the Twi word for money 'Sika'. While Abdul used both languages orally during the project, it is the first time that Abdul has used the languages together in a written form and is a breakthrough in terms of including the HL in an activity that he would usually do monolingually.

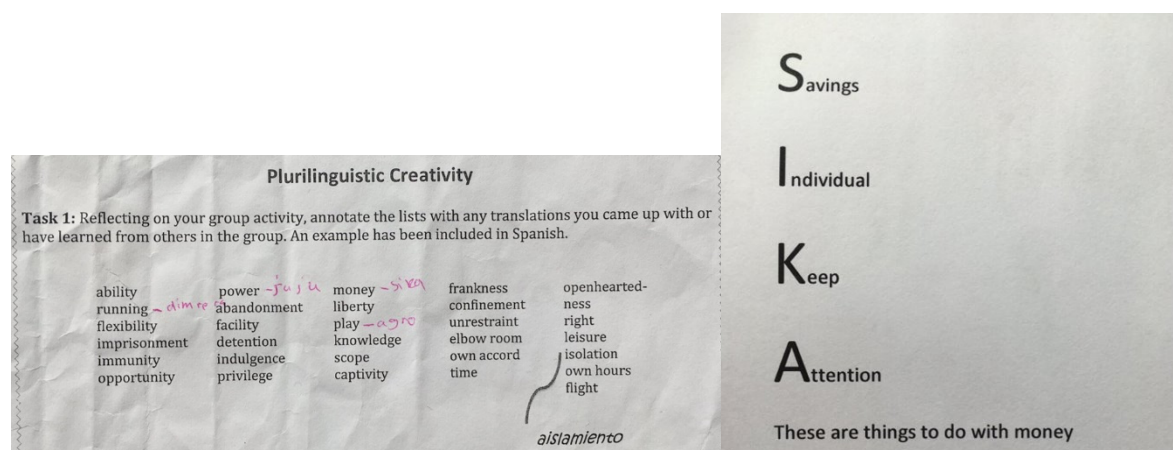


Figure 6 Abdul's plurilingual poetry

Dialogue around the poetry activity further revealed students' willingness to collaborate. Lena and Emenike reflected on language in the process of translation, explaining that some concepts in Yoruba needed a whole sentence, rather than one word. For example, the way they translated *scope* was 'go and see it'. Again, Lena expressed some frustration at not being able to remember 'simple words', but this activity served well to set the students up as experts and there were many instances of the students telling me, the teacher, something new about language.

On Lena's planning sheet, she has translated a range of words on the list. On the back of her sheet, there are some notes that we made together. Lena talked and I wrote at some points and she added words to complete the sentences in Yoruba. She used

the Yoruba word for 'protected' when talking about rights and 'believe it' and added 'olodos don't deserve freedom'.

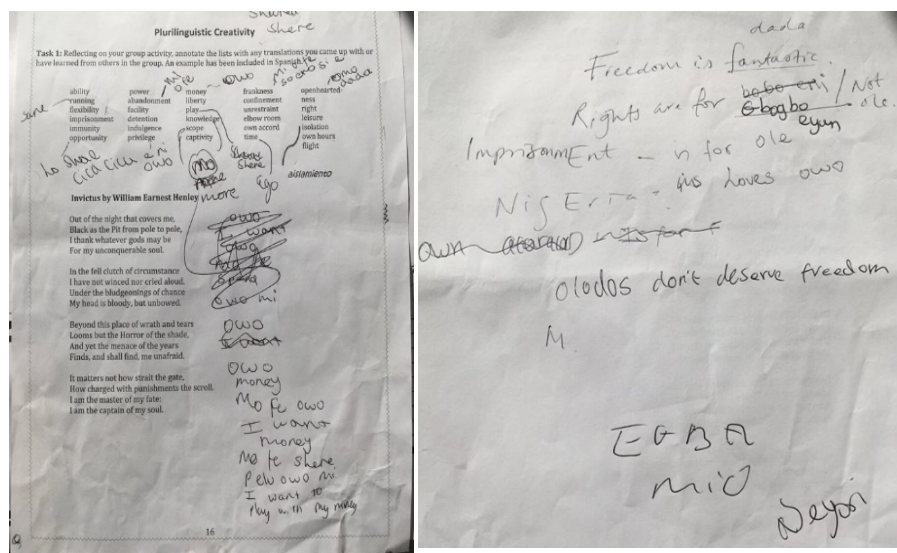


Figure 7 Lena's plurilingual poetry notes

Her final poem changed a lot from the first one, with the first activity acting as a warm-up to using both languages. Use of words such as *olodo*, (a common Yoruba insult translating as 'empty headed'), *owo* (money) and *aseyori* (success) gives the piece a cultural element which would not have been accessed or included had the student's use of the HL not been facilitated. This approach has encouraged the learners to think more creatively about vocabulary and meanings, which is likely to have a positive impact on creative writing.

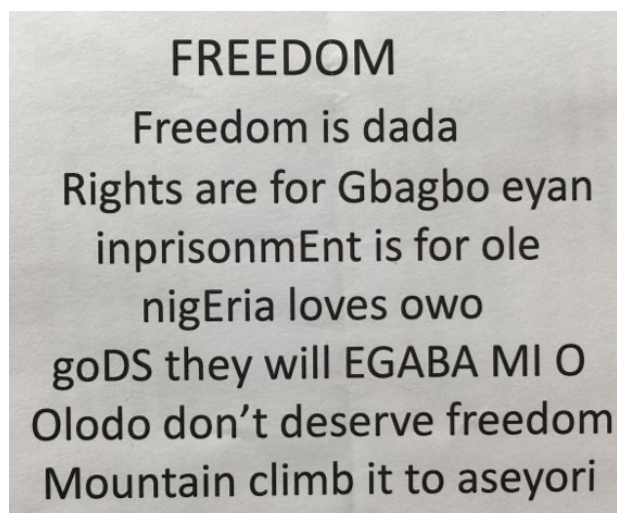


Figure 8 *Lena's plurilingual poetry*

6.0 Discussion

The project provided a series of linguistic outlets through which change and development in terms of interaction with HLs is visible. The ease with which the students moved in and out of mind-sets changed throughout the project, depending on factors such as the mode of the task or the way in which questions were framed.

The data presented in this chapter echo Lee (2013) in foregrounding the role of heritage culture when talking about language and its value in identity development), and the importance of creating time and space for learners to engage with their plurilingualism. The development of a plurilingual curriculum space was challenged at times by resistance and discomfort (see Blackledge and Creese, 2010) at the same time as being bolstered by students' effortless translanguaging once it was situated in a comfortable environment in which peers supported each other. Opportunities to consider their plurilingualism led to wider perspectives on language use which at times caused frustration and shyness, as noted in ROMtels (2018) above, as they strived to perform their plurilingual selves, often encountering pride and surprise in doing so.

While the context of the research was not a usual classroom context, rather an after-school option which students selected from a range of activities on offer during a compulsory 'enrichment' hour, it took place in a mainstream environment with a mainstream subject teacher. The absence of prescribed curriculum objectives facilitated an exploration of what type of activities encouraged HL use and the contexts that suited the approach such as food, culture, discussions about language, identity and creative writing, which are elements that play roles in many mainstream contexts. The project acts as a starting point to create such opportunities within existing curricula in mainstream lessons and serves as a preliminary basis for more such studies to explore how plurilingual pedagogies are responded to within such diverse contexts, contributing to the 'underdeveloped' pedagogical side of translanguaging (Li & Luo 2017:143). For there to be more documentation, it is important to record the practice not only in academic research but through 'informed professional practice' such as action research projects at school, or through teacher training initiatives, as suggested by Costley and Leung (2020:11). Such practices being legitimised are important for further steps such as embracing the use of translations in mainstream subjects, encouraging students to get to grips with concepts in other languages, and breaking down the barrier caused by the mind-set that English is the only avenue through which success and language development is available.

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CHAPTER 4

‘Why would you wanna do your own language, who you gonna impress?’: Adolescent heritage language speakers’ perceptions of their plurilingualism.

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1.0 Abstract

This paper reports on a 15-week project which aimed to raise the profile of Heritage Languages (HL) in a mainstream secondary setting in London. It was carried out with 11 HL speakers of various language backgrounds. The project provided the students with a series of linguistic ‘outlets’ which encouraged engagement with the HL in a mainstream setting. The paper draws from interactional data recorded during the sessions to discover what happens when students are encouraged to use their full linguistic repertoires, with a specific focus on the students’ perceptions of being plurilingual. The findings are explored with a view to develop guidelines when planning for plurilingual pedagogies in mainstream secondary education and to uncover potential facilitative and preventative factors when thinking about the reception of such pedagogies by the students. The research highlights how a modification of linguistic priorities in a mainstream setting has the potential to dislocate language categories and literacies for broader understandings for practitioners to embrace plurilingual repertoires.

Keywords

Plurilingualism, heritage languages, mainstream secondary education, translanguaging, linguistic outlets

2.0 Introduction

41.4% of London’s secondary school students are categorised by schools as users of English as an Additional Language (EAL) because they have a first language that is known or believed to be other than English (Department for Education 2018). These

students also fall into the category of speakers of heritage languages (HL), defined by Montrul (2016:2) as ‘ethnolinguistically minority languages that develop in a bilingual setting where another socio-politically dominant language is spoken’.

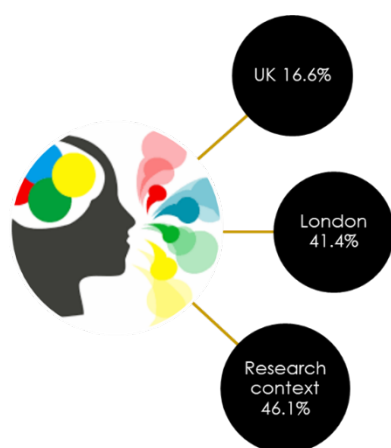


Figure 1 HL speakers of secondary school age (Department for Education 2018)

Despite the abundance of HL speakers (Figure 1), the unclear role of HLs in school raises important questions about the lived realities of such students. In reference to students who are users of EAL, the National Curriculum states that ‘ability in other languages’ must be taken account of and recognises that EAL pupils’ abilities ‘may be in advance of their communication skills in English’ (Department of Education 2014:9). While these ‘largely hortative’ (Leung 2016:164) statements indicate some recognition of a growing promotion of HL speakers’ wider linguistic attributes within schooling amongst scholars and practitioners, the teaching and learning of EAL does not have subject specific status, meaning that there is no statutory guidance or content provision for practitioners on this area of curriculum (Leung 2016). The lack of official education policy on how linguistic repertoires should be drawn upon in the mainstream

means that what is considered to be 'language development', for which teachers of any subject 'carry equal responsibility' (The Bullock Report 1975) is often limited to English language development only (Costley and Leung 2009:153), neglecting the plurilingualism of the students.

Plurilingualism has been increasingly accepted as an asset in education over the years in many parts of the world (for further discussion see Cummings 2005, 2007; Garcia 2009; Gibbons and Ramirez 2004, and Canagarajah 2011). Recognising the interactive nature of the development of communication skills, the concept takes into account all linguistic and cultural experiences, however partial the knowledge of the languages may be (Council of Europe 2001 in Bak and Mehmedbegovic 2017:3-4). In the UK, Bak and Mehmedbegovic (2017:2) call for a 'healthy linguistic diet' in response to a current 'monolingual default' and propose exercising recourse to the benefits of plurilingualism across the lifespan and society. The social advantages are further illustrated by Pahl and Kelly (2005) who consider bilingual programmes in classrooms as sites which lie between home and school, and generate particular texts and discourses, which go beyond language, making communicative practices a more suitable focus.

Translanguaging in schools is described by García and Li Wei as 'educational efforts to develop children's plurilingual abilities or to use those abilities to educate bilingual students' (2014:2). Adopting the view that plurilingualism can be used to purposefully organise and mediate mental processes in communication, Lewis et al (2012:641) posit the concept of translanguaging as a response to the idea that language plays certain roles in interactions, offering an alternative to the monolingual bias. Alongside

other scholars (see Baker, Bak and Mehmedbegovic, Garcia), Li & Luo propose a socially constructed 'translanguaging space' in which linguistic resources are used creatively and critically by students to communicate (Li Wei 2011 in Li & Luo 2017:143). Creese and Blackledge describe translanguaging in terms of an 'ecological perspective' on multilingualism, opening up a wider 'ideological and implementational space' for a range of languages (Hornberger, 2002:30 in Creese and Blackledge 2010), offering more than just academic benefits but also enrichment of self-concept and social cohesion.

Approaches guided by the principles of translanguaging have been documented in various settings and to differing ends, such as saving face (Creese and Blackledge 2010) and raising the status of home languages by encouraging the use of students' expert languages (ROMtels 2018). Inclusion of language awareness and bilingual practitioners in curriculum design has reinforced the idea that the education provider plays just as much of a role in students' language development beyond English as the student themselves and their families (Gibbons et al 1995:256). This responsive approach promotes the use of socially constructed tools and resources in minority communities referred to as 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al 1992). Drawing on the assumption that 'children from immigrant communities can experience much less discontinuity when teachers recognize their cultural heritage and their family background' research has illustrated that designing teaching objectives in response to students' funds of knowledge through the use of arts-based methods such as pictures, self-portrait and relational mapping can build an empirical understanding of the life experiences of students in order to link teaching to students' lives (Saubich & Esteban 2011:99). Another resource identified as useful for facilitating the use of a variety of

interacting modes is trust and interpersonal relationships between teachers and students (Windlund 2020:263).

Given the benefits associated with engaging with plurilingualism in educational settings, the current situation in England in which no policy is in place to promote the harnessing of the linguistic repertoires of a highly plurilingual cohort, needs to be addressed. As Li & Luo (2017) point out, the pedagogical side of translanguaging has been underdeveloped in general, (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009b; Lin & Martin, 2005 in Li & Luo 2017:143). While there is research on strategies for EAL education, few studies exist which explore the pedagogical role of languages other than English in EAL learners' educational experience (with the notable exceptions of Chalmers 2014 and ROMtels 2018) and fewer which explicitly explore the perceptions of EAL students regarding their HLs. For pedagogical practices to be responsive to our cohorts' linguistic diversity, practitioners need a clearer understanding of the intended beneficiaries. This study seeks to contribute to potential responses to the current situation in England in which students' languages other than English have no tangible position or role. To this end, the current study focusses on HL speaking students in an inner-city secondary school in London and explores two key questions:

1. What are HL students' perceptions of plurilingualism?
2. In what ways do these perceptions shape the potential for plurilingual pedagogical approaches in ideologically monolingual environments?

3.0 Research context and participants

The study was carried out in a mainstream sponsor led academy¹¹ in an inner-city London borough. It has a mixed gender student body aged 11-18, is non-selective and has no particular religious character. 61.2% of students are eligible for free school meals (national average 28.6%) and 47% of students leave with grade 5 or above (solid pass) in English and Maths GCSE (national average 43.3%). 38.2% of the school's pupils are reported to use EAL, according to the Department of Education figures (2018b). However, according to an in-class survey carried out with 54 students in the setting, 75.9% of the sample responded affirmatively to the question 'Do you know or speak a language other than English at home?', indicating a potential misrepresentation of the linguistic profile of the school.

In contrast to the minimal engagement with HLs that students reported having experienced in the mainstream curriculum setting which operates entirely in English, as the practitioner-researcher, I developed an extracurricular space in which use of the HL was openly valued as an educational asset, challenging the dominance of English only in the school. For the weekly 90-minute slot, I designed a 15-week program of after-school activities to promote plurilingual awareness and tap into students' multilingual identities. The activities or 'outlets' were tailored to endorse creative use of students' whole linguistic repertoires. An outline of the activities is included in Appendix 12. The 11 participants' language profiles can be seen in Table 1. The only prerequisite was that students knew or had contact with a language other

¹¹ Academies are state-funded schools which are run by charitable trusts.

than English at home. Participant information was disseminated and consent was obtained from parents (see Appendices 4,5 and 6).

Name ¹²	Age	Gender	Languages	Born in UK	HL school attendance
Sara	12	F	Spanish and Hungarian	No	No
Emenike	12	M	Yoruba/ Hausa	Yes	No
Desi	11	F	Spanish	No	Yes
Abdul	12	M	Twi	Yes	No
Mohamed	12	M	Somali	Yes	No
Khalifa	12	F	Brawanese	Yes	No
Lena	11	F	Yoruba	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	12	M	Twi	Yes	No
Geraldine	12.	F	Twi	Yes	No
Paula	12	F	Twi	Yes	No
Omar	12	M	Arabic/Spanish/French	Yes	No

Table 1 Participant language profiles

4.0 Data collection and analysis

This paper draws primarily on audio recordings of group interactions during the sessions, which are part of a larger data set collected during the project using a variety of methods as outlined in Table 2.

Data collection method	Quantity of data
Audio recordings from sessions (interactional data)	6 hours
Field notes	48 pages (15,862 words)
Artefactual outcomes	11 project folders
In-depth interviews	2 interviews, 25 minutes each
Language background questionnaire	11
Proficiency, usage and attitudes questionnaire	11

Table 2 Data collection

¹² Pseudonyms

After arranging 'preliminary jottings' of ideas for analytic consideration, I coded the fieldnotes and transcriptions using the 'nodes' function in NVivo following the guidance that what should be coded is that which 'rises to the surface' and using a broad brushstroke representation to capture the essence of excerpts (Saldaña 2009:15-18). Similar perceptions, experiences and attitudes were grouped together under one theme and categories were generated through a bottom-up reading (Creese 2015). The categories used were partly led by the broader research aims but also open to other themes as they occurred in the data. The following section presents some examples of students' perceptions uncovered through the programme of 'outlets'. The findings are presented in order to illustrate the scope of perceptions amongst the students, highlighting the need for wider understanding of HL students when planning for plurilingual pedagogies.

5.0 Findings

Three themes stand out as particularly important when considering students' perceptions around plurilingual practices in school: attitudes towards HLs, hybridity of identity, and willingness to engage with HLs. While the themes occurred across the eleven students, the following discussion will focus primarily on a selection of students in the group whose perceptions and attitudes are mirrored in the work and behaviour of others in the group. Issues are illuminated for consideration in terms of how they influence students' receptions of plurilingual pedagogies.

5.1 Attitudes towards HLs

A focus on attitudes revealed through interactions throughout the project provided an insight into students' perceptions of plurilingualism. Pride and ridicule were salient elements of attitudes towards HLs, explored individually below.

5.1.1 *Perceptions of plurilingualism as a concept:*

Initial responses from students when asked to explain their understandings of plurilingualism, indicated that it was seen as something related to languages and heritage and something that encompasses multiplicity. Race, culture, religion, 'where you're from' and background came up consistently, demonstrating awareness and a willingness to understand the concept. The word 'sharing' was used by two students, in line with the positive perception that was generally held by most members of the group. Perceptions revealed by Sara, a Spanish and Hungarian speaker born in Hungary, align with positive views about plurilingualism. Sara is keen to dissect the concept of plurilingualism noting that the word was self-explanatory if you split it up, saying in a discussion that '*plural* means more than one and *lingualism* is about languages', an intrigue which seems to be encouraged by the high status she affords her HLSs which is consistent for her across the data.

Emenike, a Yoruba speaker, is an example of perceptions about one's own plurilingualism not being fixed. At the beginning of the project, the following interaction (Extract 1) took place when an explanation of plurilingualism was underway:

Extract 1

1. *T¹³: Remember we are all plurilingual because we speak more than one*
2. *language*
3. *Emenike: No, I don't. I just speak English*

Despite his initial assertion that he only speaks English (Extract 1, line 3), in a language background questionnaire, Emenike reports that he would be able to understand the words of a song in Yoruba. This indicates that the unwillingness to identify as plurilingual is not determined specifically by proficiency and neither is it something that the student consistently feels, but possibly is a reaction to being categorised as a speaker of a language other than English to which he is resistant at that moment.

The perception of plurilingualism as something that needs to change was also present, as displayed in Mohamed's explanatory note about the concept which reads: 'have some difference, we can learn about problems, to how it changes; it is language'. He continued to share his understanding of plurilingualism as something in need of change, noting in the second week: 'Plurilingualism is some of the different that can actually change'. This perception is indicative of Mohamed's understanding of plurilingualism as a deficit which needs to be rendered, which, alongside the low status he appears to afford to his language, is insightful in terms of the relationship between status and perceptions.

¹³ Teacher

5.1.2 Pride

Pride is an attitude encountered across all students, in some more often than others. When describing her linguistic heritage, Sara clearly states her language as well as confidently sharing some phonemic detail (Extract 2):

Extract 2

1. *Sara: So I am from Hungary and I'm Hungarian and in Hungary,*
2. *you say Majaro (said in English accent) Magjar (said in Hungarian*
3. *accent) and normally you put two dots in the o and we have a lot of*
4. *erm like flicks and all...*

This display of pride in her knowledge about her language is reflective of a high regard for the language which is also visible in Sara's presentation about her heritage language and culture in which she describes a 'traditional dessert' as something 'we normally eat', indicating a desire to present her language as something joined to a tradition that she has pride in, and wants to affiliate herself with, shown by the use of the first-person pronoun, which is not so consistent in other students' accounts. Further illustrating the scope in attitudes amongst the students, pride is not always expressed as overtly as in Sara's case. It is interesting to look at Emenike's input when culture is foregrounded more than language explicitly and how a specific plurilingual outlet can motivate extended use of linguistic and cultural repertoires in order to defend one's pride as shown in this exchange with his Nigerian peer (Extract 3):

Extract 3

1. *T: Lena could you go through the things you can eat at that place again*
2. *please?*
3. *Lena: Well you can eat plantain, you can eat jollof rice*
4. *Emenike: Obviously*
5. *Lena: You can eat meat. You can eat meat, chicken, stuff like that yeah?*
6. *You can eat yam, porridge, you can eat powdered yam you can eat what's*
7. *that name of that other one um... What's that other thing that's like*
8. *powdered yam that's not powdered yam*

9. *Emenike: What? Oh! Eba*
10. *Lena: Yeah, you can eat eba...*
11. *Emenike: Fu fu, amla,*
12. *Lena: Yeah*
13. *Emenike: (another suggestion, inaudible)*
14. *Lena: Oh I don't like amla.. Um you can also eat red stew.. red stew, you*
15. *can eat white rice, you can eat ayamase, you can eat...*
16. *Emenike: What's ayamase?*
17. *Lena: Ooooooh! Ayamase!*
18. *Emenike: What's that?*
19. *Lena: OK.. (Says nothing, looks away) You can eat ayamase and that's*
20. *pretty much it*
21. *Emenike: You're good!*
22. *Lena: Oh! You can also eat... Fish! You know like that cooked fish! You*
23. *know that you eat it with white rice so it's very spicy?*
24. *Emenike: Disgusting*
25. *Lena: What do you mean disgusting! You don't know what ayamase is!*
26. *Emenike: And then there's shaki . It's got onions, it's got peppers, shut up*
27. *exactly. Erm you forgot...*
28. *Lena: I forgot...?*
29. *Emenike: I done shaki*

Emenike praises Lena for her knowledge (line 21) and is keen to show that he knows the food as well (line 4). When challenged for not knowing a dish (line 25), he responds defensively and contributes something new, adding its ingredients (line 26), demonstrating a desire to display his knowledge of his heritage culture. This use of the HL for meaning making is a contrasting response to resistance shown at other points in the programme, highlighting the state of flux in which students' attachment to their HL can be in.

5.1.3 Ridicule

Ridicule surfaces throughout the data not only in peer to peer interaction, but more often in the form of self-ridicule. During an introductory discussion, most students talked willingly about the languages they spoke. Mohamed, however, said that he spoke Chinese and said some made up words in a mocking manner. Another way in

which Mohamed expresses ridicule in relation to his heritage is the way that whenever he mentions banana and rice, a typical Somali dish, he repeats it in a Somali accent, raising his voice and rolling his 'r' exaggeratedly. During a presentation about his HL, as can be seen in Extract 4, he talks to his peers about his experience of going to Somalia.

Extract 4

1. *Mohamed: So there was supposed to be everything, chicken and chips,*
2. *banana and rice,...but there was fish, there were so many fishes....there*
3. *was 100% one pound fish*
4. *T: The other thing you had was how you say 'Fish' in Somali*
5. *Mohamed: So in fish yeah, in Somali, we say malai so, yeah malai and*
6. *the way we say in Somali chicken, is doro..*
7. *T: Is what, sorry?*
8. *Jonathan: Wait what?*
9. *Mohamed: Doro*
10. *Jonathan: Doro*
11. *Mohamed – Erm...Yeah there is we have this thing called alole..*
12. *alole.(said in a more Somali accent the second time). erm, erm, it's in, it's*
13. *in, the goats' belly.*
14. *T: Oh ok*
15. *Mohamed: Yeah so we just take the goats belly out yeah, and, it's very*
16. *VERY nice yeah I know it might.. you guys yeah you don't know my*
17. *Somali ways you know what I mean yeah, cos you know in Somalia you..*
18. *that ting, you know what I mean yeah...so, we have some nice goat belly*
19. *which is extremely nice, erm there's lots of nice food in Somali and but*
20. *mostly yeah it's banana and rice (said in Somali accent)*

Recalling a time when he had visited Mogadishu during a presentation to the group, Mohamed refers to a well-known participant on the popular British talent show who sang a song called 'One Pound Fish' in a Punjabi accent (line 3). While it is possible he references the song because it occurred to him then, it could also represent an attempt to protect himself from ridicule by pre-empting it himself. The lack of engagement from the teacher and the students in the reference to the 'One Pound Fish' song makes room for Mohamed to make a positive contribution about his HL

which develops into an encouraged and animated description of a Somali dish and the use of some Somali words to make meaning. Mohamed has been encouraged to display his knowledge of the Somali language, but on the road to this has encountered stumbling blocks, such as a need to trivialise the contribution.

5.2 Hybridity of identity

A sense of hybridity is apparent in various instances in which students are unclear of their own or their family's language or proficiency. For example, when the group watched a video about the different languages spoken in Rusholme, Manchester (Multilingual Manchester 2015), Emenike said that his family spoke like the Hausa speaker and that was his mother's language. However, previously, in response to the question on a reflection task about a clip of multilingual Manchester 'Do you know anyone who speaks the languages in the video', Emenike said he that didn't and when asked how he recognised the language, he responded 'Oh, my family speak it'. This scenario represents a sentiment present throughout the project, which seems to be driven by an uncertainty on behalf of the students on how to name or identify their plurilingualism. Uncertainty about his identity is also a salient feature of Mohamed's discourse about his language. As shown in Extract 5 below, Mohamed is unsure when asked to clarify his linguistic heritage.

Extract 5

1. *Paula: What is your language?*
2. *Mohamed: My language is Somali*
3. *Paula: Isn't that the country?*
4. *Mohamed: Erm...*
5. *T: Somalia is the country, Somali is the language, like England – English*
6. *Mohamed: So my mum said that we are yea, like (quietens) 'Edoma',*
7. *like yeah*

8. *T: What's that?*
9. *Mohamed: A language*
10. *T: A language. Somali?*
11. *Jonathan: Wait so your language is Somali?*
12. *Mohamed: I can check in Google right now*

Mohamed's inclination to search online for the answer to a question about his language demonstrates a less confident knowledge about his language than other students in the group, such as Sara, a Spanish and Hungarian speaker. One likely reason is that Somali is not a language which is widely talked about in comparison to Spanish and therefore the experience of categorising the language is new to Mohamed. In the data, he refers to 'my language' much more often than Somali, as do other students who speak languages that are less talked about in everyday conversation. In this case, Somali is not a language which has the status which comes with being learned as a foreign language in school such as Spanish, which highlights the need to carefully consider the difference in perceptions depending on the status a society affords a language, when promoting HL use equally in schools.

In contrast to the uncertainty demonstrated in Extract 5, firm allegiance to the HL is a theme which surfaced regularly throughout the project and was demonstrated by all students in several ways. During the delivery of presentations that students designed about their heritage language and culture, a wish to boast was apparent, for example when Jonathan talked about Twi (Extract 6):

Extract 6

1. *'And it is mainly used in the capital of Ghana which is called Accra*
2. *(said in Ghanaian accent). It's my home, my home place. Mansions all*
3. *over there'*

Jonathan's description shows his sense of belonging and a desire to elevate the perception of the origin of the language through the use of a representation that evokes wealth. Mohamed shows a similar sense of belonging and pride when talking about food, an element which he wants to embrace as something that belongs to him as shown in Extract 4 (lines 15-20) above. However, there is a notable loosening of allegiance when talking about certain topics such as politics, with which he tends to use the pronoun 'they'.

The hybridity and fluidity of identity revealed through an exploration of Mohamed's expression of his lived experiences is also visible in Emenike's perceptions. Although Emenike somewhat rejects his identity as a Yoruba speaker (Extract 1 above), towards the end of the project, he responded to a HL book design activity by working quietly and independently, using Yoruba websites to find a word for almost every letter of the alphabet for his mini dictionary design (Figure 2).

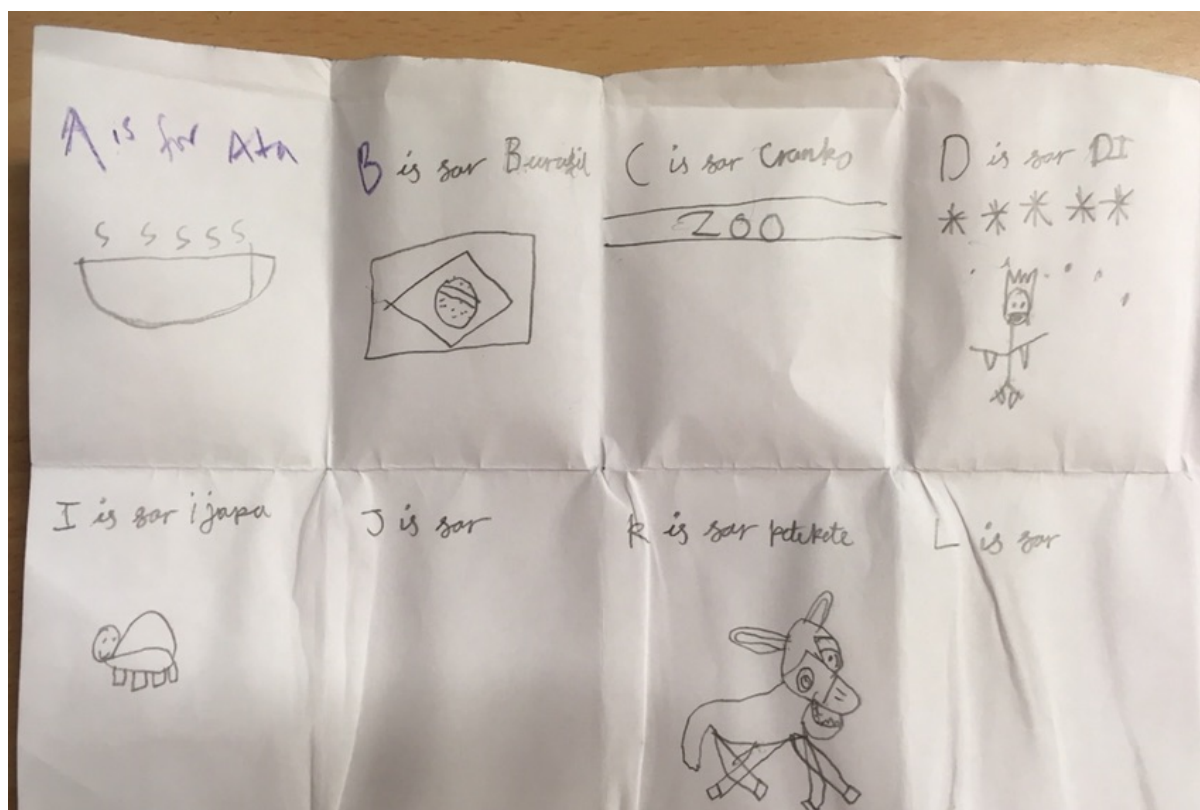


Figure 2 An extract from Emenike's Yoruba dictionary

A lack of clarity is often played out when students are encouraged to include their full linguistic repertoires. Whilst this is a reality that does not necessarily need to be rectified, it indicates that clarification could be explored with all students through pedagogical practices, which could have a positive impact on raising perceptions of the status of HLs amongst the speakers

5.3 Willingness to engage with HLs

Willingness to engage with HLs can vary largely and the data reveals a range of levels of willingness with examples of both resistance and inclination.

5.3.1 Resistance

Resistance to talk about the HL or use it in an open forum is present in various forms across the data, not only manifesting in ridicule but also unwillingness and shyness. A Brawanese speaker born in the UK to parents from Somalia, Khalifa's resistance manifests more in shyness than ridicule. At the beginning of the project, in conversation with me in the corridor, she was keen to talk about her language and its origins. She volunteered herself as a speaker of another language while standing with a friend who was already going to be in the group. She said that she spoke 'Barawa' and when asked about the language, she said it was a language from Yemen and that her family spoke it. However, when the project began and the class were asked to write a short text about themselves in their HL, despite writing something down, she refused to read it aloud, and demonstrated further resistance when I confirmed that the class were all happy being recorded (Extract 7):

Extract 7

1. *T: We are all happy? (to be recorded)*
2. *Ss¹⁴: (Collectively) Yes*
3. *Khalifa: Miss but I'm not speaking in my language*

The idea that she might speak her language to an unknown audience is not something she wants to do with her language. It is interesting to look at the idea of shyness or embarrassment in contrast with pride when considering Khalifa's presentation about food (Extract 8) as something that represents the HL, in contrast with Sara's celebratory presentation about what she refers to as 'traditional' Hungarian food. While

¹⁴ Students

Sara is bold and precise, Khalifa is hesitant and uses turns of phrase that show a seemingly disinterested attitude (Extract 8):

Extract 8

1. *Khalifa: 'Ok my language is Barawa and these are some foods that erm..*
2. *yeah.. First of all is.. I don't know... in my language it's called macarone*
3. *and I don't know what burger is...'*

While this choice of language may represent a disinterested veneer, there may be underlying reasons such as protection for why Khalifa is less forthcoming in representing her heritage culture. Brawanese language and culture is highly minoritised in the UK and understandings of the origins of the language vary amongst speakers¹⁵. There is also uneasiness around whether the community is Somali or not, which is present in one discussion between Khalifa and her peers (Extract 9):

Extract 9

1. *Paula: Khalifa, Khalifa where do you come from? I mean like...*
2. *Khalifa: Oh Wow! People keep asking me that question!*
3. *Mohamed: You come from Yemen*
4. *Khalifa: How do you know that? How do you know where I come from?*
5. *Mohamed: Cos I think I know one of your relations*
6. *Geraldine: Relations?*
7. *Mohamed: It's my cousin's cousin*
8. *Khalifa: (inaudible)*
9. *Mohamed: Barawa Barrrrawa!*

From the tone of her response to being questioned, Khalifa seems to be annoyed by other students probing about her heritage (Lines 2-4). Compared with other instances of peer questioning, this instance is one in which a resistance to share is possibly driven by protection of ethnic identity or by an uncertainty about how to answer the

¹⁵ Personal correspondence with the Brawanese Welfare Association

questions. Either way, it is a predicament that this sort of pedagogical practice should be prepared for, given the importance of identity in adolescence according to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development which identifies the adolescent years as critical for identity formation (Erikson 1968 in Umana-Taylor, et al 2014). Resistance is further evident in instances in which responses to linguistic outlets are minimal in terms of HL use, as can be seen for example in Mohamed's response to a translation challenge (Figure 3), and his engagement with the creative outlets as shown in a language portrait (Figure 4) which is quite one dimensional, referencing only the colour of the Somali flag and some rushed, unintelligible comments about language use.

Translation Challenge

Choose one of the following texts to translate into your language:
(You can start from 1 and work up, or you can start on 2, 3 or 4)

1. **Numbers** – one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten
2. **Introduction:** – Hello my name is Maria. I am 11 years old, I live in Hackney with my mother and my two brothers. I go to Petchey Academy and my favourite subject is Geography.
3. **Story** - Once upon a time, in a small village in a land not that far away, there lived a very sweet little girl, with her mother and father. Her grandmother lived about half an hour's walk away, outside the village, in a clearing in the forest that covered the whole area. The grandmother was especially fond of the little girl, and she had made her a cute little red hat, out of velvet. The girl loved that hat so much that she wore it all hours of the day and night, and so people had started calling her Little Red Cap.
4. **Newspaper** - Liverpool's Mohamed Salah is the 2018 African Football Player of the Year. This is the second year in a row he has won the award. Egypt player Salah, 26, beat Liverpool teammate Sadio Mane of Senegal and Arsenal and Gabon striker Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang to the title. He received the award at a ceremony in Senegal on Tuesday.

har la mo sardan sha

Figure 3 Mohamed's response to a translation challenge

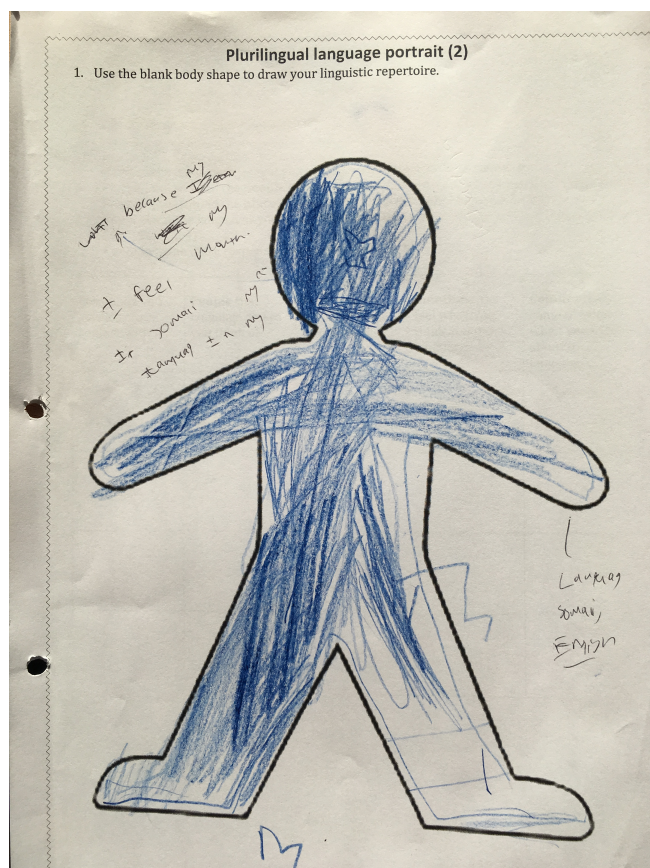


Figure 4 Mohamed's Language Portrait

When asked about his views on HL use in school in a follow-up interview (for questions see Appendix 13), Mohamed expressed resistance to using Somali for educational purposes:

Extract 10

1. T: Ok and how would you feel using your language more in lessons
2. across the school, so for example if the English teacher said 'Put a bit of
3. Somali into your essay' for example?
4. M: I would say no.
5. T: Would you? Why?
6. M: Yeah. I have to say I don't agree at all
7. T: No. Cos you wouldn't want to write it down?
8. M: Nah
9. T: OK. Erm and what about other people, do you think other people
10. would want to do it? Use other languages?
11. M: Yeah, because... I think they lost their minds, they... I don't know
12. T: Who?
13. M: They just wanna do your own language, like why would you wanna
14. do your own language, who you gonna impress?

This exploration into the role that Mohamed's perceptions appear to play in his willingness to view the language as a tool shows that he does not consider his HL as something that necessarily enriches his education. This predicament is in line with Jia's (2008:191) suggestion that a difference in the value placed on HLs can stem from a stronger desire amongst speakers to assimilate 'due to a sense of insecurity about their social status'.

5.3.2 Inclination

Inclination to engage with the HL varies amongst the participants. In contrast to the resistance shown by Mohamed, this occurs rarely with Sara, and her strong identification with her HLs is reflected in her responses to the linguistic outlets such as volunteering to read a piece she wrote in Hungarian to the class and from her detailed language portrait (Figure 5).

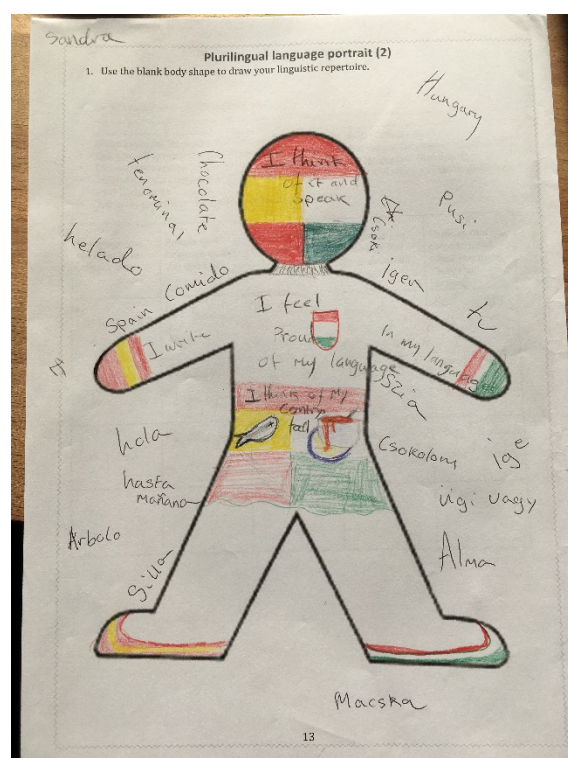


Figure 5 Sara's Language Portrait

In the language portrait task, Sara divided her body into Spanish and Hungarian. She allows the space at the core of her body to be shared by both languages, writing; 'I feel proud of my languages'. She uses vivid colours determined by both country's flags, suggesting proud affiliation and adds examples of words around the body, displaying her knowledge (for more examples of language portraits see appendix 14). When asked about the opportunity to use her languages in classes at school, she responded positively (Extract 11):

Extract 11

1. *Sara: I would think that's a great opportunity for me to get confident*
2. *because I don't actually know how to write in my languages that well*
3. *but I'm learning Spanish in my Spanish lessons but Hungarian I still*
4. *need to learn like erm, the symbols*

In stark contrast to Mohamed's view, Sara embraces the idea to extend her linguistic repertoire as part of her education, matching her positive perceptions of being plurilingual.

6.0 Discussion and implications:

In terms of students' experiences and perceptions of plurilingualism, the story told by the data primarily reveals varying levels of clarity about students' own plurilingualism, reminiscent of what Rampton (2006:54) calls 'a collage of human beings doing social life' during the course of which, 'ethnicity, ... and other identities move unpredictably in and out of focus according to the circumstances'. Perceptions of the concept of

plurilingualism were found to vary from student to student as well as change within individual students.

From the data it is possible to suggest that pride and shyness can come and go depending on the situation and ridicule is often used as protection against pre-empted prejudice, indicative of a prevailing sense of unacceptable difference, perhaps perpetuated by the insubstantial role that languages other than English are afforded in mainstream education. The prevalence of ridicule presents a dimension that warrants consideration by practitioners as does pride, two sentiments which were apparent across the participants and prone to sitting alongside each other in one student rather than being pertinent to individual students. Access to pride is seen in the data to be untapped by means of linguistic outlets. This needs to be carefully manoeuvred by an educator's understanding, which can be as simple as tactically ignoring students' ridicule and focussing on the power that the student is in possession of, for example when sharing language that is unknown to teachers and peers.

Hybridity of identity presented in many ways, signalling a need for work to be done to increase awareness and clarity of HLs given the known benefits of plurilingualism spanning from orthography to sense of self. Participants such as Sara and Desi (both Spanish speakers) have a stronger grip on their language and family migration history than other students in the group who do not speak European languages. This example, as well as others obtained in this study, highlight that ambiguity appears more often in the speakers of non-European languages whereas clarity is more salient in the experience of the speakers of European languages, which are taught as school subjects. Affiliation and desire to connect with the language in these cases is likely influenced by the status awarded by the speakers' socio-political environment. This

highlights the need for recognition of all languages rather than only those deemed useful by the systems in which they operate, raising questions around institutional responsibility to address ambiguities that HL speakers need in order to make sense of as part of their identity development.

An examination of willingness amongst the students showed that inclination to engage with and use the HLs in a mainstream setting was variable and connected to the status afforded to the languages. Students' use of language when talking about their linguistic heritage and choices made about when to communicate in the HL reflect the varying levels of willingness with which students are ready to embrace plurilingualism as a positive aspect of daily life and reveal perceptions which may or may not facilitate the acceptance of plurilingualism as something to be taken seriously at school. Although the students' enthusiasm changed depending on the day or topic being discussed, it can be said, especially for Lena, Desi and Sara that those who regard their languages with high status were more willing to contribute and take the activities seriously than others. Mohamed frequently involves ridicule, mockery or insecurity when talking about his heritage language, and Emenike's willingness changed depending on the context. This contrast indicates that the status afforded to languages, something that is concurrent across the data regardless of the theme, is not a static perception but more likely to be in a state of flux. Resistance surfaced regularly, seen through students references to 'my language', possibly due to an expectation that the hearer will not know the language, but also a possible protection of the language in a forum where it is often a hidden feature which has no outlet within the current monolingual mind-set prevalent in schools.

The themes discussed all influence students' use of the heritage languages and, in turn, the readiness with which students are likely to respond to a plurilingual shift in pedagogical approaches. While hybridity of identity is an expected and welcome feature of adolescents' lives in a migration context, this study also highlights the need for outlets through which roles may be recognised, and the importance of consistent engagement with HLs in challenging such issues in order for fair linguistic representation of a plurilingual cohort.

The ways in which the perceptions of language influence use and the value that is placed on the language are also attached to nationality and race. It has long been accepted that 'efforts to work for social justice in increasingly diverse schools require that educators attend to issues of representation' (Ryan 1999:32). These representations need not all be positive and 'celebrated' but rather reflective of the cohort. This should include availability of space in which speaking one's home language is something that is identified by EAL students as 'part of me' which affects sense of self, self-confidence and an ability to express feelings (Hall 2018:25). While it is a challenging task to respect the range of perspectives in development of plurilingually responsive curricula, this study has served to explore ways in which a deeper understanding of students' perspectives can shape the potential implementation of plurilingual pedagogical approaches against a wider ideological environment of 'monolingual macro-order' (Creese and Blackledge 2010:104).

The study highlights how a modification of linguistic priorities in a mainstream setting has the potential to dislocate and deconstruct language categories and literacies for

broader understandings to take place. The group that this research has been carried out with is representative not only of EAL students but also HL speakers not identified as users of EAL. Whilst there is currently no official EAL curriculum that the outcomes of this research can inform, its consideration is worthwhile for all practitioners involved in the language development of HL speakers. The complex linguistic realities of students concerned and their perceptions of these should inform their secondary school experience, from conversations with individual members of staff to inclusion of HLs in discourse around language learning and production. More such work needs to be done to determine ways in which plurilingual pedagogies can successfully be introduced to mainstream curricula. While this is very context dependent, it is clear that pedagogies need to be responsive and a range of activities need to be available which suit the wide variation of receptions that they may have.

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusions and implications

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1.0 Chapter outline:

This chapter overviews the main findings of the three studies carried out as part of this research. It provides a summary of the findings and implications of each of the studies reported in chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively and summarises the findings overall. I then move on to discuss the limitations of the studies before providing a general conclusion to the work presented here, pointing out the potentially informative patterns that can be taken up in further research. In keeping with the goals of my research I end with a call to action which offers recommendations to support policy and practice in response to linguistic diversity.

2.0 Summary of main findings:

2.1 Study 1: The presence of heritage languages in London secondary schools: A close up examination of speakers' characteristics.

Study 1 (Chapter 2) sets out to address the question of what linguistic survey data can reveal about the characteristics of HL speakers. The findings from the data obtained by the three-part survey I developed presented in Study 1, indicate that the representation of languages of HL speakers of secondary age in official data is likely to be inaccurate. The proportion of bilinguals reported in this sample is much higher than stated in reports from the DfE data as reported directly from the same schools and LA. The study shows a misrepresentation of the linguistic diversity of the students which appears to be due to lack of rigorous approaches to identification of languages and poor wording of questions which is not reflective of the category it is seeking to identify. This finding corresponds with research which has found that over 300 HLs were reported for London in comparison with census data which reported 90

languages (Baker and Eversley 2000), showing that available data is not sufficient to make accurate claims about the range of languages spoken in the capital's schools. It also indicates that the lack of interest in linguistic diversity that the literature review in Chapter 1 (2.0) highlights still persists regarding the development of policy which takes these resources into account.

The range of languages recorded in my survey confirms the heterogeneous nature of students who are categorised as 'EAL' in the research context. The survey data provide information on factors that are likely to impact on students' linguistic experience such as parents' place of birth, parents' length of residence in the UK, attendance at HL school, HL speakers in the students' household, HL usage patterns, parents' occupations, dominance, attitudes and HL proficiency. As such, this type of survey demonstrates that it is possible to provide a much richer account of the individual rather than simply whether or not they speak English as a first language. The wide range of linguistic background data gathered presents an alternative to obscuring the diversity and highlights the need for flexible approaches when considering the pedagogies employed when teaching students within the EAL category.

The data from Study 1 also confirmed that the range of proficiencies was wide, and skills were stronger in listening and speaking, as expected from previous research (Polinsky and Kagan 2007). Factors found to relate most to HL proficiency were gender, HL schooling, place of birth, parents' place of birth and household usage. This is in line with research that has identified that women place more emphasis on the social function of the HL (Holmes 1993), and that more contact with the HL generally

indicates a higher proficiency level in the HL speaker (Schmid 2007, Cook 2003, De Bot et al 1991, Köpke 1999, Paradis 2007).

The other question that Study 1 sets out to address is how this survey and analysis can be applied to other plurilingual secondary school cohorts. The main implication from the findings presented in Chapter 2 is that schools should look further than official data in order to plan for appropriate responses to linguistically diverse classrooms, and surveys like the one designed for this study should be utilised to improve records. A further implication is that the relationship between factors such as input and proficiency can act as a source to refer to when encouraging use of the HL in family language policy. The patterns I found to be specific to certain language groups, such as high/low proficiency and usage and positive/negative attitudes towards the HL, can also be useful for practitioners when planning to use plurilingual approaches in linguistically diverse settings. The overall findings from Study 1 (Chapter 2) highlight the lack of policy and centralised action, and the need for schools to rethink the way they collect data if they want to avoid inaccurate representations of who their students are, in order to effect a meaningful change with regard to responding to the linguistic diversity of their cohorts.

2.2 Study 2: Heritage language speakers' responses to plurilingual pedagogies in a secondary school context

The first research question in Study 2 (Chapter 3) aimed to find out what happens when linguistic repertoires are engaged with in a mainstream setting. Findings indicate that activities such as discussions about language and identity, creative writing and

language portraits are important in developing translingual approaches that actively encourage and support HL use. This is in line with other findings that show the use of arts for language learning and meaning-making are an effective way to overcome the complexity of the concept of translanguaging (Hirsu, Zacharias and Futro 2021). At times, the environment encouraged and promoted effortless translanguaging which was accompanied by pride and surprise in performances of plurilingual selves, showcasing linguistic dexterity (Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2017). The role of heritage culture was found to be important when talking about plurilingualism, often acting as a starting point for discussion about language, supporting calls for the recognition of the importance of culture in learning processes of minority groups which go back to the 1960s (NUT 1967, The Bullock Report 1975, Tickly et al 2006) as well as complementing research which foregrounds the role of heritage culture in identity formation (Lee 2013).

The responses documented in Chapter 3 show that willingness to use the HL in an English dominant environment changes and develops, indicating that such pedagogies can have diverse impacts at different times as well as for different students. Factors such as the mode of the task, or the way in which questions were framed, were influential and students moved in and out of open and closed mind-sets towards using their HLs throughout the project. Challenges to creating a plurilingual curriculum space arose such as; resistance, discomfort, frustration and shyness, as encountered in other recent studies on translanguaging approaches. These challenges highlight unexpected choices when students are provided with the option to use the HL for writing tasks (Smith 2017). The findings discussed within Chapter 3 highlight that an awareness of these responses is crucial in effective planning and

finding ways in which learning environments can be manipulated for optimal responses from students. These are important in terms of helping staff and students to explore plurilingual pedagogies, and to being open-minded to new ways of thinking and learning. All of these are essential in dislodging the dominant monolingual mind-sets that successive policy has fostered and in order to begin to untap potential for engagement and use of full linguistic repertoires.

The other research question in Study 2 addressed the question of how student responses to plurilingual activities can enable better understanding of how to construct and implement plurilingual pedagogies and how these responses can inform wider practice. The study shows how opportunities can be created within existing systems and serves as a preliminary basis for more studies to explore how plurilingual pedagogies might be taken and responded to within diverse contexts. The main implication to be drawn from Study 2 is that legitimatising plurilingual practices is a crucial first step in embracing plurilingual pedagogies such as the use of translations and using HLs to get to grips with concepts in wider curricula and mainstream lessons, thereupon breaking down the barrier caused by the monolingual mind-set that English is the only avenue through which success and language development is available.

2.3 Study 3: ‘Why would you wanna do your own language, who you gonna impress?’ Adolescent heritage language speakers’ perceptions of their plurilingualism.

In response to the research aim of Study 3 (Chapter 4) which sought to identify HL students’ perceptions of plurilingualism, perceptions of the concept were found to vary from student to student, as well as change within individual students over the course

of the project. Students' enthusiasm changed depending on the day or topic being discussed and sentiments such as pride and shyness came and went depending on the situation. The data from Study 3 includes many instances of students displaying pride when sharing features of their HL with the teacher and the peers, empowering them as holders of knowledge. Positive perceptions of the HL surfaced when students felt more comfortable in the environment and were encouraged to use their HL for new purposes.

There was also a sense of difference as a negative feature in need of change, perhaps perpetuated by the insubstantial role that languages other than English are afforded in mainstream education and which was demonstrated through ridicule being used as protection against pre-empted prejudice. Ridicule, mockery or insecurity when talking about HLs feature regularly in the data. Resistance surfaced occasionally, with students denying that they spoke another language at times, or referring to 'my language', possibly due to an expectation that the hearer will not know the language, but also a possible protection of the language in a forum where it is often a hidden feature which has no outlet within the current monolingual mind-set prevalent in schools.

Speakers of European languages in the study demonstrated a stronger grasp of their language and family migration history than speakers of non-European languages where ambiguity appears more often. Affiliation and desire to connect with the HL is a salient feature in the data but it is influenced by the status awarded by the speakers' socio-political environment. The data show that the status afforded to languages is not a static perception, but more likely to be in a state of flux and is connected to inclination

to engage with and use the HLs in a mainstream setting, which was variable. Students' use of language when talking about their linguistic heritage reveal perceptions which may or may not facilitate the acceptance of plurilingualism as something to be taken seriously at school, indicating that the readiness with which students are likely to respond to a plurilingual shift in pedagogical approaches is complex and needs attention in the process. Another lens through which to look at how status and prestige is associated with language is that of race and ethnicity. Status afforded to HLs is linked to race and ethnicity in the data in that the prestige of languages spoken by White communities is higher than that of those spoken by Black speakers, an issue to be aware of when preparing the ground in classrooms for the implementation of plurilingual pedagogies, especially given the way such students have been overlooked historically, as outlined in Chapter 1.

The second research question set out to address how these perceptions shape the potential for plurilingual pedagogical approaches in ideologically monolingual environments. The core implication of Study 3 is that a deeper understanding of students' perspectives is key. The study has brought attention to features of HL speakers' experiences that practitioners should consider, such as ridicule and pride, two elements prone to sitting alongside each other. However, pride can be accessed and untapped by means of linguistic outlets that are carefully manoeuvred by an educator's understanding. This can be as simple as tactically ignoring students' ridicule and focussing on the power that the student is in possession of, for example when sharing language that is unknown to teachers and peers. The consideration of these findings is worthwhile for all practitioners involved in the language development of HL speakers. The complex linguistic realities of students concerned and their

perceptions of these should inform their secondary school experience, from conversations with individual members of staff, to inclusion of HLs in dialogue around language learning and production. The findings show that pedagogies need to be responsive, and a range of activities need to be available which suit the wide variation of receptions that they may have.

3.0 Summary comments

The research in all three studies highlights how a modification of linguistic priorities in a mainstream setting has the potential to dislocate and deconstruct language categories and literacies for broader understandings to take place. However, the institutional response (on a local and national level) needs to take into account that hybridity of identity signals a need for work to be done to increase awareness and clarity of HLs, given the known benefits of plurilingualism spanning from orthography to sense of self. While hybridity of identity is a welcome feature of adolescents' lives, outlets through which roles may be recognised should promote consistent engagement with HLs in order for fair linguistic representation of a plurilingual cohort. There is a need for recognition of all languages rather than only those deemed useful by the systems in which they operate, raising questions around institutional responsibility to address ambiguities that HL speakers need to make sense of as part of their identity development.

Overall, the studies that constitute this thesis aimed to provide a practical exploration of HLs in schools and ways in which the linguistic diversity of students in plurilingual contexts can be harnessed (See Chapter 1, page 11). The starting point of the thesis

was to examine the approaches taken in the last half century in response to linguistic diversity in classrooms (Chapter 1). The literature shows that approaches have been guided by assimilation and monolingualism and that the current dialogue around bilingualism in society continues to be framed by this ideology (Carby 1982, Edwards 1984, Costley 2014, Costley & Leung 2020; Blackledge 2021). There are findings in this study which confirm a continued subscription to monolingual ideologies, such as insufficient data being collected to represent cohorts' linguistic diversity (Chapter 2) and some perceptions that students have of plurilingualism which represent a prevailing prioritisation of English over other languages (Chapter 4), which are regarded as 'a problem' by some. These findings indicate that there are deep-rooted ideologies which need to be dislodged if a change in pedagogies is to be seen, presenting a challenge to the implementation of plurilingual pedagogies both from a policy and practice perspective.

On the other hand, there are findings in this thesis which complement contemporary drives for plurilingual educational approaches outlined in the literature. Students' reports of their HL proficiencies are relatively high despite the dominance of English in their lives. Attitudes towards HLs are generally positive and many students report high HL usage and engagement with HL schooling, showing that there is a stronger presence and vitality of HLs in the lives of students than practitioners may currently be aware of (Chapter 2). These are potentially informative patterns for practitioners that can be explored in further settings in order to update practitioners' knowledge about their cohorts to inform effective responses to diversity within the classroom. The documentation of plurilingual activities and outlets shows that such practices can generate opportunities for linguistic reflection, cultural affiliation, pride in languages,

development of HL literacy and freer expression when accessing full linguistic repertoires (Chapters 3 and 4).

Results from this thesis have indicated the exigency for further research that interrogates current linguistic data collection practices in schools and demonstrates alternatives that can inform the use of more appropriate instruments. The three-part survey designed for the study in Chapter 2 could be reused in further studies with larger samples such as a whole school or an entire Local Authority. A comparison of official data with data from a larger study of this sort would be useful in finding out to what extent the misrepresentation of linguistic diversity presented in this work extends beyond this research context.

Further exploratory research using similar methods and the same set of resources (see Appendices 11 and 12) would extend the contribution of this study with a view to examining perceptions and responses in more inner-city contexts in which linguistic diversity is a key feature of the classroom and examine whether the patterns drawn out of the data presented here extend to other similar contexts. Action research projects at school and teacher training initiatives, as suggested by Costley and Leung (2020:11), are channels through which more documentation could be recorded, as well as in academic research.

4.0 General limitations

I will now consider the limitations of each of the studies presented. I do this as part of the cycle of reflection that is crucial to action research and to highlight the confines of

the context I carried out the research in. Acknowledging the limitations of the study also provides insights into ways in which similar studies can take shape in the future. The limitations presented point towards further research in such contexts being suitable for teams of researchers working together with teachers for maximum documentation and impact.

The first limitation concerns the sample size of the 140 participants in Study 2. Due to access and time restrictions, I was only able to access three schools in the LA and within each school, only the students of the teachers in the ML department who were willing to give up their time to disseminate and collect consent letters. These teachers also had to be willing to allow for one of their lessons to be taken up by the administration of the survey. While it is useful that the current study includes students from a range of school settings within the LA, further studies of this type would benefit from a group of researchers and the collaboration of the local council or education trust in order for all students in the LA to be surveyed. Administration of the survey to a whole school cohort would allow LAs to be much better informed about the languages used in their community and could inform decisions regarding borough wide language policy. The LA in which the research was carried out currently has a blanket policy for all schools to teach Spanish and therefore a recruitment drive for Spanish teachers. According to the data in this study, the language in the sample that is spoken most widely is Turkish. If this survey were to be administered to the whole LA, a more practical approach to choosing a language for all students to learn could be adopted, for example the language that is most widely spoken in order to make the most out of the linguistic resources of the community.

The access that I had to whole classes in their classrooms meant that the most efficient way to administer the task was by using pen and paper methods. While they were useful for the context I was researching, a computerised version would be useful for a replication of this study. Firstly, if the data were electronic, it would have been much faster to analyse, and secondly, in future uses of the survey, sample size could be increased if the format was electronic and access to computer suites was available, or if students were to carry out the questionnaires from their own devices, either in school or at home.

A limitation that concerns the research context of Chapters 3 and 4 was that the setting was not a mainstream classroom context, but a compulsory after-school club option. Further research could look to integrate the practice into a mainstream subject to investigate the responses to such pedagogies being used in mainstream curricula. However, it is important to note that this was an exploratory research design which benefited greatly from the freedom of the teacher/researcher to respond to the students' responses as the programme went on, in line with the action research element of the approach. The lack of curriculum constraints enabled me to try out activities which could then be applied to many subjects such as poetry that can be used in English, language portraits and collective linguistic landscaping through the creation of a mural which could be used in Art, and the creation of HL dictionaries which could be amended to any topic area such as Science or Geography. My role in the research setting as a mainstream teacher also helps bridge the gap between exploratory researcher and practitioner and meant that I could reflect on the types of activities that would be applicable to mainstream lessons in the design of the programme, applying a cyclical action research approach.

Lastly, in terms of ethics, I had to be mindful of the types of activities I carried out with the participants so the methods assumed continuous reflexive ethics throughout the process (Canella and Lincoln 2007). The challenges that presented when working with young people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds included hesitation to own their HL, as described in chapters 3 and 4, and a reason for this could have been a sense of vulnerability from the participants. In some part this vulnerability could come from a desire to assimilate, not wanting to be 'different' from what is presented as the monolingual English norm. On the other hand, vulnerability was also visible in participants not feeling confident with their competencies and the affect this could have on them emotionally. At one point, I was trialling an activity which involved participants listening to Science key words in their HL to see if comprehension of the concept was aided by a HL translation. I played one participant an audio recording of the definition of 'obesity' in Somali and he did not understand it. I could see that the student was upset and, in a worried tone, said that his parents would understand the person speaking, but he did not. I stopped the activity at the first sign of distress and decided not to use the task with any of the other participants. I concluded that since competencies ranged so much that it was fairer to make tasks open so that the participants could bring what they knew to the activity rather than create any feeling of being tested. Similarly, when interviewing young people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, ethical challenges presented which meant that I had to be careful not to make students feel any judgement was being passed on their responses. Rather than asking any questions which required a rating of their language competencies during an interview, I focussed on where, when and with whom the languages were used. Given that the participants were young people, all data

collection was carried out within the school grounds, in classrooms or quiet corridors where students felt safe which is important in terms of safeguarding.

5.0 A call to action

I would like to end this thesis by framing the work presented here as a call to action for other practitioners to consider the importance of harnessing and enhancing the plurilingualism of students who possess a wealth of linguistic resources that current practices do not make recourse to. In terms of moving on from the power imbalance of the 1960s led by perceived 'inferiority' of minority languages (Leung 2013), there is much to say that contemporary educational outlooks on pedagogy which draw on diverse linguistic resources have made advances. These advances are exemplified by the individual studies in this thesis by way of showing what can be achieved if a light is shone on this aspect of the cohort and characteristics of the students are examined, explored and taken into account.

The NUT advocated expression of language in integration in 1967 and pointed out the value of languages not only to the speakers but also to the enrichment of mainstream cultural and social traditions (NUT 1967). Patterns I have found in this thesis, such as the relationship between pride and HL use and the value of a space in which use of the HL is encouraged, support others in the field whose findings shed light on ways in which plurilingual pedagogies can be used to enrich mainstream curricula (Sneddon 2000, Creese and Blackledge 2008, ROMtels 2018). The review of literature presented shows that the idea that 'no child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home' (The Bullock Report 1975) has not been actioned by national policy nor national ideologies, however this thesis contributes to the

argument that this statement should stand well and truly at the heart of inclusive education and can indeed happen in diverse linguistic contexts.

Through this thesis, I have highlighted those theories about bilingualism such as translanguaging and the role of the L1 in emotional expression can be applied to HL speakers in inner-city educational contexts. The idea that expression which may be lost due to conceptual reconstruction in a language other than the HL (Pavlenko 2002) can be regained through translingual pedagogy is demonstrated, as are ways in which activities designed to encourage use of linguistic resources can empower students as knowledge makers, employing ‘funds of knowledge’ in mainstream settings. There is growing work in translanguaging pedagogy internationally and in UK contexts such as the one in this study. Practical ideas and approaches range from peer teaching of HLs (García, Flores & Chu 2011), introducing new topics in the HL using translators from the community (Romtels 2018) to advocating trust in pupils through arts based translingual approaches (Hirsu, Zachararias and Futro 2021). These drives and studies are not in isolation but are part of a wider movement that this research contributes to which should be taken into consideration by all practitioners who teach in plurilingual settings. This thesis has provided insights into students’ perceptions and receptions of the approach, equipping mainstream practitioners with enriched knowledge about how to go about including plurilingual pedagogies in their practice.

This research is making a contribution to setting the agenda for the ‘multilingual turn’ which advocates an alternative to current monolingual language practices. It shows that making languages visible as resources rather than barriers is possible. It highlights challenges such as students not wanting to speak their language (‘Miss I’m

not speaking my language') and accomplishments such as students' ease with accessing linguistic repertoires developing in line with the creation of a safe space in which to do so. This study serves as an example of practices that can be explored in endeavours to adapt current teaching to respond to linguistically diverse classrooms at the same time as documenting the students' reactions and perceptions which are useful for planning and reflection.

A final question to address is what aspect of the research is most impactful to whom; for policy and for practitioners. For policy, the first issue is data collection. If school census data were to reinstate the requirement to collect English proficiency of the students, schools would be obliged to collect more detailed data on diversity amongst students who fall into the category of EAL. Furthermore, requirements for school data should be extended to first language(s) and some indication of the proficiency students have in this/these. A condensed version of the Language Proficiency Questionnaire used in Chapter 2 (Appendix 7) would be suitable. For practitioners, the information collected in a survey like the one designed for this study is useful for finding out what is important for their group. Documentation of students' perceptions and responses to the approaches helps teachers anticipate possible reactions and plan accordingly. Educational environments have a duty to take responsibility for a linguistically inclusive ethos, within a policy picture in which linguistic diversity is disregarded. In light of the continued disregard displayed by the recent decision by OFSTED to abolish the role of national lead for EAL (NALDIC 2021), knowing more about HLS students is necessary to enable teachers to see crucial connections, therefore equipping education environments with appropriate responses to currently untapped plurilingual resources.

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Appendix 1 – Letter explaining the background of the research

(Study 1)

Dear Parent,

As a student of _____, your child has been selected to take part in a research project with the University of Essex. The PhD research project is investigating the relationship between language competence and literacy.

Your child's participation in the project would involve completing a **language survey, a vocabulary task, and a grammar task**, which would take place during MFL lessons this year. Since your child is under 18, in order for the data to be used in research, **parental consent is required**.

Confidentiality will be protected at all times in the research process, and no named individuals will be identified. The results of the survey and tasks will be useful for your child's records within school, so they may be used internally in order to inform teaching and learning.

Your child's participation would be a very helpful contribution to the field of language learning and would benefit the teaching and learning of our students. I would be extremely grateful for your cooperation.

Please read the attached Participant Information Sheet before you return the consent form by, indicating whether or not you are happy for your child to participate in the project.

Yours sincerely,

Sophie Liggins
PhD researcher
Department of Language and Linguistics
University of Essex

Appendix 2 - Participant Information Sheet (Study 1)

Participant Information Sheet Research into Language Proficiency and Literacy of Secondary Aged Students

Invitation to our study

As a secondary school student, we would like to invite you to participate in this research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information.

Background on the project

The project is about how language skills and language use relate to literacy development.

Participation

Participating in the research involves completing a language survey and completing two language tasks. Overall participation will not take more than **two hours**. Participation will take place during a maximum of two sessions, during MFL lessons between November 2018 and July 2019.

Informed consent

Should you agree to take part in this experiment, you and your parent will be asked to sign a consent form before the tasks are given to you to complete.

Withdrawal

Your participation is voluntary and you will be free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason and without penalty. If you wish to withdraw, you simply need to notify the principal investigator (contact details below).

Data gathered

We will collect the following data for each participant: name, age, gender, sex, ethnicity, academic records, language use, and responses to a vocabulary and grammar task. The data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and electronic files will only be accessible to project researchers. Signed consent forms will be kept separately from individual experimental data and locked in a drawer until the end of the project.

Findings

After the end of the project, we will publish the findings of our experiments (all data published will be anonymised). We will be happy to provide you with a summary of the main findings and with copies of the articles published if you express an interest.

Concerns and complaints

If you have any concerns, please contact the principal investigator of the project (see contact details below).

Ethical approval

This project has been reviewed on behalf of the University of Essex Ethics Committee and had been given approval.

Appendix 3 – Consent Form (Study 1)

Consent Form

Department of Language and Linguistics, University of Essex
Module supervisor: Professor Monika Schmidt
Researcher: Sophie Liggins

What is the project about?

The project is about how language skills relate to literacy and academic achievement.

What does participating involve?

It involves (1) completing a language questionnaire and (2) completing two language tasks.

Overall participation will not take more than two hours maximum. Participation will take place during MFL lesson between November 2018 and July 2019.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

Yes **No**

Taking Part

I have read and understood the project information given. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project (see contact below). ☐ Yes ☐ No

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include my responses being transcribed and my school data being accessed by the researcher. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part. ☐ Yes ☐ No

Use of the information I provide for this project only

I understand my personal details such as name, email address and phone number will not be revealed to people outside the project. ☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that, for the purposes of teaching and learning, data from the survey and tasks will be kept on the school's internal data network.

I understand that my words may be quoted in the research thesis which will report on this project. ☐ Yes ☐ No

Name of participant

Signature

Date

Name of **parent** of participant

Signature

Date

Researcher

Signature

Date

Contact details for further information:

Researcher:

Sophie Liggins

Email: sl16790@essex.ac.uk

Module supervisor:

Professor Monika Schmid

Email: mschmid@essex.ac.uk

Appendix 4 – Letter explaining the background of the research (Studies 2 and 3)

Dear Parent,

As a student of the _____ Academy, your child has been selected to take part in a research project with the University of Essex. The PhD research project is investigating the relationship between language competence and literacy.

Your child's participation in the project would involve being part of a specific Enhanced group which focuses on bilingualism and how multiple languages can be used creatively. Your child's timetable would remain the same as the sessions take place on Wednesdays between 3.30pm-4pm.

Your child has been chosen due to their ability to speak more than one language. The program includes raising awareness around bilingualism and activities which encourage the use of more than one language at school. In order for the data to be used in research, **parental consent is required**.

Confidentiality will be protected at all times in the research process, and no named individuals will be identified in the final report. The results of the survey and tasks will be useful for your child's records within school, so they may be used internally in order to inform teaching and learning.

Your child's participation would be a very helpful contribution to the field of language learning and would benefit the teaching and learning of our students. I would be extremely grateful for your cooperation.

Please read the attached Participant Information Sheet before you return the consent form by, indicating whether or not you are happy for your child to participate in the project.

Yours sincerely,

Sophie Liggins

PhD researcher

Department of Language and Linguistics

University of Essex

Appendix 5 - Participant Information Sheet (Studies 2 and 3)

Participant Information Sheet Research into Language Proficiency and Literacy of Secondary Aged Students

Invitation to our study

As a bilingual secondary school student, we would like to invite you to participate in this research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information.

Background on the project

The project is about how language skills and language use relate to literacy development.

Participation

It involves participation in a program of activities which encourage participants to use languages other than English creatively, such as poetry writing, storytelling and theatre production. Additionally, participants will be expected to complete a series of questionnaires and language tasks before and after the program in order to measure the impact of the method.

Participation will take place during timetabled Enhanced sessions every Wednesday between 3.30 and 4pm. The program will last from February 2019 until July 2019.

During the project, the participants will be encouraged to keep a learner journal which can be filled in during class but also at home. Some sessions may be audio-recorded and some sessions, such as theatre productions, may be video-recorded, if parental consent is given.

Informed consent

Should you agree to take part in this project, you and your parent will be asked to sign a consent form before the tasks are given to you to complete.

Withdrawal

Your participation is voluntary and you will be free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason and without penalty. If you wish to withdraw, you simply need to notify the principal investigator (contact details below).

Data gathered

We will collect the following data for each participant: name, age, gender, sex, ethnicity, academic records, language use, and responses to a vocabulary and grammar task. The data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and electronic files will only be accessible to project researchers. Signed consent forms will be kept separately from individual experimental data and locked in a drawer until the end of the project.

Findings

After the end of the project, we will publish the findings of our experiments (all data published will be anonymised). We will be happy to provide you with a summary of the main findings and with copies of the articles published if you express an interest.

Concerns and complaints

If you have any concerns, please contact the principal investigator of the project (see contact details below).

Ethical approval

This project has been reviewed on behalf of the University of Essex Ethics Committee and had been given approval.

Contact details for further information:**PhD Researcher:**

Sophie Liggins

Email: sl16790@essex.ac.uk

PhD supervisor:

Professor Monika Schmid

Email: mschmid@essex.ac.uk

Appendix 6 - Consent Form (Studies 2 and 3)

Participant Consent Form

Department of Language and Linguistics, University of Essex

Module supervisor: Professor Monika Schmidt

Researcher: Sophie Liggins

What is the project about?

The project is about how **language skills** relate to literacy and academic achievement.

What does participating involve?

It involves participation in a program of activities which encourage participants to use languages other than English creatively, such as poetry, storytelling, online animation, and theatre.

Additionally, participants will be expected to complete a series of questionnaires and language tasks before and after the program to measure the impact of the method.

During the project, the participants will be encouraged to keep a learner journal which can be filled in during class but also at home. The participants will take part in some interviews with the researcher which may be audio-recorded and some sessions, such as theatre productions, may be video-recorded. Participation will take place during timetabled Enhanced sessions on Wednesdays between 2.30 and 4pm. The program will last from February 2019 until July 2019.

Consent Form

Please write your initials in the appropriate boxes

Taking Part:

I have read and understood the project information given in the Participant Information Sheet.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and audio-recorded.

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.

Use of the information I provide for this project only:

I understand that personal details such as name, email address and phone number will not be revealed to people outside the project.

I understand that data from school records, such as grades and attendance figures, will be accessed by the researcher and will be used confidentially for the purposes of the research.

I understand that the data provided will be securely stored and accessible only to the members of the research team directly involved in the project, and that confidentiality will be maintained.

Participant Parent

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<input type="checkbox"/>	▪	<input type="checkbox"/>	▪
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I understand that my words may be quoted in the coursework assignment, which will report on this project.



I understand that data collected in this project might be shared as appropriate and for publication of findings, in which case data will remain completely anonymous.



Name of participant Signature Date

Name of **parent** of participant Signature Date

Researcher Signature Date

Contact details for further information:

Researcher:

Sophie Liggins

Email: sl16790@essex.ac.uk

Module supervisor:

Professor Monika Schmid

Email: mschmid@essex.ac.uk

Appendix 7 –General Information Questionnaire (GIQ)

General Information PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS

1. **Name:** _____ 2. **Age:** _____

3. **School Year:** ☐Yr 7 ☐Yr 8 ☐Yr 9 ☐Yr 10 ☐Yr 11 4. **Sex:** ☐Male ☐Female

5. What is your ethnic group?

☐ White British ☐ White European ☐ Asian or Asian British ☐ Black African
☐ Black Caribbean ☐ Black British ☐ Other Ethnic Groups: Please state
_____ multiple ethnicity: Please
state _____

6. Other Language: Please choose **ONE of the following options:**

- I know a language other than English outside of school (other than French or Spanish at school), and this language is _____
- I don't know a language other than English outside of school but I study a language at school . This language is _____

7. Please repeat the language you have stated as your OTHER LANGUAGE:

7. Were you born in the UK?

- Yes
- No. I have lived here since the age of: _____

8. Were your parents born in the UK?

- Yes
- No. they have lived here since the age of: _____ / For _____ years

9. Have you ever attended a school where your other language is spoken?(This could be a school in a foreign country, or a Sunday school in the UK)

10. Who do you live with?

11. What are the occupations of the people you live with?

12. Who speaks your **other language** in your household?

13. Do you have any special educational needs?

Appendix 8 – Language Proficiency Questionnaire (LPQ)

Language Proficiency

Please read each statement and say how well you can do to do it by choosing the description that suits your ability:

Part 1: Abilities in English **Listening comprehension / Understanding**

1. **I can tell when English is being spoken**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

2. **I can understand simple statements and questions ('Hello' 'How are you?' 'What is your name?' 'Where do you live?' etc) in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

3. **I can understand someone-speaking slowly and carefully in a conversation in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

4. **I can join in with other people's conversations**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

5. **I can follow instructions given to me by someone in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well

2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all
6. **I can understand jokes told by people I know in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
7. **I understand the main points if two people are arguing in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
8. **I can understand someone who is talking quickly on the telephone in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
9. **I can understand television programmes and films in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
10. **I can understand the words of popular songs on the radio in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

Reading ability

11. **I can read single words in English**

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

12. I can read short sentences in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

13. I can read a short story in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

14. I can read social media posts in English, with pictures

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

15. I can read letters, cards, postcards and emails from friends and family in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

16. I can read the newspaper and understand the journalist's point of view in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Speaking ability

17. **I can use single words, name objects in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

18. **I can copy new words in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

19. **I can count to 10 in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

20. **I can ask simple questions in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

21. **I can talk about things in the room/ things that I can point to in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

22. **I can say how I am feeling and what I am thinking in English**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all

23. I can introduce myself in social situations, and use appropriate greetings in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

24. I can tell a fictional story with a beginning, a middle and an end in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

25. I can pretend to be someone else (playing/acting) in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

26. I can fix something I say incorrectly or 'backtrack' quickly so that it doesn't seem like a mistake in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

27. I can speak to people who only speak English so that they understand easily

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

28. I can speak formally and politely in situations where people do not know me in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well

3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

29. I can defend myself in an argument or a debate in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Writing ability

30. I can write my name in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

31. I can write short sentences in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

32. I can write a short note/ text message to a friend or family member in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

33. I can write a social media post in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

34. I can change my style of writing style, depending on who will be reading it in English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

35. I can write like a native speaker of English

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Part 2: Abilities in your other language

36. Which of the following describes your 'other language'

1. The other language I speak outside of school, with family or friends
2. The language I am learning in school (such as French, Spanish or German).

Listening comprehension / Understanding

37. I can tell when my other language is being spoken

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

38. I can understand simple statements and questions ('Hello' 'How are you?' 'What is your name?' 'Where do you live?' etc) in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

39. I can understand someone speaking slowly and carefully in a conversation in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty

6. I cannot do this at all
40. **I can join in with other people's conversations**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
41. **I can follow instructions given to me by someone in my other language**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
42. **I can understand jokes told by people I know in my other language**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
43. **I understand the main points if two people are arguing in my other language**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
44. **I can understand someone who is talking quickly on the telephone in my other language**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty
 5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
 6. I cannot do this at all
45. **I can understand television programmes and films in my other language**
 1. I can do this extremely well
 2. I can do this very well
 3. I can do this quite well
 4. I can do this with some difficulty

5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

46. I can understand the words of popular songs on the radio in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Reading ability

47. I can read single words in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

48. I can read short sentences in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

49. I can read a short story in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
- A. I can do this very well
- B. I can do this quite well
- C. I can do this with some difficulty
- D. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
- E. I cannot do this at all

50. I can read social media posts in English, with my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

51. I can read letters, cards, postcards and emails from friends and family in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

52. I can read the newspaper and understand the journalist's point of view in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Speaking ability

53. I can use single words, name objects in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

54. I can copy new words in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

55. I can count to 10 in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
- A. I can do this very well
- B. I can do this quite well
- C. I can do this with some difficulty
- D. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
- E. I cannot do this at all

56. I can ask simple questions in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

57. I can talk about things in the room/ things that I can point to in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

58. I can say how I am feeling and what I am thinking in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

59. I can introduce myself in social situations, and use appropriate greetings in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

60. I can tell a fictional story with a beginning, a middle and an end in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

61. I can pretend to be someone else (playing/acting) in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

62. I can fix something I say incorrectly or 'backtrack' quickly so that it doesn't seem like a mistake in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well

4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

63. I can speak to people who only speak my other language so that they understand easily

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

64. I can speak formally and politely in situations where people do not know me my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

65. I can defend myself in an argument or a debate in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Writing ability

66. I can write my name in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

67. I can write short sentences in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

68. I can write a short note/ text message to a friend or family member in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

69. I can write a social media post in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

70. I can change my style of writing style, depending on who will be reading it, in my other language

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

71. I can write like a native speaker of my other language.

1. I can do this extremely well
2. I can do this very well
3. I can do this quite well
4. I can do this with some difficulty
5. I can do this, but with a lot of difficulty
6. I cannot do this at all

Appendix 9 - Language Usage and Attitudes Questionnaire (LUAQ):

Language profile

*We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions about your language use. This survey was created by the Department of Language and Linguistics at the University of Essex to better understand the way language is used in diverse settings. **This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Please answer every question and give your answers honestly. Thank you for your contribution.***

Please answer on the SEPARATE ANSWER SHEET by filling in the circle that matches your answer.

Biographical Information:

1. Who do you live with? (You can choose MORE THAN ONE option for this question)

1. Mother
2. Father
3. Step-parent
4. Grandparents
5. Aunties and uncles
6. Siblings
7. Cousins
8. Other family members

2. What are the occupations of the adults in your household?

1. Employed
2. Unemployed
3. A mixture of employed and unemployed
4. Studying

3. How many schools have you attended?

1. Two
2. Three
3. Four
4. More than four

4. Do you have any special educational needs?

1. Dyslexia
2. Dyscalculia
3. ADHD
4. Speech and Language difficulties
5. Autism or Asperger's
6. Physical/ Medical need

Language History

5. At what age did you start learning English?

1. Since birth
2. Aged 1-2
3. Aged 3-4
4. Aged 5-6
5. Aged 7-8
6. Aged 9-10
7. Ages 10-11
8. Aged 12+

6. At what age did you start to feel comfortable using English?

1. Aged 0-4
2. Aged 5-6
3. Aged 7-8
4. Aged 9-10
5. Ages 10-11
6. Aged 12+
7. Not yet comfortable

7. How many years of schooling have you had in English?

1. None
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-5 years
4. 6-8 years
5. 9-10 years
6. All of my education

8. At what age did you start to read in English?

1. Aged 3-4
2. Aged 5-6
3. Aged 7-8
4. Aged 9-10
5. Ages 10-11
6. Aged 12-13
7. Aged 14-16
8. Cannot yet read the language

9. How much time have you spent in a country where English is spoken?

1. No time
2. Occasionally for visits
3. 1-2 years
4. 3-4 years
5. 5-6 years
6. 7-8 years
7. 9-10 years
8. 11+ years

10. How many years have you spent in a family where English is spoken?

1. No time
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-4 years
4. 5-6 years
5. 7-8 years
6. 9-10 years
7. 10-14 years
8. All of my life

11. How many years have you spent in a school where English is spoken?

1. Less than one year
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-4 years
4. 5-6 years
5. 7-8 years
6. 9-10 years
7. 10-14 years
8. All of my education

12. At what age did you start learning your other language?

1. Since birth
2. Aged 1-2
3. Aged 3-4
4. Aged 5-6
5. Aged 7-8
6. Aged 9-10
7. Ages 10-11
8. Aged 12+

13. At what age did you start to feel comfortable using your other language?

1. Aged 0-4
2. Aged 5-6
3. Aged 7-8
4. Aged 9-10
5. Ages 10-11
6. Aged 12+
7. Not yet comfortable

14. How many years of schooling have you had in your other language?

1. None
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-5 years
4. 6-8 years
5. 9-10 years
6. All of my education

15. At what age did you start to read in your other language?

1. Aged 3-4
2. Aged 5-6
3. Aged 7-8
4. Aged 9-10
5. Ages 10-11
6. Aged 12-13
7. Aged 14-16
8. Cannot yet read the language

16. How much time have you spent in a country where your other language is spoken?

1. No time
2. Occasionally for visits
3. 1-2 years
4. 3-4 years
5. 5-6 years
6. 7-8 years
7. 9-10 years
8. 11+ years

17. How many years have you spent in a family where your other language is spoken?

1. No time
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-4 years
4. 5-6 years
5. 7-8 years
6. 9-10 years
7. 10-14 years
8. All of my life

18. How many years have you spent in a school where your other language is spoken?

1. No time
2. 1-2 years
3. 3-4 years
4. 5-6 years
5. 7-8 years
6. 9-10 years
7. 10-14 years
8. All of my education

Language use

19. How often do you talk about school and your education?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year

5. Very Rarely

20. Which language(s) do you use to talk about school and your education?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

21. How often do you talk to immediate family (the family you live with)?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

22. Which language(s) do you use to talk to immediate family (the family you live with)?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

23. How often do you talk about house-related matters (cooking, cleaning, etc.)?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

24. Which language(s) do you use to talk about house-related matters

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

25. How often do you talk to distant family (family members who do not live with you)?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week

3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

26. Which language(s) do you use to talk to distant family (family members who do not live with you)?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language ☐☐☐☐☐☐

27. How often do you talk about other people?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

28. Which language(s) do you use to talk about other people

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

29. How often do you talk about food?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

30. Which language(s) do you use to talk about food?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

31. How often do you talk about holidays/trips?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week

3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

32. Which language(s) do you use to talk about holidays/trips?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language ☐☐☐☐☐☐

33. How often do you talk about clothes?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

34. Which language(s) do you use to talk about clothes?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

35. How often do you talk about sport?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

36. Which language(s) do you use to talk about sport?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

37. How often do you talk about health?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month

4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

38. Which language(s) do you use to talk about health?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

39. How often do you talk about politics?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

40. Which language(s) do you use to talk about politics?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

41. How often do you talk about religion?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

42. Which language(s) do you use to talk about religion?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

43. How often do you talk about love/affection?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year

5. Very Rarely

44. Which language(s) do you use to talk about love/affection?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

45. How often do you talk about nature?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

46. Which language(s) do you use to talk about nature?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

47. How often do you write for schoolwork/take notes?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

48. Which language(s) are involved when you write for schoolwork/take notes?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

49. How often do you write personal letters/cards/emails?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month

4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

50. Which language(s) are involved when you write personal letters/cards/emails?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

51. How often do you watch television?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

52. Which language(s) are involved when you watch television?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

53. How often do you attend clubs after school or at weekends?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

54. Which language(s) are involved when you attend clubs after school or at weekends?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

55. How often do you engage in social media activity (Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter)?

1. Daily

2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

56. Which language(s) are involved when you engage in social media activity

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

57. How often do you count/calculate (including Maths class and daily life)?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

58. Which language(s) are involved when you count/calculate

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

59. How often do you read for pleasure (books, magazines, newspapers)?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

60. Which language(s) are involved when you read for pleasure (books, magazines, newspapers)?

1. 100% English
1. 80% English and 20% Other Language
2. 60% English and 40% Other Language
3. 50% English and 50% Other Language
4. 40% English and 60% Other Language
5. 20% English and 80% Other Language
6. 100% Other Language

61. How often do you express your feelings?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

62. Which language(s) are involved when you express your feelings?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

63. How often do you sing to yourself?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

64. Which language(s) are involved when you sing to yourself?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

65. How often do you pray?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

66. Which language(s) are involved when you pray?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

67. How often do you talk to yourself?

1. Daily

2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

68. Which language(s) are involved when you talk to yourself?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

69. How often do you talk to pets?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

70. Which language(s) are involved when you talk to pets?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

71. How often do you argue?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week
3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

72. Which language(s) are involved when you argue?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

73. How often do you listen to other people's conversations?

1. Daily
2. A few times a week

3. A few times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Very Rarely

74. Which language(s) are involved when you listen to other people's conversations?

1. 100% English
2. 80% English and 20% Other Language
3. 60% English and 40% Other Language
4. 50% English and 50% Other Language
5. 40% English and 60% Other Language
6. 20% English and 80% Other Language
7. 100% Other Language

Overall Language Ability

In this section, we would like you to rate your language ability by choosing the description which suits your ability.

75. How well do you speak English?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

76. How well do you speak your other language?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

77. How well do you understand English?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

78. How well do you understand your other language?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty

6. Not well at all

79. How well do you read English?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

80. How well do you read your other language?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

81. How well do you write English?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

82. How well do you write your other language?

1. Extremely well
2. Very well
3. Quite well
4. Well, but with some difficulty
5. With a lot of difficulty
6. Not well at all

Language Attitudes

In this section, we would like you to choose the description which suits your attitude to your language(s).

83. I feel like myself when I speak English

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

84. I feel like myself when I speak my other language

1. Strongly agree

2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly Disagree

85. I identify with an English speaking culture

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

86. I identify with the culture of my other language

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

87. It is important to me to use (or eventually use) English like a native speaker

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

88. It is important to me to use (or eventually use) my other language like a native speaker

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

89. I want others to think I am a native speaker of English

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

90. I want others to think I am a native speaker of my other language

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Slightly disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly disagree

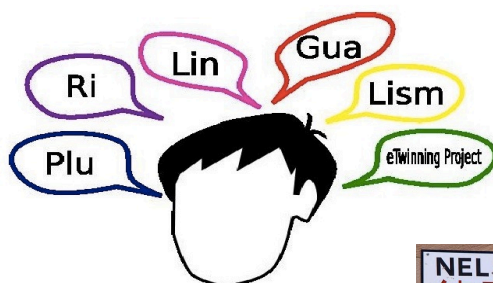
Appendix 10 - Language other than English Distribution

	Total	School A	School B	School C
African	1	0	1	0
Albanian	2	0	1	0
Arabic	7	4	1	2
Bengali	16	7	6	3
Bravanese	1	0	0	1
Chinese	1	1	0	0
Creole	1	1	0	0
Creole (Mauritian)	1	1	0	0
Dutch	1	0	1	0
Edo	1	0	1	0
Fanti (Ghanaian)	1	0	1	0
French	10	6	4	0
Gaelic	1	0	0	1
German	4	2	2	0
Greek	1	0	1	0
Gujarati	15	7	5	3
Hindi	1	0	0	1
Hungarian	2	0	0	2
Igbo	1	1	0	0
Italian	1	0	1	0
Japanese	1	0	1	0
Kurdish	1	0	1	0
Lingala	2	0	2	0
Mandarin	1	0	0	1
Norwegian	1	1	0	0
Patois	3	1	0	2
Polish	2	1	0	1
Portuguese	3	0	1	2
Shona	1	1	0	0
Somali	3	1	1	1
Spanish	3	1	2	0
Turkish	15	0	7	8
Twi	5	0	3	2
Ukrainian	1	0	0	1
Urdu	13	7	2	4
Vietnamese	4	1	0	3
Welsh	1	1	0	0
Wolof	1	1	0	0
Yoruba	9	1	6	2

Zulu	1	1	0	0
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Appendix 11 – Enhanced Plurilingualism Project Resources

Enhanced Plurilingualism

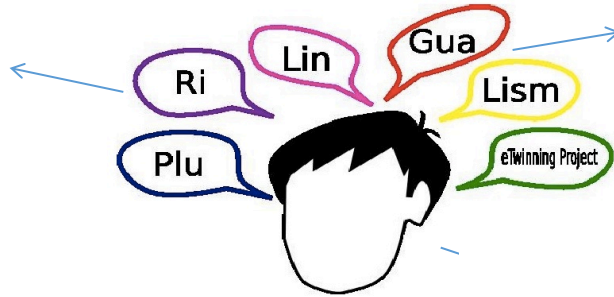


Name.....

Seminar Group.....

Introduction to Plurilingualism

What is plurilingualism?



ACTIVITY 1: Create a brainstorm of all of the things that plurilingualism makes you think of. Have a guess at the definition.

(To be completed later in the lesson) Write down in your own words the definition of the following words:

Multilingualism:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Plurilingualism:

.....
.....
.....

Where do you see your daily life on these scales? Draw a mark to show how you feel:

Very Multilingual |-----| Not Multilingual at all

Very Plurilingual |-----| Not Plurilingual at all

Angelica the Plurilingual

ACTIVITY 2: Watch the clip and answer the following questions as you watch:

1. How does the presenter describe plurilingualism? (4 words)

.....

2. Where was Angelica born?

.....

3. What are her parents' linguistic backgrounds?

.....

4. What is the language group that includes Portuguese, Spanish and Italian?

.....

5. What did Angelica call the orange?

.....

6. What did Angelica's teacher tell her?

.....

7. What did her IQ test reveal?

.....

8. Why did Angelica feel trapped at school?

.....

9. What did Angelica get excited about at school?

.....

10. What helped Angelica to learn English?

.....

11. What happened to Angelica's Italian and Spanish?

.....

12. Where did Angelica go to university?

.....

13. Where did the name of the station come from?

.....

14. What do you think the presenter means by 'linguistically fruitful'?

.....

15. Why does Angelica call herself plurilingual?

.....

16. Is Angelica's ability the same in all her languages?

.....

17. What does Angelica see as a main benefit of being plurilingual?

.....

Reflect on the following:

❖ Do you know anyone who has a similar story to Angelica?

❖ Are you plurilingual?

❖ Do you have opportunities to be plurilingual?

❖ What have your teachers told you about your languages?

Language Background Questionnaire

1. **Age:** _____ Years _____ Months
2. **School Year:** ☐Yr 7 ☐Yr 8 ☐Yr 9 ☐Yr 10 ☐Yr 11
3. **Sex:** ☐Male ☐Female
4. **What is your ethnic group?**
☐White British
☐White European
☐Asian or Asian British
☐Black African
☐Black Caribbean
☐Black British
☐Other Ethnic Groups: Please state _____
☐Mixed/ multiple ethnicity: Please state _____

9. **What is the language (or languages) that you use most, other than English?**

10. Were you born in the UK?
☐ Yes
☐ No. I have lived here since the age of: _____

11. Were your parents born in the UK?

Mother:

- ☐ Yes
☐ No. They have lived here since the age of:

Father:

- ☐ Yes
☐ No. They have lived here since the age of:

12. Have you ever attended a school where your other language is spoken?(Ths could be a school in a foreign country, or a Sunday school in the UK)

13. Who do you live with?

14. What are the occupations (jobs/daily activity) of the people you live with?

14. Who speaks your **other language** in your household?

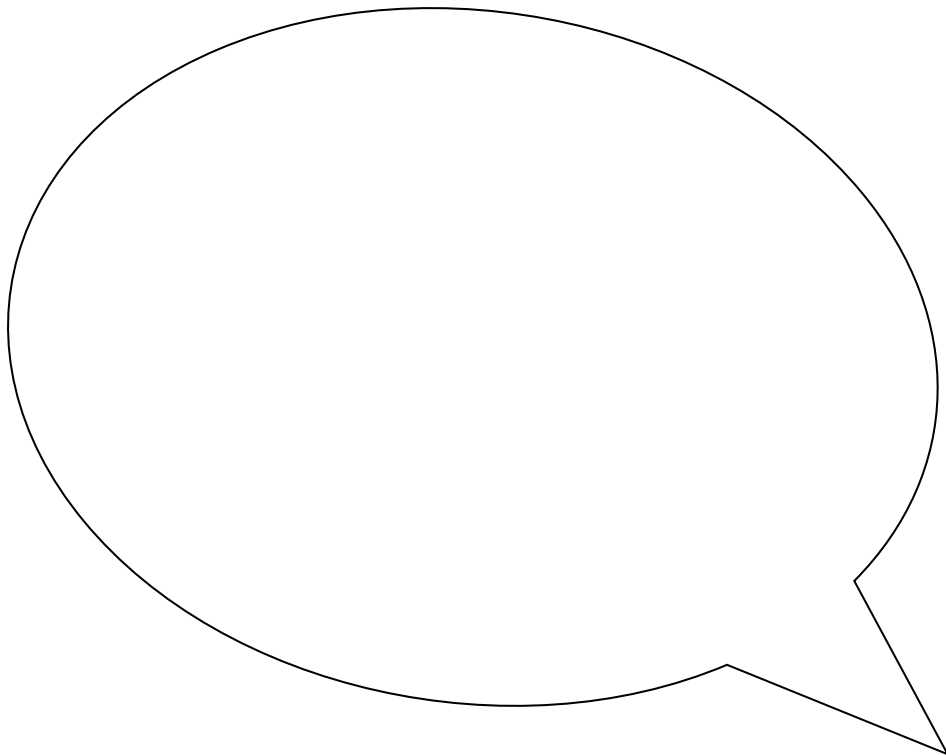
Class Survey

1. How many languages are spoken in the group? _____
2. How many people speak more than two languages? _____
3. How many people were born outside of the UK? _____
4. How many people have attended school in another language? _____
5. How many people speak their other language with siblings? _____

Multilingual Manchester

1. How many languages is Manchester home to?
.....
2. How much of Manchester's population speak more than one language?
.....
3. Do the people in the video always speak the same language at the same time?
.....
4. What languages does the woman with the sunglasses speak and read?
.....
5. Why does the Somalian man say that it is important to speak your language?
.....
6. What is the Manchester word for a roll?
.....
7. Which languages does the Hausa man work with?
.....
8. Do you know anyone who speaks the languages in the clip?
.....

How would you introduce yourself if you were in this video? Use any languages.



Mapping out our plurilinguistic abilities

What is plurilingualism?



STARTER: Re-visit your brainstorm of plurilingualism. Is there anything you can add?

- How do you define Plurilingualism?

.....

.....

PLURILINGUALISM QUIZ

Write your **own answer in the first column**. When you hear the correct answer, write the **correct answer in the second column**. Check at the end to see how many you got right.

Question number	Own answer	Correct answer
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		

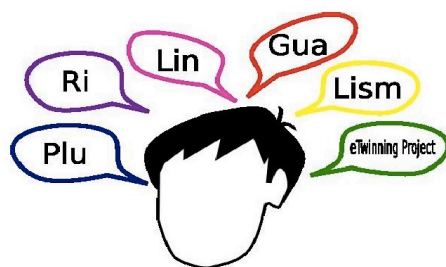
Translation Challenge

**Choose one of the following texts to translate into your language:
(You can start from 1 and work up, or you can start on 2, 3 or 4)**

1. **Numbers** – one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten
2. **Introduction**: – Hello my name is Maria. I am 11 years old, I live in Hackney with my mother and my two brothers. I go to Petchey Academy and my favourite subject is Geography.
3. **Story** - Once upon a time, in a small village in a land not that far away, there lived a very sweet little girl, with her mother and father. Her grandmother lived about half an hour's walk away, outside the village, in a clearing in the forest that covered the whole area. The grandmother was especially fond of the little girl, and she had made her a cute little red hat, out of velvet. The girl loved that hat so much that she wore it all hours of the day and night, and so people had started calling her Little Red Cap.
4. **Newspaper** - Liverpool's Mohamed Salah is the 2018 African Football Player of the Year. This is the second year in a row he has won the award. Egypt player Salah, 26, beat Liverpool team-mate Sadio Mane of Senegal and Arsenal and Gabon striker Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang to the title. He received the award at a ceremony in Senegal on Tuesday.

Using our plurilinguistic abilities

What is plurilingualism?



STARTER: Re-visit your brainstorm of plurilingualism. Is there anything you can add?

- How do you define Plurilingualism?

.....

.....

Alphabet Challenge

Can you think of any examples of a word in your language which begins with any of the letters?

A	B	C	D	E
F	G	H	I	J
K	L	M	N	O
P	Q	R	S	T
U	V	W	X	Y
Z				

Plurilingual Language Journal

Complete the example page of a plurilingual language journal

- You may already keep a private diary or journal to record your personal thoughts and observations.
- Keeping it private means we can write freely and without embarrassment or fear of criticism.
- Learning journals are used for “recording thoughts, reflections, feelings, personal opinions, and even hopes or fears during an educational experience.”
- They are intended for the student to record his or her feelings and opinions, and for the educator to be able to see what the student is thinking and feeling.
- Journals help us to realise how our perspectives on a topic change and develop.

Here is a first draft. Think about this week so far and fill in as much as you can.

Date:	Mood:	Weather:	
Language heard:	Language spoken:	Language written:	Language read:
Things I found easy:		Things I found difficult:	
How plurilingual do I feel today? Very-----Not at all			New words:
Conversations about language:			Interesting translations:
How I mixed language in school today:		How I mixed language at home today:	

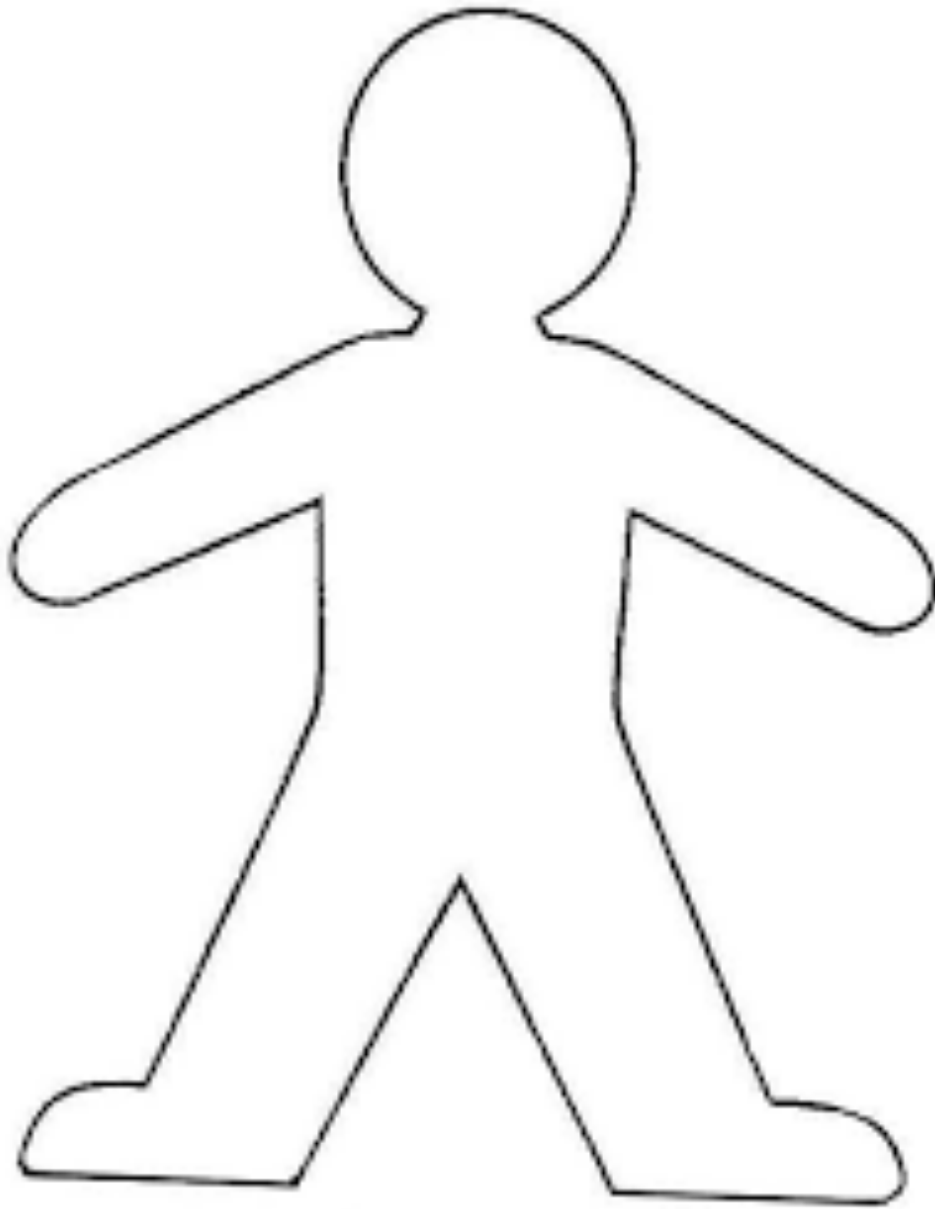
Plurilingual language portrait (1)

- Do you recall what plurilingualism is?
.....
- Write down the languages that you speak/have contact with? (Column 1)
- Can you call to mind the **people places** you associate with different languages? (Column 2)
- Can you call to mind the **places** you associate with different languages? (Column 3)
- Think about the languages you speak. What **emotions** do you feel when you think about each one? (Column 4)
- Try to imagine these responses as **colours** (Column 5)

1 Language you speak or have contact with	2 People that language makes you think of	3 Places that language makes you think of	4 Emotions you feel when you think about the language	5 Colours that come to mind when you think about the language

Plurilingual language portrait (2)

1. Use the blank body shape to draw your linguistic repertoire.

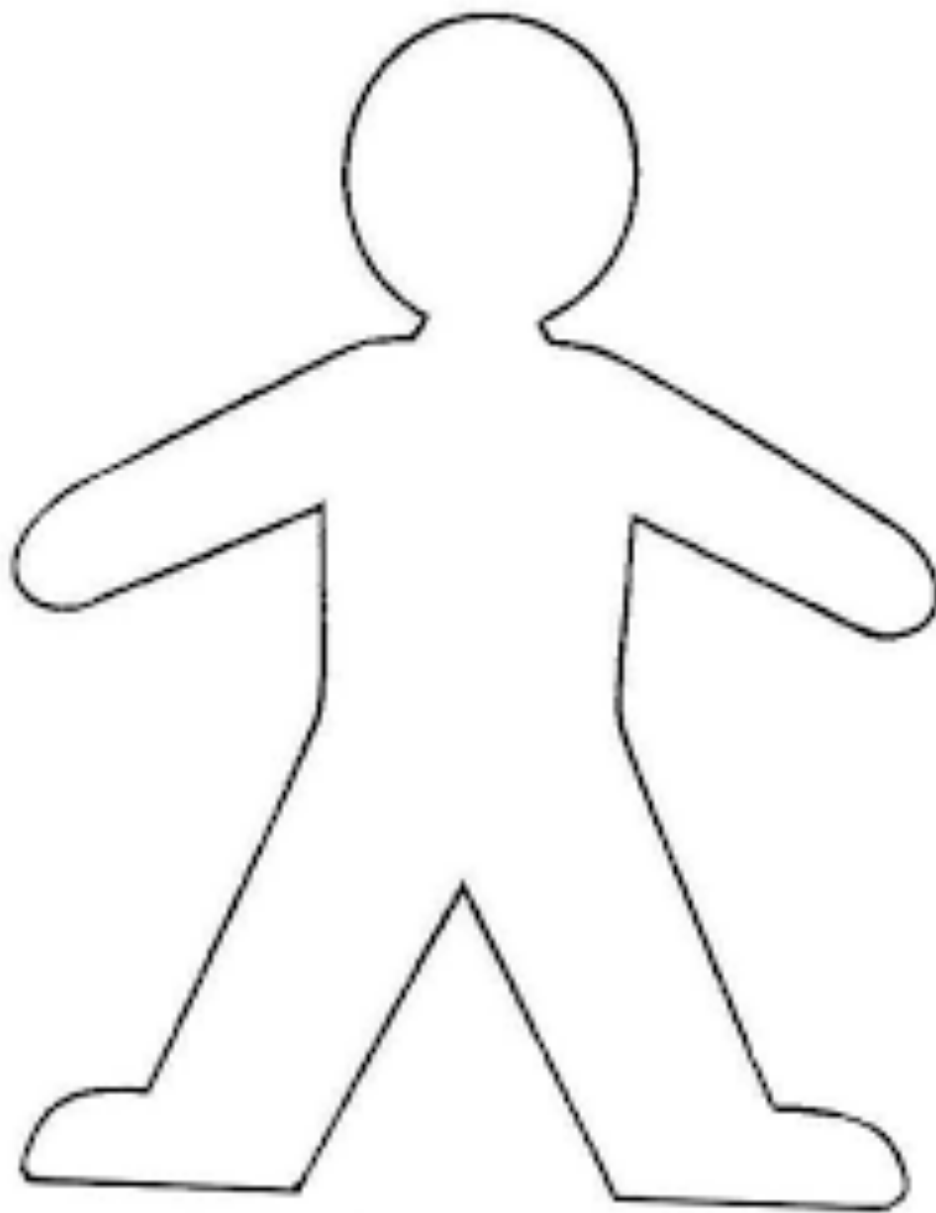


Plurilingual language portrait (3)

2. Write a short description of your language portrait. You could add why some languages are in certain places, why you have used certain colours, and what you have drawn certain images.

Plurilingual language portrait (4)

3. Re-do the language portrait as if you were 20 years older. Which aspects do you expect to stay the same? Which might change?



Plurilingual presentations

You are going to present your presentation and listen to your classmates' presentations. Use the table below to take notes on each presentation.



Presentation 1	Name	Language	Country	Cultural elements	Linguistic elements	Other comments
Presentation 2						
Presentation 3						
Presentation 4						
Presentation 5						
Presentation 6						
Presentation 7						
Presentation 8						
Presentation 9						
Presentation 10						

Plurilinguistic Creativity

Task 1: Reflecting on your group activity, annotate the lists with any translations you came up with or have learned from others in the group. An example has been included in Spanish.

ability
running
flexibility
imprisonment
immunity
opportunity

power
abandonment
facility
detention
indulgence
privilege

money
liberty
play
knowledge
scope
captivity

frankness
confinement
unrestraint
elbow room
own accord
time

openhearted-
ness
right
leisure
isolation
own hours
flight

aislamiento

Invictus by William Earnest Henley

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds, and shall find, me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll.
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

Appendix 12 – List of Plurilingual Activities

<i>Linguistic ‘Outlet’</i>	<i>Description</i>
Introductions in the HL	An opportunity to introduce themselves individually as far as they could in the HL
Group Discussions	Discussion of definitions of plurilingualism, language dominance and attitudes toward the HL
Short films viewings featuring speakers	HL An opportunity to encounter HL speakers in everyday life and to share individual reflections
Identification of multilingual/plurilingual selves	An opportunity for students to express how multilingual and plurilingual they felt by placing themselves on a scale
Plurilingual Poetry	Re-writing of poetry to include HL words and phrases
HL Book Design	An opportunity to use and develop knowledge of the HL to design children’s books in the HL
Class Languages Survey	A class survey carried out by the students to find out the nature of the languages spoken in the group, encouraging discussion and reflection
Plurilingual Awareness Quiz	A quiz on local and national plurilingual realities to explore students’ perceptions
Tube Tongue Mapping	Use of the <i>Tube Tongues</i> website which shows the most commonly spoken language after English for each tube station in London to generate discussion
Linguistic Landscape Mural	The joint creation of a mural that represented the local linguistic landscape of the students provided to opportunity for students to use a mix of mediums to represent their HL
Multilingual Word Sort	A word sort of five words (<i>hello, yes, food, cat, and happiness</i>) translated into the different languages of the group and written on individual cards for students to recognise
Translation Challenge	Students were given four texts in English increasing in difficulty and they chose which they wanted to have a go at translating in the HL
HL Dictionary Challenge	Students created a learner dictionary, writing down a HL word for each letter of the alphabet

Language portraits	Students visually mapped their languages on to the silhouette of a body to express where they felt their languages in their body
Written Presentations in the HL	Students wrote self-introductions using as much of the HL as possible
Spoken Presentations about the HL	Students designed and delivered individual PowerPoint presentations about the HL
Project Cover Pages	Students designed project cover pages for the body of work produced
HL Language Lessons	Students designed and delivered mini lessons on the numbers 1-10 in the HL
Language Attitude Card Sort	Students arranged attitudinal statements about their languages in order of importance to them in order to generate discussion

Appendix 13 - Interview questions

Themes:

1. Awareness of bilingualism
2. Attitude to HL
3. Experience of HL in school
4. Compartmentalisation/fluidity of languages

Theme 1

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. Why do you speak these languages?
3. When do you speak the language and who with? Can you think of certain times when you use the language or certain topics that you use it for?
4. Rank your languages in order of which ones you speak most comfortably. Why do you put them in this order? Why do you think these languages have developed in this way?
5. Do you ever translate between two languages?
6. Do you ever speak one language in a place that nobody understands it?
7. What are the main differences between your language and English? Can you point any out?

Theme 2

8. Does it make you happy that you speak languages other than English?
9. Do you think it is important to speak your language?
10. What represents the language for you?
11. Do your family think that it is important?
12. Think about people that speak your language in the country that speaks the language - How do they feel about you speaking English/LOE?
13. Think back to primary school. Did you speak your language more or less than now? Did you think it was important then?
14. Do you ever feel shy about using your language?

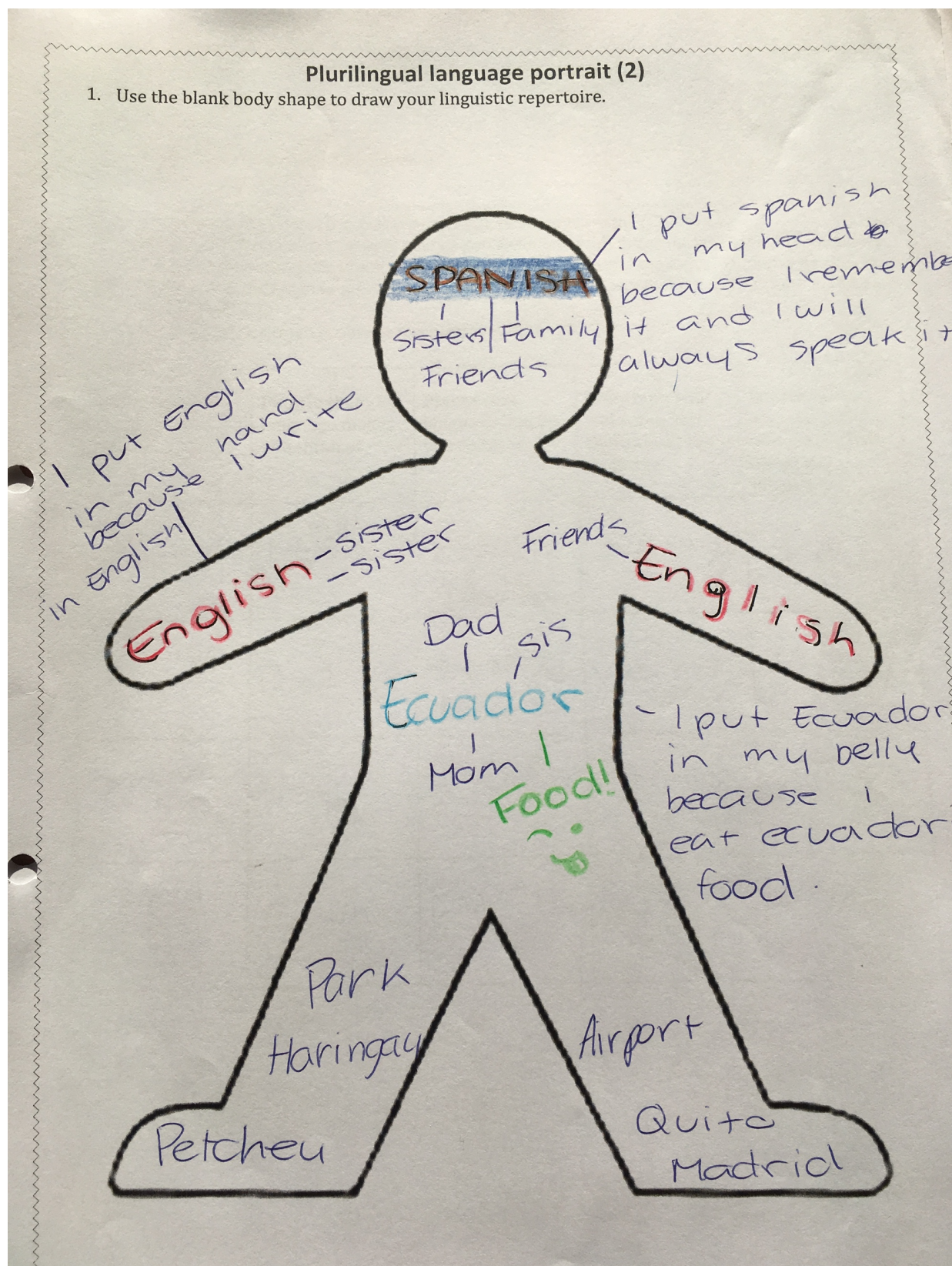
Theme 3

15. Do you think that being bilingual helps you in school?
16. Do you think speaking another language (insert language) has helped you when learning Spanish or Mandarin?
17. Have your teachers/staff ever talked to you in your language or asked you to speak in your language at school?
18. Think back to the enhanced sessions last year. What did we do in the sessions? What was the idea of the group? Did it make you think about anything differently?
19. Why do you think I ran the sessions?
20. How would you feel about using your language more in lessons across the school? Can you think of ways that you would enjoy doing this?
21. How did you see yourself in the group? Do you think some people were more vocal than others?
22. Do you think people were kind to each other in the group? How did we talk about each other's languages?
23. Have you spoken about the group to family and people that weren't in the group?

Theme 4

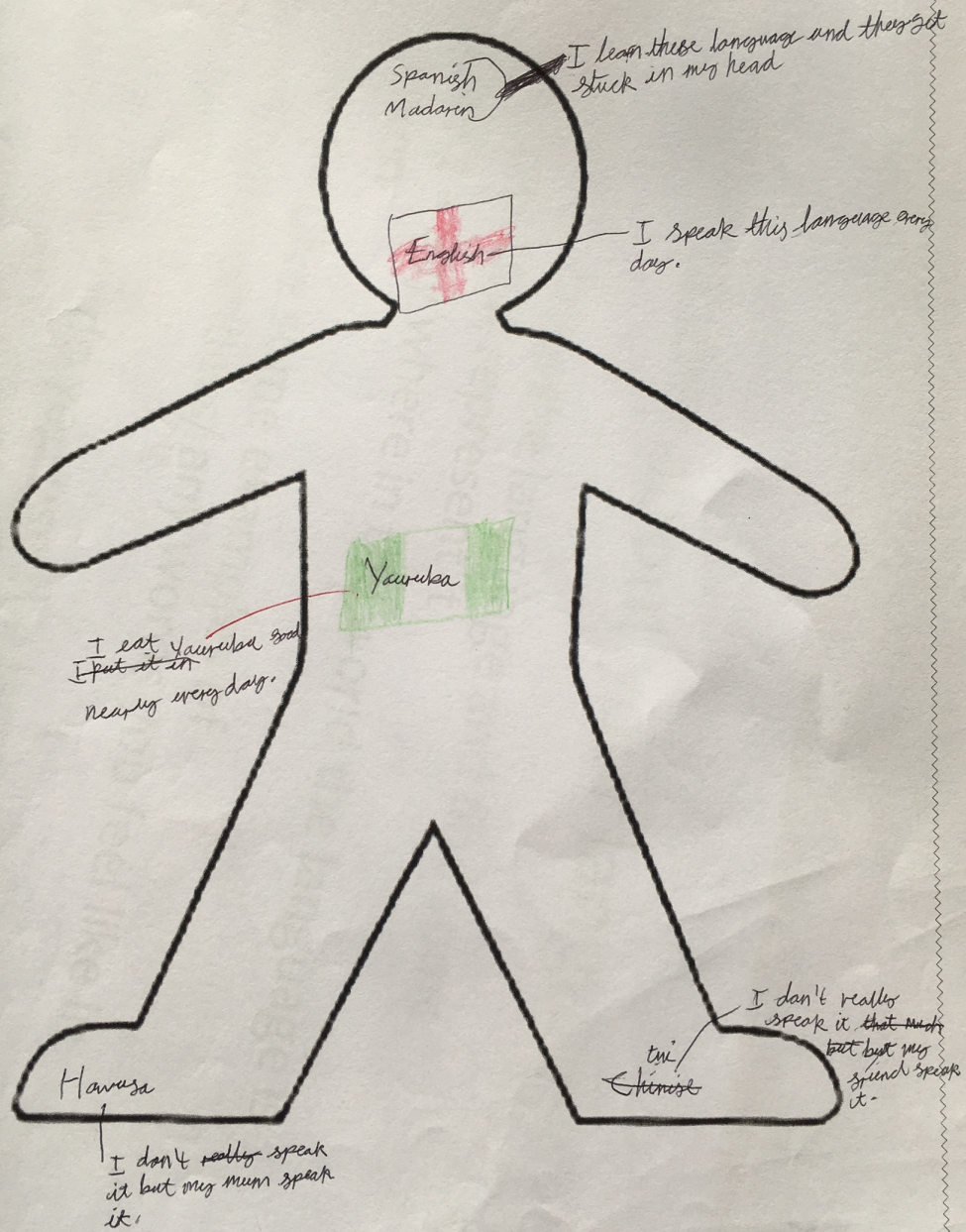
24. Look at your language portrait. Can you tell me why you designed it like this? Would you like to add anything to it?
25. Why have you put ___ in your head/ ___ in your arm/ ___ in your feet?
26. Do you feel like some languages overlap?
27. What languages do you see yourself speaking in the future? To you family/in your work/ to your friends/ to your children?

Appendix 14 – Language Portrait Samples



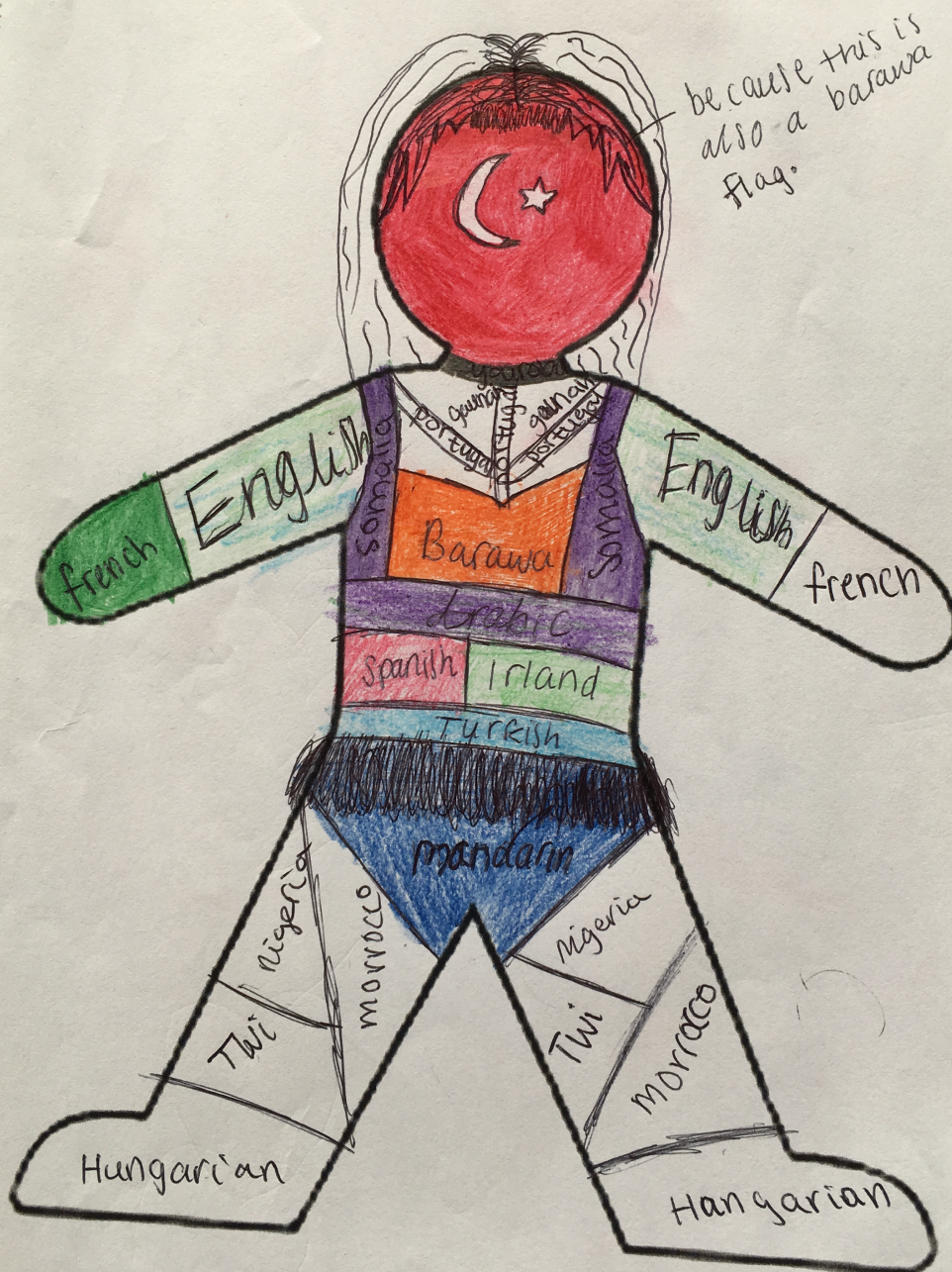
Plurilingual language portrait (2)

1. Use the blank body shape to draw your linguistic repertoire.



Plurilingual language portrait (2)

1. Use the blank body shape to draw your linguistic repertoire.



Sandra

Plurilingual language portrait (2)

1. Use the blank body shape to draw your linguistic repertoire.

