

**LITERACY PRACTICES OF NEPALESE CHILDREN IN THE UK:
A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

by

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ABSTRACT

This linguistic ethnographic study explores the literacy practices of Nepalese children in the UK. Nine children (age 8-13) were observed over the course of one academic year, in their Nepalese complementary school (NCS). Three of these children were also observed in their mainstream school (MS) and homes.

Data collected through participant observation include field notes, audio recordings, interviews, photographs, copies of children's work and other documents.

Data are analysed using thematic analysis and the study draws on the theoretical concepts of artifactual literacies, multimodality, translanguaging and authenticity to discuss literacy practices and ethnic and learner identity construction. Discussion centres primarily on the NCS, with additional analysis from the MS and homes in chapter 5.

This empirical study extends understandings about literacy practices within minority language communities, in particular highlighting the use of culturally relevant semiotic charts in early literacy learning, and translanguaging as a valuable tool in the teaching and learning of Nepali Devanagari script. Furthermore, as literacy practices are different across the three sites of study, findings suggest potential benefits of increased dialogue between the three sites.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

To date, there have been few studies researching the literacy practices of Nepalese children.

An ethnographic comparative case study by Boivin (2013) looked at three Nepalese families in the UK, and considered their identity affiliations and Nepali language maintenance. The study found that families wanted their children to acquire Nepalese literacy skills, however, different factors at the macro, micro and individual level meant that this happened to differing degrees. The study did not observe the children in their school(s). Ojha (2020) explored the family language policies of transnational Nepali families in the US. The research showed that despite families having a positive attitude towards their heritage language, they were not able to provide resources or 'adequate support to their children for the development of heritage language and literacy skills' (Ojha, 2020, p.i). A third study, again situated in the US is particularly relevant for this study because of its focus on funds of knowledge. The researcher talks about how her initial ignorance about the 'many cultural practices, experiences and bodies of knowledge...skills and practices' that her first Nepalese student had, only became clear when she began studying her student's younger sister (Hagerman, 2013, p.i).

This thesis seeks to add to a body of research which explores issues of language use and literacy practices of children and their families in minority linguistic communities in the UK. It considers the way in which such practices are influenced by the cultural and linguistic ideologies and practices of the sites within which they participate and are members (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004).

This chapter introduces the participants of the study, the research questions, the overview of the methodology and the chapter structures, before giving a summary.

1.2 The Nepalese participants in this study

Nepalese people in the UK have followed a broad range of immigration and professional routes. These can be categorised into three groups: Gurkhas, students and work-related migrants (Adhikari, 2012). Adhikari estimates that (in 2012), Gurkhas and their relatives comprised approximately 60 percent of the Nepalese people in the UK (Adhikari, 2012).

Six of the seven fathers of the Nepalese participants in this research are retired Gurkha soldiers. The father of Sanju and Maya was still in service. Children were born in a variety of countries including Nepal, UK, Hong Kong, and Germany and all had visited Nepal. Families maintained links with family and friends in Nepal and one participant made a visit to Nepal during the school summer holiday, July 2014. Gellner discusses the Nepalese ('Nepali') community as a diaspora.

To speak of diaspora implies a scattering of people from a homeland...For a diaspora to exist there has to be a sense of national or quasi national (religion-based) identity and the people so concerned must be settled outside the territory with which their identity is bound up. Cultural memories of links to a specific place have to last over the generations (a process much helped if there is continual movement back to that place).

(Gellner, 2018, pp.1, 2-3)

The linguistic ethnographic data collected in this research highlights the connections the Nepalese community had to relations, both familial and tribal in Nepal and in other parts of the UK.

1.2.1 Nepal and the Gurkhas

Nepal is a small land-locked country in Asia, situated geographically between China and India. Nepal straddles the Himalayan mountain range which include 10 of the world's 14 highest peaks (Tyman, no date).

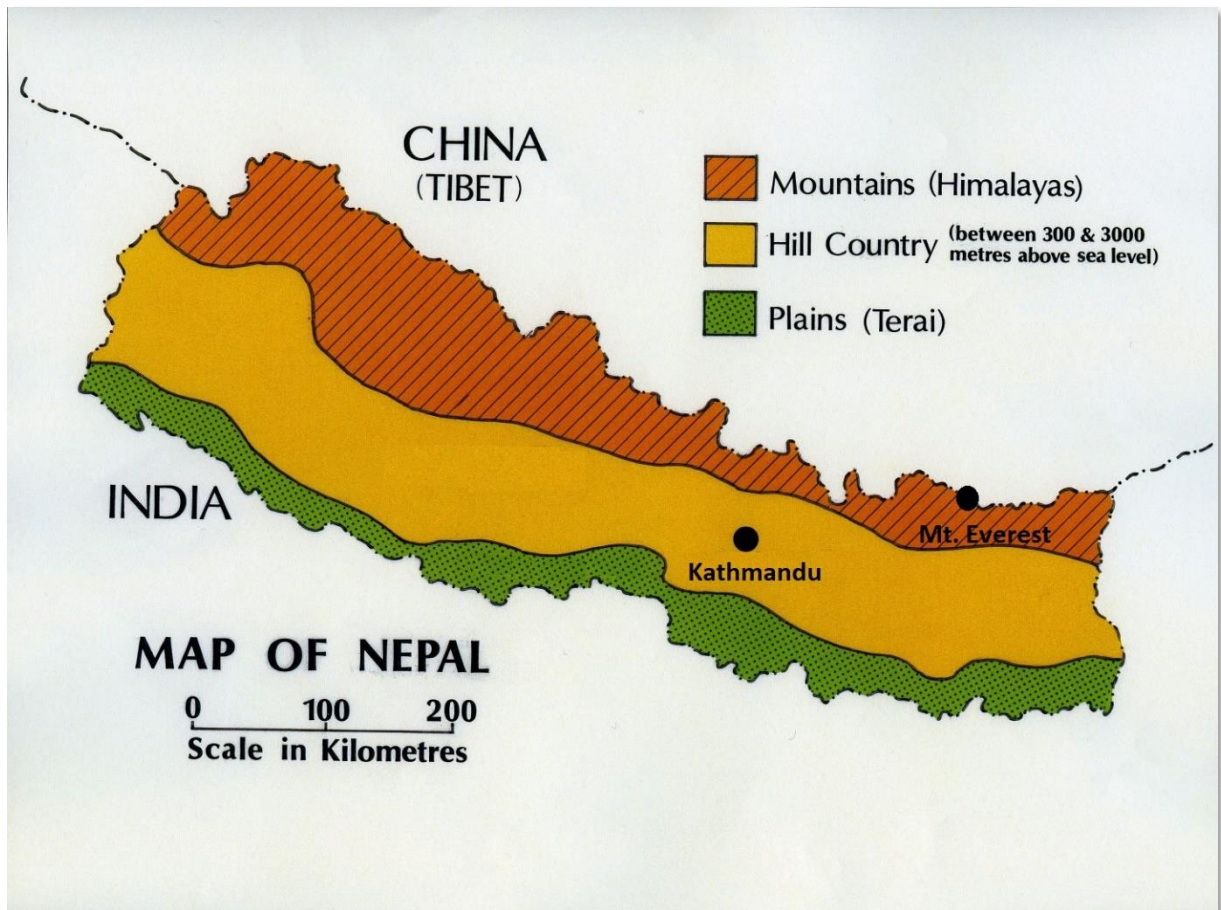


Figure 1 Map of Nepal (adapted from Tyman, no date)

Gurkha soldiers have been recruited from Nepal into the British army for more than 200 years (Gurkha Welfare Trust, no date).

Ferocity and bravery are two of the trademarks of these soldiers, their motto being 'Better to die than be / live a coward' (King and Moore, no date; Limbu, 2016). King and Moore write that

They fought with such ferocity during the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16 that the British East India Company decided to recruit them, forming the first Gurkha brigade.

(King and Moore, no date)

Limbu explains

It was-as it remains-a relationship based on mutual respect, a relationship that has endured through many wars and countless actions since Gurkhas first fought as members of the British army in 1815.

(Limbu, 2016, pp.2-3)

‘To become a Gurkha remains a great honour’ (FSI Worldwide, 2017), and only a small percentage pass the selection process in Nepal (FSI Worldwide, 2017; King and Moore, no date). For a detailed explanation of the Gurkha population in the UK, see Adhikari (2012) and Adhikari and Laksamba (2018).

‘Becoming a Gurkha soldier means a British salary, a Ministry of Defence (MoD) pension and the right to settle in the UK’ (King and Moore, no date). The UK Nepali population has risen exponentially since the British government’s 2004 decision to allow post-1997 retired British Gurkhas to settle in the UK (Adhikari and Laksamba, 2018, p.305), and pre- 1997 retired Gurkhas to settle in UK from 2009 (National Army Museum, no date). In 2012, the Office for National Statistics reported ‘42,000 Nepalis in the UK’ (Adhikari and Laksamba, 2018, p.304).

1.3 Research questions

My research sought to answer two questions.

Q1 What are the literacy practices of Nepalese children in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

Q2 How is Nepaleseness and identity explored in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

1.4 Overview of methodology

Research data was collected over one academic year. In the Nepalese Complementary School (NCS), I observed nine children ranging from age 8 to 13. Three of these children were then also selected to be key participants whom I observed in their MS classrooms and their two homes.

Using a linguistic ethnographic approach, the research seeks to understand literacy practices from the emic perspective of the participants in the study. The study is situated within a literacy as a social practice perspective, drawing on the concept of literacy events to describe and analyse particular literacy practices.

Identity discourses and orientations to particular identities are discussed through the use of Blommaert and Varis' (2011) four-tiered framework.

1.5 Chapter structures

The sub-sections below provide an overview to the structure and content of each chapter.

1.5.1 Chapter 2: Literature review

The literature review is divided into five sections. The first section describes the two models of literacy, the skills-based model, and the social practices model. I argue for a literacy as a social practice model whilst incorporating the concept of literacy events.

The second section of the chapter introduces the concepts of multimodal literacies and artifactual literacies as ways of understanding data collected in the three sites, in particular the data relating to alphabet charts and books, which are a central feature in the NCS.

The third section provides an overview to the literature on literacy in the three sites of study: NCS, MS and children's homes.

The fourth section discusses features of classroom discourse, linguistic repertoire and translanguaging.

The final section considers how categories of identity are constructed through different literacy practices.

1.5.2 Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodology begins with an introduction to linguistic ethnography, its origins, its suitability for this study, and some concerns and tensions raised in the literature.

I then discuss my entry into the field, the way in which I accessed participants and sites. The following section introduces the three sites and then explains how the two-week pilot study was conducted.

After this, I describe my different methods of data collection; participant observation, fieldnotes, research diary, audio recording, photographs, copies of children's work and other documentation, and ethnographic and semi-structured interviews. Then, ethical considerations are discussed before going in to the last main section on data analysis. I describe the organisation of the large data set and the use of thematic analysis to begin to answer the research questions. The chapter concludes with two short sections on transcription conventions and the selection of data for the two analysis chapters.

1.5.3 Chapter 4: Literacy practices in the Nepalese complementary school

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section focuses on IRF sequences and related features of classroom discourse. The second section turns to choral reading, choral repetition, and chanting. The third section builds on this discussion to

consider multimodal techniques in these traditional practices. The fourth and fifth sections consider the use of linguistic repertoires, translanguaging, translation and transliteration.

1.5.4 Chapter 5: Identity discourses and practices in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home

This chapter draws on Blommaert and Varis' (2011) four-tiered framework to discuss discursive orientations to and features emblematic of Nepalese and learner identity. The three sites of study are discussed in three sections.

1.5.5 Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter begins by discussing the findings from the study in relation to the research questions. The main focus of the thesis has been the language and literacy practices of Nepalese children in the NCS, with additional analysis from the MS and homes to discuss ethnic and learner identity negotiations across the three sites. Significant findings are the use of culturally relevant semiotic charts in early literacy learning, and translanguaging as a valuable tool in the teaching and learning of Nepali Devanagari script.

Following this, I discuss contributions to knowledge, highlighting the way in which Braun and Clarke's process for thematic analysis was effective for analysing a large data set. Furthermore, I discuss the way in which the study promotes the use of translanguaging for pedagogy, through an individualised approach, in complementary schools, and that with relevant training for teachers, it may be viewed as a possible tool for leveraging learning in MS settings with majority and minority language communities. There is a call for understanding individuals' literacy skills and linguistic repertoires as funds of knowledge which may be built upon to design curriculums which are more relevant to individuals and communities.

As stated in the introduction, the language and literacy practices of the Nepalese community in the UK has received little attention in research to date. Recommendations for further research are discussed in relation to the design and use of culturally relevant semiotic charts, and in relation to the use of translanguaging as a valuable tool for teaching and learning, in particular the learning of scripts other than English.

1.5.6 Chapter summary

The introduction chapter discussed the fact that there are few research studies on the literacy practices of Nepalese children. This study therefore fills an important gap in the literature relating to this minority linguistic community. The chapter explains the Gurkha background of the participants in this study, introduces the research questions and provides an overview of the research methodology. The last section summarises the structure and content of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Nepalese children in the UK draw on different linguistic resources to negotiate and maintain their identity positions in different sites. One of the characteristic observations in this study is the contrast between the largely monolingual practices in the MS and the fluid translanguaging practices in the home and complementary school. Furthermore, these different literacy practices contribute to the construction of identity categories by teachers, parents, and the children themselves.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Initially attention is focused on the overarching topic of study, literacy. Two different models of literacy are discussed: a skills-based model and a social practice model. The researcher argues for a literacy as a social practice model whilst incorporating the concept of literacy events to explain observed events 'in which literacy forms a part' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.4).

The second section discusses the concepts of multimodal literacies and artifactual literacies (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012; Pahl and Rowsell, 2013) as ways of understanding data collected in the three sites of study. The discussion relating to artifactual literacies is explored in further detail in relation to the design and use of alphabet books and charts, the latter of which is a central feature in the NCS.

The three sites of study, complementary schools, mainstream schools, and homes are discussed in the third section.

The fourth section explores research on different literacy practices, including choral reading and choral repetition, chanting, initiation-response-feedback (IRF) type interactions as well as teacher directed versus child directed learning. Encompassing

this discussion is the focus on linguistic resources and repertoire. Translanguaging is discussed as one of the resources evident in my data.

The final section of the chapter considers how categories of identity are constructed through different literacy practices in the three sites.

2.2 Literacy

Pahl and Rowsell (2012) define literacy as 'ways of making meaning with linguistic stuff in a communicative landscape' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.xvii), and Barton and Hamilton determine that

literacy is primarily something people do; it is an activity, located in the space between thought and text. Literacy does not just reside in people's heads as a set of skills to be learned, and it does not just reside on paper, captured as texts to be analysed.

(Barton and Hamilton, 2012, p.3)

This means that the term literacy can be used to encompass a variety of activities around text. It can be an embodied, multimodal practice that includes 'movement and action' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.4) such as reading, writing, scrolling, tapping, sliding, clicking and pointing (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012) as well as 'gesture, gaze, movement, image, layout' (Flewitt, 2008, p.2 of 12) and 'speech, sound...body posture...and so on' (Jewitt, 2014, p.127). Literacy can exist in different places, including in homes and in schools, as well as in streets, marketplaces and gardens and in different forms including digitally and in print. Particularly relevant for this study, is the fact that 'literacy is still hand-made and artifactual, and it relates to real worlds and embodied experience' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.4). Furthermore, 'literacy exists within curricular objectives and frameworks' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.4) but 'like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and is located in the interaction between people' (Barton and Hamilton, 2012, p.3). Viewing literacy as a social practice, rather than purely as a set of skills to be learned allows educators and researchers insight

into the cultural and linguistic ideologies which exist in and around literacy. This view of literacy emerged in response to a more simplistic view of literacy which was based on learning sets of skills in order to become 'literate' (Warriner, 2011, p.530). I discuss this skills-based model briefly in the following section.

2.2.1 Literacy, a skills-based model

A traditional model of literacy, typically present in many educational establishments, focuses on the skills involved in reading and writing. From this skills-based perspective, to be 'literate indicates an ability to read or write letters or symbols in a way that allows meaning-making and comprehension to ensue' (Warriner, 2011, p.530). As a teacher, I was initially interested in making this model of literacy the focus of the study as I considered how Nepalese children in the UK acquired different literacy skills. This would have meant a focus solely on the teaching and learning of the basic skills of 'decoding' and 'encoding' text (Cook-Gumperz, 2006, p.1). Furthermore, my attention would have been drawn very much to the kinds of remediation offered for students whose technical skills of reading and writing are deficient (Edwards, 2012) and potentially would have led to discussions about illiteracy and 'a focus on what students cannot do rather than what they can do' (Edwards, 2012, p.2). Although these are legitimate discussions, Barton (2001) argues that these conceptions of literacy were based on 'over-simplistic psychological models' which do not take account of 'social phenomena' (Barton, 2001, p.93) and different contexts of literacy practice. I share Brandt's concern at

the disservice we do as teachers when we present reading and writing as frictionless engagements with a system of print abstracted from culture, politics, time, place, struggle, passion and, above all, change.

(Brandt, 2012, p.xii)

Other academics, e.g. Barton and Hamilton (1998; 2000; 2012), Baynham and Prinsloo (2001), Brandt and Clinton (2002), Heath (1983), and Street (1984; 1995; 2001) have

challenged this skills-based model with a social view in which literacy practices and literacy events 'occur within meaningful social and cultural practices' (Edwards, 2012, p.2). The following section discusses some of the foundational background to the social-practice model of literacy.

2.2.2 Literacy, a social practice model

Street's (1984) account of ethnographic work on literacy practices in Iranian villages, and Heath's (1983) study of children learning to use language at home and at school in two communities in the United States marked an emergence of research in the 1980s which focused on contexts of literacy use beyond the walls of education. In the 1990s, further work by Street (1993) and Gee (1990) introduced the term New Literacy Studies (NLS), signalling both a 'social' and a 'discourse analytic turn' in the field of literacy studies (Baynham and Prinsloo, 2001, p.83). This move was based on the premise that literacy practices 'are always and already embedded in particular forms of activity' (Baynham and Prinsloo, 2001, p.83) and therefore to ignore the social practices and context around literacy would miss vital insights into the broader picture.

Barton and Hamilton's (1998, 2012) 'Local Literacies' provided 'overwhelming, material evidence of how local contexts matter to the achievement of literacy and how cultural practices give literacy its point and meaning' (Brandt, 2012, p.xiii). This attention to local practices has also been discussed as 'situated literacies' (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000) and 'situated social practice' (Brandt and Clinton, 2002). Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič (2000) comment that

Literacies are situated. All uses of written language can be seen as located in particular times and places. Equally, all literate activity is indicative of broader social practices.

(Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000, p.1)

My study of Nepalese children growing up in the UK is concerned with ‘making the links between literacies in specific contexts and broader social structuring’ (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000, p.1). The literacy practices of the participants are employed locally amongst their friends and family, but also wider afield in other Nepalese communities in the UK, and in contact with family and friends in Nepal. Warriner’s (2011) suggestion to look beyond the local context to illuminate understandings of the literacy practices being observed and Brandt and Clinton’s (2002) challenge to acknowledge the place of the ‘global’ in studies of local literacy practice is therefore relevant for this study. For example, Brandt and Clinton warn that something may ‘be lost when we ascribe to local contexts responses to pressure that originate in distant decisions, especially when seemingly local appropriations of literacy may in fact be culminations of literate designs originating elsewhere’ (Brandt and Clinton, 2002, p.338). Examples of this in the MS data are lessons focused on the teaching and learning of literacy skills, situated in the broader context of pressure to meet targets set by local authority and national (Ofsted¹) inspection as well as national tests (UK SATs tests in Year 6). Furthermore, the teacher-made alphabet chart in the NCS is an example of a literacy resource with historically and geographically located origins. This latter example highlights the importance of recognising the roles that objects and artifacts (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012; Pahl and Rowsell, 2013) play. Both these examples are discussed in detail in the data analysis chapters.

Brandt and Clinton suggest that ‘objects especially provide for and speak to connections beyond the here and now... [they are] animated with human histories, vision, ingenuity, and will’ (Brandt and Clinton, 2002, p.345).

¹ The Office for Standards in Education, children’s services and skills. A non-ministerial UK Government department which inspects and regulates providers of these services. Whitehall (2022), *Ofsted – GOV.UK*. Available at: www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted

Ahearn's (2004) study of 'love letters and development in Nepal' is another example of this. Ahearn's study identifies the school textbooks and the New Path female literacy textbook as playing a role in courtship. Baynham comments how these 'available literacy resources [were] adapted to their own purposes in unexpected ways' (Baynham, 2004, p.288).

Maintaining a global perspective whilst focusing on the detail within the local is echoed by Lamsal (2014) in his study of the literacy practices of Bhutanese refugees in the US. He discusses the 'development of their everyday literacy practices as they navigate across various geopolitical locales' (Lamsal, 2014, p.vii). Although this study focuses primarily on the local context, the international mobility of the participants and their families, all of whom have relations and friends in Nepal and other parts of the world, means that it is important to maintain a global perspective. I use 'global' in this study to indicate the way literacy practices of the participants and the literacy resources present within local literacy events extend geographically beyond the local sites of study, nationally and internationally.

Research in the social practices and meanings of literacy has been responded to in a variety of ways within and beyond education. Baynham and Prinsloo (2001) list the variety of NLS research in their 2001 issue of *Language and Education*; community based literacy practices, home-school literacy practices, literacy and schooling, academic literacy practices, workplace literacy practices and literacy practices and policy discourses on literacy (Baynham and Prinsloo, 2001, p.85). (For detailed listings of NLS until 2004, see Barton (2001), Baynham and Prinsloo (2001) and Baynham (2004)).

Baynham (2004), in response to the social turn in literacy research over two decades, called for a deliberate turn back to the field of education, 'to the question of instruction, understood as situated teaching and learning, using the fine-tuned resources of critical

ethnography to understand and re-imagine the literacies of schooling' (Baynham, 2004, p.289).

My study responds to this call by observing situated literacy practices in educational settings as well as in participants' homes. Using the tools of linguistic ethnography (field notes, participant observation, audio recordings, photographs, interviews, and copies of children's works and documents), the study offers insight into the situated literacy practices in these sites and the roles literacy plays for participants both locally as well as globally. As Brandt and Clinton asked, I too ask 'what is localising and what is globalizing in what is going on?' (Brandt and Clinton, 2002, p.347). What is it about a particular literacy event or literacy practice that has implications for local or global practice? And, what are the local and/or global practices that have influenced an observed literacy event or literacy practice? Brandt and Clinton's (2002) suggestion to think of these localising / globalising concepts as 'threads of networks both in to and out of local contexts and other contexts' (Brandt and Clinton, 2002, p.348) is helpful in my interpretation and analysis of the data.

Shirley Brice Heath, in her study of the literacy practices of rural communities in USA, used the concept of 'literacy events' to explain 'any action sequence, involving one or more persons, in which the production and/or comprehension of print plays a role' (Heath, 1983, p.386). It is to this concept that I now turn.

2.2.3 Literacy events

Literacy events 'are activities where literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p.8). This concept of literacy events 'stresses the situated nature of literacy, that it always exists in a social context' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p.8).

Barton and Hamilton (2000) further describe literacy events as often being regular, repeated activities and that some events 'may be part of the formal procedures and expectations of social institutions like ...schools' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p.9).

Much of the data collected in this study is classroom based and this concept of literacy events enables me to discuss 'actions involving the comprehension of print' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.xvii) that are 'often most easily spotted in the classroom' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.7). Furthermore, as I observe different literacy events in classrooms and children's homes, I realise that this concept offers possibilities for discussing 'what people do with literacy...people's awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy and discourses of literacy, [and] how people talk about and make sense of literacy' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p.7).

Related to literacy is the concept of literacies, signalling that 'literacy is multiple, diverse, and multilingual and spans domains of practice, from home to school to community, and in each domain there are different literacies' (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010, p.4). The following sections discuss the concepts of multimodal literacy and artifactual literacy which are understood as ways through which literacy practices and literacy events may be interpreted in my data.

2.3 Multimodal literacy

Multimodal literacy embraces the idea that texts can be accessed and created through a variety of modes, through print on paper or other surface such as a whiteboard, as well as using new digital technologies including phones, tablet computers and interactive whiteboards. Scholars have discussed how students learn quite naturally through one or more modes (Flewitt, 2008; Jewitt and Kress, 2008; Kress, 1997; Lancaster, 2008) and that repertoires of practice associated with digital technologies and accompanying texts continue to change. Students and teachers keep adapting to

these changes ‘with little question and little pause’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.27). Furthermore, the reach of these technologies mean that students and teachers ‘live in local spaces, filled with global advertising and a plethora of images’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.27). This means that linguistic ethnographic observation in my study can take account of the local-global connections involved in the access of texts and in text creation. These connections may speak to issues of identity amongst meaning-makers.

Related to this theory of multimodal literacies, which enables the researcher to view the process of text creation, the different features of a text and the way in which these features work together to create meaning (Kress, 1997; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006) is Pahl and Rowsell’s concept of artifactual literacies (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012; Pahl and Rowsell, 2013). It is to this concept that I now turn.

2.3.1 Artifactual literacies

‘An artifactual literacies approach draws on the concept of literacy as situated and multimodal, but unites this with a focus on material culture’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2013, p.3 of 15).

The notion of artifact can be defined as a thing or object that:

- Has physical features that makes it distinct, such as colour or texture;
- Is created, found, carried, put on display, hidden, evoked in language or worn;
- Embodies people, stories, thoughts, communities, identities and experiences;
- Is valued or made by a meaning maker in a particular context.

(Pahl and Rowsell, 2010, p.2; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.49)

Pahl and Rowsell comment that ‘artifacts bring in everyday life’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010, p.2) and that as artifacts travel across sites, e.g. from home to school, ‘they become meaningful’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.51). This implies that as artifacts are

introduced to a new site or domain, attention becomes more focused and there is potential for discussion between teachers and children about their own histories and experiences in relation to similar artifacts. Furthermore, Pahl and Rowsell comment that ‘artifacts can open up new worlds of experience. Talking about artifacts provides ways into narratives that are not always accessible in other ways’ (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p.51).

As will be evident in my observations and analyses of data collected in the NCS, artifacts (for example, books, fruits, and hand-made resources) played a key role in discussions around culture, personal histories, and the teaching of literacy skills. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, resources in NCS were initially scarce and therefore the teachers and parents created hand-made resources (Pahl and Kelly, 2005; Whitty *et al.*, 2008) such as flash cards and an alphabet chart for use in their teaching of literacy. The latter incorporates illustrations chosen and printed from the internet to match the initial consonants and (in some instances) vowels. These pictures represent artifacts which are emblematic of particular cultural practice or behaviour, and over time, some of the original pictures were adapted in discussion between teachers and children (Joseph and Paul, 2005). The use of artifacts is discussed across both analysis chapters in relation to literacy practices (chapter 4) and identity (chapter 5).

2.4 The alphabet chart and situated social practice

The importance of alphabet charts and related resources within literacy as a situated social practice is highlighted in a number of studies. The following sections explore elements from these studies which relate to my own research and discussion around literacy practices.

2.4.1 The role and place of alphabet charts

Various scholars highlight the presence of alphabet charts on classroom walls as being part of classroom 'culture' (Dickinson and Neuman, 2007; Neuman and Roskos, 1992; Taylor, Blum and Logsdon, 1986).

Taylor, Blum and Logsdon (1986) include an alphabet chart in their list of classroom 'written language displays' (Taylor, Blum and Logsdon, 1986, p.140) for supporting a pre-reading environment, stating that

children learn best in a language- and print-rich environment, characterized by many opportunities to observe, try out, and practice literacy skills in genuine communicative situations.

(Taylor, Blum and Logsdon, 1986, p.132)

However, in order for these resources to be effective, they need to be 'displayed low so students can get up close... (and be) used by children to do something' (Taylor, Blum and Logsdon, 1986, p.141). The value of having accessible alphabet resources means that readers are exposed to the sounds of the language and have opportunity

to develop and enhance identification skills, to encourage letter recognition, to acquire and understand new words, [and] to promote the mastery of letter forms [alongside] a variety of other learning experiences.

(Cooper, 1996, p.3)

Several early studies (Bond and Dykstra, 1967; Calfee and Drum, 1979; Chall, 1967; Durrell *et al.*, 2008/2009; McGee and Richgels, 1989; Walsh, Price and Gillingham, 1988) report 'letter-name knowledge [as] the best predictor of beginning reading achievement' (Worden and Boettcher, 1990, p.277) and that application of this fact meant that alphabet knowledge was a prerequisite to reading words;

The “calling of letters” was considered a serious matter not to be taken lightly...Children had to be able to recite the entire alphabet before being allowed to learn to read.

(Cooper, 1996, p.1)

This practice is echoed in some of the NCS and home data for my study where children were typically asked to recite, read, and write alphabet sounds before reading or writing words. This contrasts with observations in the MS where the participants’ literacy skills were more developed and so I rarely observed alphabet resources in use. However, despite the difference in literacy levels between English and Nepali, a more varied approach to teaching and learning was observed in the MS and children had access to a wider variety of resources to support their learning. This contrast between the sites is echoed by Dickinson and Neuman (2007) who discuss how an alphabet chart is just one of a variety of tools to aid learning in a modern classroom;

In a modern classroom we can see many cases of children using various tools to aid their learning, such as, using alphabet charts to remind them of the associations between letter sounds and letter symbols or singing the ABC song to prompt their memory of the order of letters in the alphabet.

(Dickinson and Neuman, 2007, p.247)

2.4.2 Alphabets in use

Graham, Harris and Fink (2000) suggest a progression of activities with an alphabet chart to encourage early literacy learning.

When Alphabet Warm-up is introduced, the child is told that “just as an athlete needs to warm-up before a game, we are going to warm-up by saying letters before writing.” The first Alphabet Warm-up task involves the student singing the alphabet song, while pointing to the corresponding letters on an alphabet chart. Once this task is mastered, it is replaced with a second task, where the teacher says the name of the letter and the child points to it on the alphabet. When the child can do this task fluently for all alphabet letters, it is modified so that the teacher points to a letter and the student names it. With the final task, the teacher says a letter and then asks what letter comes before or after it in the alphabet. Initially, the child is encouraged to consult the alphabet chart, but its use is faded as it is no longer needed.

(Graham, Harris and Fink, 2000, p.89)

A number of these activities (saying letters before writing, singing, pointing, and learning the pattern of letters) are echoed in my own data for this study and will be explored further in the analysis chapters. Dickinson and Neuman (2007) point out that once the child has internalised the alphabet, they will be able to 'start to use the inner schemes' (Dickinson and Neuman, 2007, p.248; Vygotsky, 1929, p.427) and will no longer need the external prompt of the alphabet. However, to achieve internalisation of the alphabet, students may encounter a variety of alphabet resources. In the following sections, I discuss relevant research relating to the design of alphabet resources and in particular, the choices of illustrations.

Nodelman highlights the complex relationship between visual images, the sounds that represent them and their visual symbols which 'allow creative writers and illustrators to produce intriguingly sophisticated versions of the genre' (Nodelman, 2001, p.235). The discussion begins with a focus on moral and religious education.

2.4.3 Moral and religious education in alphabets

Cooper (1996) and Plimpton (1916) highlight moral and religious instruction in alphabets found in lesson books or 'hornbooks' from the 15th Century in England and then America. These findings are fascinating for my own study as they highlight not just the importance educators have historically placed on moral and religious education, but the connection between moral and religious education and letter-name knowledge. Cooper writes, 'The purpose of these early primers was to instruct children in moral and religious beliefs while letters were learned' (Cooper, 1996, p.1). And one is reminded that 'for centuries, religion has promoted literacy. Jews, Muslims, and Christians alike rely on written scriptures and instruct their congregations how to read passages within them' (Duranti, Ochs and Ta'ase, 1995, p.58).

Duranti, Ochs and Ta'ase (1995) looked at the schooling experiences of Samoan children and their teachers in Samoa and later in Samoan communities in America. Missionaries to Samoa had taken with them aspects of Western culture and Christianity. In the schools that the missionaries established,

initial literacy instruction was given through the use of what is known as the Pi TauTau. This is a poster which displays the Samoan alphabet with Roman and Arabic numerals at the bottom. Each letter is accompanied by a picture of an object beginning with that letter.

(Smidt, 2009, p.36)

Although I observe a couple of Christian 'emblematic features' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011) on the Samoan alphabet chart (e.g. King 'Herod' from the Bible, and 'snake', possibly a reference to the snake in the garden of Eden), the other features are largely emblematic of Western culture and would be initially unfamiliar to children new to school. Durante, Ochs and Ta'ase (1995) explain that regardless of this fact, the Pi TauTau plays a major role in the 'struggle for language and culture maintenance' in Samoan American communities (Duranti, Ochs and Ta'ase, 1995, p.61). This highlights the importance of the link between material objects and cultural stories (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010) as well as the endurance of particular letter-word associations.

Research by Dixon, Place and Kholowa (2008) and Prinsloo and Stein (2004) discuss the way in which abstract features were used in early literacy classrooms and 'teachers relied on rote learning of the alphabet without mediating meaning of linguistically and culturally unfamiliar words to children' (Dixon, Place and Kholowa, 2008, p.14). Although the papers do not specify whether the same resources were used time after time, the fact that teachers did not explain unfamiliar words or pictures to the children suggests that they may also not have taken the initiative to adapt resources to make them culturally and linguistically appropriate for the children in their care. It is possible that particular letter-word associations had an enduring presence in these resources.

Mankin and Simner's study on letter-word associations in the development of grapheme-colour synaesthesia in English is helpful in considering the choices adults make when asked about typical word-sound relationships. Their study revealed that 'certain words are consistently associated with letters of the alphabet (e.g. A is for *apple*)' (Mankin and Simner, 2017, p.2) and that 'each letter of the alphabet becomes associated with a particular word or words during alphabet acquisition, particularly through alphabet books' (Mankin and Simner, 2017, p.5). Although this research related to an English alphabet, the findings suggest that words and sounds in other alphabets may also be typically associated. This can be seen in the similarities and differences between the teacher-made alphabet chart and the commercial alphabet chart discussed in chapter 5 of my study.

Such discussions point to the importance of the design of alphabet resources. It is to this point that I now turn.

2.4.4 Alphabet book design

Sutherland and Arbuthnot (1991) list criteria for alphabet book design.

A primary requisite in choosing [objects] is clarity. Objects should be easily identifiable, and illustrations, whether drawings or photographs, should be consistent with the theme of the book if a specific theme is presented. The typeface should be clean, rather than ornamented...Although there are some successful exceptions, the use of an uncommon word as the key word is inadvisable...it may pique the curiosity of some but is liable to frustrate many children who cannot name the object. The illustration should match the key word, and the word should use the starting letter in its most commonly pronounced way.

(Sutherland and Arbuthnot, 1991, p.92)

Smolkin writes, 'the notion that "established criteria" should guide which alphabet books are "appropriate" to win Caldecott medals (Criscoe, 1988) or to be read to children (Huck, Hepler and Hickman, 1987) needs some careful reconsideration' (Smolkin, Yaden and JR, 1992, p.480). Boynton and Geisel break the traditional criteria

with their use of uncommon or unknown animals and use pictures which have more than one possible starting sound, e.g. 'bunny' or 'rabbit' (Boynton, 1987; Geisel, 1963). Smolkin argues that these so-called confusing inclusions in the alphabet books actually enable discussion and skill acquisition. However, 'the nature of the mediation is key' (Smolkin, Yaden and JR, 1992, p.440) between the adult and the child. Smolkin urges a rethink of these traditional criteria in light of empirical data e.g. his own paper, Smolkin, Yaden and JR (1992) and Bryant and Bradley (1985). In contrast, Both-de Vries and Bus found that children were more distracted from learning the letter sounds when they were matched with anthropomorphic pictures. However, they adamantly state 'we do not plead for boring books', rather suggesting as an example, the illustration of a 'farm' for the letter 'f' rather than a 'fairy' (Both-de Vries and Bus, 2014, p.162). This finding points to children's interest in stories as opposed to simply learning abstract letter-visual relationships (Murray, Stahl and Ivey, 1996; Smolkin, Yaden and JR, 1992). Murray writes of Smolkin et al's research, 'during typical picture book reading, children key in on the meaning of the story and take little interest in the formal aspects of written letters' (Murray, Stahl and Ivey, 1996, p.309).

Despite the wide variety of alphabet books available, the above discussion has highlighted conflicting ideas about alphabet book design. The importance of understanding potential readers is noted and this point brings us to a final discussion in this section, the value of hand-made resources.

2.4.5 Hand-made resources

In a move away from commercially published alphabets and literacy resources, several scholars have discussed the way in which teachers and parents have created meaningful literacy resources through shared activities in schools and homes.

Whitty *et al.* discuss how they were initially surprised at the lack of commercially published resources in the childcare settings they visited. However, as they put assumptions aside, the researchers were able to 'better see...the literacy practices and events occurring within the childcare centres' (Whitty *et al.*, 2008, p.22). Researchers observed how teachers and children in the settings together created innovative, multimodal picture books with photographs, other materials, and handwritten text in response to the interests of the children in their class.

Dixon, Place and Kholowa (2008) highlight the importance of literacy skills development through shared activities at home, in the community or in preschools and Porter DeCusati and Johnson (2004) report that parent volunteers in a Pennsylvanian kindergarten

helped children refer to individual charts in the front of their journals as well as to read large charts in the reading area. Parents taught the alphabet song as children pointed to each box on an alphabet chart for 1:1 correspondence, and the parents helped when children tried to locate or use specific alphabet letters.

(Porter DeCusati and Johnson, 2004, p.238)

The involvement of parents in the work of literacy skills instruction is also discussed by Kenner (2000c) in her work with South London nursery school children and their parents. Children were invited to explore different writing systems in a 'writing corner' and parents were invited to support this work through modelling writing and the provision of resources from home. On one occasion, Mohammed's mother made an alphabet chart for the class to use alongside a tape of an Arabic Alphabet song that Mohammed had taken in from home (Kenner, 2000c).

Research by Cahill, Holt and Cassidy also highlighted the way in which the interaction of ideas between different staff, in this case occupational therapists (OTs) and teachers, are extremely valuable. The OT's suggested addition of pictures to the

alphabet displays in the classroom supported the children's learning by on average eight additional letters (Cahill, Holt and Cassidy, 2008).

Galarza and Watson (2016) created literacy packs to support parent-child literacy activities in the home. Alphabet charts were seen as an important feature of these literacy packs (Galarza and Watson, 2016).

2.4.6 Alphabet summary

Alphabet charts have historically been part of classroom 'culture' (Dickinson and Neuman, 2007; Neuman and Roskos, 1992; Taylor, Blum and Logsdon, 1986). Research has discussed teaching techniques for supporting children's learning of letters (Graham, Harris and Fink, 2000, p.89) and some studies have highlighted the way in which alphabet knowledge, whilst being the best predictor of reading achievement (Worden and Boettcher, 1990), has been used as a prerequisite to reading words (Cooper, 1996). Early resources often associated religious and moral education with the learning of letters (Cooper, 1996; Duranti, Ochs and Ta'ase, 1995; Plimpton, 1916) and this is something that will be discussed further in my data. Despite the wide variety of alphabet resources commercially available, research has shown value in the multimodal and culturally relevant resources that have been created collaboratively between teachers, parents and children (Cahill, Holt and Cassidy, 2008; Dixon, Place and Kholowa, 2008; Galarza and Watson, 2016; Kenner, 2000c; Porter DeCusati and Johnson, 2004; Whitty *et al.*, 2008).

2.5 Three contexts of study

Children inhabit different worlds. These worlds include community contexts, home contexts and neighbourhood contexts (Kenner, 2000b). Each context has its own traditions and cultural practices.

The following three sections consider the literature relating to literacy in the three contexts of study: UK complementary schools, mainstream schools, and homes. I begin with a review of the literature on the history and role of UK complementary schools.

2.6 Literacy in UK complementary schools

Complementary schools in the UK are non-mainstream schools that focus attention on specific languages and the cultural groups associated with those languages. They are known varyingly as 'complementary schools', 'supplementary schools', and 'community language schools' (Creese and Blackledge, 2010, p.103). The term 'heritage language school' is used primarily in the United States, and the term 'ethnic school' is used in Australia (Rosowsky, 2013, p.77). The terms are mentioned here, but I will not explore in detail the literature relating to 'complementary' schooling outside the UK, unless it is applicable to my study.

Following Creese *et al.* (2007) I use the term 'complementary' school in my study to acknowledge the complementary nature of the provision in these settings. Creese *et al.* (2007) suggest that 'complementary schools' is 'increasingly the preferred term for policy makers and professional bodies...and researchers' (Creese *et al.*, 2007, p.24). This contrasts with the term 'supplementary' (Maylor *et al.*, 2010) which implies a 'deficit' model of educational failure (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Rosowsky, 2013).

Li suggests there are three broad groups of 'complementary' schools in the UK (Li, 2006). He argues that the first group emerged in the late 1960's for children of Afro-Caribbean families as a response to dissatisfaction with mainstream education at the time which 'often failed to reflect the interests, experiences and culture of the Afro-Caribbean community' (Li, 2006, p.76).

Following this was a call from the Muslim community in the late 1970s and early 1980s who wanted separate, religious schools for their children. The community argued for the same rights as Anglican, Catholic and Jewish communities who had their own schools (Li, 2006). Community languages were taught alongside Arabic 'in order for the children to be able to read the Koran' (Li, 2006, p.76).

The third group consists of schools and classes set up by immigrant 'transnational communities' to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage. Tsakiri defines these communities as

migrant populations living in a country other than their country of origin but with ties to the country of origin.

(Tsakiri, 2005, p.102)

Chinese, Turkish and Greek communities have established classes in England and Scotland. It is in this third group that the NCS of this study falls.

Li comments that these schools are 'truly complementary in the sense that their organisers never asked for a separate education for their children' (Li, 2006, p.77). Often self-funding and self-governing, complementary schools are invariably volunteer led (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Teacher qualification and levels of experience vary, with some teachers teaching in both mainstream and complementary schools (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Where this is the case, 'pedagogic' continuity can be promoted in both sites (Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.26). Others may only have experience of teaching in a complementary school (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). What is similar about all these schools is their emergence because of a 'lack of support for bilingual education in the mainstream' (Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.24), based largely on 'a monolingual ideology which ignores the complexity of multilingual England' (Creese and Martin, 2006, p.1).

As discussed above, UK complementary schools offer a context in which cultural and linguistic heritage can be explored, not only by young people but also by parents and teachers (Lytra and Martin, 2010, p.xvi). Creese *et al.* (2006, p.40) argue that complementary schools:

provide an institutional context for young people to meet and consider (reproduce and contest) existing categories around nationality, culture, ethnicity, bilingualism and learning. They potentially provide their students with distinct institutional experiences different from mainstream schools. This is because complementary schooling provides a context for identity negotiations in bilingual contexts in which languages and linguistic repertoires are foregrounded in school mission statements.

(Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.40)

At the time of data collection for this study, there was no written NCS 'mission statement', however, the context provided ample opportunity for identity negotiations and these negotiations are something that will be discussed further in this chapter (section 2.11) and later in chapter 5, with relation to the framework of emblematic templates and features as provided by Blommaert and Varis (2011).

2.6.1 Space

The complementary school context is often discussed in terms of space; a 'safe space' (Creese *et al.*, 2006; Creese and Martin, 2006; Lytra and Martin, 2010, p.xiii; Mirza and Reay, 2000), a 'flexible space' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, p.3), a 'borrowed space' (Martin *et al.*, 2006, p.9) a 'bilingual space' (Creese, 2009), and a 'translanguaging space' (García and Li, 2014, p.24; Li, 2011, p.1222). The idea of safe or flexible space is of course not exclusive to the complementary school context, as there are many contexts (including the MS and home) that could be said to provide these characteristics. However, typical features of the complementary school possibly contribute to the characteristics of a safe or flexible space. Features such as small groups or class sizes, teachers, and assistants (who may also be parents of students)

who share some of the language and cultural understandings of the students, and sometimes the flexibility to create a curriculum specifically for the group at hand, rather than having to follow a formal syllabus are factors that contribute to the complementary school context. However, access to resources or a limitation on how resources may be used within the complementary school space almost certainly impact the way lessons are prepared and delivered. This preparation and delivery of lessons relates to the concept of borrowed spaces.

Complementary schools often operate from borrowed spaces such as community halls or mainstream schools. Martin *et al.* (2006) observed a Gujarati school in Leicester. Although the complementary school teachers had their own resources, one teacher commented that 'we can't display our resources anywhere...we can do it (but then) we take it off again' (Martin *et al.*, 2006, p.9). This characteristic of 'borrowed space' was certainly one of the features of the NCS in this study as the school operated in a community building belonging to the army and teachers brought in and took resources home again on a weekly basis.

The term 'bilingual space' is one in which 'teachers and young people are able to use their linguistic resources to question rigid boundaries around language, culture, and heritage' (Creese, 2009, p.267). The term 'translanguaging space' (García and Li, 2014, p.24; Li, 2011, p.1222) builds on the concept of 'bilingual space' as a space which allows 'multilingual individuals to integrate social space (and thus 'language codes') that have been formerly practiced separately in different places' (García and Li, 2014, p.24). This is centred on the idea of repertoire and communication rather than languages as separate codes. Students bring together their different repertoires (or idiolects) to communicate with one another. It is an active process which embraces both 'creativity' and 'criticality' as multilingual students construct thoughts, ideas and opinions (García and Li, 2014, p.24). Li describes translanguaging space as 'a space

for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging' (Li, 2011, p.1222). The very act of translanguaging therefore creates a social space, and the social space allows for translanguaging. The concept of translanguaging will be discussed in more detail in section 2.12.

Even though a translanguaging space can be a safe space to engage in fluid linguistic practices (Creese, 2009; Creese *et al.*, 2006; Creese and Martin, 2006), drawing on a wide range of resources to construct meaning, these fluid linguistic practices may also be a source of tension and conflict (Li and Martin, 2009). García and Li (2014) further comment that the very nature of multilingualism as a phenomenon

entails tension, conflict, competition, difference and change in a number of spheres, ranging from ideologies, policies and practices to historical and current contexts.

(García and Li, 2014, p.24)

2.6.2 Tensions

Examples of certain tensions can be cited from research in a variety of complementary schools. Valdés *et al.* (2008) suggest that teachers of heritage languages are often those who have grown up in places where the language they teach is the dominant language. Therefore, they may 'have little knowledge or understanding of societal bilingualism' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, p.4), the everyday use of language in society, and 'give much attention to 'protecting' the language from contamination...and to providing a model of a standard target language free of vulgar colloquialisms and popular jargon' (Valdés *et al.*, 2008, p.126).

Discussing two Bengali complementary schools in Birmingham, Blackledge and Creese (2010b) explain that the respondents viewed Bengali much more highly than Sylheti. Bengali was seen to be the 'proper' language, whereas Sylheti was seen as the language of the untouchables, in some cases, not a language at all (Blackledge

and Creese, 2010b, pp.10-11). Although there was talk of the importance of language preservation, this was juxtaposed with the belief that 'it doesn't mean that this should contaminate other languages...we have to preserve the proper one first' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, p.10).

A further example of tension in decisions over language use is shared by Lytra *et al.* (2010), who explain that in the classroom context, the community language was considered superior to the regional and diasporic varieties. These beliefs led to compartmentalisation of different sets of linguistic resources based on the belief that languages were best taught separately. However, in practice, participants often 'crossed linguistic boundaries and engaged in multilingual practices where they juxtaposed and mixed different sets of linguistic resources' (Lytra *et al.*, 2010, pp.23-24).

Issues of attrition and enrolment in the NCS of this study were often related to the fact that some members of the NCS were from the transient army community, who were regularly moved to new locations. These factors undoubtedly impact not only curriculum planning, resourcing, and delivery, but the physical space of the complementary classroom.

The following section considers literacy practices in UK mainstream schools.

2.6.3 Literacy in the mainstream school

Literacy support for children in UK mainstream schools for whom English is not their first language is very individualised. Unlike the US, where both English-medium and bilingual instruction classes exist to support Latino students (García, Johnson and Seltzer, 2017) there are no formally instituted classes for children with English as an additional language (EAL) within mainstream UK schools. Decisions about the type of support that may be required for children with EAL are made on a case-by-case basis,

in discussion with teachers and EAL specialists within the school. Children's English language and literacy are assessed against a standard criteria (DfE, 2020) and schools may be able to access training and support offered by local authority Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Services (EMTAS). Sometimes, funding may be accessed to pay for a support teacher, tutor, or bilingual teaching assistant.

In 2005, the UK Department for Education and Skills issued a document aimed at 'meeting the needs of newly arrived learners of English as an additional language (EAL)' (DfES, 2005). This was followed in 2007 by two further publications, a DVD with case study booklet to guide schools in their support of 'new arrivals' (DfES, 2007c) and a guidance document for Primary schools which includes 'teaching units to support guided sessions for writing in English as an additional language' (DfES, 2007b). The focus of the guidance document is

advanced bilingual learners: those children...who appear to be appropriately fluent for their age in everyday face-to face conversational contexts but who need continued support in order to develop the cognitive and academic language required for academic success.

(DfES, 2007a)

Although I did not observe this document in use, the contents relate to the group of children I am researching, and others like them. Although teachers initially commented that the Nepalese children did not seem to have any difficulty, teachers also highlighted some weaknesses that they had observed in the children's literacy work and talked about how they were working on these areas with the children.

Furthermore, one teacher talked about strategies she would use to support EAL children in the school and the Year 5 participant was given extra government funded 'tuition' to support his literacy learning (Brown *et al.*, 2010; DfCSF, 2009; DfE, 2011).

The importance of understanding the different skills and experiences that children bring to school has been researched as 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti,

2005; Moll *et al.*, 1992). This theory argues that 'instruction should be linked to students' lives, and details of effective pedagogy should be linked to local histories and community contexts' (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.ix). In a similar vein, Lee (2008) and Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) argue for the importance of a socially and culturally responsive pedagogy. Moje has drawn on the funds of knowledge theory to argue for the creation of 'third spaces' in which out of school funds of knowledge can be linked with school literacy practices (Moje *et al.*, 2004).

Little and Chesworth (2021) discuss the concept of funds of knowledge as one which recognises 'the potential associated with the knowledge that arises from pupils' active participation in multi-generational household and/or community activities' (Little and Chesworth, 2021, p.2). However, the concept also acknowledges that some children may not like to be singled out for being 'different' (Little, 2017), and Grace warns that by simply 'celebrating cultural differences, stereotypes may actually be reinforced rather than diminished' (Grace, 2008, p.137). The concept of a funds of knowledge approach to viewing curriculum is about starting with the 'where the learners are coming from' (Little and Chesworth, 2021, p.4), acknowledging children's home and community experiences and exploring ways in which these funds of knowledge may be used to help children create 'personalised ways of knowing' (Little and Chesworth, 2021, p.4).

The following section considers research in literacy practices in participants' homes in the UK.

2.7 Literacy in the home

Mills (2001) found in her study of third-generation British children of Pakistani origin that although the children lacked proficiency in their Asian languages, these languages were important to the children, especially 'for maintaining the bond with their families

and communities' (Mills, 2001, p.383). Furthermore, Mills found that the children's languages were 'crucial for maintaining [their] sense of identity as being both British and Pakistani' and that they accepted these multiple identities with equanimity, being able to define themselves in different but co-existing ways (Mills, 2001, p.383). Following this study, Kenner proposed that 'young children growing up in a bilingual and biliterate environment, at a fundamental level, experience their worlds not as separate linguistic and cultural entities but as 'simultaneous' (Kenner, 2004b, p.43). These findings resonate with the data of the three key participants in my study. I understand the idea of co-existing identities and practices as relating to a concept of repertoire. Children are able to explore their identity positions through the different experiences and repertoire available to them. Data in my study reveals how children's identities were shaped through their literacy practices and that the children made deliberate choices in their use of certain repertoire.

Parents and grandparents have a very important role in the promotion of language and literacy education. Saxena (2000) discusses 'attitudes towards language maintenance and towards provision for the teaching of different languages' (Saxena, 2000, p.275). For example, in Saxena's work with families in Southall, London, he observed differences of opinion regarding the kind of literacy education children should receive. In one family, the grandfather wanted the grandson to learn Panjabi so that he 'could develop his Panjabi and have access to Panjabi culture. He also favoured Panjabi because it was the official language of the state of Panjab' (Saxena, 2000, p.293). By contrast, the boy's

grandmother and father took more of a religious stance, emphasising their concern about passing on to the boy an understanding and appreciation of Hindu culture and religion; whereas his mother took a secular stance, stressing that Hindi was the national language of India.

(Saxena, 2000, p.293)

Ruby *et al.* (2010) discuss the role of Grandmothers as teachers in the UK Bangladeshi community, commenting that in Bangladesh and amongst the British Bangladeshi community,

the grandmothers tend to take on the role of teacher to the children in the immediate family and the neighbourhood.

(Ruby *et al.*, 2010, p.58)

The grandmother was able to offer a smaller group than the typical complementary school classes, and therefore a more personal relationship between teacher and children. Ruby *et al.* (2010) suggest that she is both grandmother, 'telling stories and creating a safe space where [the children] can express themselves with ease...[and] teacher who needs to maintain certain discipline where learning occurs' (Ruby *et al.*, 2010, p.63), taking a similar role to that of an orchestra conductor, inviting each child to make a contribution to the whole group. Earlier studies by Kenner (2005) and Kenner *et al.* (2007b) also observed the intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in east London. Data showed that the grandparents and children treated each other as equal partners in learning, able to support each other in the tasks. Language, touch, gesture, and gaze all had roles to play in communication.

Kenner's case studies of the writing practices of young children in their London homes, complementary school and mainstream school (Kenner, 2004a; 2004b; Kenner *et al.*, 2004) observed all kinds of literacy learning in the home with 'the help of siblings, parents and other family members' (Kenner, 2004a, p.1). This extract highlights the richness and complexity of children's home learning:

Many scenes come to mind: Tala and her brother making greetings cards together, Sadhana and her mother poring over a large Spanish-English dictionary, Ming writing on the computer with his brother's help, Yazan doing spelling tests in English and Arabic with his sister, Selina and her sister creating their own pop magazines, Brian and his brother showing me the board game they had made with their father.

(Kenner, 2004a, p.1)

This followed work by Gregory which highlighted the value of learning with a sibling of similar age who 'understands and intimately knows the nature of the task' (Gregory, 2001, p.319). Gregory's study raises an important question as to 'how far might family members other than parents play a crucial role in initiating young children into literacy?' (Gregory, 2001, p.302), particularly when 'parents' own confidence in reading English might be low and/or their experiences of formal education might be negative' (Gregory, 2001, p.302).

Other literacies which had a significant role in home visits were digital literacies including the TV, iPad, computer (for Skype) and phone (Beavis, 2002; 2008; Beavis and Charles, 2005). Kress comments that

It is no longer possible to think about literacy in isolation from a vast array of social, technological and economic factors. Two distinct yet related factors deserve to be particularly highlighted. These are, on the one hand, the broad move from the now centuries-long domination of writing to the new dominance of the image, and, on the other hand, the move from the dominance of the medium of the book to the dominance of the medium of the screen.

(Kress, 2003, p.1)

The importance of these digital literacies for my participants will be discussed further in the data analysis chapters.

During my data collection, I was struck by the invisibility of home and NCS literacy for the MS teachers in my study. Gregory tells the story of a Chinese boy, Tony, whose early experiences of learning Chinese at home and complementary school influenced his learning behaviour in the English mainstream school. Because the teacher did not understand the differences in teaching styles, she began to wonder about whether his different behaviour around literacy learning was 'down either to his lack of ability or to his family's lack of encouragement or interest in his work' (Gregory, 2008, p.21). Gregory continues

[t]o understand Tony and his situation, we cannot just look at the way he performs in what 'counts' as reading in his classroom; we have to see him as a member of a cultural group, learning both at home and in his Chinese language class and bringing some of that learning to his English school. He will then need to learn with his peers and his teacher in a new cultural setting. In other words, we have to consider Tony primarily as a social being interacting with his teacher on both a personal level and as a member of a cultural group.

(Gregory, 2008, pp.23-24)

Understanding what counts as reading for Tony and understanding the way in which he brought some of this literacy learning experience into his English school resonates with some of my data from the MS.

In the following section, I discuss studies which have sought to connect literacy practices in the three sites of MS, NCS and home.

2.8 Making connections between schools and homes

The importance of valuing families' and children's out of school literacy experiences as funds of knowledge is highlighted by Pahl and Rowsell (2012), who comment that

every home brings with it identities, dispositions, stories, objects, artifacts, memories, languages, and resources. This implies a wealth model of literacy by which families' cultural capital can be drawn upon when planning schooled literacy activities.

(Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, pp.70-71)

Despite potential benefits for the cross over of skills and funds of knowledge between school and home (Kenner, 2000b; Pahl, 2007; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012), other research has continued to highlight an imbalance in the use of home literacy skills in mainstream school settings.

Action research with second or third generation British Bangladeshi children, mainstream teachers and bilingual assistants sought to investigate whether cognitive and cultural benefits of bilingual learning found in other contexts might apply in a

mainstream school setting (Kenner, 2007; Kenner *et al.*, 2008; Kenner and Ruby, 2011; Kenner and Ruby, 2012a; Kenner and Ruby, 2012b). Research found that despite the children being more fluent in English than Bengali, conceptual transfer, enriched understanding through translation, metalinguistic awareness, bicultural knowledge and building bilingual learner identities were cognitive and cultural benefits of the project (Kenner *et al.*, 2008).

One of the findings relevant for my own study is the attention to identity construction in relation to Bengali and English literacy skills. The research highlighted the fact that when children were invited to use Bengali as well as English in the mainstream school environment, they

initially found themselves tongue-tied, struggling to make use of their bilingual capacities. Although they were building Bengali knowledge in complementary class, primary school was a monolingual space where it was difficult to express their multilingual identities.

(Kenner and Ruby, 2012b, p.xii)

Kenner and Ruby discuss how they ‘worked with teachers and children to overcome these barriers and develop bilingual learning’ (Kenner and Ruby, 2012b, p.xii).

Conteh, in her observations with bilingual children and their teachers in complementary and mainstream school settings in the north of England, found that children drew on their bilingual repertoires to answer questions in class. Conteh’s research seeks to highlight some of the hidden literacies available to bilingual children in learning contexts (Conteh, 2010).

Although there was very little connection between the mainstream and NCS in my study, it is clear that as educators have opportunity to establish relationships with each other, there is the potential for productive partnerships and understandings which will ‘enable children’s learning to thrive’ (Kenner and Ruby, 2012b, p.xiii).

2.9 Literacy summary

This section focused on the concept of literacy. It discussed the differences between a skills-based model and a model of literacy as a social practice. The concept of literacy events is proposed as a way of observing situated literacy practices in different sites.

The literature review on alphabets discussed the way in which several alphabet resources promoted religious and moral education alongside the learning of letters, and the endurance of particular features for some communities. Other research considered the value of hand-made multimodal resources which were relevant to particular communities.

The discussion considered literature which focused on literacy learning in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school and home. The value of making connections where possible between different sites in order to develop understandings about literacy is recognised.

Researchers have discussed different features of classroom interaction. The following sections provide an overview of some of the interaction types observed in my own data.

2.10 Features of classroom discourse

There are five features of classroom interaction that I highlight in this section: control of interaction, speech modification, elicitation techniques, repair, and the IRF exchange structure (Hall, 2016; Walsh, 2011) The discussion begins with control of the interaction.

2.10.1 Control of the interaction

Participant roles are not equal and have been described as 'asymmetrical' (Hall, 2016, p.489; Walsh, 2011, p.4). Teachers typically control the interaction, being 'able to

interrupt when they like, take the floor, hand over a turn, direct the discussion [and] switch topics' (Walsh, 2011, p.5). Although there are times when interaction between teacher and student appears more equal, for much of the time, learners respond to the cues given by teachers, answer questions, engage in tasks such as opening a book, and change focus modes e.g., from reading to writing, to a PowerPoint or to talking to a friend. Furthermore, the teacher has control of who may participate and when, and this influences 'opportunities for learning' (Walsh, 2011, p.5). Despite these observations, it is important to also be aware that the participants in the classroom, as well as those beyond the classroom have different expectations about what the classroom should be like and these expectations will 'affect classroom practices and behaviour' (Hall, 2011, p.3). Van Lier comments,

The classroom is not a world unto itself. The participants...arrive at the event with certain ideas as to what is a 'proper' lesson, and in their actions and interaction they will strive to implement these ideas. In addition the society at large and the institution the classroom is part of have certain expectations and demands which exert influence on the way the classrooms turn out.

(van Lier, 1988, p.179)

Although classroom interaction is typically teacher led, either from the front of the class with the students at their desks, or by 'individual or collective support while students' work at their desks as observed in the study by King, Bigelow and Hirsi (2017, p.141), there are times when students are invited to perform teacher-like roles from the front of the class. King, Bigelow and Hirsi (2017) describe the way in which this role

included reading with a pointer from the overhead projector, ...sitting in the hot seat and answering often-practiced questions from peers and teachers in the room...or leading morning opening routines.

(King, Bigelow and Hirsi, 2017, p.141)

There are similarities here with practices observed in the NCS and I will explore these further in the data analysis chapters.

2.10.2 Speech modification

Speakers follow a range of speech modification strategies to make themselves understood (Gass, 2013; Gass and Selinker, 2008; Hall, 2011; Walsh and Li, 2016). The way that teachers typically speak to children is slower, more deliberate, louder, and often interspersed with pauses and emphasis. Teachers do this to promote understanding. Teachers emphasise 'appropriate pronunciation, intonation, sentence and word stress to give learners an opportunity to hear the sounds of the target language' (Walsh, 2011, p.7). Furthermore, teachers typically echo or rephrase individual learner's contributions for the benefit of the whole class and often use subtle strategies to clarify, check or confirm meanings. These strategies include comprehension checks, confirmation checks, clarification requests and repetition (Hall, 2011; Walsh, 2011) as well as

reformulation, rephrasing a learner's utterance; turn completion, finishing a learner's contribution; and backtracking, returning to an earlier part of a dialogue.

(Walsh, 2011, p.9)

These strategies operate at the interaction level and often result in teachers summarising learners' responses and imposing their own interpretations of what a learner has said, due to the desire to maintain control and flow of the lesson. At times, this means that learners are not free to explore their ideas and contributions further because of the boundaries a teacher has put in place.

Although teachers typically have their own 'classroom idiolect' (Walsh, 2006, p.99), an individual way of talking to children, which is based on their own conversational style as well as a particular school culture and ethos, this takes time for children to understand and at times, may be misunderstood (Walsh, 2011).

Related to this is the way the teacher uses particular words as markers to navigate the discourse and the flow of the lesson. Words such as right, ok, now, so, and alright are

typically used to help the 'class 'stay together' and work in harmony' (Walsh, 2011, p.7).

2.10.3 Elicitation techniques

Elicitation techniques are those strategies used by teachers to get learners to respond. 'Typically, elicitation entails asking questions' (Walsh and Li, 2016, p.491). Teachers control the discourse by asking questions which they know the answer to and that they require the learners to know the answers to as well. These are known as 'display questions' because learners are expected to display their knowledge. Walsh suggests that display questions serve several functions,

- eliciting a response;
- checking understanding;
- guiding learners towards a particular response;
- promoting involvement;
- concept checking.

(Walsh, 2011, p.12)

Alongside display questions which enable the teacher to quickly clarify understanding, are referential questions. These are more open ended, designed to create more discussion and debate. Walsh suggests that 'the use of appropriate questioning requires an understanding of the *function* of the question in relation to what is being taught' (Walsh, 2011, p.12).

A typical format for questioning is the IRF format, described in section 2.10.5.

2.10.4 Repair

Repair refers to the way in which teachers respond to errors. It 'includes direct and indirect error correction' (Walsh and Li, 2016, p.491). Depending on the situation, a teacher has the choice of how to respond. Typical responses are to

- ignore the error completely;
- indicate that an error has been made and correct it;
- indicate that an error has been made and get the learner who made it to correct it;
- indicate that an error has been made and get other learners to correct it.

(Walsh, 2011, p.14)

Error correction occupies a considerable amount of teachers' time. Van Lier commented that 'apart from questioning, the activity that most characterises language classrooms is correction of errors' (van Lier, 1988, p.276). Furthermore, he suggested that there were two conflicting views about error correction, one that says that error correction should be avoided at all costs as it disrupts the flow of a lesson, and another view that promotes error correction in order that learners acquire a 'proper' standard (van Lier, 1988). Often, this focus on proper standard is associated with 'social status, education and economic mobility' (Lytra, 2015, p.187), whilst those speakers using a more vernacular variety of the language are typically represented as having lower socio-economic status. Although Lytra's study focused on a Turkish community in Greece, this attention to language varieties and socioeconomic status rings true in some of my data with the Nepalese community.

Teachers' pedagogic goals and decisions about the types and frequencies of error correction are influenced by their own language ideologies and practices. Sometimes the lesson focus is highly specific, as in the case of the teaching and learning of alphabet sounds in the NCS, and this requires more error correction. At other times less error correction is required, for example when the focus is more on oral fluency.

The above sections have described important features of classroom discourse. I have discussed the teacher's control of the interaction, the use of speech modification, elicitation, and repair. Different features are used 'according to the particular pedagogic goal of the moment and the teacher's understanding of local context' (Walsh, 2011,

p.17). These features of classroom interaction can be summarised in the three-part exchange structure, as described in the following section.

2.10.5 The IRF exchange structure

One of the most important features of classroom discourse is the IRF sequence, a three part interaction comprising a teacher Initiation, a student Response, and a teacher Feedback (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), or IRE, Initiation, Response, Evaluation (Mehan, 1979). Some writers and practitioners prefer to discuss the sequence as IRE, reflecting the fact that teacher 'feedback is often an evaluation of a student's response' (Walsh, 2011, p.17). This three-part exchange is typical of teacher-learner interaction in so many different classrooms around the world, however it is different from that of everyday conversation outside a classroom setting. In these instances, 'speakers do not usually evaluate one another's performances' (Walsh, 2011, p.19). In the classroom setting however, the IRF sequence highlights the way in which teachers typically talk more than students and there is a risk that if the sequence is overused, the interaction may become mechanical or monotonous. Furthermore, the IRF sequence highlights the control that teachers have, over who speaks, when, about what, and for how long. Van Lier highlights the fact that the sequence can sometimes appear restrictive, particularly as students are not able to initiate discourse themselves (van Lier, 1988).

Other academics have discussed the way in which an awareness of IRF sequences enables teachers to vary the interaction and offer alternative types of sequence (Cazden, 2001; Walsh, 2011; Waring, 2009). Others have highlighted the way in which the teacher initiation turn carries out many different actions, and that the teacher's third turn has the ability to launch a variety of teaching activities (Ford-Connors and Robertson, 2017; Lee, 2007; Temple and Doerr, 2012). Ford-Connors and Robertson discuss how this third teacher turn is a juncture at which 'teachers can extend students'

thinking, as they probe, clarify, provide feedback, prompt elaboration, or hold the idea up for others to consider' (Ford-Connors and Robertson, 2017, p.132).

Although much of the research with IRF has focused on monolingual school settings, it has 'provided useful insights for researchers working in multicultural settings' (Lytra, 2007), for instance the focus on linguistic variability in schools by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and the different discourse patterns between partner teachers and their students (Creese, 2006). Despite this, there has been an assumption from other academics that 'pupils from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds participate in the daily life of school on an equal footing' (Lytra, 2007, p.162). This is not necessarily the case, as social relations are 'negotiated and reproduced in the context of social institutions' (Lytra, 2007, p.162). For my study, this means that in the different sites, the Nepalese children may be expected to conform to particular social and cultural norms and academic achievement. The ethnographic nature of my study highlighted the way in which, sometimes there is a mismatch between these particular expectations and reality.

Maybin (2006) discussed the way in which many studies have adopted an 'educational gaze' with a focus on the teacher-student curriculum-oriented talk. However, some ethnographic classroom studies have discussed playful talk and humour as important features of classroom interaction (Lytra, 2003; 2007; Maybin, 2006; Rampton, 2006; Waring, 2012; Warner, 2004). Sometimes the humour is task-related as students negotiate language that may at times feel foreign to them or 'in some ways inauthentic and, as one student noted, 'just like a game'' (Warner, 2004, p.80). Lytra discusses how playful talk and humour allowed students to 'experiment with aspects of the foreign language without losing face' (Lytra, 2007, p.238) and that the playful talk appeared to 'mask ignorance of or uncertainty about aspects of the foreign language they were learning' (Lytra, 2007, p.238). At other times, off-task interaction may be highlighted in

the data because it may be 'closer to learners' 'real-life' interactional needs than on-task interaction' (Markee, 2005, p.212). I will explore this further in my data analysis chapters.

The following sections consider four related teaching techniques observed in the data: choral reading, choral repetition, repeated reading, and chanting. These techniques have multi-modal qualities involving singing, rhythm, and repetition, and these are features which I will explore further in my data analysis.

2.11 Choral reading, choral repetition, repeated reading, and chanting

Choral reading is a classroom strategy in which all students read aloud together from the same text in unison with the teacher, who models accurate pronunciation, appropriate reading rate, and prosody.

(Paige, 2011, p.435)

A variation of this technique is choral repetition (Jones, 2018; Wong and Barcroft, 2019), where the teacher or experienced reader first models the reading and then the children repeat. Wong and Bancroft's research suggests that although choral repetition was less effective than non-choral repetition for learning new second language (L2) vocabulary, it remains an effective technique for teaching and learning the pronunciation of sounds and words.

Repeated reading involves the child repeatedly reading a text with the purpose of increasing levels of fluency and reading comprehension (Rasinski, 2003; Samuels, 1997; Therrien and Kubina, 2006). Poore and Ferguson (2008) researched choral reading with a recorded talker versus choral reading with a live talker and found that reading fluency was significantly higher with a live talker than a recorded talker. However, a study comparing repeated choral reading and scaffolded instruction of reading (Kuhn *et al.*, 2006) for oral fluency appeared to point to better reading fluency outcomes with a scaffolded approach. There is obviously a place for choral reading in

some situations and proponents of the choral reading and choral repetition approach advocate the benefits for providing 'less skilled readers [with] the opportunity to practice and receive support before being required to read on their own' (WETA, 2022).

Related to the practice of choral reading, choral repetition and repeated reading is chanting. Cochran's mixed methods study of reading instruction through songs and chants found significantly higher reading achievement scores as well as engagement in reading during singing / chanting lessons compared to those children who were taught through traditional approaches (Cochran, 2008). Research supports the use of rhythm for reading development (Long, 2014) and Cremin and Maybin (2013) have discussed the benefits of rhythm and music for literacy learning, and cognitive and social development. Elliott and Olliff (2008) discuss how singing songs, chanting poems and repeating finger plays about the alphabet are typical ways of learning letter names. In their research into early literacy learning with preschool children, they found that focused literacy activities which included singing about the letters of the alphabet, advanced 'young children's literacy abilities' (Elliott and Olliff, 2008, p.555) and raised an awareness of print and early letter recognition. This finding is echoed by Piasta who commented that knowledge of the alphabetic order is typically more well known by those children who have repeatedly practised the letter order through 'singing the alphabet song, reading alphabet books and referring to "the ABC's"' (Piasta, 2014, p.205).

This discussion acknowledged the benefits of repetition and drill type practices as useful 'habit-forming activities' in the early stages of second language learning (Hall, 2011, p.65). However, on their own, I share Hall's concern that these techniques 'fail to allow for the role of the human mind in learning, of consciousness, thought, and unconscious mental processes' (Hall, 2011, p.65).

The following sections explore translanguaging as one of the literacy resources available in some contexts to the Nepalese children and teachers in this study.

2.12 Translanguaging

The following sections consider the origins of the term translanguaging, the difference between translanguaging and codeswitching, several definitions and four potential limitations of the term. I discuss selected studies on translanguaging in educational contexts and summarise these in relation to my study.

2.12.1 Translanguaging origins

‘Translanguaging is a theoretical lens that offers a different view of bilingualism and multilingualism’ (Vogel and García, 2017, p.1). It was ‘not originally intended as a theoretical concept, but a descriptive label for a specific language practice’ (Li, 2018, p.7). The term *translanguaging* (Baker, 2001), translated from the Welsh term *trawsieithu* (Williams, 1994), originated in Welsh revitalization programmes to refer to pedagogical practices in which English and Welsh were used for different activities and purposes, e.g. reading in Welsh and writing in English (Baker and Wright, 2017; Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012). Williams argued that this specific language practice

helped to maximize the learner’s, and the teacher’s, linguistic resources in the process of problem solving and knowledge construction.

(Li, 2018, p.15)

Li (2018) locates the origins of translanguaging in the psycholinguistic notion of ‘*linguaging*’ (Li, 2018, p.16), which ‘refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one’s thoughts and to communicate about using language’ (Li, 2014, p.159). The concept of *linguaging* moves away from the notion of language as a noun to the notion of language as a verb, an ongoing process. Becker commented that ‘there is no such thing as Language, only continual

linguaging, an activity of human beings in the world' (Becker, 1991, p.34). This follows Ortega y Gasset's comment that language is not 'an accomplished fact, as a thing made and finished, but as in the process of being made' (Ortega y Gasset, 1957, p.242). Blommaert talks about 'language-in-motion' rather than 'language-in-place' (Blommaert, 2010, p.5); the idea of using not only multiple languages but multiple varieties of those languages – vernacular, formal, academic etc (Rawal, 2015).

Conceptualizing language as an activity rather than a structure, of something we do rather than material we draw on (Pennycook, 2010) directs our interests away from language codes and boundaries towards the speakers, their actions and the repertoires they draw on.

One of the most controversial questions in the translanguaging debate has been a theoretical one concerning underlying linguistic systems and translanguaging behaviour; whether socially named languages have the same psycholinguistic 'specific internal differentiation' (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2019, p.625). The theoretical linguist, Jeff MacSwan argues that 'bilinguals, like monolinguals, have a single linguistic repertoire but a richly diverse mental grammar' (MacSwan, 2017, p.167). MacSwan's focus on the grammar of languages stems from a psycholinguistic perspective, which observes the translanguaged product as a reflection of the psycholinguistic phenomena, that languages are organised with separate grammars in the brain. Otheguy, García and Reid refer to this concept as the '*dual correspondence theory*' (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2019, p.625), one which corresponds the organisation of socially named languages with an underlying psycholinguistic organisation.

Vogel and García (2017), too, seem keen to embrace the idea of 'grammar', but rather comment that 'there is only one language system, one grammar, from which speakers

select features' (Vogel and García, 2017, p.6). In contrast to the dual correspondence theory, Otheguy, García and Reid (2019) espouse what they call

a *unitary* view, arguing that bilingualism and multilingualism, despite their importance as sociocultural concepts, have no correspondence in a dual or multiple linguistic system. The myriad linguistic features mastered by bilinguals (phonemes, words, constructions, rules, etc.) occupy a single, undifferentiated cognitive terrain that is not fenced off into anything like the two areas suggested by the two socially named languages.

(Otheguy, García and Reid, 2019, p.626)

Otheguy, García and Reid (2019) suggest that 'a much healthier educational climate is created by teachers who adopt the unitary view sponsored by translanguaging' (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2019, p.625).

2.12.2 Translanguaging and codeswitching

Related to the discussion about the organisation of linguistic concepts is the relationship between translanguaging and codeswitching. Because on the surface translanguaging and codeswitching may appear to be the same thing, it is helpful to understand that from different research perspectives, they are seen in different ways.

At a simplistic level, 'those who adhere to the linguistic reality of named languages defend the notion of code-switching' (Vogel and García, 2017, p.6), whereas those scholars who take a single repertoire view of language defend the notion of translanguaging (e.g. García and Li, 2014; Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015). I interpret the language and literacy practices in my study through the lens of translanguaging. However, I recognise that not everyone involved in the study may have conceptualised language in this way, for example the teacher at NCS who called on the children to 'speak Nepali at Nepali class' (Research diary, 24th January 2015, line 5642), despite her regular translanguaging practice.

The following section seeks to clarify some of the definitions of translanguageing which have emerged in recent years.

2.12.3 Definitions of translanguageing

Jaspers (2019) summarised several definitions of translanguageing in the three points below with examples taken from a selection of the literature on translanguageing.

1. Speakers' natural linguistic instinct or cognitive capacity:

- [h]uman beings have a natural Translanguageing Instinct.

(García and Li, 2014)

- [t]ranslanguageing instinct drives humans to go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend culturally defined language boundaries to achieve effective communication.

(Li, 2018, pp.24-25)

- [t]ranslanguageing refers to the communicative practices in which people engage as they bring into contact different biographies, histories, and linguistic backgrounds.

(Blackledge and Creese, 2017, p.250)

2. The fluid or flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals:

- *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*.

(García, 2009, p.45 emphasis in original)

- fluid language practices of bilinguals.

(García and Lin, 2016, p.117)

3. A theory of language and education that considers the practices of bilinguals as one linguistic repertoire:

- it posits that individuals select and deploy features from a unitary linguistic repertoire in order to communicate.

(Vogel and García, 2017, p.3)

- translanguaging is using one's idiolect, that is one's linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language names and labels.

(Li, 2018, p.19)

- a complex of *specific* semiotic resources.

(Blommaert, 2010, p.102 emphasis in original)

- it is the entirety of the learner's linguistic repertoire that I am concerned with, rather than knowledge of specific structures of specific languages separately.

(Li, 2018, p.16)

- a repertoire of styles and linguistic resources, tuned to particular communicative settings and spheres of life, developed over the course of a person's biographical experience.

(Rampton, 2019, p.2)

Furthermore, translanguaging research claims to be transformative because it enables students to be creative and critical:

- [t]ranslanguaging [...] enables students to construct and constantly modify their sociocultural identities and values, as they respond to their historical and present conditions critically and creatively. It enables students to contest the 'one language only' or 'one language at a time' ideologies of monolingual and traditional bilingual classrooms.

(García and Li, 2014, p.67)

- [i]t is an action to transform classroom discourses, including both the discourses by the participants of the classroom activities and the discourses about the classroom.

(Li and Lin, 2019, p.211)

- [t]ranslanguaging has the potential to be transformative and creative, as it can transcend apparent difference, enabling people to communicate with whatever resources are available to them, rather than constraining them within prescribed limits.

(Blackledge and Creese, 2017, p.250)

The appeal of translanguaging for the field of education is difficult to deny. Translanguaging is presented as a way of working in the 'gap between' languages of nation states and the individual practices of pupils (García and Li, 2014, p.70), giving opportunity for pupils to access all their linguistic repertoire as a resource for learning, 'for deep cognitive development and for development and expansion of new language practices, including standard ones for academic purposes' (García and Li, 2014, p.71).

With a translanguaging lens, I am motivated to 'perceive 'error' as the learner's active negotiation and exploration of choices and possibilities' (Canagarajah, 2006, p.593), furthermore being aware that

not every instance of nonstandard usage by a student is an unwitting error; sometimes it is an active choice motivated by important cultural and ideological consideration. The assumption that multilingual students are always bound to err in a second language denies them agency.

(Canagarajah, 2006, p.609)

García and Li's view of translanguaging as a theory and as a practice carries huge promise and potential, especially within the field of education. However, it is tempting to get caught up in this euphoria of promise and potential without full regard for the possible limitations of the theory in real life settings.

Since the publication of García and Li's (2014) seminal book, other researchers have voiced concerns that the limits of translanguaging need to be acknowledged and agreed in order for it to move forward as a robust theory (Jaspers, 2018; Li, 2018; Li and Lin, 2019; MacSwan, 2017; Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015; Otheguy, García and Reid, 2019). The following section will address some of these potential limitations.

2.12.4 Potential limitations of translanguaging

Jaspers (2018) introduces his paper with a quote from Cameron (1995), saying that new terms run the risk of 'discursive drift' and can 'lose their precision, acquire

connotations they did not have before, and start to overlap with other terms from which they were once distinguished' (Cameron, 1995, p.127). Jaspers writes that the variety of translanguaging definitions relate

to all speakers' innate linguistic instinct, to bilinguals' spontaneous language use, to everyday cognitive processes, to a bilingual pedagogy, and to a theory of language and education.

(Jaspers, 2018, p.2)

Furthermore, translanguaging definitions relating to a school context typically challenge the usually monolingual structure of the pedagogical systems currently in place, claiming to release old understandings and structures, 'thus transforming not only subjectivities, but also cognitive and social structures' (García and Li, 2014, p.3).

Jaspers' (2018) paper argues three main points, firstly that translanguaging scholars share common ground with the monolingual authorities they criticise, secondly, that the transformative claims that translanguaging attempts to make cannot be taken for granted, and thirdly, translanguaging is becoming in some contexts, a dominating rather than a liberating force. I will look at these three points in more detail, firstly the issue of shared convictions and common ground.

2.12.4.1 Shared convictions and common ground

Translanguaging scholars and authorities both agree that monolingual practices are important, in order to practice standard features for academic purposes and to understand the 'rules and regulations that have been socially constructed for that particular language' (García and Lin, 2016, p.126). Tension lies however between translanguaging as a theoretical concept and the practices of schools and nation states, who tend to prioritise monolingual practices. This tension is evident in García and Lin's use of the terms 'strong' and 'weak' (García and Lin, 2016, p.126). Their preference for a 'strong' theory of translanguaging that poses that bilingual people do

not speak languages but rather, use their linguistic repertoire selectively contrasts with a 'weak' view which 'supports national and state language boundaries and yet calls for softening these boundaries' (García and Lin, 2016, p.126). It appears that the comparison García and Lin present here is two different things, on the one hand a theoretical concept and on the other, a question of how the theory may be worked out in practice. Nevertheless, the use of terms such as 'strong' and 'weak' do emphasise the powerful sentiment underlying the use of the term 'translanguaging' and highlight the tension that teachers (and policy makers) experience when seeking to embrace students' linguistic diversities.

Jaspers comments that valorising 'pupils' linguistic diversity without losing sight of socially valued, monolingual registers' (Jaspers, 2018, p.6), and inversely, how monolingual registers may be taught without pupils feeling that their individual linguistic skills are less important is an important factor for teachers who value linguistic diversity. Jaspers continues, that what educators must navigate is a single, dilemmatic ideology

that values the opposing themes of transparent communication and emancipation through a collective standard variety on the one hand, and respect for individual difference, freedom of expression and equality (of languages, among other things) on the other.

(Jaspers, 2018, p.6)

This resonates with dilemmas apparent in my data over the social and cultural values of English and Nepali monolingual registers and is something that will be highlighted in my analysis chapters.

2.12.4.2 Empirical doubts over causal relations

The second point that Jaspers raises relates to doubts over causal relations, either that the use of translanguaging promotes wellbeing for pupils or that translanguaging supports the learning of a main 'school' language. Jaspers (2018; 2019) gives the example of research in a Greek-Cypriot primary school class in which the teacher

attempted to introduce Turkish for the children of Bulgarian background. This was met with resistance and silence from those for whom it was intended. Well intentioned actions to promote linguistic diversity, give pupils voice and promote mutual understanding was met with fear that 'speaking Turkish' could be taken as 'being Turkish', a problematic identity in Greek Cyprus despite many peace-building efforts (Charalambous, Charalambous and Zembylas, 2016, p.327).

Furthermore, Jaspers comments on a four year experiment by Ramaut *et al.* (2013) in which pupils were encouraged to use their home variety language in the primary school classroom in Belgium. Children of Turkish background were given supplementary Turkish teaching in the understanding that this would foster cross-linguistic skills and therefore support their language learning in Dutch. Results were less positive than they hoped; learning outcomes did not go up, and Turkish speaking pupils did not progress significantly in Dutch. However, across the school, attitudes towards multilingualism and linguistic diversity were raised.

Jaspers admits these studies are selected. There are others that support a claim that fluid language use has a positive impact on wellbeing and educational outcomes. However, we observe from the research that these two outcomes cannot be guaranteed. Results are directly affected by social, political, and personal considerations. As Jaspers writes

The point however is not to deny the possibility of such effects, but to argue that such causality cannot be taken for granted because the effect of introducing particular linguistic resources in class always needs to be considered against the background of continuing inequalities, predominant discourses, local circumstances and personal consideration.

(Jaspers, 2018, p.7)

2.12.4.3 Translanguaging as a dominating force

The third challenge Jaspers raises is that translanguaging has in some contexts become a dominating force. This is most strongly felt amongst minority language maintenance educators who fear that translanguaging may undermine and dilute the hard work of maintaining a minority language. García (2009), and reiterated in García and Li (2014), addresses this concern by suggesting that even though the minority language should be given opportunity for use alongside the majority language, it is vitally important to maintain a space 'in which the minority language does not compete with the majority language' (García, 2009, p.301). However, this statement is followed by an apparent contradiction, suggesting that 'within these separate spaces, schools must also construct translanguaging spaces' in which students are given agency to be both creative and critical, where their repertoires are brought together and contribute to a 'more sophisticated metalinguistic awareness [...] co-construct their language expertise, recognize each other as resources, and act on their knowing and doing' (García and Li, 2014, pp.74-75).

There is a dilemma here. On the one hand I see the promotion of minority language education whilst on the other hand, a fear that this language maintenance may be diluted by forcing these spaces to also become translanguaging spaces. What is clear, is that translanguaging has become a dominating force, with real concerns about its transformative power.

2.12.4.4 Reducing options

Jaspers (2019) presents a fourth concern that the facts underlying translanguaging research, rather than being a move for positive change in education, may significantly reduce the available options for stakeholders.

Teachers ‘mostly work in institutions where other stakeholders [...] require that they use or teach a prestigious, often monolingual variety, besides other subject matter’ (Jaspers, 2019, p.10). Government, institutional and social structures which preference monolingualism and a monolingual approach to education all have vested interests in this continuing.

Related to Otheguy, García and Reid’s (2015) call for a linguistic repertoire approach and the use of translanguaging in the classroom is the curious obsession in schools with assessment of language resources. Tests can fall short of assessing ‘real resources and skills that people have, because they believe they measure languages, while in fact they measure specific resources’ (Blommaert, 2010, p.105). Commenting on the European Common Framework for Languages and the associated measuring instruments, Blommaert and Backus write that they

only have a tenuous connection with the real competences of people, the way they are organized in actual repertoires, and the real possibilities they offer for communication. This is because they measure only part of language knowledge.

(Blommaert and Backus, 2011, p.24)

Permitting children to use their full repertoire for tests would obviously provide challenges for educators who typically rely on standardised, monolingual assessment tools. García and Li (2014) write that

translanguaging in assessment would require a change in epistemology that is beyond the limits of what most schools (and teachers) permit and value today.

(García and Li, 2014, p.135)

In the following section, I provide a short commentary on these concerns in relation to my research.

2.12.5 Concerns over translanguaging and their relationship to this study

The dilemmatic ideology presented by Jaspers (2018) in relation to the use of a standard language variety in mainstream school (in this case English) versus respect for freedom of expression (in Nepali or through translanguaging) is something that is not addressed to a large extent in my research. The reason for this relates primarily to the children's relatively high level of ability in English compared to their Nepali. Because of this, the children rarely requested permission to use Nepali in their MS. However, on the occasions when the children did draw on their Nepali repertoire, a greater understanding of the children's social, cultural and linguistic heritages would have enabled the teachers to engage with the child's experiences and questioning more fully.

Although Jaspers raised concerns about translanguaging's supportive qualities for language learning of the dominant language in mainstream schools, citing socio-cultural reasons for its lack of success, translanguaging practices in this study will be mainly discussed in relation to the support they can provide for the learning of Nepali language and Nepali Devanagari script, and as a literacy practice in the negotiation of identity in the different sites.

The concept of translanguaging as a label for fluid literacy practices involving participants' own histories and repertoires was largely unknown for the participants of this study. However, it was certainly a practice commonly drawn on in the home and NCS and one teacher referred to the practice as her use of the 'hybrid language' (Knee, 2016). Jaspers' concern that it is becoming a dominating force then relates more to researchers' presentations of the concept and its development in academic fields.

The fourth concern that Jaspers raises relates to assessment. This is not an issue that was explored by teachers in my study, most likely because as mentioned before, the

children's abilities in English outweighed their Nepali. That being said, had their skills been more prominent in Nepali, questions relating to assessment may have arisen.

In the following two sections, I look at some of the practical ways translanguaging has been approached in the classroom and consider how these may be relevant in my research.

2.12.6 Translanguaging in educational settings

García and Li (2014) identified the fact that translanguaging is being used in sanctioned as well as unsanctioned ways in classrooms. For example, in an effort to valorise pupils' linguistic diversities alongside collectively valued registers in school, Jaspers (2018) comments that

teachers sometimes resort to makeshift strategies, promoting translanguaging during group work...[whilst] other teachers explicitly insist on a monolingual policy but in practice recognize and even use pupils' home varieties

(Jaspers, 2018, p.6)

The following two sections look at a selection of the research on translanguaging in educational settings around the world. The first discusses the different ways translanguaging is used and understood in educational settings. The second considers in more detail specific studies which focus on the use of translanguaging as a tool to scaffold learning in educational settings.

Writing about mother tongue (MT) instruction in Sweden, Ganuza and Hedman (2017) challenge the reader to question what is and what is not translanguaging in educational contexts. The authors argue that translanguaging pedagogy should not be used in an ad hoc way, rather be 'reserved for contexts where teachers have made a deliberate decision to include students' flexible language uses, and where the multilingual practices employed in pedagogy harmonize with the teachers' ideologies of language' (Ganuza and Hedman, 2017, p.210). This is a sensitive study which recognises the

translanguaging practices of students in both the MT and Swedish classrooms, but respects the teachers' positions and own ideologies about language learning. The authors suggest that in their context, 'multilingual practices' or 'code-switching' may be more appropriate terms of use (Ganuza and Hedman, 2017, p.218).

Slotte and Ahlholm (2017) discuss the benefits of translanguaging for learning on a bilingual summer camp in Finland, for Swedish speaking young people. The authors describe how translanguaging was used to negotiate concepts the students were learning. Importantly, it is noted that translanguaging produced a 'gliding pattern' of two steps forward and one step backward, for example, moving from Finnish to Swedish and then to Finnish again for clarification of the learning task. This enabled everyone to engage in and understand at least some part of the discussion.

Straszer (2017) uses the concept of linguistic landscaping (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) to discuss translanguaging space (Li, 2011, p.1222) in a Finnish pre-school in Sweden. Straszer collected data mainly in the form of photographs to highlight the visibility and salience of languages, and form the basis of discussion relating to social space, safe space and translanguaging space. Straszer highlights the point made by Pietikäinen (2012) that 'the same image may simultaneously generate different meanings in different situations, creating possible ambiguities that mean that the interpretation depends on the observer' (Pietikäinen, 2012, p.169). Although some official signs in the Finnish preschool were displayed in Swedish, the majority of written language (displays, pictures, labels on equipment) for the children was in Finnish. Therefore, the Finnish displayed in the Finnish section of the preschool had a special role, 'not least as an identity marker, which strengthens the sense of connectedness for both children and parents' (Straszer, 2017, p.144). Despite there being no visible sign of Finnish outside this preschool, children, teachers and parents were observed using their linguistic resources flexibly to translanguage across all spaces of the preschool.

Jonsson's (2019) paper discusses research in a Swedish-Spanish bilingual school in Sweden. Instances of translanguaging in which the teacher and the students draw on their communicative repertoire are evident in the data. However, because the teacher frequently uses language labels such as 'Swedish', 'English' and 'Spanish', Jonsson concludes that for this teacher, it is important to keep a view of languages as separate units. Therefore, 'the translanguaging space that is being created in the classroom can [...] be seen as negotiable, and as work in progress' (Jonsson, 2019, p.344).

Vaish (2019) discusses the challenges of implementing a translanguaging program to support the learning of English vocabulary, grammar and comprehension of low achieving students in Singapore who spoke Malay, Chinese or Tamil in their homes. Vaish comments on how the 'superdiversity' of the student group combined with the students' own negative attitudes towards their mother tongue meant that the implementation of translanguaging for pedagogy was very challenging. Furthermore, the two students who came from English dominant homes found it more difficult to use their 'mother tongues' (Chinese and Tamil) as a support for learning English. The author draws on Cenoz and Gorter's (2011) cross linguistic transfer research to explain

research has also shown that the child's non-dominant language can also aid in the learning of the dominant language as cross linguistic influence is multidirectional.

(Cenoz and Gorter, 2011)

This observation is interesting as it is often assumed that the home language or 'mother tongue' is the stronger language and therefore can be drawn upon to support the learning of the second language. This is not always the case and this example is evidence of why a repertoire approach may be more helpful in the language learning classroom.

Finally in this section, in their textbook on translanguaging, García, Johnson and Seltzer (2017) discuss a pedagogy for 'leveraging student bilingualism for learning'.

Based in a US context, the authors discuss translanguaging pedagogy in three different classrooms: an elementary dual-language bilingual classroom in New Mexico, an English medium high-school social studies class in New York, and an English-medium middle school maths and science class in California, where the teacher specialises in teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). The authors identify four purposes of translanguaging in their book:

1. Supporting students as they engage with and comprehend complex content and texts
2. Providing opportunities for students to develop linguistic practices for academic contexts
3. Making space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing
4. Supporting students' bilingual identities and socioemotional development

(García, Johnson and Seltzer, 2017, p.7)

One point to highlight from this textbook is the way translanguaging is promoted regardless of the number of students in a language group. For example, in one class, there was only one child who spoke Korean as their first language. The teacher did not speak any Korean, but still encouraged the student to use translanguaging to support their own learning with 'intrapersonal innerspeech to brainstorm' and 'prewrit[ing] and annotating texts in her own language', making it clear that the 'language she brings with her is useful and necessary for learning and development of English' (García, Johnson and Seltzer, 2017, p.7)

2.12.7 Translanguaging as a tool for scaffolding learning

A number of the studies discussed in the above section demonstrated the value of translanguaging as a supportive tool for learning in educational settings. This section

highlights five studies which specifically identify translanguaging as a tool for 'scaffolding' learning.

The concept of scaffolding originates with Vygotsky's (1978) social constructivist view that language is a symbolic tool through which meaning is mediated between the world and the human mind (Lantolf, 2000). Social mediations take place in the zone of proximal development (ZPD), where a more expert learner comes alongside a novice learner, providing 'support to help the novice learner achieve what is just out of reach' (Smidt, 2009, p.87). The notion of potential is very important in the ZPD. Daniel *et al.* (2017) explain that

[i]n sociocultural perspectives, this scaffolding can occur through peer-led interactions that the teacher has structured, contingent scaffolding from the teacher that is in response to student contributions, and prepared prompts and materials that the teacher has developed in advance of the actual lesson.

(Daniel *et al.*, 2017)

Teacher attitudes towards concepts such as translation and translanguaging are identified as key factors in Toth and Paulsrud's (2017) two case studies of English-medium instruction. In one classroom, the teacher took a flexible approach, allowing students to translate from English to Swedish as a 'mediating tool...scaffolding participation and meaning-making' (Toth and Paulsrud, 2017, p.199). However, in the second study, the teacher exercised more agency over language choices in the classroom, constantly making decisions depending on the needs of his students to ensure maximum understanding and learning.

Rosiers' study highlighted that even where a teacher has not mastered all the languages in the classroom, they can still initiate translanguaging as a learner centered activity to promote learning and engagement with the task (Rosiers, 2017). The teacher in the Ghent classroom encouraged translanguaging among pupils as a scaffold for their learning with clarification in the main language of instruction (LOI), contrasting

with the more covert translanguaging practices of the Brussels classroom, where on occasion children or the teacher used translanguaging as a scaffolding approach to support the learning and keep the lesson moving but ‘spontaneous translanguaging among pupils was mostly observed when the teacher was located at a physical distance’ (Rosiers, 2017, p.157). Rosiers summarises pupils’ active use of translanguaging in a gradation (see Rosiers, 2017, p.156), depending on the presence of the teacher and the particular activity. Both classroom practices reflect the language policies of the school: the Ghent school permitted home languages to be used in the classroom, whereas the Brussels school, did not.

In a related paper from the same study, Rosiers, Lancker and Delarue (2018) identify three points relating to translanguaging practice across the two sites. First, direction; in the Brussels site, translanguaging represented a movement away from the main LOI (Dutch), yet in the Oudernaarde site, translanguaging represented a movement towards the main LOI (Dutch). Second, translanguaging was common in the margins of classroom life to discuss non-curricular as well as curricular subjects. Third, translanguaging practices served a socio-emotional purpose as pupils used language strategically to move between friends, peers and teachers. Translanguaging thus fostered their multilingual identities and socio-emotional development. It also guaranteed their involvement in daily classroom activities.

Research with pre-service teachers in the US considered the use of translanguaging as ‘a bridge for connecting languages, as a scaffold for participation, and a sign of students’ linguistic expertise and understandings of content’ (Pacheco, Kang and Hurd, 2019, p.194). On the one hand therefore, translanguaging with English and Spanish was demonstrated to be supportive in the elementary school classroom, for the teaching of maths as well as literacy. However, despite pre-service teachers’ desires to use translanguaging, they sometimes encountered ‘ideologies of translanguaging

as transgressive of language policies and norms' (Pacheco, Kang and Hurd, 2019, p.194) and found that these experiences eventually impacted their own teaching practice.

The final paper considers how 'consistent and well-designed scaffolding can help classroom communities view translanguaging as a norm' (Daniel *et al.*, 2017, p.1). The research draws on teacher-researcher data with elementary school teachers whose primary language of instruction was English. Together with the researchers, a program was designed to enable students realize that their 'languages other than English (LOTES)' (Daniel *et al.*, 2017) (in this case Spanish and Arabic) could be useful for making sense of their reading and writing at school. Scaffolding strategies were designed which included transliteration, translation, describing words in a home language, borrowing words from English, thinking about words that are the opposite, and drawing on their knowledge of similar sounding words in one language to support the learning of the other (Daniel *et al.*, 2017). Teachers discussed positively the way in which scaffolding had an impact on the level of student engagement in writing activities. The authors conclude

Public displays of students' translanguaging in classrooms and schools could guide school communities not only in showing their appreciation of students' LOTES but also in helping other teachers see how translanguaging is beneficial for multilingual learners' academic success and creating a school culture that affirms students' use of LOTES.

(Daniel *et al.*, 2017, p.14)

2.12.8 Translanguaging in educational settings summary

This section has discussed a selection of the literature relating to translanguaging for pedagogy in a variety of settings and countries. It is noted that provision for language learning and beliefs about language learning vary considerably between countries and

settings. Furthermore, attitudes to translinguaging are influenced by a variety of things including the personal histories of people groups and individuals, and the perceived or real abilities that teachers have with different languages.

The majority of these studies reported on education settings in which living with more than one language is the norm and where multilingualism is promoted as a positive thing. This contrasts with my study, in which English is the main language of education in the MS, and where Nepali is learnt as a second language in the NCS and spoken at home.

The use of translation as a tool under the umbrella of translinguaging in the Swedish / Finnish summer camp is helpful conceptually for my commentary and analysis of the NCS and home data. Vaish's (2019) study with low achieving students in Singapore serves as an important reminder that the children's 'mother tongue' may not always be the stronger language and that children will have views about their languages that teachers need to understand and consider before suggesting the use of mother tongue languages to support the learning of the dominant school language. This sensitive discussion is not one that I have explored directly in my study, however there are moments when it is alluded to, particularly in discussions about identity negotiations arising in the data.

Studies which considered the use of translinguaging as a scaffolding tool for participation and learning (Daniel *et al.*, 2017; Pacheco, Kang and Hurd, 2019; Rosiers, 2017; Rosiers, Lancker and Delarue, 2018; Toth and Paulsrud, 2017) resonate with my data from the NCS in which English as the stronger language is used to support the learning of Nepali language and literacy in the NCS. Daniel *et al.* (2017) discussed the positive impact a translinguaging program had for students and teachers. Although the US education system is different from the UK, the value of carefully planned

translanguaging for pedagogy is to be considered in light of the data I will discuss in chapter 4.

2.13 Identity

Language use and children's literacy practices can be indicative of certain identity categories and negotiations around categories of identity. I begin this section with a discussion about what identity is and how it is understood in the context of this study.

The second section provides a foundation to my understandings about authenticity. It discusses Coupland's five basic qualities of authenticity and considers how these qualities are viewed through a sociolinguistic lens.

The third section continues the discussion on authenticity, expanding the sociolinguistic lens on authenticity through Blommaert and Varis' (2011) four-tiered framework. This framework draws on the concept of emblematic features to discuss identity construction and negotiation. Key elements of this framework are the requirement to have 'enough' of the features to be considered an authentic member of a particular identity category, whilst also recognising the highly dynamic nature of these negotiations.

The fourth section draws on two studies from complementary schools which explore issues of identity amongst the participants through Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework. Their relevance to my study is considered.

2.13.1 Identity discourses and negotiation

Kanno (2003) defined identity as 'our sense of who we are and our relationship to the world' (Kanno, 2003, p.3). This implies that individuals themselves negotiate identities but at the same time, recognises that 'identities themselves are social constructions'

(Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.27). Identities therefore are shaped by particular discourses and ideologies within different sites.

Creese *et al.* (2006) in their study of young people in complementary schools in Leicester, found that two identity positions were 'institutionally developed' (*heritage / community* identities and *learning* identities) whereas another was 'institutionally allowed' (*multicultural* identity) (Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.25). The first two positions were privileged and actively encouraged by the school. The third was 'implicitly developed through providing students with a multilingual space to develop their multicultural / multilingual views of identity' (Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.32). Furthermore, the third developed because the complementary schools appeared to

encourage flexibility in language and literacy learning and....[allowed] for the young people to inhabit and perform identities not so easily available for them to take up in their mainstream educational contexts.

(Creese *et al.*, 2006, p.26)

This finding resonates with my study as I consider particular discourses around the use of translanguaging in the different settings. Building on the idea of complementary schools providing a safe space for learning, Creese and Martin (2006) suggest that complementary schools can offer children 'a safe haven for exploring ethnic and linguistic identities while producing opportunities for performing successful learner identities' (Creese and Martin, 2006, p.3).

The idea of identities on the one hand being promoted by institutions and communities but on the other hand being able to be explored and negotiated by the participants themselves is echoed by Maybin (2006) who comments

[t]his negotiation between a child's identification of themselves....and their identification by others through talk is contextualised within the social practices which make up the children's world'.

(Maybin, 2006, p.27)

The processes of identity development are both social and individual. Participants draw on a 'range of socially authoritative evaluative frameworks for making judgments about people and events' (Maybin, 2006, p.27). One of these frameworks is the concept of authenticity. It is to this concept that I now turn.

2.13.2 Authenticity

Authenticity matters. It remains a quality of experience that we actively seek out, in most domains of life, material and social. [...] We value authenticity, and we tend to be critical of pseudo-authenticity.

(Coupland, 2003, p.417)

Lacoste and Leimgruber echo this comment, suggesting that 'striving for some sort of authenticity seems to be a prominent feature of people's social behaviour, fulfilling a social-regulative function' (Lacoste and Leimgruber, 2011, p.1). In this section, I consider what is meant by the term 'authenticity' and how this relates more specifically to this study. Why is authenticity important, and what impact do 'qualities of authenticity' (Coupland, 2003, p.418) have on the identities of the participants in my study?

Traditionally in the field of sociolinguistics there has been a correlation with authenticity and value, that the language a person uses identifies them as either an authentic or non-authentic member of a particular group. The more authentic, the more valuable. Although this is helpful as a starting point for discussion, within the transnational Nepalese community observed in this study, authenticity is not always obvious or clear cut. There is huge variety in language use, and associations with a variety of different groups, indicating multiple identities and a sense of connection to country or origin (Rawal, 2015). At times, the sense of connection to Nepal is heightened, as observed by attendance and participation at NCS. At other times, bonds with the UK are strengthened. Identities are constantly being 'reshaped, negotiated and reconstructed through interaction' (Rawal, 2015, p.7). Riley (2007) pointed to 'an extensive field of

evidence that identity is socially constructed and that our sense of self can only emerge as the result of communicative interaction with others' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.23).

Coupland suggests that critiquing what is meant by 'the authentic speaker' (Coupland, 2003, p.418) may be a useful reflexive operation for sociolinguists. In response to this, I have selected Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework in order to help understand a more complex process of identity formation and what is meant by authenticity within this community. Coupland's five basic qualities of authenticity; ontology, historicity, systemic coherence, consensus and value (Coupland, 2003) are discussed here as a foundation for Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework.

When **ontology** is considered within sociolinguistics, it is primarily understood as relating to how language is being used on the ground as opposed to 'real and proper language – standard varieties' (Coupland, 2003, p.420). **Historicity** is valued, but authenticity is based on the acceptance that there is 'inherent linguistic change in community speech norms over time, producing diversity as much as uniformity' (Coupland, 2003, p.420). **Systemic coherence** recognises 'orderliness of the speech community, when viewed in all its social and linguistic complexity' (Coupland, 2003, p.420) as opposed to a focus on the 'process of standardisation and codification designed to refine and enshrine the language' (Coupland, 2003, p.420). Language norms are agreed on by group **consensus** rather than by formal authorization and speech styles are **valued** as anchors of solidarity and 'dialects as worthy cultural objects' (Coupland, 2003, p.420).

The ideology associated with this sociolinguistic perspective is that authenticity is based on a participative, democratic ideology. This contrasts with a more authoritarian view where priorities of the state are imposed on communities and minority varieties.

Coupland comments that both perspectives claim linguistic authenticities and both perspectives resonate with my own study.

This idea of a participative, democratic ideology is central to this study. Maybin, in her identity work with young adolescents, discusses the interactive process between how children see themselves and how they are 'identified' by others. Maybin sees

[I]dentity not as a fixed set of attributes, but as a set of dispositions (some more open than others) which emerge through an interactive process between how children see and express their own position and meaning in the world, and how they are 'identified' by others, in the course of their engagement within speech genres and social practices.

(Maybin, 2006, p.27)

This interactive process between participants and ideologies present in different settings is explored in more detail in the following section. Blommaert and Varis (2011) take ideas from Coupland's five qualities and extend them into a detailed framework for investigating 'complex and dynamic identity processes' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.3) and as a tool for analysing data in relation to identity and authenticity.

2.13.3 Emblematic features

Blommaert and Varis (2011) explored these complex and dynamic identity processes as 'discursive orientations towards sets of features that are (or can be) seen as emblematic of particular identities' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.143). Such discursive practices relate to complex issues of authenticity and judgements about sufficiency or 'enoughness.' Judgements about whether a person has (or performs) enough of the features to be considered an authentic member of a particular group are highly nuanced and not always negotiable (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Furthermore, Creese and Blackledge explain, 'some may not have access to the necessary resources and others may be viewed as 'fake' members of an identity

category' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, pp.23-24). I set out the four-tiered framework below.

- a. Identity discourses and practices can be described as discursive orientations towards sets of features that are seen (or can be seen) as emblematic of particular identities. These features can be manifold and include artefacts, styles, forms of language, places, times, forms of art or aesthetics, ideas and so forth.
- b. To be more precise, we will invariably encounter specific arrangements or configurations of such potentially emblematic features. The features rarely occur as a random or flexible complex; when they appear they are presented (and oriented towards) as 'essential' combinations of features that reflect, bestow and emphasize 'authenticity'.
- c. We will inevitably encounter different degrees of fluency in enregistering these discursive orientations. Consequently, identity practices will very often include stratified distinctions between 'experts' and 'novices', 'teachers' and 'learners', and 'degrees' of authenticity. In this respect, we will see an implicit benchmark being applied: 'enoughness'. One has to 'have' enough of the emblematic features in order to be ratified as an authentic member of an identity category.
- d. Obviously, these processes involve conflict and contestation, especially revolving around 'enoughness' [s/he is *not enough* of X; or *too much* of X] as well as about the particular configurations of emblematic features ['in order to be X, you need to have 1,2,3,4 and 5' versus 'you can not be X without having 6,7,8,9']. And given this essentially contested character, these processes are highly dynamic: configurations of features and criteria of enoughness can be adjusted, reinvented, amended.

(Blommaert and Varis, 2011, pp.3-4)

The first point on this framework introduces the idea that identity discourses and practices can be seen to orient towards certain sets of features which are emblematic of particular identities. When people talk about identity or act within an identity category, 'people 'point towards' a wide variety of objects that characterize their identities' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.4). The discursive nature of these orientations mean that people 'at times affiliate with these identities and at other times distance [them]selves' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.23).

The second point highlights the fact that the arrangement of these features is not a randomly distributed 'free-for-all' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.23) but an arrangement which is specific and deliberate. Elements of historicity (Coupland, 2003) are included in Blommaert and Varis' list of features, 'artefacts, styles, forms of language, places, times, forms of art or aesthetics, ideas and so forth' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.3).

The third point on the framework follows on from this, emphasising the point that true authenticity relates to 'enoughness,' having enough of the features to be included or considered authentic. The ratification of some members implies that other social actors are 'held to be inauthentic and lacking legitimacy if the right constellation is not evident' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.23). This requirement for orderliness and for ratification by other group members echoes Coupland's qualities of 'systemic coherence' and 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003), the fact that there is orderliness amongst the speech community and that it is decided by the group whether you are in or out.

Fourthly, 'these processes are highly dynamic: configurations of features and criteria of enoughness can be adjusted, reinvented, amended' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.4). This final point is key for analysis of data in this study. It highlights the reality that from a sociolinguistic perspective, configurations of features and agreements about what is in or out, who is an authentic or non-authentic member of a particular group are all highly dynamic.

The fact that this framework presents identity categories as highly dynamic and open to negotiation means that it is very helpful for understanding identity discourses in my data. Institutional ideologies in the MS which include ideas about language use, achievement, compliance with rules, and certain classroom behaviours are relevant also in the NCS. However, as can be seen from the following two papers (which draw

on Blommaert and Varis's (2011) framework), different ideologies and rules may be present in complementary schools and the nature of these sites may allow for different negotiations between teachers and students around issues of identity and authenticity.

2.13.4 Identity and authenticity in complementary schools

Teacher identities are explored in research carried out in a complementary school in Birmingham. Creese, Blackledge and Takhi (2014) draw on Blommaert and Varis's (2011) work to consider the construction of the 'native speaker' heritage language teacher, and importantly

what counts as authentic for the teaching of the community language, Panjabi, to a group of English-born young people who share Panjabi as a cultural and linguistic heritage.

(Creese, Blackledge and Takhi, 2014, p.937)

One of the findings of the study that is relevant for my own study is the desire to pass on a 'pure model' of Panjabi to the children. Although the long-standing teacher (Hema) introduces the new teacher (Narinder) to the students as an 'expert' in Panjabi language, the students' own ideas of what makes an ideal teacher conflict with Hema's. The students were not familiar with Narinder's style of Panjabi and her confidence was undermined because she was not able to speak an authentic form of English. Creese, Blackledge and Takhi (2014) conclude that

[d]ifferences in Narinder's and Hema's legitimacy as teachers of Panjabi are not predicated on their expertise in Panjabi but rather emerge in relation to English language attributes that interact with other social, cultural and political features.

(Creese, Blackledge and Takhi, 2014, p.948)

Such interactions highlight the complexities of authenticity negotiation.

A second paper discusses issues of authenticity between students in a complementary school classroom. Translanguaging discourse is observed as an important way in

which the students negotiate their 'positions...as urban, sophisticated speakers of a repertoire that includes nonstandard terms commonly understood (by them at least)' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.32). Furthermore, their choice of particular Panjabi terms means that they are 'sharply aware of terms emblematic of certain cultural values and traditions' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015, p.32).

This work resonates particularly with my own observations of translanguaging in the NCS and homes. These contrast with the primarily monolingual literacy practices of the MS. However, essential to my explorations of identity construction amongst my participants will be the way in which I observe them selecting features from their whole linguistic repertoire to negotiate their positions in all three sites.

2.13.5 Identity summary

This section has explored the concept of identity in relation to ideologies and discourses within settings. Considering what is meant by authentic is seen as important for this study. Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework allows for analysis of discourse which is highly dynamic, especially concerning the concept of authenticity and enoughness. It is therefore ideally selected as a framework for analysis in my study.

2.14 Chapter summary

This literature review sought to introduce the overarching subject of study, literacy. The discussion looked at the development of different models of literacy, a skills-based model and a social practice based model. Related to this is the concept of literacy events, which allows the researcher to observe and analyse situated literacy practices and understand the ways in which literacy 'always exists in a social context' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p.8). Concepts of multimodal literacy and artifactual literacies are discussed, in particular in relation to the design and use of alphabet books and charts. Then, the discussion introduced the three sites of study and considered selected

literature relating to such sites, as resonating with this study. Features of classroom discourse, choral reading, choral repetition and chanting as well as translanguaging were discussed in the next sections. In the last section, the chapter considered literature relating to authenticity to develop discussions around literacy practice and identity negotiations amongst Nepalese children in the UK.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provided a detailed review of the literature which underpins my research. This chapter describes the methodological approach used in this study, linguistic ethnography. I discuss my rationale for choosing this approach to answer the questions in this study. I then explain my process of entering the field and access to participants, research sites and methods of data collection. Following this, I explain the ethical considerations inherent in and emerging from this study and my process of data analysis.

The research questions I seek to answer in this study are:

1. What are the literacy practices of Nepalese children in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?
2. How is Nepaleseness and identity explored in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

In seeking to answer these questions, I needed a methodological approach that would be capable of revealing literacy practices and identity discourses in day-to-day life at schools and home. Linguistic ethnography was selected as my methodological approach. The following section discusses the theoretical underpinnings of linguistic ethnography, its features, and the reasons why it is appropriate for this study.

3.2 Linguistic ethnography – an introduction

Linguistic ethnography is an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures.

(Copland and Creese, 2015, p.13)

Linguistic ethnography combines linguistic and ethnographic approaches in order to understand and interpret these interactions in different social contexts (Shaw, Copland and Snell, 2015). The combination of linguistics and ethnography means that ethnography is 'enhanced by the detailed technical analysis of interactional and semiotic data which linguistic analysis brings, while linguistics is enhanced by attention to context' (Copland and Creese, 2018, p.260).

Central to this methodology is the role of the 'participant observer', the researcher who is 'physically present in a setting to see what is going on' (Delamont, 2016, p.8). The practice of linguistic ethnography 'values the idea that to know other humans the ethnographer must do as others do...eat, work and experience the same daily patterns as others' (Madden, 2010, p.16).

The detail and insight which this methodological approach has the capacity to generate is important for this study and is (to date) one of the first of its kind to focus on literacy learning of Nepalese children in the UK. Linguistic ethnography has the potential to reveal understandings about literacy practices and identity discourses in everyday life. Erickson talked about the 'invisibility of everyday life' (Erickson, 1990, p.92), the fact that the institutions we are part of and the routines we engage in in contemporary life have become so familiar that 'we no longer pay attention to them' (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.13). A central tenet of linguistic ethnography is to generate understanding through the process of making the 'familiar strange,' rather than making the 'strange familiar' as is the case with anthropology. To do this involves using interpretive approaches, embedded within linguistic ethnography (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.13; Erickson, 1986, p.121; Spiro, 2016, p.3).

3.2.1 Linguistic ethnography - origins

Linguistic ethnography is strongly influenced by the field of linguistic anthropology, in particular the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968; 1974; 1980), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982; 1999) and micro ethnography (Erickson, 1990; 1996). Copland and Creese (2015) add Goffman (1967; 1981) to this list of metatheorists, because of his profound influence on the work of scholars in linguistic ethnography. See Copland and Creese (2015) for a summary of these four scholars' work.

Although influenced by linguistic anthropology, it is noted that until recently, there was not any 'properly institutionalized linguistic anthropology in Britain' (Rampton, 2007, p.594). Linguistic anthropology in US tended to focus on issues within North America and there was less interest from European anthropologists in potential relationship between anthropology and linguistics (Rampton, 2016, p.5). The discipline has developed through the coming together of scholars at the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL), through the establishment in 2001 of the Linguistic Ethnography Forum, through training for doctoral researchers and early career academics on the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) training course 'Key concepts in ethnography, language and communication' (Rampton, 2016, p.4) and through a number of publications (e.g. Copland and Creese, 2015; 2018; Creese, 2008; Maybin and Tusting, 2011; Rampton, Maybin and Tusting, 2007; Rampton *et al.*, 2004; Snell, Shaw and Copland, 2015). For detailed discussion about the origins of UK linguistic ethnography, see Creese (2008) and Rampton (2007).

3.2.2 Linguistic ethnography's suitability for this study

Even though I do not have a background in either linguistics or ethnography, I have come to linguistic ethnography because of its ontological (the phenomenon we should be studying) and epistemological (how we should be studying it) (Hulstijn *et al.*, 2014,

p.362) emphasises which align with my own interests in the nature of situated literacy practices and discourse as 'language-in-action' (Blommaert, 2005, p.2).

I am particularly interested in the potential that a 'language-in-action' view of discourse offers to reveal and clarify themes in the data. This allows me to look beyond just 'text' and 'language in use' to discourse which includes 'all kinds of semiotic 'flagging' performed by means of objects, attributes, or activities' (Blommaert, 2005, p.3).

As I prepared for access to the field, I considered how I might begin to explore these themes of literacy and identity, possibly with children who had been identified as having literacy difficulties. As will become clear in my discussions about entry in the field, it was soon apparent that this area of study would not be possible, and I had to let it go. This experience shaped the early design of the study. Delamont (2016, p.63) agrees that one of the attractions of ethnography is the 'potential flexibility' and understanding this was an important step going forward.

I found myself thinking more broadly about who the students were and desiring to find out more about individuals' experiences of literacy learning in the three sites of NCS, MS and homes. Being aware that there was little published research on literacy learning amongst children in this community, I was eager to collect as much data as possible.

From this early stage I was attracted to the work of Charmian Kenner and colleagues in the UK, in particular her research work with multilingual children on literacy practices in the different sites of home, mainstream school and complementary school (e.g. Kenner, 2000a; 2000b; Kenner, 2004a; 2004b; 2007; Kenner and Ruby, 2011; 2012b), and also her interest in the involvement of grandparents (Kenner, 2005; Kenner *et al.*, 2007b).

I was interested to investigate whether Kenner's findings that 'biliteracy development was restricted by institutional constraints due to the lack of status afforded to literacies other than English in the educational system' (Kenner, 2000a, p.13) in a South London primary school applied to my study with Nepalese children. I wondered how much evidence, if any, of Nepali literacy I would find in the MS and what kinds of literacy learning I would observe in the home. I wanted to know if the children had regular Nepali literacy lessons in their homes, supplementing their NCS, as Kenner observed with Chinese children in South London (Kenner, 2004a), or were interested in doing their complementary school homework, like the Syrian child in Kenner's (2004a) research. Furthermore, I was interested to observe the kinds of literacy resources and practices that might be present in the homes and NCS.

One of the differences between some of Kenner and Ruby's work (Kenner and Ruby, 2012a) and a linguistic ethnographic approach was their focus on action research with teachers from the complementary and mainstream schools,

in which they jointly planned lessons around topics that were then taught in both settings, [arguing that] collaboration between complementary and mainstream teacher colleagues can play a crucial role in constructing a space for multilingual learning in a monolingualizing society.

(Kenner and Ruby, 2012a, p.395)

Although attractive as a methodology, particularly to me as a primary school teacher, there were several reasons why I rejected this approach to my study; the most important reason being the fact that there was little published research on literacy learning and literacy practices amongst Nepalese children in the UK and therefore for me to set up a similar action research design would have been presumptuous. Furthermore, I was aware that it would be very difficult for me as a novice lone researcher to set up these kinds of connections between complementary schoolteachers and MS teachers. Instead, I recognised the importance of my role as a participant observer, to gather data about literacy learning in this community and then

to communicate this through the writing up of the data and dissemination of findings in the thesis and other work.

Furthermore, the work of Angela Creese, Adrian Blackledge and colleagues in UK complementary schools guided some of my initial planning and ideas formation, especially in relation to translanguaging (e.g. Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Creese *et al.*, 2011), identity discourses (Creese *et al.*, 2006) and the 'linguistic practices of students and teachers in complementary schools' (Creese and Blackledge, 2010, p.103). Following this work, I began to explore some of the seminal literature relating to translanguaging and education (e.g. García, 2009; García and Li, 2014).

Erickson explains that 'the researcher may seek out particular sites within a field setting where a particular type of event is most likely to happen' (Erickson, 1986, p.144). For me, I saw potential sites as children's homes and/or schools. As I began to develop a list of possible site options with my supervisor, I was at the same time intrinsically aware of the importance of understanding literacy practices from the 'emic' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019; Hoey, 2014; Madden, 2010) perspective of the potential participants. Van Maanen writes that ethnography

rests on the peculiar practice of representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one's own experience in the world of these others. Ethnography is therefore highly particular and hauntingly personal.

(Van Maanen, 2011, p.xiii)

As I considered how I might go about exploring these questions about literacy learning 'in the world of these others' (Van Maanen, 2011, p.xiii), I was aware of concerns about linguistic ethnography as a methodological approach that needed to be acknowledged.

3.2.3 Linguistic ethnography – concerns and tensions

Rampton (2007) presents three concerns with a linguistic ethnographic approach. In this section I discuss briefly how I have approached these concerns in my research design. The first addresses a concern that study boundaries may be unclear, that

ethnography's traditional object of study 'culture' is a more encompassing concept than 'language' and defining discernible limits to its form are less straight forward.

(Rampton, 2007, p.595)

In the case of my study, I acknowledge that limits and boundaries were initially set out by very specific research questions which focused on orthographies and the development of literacy skills. However, as I began data collection through participant observation, these boundaries soon broadened to embrace concepts of literacy practice and subsequent issues of identity. The process of data analysis clarified the boundaries of the study and these are represented by the final 'new' research questions (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.43).

Rampton's second point addresses the concern that participant observation plays a major role and that the researcher's presence in the field 'defies standardisation and introduces a range of contingencies and partialities that need to be addressed / reported' (Rampton, 2007, p.595). Whilst being aware that ethnographic research is 'fundamentally subjective in nature' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.17), I was aware of concern relating to the researcher's position as participant observer. Therefore, from the outset and to mitigate against it, one of my procedures was to make sure I documented everything I could in a research diary so that I could acknowledge my subjectivity (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). My research diary therefore includes sections of reflexive writing about how I interacted with participants, the outcomes of this and how I might behave differently in subsequent interactions. I was therefore able to examine all the data 'to distinguish what is exclusively [mine] and what could also have

been observed and known by others' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.67). Furthermore, I was able to distinguish 'degrees of subjectivity', therefore 'distinguishing between those bits of reality about which [I could] safely make statements in a factual way, and aspects about which [I] wish to be more circumspect' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.67).

A further practical skill I developed was that of simply observing and allowing the participant(s) to speak first. However, as linguistic ethnography also involves interviews, there were multiple occasions when I took the lead in asking a question of the participant(s). Therefore, the role of listening or speaking for researcher as participant observer was one which required careful balance and sensitivity to each and every situation. I discuss this role further in section 3.7.1.

Rampton's third point addresses the issue of generalisability, commenting that whereas linguistics seeks to generalize about language structure and use, typically only looking beyond what is said when the 'implied meaning is highly conventionalised' (Rampton, 2007, p.595), ethnography dwells longer in situated particularities, producing vignettes and narratives which are designed to provide the reader with a fuller picture of the situated practice.

Linguistic ethnography does not seek to 'claim representativeness for a (segment of the) population' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.17), nor will it

be replicable under identical circumstances, it will not claim objectivity on grounds of an outsider's position for the researcher, it will not claim to produce 'uncontaminated' evidence, and so on.

(Blommaert and Jie, 2010, pp.16-17)

However, it will be situated in a real environment, based on interaction between the researcher and the participant(s), and therefore subjective, complex, and 'yielding hypotheses that can be replicated and tested in *similar*, not identical, circumstances' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.17). Furthermore, careful data analysis, in this case,

thematic analysis, will reveal multiple similar themes, suggesting representation across the data sets (Copland and Creese, 2015).

Rampton's comment that 'ethnography opens linguistics up' and 'linguistics ties ethnography down' (Rampton, 2007, p.596) reflects the importance of balance in data collection and analysis. Rampton suggests viewing the different elements as complementary.

When this happens, ethnography can be seen as humanising language study, preventing linguistics from being reductive or shallow by embedding it in rich descriptions of how the users of a given variety adapt their language to different situational purposes and contexts. In the same vein, the linguistics can be seen as helping to avoid error and inaccuracy in cultural description, producing ethnographies that are more subtle and detailed.

(Rampton, 2007, p.596)

The following section documents my initial contacts with the community.

3.3 Entering the field

Troman (1996) states 'the researcher, in order to gain access to participants, develop field relations, collect and analyse data, must first successfully negotiate entry to the culture' (p71). This entry into the field is typically negotiated by the researcher with 'gatekeepers' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019; Robson, 2011; Troman, 1996), who have the authority to 'grant or deny entry to the researcher' (Troman, 1996, p.71). da Costa Cabral (2015) discusses this granting of access by gatekeepers as facilitation, implying that gatekeepers may do more than respond with a simple yes or no, but due to their interest in the research, they may take proactive steps to help the researcher with entry into the field. This was certainly the case with my research, and I will take some time to explain key events here.

My entry in the field involved several people from the community, in related ways. The connections made between people as I began to negotiate entry to the field are shown in fig.2. The diagram is set out chronologically and includes the start of data collection.

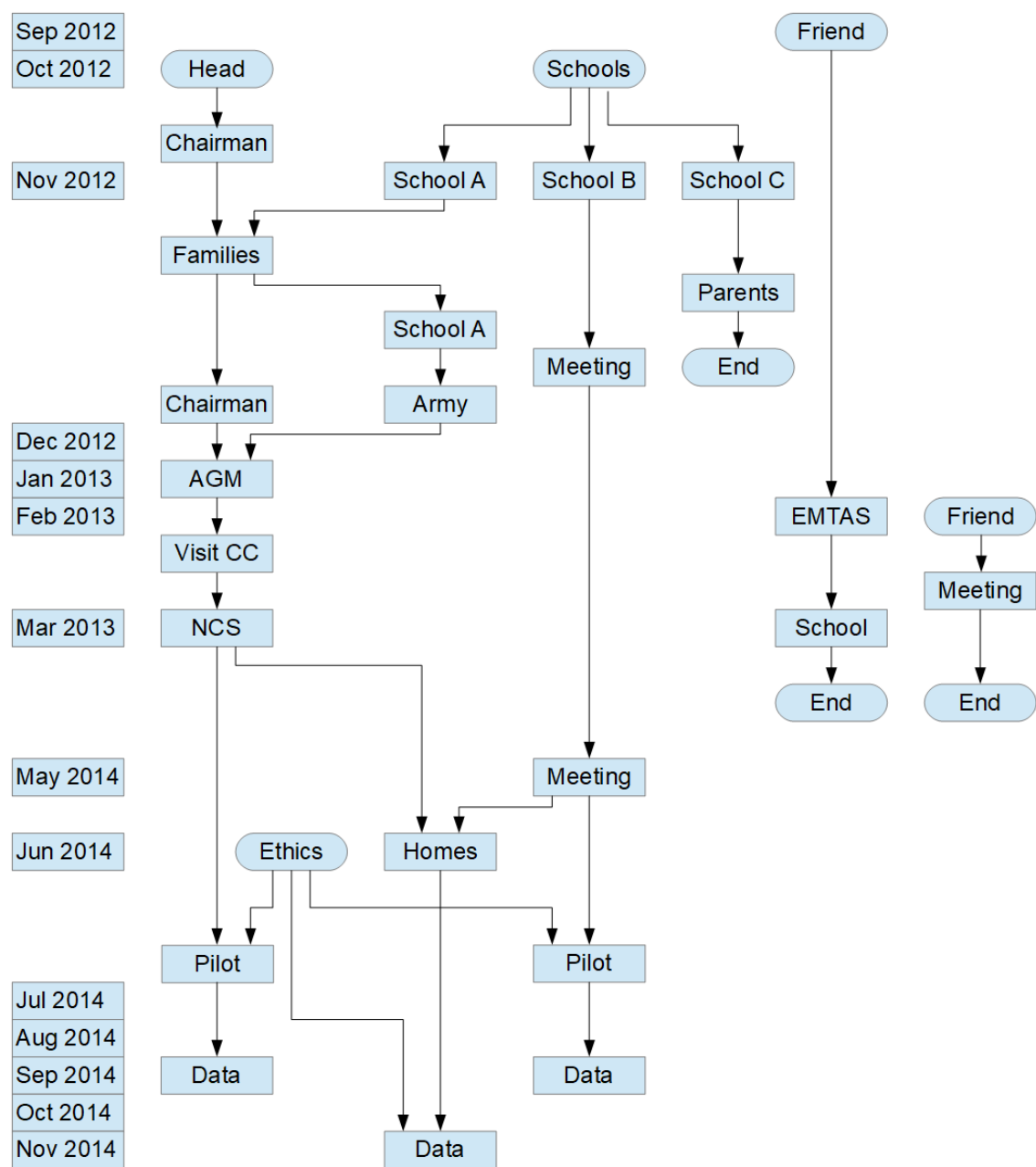


Figure 2 Access to the field, September 2012-November 2014

3.3.1 Returning from Nepal

Having taught the UK National Curriculum with multilingual children in an international primary school in Nepal for nine years, I returned to the UK to further my professional development. I pursued a master's degree in Inclusion and Special Educational Needs at the University of Birmingham. My dissertation, "Dyslexia and Bi/multilingualism: Challenges for Identification, Assessment, and Intervention. A review of the literature," focused on literacy difficulties in bi/multilingual participants. I was interested in researching this further, possibly amongst the Nepalese community in the UK.

Meanwhile, an opportunity arose to teach with my uncle and others at a local adult English class. Many of the students were from Nepal and my Nepali language abilities and cultural understandings were appreciated amongst the students and staff.

3.3.2 Initial contacts in the community

In October 2012 I talked to the headteacher (head) of the adult English class about my hopes to do research with the Nepalese community (column one on the flow diagram). The head had previously undertaken research with the elderly Nepalese language learners and had been supported by the chairman of the local Nepalese society. The head contacted the chairman on my behalf and with his permission, gave me his contact details for follow up. At this early stage, the head reported back that the chairman 'did not seem to know of any Nepalese provision for children, in fact [chairman] said that they do not teach their children Nepali' (email 8th October 2012). This was an important point which shaped some of the wording in my email contact to the chairman; 'I am interested in their experiences of learning English and whether they learn Nepali or not...ideally I would like to interview at least 4 primary school aged children and their families about their experiences of speaking, reading and writing English and Nepali – if the children learn it...If you know of any families who speak to their children in Nepali and who also maybe teach the script for reading and writing,

would it be possible to talk to them?’ (Email 18th October 2012). Knowing that I wanted to use an ethnographic approach to my study, and understand literacy learning from the perspective of potential participants, it was essential for me to be both clear about my interests but also hedge my requests in broad terms (hedging phrases with ‘whether they learn Nepali or not’, ‘ideally I would like’, ‘if you know of’, ‘who maybe also teach the script’) because I knew how important it was that the community take the lead.

3.3.3 Meeting with chairman

The chairman invited me to a meeting at his office on 22nd October 2012. As part of our discussion, I explained my interest in literacy practices and the idea of possibly doing research with children who had literacy difficulties. The chairman’s immediate response was that he did not know of anyone in the community fitting a literacy difficulties profile. Our discussion began to clarify my ideas for the research proposal and I was aware that my ‘personal and professional identities’ were being shaped by my ‘individual experiences while in the field’ (Hoey, 2014, p.3). At this early stage it was not at all clear whether I would be able to conduct research within this community, especially in my areas of interest.

The chairman was a significant person in the community and in the light of my study, one of the gatekeepers who would grant or deny access to the community. Furthermore, as Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) note,

even the most friendly and cooperative of gatekeepers will shape the conduct and development of the research.’ They suggest that ‘to one degree or another, the ethnographer will be channelled (at least initially) in line with existing networks of friendships and enmity, territory, and equivalent ‘boundaries.’

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.54)

One of the things which the chairman explained was that he had organised the community by the geographical locations around the town, and each local community

had its own local representative. As a follow up to the first meeting, the chairman mobilised his 'role as an intermediary...in the community' (Lewis and Lewis, 2014, p.119) by arranging for me to meet four children and their parents at one of their homes (see section 3.3.5). Lewis and Lewis (2014) further discuss the fact that the gatekeeper can build trust within the community, generate interest in the project and encourage community people to become actively involved (Lewis and Lewis, 2014). I explain the outcomes of this meeting later, but first it is important to say that the chairman was not my only channel of enquiry.

At the same time (as shown by the second column on the flow diagram), I wrote to ten schools, explaining my proposed research and enquiring whether they might be interested in taking part in a study. Three schools followed up and I list briefly here, the outcomes of the initial meetings with the respective headteachers (Creese *et al.*, 2007).

3.3.4 School contacts

School A: A Junior school. There were several Nepalese children on role in the school. The headteacher was willing for me to carry out my research possibly via a club held at the school. She thought it might be better if my research was framed in the context of a club. I was not sure how this would work as I did not want to run a club; however, she was offering the use of her school facilities during a weekday. As an apparent gatekeeper in my research, I was aware of the headteacher's attempts, albeit well meaning, to 'shepherd' the research in a certain direction (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.54). I was very grateful for her enthusiasm and energy directed to doing something for the Nepalese community. However, I was also aware of the importance of allowing the Nepalese community themselves, rather than initially the wider school communities, to take the lead as much as possible if I was going to gain access and consent to carry out research. I followed up with this school after the meeting on the Saturday with the families (section 3.3.5).

School B: A Junior school. There were several Nepalese children on role in the school. The headteacher was willing for me to carry out research if I got permission from parents and children. I was to follow up with him once my PhD proposal had been accepted by the University and I was ready to begin data collection. This is the school that I subsequently visited for my data collection period.

School C: An infant school. They had several Nepalese children on role and the headteacher talked about how one of the mothers used to run a Nepalese club at the school. It had been very popular. She thought some of the families might be interested and offered to approach parents with a letter written by me. If I received no feedback, then she was sorry, but she could not help any further. I wrote a letter but received no feedback from the parents.

Furthermore, I explored contacts in different parts of the country, one of which was an ethnic minority support service who put me in touch with a school that had several Nepalese children on role. I visited the school for a day in March 2013. Although the headteacher knew I was interested in carrying out research with the Nepalese children, as I moved around the school and interacted with teachers, I was aware that I had been positioned as an 'expert', who was 'extremely well-informed as to 'problems' and their 'solutions' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.55). This was probably due to the route I had taken in approaching the school. As Hammersley and Atkinson go on to suggest, 'people in the field will seek to place or locate the ethnographer within the social landscape defined by their experience' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.62). Although I was able to provide certain advice about support for EAL children in the school as requested, the role of expert was not one that I was expecting. Being positioned as an expert happened on several occasions during data collection, highlighting the juggling of positioning that I experienced.

Another contact was made in February 2013 with a Nepalese student whose mother worked in a Nepalese complementary school. Although both the school visit and the meeting with the student were valuable in helping me to understand different Nepalese communities in the UK, and reflect on my positioning within the proposed research, it was not possible or practical to follow these up for research.

3.3.5 Nepalese families

In November 2012, the chairman arranged for me to meet with four families in a home. At the meeting, I discussed with the parents the use of Nepali language and literacy in the home and my interest in observing what kinds of language and literacy learning they may do. Four girls were occupied at the table writing about themselves and about Nepal. The mother talked about how she did not do any Nepali reading or writing with her daughter, about how she spoke to her daughter in Nepali and the fact that her daughter often answered in English.

The mother was non-committal about me possibly coming to observe her daughter at home as she was not sure what she would be able to show me. However, she was eager to tell me about the educational experiences she had had in her daughter's school, going in to volunteer to teach about Nepal and Nepali customs, performing dance and demonstrating some cooking. She had thought for ages how it would be great to have a class for the children at weekends where they could learn to read and write Nepali, but she could not do it alone. I wondered if there were any other parents in the community who might be interested and she asked the father of her daughter's friend who was sitting next to her, if he would be willing to teach a class. He had been a teacher in Nepal and so in her opinion would be the ideal person.

I was able to then talk about how the headteacher of school A (above) had suggested a club and had offered the use of her school. Would they like me to write to her and see what she says? Yes.

3.3.6 My role

My role had suddenly changed from researcher to someone who might be able to facilitate the start of a class for children in the community. I had suddenly become an active mediator between the parents, the chairman, and the headteacher. The parents would ask around to see if there were any other parents who would be interested in a class, and I would ask the chairman the same thing. I was adamant that I could not be the teacher as I wanted to observe how the community themselves did things. However, being aware that Nepali language and literacy resources are difficult to access in UK, I did have some resources that I had brought back from Nepal that I could offer for use in the school. Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) discuss the fact that

a researcher's specialist expertise or access to scarce resources, of various kinds, may also be of value in the field as a basis for establishing reciprocity with participants...[demonstrating] that he or she is not an exploitative interloper, but rather has something to give.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.68)

At this moment it was clear that I would be simultaneously juggling several roles including researcher, facilitator, teacher, resource supplier if the community's idea of starting a complementary school was to go ahead. Delamont similarly identified herself in a variety of roles alongside data collection (Delamont, 2016, p.117). This was not what I was expecting but at the same time is not an unusual position to find myself in as a researcher. LeCompte, Singer and Weeks (1999) address the fact that

ethnographic research imposes many varied identities and special role relationships on researchers during the course of their investigations. Ethnographers not only occupy the normal roles people play in everyday life, but they also acquire additional roles that are specific to their activities in the

field. Some of these derive from the relationships that they form in the research site; other roles derive from their personality and appearance.

(LeCompte, Singer and Weeks, 1999, pp.5-6)

The chairman took my query to the next Nepalese community committee meeting and the idea of a class 'received overwhelming response'. Furthermore, the chairman continued that

quite a few parents are happy to make their children available on Saturday mornings. I have asked my area representatives to find for more parents who like to enrol ...and you should receive their response in the next few days...(Sundari) is also happy to give tuition up to GCSE level in English, Math, and Science. It is a good opportunity for our children to widen their educational ability. Many thanks for your enthusiasm and will to do something for Nepalese children. It is appreciated very much.

(Email, Jan 14th, 2013)

Although I still had concerns about my role, I was pleased for the community that there was a positive response to the proposed class. Sundari (one of the subsequent participant teachers) was eager to offer tuition in her areas of expertise, but also happy to volunteer in the new venture.

The response from school A was equally helpful. Although it would not be possible to use their school on a Saturday, the headteacher gave my name to one of their school governors who worked in army welfare and he would be able to offer the use of a community classroom on a Saturday, at no cost.

I followed up with the army the offer of the community classroom. Over the next few months, the chairman followed up with prospective volunteers and organised DBS checks for all. He also collected a list of seventeen children's names from parents who were eager to enrol children in the class. In March 2013, I had a first meeting with volunteer parents and the chairman at the community classroom (CC in fig.2). Two weeks later in April 2013, the teachers held their first class.

Hoey discusses the risk to the reliability of data and integrity of our methodology if we allow the ethnographer's 'encumbered persona to appear instead of adhering to the prescribed role of wholly dispassionate observer' (Hoey, 2014, p.3), however, he recognises that

the explicit professional project of observing, imagining and describing other people need not be incompatible with the implicit personal project of learning about the self...ethnography should be acknowledged as a mutual product born of the intertwining of the lives of the ethnographer and his or her subjects.

(Hoey, 2014, p.3)

As an ethnographer there is no attempt to deny my own 'personal knowledge or to put it to one side' (Thomas, 2013, p.157). However, it was important to acknowledge that I had to learn to take different perspectives on the scenes that confronted me. I came to ethnography as a teacher, and through discussion with my supervisor and through my reflexive writing in the research diary, I learnt skills of participant observation that enabled me to gain insights from my engagement with participants (Thomas, 2013).

Whilst people may have been interested in participating in the research for a variety of reasons, (for example, a possible future connection between class participation and GCSE tuition in English, Maths and Science as mentioned in the above email from the chairman) there were steps I took to make it clear that people were not being pressurised by me in to participating, 'being clear about the purpose of the research and what it [would] involve for them' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.45). One of these steps was the ethical process requested by the University of Birmingham. I discuss this in detail in section 3.8.

3.4 Accessing participants and sites

As described above, the NCS started in April 2013 and continued on Saturdays on a weekly basis. I attended the school on a weekly basis from the start. Once I had received ethical approval from the University of Birmingham for the research, in June

2014, I began talking to parents about the possibility of observing their children in the NCS, and in some cases, their MS and homes. One of the two participant teachers, Shanti acted as a facilitator for me, arranging meetings with groups of parents and individuals during NCS time. I had not specifically asked her to do this, but I had informally chatted with both Sundari, the other teacher, and Shanti about the need to get signed permission from parents and the children themselves if I was going to collect any data. Shanti took this on board and over the course of three weeks, I was able to get the permission I required to begin my study. Meetings with parents and Shanti were held in the smaller of the two classrooms whilst Sundari taught the class, supervising both her intermediate group and Shanti's beginner group. On the third week, I talked to all the children together and they gave signed consent.

Initially, it can be seen that I used a 'purposive sampling' technique, where participants were chosen because of 'particular features or characteristics', (Ritchie *et al.*, 2014, p.113) in this case, Nepalese primary school aged children in the UK, the teachers of these children, and in some cases family members. These features and characteristics enabled detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and questions which the study set out to explore. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) suggest that sampling in ethnographic enquiry is 'recursive and ad hoc rather than fixed at the outset; it changes and develops over time' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.229). This was not the case with all the participants in the study. However, my consideration of who might become a key participant was a recursive one, dependent on a couple of factors that became clear over time. The participant needed to attend MS B and the parent had to agree for me to observe them in their home.

3.4.1 Three key participants

Influenced by the work of Blackledge and Creese (2010a) and Creese and Martin (2003), I decided to try and follow three children out of the nine as key student

participants from the NCS group in more detail in their MS and homes. The three I selected (sisters Sanju and Maya, and Ameer) were the only three who attended school B and as I had provisional permission from the headteacher there, I approached the parents for permission to observe their children in these places too. Permission was granted. Creese discusses the process of selecting key participants for their study in a Panjabi complementary school (part of research on complementary schools that began in 2002 (Blackledge and Creese, 2010a; Creese and Martin, 2003)) through a process of continual immersion in the field as well as through ongoing discussion with teachers (Creese, 2015). In Creese's study, the key participants were given audio recording devices for self-recording. I did not do this, rather choosing to observe them in person in these different sites.

I followed up my contact with the headteacher at the MS, who agreed to let me come in and observe the then year 3, year 4 and year 5 students. The following academic year 2014-2015, the students had all progressed to the next year (year 4, year 5 and year 6) and had new teachers. Although the headteacher gave signed consent for me to undertake my research with the respective participants, I also made sure to obtain consent from the individuals themselves. Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) point out that gatekeepers will often speak on behalf of others, and that

a researcher requesting permission from those regarded as subordinates, when gatekeepers have already agreed access, may be viewed as questioning the authority of those gatekeepers, especially when hierarchical authority structures are in place.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.45).

Despite this concern, the need to follow the thorough ethical procedures at the University of Birmingham, meant that I made sure to obtain signed consent from all potential participants.

3.4.2 Research participants in the different sites

Table 1 provides a list of all the participants in this research and their age at the start of the main period of data collection (13th September 2014). To protect the anonymity of the participants, all names are pseudonyms. The table includes participants who were present in the two week pilot study (8th July 2014-19th July 2014), but who did not continue in the research as they either left the country (in the case of Kalpana and Sanjit), stopped attending NCS (Reshma and Roshika), left for work (Rupa), or were no longer the teachers of the key participants (Miss Smith, Miss Hills, Miss Davis, Miss Cook).

Participants (*key participants)			Data collection		Research sites			
Child pseudonym	Child age Sept 2014	Teacher pseudonym	Pilot study	Main study	NCS	Home A	Home B	Mainstream school (MS)
Sanju*	8		yes	yes	yes	yes		year 3 & 4
Maya*	10		yes	yes	yes	yes		year 5 & 6
Ameer*	9		yes	yes	yes		yes	year 4 & 5
Pratibha	11		yes	yes	yes			
Madhu	11		yes	yes	yes			
Sanjana	11		yes	yes	yes			
Prabha	12		yes	yes	yes			
Nisha	8		yes	yes	yes			
Nirmala	8		yes	yes	yes			
Kalpana	11		yes					
Sanjit	10		yes					
Reshma	9		yes					
Roshika	7		yes					
		Sundari	yes	yes	yes			
		Shanti	yes	yes	yes			
		Rupa	yes					
		Mr Collins		yes				year 4
		Miss Hall		yes				year 5
		Miss Cooper		yes				year 6
		Miss Jones		yes				year 4
		Miss Smith	yes					year 3
		Miss Hills	yes					year 4
		Miss Davis	yes					year 5
		Miss Cook	yes					year 3

Table 1 Research participants

The two teachers in the NCS, Sundari and Shanti were both mothers. Shanti's daughter Madhu attended the class. Sundari worked as a teaching assistant during the week in a local secondary school and at the time of data collection began a teacher training course.

The three teachers in the MS taught years 4, 5 and 6, respectively. The one teaching assistant I observed was a 'higher-level' teaching assistant (HLTA). This meant she had more responsibility in the classroom than a standard teaching assistant, and often covered the year 4 class when I was there. The Times Educational Supplement (TES) explain the role of a HLTA.

The Higher-Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) role was introduced in 2003, following workforce reform to raise standards and tackle workload in the classroom. Higher level teaching assistant status is awarded to support staff who meet the national HLTA standards. An HLTA does all the things that regular teaching assistants do but the biggest difference is the increased level of responsibility... HLTAs teach classes on their own, cover planned absences and allow teachers time to plan and mark.

(TES, 2020)

3.5 Research sites

This section provides an overview of the three sites. It does not name the town where the research took place, only that it is an army town in England.

3.5.1 NCS

NCS was held weekly on a Saturday morning for an hour. It was held in a building owned by the army which was used for community education activities, such as uniform groups including the Brownies² and Scouts³. Part of the building was used for a

² 'Brownies is about trying new things that teach girls aged seven to 10 about themselves, their community and their world' Girlguiding (2020) *Brownies (7-10)*. Available at: <https://www.girlguiding.org.uk/what-we-do/brownies-7-10/> (Accessed: 28 October 2020).

³ 'Scouts are a go-getting group of young people aged 10 ½ to 14...they gather in groups called Scout Troops' The Scout Association (2020) *Who are Scouts?* Available at: <https://www.scouts.org.uk/scouts/being-a-scout/> (Accessed: 28 October 2020).

playgroup. The building had two classrooms. During the pilot phase, the beginner group was taught in the smaller room, with the intermediate and advanced group in the main classroom. During the main data collection period, the two teachers taught their groups in the larger classroom. There was one student in the advanced group, five students in the intermediate group, and three students in the beginner group. Shanti usually taught the beginner group and Sundari usually taught the intermediate and advanced group. I visited the NCS on a weekly basis from 13th September 2014- 11th July 2015. The participants are listed in their groups in table 2. Key participants are marked with ‘*’.

Beginner group	Intermediate group	Advanced group
Shanti - teacher	Sundari - teacher	Sundari - teacher
Ameer*	Sanju*	Prabha
Nisha	Maya*	
Nirmala	Pratibha	
	Madhu	
	Sanjana	

Table 2 Participants in groups at NCS

3.5.2 MS

The MS was a government run two-form entry junior school. There was a reception area in the entrance hall where visitors were requested to sign in and out. The headteacher’s office, administration, photocopy room and staffroom were situated at the front of the school. The eight classrooms were positioned around a school hall and library. To the rear of the school was a playground and field. The playground was separated into different areas including a benched area where the children could sit at breaktime and where on one occasion the year four class had a reading lesson.

Within the classrooms, children were seated in groups at tables. Each classroom had a teacher and a classroom assistant. Both had their own desk. Each class had a projector and an interactive whiteboard as well as a dry-wipe whiteboard. There were displays on the walls. Children kept their pencil cases, reading books and other belongings in units of labelled 'trays.' For different activities, children would sit at different tables, grouped according to ability for literacy and maths activities, but grouped differently for 'topic' work.

I visited the MS on a weekly basis from 16th September 2014 to the 19th of May 2015, half term in the summer term. Initially I stayed for the morning, dividing my time across the three classes as much as possible.

I arrived as the school gate opened each week, 10 minutes before the children went into class. After signing in at reception as a visitor, and being given a visitor badge, I made my way to each of the three classrooms in turn to see the respective teachers. On each occasion, I checked that it was okay with them for me to visit the class that day and asked which was the most appropriate time. Teachers were aware that I was interested in observing literacy teaching and learning and would tell me when they were going to be focusing on that each day. I therefore made many of those sessions a priority as I planned my schedule. Despite this, it was not always possible to observe literacy lessons and, particularly in the case of the Year 4 class, I often found myself observing the maths lesson. This was initially troubling, but as will be seen in my analysis, less problematic than I initially thought. A typical morning's schedule is recorded in table 3.

Time	Where I am in the school
8.50	Arrive, sign in at reception, meet teachers
9.00-9.30	Wait in the staff room until assembly is finished
9.30	Year 4 (often maths)
10.30	Break time in the staff room
10.45-11.30	Year 5 basic literacy skills or topic work
11.30-12.00	Year 6 basic literacy skills
12.00	Sign out at reception and leave

Table 3 Morning schedule at MS

From the 9th of December 2014 to the end of my observations on 19th May 2015, I arranged with the teachers to stay all day in school. This meant I had more flexibility in the timetable to observe literacy activities. For instance, if Year 5 were doing a literacy focused activity in the session after break, and Year 6 were doing their literacy after lunch, I could stay for the whole of the Year 5 lesson without leaving part way through the lesson to go to the Year 6 class. However, if Year 6 were doing their literacy in the half hour before lunch (11.30-12.00), then I would prioritise this and visit Year 5 in the afternoon when they were doing a topic activity. I therefore scheduled my time between the year 5 and year 6 classes depending on what they were doing. Occasionally, Year 4 did literacy or topic focused activities in the afternoon, and if I could, I made a point to observe these. A typical whole day schedule was as follows in table 4.

Time	Where I am in the school
8.50-9.00	Arrive, sign in at reception, meet teachers
9.00-9.30	Wait in the staff room until assembly is finished
9.30-10.30	Year 4 (often maths)
10.30-10.45	Break time in the staff room
10.45-12.00	Year 5 basic literacy skills or topic work
12.00-1.00	Lunch in the staff room
1.00-1.30	Reading across all classes. Sometimes, I spent this in Year 5. Other times in the library.
1.30-2.00	Year 6 basic literacy skills activity
2.00-3.30	Year 4,5 or 6 literacy or topic work activity
3.30	Sign out at reception and leave

Table 4 Whole day at MS

I did not feel I had the freedom to observe children during assembly, or in their break times or lunch times, and therefore spent these times in the staff room, sometimes chatting with the teachers.

By the end of the first half of the summer term, I had collected a large amount of data and together with my supervisor, decided that it was not necessary for me to continue. Superficial analysis did not appear to be revealing significant new data and this was an important factor in the decision to leave the MS. Fine reported a similar reason for his decision to discontinue data collection with people who were playing fantasy games, writing, 'I found I had reached the point of diminishing analytic returns, and soon stopped attending' (Fine, 2002, p.252).

3.5.3 Homes

The homes were much more private than the school sites. I was therefore aware that ‘the process of negotiating access, and treading a path that was both ethically defensible and ethnographically productive, [was] a delicate one’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.90). I visited two homes, home A (Sanju and Maya’s home,) and home B (Ameer’s home). I was able to visit home A once and home B five times. The reasons for this are explored in more detail in 3.8. Each visit was timetabled for after school. Visits lasted between one and two hours. They were unstructured visits where I simply observed the activity in the homes and chatted informally with parents and children. Food and drink were always a feature of the visits, and I wrote about this in the research diary.

In home A, Sanju and Maya had twin younger brothers. Their mother was non-Nepalese, working as a care worker. Their father was Nepalese and was serving with the Gurkhas in the British army. During the data collection period, he was away for several weeks with the army, and this contributed to the difficulty arranging a visit. Although the mother was non-Nepali, the family talked about how they speak Nepali at home. While I was there, we spoke a mix of Nepali and English.

In home B, Ameer had a younger brother. Both parents were Nepalese. The mother was a care worker and the father, a retired Gurkha soldier, now worked as a bus driver. Parents talked about how they speak Nepali at home. While I was there, we spoke a mix of Nepali and English.

In the following sections, I discuss practical details within my research design, including the pilot study and methods of data collection. I begin by explaining the pilot study, and what this revealed.

3.6 Pilot study

Once I had obtained informed consent from all participants (Thomas, 2013), I ran a two-week pilot study in the NCS and MS in July 2014 (between 8th and 19th July). Thomas defines the action 'to pilot' as 'to conduct a much smaller study (a pilot study) to prepare for a larger one. It is done to refine or modify research methods or to test out research techniques' (Thomas, 2013, p.173). Sampson suggests that there are few examples of the 'systematic use of pilots in qualitative and ethnographic work' (Sampson, 2004, p.385), possibly because 'ethnography is frequently portrayed as involving ongoing analysis and adjustment in its conduct' (Sampson, 2004, p.389). However, pilot studies are invaluable in ethnographic studies, as they can foreshadow research problems and questions, particularly in relation to data collection (Sampson, 2004). This was certainly the case with my study as it helped to clarify methods for data collection. One of these methods was video recording.

3.6.1 Video recording pilot

Prior to the pilot study, I had considered using video recording as a method for data collection in the NCS and MS. I requested a loan of a video recorder from the University of Birmingham but was not able to borrow it on a long loan. I therefore purchased a small 'VCC-003-MUVI-BLK' micro action video camera which I trialled in NCS. However, because it did not have a screen, I found that I had to attach it to a laptop to check that it was pointing in the right direction. This was not very practical.

The following week, I decided to try recording with my iPhone instead. I began by positioning the iPhone in the corner of the room and later took it to the table to try recording from different angles. Although the iPhone video did capture some useful data, I found that I could not capture the whole group at the same time. There was a lot of activity going on in the classroom: some children were busy working

independently; others were working with teachers and other children were working at a whiteboard on the floor.

Because I was holding the camera, I could not make notes or interact with the children. This was difficult as the children were used to me being available as an assistant who would sometimes help them with their work and talk to them about what they were doing. Mannik and McGarry discuss the fact that having to work in pairs when using university video recording equipment was beneficial.

Rather than a single person having to divide attention between informants and equipment, one could focus on each and the two could trade off at regular intervals to learn both roles

(Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.209).

The difficulty of trying to use video recording was confirmed by my supervisor who told how she always asked an assistant to help her when she needed to use video. The point that finalised my decision to reject video was the fact that two children (Reshma and Roshika) who had agreed to be part of the study seemed to be quite nervous about the video camera and after the iPhone recording week, they stopped coming to class. I cannot be certain that the video camera was the reason, but I suspect that it was part of the reason.

Because of my experience with video recording in the NCS, I made the decision to reject this as a method in the MS. Although I had provisional consent from the headteacher that video recording would be permitted, I would have had to gain consent from all teachers and children in the class. Furthermore, one or two teaching assistants did not want to be video recorded, and this was influential in my decision. The fact that my focus was the key participants and their interactions within the classroom settings meant that it was not necessary to record everyone and everything.

3.6.2 Audio recording pilot and researcher physical positioning

The second practical method I explored during the pilot was the use of a small SONY ICD-BX140, audio data recorder, placed near the children. This would reliably record all day without needing new batteries. The MP3 files were downloaded after each visit and backed up to an external drive. I disabled the lights and sounds to make the device as 'unobtrusive' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.140) as possible and minimise distractions.

Copland and Creese (2015) discuss the very real fact that recording devices can be a distraction to participants. It takes time for participants to get used to recording devices and 'if the recording device is unobtrusive, they are less likely to be distracted by it' (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.47).

During the pilot at the NCS and MS, I initially experimented with sitting a little way away from participants to observe them at a distance, doing their work and interacting with their teachers and peers. This was a method used by Beresford *et al.* (2004) in their informal observations of children with autistic spectrum disorders. To pick up what the participants were saying, Creese (2015) explains how her key participants all had personal microphones and data recorders. This meant she could observe and write fieldnotes from a distance and listen to the audio data later, playing it alongside detailed fieldnotes to gain a picture of what is going on in the classroom. Because I did not ask my participants to wear personal microphones and data recorders, it soon became clear that I needed to position the data recorder near the children and that it would be easier for me to follow what was being picked up on the recorder if I also positioned myself nearer to the children. This practicality is echoed by Beresford *et al.* (2004) who discuss how they sat by the children for observations during more interactive activities, such as craft (Beresford *et al.*, 2004, p.183). Furthermore, the practicalities of being able to 'hear any conversations' (Symes and Humphrey, 2012, p.523) and obtaining

‘an accurate record of the learners’ speech in a classroom that was often very noisy’ (Ellis, 1992, p.8) meant that sitting by the children made data collection easier. I checked this with the teachers in the different classes and they agreed that this positioning would be easier for me and for them, particularly as in the MS, sitting at the side of the room resonated with the practices of an inspector.

On subsequent visits to the NCS and MS, I positioned myself at the children’s tables, more as a teaching assistant (TA) who was there to observe but also willing to help as needed. Delamont agrees that data collection can ‘sometimes...be combined with a ‘helping’ or ‘useful’ role’ (Delamont, 2016, p.117), describing her position in capoeira classes and competitions as someone who keeps an eye on the children, helps with setting up the hall and giving out leaflets to audiences (Delamont, 2016, p.119).

Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) discuss the fact that roles an ethnographer takes in the field are always a matter of negotiation between the researcher and participants, the important point being that ‘to shape a role for oneself in the setting that provides access to the sort of data needed’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.83).

3.7 Methods of data collection in the three settings

The following sections discuss the different methods of data collection used in the three sites.

3.7.1 Participant observation

Participant observation refers to the informal field methods which form the basis for most fieldwork, whether or not it is supplemented with other techniques...During participant observation, one tries to immerse oneself into the life of the locals and tries not to be noticed, so that they can carry on with their lives as usual.

(Eriksen, 2015, p.34).

The value of participating in the daily life of the local people in order to observe and record the 'daily ebb and flow of life' (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.34) was first recognised by Malinowski in his fieldwork amongst the Trobriand Islanders of the South Pacific. Malinowski proclaimed that this level of participation enabled him to 'grasp the native's point of view' (Malinowski, 2014 [1922], p.24).

Understanding the participants' point of view or worldview is inherent within an ethnographic methodology. Central to understanding participants' perspectives, is a commitment to continual relationship building, 'engaging in, wrestling with, and being committed to the human relationships around which ethnography ultimately revolves' (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015).

Mannik and McGarry suggest that even though there is no 'right' way to conduct participant observation, the engagements a researcher has with participants will depend on several factors, including the research questions, the size of the group, whether the context is rural or urban, and the type of power dynamics between the researcher and the participants (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.36). Therefore, participant observation must 'adapt to meet the changing needs and demographics of ... interlocutors, as well as to the diversity of fieldwork sites and contexts' (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.36). This call for adaptability is central to the negotiation that I had to engage in on a weekly basis during the course of data collection.

In the case of research in educational establishments, Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) suggest ethnographers often have some choice over whether or not to take on one of the existing roles in the field' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.90), for example, the role of a teacher, or an observer, or a teacher observer. I quickly found that it made sense for me to take on a role similar to that of a teaching assistant or helper in both the MS and NCS. Mannik and McGarry describe such a position as one of 'active participation' (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.38) in which one is 'not generally

perceived by his or her informants as an “insider””. I did not have the same level of involvement as a complete participant, but rather someone who was ‘a student of culture’ (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, p.38), with ‘access to participants’ perspectives’ whilst minimizing the ‘dangers of over-rapport and bias’ from a close relationship with participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.93). Although this position felt like the most obvious one to take, I agree with Hammersley and Atkinson that not being a complete insider and maintaining a ‘marginal position’ brings challenges. The position meant that I simultaneously lived in two worlds: ‘that of participation in the setting, in one role or another, and that of research’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.94). This careful balance between participation and observation is summarised by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw.

Ethnographers try to maintain a somewhat detached, observational attitude, even toward people whom they like and respect, balancing and combining research commitments with personal attachments in a variety of ways.

(Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p.42).

Being eager to observe everything, all the time (Blommaert and Jie, 2010), I was aware of the need to use all my senses (Madden, 2010), to have ‘eyes and ears open, [...] a clear state of mind [to] register things that strike’ me (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.29), to pay attention to what people are saying, how they are saying it, ‘facial expression[s], body language, physical movements, and any other sensory information’ (Mannik and McGarry, 2017, pp.76-77). Complimenting my senses would be my (iPhone) camera, data recorders and fieldnotes (Blommaert and Jie, 2010; Delamont, 2016). All would ‘come together to form the memories, jottings and consolidated notes that form the evidentiary basis of ethnographic writing’ (Madden, 2010, p.19).

In the next section, I give some examples from my data to illustrate some of the different ‘roles, positions and identities’ (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015, p.45) I had in the field.

The first role I want to highlight is that of a '*facilitator*' (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015, p.45). As I worked with teachers, parents and student participants, I was aware of the huge potential that 'knowledge intersections and interactions' had 'to complement each other during the research process' (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015, p.45).

This example begins with Sundari, one of the teachers at NCS and me chatting after class whilst waiting for a parent to arrive (Saturday 6th December 2014). Conversation turned to our mutual study commitments, mine the PhD and Sundari's, her recently commenced teacher training course. Sundari offered to help me with anything I needed for the research and in turn I was able to offer help as she approached her first assignment. On Tuesday, Sundari asked if I could help with her assignment.

Dear Sarah

Could I possibly bother you by asking for your advice on how best to approach my first written assignment. Attached here are the reading material and the task. It is due in Jan 5th.

(Email, Tuesday 9th December 2014)

The same day, the Year 6 teacher had asked about help with translation and making a connection with the Nepalese school. Below is an extract from this discussion.

1. Year 6 teacher: Maya and her sister go to a Nepalese school on Saturdays
2. Researcher: Yes, I go there too
3. Year 6 teacher: and they're (the school) going to be trying to make the link with whoever goes there ... Do you go to that school too?
4. Researcher: yes
5. Year 6 teacher: Oh well, if you do not mind, I might do a bit of triangulation there and we can use each other
6. Researcher: Yes, I was talking with one of the teachers on Saturday...and she offered if there's anything I can do to help, please ask.
7. Year 6 teacher: that would help us to join us, to join everything in.

(Transcript 1, 9th December 2014)

This meant that in my reply to Sundari about help for her assignment, I was also able to ask if she would be willing to help me with the translation of some letters from the MS.

Thank you for your email. I am happy to help if I can. I will have a look at what you have sent me and try to jot some notes down for you by Friday. [...]
The local primary school that I am visiting each week have asked me if I am able to help with translating a couple of documents for them for new parents. If I get stuck, please would you be able to help me with this?

(Email, Wednesday 10th December 2014)

My role in these interactions facilitated Sundari's understanding about her assignment, and the Year 6 teacher's understanding about the position of NCS in the lives of me, Maya, and her sister, and other children in the local area. Furthermore, it established a connection between the MS and Sundari, through whom they could access translation skills. On a different occasion I also asked Sundari for her help with checking my Nepali spelling of pseudonyms for my study.

Dear Sundari

Please would you mind checking my Nepali spelling of these names? I need to write pseudonyms in my PhD, and I am considering using these. Also, if you think some of them are not very common in Nepal, maybe you could suggest alternatives?

Thank you very much for your help
Sarah

(Email, 21st February 2015)

The role of researcher as facilitator is complemented by the role of research participant as 'counterpart' (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015, p.45), 'another person or thing that has a similar function or position in a different place' (Collins, 2020). This is a helpful way to view many of these types of interactions in my data as I established relationships with different participants. Campbell and Lassiter (2015) suggest that both roles are likely to change and become less defined as projects evolve.

At times during the data collection process, I felt that my role in the MS was more clearly defined than in the NCS or homes. I felt I was accepted as a researcher coming in to observe. However, I did not want to ever take this role for granted and therefore ensuring that I met with teachers before the start of the day each week was an essential part of the schedule.

Sometimes teachers directed me to other things that they thought might be of interest, for instance the headteacher found a couple of Nepalese books in the school library and had put them on display for the children (Research diary, 27th January 2015). Other times, teachers offered for me to take the child out of the class and talk to them about their work or hear them read (e.g., Research diary, 27th January 2015, 5th May 2015, 12th May 2015). These kinds of interactions seemed to secure my position as a *researcher* from both my perspective and the perspective of the teachers. However, I was aware of how the presence of someone in the classroom, observing and writing notes, may be reminiscent of an *inspector* and this was alluded to by the Year 6 teacher in a chat with her about a forthcoming inspection.

1. Year 6 teacher: I do find it quite weird when you are in the room because I think, you know what it's like, if I was in your classroom, you cannot help but listen but I try to not to ignore you, but to think you are not there only because I want to do a good job and in this profession you are continually being judged.

(Transcript 2, 18th November 2014)

This comment concerned me, and I hoped that I was able to reassure the teacher that the student participant was my focus, not her. This experience is echoed by (Creese, 2015).

Teachers were nervous we might be there to inspect their classes and we spent a lot of time reassuring our participants that we were not there to judge them. We saw it as our responsibility to counter these ubiquitous inspectorial discourses by developing relationships of trust. We worked hard at letting teachers know that our notetaking was not the same as inspectors' note-taking.

(Creese, 2015, p.65)

This chat made me even more aware of how important the ongoing negotiation about observation was. Delamont (2016) suggests that

it is vital that suspicion, hostility and being ignored or excluded are not taken as personal slights. It may be that your behaviour has prompted these reactions, but it may be you are just experiencing general tensions in the setting.

(Delamont, 2016)

Even though I did not set out to do a comparative study, I cannot help but compare the MS teachers' stress and anxiety of 'being judged,' with the absence of performance related anxiety in the NCS. Teachers at NCS did not need to be concerned about inspections or continually being judged by managers or external bodies such as Ofsted.

Another role I sometimes found myself in was that of being positioned as an *expert*, for instance, being asked for the correct spellings of words at NCS.

She then said that a fable was a story with a moral (checking the spelling of moral with me). She then wrote sound by sound the Nepali word for moral – उपदेश ।

(Research diary 28th February 2015, p290, lines 7514-7515)

Or in the home, being asked for advice about tuition for Ameer.

During the meal Ameer's mother asked what she could do about Ameer's education. She asked if some children go for tuition in the UK

(Research diary, 13th February 2015, p272, lines 6957-6958)

Or in the MS, being asked for advice about other ethnic minority children and resources that might be available for them, such as bilingual books.

During my visit to the school library with the Year 6 teacher to see the two Nepalese books the headteacher had found, I asked if they had any bilingual books...their current concern were children of a different ethnic group. Had I come across any books in that language?

(Research diary, 27th January 2015, lines 12276-12281)

Compared to the previous two roles, the role of *expert* was perhaps the most challenging because it was not always clear how to respond. The role of *facilitator* was a positive role that helped me as well as others. Being positioned as an *inspector* could be challenged and reassurance given to the teacher that this was not my intention. However, managing the role of *expert* was less straightforward. On each occasion I had to respond carefully, either going along with what was being asked of me, or somehow diffusing the discussion if I felt I was being positioned inappropriately, e.g., in the case of being asked about tuition. I had initially omitted writing about the bilingual books in my fieldnotes and research diary because it did not seem relevant to my focus on Nepalese participants. However, I subsequently realised that this needed to be included in the research diary as it supported other data collected in the MS. It has been added at the end of the research diary document. In the following section, I discuss my process of writing fieldnotes.

3.7.2 Fieldnotes

The fieldnotes I wrote on site consisted of brief notes, words, and diagrams, described as ‘scribbles on the page’ by Copland and Creese (2015, p.40). Often written in a hurry, in the moment or as soon after the moment as possible, my handwritten notes would not be very legible for outsiders. However, these were private, not intended for sharing with anyone else (Copland and Creese, 2015; Delamont, 2016). In fact, these initial fieldnotes contain names, identities and other confidential data that would be unethical to share with anyone else (Delamont, 2016).

Whilst Delamont comments that she uses ‘a ballpoint pen (carrying several spares)’ (Delamont, 2016, p.42), my fieldnotes were usually written in pencil. This was for two reasons, the first being that pencil is quick to write with and simple to erase if I made a mistake, and secondly, many of the students used pencils in their work, whilst teachers usually used pens to mark a student’s work. As someone who was a visitor in the

classroom, using a pencil signified my status as someone less important than the teacher. I was aware that if I did ever have to write on a student's work for any reason, that doing this in pencil meant that it could be erased. Although I rarely, if ever, wrote on any child's work, I found myself using the pencil and field notebook to support children in their learning, for example showing them a spelling of a word. In this way, the pencil as well as the field notebooks became tools of participant observation.

My first two field notebooks were A5 exercise books. After that, I used A6 sized books, which were smaller and easier to carry around.

As much as possible, I wrote fieldnotes during observation sessions at the MS or NCS. Where it was not possible to write much during a session, I wrote notes as soon as possible afterwards. On a couple of occasions, I had spare time during the school day at the MS and sat in the library to review and write further notes. During my first home visit, I decided that writing fieldnotes during visits was too intrusive and I made a point of writing up everything I could remember as soon as possible after the visit. Hammersley and Atkinson discuss this.

Making even brief notes at the time is not always possible...., even in overt research. The conduct of note-taking must be broadly congruent with the social setting under scrutiny. In some contexts, however 'well-socialized' the hosts are, open and continual note-taking will be perceived as inappropriate or threatening, and may prove disruptive.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.154)

Even in the MS and NCS, I was conscious to cause minimal distraction to children and teachers by my fieldnote writing. Hammersley and Atkinson highlight the challenge of being seen writing fieldnotes, even in educational settings 'where note-taking is a 'normal' kind of activity' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.154). Although I found myself writing notes both when the teacher was talking and when the children were writing, I certainly found it easier, like Olesen and Whittaker (1968) to write fieldnotes during times that the children were writing.

I soon realised that it was difficult to write everything down and began to take photographs of the children's work when allowed, when permission was either granted by the teacher following the lesson, or by the student during the lesson. Because I was usually seated next to the participant, I wrote down anything they talked about, or any time they answered a teacher's or other student's question.

An extract from my field notebook (fig.3) shows notes written during an observation with my Year 5 participant, Ameer in his MS.

converting between ml and

ml	L	rml	L
1500	1L	500ml	1.5
2100	2L	100ml	2.1

then, Spicy sheet.

• He wanted to do this before doing the questions on the board.

He says he wants to do the 'hot' sheet but never gets to do it.

0.5 = 5/10 = 500 ml.)

• '2100' trouble saying 200,100 the numbers.

• 'work for the thousand number'

• He also said that his brother did something on a computer game when he was at Nepali class and now it doesn't work any more.

Figure 3 Extract from fieldnotes, 10th February 2015

This extract was written during a maths lesson, in which Ameer had to convert amounts between millilitres and litres. On the left-hand page, I have copied part of the 'mild' worksheet that the teacher had made for his group. Once Ameer had finished that, he moved on to doing the 'spicy' worksheet, which was a bit harder. I made a note that he commented on how he wanted to do the 'spicy' sheet before doing the questions on the board, which he had also been asked to complete. I also made a comment about how he said he wanted to do the more difficult 'hot' sheet, but never gets to do it. On the right-hand side, I have continued making notes related to the maths task, including a note about how Ameer was having trouble saying the longer numbers with 'thousands' in and the advice I had given him to 'look for the thousand number'. Below this, I have made a comment unrelated to the maths lessons and his progress there, about how Ameer told me about how while he was at Nepali class on Saturday, his brother had done something to a computer game that Ameer was playing and now the game does not work.

At the end of each visit, I typed up these rough fieldnotes as more detailed fieldnotes in my research diary. The extract below shows my typed-up fieldnotes for the above document as they exist now in the research diary.

I told him that he had to look for the thousand number. Once he had finished the 'mild' sheet, he chose the 'spicy' sheet. He worked through this one more quickly than he had done through the first one. He said that he wanted to do the 'hot' sheet, but he never gets to do it, implying that he does not have time and that the teacher does not give him the opportunity. He wanted to do the 'spicy' sheet before doing the questions on the board, which were addition of the different amounts. These (the questions on the board) were quite difficult and [another student] asked me to help her. She needed to convert each number to the same format so she could add it up. I told her to make them both ml so then it would be easier to add up. She managed the first one, using a number grid but got confused with the second one.

He told me about how while he was at Nepali class on Saturday, his brother played with a computer game that he was doing, and he pressed something,

and it went wrong. I asked him if maybe his dad could reset it for him? He thinks he cannot and that it is broken now.

(Research diary, 10th February 2015, lines 6808-6824)

In this typed up version, I have added a possible explanation to why Ameer never gets to do the 'hot' sheet, 'implying that he does not have time and that the teacher does not give him the opportunity'. I did not usually have the opportunity to observe Ameer in maths, particularly as literacy was the focus of my study. However, the circumstances of the day meant that I went to observe him in this lesson as well as a literacy lesson. The maths session shed light on his ability in a different subject area and his frustration at never having the opportunity to complete the difficult work that the teacher sets and that other children can do.

The written-up notes also highlight my position as an assistant in this lesson. I was asked for help by another student, and I made a comment about how she had found the work difficult. Although this was written in rough notes on the next page of my field notebook, I made the decision when typing up, to include it here as it was related to what Ameer had said about the different levels of worksheet and the work on the whiteboard. The teacher had a system for differentiating the levels of worksheets relating to chillies; mild, spicy, and hot. Sometimes she put a picture of a chilli next to the level.

During the session, Ameer also had turned to me and made a comment about what had happened at home while he was at Nepali class. In these typed-up notes, I added a little extra information about the conversation we had had, asking 'if maybe his dad could reset it for him?' I probably noted this conversation because I was aware of connections that were made by the students between NCS, MS and home. I was a connection between the three sites.

As can be seen from the extracts above, my fieldnotes were 'selective' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.156). I wrote down at the time what I saw and heard as important. Being interested in Ameer's learning at school, I made comments about what he was doing in the lesson and how he was getting on with that. Also being interested in his wider experience as a Nepalese child in the UK, I noted his comment about Nepali class. I did not note anything on this page of fieldnotes about the arrangement of the classroom and how he was sitting with a group of children, or how large that group was because I had already written that on earlier pages.

I was careful to record as much as possible and even though the focus was on maths, I still noted things which were of interest to me in the research. The 'practical constraints' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.156) of recording specific information from the worksheet meant that my fieldnotes were supplemented by photocopies of Ameer's work. Knowing that the teacher would allow me to photocopy Ameer's work meant that I did not spend excessive amounts of time copying out the worksheet.

Hammersley and Atkinson discuss the 'process of selection' as beginning with 'perception itself' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.156). One can never take in everything that is going on. I was aware that as I focused on something, I ran the risk of something else being missed. Making the decision to write a note temporarily shifted my attention (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.157) and even though I tried to write quickly, sometimes I was not able to complete what I was writing because I noticed something else.

Furthermore, I was challenged by the question of how to 'record movements and nonverbal behaviour' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.157) that seemed to be relevant. I decided that usually recording notes about movements was not as important as what people said. However, I did expand in my typed-up fieldnotes about nonverbal behaviour if there were things that stood out from the observation. The other challenge

was in wanting to record the 'actual' words people said and 'how they said them' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.157). Although I attempted to make notes about this with little accents or underlining in my notebook, I relied on supporting my fieldnotes with listening to the audio recordings and writing transcripts of these if relevant.

The action of writing fieldnotes in situ and then later after the event emphasises the marginal position of the ethnographer that Hammersley and Atkinson had pointed out (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.94). This idea is explored further by Emerson, who comments

The ethnographer's fieldnote writing practices – writing jottings on what others are doing in their presence, observing in order to write, writing extended fieldnotes outside the immediacy of the field setting – specifically create and sustain separation, marginality, and distance in the midst of personal and social proximity. Overtly writing jottings interactionally reminds others (and the ethnographer herself) that she has priorities and commitments that differ from their own.

(Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p.43)

Copland and Creese discuss the different types of notes that researchers keep, including

'observational notes', 'fieldnotes', 'researcher diary / journal', 'headnotes' and 'autoethnography', all of which describe the ethnographer watching, listening, feeling and 'being there'.

(Copland and Creese, 2015, p.40)

For example, Copland made a distinction between rough notes taken in the field, which she described as 'observational notes' and the later typed-up 'fieldnotes'; and Shaw made a distinction between 'autoethnographic accounts' and her research diary which 'focused much more on research processes' (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.41). Delamont describes her use of three different notebook types: reporters notebooks to record notes in the field, A4 ring bound notebooks in which she writes up the initial

notes in expanded form, and A5 ring bound books in which she writes her “out of the field’ reflexive diary’ (Delamont, 2016, p.42). Other researchers combine the writing up of fieldnotes with the reflexive diary in one document (Copland and Creese, 2015). It is this type of document that I chose to use, and I will explain this in more detail in the following section.

3.7.3 Research diary

Understanding that I needed to keep a diary related to my fieldwork, I made the decision early on to create a research diary as a word-processed document on the computer. This research diary contains all my written-up fieldnotes, as well as reflexive accounts of my research journey (Ballinger, 2003). It includes notes of discussions with my supervisors, thoughts about my research questions, practical details about the challenges of Devanagari fonts and transcription and as Delamont suggests, references to relevant literature that either supported or contrasted with the situation I described (Delamont, 2016, p.54). It also includes notes about emerging themes and things that I want to look up in more detail. Anything that struck me as important in the research process was recorded in the research diary. The process of writing often helped to clarify my thinking and discussions with my supervisor. Furthermore, as Ballinger suggests,

it forms a resource in which tentative ideas can be lodged pending further consideration: and it can also serve a cathartic function when one is intellectually puzzled or plain irritated!

(Ballinger, 2003, p.70)

Because my research diary contained typed-up fieldnotes as well as other writings, the research diary became the primary document in my initial analysis stage. Because it is stored on the computer, it is easy to search within the document. Additionally, time stamps on photos allowed me to link research diary extracts with photos and vice versa.

The research diary is 124,337 words long, 468 pages of single-spaced typed text.

3.7.4 Audio recording

Blommaert points out that audio recordings provide the researcher with “raw data’ that will eventually substantiate [...] analysis as ‘evidence’ and ‘examples’” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.31).

Despite disabling the lights and sounds, the data recorder was still a distraction. In December 2014, I purchased a piece of acoustically transparent black cloth and made a small bag for the data recorder. The students and teachers were then less distracted by the data recorder on the table. Whenever they asked what it was, I explained.

During the pilot study, I realised the importance of the informal interactions before and after class. I therefore started the recorder(s) as I was leaving the car and would usually turn it off just before driving away. As before, the audio data were downloaded and backed up after each visit.

In NCS, teachers were operating both groups in the same classroom, and this meant that I was trying to listen to data from both lessons simultaneously. I purchased a second data recorder in Jan 2015 to supplement the audio recordings so I could direct one towards the beginner group and the other towards the intermediate group. I considered making an extra bag for the new data recorder, but instead chose to keep them together in the same bag. I commented in my research diary,

Listening to the recordings now, after making the little sound transparent material bag, the sound is so excellently clear that I can just put the recorders on the table and leave them there.

(Research diary, Saturday 24th January 2015, p.235)

The second data recorder made by Phillips was selected because of its stereo recording capability but in April 2015, this device failed and was replaced by a SONY ICD-PX240.

Depending on the activity, I would have to re-position the recorder(s) to ensure a good sound quality. Despite this, some classroom recordings were more difficult to analyse when there was a high level of background noise.

3.7.5 Photographs

Photographs were initially taken to complement my fieldnotes (Crang and Cook, 2007; Rock, 2015) and to serve as data to be 'revisited later' (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.106) and reviewed alongside these fieldnotes (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Different types of photos that can potentially become data include

snapshots of children writing, of the teacher lecturing...pages from the notebooks or textbooks used in class, of the blackboard, of drawings made by pupils, of notices displayed in the school; etc.

(Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.32)

During the pilot period, I realised the methodological value of taking photographs, to capture information about children's learning.

I need to be more ready to take photographs...to capture as much information as possible about the children's learning.

(Research diary, 15th July 2014, lines 1462-1464)

However, I also realised the value of having a photographic record of observations which I could review later and which could also serve to 'trigger a vivid memory of the moment [I] took it, ...[or] trigger the recollection of an anecdote that might exactly be the thing [I] need in a particular place in [my] analytical argument' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, pp.32-33). For example, in my research diary, I recorded the fact that 'I have a photograph of this' (Research diary, 18th October 2014, line 2848) so that when I came

to analyse this session, I would make a particular point of reviewing the photograph alongside research diary and other data sources, such as the audio file. I also have a quickly accessible Excel file containing a count of all the data collected on my visits to the three sites. This information can be seen in appendices 11-18.

Following Kenner (2004a) and Lytra *et al.* (2010), I was eager to capture examples of learning that would enhance my analysis and discussion of literacy learning events. However, I noticed that Kenner (2004a) and Lytra *et al.* (2010) usually limit the illustration of their discussion to just one photo and I was interested in the potential value of having more photographs from observations that can be analysed and discussed alongside other data including the research diary, copies of children's work, documents, audio files and transcripts. These data sources have the potential to offer a fuller picture of a literacy event than fieldnotes alone.

In the same way that I made photocopies (in the MS) or scanned copies (from NCS) of the children's work, I realised that photography offered the potential for not only supporting my fieldnotes write up, but a way of recording the sequence of an activity (Pink, 2013) more quickly than with fieldnotes alone. I therefore took sequential photos of participants engaged in activities at NCS and sequential photos of participants' work (not including participants) where possible in the MS. This was important as a participant observer because it enabled me to be present for longer with the participants and not be distracted by writing copious detail in my fieldnotes. Photographs therefore allowed for spaces to be captured 'where talk and text reside' (Rock, 2015, p.135).

Bezemer (2014), Blackledge and Creese (2018), Streeck, Goodwin and LeBaron (2011), Bezemer and Abdullahi (2020) have used video, photography and drawing (Bezemer *et al.*, 2012) to create very detailed multimodal transcripts of sequences of events. Although this level of detail is not possible for all my analysis, I draw on my

different data sources to discuss the fuller picture of particular events. For example, in chapters 4 and 5 I use photos of a student and teacher at the whiteboard to illustrate teaching and learning in the classroom. These are discussed alongside lesson transcripts, and extracts from the children's exercise books and the research diary.

Since the rise in the use of digital photography, taking photos of children's work as evidence of participation in or completion of an activity is something common in schools. My key participants were used to having photos of their work printed out for classroom displays or to stick into their books, and so the action of me taking a photo of their work was not unusual for them.

I tried where possible to take photographs of completed work. However, sometimes an activity that I had observed in part, was completed, and marked on a different day. Therefore, I also have photographs and photocopies of the participants' work from days that I was not at the MS. There were only three Saturdays when I could not attend NCS because I was away. Therefore, I was able to observe most of the work that is recorded in the children's exercise books.

Crang and Cook (2007) discuss the reality that 'some scenes will be chosen in preference to others' and that 'the researcher's presence is likely to contribute to what there is to 'record' and so on' (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.106). There is of course the possibility that teachers and students may have been behaving differently because of my presence, however, teachers and students knew that I was interested in what they were teaching and learning and were used to me capturing teaching and learning activities in this way alongside my writing of fieldnotes. There was rarely a sense of performance or staging for the camera.

The photographs taken in the MS and in NCS record two very different physical spaces. The MS photographs capture class specific information such as displays of

the children's work and information about recent and current topics. However, photographs also captured school specific information such as school rules and reward schemes that were displayed in all the classrooms. Furthermore, I was able to also capture some photos from the school library and staffroom. These MS spaces were very different spaces to that of the NCS which was held in the 'borrowed space' of the army owned community building. The only wall display area was a notice board in the entrance hall containing a health and safety poster and information about other community groups that met at the venue. The NCS did not use this communal notice board. Other linguistic signs in the venue were related to safety, e.g., fire escape signs and notices about hot water. Teachers at NCS were not able to display literacy materials in the venue and instead used portable resources such as the home-made alphabet chart mounted on thick cardboard, or a laminated alphabet / number chart with a hanger which could be stored away on top of a cupboard between lessons. 'Borrowed space' is a common feature of complementary schools. Martin *et al.* (2006) note the impact on this for teachers that 'we can't display our resources anywhere...we can do it (but then) we take it off again' (Martin *et al.*, 2006, p.9).

Although many of these photographs cannot be shown in the thesis for ethical reasons, as they contain identifying information specific to the MS, they informed the writing up of my fieldnotes and the subsequent analysis and discussion of certain data. They are therefore part of the way that ethnographic knowledge is constituted in this study (Pink, 2013).

In the next section, I discuss the other types of documents that I collected.

3.7.6 Copies of children's work and other documentation

In the MS, I had access to the year group photocopiers and so I was able to make copies of children's work, either that which I had observed, or other work that I had

missed but that I thought might be of use later. These include completed pieces of work where I had observed the start, sometimes with the teacher's marking. I borrowed the children's books from NCS and scanned these into the computer. As can be seen in table 5, I have five hundred scanned pages of all the children's work except Prabha's. This covers all the sessions the children attended during the data collection period. However, in the Excel data count in appendices 11-18, only work that is dated or easily identifiable from a session is recorded. This means that I can use the Excel data count to identify quickly where there is work for a particular session. The Excel spreadsheet also includes other notes as reference to what was happening each week. Furthermore, the Excel spreadsheet includes a list of attendance at NCS. This correlates with the work collected. Where it is unclear if a student attended or not, the cell is left blank.

	NCS	MS	Home A	Home B	TOTAL
Photos	287	671	0	2	958
Scans of children's work	500	0	0	0	500
Photocopies	0	257	0	0	257
Other materials	3	9	0	0	12
Audio recordings	28	27	0	0	55
Semi-structured interviews	1	3	0	0	4
Ethnographic interviews	19	14	0	0	33
Fieldnotes	29	29	1	5	64

Table 5 Data count summary

In terms of texts and other documentation, I made the decision to 'collect whatever was available and in use' (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.53). Blommaert encourages the researcher to

take everything that closely or remotely looks of interest. Do not be too restrictive, and even if it does not tell you much on the spot, it can always become a very relevant bit of data later on.

(Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.59)

Other documents I collected include, school newsletters, copies of tests the Y5 and Y6 participants had taken, and a selection of teacher plans and schemes of work. All these paper documents are filed in an A4 lever arch file. The following section discusses the different types of interviews I undertook.

3.7.7 Ethnographic and semi-structured interviews in the NCS and MS

Interviews supported my collection of data from the perspective of the participants (Copland and Creese, 2015; Delamont, 2016). Interview data always complemented the data I collected in my observations and fieldnotes, audio recordings, and the other data which I could interpret such as the transcripts, photos, pieces of work and documents. Sometimes, interviews offered an alternative view on the data I was interested in, for example, in the interview with the NCS teacher, she referred to her own translanguaging practices as 'the hybrid version'. Because I had not used the word 'hybrid' with her, the comment shed light on her understanding of 'translanguaging' practice. Taken together with my observations and fieldnotes, this created 'new analytical angles and findings' (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.30).

My data consist of two different types of interview, four semi-structured interviews and 33 'ethnographic interviews' (Hoey, 2014, p.2); also referred to as 'informal interviews' (Fetterman, 2020, p.51). Ethnographic interviews and informal interviews offer definitions which are interchangeable: 'they seem to be casual conversations' (Fetterman, 2020, p.51), 'they are little different than an everyday conversation' (Hoey, 2014, p.2). For the sake of clarity, I choose to use the term 'ethnographic interview' going forward. Whereas semi-structured interviews were scheduled with participants and had some agenda, the ethnographic interviews were unscheduled, informal and without agenda (Hoey, 2014).

In both the NCS and MS, ethnographic interviews usually happened spontaneously at the end of a class. They are all recorded as part of my audio data. Methodologically, I categorise these conversations as ethnographic interviews because of their relevance to the research questions. For example, a thirty second chat with the Y4 teacher after a maths lesson reveals themes of literacy practice, language uses at home and school, and attainment in school 'in the children we have' (Transcript of ethnographic interview,

25th November 2014, MS Y4). Although short, this discussion is counted as an ethnographic interview for further data analysis as it highlights themes related to the study.

The semi-structured interviews, one with a teacher at NCS, and one each with the three teachers at the MS, follow a more 'ordered conversation' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.44) whilst at the same time maintaining a level of informality which allowed for participants to talk about the issues they saw as important and for the researcher to adjust responses and questions depending on the circumstances as the interview progressed (Robson, 2011). Key themes which emerged from the three interviews in the MS related to participants' levels of attainment and their progress made over the year. These built on my other observations of the school's focus on academic achievement and improvement, heightened by the pressure of two inspections (by the local authority and by Ofsted) during my period of data collection.

The semi-structured interview with the NCS teacher generated data related to teaching, learning, curriculum, translanguaging and improvement. These themes built on those recorded in fieldnotes and ethnographic interviews with teachers over the year and therefore go some way to being a summary of my observations.

I am aware that my role as the interviewer in these different settings was key. The interview was a dialogue, which was built and constructed by both me the interviewer and my participant as the interviewee. Over the course of data collection and many ethnographic interviews, I was reminded often of my 'other' roles of 'teacher' or 'helper' or 'expert' in something I or one of my participants said. Whilst I could not deny my history, particularly for the simple fact that I had the opportunity to conduct the research because of my history, I aimed to maintain as neutral a position as possible so that I had minimal influence on what a participant wanted to say. Because of this, I chose to conduct the four semi-structured interviews towards the end of the research period, so

that I had as much time as possible to practice gathering data through ethnographic interviews.

Delamont discusses the fact that ‘when the research depends on interviewing or observing and talking to live people, the maintenance of relationships needs a good deal of work’ (Delamont, 2016, p.109). I was acutely aware of the importance of maintaining good relations with all participants. It was not possible to audio record ethnographic interviews with participants in their homes, and therefore, I have not counted these in the Excel spreadsheet. However, all data from home visits was written up as soon as possible in field notes and then the research diary following each visit. This detailed writing following discussion with participants allows for the discovery of ‘categories of meaning in a culture’ (Fetterman, 2020, p.51).

3.8 Ethical considerations

I followed the University of Birmingham guidelines for the ethical process, and this was approved at the end of June 2014. This was a thorough and detailed procedure which involved explaining my study clearly to potential participants (appendices 1,5,8) and getting not just verbal and signed consent (appendices 2,3,4,6,7,9) but regular verbal checks with participants that they were willing to participate. Delamont comments that

It is tempting to see the initial access negotiated, if successful, as ‘over’ and relax. However, in qualitative projects ‘access’ is *never* final. Every individual ...can, either explicitly or implicitly, refuse to participate.

(Delamont, 2016, p.81)

An illustration of this in my study was the initial willingness of Sanju and Maya’s mother to let me visit their home for five visits but after a first visit, subsequent visits were rearranged or postponed because she had to work, or go shopping, or because her husband was not home; various reasons which I took as a withdrawal of consent from this aspect of the study. Blommaert comments on exactly this situation that, ‘the people

you wanted (and needed) to interview refuse to be interviewed or keep postponing the appointments to do the interviews' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.22) but that this is the reality of 'working in a real social environment and with real people (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p.22)'. Although disappointing from a data collection point of view, I was pleased that the family had felt able to say no to me.

3.8.1 Gaining informed consent

Although ethical approval was granted, I would sometimes check with participants that it was okay to use the data recorder. This was particularly the case with the semi-structured interviews.

Another challenge were the additional children and adults who occasionally came to class, but who were not enrolled in the study.

Creese writes about this similar experience in her work in complementary schools,

Over the course of the project we came across a lot of ethical grey areas which needed contemplation, mulling over and negotiation. One such area was project participation.

(Creese, 2015, p.65)

In a similar way to Creese, I chose to leave these individuals out from any detailed observations. This means only referring to them in my fieldnotes if their presence affects a situation or discourse. In this case, individuals are referred to as 'parent', 'adult' or 'child'.

3.8.2 Sensitivity

Arranging home visits, I felt were particularly sensitive. I only managed to visit Sanju and Maya's house once, whereas arranging visits to Ameer's home was easier. I was able to visit there five times. Negotiating each visit, I was aware of not wanting to

impose and would be careful to either chat with a parent at the end of class or telephone them in advance of the provisionally planned meeting to check whether they were happy for me to come. On a couple of occasions, Ameer's mother asked me during class time whether I was planning to visit that week and that made it much easier for me as it felt more like an invitation.

3.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

To protect the anonymity of the participants in this study, I do not name the schools or their location. The town is referred to as an army town in the UK. Homes will be referred to as either home A, Sanju and Maya's home, and home B, Ameer's home.

All participants have been given pseudonyms. Some of the participants in the NCS wanted anonymity and others wanted me to use their own names. However, to protect the anonymity of the few, I chose to use pseudonyms for everyone. I considered asking the children to choose their own pseudonym, however, I realised that this would reduce the level of anonymity.

The above sections have discussed the methods of data collection in the three sites of MS, NCS and homes. As part of this section, I have discussed my positioning as both insider and outsider in the different settings. I have reflected too on the importance of reflexivity and how my reflexive stance during data collection was recorded in my research diary. Reflexivity was key when I came to data analysis. It is to this that I now turn.

3.9 Data analysis

The different data collected (research diary, audio recordings, interview data, photographs, copies of children's work and other documents) are all treated as sources

for data analysis (Blommaert and Jie, 2010; Copland and Creese, 2015). Copland and Creese (2018) discuss how these data sets

require an interpretative analysis in which analytical categories are induced by the researcher. Rather than imposing outsider categories, the linguistic ethnographer is engaged in nuanced, meticulous and time-consuming analysis of fieldnotes, interview and audio/video transcripts, photographs and other kinds of data. They do this to understand the categories the participants themselves are presupposing as they go about their everyday lives. This is what linguistic ethnographers and anthropologists understand when they speak of producing 'emic' research accounts.

(Copland and Creese, 2018, p.265)

Although data sets may be viewed as having different status in different fields, e.g. a focus on audio and video data as key in some classroom observation (Snell and Lefstein, 2015), and an emphasis on interview, research diaries and policy documents in healthcare research (Shaw and Russell, 2015), in Creese and Blackledge's research in complementary schools, they discuss the fact that fieldnotes, audio recordings and interviews hold equal value as primary, authoritative data (Creese *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, Creese, Takhi and Blackledge 'argue that fieldnotes should be subjected to the same rigorous linguistic analysis as interactional data' (Creese, Takhi and Blackledge, 2015, p.10). It is with this primary, authoritative data that I began my data analysis. In the following sections, I explain the process I went through to understand the data from the perspective of my participants.

Deciding how to approach my large data sets was initially daunting. However, following Kenner and colleagues with their research in complementary schools, mainstream schools, and homes, I decided to use a thematic analysis. Kenner and colleagues discuss the use of qualitative approaches to identify categories, themes and patterns in the data (Kenner, 2000a; 2005; Kenner and Ruby, 2012a), and list categories that data were coded under; 'concepts, translation, cultural understanding, metalinguistic skills, identities, strategies' (Kenner *et al.*, 2008, pp.126-127). However, I found, as

Duff comments, that this highlighting of categories in the thematic analysis is unusual, and 'many authors...who describe their qualitative data analysis in terms of 'thematic analysis'...omit from their reported studies the actual codes or themes or types of coding that proved instrumental' (Duff, 2018, p.321). I therefore turned to other texts which focused specifically on research methodology e.g. Braun and Clarke (2006), Braun and Clarke (2013), Copland and Creese (2015), Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) to guide the process of thematic analysis.

In the following seven sections, I describe the different stages of thematic analysis that I undertook. Due to the large size of some data sets, different data sets were treated slightly differently. Despite this, the process of generating codes and themes across the data enabled research questions to be clarified and data to be written up in the subsequent analysis chapters.

3.9.1 Organisation and familiarisation

The process of organising my data into the 'data count' Excel spreadsheet was a valuable first stage to the analysis process. It ensured that I was familiar with all the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006) I had collected and that I had access to it quickly, either from the computer (research diary, audio recordings, scanned work, photographs) or from the A4 lever arch file (copies of children's work and other documents). All data has been filed according to the location in which it was collected, the name of the participant (where relevant), and in chronological order (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.164).

Following this, I 'immersed' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87) myself in the data by reading through my research diary (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019). This enabled me to take in 'the entire record of the field experience as it evolved over time' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011,

p.171). A 465 page word-processed document, the research diary, was the one data set which included information from all sites and therefore offered itself as a basis upon which to begin looking for codes which could be mapped to candidate themes, themes and subthemes (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

3.9.2 Generating codes

The second stage involved combining my reading with 'open coding' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p.172) of the text to 'identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes, or issues they suggest, no matter how varied and disparate' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p.172). Braun and Clarke (2013) discuss this process as 'complete coding', 'identifying anything and everything of interest or relevance to answering your research question' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, pp.206-207). This was undertaken manually (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) on the printed document with a pink pen 'in the margin' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p.175) 'on and around the text' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.210). Once I had completed the coding manually, I used Excel (Microsoft, 2021) to collate all the data extracts and codes. This process enabled me to review the codes I had hand-written and add further codes if necessary to the particular data extract on the Excel spreadsheet. Furthermore, Excel allowed for subsequent procedures of searching and retrieving data segments (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.165) as well as looking for patterns in the codes and coded data (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.225). The pink highlighting is replicated in table 6 with extracts from the larger Excel document.

Braun and Clarke identify two different types of codes: data-derived codes which are 'based on the semantic meaning in the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.207). Often these codes mirror text in the data, for example, the code 'STEPS TO SUCCESS' was recorded alongside line 2386. Steps to success were guidelines written by the teacher for a particular task and given to the children, so they knew what to include in order to

meet certain criteria for success. I take this phrase as code 1. The text is capitalised to highlight its importance as a literacy feature in the school. Code 2, 'school policy' is based upon this first code as I am aware that giving the children 'steps to success' is a school wide policy. This second type of code is the type Braun and Clarke (2013) label as 'researcher-derived'. This code is also derived from the data but it does not necessarily use direct words or phrases from the text as it goes 'beyond the explicit content of the data...to imply implicit meanings within the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.207).

Another example of these two different types of codes is seen in lines 2802-2804. Code 1, 'translanguaging' is copied from the text; code 2, 'teacher expectations' interprets the implicit meaning of the text as being about teacher expectations.

Data source	Date	Page	Line(s)	Data	Code 1	Code 2
Research diary	19/07/2014	63	1553-1555	Shanti explained with a kind of seriousness / reverence about यज्ञ being the place where they do पूजा (worship) पूजा गर्ने ठाउँ हो (place of worship) and that शङ्ख (conch shell) is blown at the start of पूजा (worship) to start.	seriousness and reverence for some words	alphabet chart and religion
Research diary	30/09/2014	96	2386	They had some steps to success written on the board	STEPS TO SUCCESS	school policy
Research diary	11/10/2014	106	2631-2636	Once he'd got to the end she asked him to read it and then write it all over again. I felt sorry for him that he couldn't go and write on the board like the other children....he couldn't remember what the sounds were	writing out the alphabet again repetition	I feel sorry for him why treated differently from the other children?
Research diary	18/10/2014	113	2802-2804	When Shanti saw Ameer she asked him where his homework was and he said he had done half of it माइले halfगारेको छु। 'I have done half'. (Use of translanguaging.)	translanguaging	teacher expectations
Research diary	18/10/2014	114	2837-2841	Sundari put two headings on the board – masculine and feminine and the Madhu started to write the words underneath these. She wrote the word, said it and then the other children repeated it. After a while Sundari asked the other children to volunteer to come and write a word that they were talking about.	writing on the board	come out to write on the board
Research diary	18/10/2014	119	2876-2891	Shanti and Sundari asked the children if they celebrate Tihar at home? Some of the children weren't sure whether they do or not....	cultural discussion	
Research diary	15/11/2014	135	3284-3285	They are making good progress and towards the end of the lesson she moved on to teaching them the vowel letters. She used the big board with the letters and pictures on.	consonants first, then vowels	big board with letters and pictures multimodal
Research diary	2/12/2014	166	3990-3992	I asked him what he'd done and he said that he'd just done the alphabet again with Shanti. He told me that he can do all the consonants now! He was really excited about this...Had he been practising at home? He said yes he had.	alphabet	consonants practising

Data source	Date	Page	Line(s)	Data	Code 1	Code 2
Research diary	06/12/2014	171	4127-4128	I noticed that after they had done the test she had them writing words on the board and one of these was 'potato' in Devanagari script.	translanguaging	intermediate group
Research diary	13/12/2014	190	4591-4592	Then Sundari gave each child two consonant cards and asked them to write two words that start with that sound.	consonant cards	initial sounds for words
Research diary	17/01/2015	223	5402-5403	However she did teach them that to say like they had to write मन्न पछि. The children all said something that they like = pizza, chips, playing Kitty (as in 'hello Kitty'), oranges.	I like... translanguaging in their answers	transliteration
Research diary	7/02/2015	266	6746-6747	Shanti started by asking the three beginner children to say the sounds from the big chart. She then gave them each one of the little charts with cards to match.	saying sounds together	lots of repetition
Research diary	07/03/2015	305	8002-8005	Beginner group then were asked to write words on the board. Nisha was asked by Shanti to bring the board over and then one by one they were given a word to write and instructed also to write the English translation next to it.	dictation on the board	translation
Research diary	07/03/2015	308	8087-8101	All the children enjoyed eating the guava. Sundari talked to them about it before they ate it, asking them to take a piece and smell it, describe its appearance and think about what it might be like...this was a follow up from the story that Sundari read the children last week.....very sweet but the second piece was very bitter.	guava	Nepalese fruit
Research diary	11/07/2015	460	12056-12058	The children took it in turns to read the words and then to read the lines of the text. Sundari did lots of revision of this, getting them to do it over and over in different ways and then to practice reading together to help each other	read together	repeat over and over

Table 6 Selected research diary extracts and codes

This initial coding of the data proved an invaluable step in the development of research questions and themes. The following section describes my process of reflecting on the codes in light of the research questions at the end of the data collection period (July 2015), and how this influenced the writing of new research questions.

3.9.3 Codes and the development of the research questions

Aware that theorizing is an iterative process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.169), I reflected on the different codes and their relationship to the research questions that had guided the majority of my data collection to July 2015.

These began as questions with a specific focus on orthographies and the development of literacy skills and practices. As expected therefore, my early research diary writing and related codes often focused on observed difficulty, attitude to learning or achievement. As a teacher by background, these were features of the learning environment which I found easy to identify. However, I realised that this focus restricted observation during visits and in my subsequent write up of field notes in the research diary. I appreciated Professor Angela Creese's suggestion to keep a broad view of the teaching and learning and to observe other things that might be going on. The following research questions incorporated the focus on orthographies and development of literacy skills within broader questions about the teaching and learning of literacy skills and practices in Nepali Devanagari and English, and teachers' and parents' constructs of multilingual learning.

1. How do Nepalese children learn literacy skills and practices in Nepali Devanagari and English?
2. What pedagogical practices are used in Nepali literacy class, Nepalese homes, and mainstream school?

3. Using linguistic ethnography, what can be understood about pedagogical practices and constructs of multilingual learning?

Following this advice, I began to see that several written observations and subsequent codes related to the children as learners and to their identities as Nepalese children in the UK.

Reading Blommaert's work on emblematic features and enoughness (Blommaert and Varis, 2011; Blommaert and Varis, 2015) directed me to consider characteristics of learner identity as well as the participants' Nepalese identity, their 'Nepaleseness'. Therefore, following my initial coding analysis, the research questions were changed and now read as follows.

1. What are the literacy practices of Nepalese children in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?
2. How is Nepaleseness and identity explored in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

The following section explains the process of reviewing the codes and collated data with 'the aim of identifying similarity and overlap between codes' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.225). It explains the way in which I identified certain concepts and topics in the codes which could then be mapped to 'candidate themes' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.227) and themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

3.9.4 Candidate themes

Braun and Clarke explain that identifying themes is an active process in which 'the researcher examines the codes and coded data, and starts to create potential patterns' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.225) in order to reflect the data and answer the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The candidate themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013,

p.224) in table 7 introduce the broader organising concepts of identity, literacy skills, literacy practice, pedagogy, translanguaging and classroom environments. However, they also incorporate specific details such as 'alphabet chart' (lines 1553-1555), 'dictation' (line 8002-8005), 'learning alphabet sounds' and 'phoneme grapheme correspondence' (lines 3284-3285). In my review of the (120 plus) candidate themes I decided to leave this detail as I knew it would be helpful in my generation of overarching themes and subthemes.

Line(s)	Code 1	Code 2	Candidate themes
1553-1555	seriousness and reverence for some words	alphabet chart and religion	alphabet chart and Nepalese identity
2386	STEPS TO SUCCESS	school policy	literacy skills and practices classroom environments
2631-2636	writing out the alphabet again repetition	I feel sorry for him why treated differently from the other children?	literacy pedagogy
2802-2804	translanguaging	teacher expectations	translanguaging communication
2837-2841	writing on the board	come out to write on the board	literacy practice and pedagogy
2876-2891	cultural discussion		Nepalese identity
3284-3285	consonants first, then vowels	big board with letters and pictures multimodal	learning alphabet sounds phoneme grapheme correspondence
3990-3992	alphabet	consonants practising	alphabet chart literacy skills pedagogy
4127-4128	translanguaging	intermediate group	translanguaging
4591-4592	consonant cards	initial sounds for words	literacy skills pedagogy
5402-5403	I like... translanguaging in their answers	transliteration	translanguaging verbal and written
6746-6747	saying sounds together	lots of repetition	literacy skills pedagogy
8002-8005	dictation on the board	translation	dictation
8087-8101	guava	Nepalese fruit	Nepalese identity
12056-12058	read together	repeat over and over	literacy skills pedagogy

Table 7 Selected research diary codes and candidate themes

I reviewed and revised candidate themes to ensure they fitted well with the coded data and helped to tell a story that 'rings true' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.233). This process was an important step in identifying two overarching themes: literacy and identity. A third theme of methodology applies to coded data extracts that specifically comment on the methodology of the study, for example, my positioning of the data recorder or my role in the classroom. These are written about in the methodology. In the following section, I discuss the two main themes of the study and how I bring clarification through the use of subthemes.

3.9.5 Themes and subthemes

Two overarching themes of the study were identified, literacy and identity. In order to highlight 'common, distinctive [and] important' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.235) aspects of these themes, I developed subthemes. These provide a way of organising the larger themes whilst still relating to the 'central organising concept of the theme [they sit] within' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.235). Table 8 shows selected data extracts, codes, candidate themes, themes, and subthemes from the research diary.

Line(s)	Data	Code 1	Code 2	Candidate themes	Theme	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 2	Subtheme 3
1553-1555	Shanti explained with a kind of seriousness / reverence about यज्ञ being the place where they do पूजा (worship) पूजा गर्ने ठाउँ हो (place of worship) and that शङ्ख (conch shell) is blown at the start of पूजा (worship) to start.	seriousness and reverence for some words	alphabet chart and religion	alphabet chart and Nepalese identity	identity	Nepalese	alphabet chart	religion
2386	They had some steps to success written on the board	STEPS TO SUCCESS	school policy	literacy skills and practices classroom environments	literacy	practice	school	
2631-2636	Once he'd got to the end she asked him to read it and then write it all over again. I felt sorry for him that he couldn't go and write on the board like the other children....he couldn't remember what the sounds were	writing out the alphabet again	I feel sorry for him why treated differently from the other children?	literacy pedagogy	literacy	practice	writing out the alphabet again	difficulty
2802-2804	when Shanti saw Ameer she asked him where his homework was and he said he had done half of it माइले halfगारेको छु। 'I have done half'. (Use of translanguaging.)	translanguaging	teacher expectations	translanguaging communication	literacy	skills	translanguaging	

2837-2841	Sundari put two headings on the board – masculine and feminine and then Madhu started to write the words underneath these. She wrote the word, said it and then the other children repeated it. After a while Sundari asked the other children to volunteer to come and write a word that they were talking about.	writing on the board	come out to write on the board	literacy practice and pedagogy	literacy	practice	repetition	
2876-2891	Shanti and Sundari asked the children if they celebrate Tihar at home? Some of the children weren't sure whether they do or not....	cultural discussion		Nepalese identity	identity	Nepalese		
3284-3285	They are making good progress and towards the end of the lesson she moved on to teaching them the vowel letters. She used the big board with the letters and pictures on.	consonants first, then vowels	big board with letters and pictures	learning alphabet sounds phoneme grapheme correspondence	literacy	skills	NCS	lesson progressions

3990-3992	I asked him what he'd done and he said that he'd just done the alphabet again with Shanti. He told me that he can do all the consonants now! He was really excited about this...Had he been practising at home? He said yes he had.	alphabet	consonants practising	alphabet chart literacy skills pedagogy	literacy	skills	repetition	
4127-4128	I noticed that after they had done the test she had them writing words on the board and one of these was 'potato' in Devanagari script.	translanguaging	intermediate group	translanguaging	literacy	skills	transliteration	
4591-4592	Then Sundari gave each child two consonant cards and asked them to write two words that start with that sound.	consonant cards	initial sounds for words	literacy skills pedagogy	literacy	skills	consonant cards	resources
5402-5403	However she did teach them that to say like they had to write म न प छ. The children all said something that they like = pizza, chips, playing Kitty (as in 'hello Kitty'), oranges.	I like... translanguaging in their answers both verbal and written		translanguaging verbal and written	literacy	skills	translanguaging	written
6746-6747	Shanti started by asking the three beginner children to say the sounds from the big chart. She then gave them each one of the little charts with cards to match.	saying sounds together	lots of repetition	literacy skills pedagogy	literacy	skills	repetition	multimodal

8002-8005	Beginner group then were asked to write words on the board. Nisha was asked by Shanti to bring the board over and then one by one they were given a word to write and instructed also to write the English translation next to it.	dictation on the board	translation	dictation	literacy	skills	dictation	translation
8087-8101	All the children enjoyed eating the guava. Sundari talked to them about it before they ate it, asking them to take a piece and smell it, describe its appearance and think about what it might be like...this was a follow up from the story that Sundari read the children last week.....very sweet but the second piece was very bitter.	guava	Nepalese fruit	Nepalese identity	identity	Nepalese	fruit	multimodal
12056-12058	The children took it in turns to read the words and then to read the lines of the text. Sundari did lots of revision of this, getting them to do it over and over in different ways and then to practice reading together to help each other	read together	repeat over and over	literacy skills pedagogy	literacy	skills	repetition	read together

Table 8 Themes and subthemes

Themes are categorised in the Excel table into the main theme and three levels of subthemes, from broad to specific. These subthemes are developed from the initial candidate themes and codes and are deliberately specific in order to not lose important detail in my analysis, for example line 1553-1555 is given the theme 'identity'. Subtheme 1 clarifies this as 'Nepalese'; subtheme 2 further clarifies that the lesson involved the 'alphabet chart' and subtheme 3 clarifies that the focus of the Nepalese identity theme is 'religion'. This data extract could have been coded under literacy, skills, and pedagogy, simply because it took place within a lesson which was focused on teaching sounds to the children. However, because of the way in which the teacher spoke in the lesson and her behaviour with the children, this extract was classified under identity. Similar close connections between language learning, culture and heritage have been identified by Kenner *et al.* (2007a) and Creese *et al.* (2007).

A further example, lines 5402-5403 are given the theme 'literacy'; subtheme 1 'skills'; subtheme 2 'translanguaging' and subtheme 3 'written'. The activity focuses on literacy skills with an emphasis on the use of translanguaging not only in the verbal teaching and learning but also in the written part. This subtheme would direct me to look back in the photos for that date as well as any students' books for other supporting data.

Tables 9 and 10 list the literacy and identity themes and their relationships to subtheme 1. A full list of themes and subthemes can be read in appendix 10.

Theme	Subtheme 1
Literacy	learner
	learning
	pedagogy
	practice
	resources
	skills
	translanguaging

Theme	Subtheme 1
Identity	family life
	learner
	multilingual learner
	Nepalese
	teacher
	translanguaging
	UK child

Table 9 Themes and subthemes 1, Literacy

Table 10 Themes and subthemes 1, Identity

3.9.6 Analysis of MS audio data

I made the decision not to listen to all the audio recordings from the MS as I had over 222 hours of recordings (table 11).

MS audio data	Files	Size GB	Length
MS pilot	5	0.49	06:05:55
MS data collection period	71	19.00	216:18:25
TOTAL	76	19.49	222:24:20

Table 11 MS audio data

Furthermore, because the majority of recordings took place in classrooms, it was often difficult to identify what participants were saying above the noise of the other children (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019). However, I did not discard this data set as I knew I had important data which helped to answer the research questions. I therefore used my analysis from the research diary, the data count, and the dates and file names in the computer to select and re-listen to potentially 'interesting' data in the audio files. I made notes and transcripts where necessary.

3.9.7 Analysis of NCS audio data

My final stage of data analysis was to re-listen to all my audio data from the NCS. I had over 94 hours of recordings (table 12).

NCS audio data	Files	Size GB	Length
NCS pilot	3	0.17	02:11:02
NCS data collection period	47	7.99	91:59:22
TOTAL	50	8.16	94:10:24

Table 12 NCS audio data

During data collection, I had explored different software that would offer accurate and consistent playback of the audio files. Time indexes on ‘VLC media player’ (VideoLAN), ‘Real Player’ (RealNetworks, 1995-2020) and ‘Windows Media Player’ (Microsoft) all proved inconsistent and unreliable when attempting to repeatedly listen to a specific section of audio. I consulted a professional who suggested using ‘Audacity’ (Audacity Team, 2015). Audacity converts the compressed mp3 data into its own internal format, which enables accurate and consistent time indexes when playing recordings. Audacity allowed ‘the speed of the recording to be altered [which was] a helpful feature when trying to work through a difficult section of talk’ (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.207).

During data collection, I had transcribed some of this data to word documents on the computer. However, for every hour of audio data, I typically spent forty hours transcribing. Hammersley and Atkinson estimate the ratio as ‘at least five to one’ and ‘if the talk is multi-party, if there is background noise...then it will take a great deal longer’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019, p.162). Transcription was extremely time consuming due to the requirement to frequently change from Nepali Devanagari to English keyboards due to the frequency of translanguaging.

I considered hiring someone to assist with the transcription, as Copland had for her interviews (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.100), however I was aware of the importance

of listening to the audio myself and of the fact that transcription as a process is part of the analysis (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.100). Kearney talks about how as he engaged in the transcription process, he was able to hear the voices in his head echo 'with all the richness of their individual tone and timbre...[and that] in the process [he] became sensitive to delicate nuances of meaning' (Kearney, 2005, p.154).

O'Neill (2016) explains how he relied upon a translation assistant to transcribe interviews during his data collection in Nepal. Although these transcriptions remain a concrete record of his interviews with participants, as his own ability with the language has grown over the years, he has come to 'recognize the imperfect glosses and interpretations they contained' (O'Neill, 2016, p.16). He comments that,

occasionally I dig out the original recordings to hear them in Nepali. Listening to them often reveals how translations committed to paper are often inadequate.

(O'Neill, 2016, p.16)

Therefore, I decided to make hand-written 'listening notes' of the audio data. These are written in two large notebooks. These notes consist of time indexes, transcribed extracts of audio data, commentary, and codes. Due to Nepali not being my first language, the transcription process involved many listenings. I regularly checked words and sentence structures with dictionaries and Nepali language tutor books. On occasion, I also talked to Sundari about words she was using in class, to make sure I had the correct meaning and spellings. The more I listened to audio recordings, the clearer the data became.

My listening notes also record notes about and extracts from the ethnographic interviews with the teachers Sundari and Shanti and the semi-structured interview with Sundari towards the end of term.

Once completed, these listening notes were re-read and coded by hand in the same way as the research diary, with the purpose of bringing clarity and organisation to the

data. The hand-written codes relate to the broad themes of literacy and identity. Although these listening notes did not undergo the same level of analysis as the research diary, in that they were not written up in an Excel table with candidate themes, themes and subthemes, they remain a key part of the data set and are easily identified by date for further analysis as required in response to themes from the research diary.

The handwritten transcripts in the listening notes highlight the large extent to which translanguaging was a feature of the NCS. Some of these transcripts were selected for further detailed analysis and discussion in chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis. The following section explains specific transcript conventions related to the transcription of this audio data.

3.10 Transcription conventions

To type and represent an accurate Nepali Devanagari writing system in Word required a custom keyboard driver and a custom font. I used the 'Nepali Unicode Romanized Layout' keyboard driver (Keyboard Layout Creator 1.4, 2009) and the 'Annapurna SIL Nepal' (SIL International, 2021) font.

The transcriptions of the audio data went through various iterations as I made decisions about the usefulness of particular conventions. Decisions about which scripts and, which version of the script for Nepali Devanagari were important. I decided that all transcripts would use Annapurna SIL Nepal, regardless of whether Nepali or English was written. In the body text I have used Arial font. However, Word has automatically used the Mangal font to represent the Nepali Unicode characters. This differs slightly from the Annapurna SIL Nepal font, but aids consistency in formatting and clear differentiation in my layout between transcript and other writing.

Du Bois (2006) sets out four levels of transcription delicacy. I have selected symbols from level 1, level 2, and level 3 which I find helpful and clear, without being over fussy.

I choose to use the level 1 symbols for words, word sequence and speaker change. From level 2 I use '###' for unintelligible words and '#' preceding a word for uncertain words. From level 3, I use a '.' (full stop) to represent terminative intonation, a ',' (comma) for continuative intonation, and a '?' (question mark) when a question is asked (Du Bois, 2006, p.A.2b).

To these symbols, I add an exclamation mark, '!', when something is exclaimed. Translations are written in angle brackets e.g., '<word>'. Transliteration of words, where helpful for the reader, are written with speech marks in angle brackets e.g., '<"transliterated word">'. Stage directions, where helpful for the reader, are given in round brackets e.g., '(directions)'. Where two or more speakers overlap, an open square bracket, '[', is used. Reading of text is shown by 'underlining' in the transcript.

When Romanised Nepali is used, I have simplified the conventions of Wagley and Rauniyar (2012), as shown in table 13.

क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ng
च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ng
ट Ta	ठ Tha	ड Da	ढ Dha	ण ana
त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma
य ya	र ra	ल la	व wa	श sha
ष Sa	स sa	ह ha		
क्ष ksha	त्र tra	ज्ञ gya		

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अँ	अः
a	aa	i	ii	u	uu	e	ai	o	au	am	aha

Table 13 Nepali Devanagari script with Romanised Nepali

3.11 Selecting data for the analysis chapters

Having completed the data count and data analysis, I am able to draw on these documents to guide my selection of data for discussion in the two analysis chapters. Because I have a large data set, it is not possible to discuss all the data in the two analysis chapters, however I seek to discuss data where possible that is representative of the wider data set. Although this is not necessarily important in a linguistic ethnographic study; where there are several examples of similar practice, I can have confidence that these practices are regularly used in the setting.

My main site of study, with the nine participants has been the NCS. I draw on data from this site to answer both research questions across chapters 4 and 5. Data from the MS and children's homes add to the discussion about literacy practices and ethnic and learner identity discourses in chapter 5.

3.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the way in which the methodological precepts of linguistic ethnography guided the study of literacy and identity in Nepalese children in the UK. The chapter chronologises the researcher's work from initial entry in the field, to data collection and data analysis. Ethical considerations are explored and potential limitations of linguistic ethnography are acknowledged.

CHAPTER 4: LITERACY PRACTICES IN THE NEPALESE COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

4.1 Introduction

This analysis chapter focuses on data collected in the Nepalese complementary school (NCS). The discussion considers the different ways in which literacy teaching and learning took place in the two classes (beginner and intermediate), in particular focusing on initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequences; choral reading, choral repetition and chanting; multimodal techniques, translanguaging and transliteration.

The chapter begins with a short vignette, describing class activity on one particular Saturday morning. Although each week was unique, there are features of the literacy practices in this session that set the scene for the later discussion.

The beginner and intermediate groups were in the same room today, each group sitting around their own table.

Beginner group (Teacher is Shanti; Ameer, Nisha, and Nirmala (twins) are students. Nisha and Nirmala's mother has also come)

The children in the beginner group were looking at story books at the start of the lesson. Shanti asked where Ameer's homework was. He said he'd done half of it 'माइले halfगारेको छु'। <'I have done half'>. She was cross that he hadn't brought it. She told him to finish it at home and bring it next time. He has three weeks to do it in total.

Shanti decided to continue reading the books with the children and she called Ameer to come and sit between the twins. The girls were looking at a Nepali / English bilingual book called 'Baby Bear'.

They told Shanti they couldn't read the Nepali but they could only read the English. So, Shanti asked them to take it in turns to read the English part out loud with Ameer too and then she talked about the words and pictures with them and what the words were in Nepali. Once they understood this, she then read the whole section in Nepali to the children.

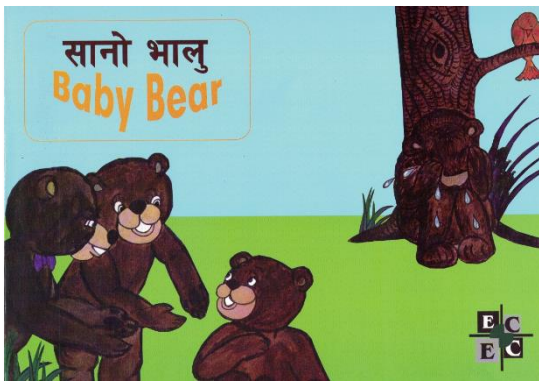


Figure 4 Baby Bear book cover

She gave lots of expression for the story and some actions too to illustrate the meaning, e.g. a hand on their shoulder whilst she said 'मसँग बस', meaning 'stay with me'; 'what is dark in Nepali?' She pointed to the dark colour on one girl's blouse and said 'अध्यारो छ' <'It is dark'>.

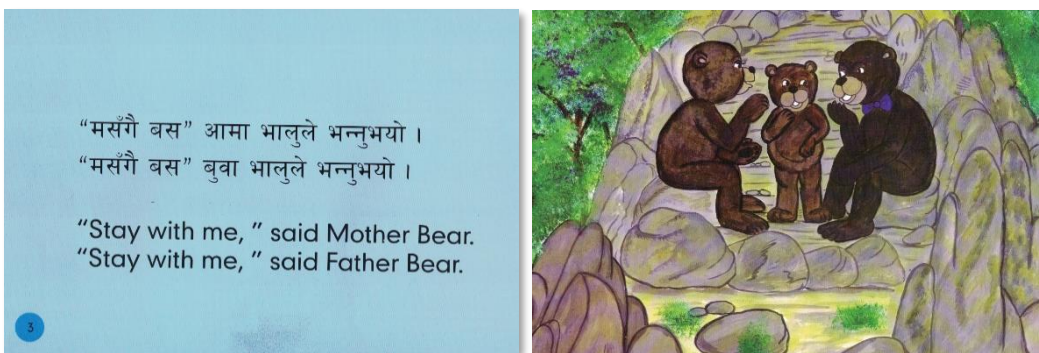


Figure 5 Baby Bear book 'Stay with me'

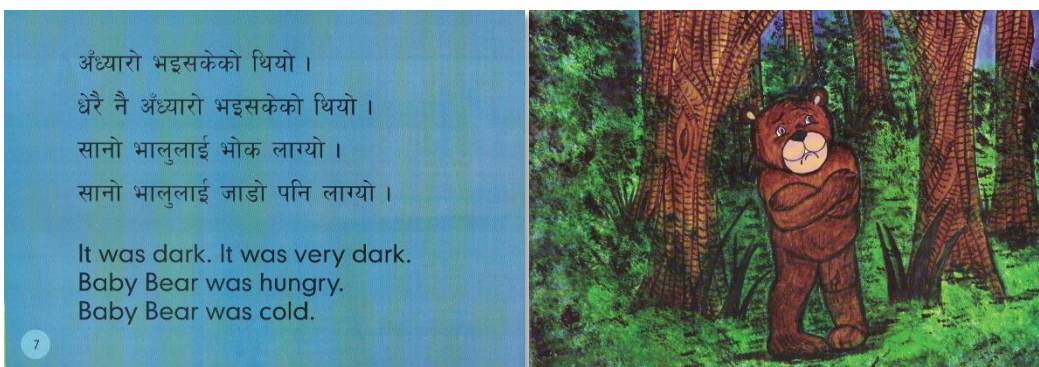


Figure 6 Baby Bear book 'It was dark'

The girls then worked on their homework for a while with their mother and Shanti kept reading to Ameer. I think he really enjoyed the time with her and when she asked him the meanings of words he always tried to answer e.g. 'what is 'मोटे'?'<'fat'> Ameer answered 'fat', with a little laugh as he gave the answer!

Intermediate group (Teacher is Sundari; Madhu, Pratibha, Sanjana, Maya and Sanju are students)

The intermediate group were also looking at books at the start of class. However, Sanjana and Pratibha chose to play on their phones instead. They did not seem very motivated to learn. Sanju and Maya were back today, having missed a few weeks. Maya asked me what the class had been doing whilst they had been away and I explained that they made some cards for Dashain and they had done some other work too but that they hadn't missed very much. They explained to me and then to Sundari that Maya was busy revising for her grammar school test. Sundari asked how that had gone and Maya said she wasn't sure as they hadn't got the results yet.

The previous week, Madhu had been the only student in this group and had worked on family name vocabulary with Sundari. Sundari had told her that she would have to teach this work to the other children when they were back. Both Sundari and Madhu remembered this and Sundari began the teaching time by putting two headings on the board in English, masculine and feminine. Madhu proceeded to write the words one by one underneath the headings. After she wrote each word, she read it out loud and then the other children repeated it. After a while Sundari asked the other children to volunteer to come and write a word, e.g. what is the masculine equivalent of दाई? <'older brother'>.

Sanju and Maya were both keen to write the words, but Sundari wanted Pratibha and Sanjana to also take part so encouraged them to come out to the board. Children took turns to write the sounds for the words. I have a photograph of this board. (See below)

(Research diary, 18th October 2014)

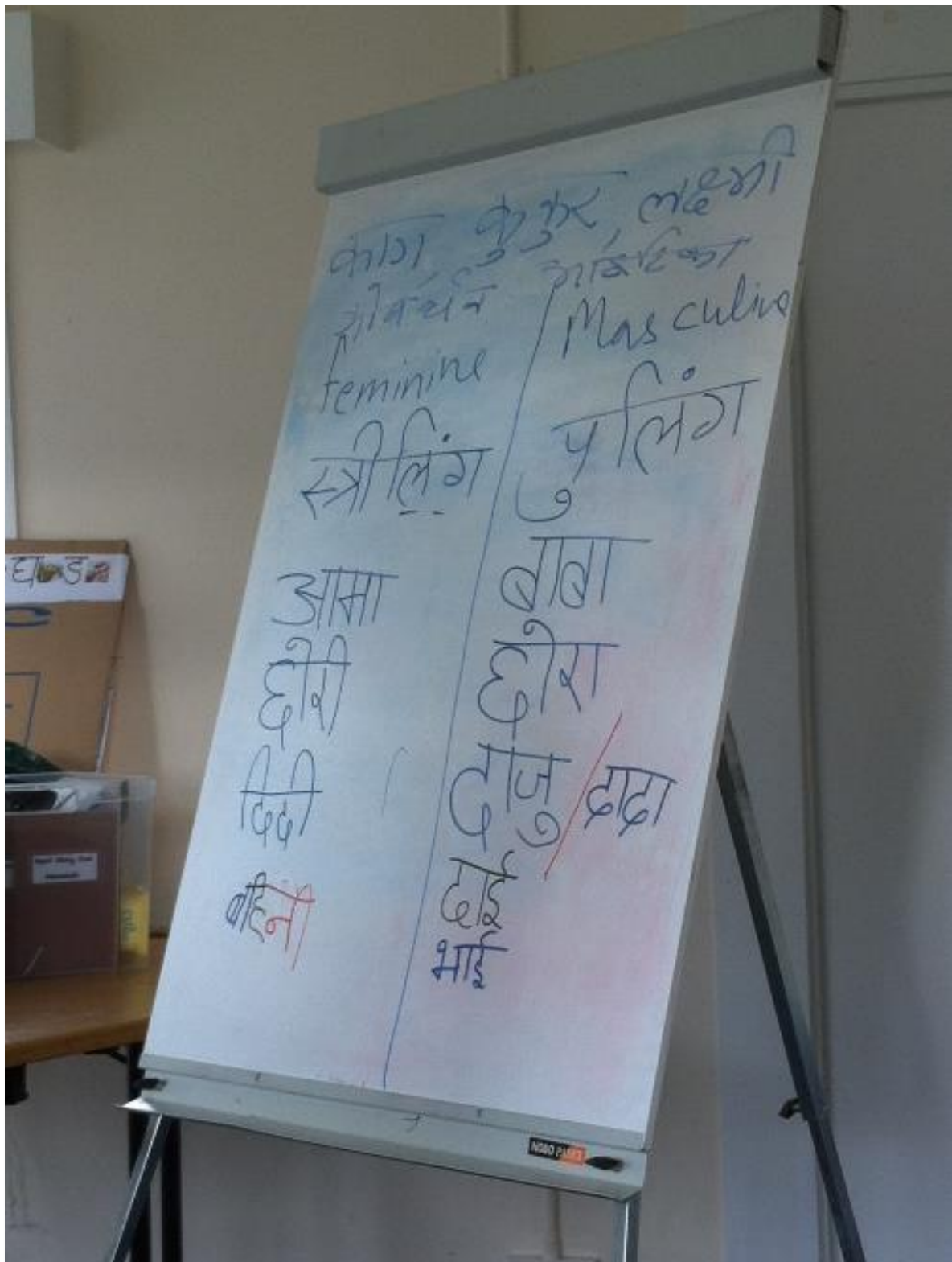


Figure 7 Feminine and masculine, 18th October 2014

The above vignette is illustrative of the kinds of literacy practices that I observed in the NCS. The children are sitting around two tables. There are bilingual and Nepali story books for them to access at the start of the lesson whilst they wait for others to arrive. There is a whiteboard in the classroom that is often used by Sundari, the teacher of the intermediate group. Some children are motivated to engage with the activities and others less so. Once everyone has arrived, the teachers make decisions about how they will continue their lessons. Shanti's decision to continue the reading activity illustrates the way that teachers were flexible in their planning of activities. The baby bear book was one that the children had read before, and the girls had possibly chosen it because of its familiarity. However, when Shanti realised that the children were struggling to read the Nepali, she scaffolded her approach, by allowing the children to first read the English and then the Nepali with her. Her approach was multimodal as she pointed to words and illustrated them with actions. Shanti also used typical IRF sequences to check understanding.

The inconsistency with which Shanti managed the fact that none of the children in her group had completed their writing homework, (appearing cross with Ameer, but allowing Nisha and Nirmala to finish their homework in class) is possibly a further illustration of the flexible approach to teaching and learning that I observed. However, it could also be related to the fact that the girls' mother is there, or that Shanti did not have another activity planned for the children to do. Ameer's translanguaged response was highlighted by the Nepali script in the text.

By contrast, Sundari takes a more formal approach to her lesson, immediately directing the children's attention to words on the whiteboard. Madhu is temporarily put in the position of teacher and rises to this occasion by using the teaching sequence that Sundari typically uses; write the word, say the word, get the other children to respond with choral repetition. As the activity progresses, Sundari invites other children to come

and write the words on the board and it can be seen by the use of different pens on the whiteboard that different children took turns to construct the words through phoneme-grapheme correspondence.

The following sections discuss literacy practices observed in the NCS. 4.2 considers the use of typical IRF sequences and related features of classroom discourse. Section 4.3 explores the place of choral repetition, choral reading, and chanting. The concept of multimodality relates to a number of these traditional techniques, and this is explored in section 4.4. Section 4.5 considers how the teachers and children are able to draw on their linguistic repertoires through translanguaging. Section 4.6 extends the concept of translanguaging in the data to explore its relationship to transliteration. The chapter closes with conclusions in a chapter summary.

4.2 IRF sequences and related features

The above vignette of the intermediate group discussed how Madhu had been learning Nepali family relation words the previous week and how Sundari had planned to continue this lesson. Although the familial words are written on the whiteboard in Nepali, Sundari's original headings of 'feminine' and 'masculine' were in English. The following extract highlights the use of IRF sequences to elicit step by step phoneme / grapheme responses from the group to learn the translation for 'feminine'.

1. Sundari: feminineलाई, feminineलाई हामि यस्तो लेखेको, आधी स्, अनी यो के हो? <feminine, feminine we write like this, half "sa", and what is this?> (writing the next sound on the board त्र <"tra">)
2. Pratibha: त्र <"tra">
3. Sundari: आधी स् सित के जोर्दिएकोथ्यो? <what has been joined to the half "sa"?>
4. Pratibha: त्र <"tra">
5. Sundari: त्र, अनी त्यसपछि हामिले यो गरेको? यो के हो? <"tra", and after that what did we do? What is this?>
6. Children: ### <unclear>
7. Sundari: यो के हो? <what is this?>

8. Sanju: ईकार <“iikar”>
9. Sundari: आगादि बाट लगाउने कि पाचादि बाट लगाउने? <is it placed in front or is it placed behind?>
10. Sanju: दिर्ग <“dirga” (long “ii” placed behind the consonant)
11. Sundari: स्त्री, अनि यसपछी? के लेखछ? त्यसपछी ल अनि ल लाई के हो? <“strii”, and after this? What is written? After that is “la” and what is with “la?”>
12. Child: इ <“i”>
13. Sundari: ल लाई इ, लि अनि ग, स्त्रीलिंग, <“la” with “i”, “li” and “ga”, “striilinga”> अनि त्याहा बाट dot on the top, के हो यो <and from there dot on the top, what is this?>
14. Pratibha: स्त्री <“strii”>
15. Others: स्त्री लिंग <“strii” “linga”>
16. Sundari: स्त्रीलिंग, स्त्रीलिंग <“striilinga, striilinga”> (emphasising the pronunciation) is feminine, feminine ल अनि <okay and> (writing on the board पुलिंग <“puling”>) masculine चाहि? <as for masculine>?

(Transcript 3.1, 18th October 2014)

The structure of the transcript shows the way in which the discourse alternates between Sundari and the students. Turn 1 initiates the IRF sequence with a statement and a question. In turn 2, Pratibha responds with the correct answer. This is not immediately acknowledged by Sundari, who asks the question again (turn 4) and Pratibha is able to answer correctly again. Perhaps Sundari had not heard her the first time, or perhaps she was waiting to see if someone else would offer an answer. Either way, this time, the answer is acknowledged and followed by another question. The discourse continues this pattern, with Sundari requesting clarification at times in the answers the children provide (e.g. turn 9). In turns 14 and 15, several children attempt to read the completed word. Sundari employs the repair technique in turn 16, repeating both the pronunciation of स्त्रीलिंग <“striilinga”> and the English translation, feminine, to ensure the children have learnt the correct pronunciation and meaning of the word.

The task is focused on learning the Nepali Devanagari script, and therefore the majority of this section is spoken in Nepali. The children have not been asked to write anything

in their books. The teacher has taken the lead with the writing and her focus centres on guiding the children in the phoneme-grapheme correspondence for reading.

This extract highlights the focus that the teacher has brought on orthography. It is important that the children understand the process of building up a word. By turn 16, Sundari is able to use the Nepali स्त्रीलिंग “striilinga” before the English ‘feminine’. There is an assumption that learning has taken place and that now the children know the new word, Sundari can continue with using the Nepali version. Turn 13’s ‘dot on the top’ appears to be added as a throw away phrase. Although Sundari does not explain it at this stage, it is important that the children see the word written correctly and that their own written records are correct. Naturally, there is a hope that the children will remember the correct orthographic representation, but this is juxtaposed against the reality that the children often need to refer back to their books in subsequent lessons (see transcript 4.2).

In the next extract, Sundari has invited Madhu to come out to the whiteboard and take on the role of teacher. Using a typical IRF sequence in turns 17-20, Sundari guides Madhu to start writing the lists of feminine and masculine words.

17. Sundari: First word कुन चाहि Madhu? <as for the first word which is it Madhu?>
18. Madhu: आमा <mother> (Madhu writes आमा <mother>)
19. Sundari: okay, त्यसपछि? <after that>
20. Madhu: बाबा <father> (Madhu writes बाबा <father>)
21. Sundari: first स्त्रीलिंग word कुन चाहि? कुन चाहि, first स्त्रीलिंग word? <as for the first “striiling” word, which is it? as for the first “striiling” word, which is it?> (Sundari is asking the other children in the group to read the word आमा <mother> that Madhu has written)...(children are slow to respond)
22. Sundari: के भन्छ? आमालाई भन्छ कि Mummy? <what do you say? Do you say “Aama” or Mummy?>

23. (Children answer with the words that they use, predominance of ‘Mummy’ and Sundari says ‘that’s why’ implying that’s why they did not read the word आमा <“Aama” mother> that she was written on the board)
24. Sundari: ल लेख <okay, please write>

(Transcript 3.2, 18th October 2014)

In turn 21, Sundari is observed trying to elicit a response from the children. She wants them to read आमा <mother>, however, they are slow to respond and so in turn 22, Sundari asks the children a different question, about which words they use to refer to their mother. This turn can be seen as Sundari’s attempt to rescue a stalling activity by contextualizing the task in the children’s own lives and experiences. The children’s answers of predominantly ‘Mummy’ elicit a ‘that’s why’ (turn 23) response from Sundari, implying that she realises the Nepali word आमा<mother> is possibly less familiar to the children than the English word ‘Mummy’. Children’s faces have been saved, and so has that of the teacher (Goffman, 1967). The activity of writing both in their exercise books and on the whiteboard occupies the remainder of the class lesson.

Children were given time at the table to write some familial words under the appropriate column. In Maya’s exercise book (fig.8) are written the headings स्त्रीलिंग “striilinga” and पुल्लिंग “pulinga”. These are translated into English. She has then written the words आमा <mother> and बाबा <father>. These have been copied from the board. She has then written काकी <paternal aunt> and काका <paternal uncle>. These have been ticked by Sundari. The following two words, माइजु <maternal aunt> and मामा <maternal uncle> have not been ticked because the lesson at that point turned to a group focus on working together at the whiteboard.

स्त्रीलिंग Feminine	पुर्लिंग Masculine
आमा	बाबा
काकी ✓	काका ✓
माइजु माइ	मामा

Figure 8 Extract from Maya's exercise book, 18th October 2014

The following extracts further illustrate the IRF sequences that regularly took place in the NCS. Although the teacher is taking the lead in the lesson, she has again invited one of the children to come out to the whiteboard to demonstrate her learning to the others in the group. Although Pratibha is able to respond in part to Sundari's questioning, Sundari obviously has a particular way in which she wants the children to explain and continually pushes for more explanation. The lesson subject is about vowels in Nepali Devanagari script.

Unlike the consonants, vowels in Nepali Devanagari script change depending on their position in a word. The following extracts illustrate some of the difficulties the children had in understanding and remembering the vowel rules and terminology.

1. Sundari: ल last time, हमिले के गरेथ्यो? <okay, last time, what did we do?>
2. Children: अ आ इ <“a”, “aa”, “i”>
3. Sundari: I think I need to go through this one with you okay. को ले सुरु गर्छ? <who can start?>
4. Pratibha: me!
5. Sundari: Okay, come here (to the whiteboard) so, मैले के भनेकोथिएँ? अ आ को बारेमा? के हो त्यो? <what did I say? What about “a”, “aa”? what is that?> (Sundari writes अ आ on the whiteboard)
6. Pratibha: आ <“aa”>
7. Sundari: त्यस्लाई explain गरेर <explaining about that>
8. Pratibha: (pointing to the written vowels on the whiteboard) अ आ <“a”, “aa”>
9. Sundari: कसरी आ भयो? मैले explainगरेथिएँ <how did it become “aa”? I explained>
10. Pratibha: आकार लगाएर <by putting an “aakaar”>

(Transcript 4.1, 13th December 2014)

The interaction begins with Sundari questioning the group about what they had done the previous week. The children answer in turn 2 by reciting the first three vowels that they had been learning the week before. In turn 3, Sundari feeds back to the children that she needs to go through this with them. It is clear that she wants to do some revision and so she asks who can start. Pratibha offers to start (turn 4) and follows Sundari’s instruction in turn 5 to come out to the board. Sundari asks a question and then clarifies her question with two other questions, ‘मैले के भनेकोथिएँ? अ आ को बारेमा? के हो त्यो? <what did I say? What about “a”, “aa”? what is that?>’ (turn 5). In turn 6, Pratibha only gives part of the answer. It is apparent from Sundari’s comment in turn 7, that she wants Pratibha to give more explanation about the vowels. Pratibha immediately starts to point to the written vowels on the whiteboard and say their sounds (turn 8). However, in turn 9, Sundari attempts to elicit more detail from Pratibha by asking her to describe how the sound became ‘aa’, and how had Sundari explained it

the previous week. Sundari is using a 'display question' (Walsh, 2011, p.12) as she wants to check understanding and 'guide the learners towards a particular response' (Walsh, 2011, p.12). Pratibha appears to understand some of what Sundari is expecting, and answers in turn 10 with 'आकार लगाएर <by putting an "aakaar">'. The following transcript continues the interaction.

11. Sundari: आकार लगाएर, मैले कसरी explain गरेथिएँ? <by putting an "aakaar", how did I explain it?> I hope I don't have to do this again क ख लेखेको, क ख ज्ञ सम्म कहाँ छ? <you have written "ka" "kha", where is your "ka" "kha" to "gya?">
12. Sanju: shall we look for it?
13. Sundari: yeah! Every letter नेपालिको every letter क देखि ज्ञ सम्मको सबै letterमा यो अ sound छ at the end, भनेको थिएँ कि थ्यइन? <every letter, every Nepali letter from "ka" to "gya", in every letter this "a" sound comes at the end, I said or I didn't say?>
14. Madhu: थिएँ <I said (echoing the affirmative without changing the verb ending)>
15. Sundari: so actually क् is चोटो क् भन्छ होइन? <"k" is a short "k", is it not?> अनि if you add अ at the end, it becomes क, obvious क sound yeah <and if you add "a" at the end, it becomes "ka", obvious "ka" sound yeah>. Otherwise, if you remove this अ <"a"> from here its क्, ख्, ग् <"k", "kh", "g">yeah. Every letter has this अ <"a"> sound. Remember that.
16. Sundari: now अब <from now> so don't think, don't think this अ <"a"> sound is not there, yeah, its there. Every letter has got this sound. Now अब यो आ बनाउदाखेर गा का खा गा घा डा यहां जान्छ, होइन, <from now, while you make "gaa", "kaa", "khaa", "gaa", "ghaa", "ngaa", go here, do you not> so त्यसकोलागी के छैनछ? <so for that, what is needed?>
17. Children: आकार <"aakaara">
18. Sundari: आकार <"aakaara"> this is not आकार <"aakaara">, this is आ <"aa">on its own. Yeah. In order to make this क <"ka"> into का, का <"kaa", kaa"> sound, we have to add this one । This is मात्र। आकार is मात्र, okay. <this is "maatra". "aakaar" is "maatra", okay> Madhu, त्यसे गरेर, त्यसे गरेर <doing like this, doing like this> don't get confused with the vowels and the vowel sounds. This is what I am trying to tell you. So don't get confused तिमिहरू त्यस्तै confuse भाइरहेको छ। <you are continuing to be confused>.

(Transcript 4.2, 13th December 2014)

Sundari's frustration is evident in turn 11 with the 'I hope I don't have to do this again' and in the moment appears to decide to take the children back to the earliest literacy lessons in which they just had to learn the consonants. The children understand that the comment 'क ख लेखेको, क ख ज सम्म कहाँ छ? <you have written "ka" "kha", where is your "ka" "kha" to "gya"?>' (turn 11) means that they will be referring back to earlier work in their exercise books. Sanju follows this by asking if they should 'look for it?' (turn 12) and Sundari says that they should (turn 13). Sundari then begins to explain the structure of each individual consonant and how every letter has an inherent 'a' sound (turn 13), unless the 'a' is removed, making the letter a half letter (turn 15). It can be seen that Sundari is the main speaker in this extract and has control of the interaction. Madhu's one word response (turn 14) simply affirms what Sundari had said. There is no space for further interaction at this stage as Sundari is providing focused teaching that they must listen to and 'remember' (turn 15). This focused teaching continues through turns 16-18, with a short response from the children in turn 17. Sundari clearly wants the children to use specific vocabulary when explaining the vowel rules, but even by the end of the extract, they are still 'confused' (turn 18).

4.2.1 Section summary

The above transcripts have demonstrated the use of IRF patterns in classroom interaction. In transcript 3.1, Sundari focused on teaching the sounds of a Nepali word, step by step. Each step was affirmed either implicitly with a direct move to question what the next sound was, or explicitly by repeating the answer the children gave, before moving on. The repair technique was used by Sundari at the end of the extract to emphasise correct pronunciation and translation.

In transcript 3.2, Sundari again utilised a typical IRF sequence. However, she also invited Madhu to take some of the lead in the teaching. Madhu was observed writing the words that she learnt the previous week and taking part in reading with the other

children. By asking the children about their own words for 'mother', with the implied suggestion that maybe they could not read the word आमा <"aama" mother> on the board because it was unfamiliar to them, Sundari was able to empower the children as active agents in their own learning. This experience shifted power away from the teacher, towards the children, yet at the same time maintained her position as the one in authority. The lesson had meaning for the teacher and the children and the identities of teacher and children were affirmed as Nepalese individuals with a variety of experiences of using different familial terms. Importantly, they were affirmed as active agents in their own learning.

Maya's exercise book extract, recorded at the end of the whole class session, was typical of the way in which Sundari often asked the children to write up in their books what they had been learning about. These written records were frequently referred back to in subsequent lessons, as can be seen in transcript 4.2.

Transcripts 4.1 and 4.2 illustrated the way in which classroom talk is controlled and often dominated by the teacher. The interaction typically followed an IRF sequence, but Sundari's attempts to explain the rules about vowels became increasingly dominated by explanation, particularly from turn 11, with little opportunity for the children to respond. The children were instructed to 'remember' (turn 15) and despite her best efforts to explain the vowel terminology, Sundari sensed that they were 'continuing to be confused' (turn 18).

The second section of the chapter considers the use of choral reading, choral repetition and chanting.

4.3 Choral reading, choral repetition, and chanting

Asking the children to write the alphabet in their books was a typical classroom literacy activity. In the following extracts, the children in the beginner group are observed practising their alphabet.

1. Shanti: क ख ग...क्ष त्र ज्ञ सम्म लेखोस <write from “ka” “kha” “ga” to “ksha” “tra” “gya” please>
2. Shanti: लेख्नोस त, नहेरिकन लेख्नोस त <please write then, without looking, please write then>

(Transcript 5.1, 11th October 2014)

The children begin to do this while Shanti collects the alphabet chart from the other room. By doing this, she is choosing to support the children’s learning with the written text. She had hoped that they could remember all the letters, but seeing that the children are getting stuck, Shanti points (fig.9) to the letters, reading them out a line at a time. The children repeat together, after her. Shanti seeks to engage the children in learning the order, pronunciation, and written form of the Nepali consonants through choral repetition.

3. Shanti: (pointing to the letters on the alphabet chart) क ख ग घ ङ <“ka”, “kha”, “ga”, “gha”, “nga”>
4. Nisha and Nirmala: क ख ग घ ङ <“ka”, “kha”, “ga”, “gha”, “nga”>
5. Shanti: च छ ज झ ञ <“cha”, “chha”, “ja”, “jha”, “nya”>
6. Nisha and Nirmala: च छ ज झ ञ <“cha”, “chha”, “ja”, “jha”, “nya”>

(Transcript 5.2, 11th October 2014)

Although Shanti has selected the alphabet chart with pictures, she does not in this instance refer to the pictures in her teaching, instead choosing to simply focus on the sounds on the chart. Shanti reads the sounds line by line in a ‘sing-song’ style and the girls repeat after her. This sing-song style was rhythmic in nature, with a very simple melody, based on a pentatonic scale, typically starting on or around middle C (fig.10).



Figure 10 Melody for the alphabet (consonants)

The same melody was used to sing each line of the consonant alphabet chart.

Several academics have discussed the value of rhythm and music for literacy learning, and for cognitive and social development (Cremin and Maybin, 2013; Elliott and Olliff, 2008; Long, 2014; Piasta, 2014). Piasta’s discussion about the way that song supports the learning of the letters in order (Piasta, 2014), means that the first letters of the alphabet are typically more well known than the later letters because the teacher starts at the beginning and may not always sing the whole song. Following this, Piasta commented that the alphabet is sometimes referred to as the ‘ABC’ (Piasta, 2014,

p.205), or in this case the 'क ख ग <"ka", "kha", "ga">. This practice was regularly observed in the NCS (see transcript 4.2).

This kind of literacy practice was echoed by Graham, Harris and Fink (2000) who suggested in their guide for teachers that

"just as an athlete needs to warm-up before a game, we are going to warm-up by saying letters before writing." The first Alphabet Warm-up task involves the student singing the alphabet song, while pointing to the corresponding letters on an alphabet chart

(Graham, Harris and Fink, 2000, p.89).

In the same way, the children were supported in their learning by the way Shanti pointed to each sound. Once the children could do this with the letters in order, Graham, Harris and Fink (2000) suggest that the children point to the letter that the teacher is saying, and thirdly, that they say the name of the letter as the teacher points to it on the chart. A similar scaffolded approach was observed in these sessions with the beginner group.

In the following section, Shanti makes the decision to add illustrations for some of the sounds.

7. Shanti: (speaking slowly with Nisha and Nirmala together) च छ ज झ ञ... च, च छ ज झ ञ <"cha" "chha" "ja" "jha" "nya"... "cha", "cha" "chha" "ja" "jha" "nya"> (reminds the children again what the first letter of the line is and then goes on to read the title of a story book that starts with a च about a little boy on a swing) च च हुई, च च हुई <"cha" "cha" "huii", "cha" "cha" "huii">
8. Other adult: च च हुई. पिंड खेलेको <"cha" "cha" "huii". He played on the swing>
9. Nisha: हुई! <"huii">
10. Nirmala: हुई! <"huii">
11. Shanti: च छ ज जरायो ज, जग ज <"cha" "chha" "ja" "ja" for deer, "ja" for jug>
12. Shanti: (to Ameer) यहां तिर, यहां नजानेको? तपाईंले पढेको? <here, can you not do this part? Have you read it?>

13. Ameer: यो बिसे <I forgot this>
14. Shanti: (pointing at the alphabet chart for all the children) चर बजे च, छात छ (...)
<“cha” for four o’clock, “chha” for umbrella>

(Transcript 5.3, 11th October 2014)

Shanti employs choral reading, rather than choral repetition at the start of turn 7. Although the rhythm of Shanti’s chanting is somewhat broken by her addition of illustrations, the choice of the first illustration is rhythmic in nature, taken from the title of a story book about a little boy on a swing. The backwards and forwards action of the swing is illustrated by ‘च च हुई <“cha” “cha” “huii”>’ (turn 7). Choral repetition soon features again as the girls copy Shanti and the other adult’s use of the word ‘हुई! <“huii”>’ (turns 9 and 10). In turns 11 and 14, Shanti illustrates the letter sounds with familiar words and some pictures from the chart, the hand-drawn jug, ज <“ja”, “ja” for jug>, and the printed umbrella, छ <“chha”, “chha” for umbrella> (see fig.9).

In turn 12, Shanti’s attention turns to Ameer and the fact that he seems to be stuck with his work. She asks him if he can not do that part and he replies that he has forgotten. Shanti follows up by getting all the children to focus on the alphabet chart.

Shanti’s multimodal approach is valuable for helping the children follow the task and this in turn promotes learning as evidenced in their responses.

4.3.1 Section summary

Choral reading, choral repetition and chanting were observed in the above extracts. Within these, multimodal practices of singing, pointing to letters on the chart, and bringing in books were observed as techniques used by Shanti to support the literacy learning of the children in her beginner group.

Unlike the lessons observed with Sundari (section 4.2), these lesson extracts remained entirely in Nepali. This possibly points to different ideologies about language use within the NCS and is something that I will look at in subsequent sections.

The following section continues the discussion on multimodality and suggests some tensions in the teachers' own ideas about the best teaching practices for this particular group and setting. The subject is vowels.

4.4 Multimodal techniques

Before Shanti began teaching the vowels to her beginner group, she checked the procedure with Sundari. I understand this checking as a social literacy practice. Shanti refers to Sundari's seniority as the more experienced teacher, but at the same time wants to make sure that the way she is teaching the skills is the correct way.

Shanti also checked with Sundari exactly how she was to teach the vowels. She wrote on the cardboard board in pencil to remind herself what the sound was.

Both girls write very nicely and have made progress. Shanti told them that they would be able to move up to the next group soon if they learn their vowels well.

(Research diary, 15th November 2014, lines 3289-3293)

As a reminder to herself, she wrote the terms for the vowel characters under each one on the chart (fig.11).

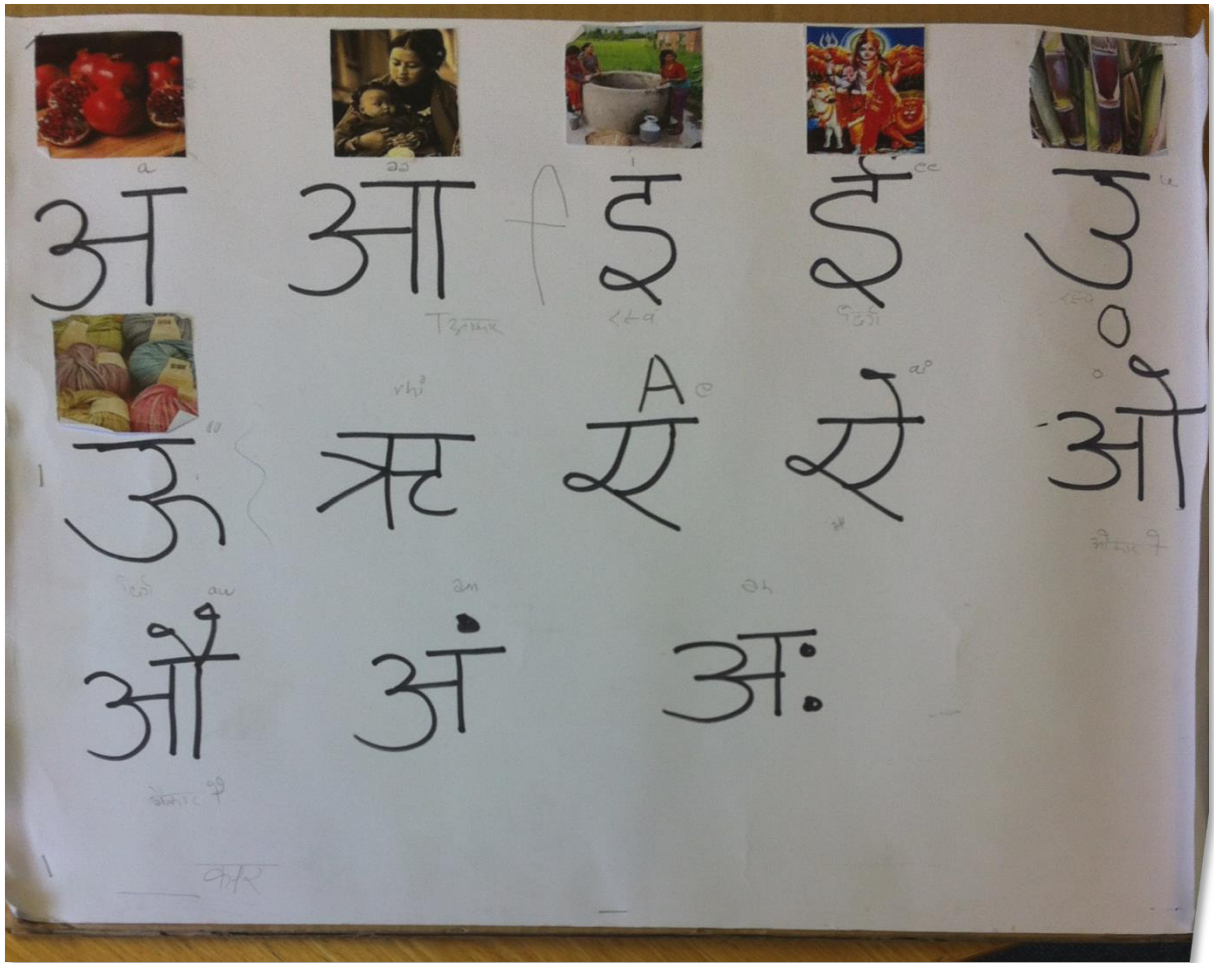


Figure 11 Alphabet chart (vowels)

This means that when Shanti first began teaching the vowels to her group, she followed a procedure suggested by Sundari. Shanti leads the children in choral repetition with the vowel terminology and sounds.

1. Shanti: अ, अ लाइ आकार आ <“a”, “a” with “aakaar” is “aa”> so what is this one?
2. Children: आकार, अ लाइ आकार आ <“a” with “aakaar” is “aa”>
3. Shanti: रस्व इ, दिर्ग ई, रस्व उ, दिर्ग ऊ, ऋ, ए, ऐ <“raswa i”, “dirga ii”, “raswa u”, “dirga uu”, “ri”, “e”, “ee”>
4. Children: ऐ <“ee”>

5. Shanti: अ लाइ ओकार ओ <“a” with “okaar” is “o”>
6. Children: अ लाइ ओकार ओ <“a” with “okaar” is “o”>
7. Shanti: अ लाइ औकार औ, अं, अ: <“a” with “aukaar” is “au”>

(Transcript 6, 15th November 2014)

Despite repeating this procedure over and over with the group, on one occasion (14th March 2015), I made a note about Shanti's concern at how the group still seemed to be confused about vowels. Shanti turns again to Sundari for help and guidance.

After some time the children still weren't seeming to get this and so Shanti called Sundari over to ask for ideas of what she could do to teach them. She pointed out specifically that the children confuse ए and अ. (...) then Sundari noticed the pictures on the board and suggested that Shanti use the pictures to help the children.

(Research diary, 14th March 2015, lines 8408-8414)

Transcript 7 records this discourse.

1. Shanti: दिदी, एक चोटि सोधनुपरम, आनोस है। अब, यो सिकाउने ###, उनिहरु यो sound लेख्न आउदैन के, sound चाहिँ, अ, अ भन्दाखेरि ए लेख्छ। ए भन्दाखेरि अ लेख्छ! अ लाइ आकार आ, रस्व इ, दिर्ग ई जस्तै गर्छु, यो writing के। <older sister, let me ask you one time, please come okay. From now, this teaching ###, they can not write the sound, as for the sound, “a”, when I say “a” they write “e”. When I say “e” they write “a”! “a” with “aakar aa”, “raswa i”, “dirga ii”, like this I do, this writing what>
2. Sundari: उ गरेर, यो word <doing this, this word>
3. Shanti: मैले यो sound चाहिँ सिकाउन्छु होइन? <as for this sound, I teach it, do I not?>
4. Sundari: umm
5. Shanti: अनि सिकाएपछि उनिहरुr ### <and after teaching, they ###>
6. Sundari: जस्तो अब, अनार अ भन्ने <like from now, say “anaar a” pomegranate “a”>
7. Shanti: अँ, त्यस्तै सिकाउनुपर्छ, आज देखि <okay, I must teach like that, from today>
8. Sundari: जस्तो ए भन्यो भन्ने, ए जस्तो, एक सिता word है, <like, if you say “e”, like “e”, one word with it, okay> जस्तो अनार अ, आमा आ <like pomegranate “a”, mother “aa”>
9. Shanti: अनि यहाँ देखि? <and from here? (indicating the part on the chart that has no pictures)>
10. Sundari: यहाँ picture छैन रे <here there are no pictures>

11. Shanti: छैन, ऊ को ऊँट, अनि ओ,औ जस्तो गर्ने <no, camel for “u”, doing the same way for “o” and “au”>
12. Sundari: ए, ए को एक, म हर्छु है औ को <“e”, one for “e”, I will look for “au” okay>
13. Shanti: अब म आज देखि sound सिकाउन्छु <now from today I will teach the sound>
14. Sundari: त्यस्पछि, picture सिता यसरि देखाएर, उ सिता उलु, त्यस्तै गर्नोस है, अनि अथवा यो ग-यो भन्ने they cannot associate, अनि ए बाट एक भन्ने, यो picture सिता उ गर्नोस त <after that, with showing the picture, owl for “u” please do like that, okay, and or if you do this they cannot associate, and saying one starts with “e”, with this picture, they will please do it then> or unless Sarah
15. Researcher: no

(Transcript 7, 14th March 2015)

Turn 1 summarises Shanti’s difficulties. Despite teaching the children the way she has demonstrated, with <“a” with “aakar aa”, “raswa i”, “dirga ii”, like this I do> (turn 1), the children are still confused and appear to persist in writing incorrectly. Sundari listens carefully to Shanti’s concerns, offering only minimal verbal responses in turns 2 and 4. In turn 6, Sundari suggests that Shanti also say the name of something that starts with the sound, as in the pictures on the chart. This is immediately picked up in turn 7 by Shanti who agrees that she ‘must teach like that, from today’. In turns 8 to 14, Shanti and Sundari begin to develop ideas of pictures that match with the other vowels that do not have pictures; Shanti offering the Nepali word ऊँट <camel> for the ऊ <“uu”> sound (turn 11) and Sundari offering एक <“ek” one> for ए <“e”> sound (turns 12 and 14) and उलु <“ulu” owl> for उ <“u”> sound (turn 14). Sundari retains her role as senior teacher, appearing to emphasise this position when she says she will look for a suitable picture for the “au” sound (turn 12). Whether out of respect for my presence at the table, or because of a genuine feeling that I as a teacher may have other ideas that could be shared, Sundari briefly turns to ask whether I have any other thoughts. I am quick to answer that I do not.

Shanti continues the lesson with the addition of pictures and words to support the teaching and learning. Below is an extract of this session, starting from ए <“e”> on the

vowel chart (fig.11). The children in the group are Nisha, Nirmala, and Ameer. Where more than one child answers, the transcript records 'children'. If it is unclear who is answering, the transcript records 'child'.

1. Shanti: अनि ए, एक ए, नेपालि एक, एक ए <and “e”, one “e”, Nepali one, one “e” (number one)>
2. Children: एक ए <“one e”>
3. Shanti: अनि ए लाइ ऐकार ऐ <and “e” with “eekaar ee”>
4. Ameer: एक मिनेट < “ek” one minute>
5. Shanti: ऐन ऐ, अनि यो, अ लाइ ओकार ओ, ओखल ओ, ओखल ओ <mirror “ee”, “a” with “okaar o”, mortar “o”, mortar “o”>
6. Children: अ लाइ ओकार ओ, ओखल ओ <“a” with “okaar o”, mortar “o”, mortar “o”>
7. Shanti: अनि अ लाइ औकार औ, औषधि औ <and “a” with “aukaar” medicine “au”, medicine “au”>
8. Children: औषधि औ, medicine <medicine “au”>
9. Shanti: ah! औषधि औ, plus next time औ लेख्दा, ओ जान्दैन के, औ, औषधि औ, औषधि औ लेख्यो भने, यो हो है। औजार औ, औजार के हो? <yes! medicine “au”, when you are writing “au” you must not write “o”, “au”, medicine “au”, if you are writing medicine “au”, it is this okay. Tools “au”, what is tools?>
10. Child: tools (answers quickly)
11. Shanti: tools होइन, अनि अं <tools is it not, and “am”>
12. Child: अं, अम्बा <“am” guava>
13. Shanti: अम्बा, last week you tried, अम्बा <guava, last week you tried guava>
14. Children: अम्बा <guava>
15. Shanti: last week खाएको यो, अम्बा। अ: अ: यसरी भन्ने है, अर्को पालो हामि यसरी भन्छौ है, सजिलो हुन्छ <last week you ate this, guava. “ah” “ah” (makes the sound) it is said like this okay, next time we will say like this okay, it will be easy>

(Transcript 8, 14th March 2015)

Shanti appears excited by this additional method and confidently applies it to her work with the group. Shanti illustrates each sound with a word; 'एक ए <one “e”>' (turns 1-2), 'ऐन ऐ <mirror “ee”>' (turns 3 & 5), 'ओखल ओ <mortar “o”>' (turns 5-6), 'औषधि औ <medicine “au”>' (turns 7-9), 'औजार औ < tools “au”>' (turns 9-10), 'अम्बा अं <guava “am”>' (turns 12-15). Shanti checks that the children know the meanings of certain

words in English and Nepali (turns 9 and 11) and tells the group that she will continue this way the following week (turn 15). The usefulness of pictures for learning sounds was highlighted in the literature (Cahill, Holt and Cassidy, 2008) who found that when pictures were added, children learnt eight additional letters compared to the number they would learn in a similar time without pictures.

Although typical of many transcripts from NCS, where the teacher uses choral repetition, this extract also highlights the way in which Shanti sought to make the literacy learning relevant socially to her group. For example, following the children's suggestion of 'guava' as a word starting with the "am" sound (turn 12), she reminded them that they had tried this the week before (turns 13 and 15). Furthermore, the children are reminded of their earlier phoneme-grapheme confusion in the instruction to make sure they write the correct sound (turn 9).

I recall my disappointment when the following week, Shanti reverted to her traditional method, without referring to the pictures. My research diary for the following week records notes about a chat I had with Shanti in which I had expressed how difficult I find Nepali pronunciation.

Shanti also expressed how difficult it is for the children to remember the different vowels and how she doesn't know exactly how to say them. She has to keep asking Sundari for help.

(Research diary, 21st March 2015, lines 8934-8936)

These comments point to a lack of confidence in Shanti's own abilities as a teacher in this setting, and her positioning of Sundari as the more experienced teacher.

4.4.1 Section summary

In transcript 6, Shanti is observed using choral repetition to teach the terminology and sounds of the vowels, however the data showed that the children continued getting confused and in transcript 7, Shanti asks Sundari's advice about how best to teach the

children the vowels. She is concerned that they keep making mistakes and the teachers discuss how to adjust the vowel teaching to incorporate pictures and words, thus making it more multimodal. The teacher discussion referred to the vowel chart with Shanti commenting that there were not pictures for all the sounds. However, both teachers were able to quickly suggest other illustrations that could be taught and Sundari said she would look for an illustration for 'औ <"au">' (turn 12), thus maintaining her position as the more experienced teacher. In transcript 8, Shanti was observed putting this in to practice. The lesson appeared to flow well, and Shanti positively commented to the children that she would continue the teaching in this way the following week.

Alongside the implementation of a more multimodal approach, this section has highlighted different positions of power within the classroom. Shanti referred to Sundari as the more senior teacher for advice on two occasions, firstly before she began the vowel teaching and then again later in the term when the procedure did not appear to be working very well. Sundari did not challenge this positioning, but rather appeared to accept it in her comment about looking up an illustration for the "au" sound (turn 12, transcript 8). Shanti's comments about not always knowing 'exactly how to say' the vowels and having to 'keep asking Sundari for help', (research diary, 21st March 2015), point towards a lack of confidence in her abilities to perform the role of teacher, and therefore in her own possible feeling of illegitimacy as a teacher in this setting (Creese, Blackledge and Takhi, 2014). Despite this possibility, Shanti's legitimacy as a teacher is not questioned by the children or by Sundari.

4.5 Linguistic repertoires and translanguaging

In the following section the focus of discussion turns to the way in which the teachers and children 'select features *strategically*' from their '*one linguistic repertoire*' to 'communicate effectively' (García, 2012, p.1, emphasis in original) through

translanguaging. In the following transcripts, the children are observed applying their consonant and vowel knowledge in a word building activity.

Sundari begins the lesson by giving out two consonant flash cards to each of the three children in the group and puts the vowel character flash cards in the middle of the table. The children are to read the consonant sounds from the flash cards they have been given and choose a vowel sound to go with their card to make a word. Sundari begins by asking the children to find the page in their exercise books where they have written the 'मात्र <"maatra" vowel symbol(s)>' (turn 1).

1. Sundari: ल मात्रा लेखेको page open गर। okay, fine, दुईता card छ, दुई जनालाई, त्यसमा <open the page where you have written the "maatraa". Okay, fine, here are two cards to two people, on there>
2. Sundari: हो र, okay, ल <really, okay, okay> (her instructions have been interrupted by an aside to another child)
3. Sundari: तिमीहरू सीधा भएको यो मात्र लगाएर जुनैपनी मात्र लगेर, दुईता सब्द बनाऊ, बनाम, दुईता सब्द बनाऊ <you put a vowel symbol straight with what you have, put any vowel symbol, make two words, we will make, make two words>
4. Child: ### yeah!
5. Sundari: umm, that letter has to be in the beginning and then, you can make your own word (children are looking at their cards)
6. Sanjana: a word that starts with that
7. Sundari: yeah, any, any. Use that मात्रा । <vowel symbol> It can be an English word. I don't mind.

(Transcript 9.1, 13th December 2014)

Turn 1 puts in place a crucial scaffold for the activity that unfolds: we observe certain key words spoken in English (page open, card) and other key directional words spoken in Nepali (मात्रा "maatraa" <vowel symbol>, दुईता <two>, दुई <two>). In turn 1 there does not appear to be a dominance of one language over the other. However, the continuation of the instruction (turn 3) is given in Nepali. As the children begin the activity by looking at the two cards they have been given, Sundari supports them by giving further clarification of the instruction in English (turn 5 and 7). The children will

be free to answer in whichever language they prefer (turn 7). The emphasis on using the exercise books as reference tools and on reading the sounds that they have been given reiterates the context of the activity as literate. Translanguaging gives the children permission to answer in whichever language they prefer.

Turn 2's aside comment by the teacher to another child appears to set the direction of the activity as one which will be relatively informal. The children will be free to interrupt the teacher as they work on building words with the consonant and vowel cards. This relaxed feel to the activity is further evidenced by the instructions 'make two words, we will make, make two words' (turn 3). The children have responsibility to make the words, but they are told that they will also be making them together with the teacher. This co-production of the task by the teacher and the children is something the children are familiar with. The instruction also reminds the children that they will have support from the teacher to complete the task.

Classroom interaction continues with Madhu, Sundari and Shanti (the teacher of the beginner group, and also Madhu's mother).

8. Madhu: would this be okay, this word? (showing छ card to the teacher) (Sundari looks and Madhu laughs)
9. Sundari: no, no! (laughs) it has to be (laughs) it has to be (laughs) it has to be at least two letter word!
10. Shanti: ग, ग बाट सब्द के हो? <"ga", what word starts with "ga"?>
11. Sundari: ग <"ga">, girl, use that
12. Shanti: ट बाट टाउको <head starts from "Ta">
13. Sundari: भयो? <are you ready?> Ready, okay but you have to tell me, दुई <two> minute, एक <one> minute
14. Child: what! (expressing anxiety that they don't have long)
15. Shanti: one thing! एउटा word बनाऊ <make one word>
16. Sundari: को लाई, को लाई कप आयो? <who, who got "cup"?> Lucky one, सजिलो <easy>

17. Shanti: ग बाट गीता, गीता, केताको नाम, गीता <Giitaa starts with “ga”, Giitaa, a girl’s name, Giitaa> (spoken to another child in the group, whose card shows a “ga” sound)
18. Madhu: Mum, no!
19. Shanti: अनि गीता <and Giitaa>

(Transcript 9.2, 13th December 2014)

Madhu takes a dominant position in the class with her suggestion of a one letter word (turn 8). The letter she chooses, छ “chha”, is also the word for number six and for the third person singular ending of the verb ‘to be’. Madhu’s question (turn 8) can be viewed as translanguaged because she is verbally using English to ask her question whilst at the same time emphasising the written letter छ on the flash card with her use of the word ‘this’... ‘this word’ as she holds the flash card up. Sundari’s laughter response (turn 9), and use of English to encourage Madhu to make a two-letter word supports the relaxed atmosphere of the translanguaging space (García and Li, 2014; Li, 2011).

The response from Shanti (Madhu’s mother) in turn 10 contrasts with Sundari’s response in turn 9. Shanti is quick to leave the child she is working with in the beginner group and come to see what her daughter’s (intermediate) group is doing. My first analysis of this situation would be that Shanti is embarrassed at her daughter’s behaviour. It may appear from Shanti’s perspective that Madhu has disobeyed the instruction given by Sundari and therefore is messing about. Shanti does not immediately interact with her daughter, instead she addresses one of the other three girls in the group to ask what begins with the letter “ga”. Sundari is quick to support Shanti (turn 11) and suggests that the child use the word ‘girl’, an English word. Shanti moves on quickly, with the suggestion of the word ‘head’ in Nepali, starting with “Ta” (turn 12). It is possible that Shanti is preferring to take a Nepali language stand in contrast to Sundari who appears comfortable with the children selecting whichever language they prefer to complete the task (turn 7); the children are in a Nepali literacy

class, and have been given Nepali sounds to use to create words, so maybe they should be creating Nepali words. It is clear that both teachers want a positive outcome from the lesson and are willing to work together to support the children in their learning. Shanti's involvement in the lesson was not planned, but the way in which Sundari accepts Shanti's input reflects Sundari's willingness to be flexible in this setting. Shanti's input could also be related to the fact that it is her daughter who is dominating the discussion and Shanti is possibly afraid of losing face if Madhu does not complete the task appropriately (Goffman, 1967).

With both teachers working together, the pace of the lesson has increased and Sundari is keen to move on to checking the children's responses, asking them if they are 'ready' and giving them 'two minute' and then only 'one minute' (turn 13). The children are responsible for their learning, and when they are ready, they will report back to the teacher. At this stage in the lesson, the focus is primarily on oral production of words based on the reading of Nepali script.

Shanti responds to the anxiety expressed, 'what!' (turn 14), by simplifying the task (turn 15) from two words, to one word (one thing! एउटा word बनाऊ <make one word>). This is the only time Shanti translanguages in this extract. It is possible that her use of translanguaging in turn 15 is in response to the struggles she observes the three children having. Shanti has possibly perceived the L2 (Nepali) as the weaker language and her strategic choice to translanguage may help the 'students develop oral communication and literacy in their weaker language' (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.282). Her daughter has so far only managed to suggest a one letter word and there is no spoken evidence of the other two girls having suggested anything.

Sundari continues (turn 16) with the idea of task simplification by asking who got the letters that make the word "cup", pointing out that this person is 'lucky' because that would be an 'easy' word to make. "Cup" is a word used in both languages, so it could

be interpreted here as further permission to use translanguaging in the classroom space. From a monolingual perspective, the teacher's word suggestion is ambiguous because we cannot be sure which language she means, but from a translanguaging perspective, the suggestion allows for the children and teacher to draw on linguistic repertoire to complete the given task. It is possible that the teacher chose certain words simply because they were perceived as easier for the children to work out. At the same time, the teacher's suggestions of different words could be a way of ensuring she does not lose face with a possibly failing task. These interventions are meant to motivate the children towards task completion.

In turn 17 and 19, Shanti returns to the letter "ga" and suggests the girl's name "Giitaa" (turn 17 and 19). It is possible that Shanti's suggestion of the Nepali name "Giitaa" (turn 17) is a rejection of Sundari's 'girl' (turn 11). It is clear that the teachers are taking quite dominating positions in suggesting words and that this could be quite distracting for some children. In fact, Madhu's comment (turn 18) seems to be along the lines of, 'stop distracting me Mum'.

In the next section, Madhu returns to the "chha" sound that she originally suggested as a word in its own right.

20. Madhu: (to Sundari) can I just leave it like that?
21. Sundari: no! (laughing)
22. Madhu: yeah but it's simple!
23. Shanti: Madhu
24. Madhu: छ, <"chha">
25. Shanti: छ बाट के आउन्छ? <what comes from "chha"?>
26. Madhu: छ <"chha">
27. Shanti: छ बाट के आउन्छ? <what comes from "chha"?>
28. Sundari: [no, at least, it has to have at least two letters
29. Shanti: [छ बाट छाता <umbrella starts from "chha"> (lines 28 and 29 spoken simultaneously)

30. Sundari: two letter word
 31. Shanti: छाता लेख। कति सजिलो छ। <write “chhaataa” umbrella. It is so easy>

(Transcript 9.3, 13th December 2014)

Madhu persists in promoting “chha” as a valid contribution (turns 20, 22, 24 and 26). Sundari sees the humorous side of what Madhu is suggesting and joins in with a laugh (turn 21). However, she does not allow Madhu to get away with such a simple word suggestion. Shanti’s increasing frustration is observed in turns 23, 25 and 27. Both teachers speak together (turns 28 and 29), Sundari encouraging her to think of a word that has two letters and Shanti suggesting that she should make ‘umbrella’. Shanti’s suggestion is an acceptance of but extension of her daughter Madhu’s word “chha”. It is observed that Shanti speaks Nepali and Sundari speaks English, and this pattern of language choice continues between 27 and 31. The literacy activity of the classroom has focused on oral literacy up to turn 30 as the teachers try to encourage the children to think of and produce words orally that start with the sounds they have been given.

However, even though I understand this as Sundari’s goal for the lesson, Shanti takes a familiar progression towards creating a written record (turn 31) (छाता लेख। कति सजिलो छ। <write “chhaataa” umbrella. It is so easy>). This is not something that is negotiated with Sundari but appears to be unchallenged and mutually accepted as a developmental progression.

In the following transcript, an emphasis on writing is echoed by Sundari (turn 36). The teachers’ attention remains on Madhu and a change is observed in her attitude. The joke has run its course and Madhu chooses to comply with her mother’s request to write the word ‘umbrella’.

32. Madhu: छ, अ <“chha”, “a”>
 33. Shanti: छा ता <“chhaa” “taa”>
 34. Madhu: wait, okay
 35. Shanti: छा ता <“chhaa” “taa”>

36. Sundari: भयो? छितो लेख छितो लेख अनि मलाई भन्ने <finished? Write quickly write quickly and tell me>
37. Shanti: अनि, ल लेख <and, okay please write>
38. Sanjana: Oh I've done it wrong
39. Shanti: ल तिमिले गीता लेख, गीता <okay, please write Giitaa, Giitaa>
40. Sundari: गीता, umm, जुन इकार चलाएपनि हुन्छ, <Giitaa, umm, whichever "ikar" you use is okay> er, er, we'll correct it ... later
41. Madhu: त कि थ? <"ta" or "tha">
42. Shanti: त, त त छाता पनि थाल्ने? <"ta", "ta" "ta" are you also beginning umbrella?>
43. Madhu: first one or second one? (Madhu is asking which of the त/ थ <"ta"/ "tha"> sounds it is for "chhaataa" umbrella)
44. Sundari: त <"ta">
45. Prabha: त <"ta"> (child from advanced group giving the answer – she has come to ask the teacher a question)
46. Madhu: छा ता <"chhaa" "taa">
47. Shanti: अँ त <yes "ta">
48. Madhu: क ख ग घ ङ, च छ ज झ ञ, ट ठ ड ढ ण, त <"ka" "kha" "ga" "gha" "ng", "cha" "chha" "ja" "jha" "nya", "Ta" "Tha" "Da" "Dha" "ana", "ta"> (recites quietly in sing-song style)

(Transcript 9.4, 13th December 2014)

Madhu's struggle with the task is evident. She works hard to identify the correct grapheme for the phoneme she is hearing and saying but this identification search is quite frustrating for her. She tries unsuccessfully to get someone to tell her the position of the letter in the alphabet chart, (turn 43). Shanti, (turn 42 and 47), Sundari (turn 44) and Prabha (turn 45) support her letter identification search only by repeating the sound back to her. Madhu perseveres and once she is sure she has identified it, she recites the alphabet quietly, in sing-song style, to retrieve the grapheme for "ta" (line 48). Madhu works from oral to written with the support of both teachers and a child from the advanced group (Prabha). Madhu draws on the literary resources she knows, in this case the sequence of letters in the alphabet chart and can successfully complete the task.

4.5.1 Section summary

This section has considered different literacy practices across four transcripts. The main focus has been the use of translanguaging by Sundari and the children. As observed in section 4.3 of this chapter, Shanti preferred to use Nepali in the majority of her turns. The only time she used English was in turn 15's translanguaged instruction, 'one thing! एउटा word बनाऊ <make one word>'. By contrast, Sundari regularly used translanguaging in her turns to support the teaching and learning. Sundari's instruction, 'yeah, any, any. Use that मात्रा I <vowel symbol> It can be an English word I don't mind' (turn 7), clarifies the task as one in which she will allow any word, Nepali or English. Furthermore, Sundari orientates the children to think more in terms of repertoire, than separate languages as she talks about who was lucky to get the consonants "क" and "प" to make the word 'cup' (turn 16). This word is used in both languages and so it is not necessary to define it as belonging to one particular code, but instead to think of it as part of their repertoire. In both these examples, it appears that Sundari's priority is to help the children understand the immediate task in hand. To do this, Sundari may strategically select features from her repertoire to guide the children. The overall focus on learning Nepali appears to take second place to this. However, Shanti's practice often appears to have the goal of Nepali language learning in mind.

In these extracts, Madhu has dominated the children's talk with her suggested response using just one consonant flash card, 'छ' <"chha">. It was discussed how this is the word for the number six and for the third person singular ending of the verb 'to be', and initially therefore, Sundari understands Madhu's suggestion as quite humorous (turns 9 and 21). However, despite Madhu's persistence, she eventually takes time to work out the letters for 'छाता' <umbrella> (turns 32-48). Her Nepali is limited to the sounds of the word, whilst she uses English to state her point, 'yeah but it's simple' (turn 22), and to interact with the teacher, 'wait, okay' (turn 34) and 'first one

or second one?’ (turn 43). Madhu is free to do this within the translanguaging space of the NCS.

The final section in this chapter seeks to extend the concept of translanguaging, through a connection with transliteration. As observed in section 4.5, participants were able to draw on particular features of their linguistic repertoire to take part in the lesson. The following extracts highlight the value of a repertoire approach within this NCS to support teaching and learning.

4.6 Translanguaging, translation and transliteration

In transcript 9.2 it was posited that Sundari’s suggestion of the word ‘cup’ (turn 16) promoted the use of linguistic repertoire in the task of learning to use Nepali Devanagari sounds and orthography. The following section looks at other instances when linguistic repertoire is used to complete a task in Nepali Devanagari. The term ‘transliteration’ is used to explain these instances and to comment specifically on the act of moving between codes. I understand transliteration as ‘the transformation of a word from a source language into a sequence of similar sounds in the target language’ (Brawer *et al.*, 2010, p.9). This implies that there is a movement from one written form of the word to another written form.

Transliteration is often used to re-write the sounds of a certain script into a script which may be more accessible and understood by the majority audience, as in Brawer et al’s discussion of transliterating words on maps for audiences familiar with different scripts (Brawer *et al.*, 2010). In the case of Al-Azami et al’s study, Bengali was transliterated into Roman script, and this was found to be ‘a bridge to learning for bilingual children’ (Al-Azami et al., 2010: 2). In the data that follows, the teacher’s objective is not to simplify script for a majority audience. Rather, it is to practice the literacy skills of writing in Devanagari script. The starting point is an English word, and the target script is

Devanagari. It is this deliberate deconstruction of language and script boundaries to practice and promote literacy skills for reading and writing that has led me to find the term transliteration helpful.

This first example comes towards the end of a lesson with the intermediate group which had focused on dictation and revision of the vowel sounds in Nepali Devanagari. Although the subject content leading up to this was Nepali, the focus of this activity is the identification and representation of vowel sounds in Devanagari script for the English word 'potato'.

1. Sundari: मेरो, ए sound भेको छ कि छैन? मेरो लेख <“mero” my, is there an “e” sound? Write “mero”> ...फुलमा, <in fruits>, we use it all the time
2. Pratibha: banana, tomato
3. Sundari: banana नेपालिमा के हो? <what is banana in Nepali?>
4. Sanjana: केरा <“kera” banana>
5. Sundari: try to write केरा <“kera”>...tomatoमा ए sound छ कि छैन? <in tomato, is there an “e” sound or not?>
6. Pratibha: no
7. Sanjana: Potato
8. Sundari: if you write potato literally, if you write potato yes there is ए <“e”> sound
9. Pratibha: shall we write it?
10. Sundari: yeah, go on. Write it down, potato
11. Pratibha: नेपालिमा कि? <in Nepali or?>
12. Sundari: no, नेपालिमा आलु भन्ने होईन? <in Nepali “aalu” is said is it not?> Potato, write down potato in ने... <“Ne...”>
13. Pratibha: English
14. Sanjana: so literally like write it like
15. Sundari: literally like po ta to
16. Pratibha: Auntie, Auntie, can Sanjana and I guess on the board?
17. Sundari: okay, potato...girls work it out together

(Transcript 10, 6th December 2014)

The children have been asked to think about words that have an ए sound. The lesson moves from using a Nepali word, <“kera” banana> (turn 3-5), to the English word

'tomato' (turn 5). The Nepali translation for tomato is टमाटर <"TomaaTar">, but Sundari chooses to focus on the sounds in the English word. The focus of the lesson for Sundari is the ए <"e"> sound rather than words in named language categories. When Sanjana suggests 'potato' (turn 7), again Sundari chooses to focus on the sounds in this word. The children question her direction for them to write 'potato literally' (turn 8) as there is some query over the language to be used (turn 11- 15). Sundari answers that they are not to write in Nepali because potato in Nepali is <"aalu">, however, they are to write in 'Ne...' (turn 12). So, they are not to translate potato from the English word to the Nepali word, but they are to write in Nepali. Perhaps if Sundari had said 'Nepali script' or 'using Nepali letters', the task would have been clearer, but the fact that she stops half way through the word ने...<'Ne...>, (turn 12) suggests she may also have been temporarily lost for words as to how to explain the task. Confusion together with clarification comes as Pratibha answers 'English' (turn 13). Pratibha understands that Sundari means for them to use the Devanagari script rather than the translation (turn 13) and this is echoed by Sanjana, with her 'so literally like write it like' (turn 14).

The teaching and learning feels very much like a jointly negotiated journey. The scaffolded approach observed earlier is evident in the move from identifying sounds in केर <"kera" banana> to 'tomato' and then to 'potato'. Understanding what each other is meaning is key to the lesson progressing in the right way. The girls want to please the teacher by doing what she requests, but at the same time, the teacher trusts them to be able to do the task together. Baker and Wright suggest that 'teachers can maximize learning by encouraging children to use both of their languages, for example in collaborative writing [and] task-based conversations' (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.280). When the teacher comes to check their work, the children continue to work collaboratively to identify the correct sounds and write them on the board. Writing on the whiteboard was often an activity used towards the end of a lesson, in a whole group checking type activity and here the children are granted their request to use the

whiteboard for the activity (turn 16-17). The children know the boundaries and practices of this translanguaging space.

Transliteration explains the activity of writing 'potato' in Nepali script. Furthermore, it takes into account the co-constructed journey to the end task, and ensures that the focus is on the teacher, the children, and their knowledge, experience, and skills at this particular stage. The task is specifically tailored for these children. The teacher ensures through this use of transliteration that the learning focus is not the language, but the literacy skills to write a word using Devanagari script. The teacher has concentrated on making the Nepali Devanagari script more accessible to the children by demonstrating that it can be applied to any word. Once the children know this, they are comfortable with the idea and work at it in the same way they would with a Nepali language word.

In the following transcripts, transliteration is observed in another jointly negotiated task with Sundari and the five children in her group.

Transcript 11 focuses on the aim of the activity; sentence writing. Although directed initially by the teacher, Sundari, the children in the group contribute actively to the discussion from early on, and as such the direction of the task is jointly negotiated. Sundari's focus on sentence writing and sentence structure in Nepali, which she contrasts with sentence structure in English, emphasises a desire for developing literacy competency. Her choice to use transliteration as part of this process means that the Nepali Devanagari script becomes more accessible to the children in this group.

1. Sundari: let's start writing sentence, something easy, something you like to do, very easy one, I like...
2. Madhu: pizza, love pizza
3. Sundari: I like...what do you like to eat? Madhu pizza, okay. Pratibhaलाई? <to (Pratibha)?>

4. Pratibha: (...) fruits
5. Sundari: अनि Sanjuलाई के खान मन लाग्छ? <and what do you like to eat Sanju?>
6. Sanju: I like chips
7. Sundari: chips, okay you can write, and Maya?
8. Maya: oranges
9. Children: (together) oranges
10. Sundari: okay, right. Englishमा <in English>, I like pizza, I like chips, I like oranges. Okay नेपालिमा, मलाई I ... मन पर्छ <in Nepali, I (I)... “mana parchha” like>
11. Madhu: मन पर्छ <“mana parchha” like>
12. Sundari: so मन पर्छ के हो? Englishमा? <so what is “mana parchha” like? in English?>
13. Madhu: like
14. Sundari: like, मन पर्छ <“mana parchha”>, like Englishमा <(like) in English>, नेपालिमा चाहि write मन पर्छ at the end <as for in Nepali, write “mana parchha” at the end>. मलाई food मन पर्छ <I food like>
15. Sanju: okay

(Transcript 11.1, 17th January 2015)

In turn 1, Sundari states the aim of the activity; to write a sentence about something they like to do. Madhu responds in turn 2 with the name of a food she likes, 'pizza'. At this moment the lesson direction is open for negotiation, but it is clear by Sundari's responses in turn 3, 'I like...what do you like to eat? Madhu, pizza, okay', that she chooses to accept Madhu's answer of 'pizza' and the direction of the lesson towards writing sentences about what the children like to eat. With Sundari's acceptance of the direction of the lesson, also comes the acceptance that transliteration will be part of this activity. Pratibha's answer 'fruits' (turn 4) in 'English' is not challenged. It is Pratibha's answer to what she likes. Madhu gave an 'English' answer and so Pratibha felt she was also free to do the same.

It is possible that the Nepali language and literacy learning focus of the classroom is being challenged by the use of English by the children, but even if this is the case, Sundari's understanding of the children and their personal histories means that it is

easier for her to accept the children's answers and teach the children from their current position. Sundari's own use of English, peppered through the transcript, reinforces my understanding of this classroom as a translanguaging space. Children's responses continue in English; 'chips' (turns 6 and 7) and 'oranges' (turns 8 and 9), before Sundari then turns to focus on the difference between the English and Nepali sentence structures (turns 10-14).

Even though Sundari modelled Nepali sentence structure in her question (turn 5), Sanju and then Maya, both chose to respond in English. The phrases 'मन लाग्छ' <"mana laagachha"> (turn 5) and 'मन पर्छ' <"mana parchha">, turn 10 onwards are often used interchangeably and in this case, have the same meaning, 'like'.

From turn 10, Sundari is observed scaffolding the teaching and learning. She uses the children's English responses and puts them into English sentences. Once this foundation is in place, she models the Nepali structure. In English, 'like' comes in the middle of the sentence, but in Nepali, 'मन पर्छ' <"mana parchha" like> comes at the end (turns 10 and 14).

Following transcript 11.1, Sundari worked with the children to identify and represent in written form, the sounds in 'मन पर्छ' <"mana parchha" like>. This was a familiar procedure in the NCS and it has been written about similarly in section one of this chapter. The following transcribed part of the lesson picks up the theme of transliteration that is important in order for the children to write about the foods they like. Sanju takes the lead in directing the activity back to the task of writing sentences.

Having learnt how to write 'मन पर्छ' <"mana parchha" like> in Nepali, Sanju is now keen to apply this to her own sentence. Her request, 'so how do you spell chips?' (turn 16) directs the teacher and other students back to the activity of writing sentences about what they like to eat. Sundari (turn 17) appears to appreciate this act of initiative on

Sanju's part and goes on to explain that they need to think if there is a Nepali word for the word they want to use. In other words, if it has a translation, then they are to write that, but if not, then they write the word they have said. Sundari is embracing the children's linguistic repertoire in the process of learning how to write a sentence.

16. Sanju: so how do you spell chips?
17. Sundari: aah! That is very good. So after the word, think about if there is a Nepali word, नेपालि नाम छ? <has a Nepali name?> think about what is that
18. Madhu: oh I know it!
19. Sundari: chips, chips, for example, you can write chips. I'm happy with that. Orange, नेपालिमा के छ? <what is it in Nepali?>
20. Pratibha: केरा <"keraa" banana>
21. Sundari: no, केरा नेपालिमा के भन्छ? <no, "keraa" is the name for what in Nepali?>
22. Madhu and Pratibha: banana
23. Sundari: orangeलाई के भन्छ? <orange is called what?>
24. Madhu: oh I know this, my Dad used to always say it
25. Sanju: is it going to be too obvious?
26. Sundari: नेपालिमा स बट आउन्छ <in Nepali it starts from "sa">
27. Children: (together) स, सुन्तला <"sa", "suntalaa" orange>
28. Sundari: so Sanjuलाई chips लेख, Mayaलाई सुन्तला लेख। यो कस्को? <so Sanju write chips, Maya write "suntalaa" orange. Whose is this?>
29. Madhu: Pratibhaको <Pratibha's>
30. Sundari: you are not writing English, pizza okay pizza, chips, help each other, okay
31. Maya: (commenting out loud, possibly to the teacher or to another child) so we are not actually writing in English, we are writing exactly as it sounds
32. Sundari: help each other okay

(Transcript 11.2, 17th January 2015)

Madhu says she knows what the word is (turn 18) but does not finish telling us. It is possible she cannot remember. Sundari does not pursue Madhu's statement and instead tells Sanju 'chips, chips, for example, you can write chips. I'm happy with that' (turn 19). Sanju is being directed to transliterate the word 'chips' in her work. This instruction to use transliteration is emphasised in turn 28 'so Sanjuलाई chips लेख,

Mayaलाई सुन्तला लेख' <so Sanju write chips, Maya write "suntalaa" orange>' and further clarified in turn 30, 'you are not writing English, pizza okay pizza, chips, help each other, okay'. The activity from the start has been one discussed through translanguaging with a focus on transliteration. Both scripts and orthographies are important and valued. The process of transliterating certain words, such as pizza and chips involves the children thinking about the English orthography and phonemes within specific words. If any of the children were confused about what they had to do, the activity was summarised by Maya in turn 31 'so we are not actually writing in English, we are writing exactly as it sounds'. Maya has understood the task as one of transliteration. She understands that words from different countries, languages and cultures are accepted by the teacher as part of the children's own histories.

Sundari's search for the translation of 'orange' (turns 19 – 27) invites engagement from the children in the group. Madhu shares something of her own history with the group; 'oh I know this, my dad used to always say it' (turn 24), and Sanju is actively engaged, wondering whether the translation is 'going to be too obvious?' (turn 25), perhaps something that she has possibly heard before and forgotten, or something that sounds similar to 'orange'. Sundari's 'so' (turn 28) confirms that the children's answer "suntalaa" in turn 27, is correct.

Where there is a Nepali word for what they want to write, it is important that they use that. However, permission is given to write words that do not originally have Nepalese origins. Sundari is 'happy with that' (turn 19). Furthermore, as observed previously within the NCS classroom, focus is ultimately on learning to read and write the Nepali Devanagari script and so she will only be 'happy' (turn 19) if the children transliterate their 'English' words to Devanagari script.

Children then worked at their table to write the words needed for their sentences. After a short while, Sundari invited the children 'if you need to use the board it is here' (turn

34) and the lesson progressed from independent and paired work at the table to whole class checking where children came out to the whiteboard one by one to write a word whilst being supported and corrected by the teacher and the rest of the group.

On the whiteboard, one can see the sentence 'I like pizza' written in English. The word 'like' is underlined, emphasising the position of the verb in the sentence. There is also an arrow from 'like' to the end of the sentence, directing the children to its position in the Nepali sentence structure. This sentence parallels turn 10, transcript 11.1, where Sundari says 'okay, right. Englishमा <in English>, I like pizza, I like chips, I like oranges. Okay नेपालिमा, मलाई I ... मन पर्छ <in Nepali, I (I)... 'mana parchha' like'>. Directly below the word 'like', the translation मन पर्छ <'mana parchha' like> has been written. This was written as part of the joint activity of identifying the sounds of the phrase and representing them in written Devanagari script. I did not describe this in detail above as the process was similar to those observed in previous lessons. However, it is important to note the phrase's inclusion on the whiteboard as it is required by the children for their sentences.

The activity observed on the whiteboard parallels what is going on in the class discussion. After approximately five minutes of working at their tables, (following turn 32), Sanju asked the teacher if she was correct with her spelling of pizza.

33. Sanju: is that right?
34. Sundari: pizza, help के के लेख्नुपर्छ? <what what do you have to write?> If you, if you need to use the board it is here
35. Sanju: इ ई <"i" "ii"> is it? do an इ ई? <"i" "ii"?>
36. Children: (###) <unclear> Sundari has gone to help an older child and the group talk quietly amongst themselves
37. Sundari: (having returned to the table) pizza, को ले help गर्नसक्छ? <who can (help)?> ...Sanjuको भयो? <(Sanju)'s finished?>
38. Sanju: I didn't

(Transcript 11.3, 17th January 2015)

Sundari asks if anyone can help Sanju (turn 34) and Sanju questions which इ ई <“i” “ii”> sound to use. The group is asked to help again (turn 37) and Sundari checks whether Sanju has finished; she has not (turn 38).

Following this short discussion about the spelling of pizza, Pratibha is asked to come out and write her translation of fruits on the board, फलफुल. This can be seen at the top left-hand side of the whiteboard. Sanju patiently waits while Pratibha takes her turn but is ready to volunteer to try and write pizza when invited to do so.

39. Sundari: now who wants to help, pizza? Sanju, okay pizza, help her
40. Sanju: is it this?
41. Sundari: so let's break this down (underlining the sounds of the English word) there is this one pi z za, pizza “pi” how do you write “pi” okay Sanjuले प लेख्यो। प लाई पि लेख्नुपर्छ। <(Sanju) has written “pa”. To “pa”, you need to write “pi”>
42. Sanju: which इ? <“i?”>
43. Sundari: lets use रस्व <“raswa”> (“raswa i” is the short i sound written ि with a consonant) (Sanju writes)...okay, Sanjuले के लेख्यो? <what has (Sanju) written?>
44. Children: पि <“pi”>
45. Sundari: now it needs these, छिटो भनेको “z” <the “z” that is said quickly>
46. Sanju: is it, is it this?
47. Sundari: you are nearly there, you need to
48. Madhu: oh that! The one I got wrong, I get it now!
49. Sundari: okay, write it this way (speaking quietly to Sanju) यो ज, छिटो भनेको ज <this “ja”, the “ja” that is said quickly> so you need आधि ज् <half “j” (written without the vertical line)>, we need ज <“ja”>
50. Madhu: I did it I think! (commenting excitedly on her own work)
51. Sundari: Pratibha, how to write it! (showing Pratibha that this is how to write the word she needs, pizza)
52. Sanju: पिज्ज <“pijja”> (Sanju pronounces the “pijja” as written)
53. Sundari: well done! That is पिज्ज <“pijja”> okay pizza is done!

(Transcript 11.4, 17th January 2015)

In figure 12, the different phonemes in “pizza” are underlined, emphasising the fact that the child needs to think of corresponding Nepali sounds to write with Devanagari script.

This corresponds with turn 41. In figure 13 the child is in the process of writing “पिज्ज” <“pijja”>. There is no “z” sound in spoken Nepali or Devanagari script and so “ज” <“ja”> is used as the closest equivalent to “z” in ‘pizza’. Sundari has guided Sanju to use the ज <“ja”> sound in her writing (turn 49) and in picture two, observes while Sanju writes.

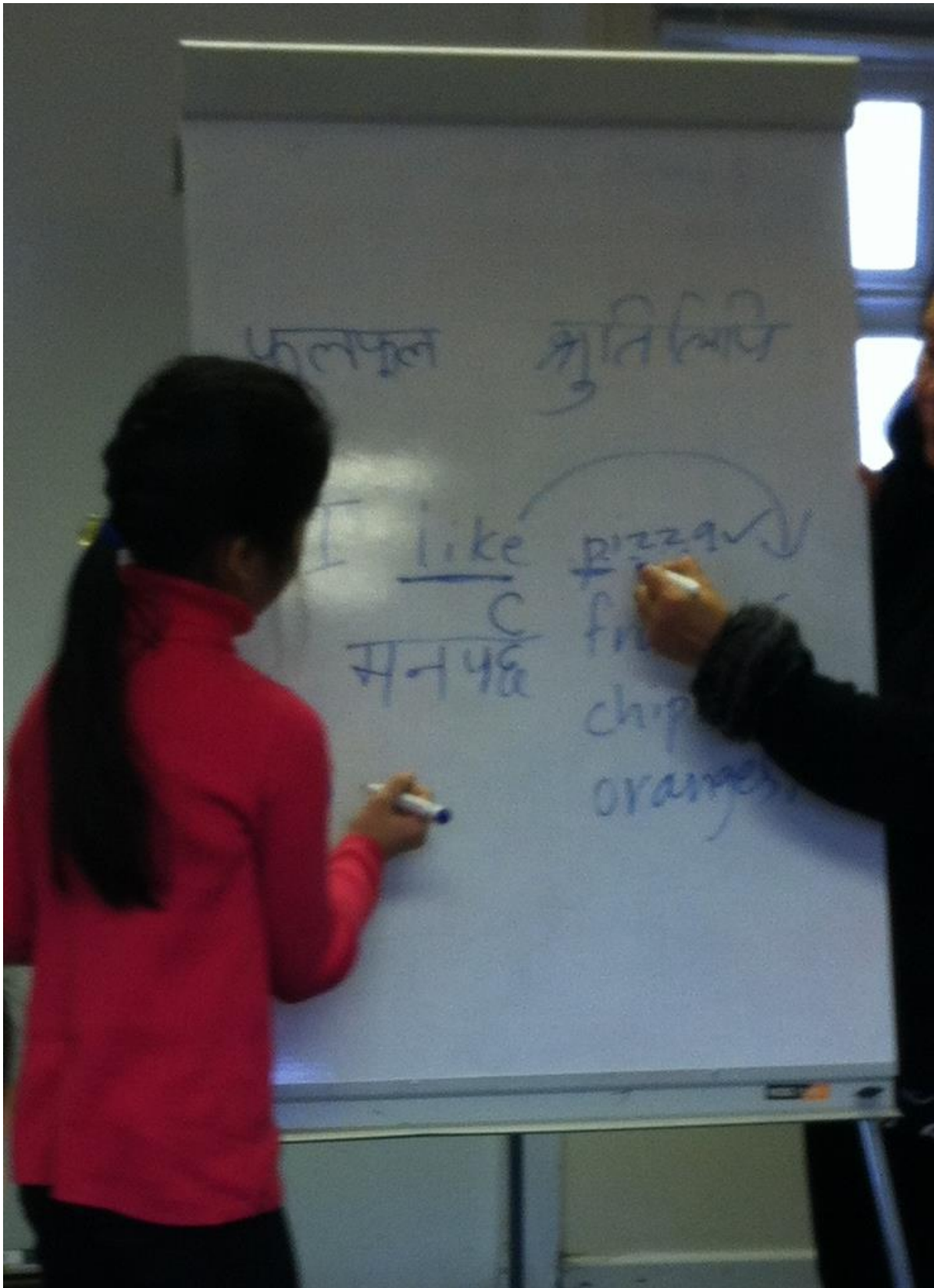


Figure 12 Pizza one, 17th January 2015

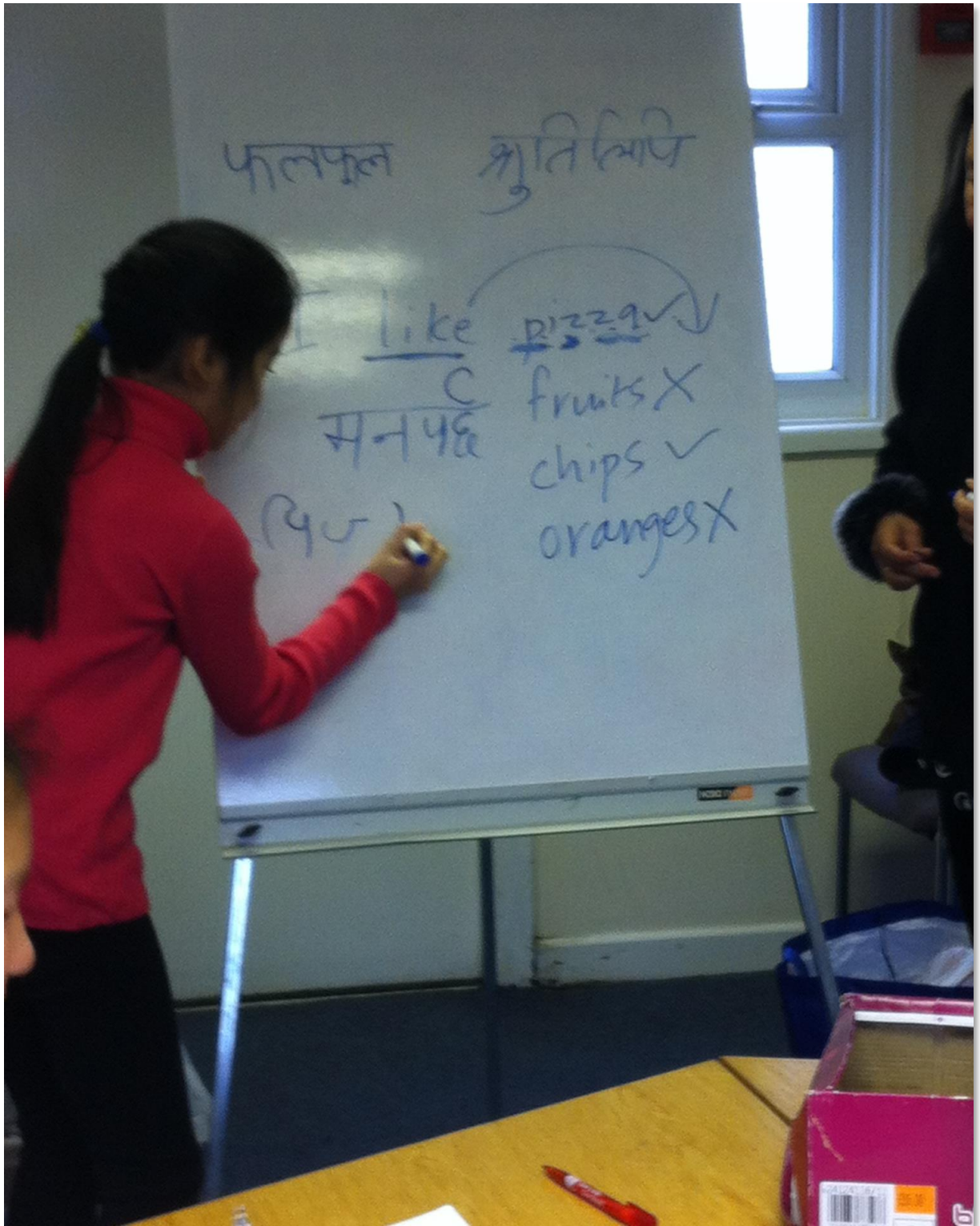


Figure 13 Pizza two, 17th January 2015

4.6.1 Section summary

Section two discussed the use of transliteration in two different lessons in the NCS. Transliteration is seen as embedded within translanguaging, deliberately deconstructing language and script boundaries to practice and promote literacy skills for reading and writing.

In the data discussed, Sundari used transliteration to focus on writing words in Nepali Devanagari script, regardless of the words' original named language categories. Children were encouraged to draw on elements of their linguistic repertoire to complete the task. Both lessons were jointly negotiated with Sundari and the children. This is evidenced in the way Sundari followed the children's lead of the word 'potato' (turn 7, transcript 10) with her comment, 'if you write potato literally, if you write potato yes there is ए <"e"> sound' (turn 8). The remainder of the transcript recorded the group's negotiations about what this breaking down of the language boundaries meant and how Sundari wanted them to complete the task. The children's questioning and search for clarification (turns 9-15) highlight the way in which they wanted to be sure they were doing the task as Sundari wanted them to. Sundari not only allowed them to use any language, but to cross the boundaries between languages through the use of Nepali Devanagari script. It is not surprising that the children wanted to check the teacher's expectations.

In a similar way, the children were asked to transliterate some 'English' words into Nepali Devanagari and translate other words into Nepali. These words were highlighted on the whiteboard with ticks or crosses; a tick, representing the fact that they could transliterate, a cross representing the fact that they first had to translate and then write in Nepali Devanagari.

This section has explored the way in which linguistic practice has crossed languages and language codes to complete given literacy tasks. I understand this practice as

extending the concept of translanguaging space (Li, 2011), from one which allows the flexible use of different language codes in one space for communication, to one which combines spoken language and written language codes. Typically, a word may be transliterated from an unfamiliar script into one which the audience may understand and therefore be able to pronounce. In this case, the teacher took the simpler code and requested that the children transliterate into the more difficult written code, specifically in this case for the purpose of practising the more difficult code. The teacher was 'happy' as long as they used the Nepali Devanagari script (turn 19, transcript 11.2). The children were free to do this within the translanguaging space of the NCS. This contrasted with the way in which Nepali script was rarely accepted in the MS, see section 5.3.4 of chapter 5.

4.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed different literacy practices and types of classroom interaction in the NCS. The chapter began by discussing typical IRF sequences to teach the sounds of a word and the correct terminology to explain the vowels. The teacher's question about the children's own words for 'mother' highlight the way in which she tried to make learning relevant to the group and affirm the children as agents in their own learning.

The second section considered the use of choral reading, choral repetition, and chanting. This was observed as a popular method of choice by the teacher and discussion highlighted the way in which she supported the children multimodally, through music, and through the use of pointing and illustration. This focus on illustration was explored in the third section of the chapter, as both teachers discussed how best to teach the beginner group about vowels. In the last two sections of the chapter, focus

turns to the use of translanguaging, particularly by one of the teachers, Sundari. Her focus on linguistic repertoire rather than on separate linguistic codes was highlighted in her use of the word 'cup' (transcript 9.2), 'potato' (transcript 10), and 'pizza' and 'chips' (transcripts 11.1 – 11.4). The linguistic practice of the other teacher, Shanti, appears to align more with a language 'separation' model, discussed by Creese *et al.* (2011), who suggest that 'these two seemingly contradictory constructions of bilingualism are performed alongside each other in complementary schools' and that they are 'linked to conflicting political, pedagogical and sociolinguistic discourses on language' (Creese *et al.*, 2011, p.1197). Furthermore, teachers' own histories and experiences, in this case Sundari's experience as a teaching assistant in the UK, and Shanti's own experiences of schooling in Nepal, have possibly lead them 'to view pedagogic knowledge and skills differently, resulting in differing classroom practice' (Creese, 2006, p.437).

CHAPTER 5: IDENTITY DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES IN THE THREE SITES OF COMPLEMENTARY SCHOOL, MAINSTREAM SCHOOL, AND HOME

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the complexities of identity discourses and practices in the three sites of NCS, MS and Home. Data collected point to themes of Nepaleseness and to identities as learners in these three sites. My analysis follows the data, meaning that at times the focus is largely Nepaleseness and at other times, the focus is learner identity. As discussed in the literature review, I draw on Blommaert and Varis' (2011) four-tiered framework to discuss issues of authenticity and 'enoughness'. The four tiers can be summarised as follows: tier one; discursive orientations, tier two; essential combinations, tier three; enoughness, and tier four; conflict and contestation. Following the themes identified in the data analysis process, different tiers become the focus of discussion for the three sites. All four tiers are discussed for each site.

The chapter is structured in three sections: section one, the NCS, section two, the MS and section three, the Home. I finish with a chapter summary.

5.2 Section one: NCS

From an identity perspective, I am interested in the 'discursive orientations towards sets of features that are seen (or can be seen) as emblematic of particular identities' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.3) within the NCS. I begin this discussion with a focus on the consonant chart used in class.

5.2.1 Discursive orientations: The consonant chart

The teacher-made consonant chart (fig.14) was made from A1 white card, mounted on cardboard for strength by Sundari and another teacher who left the class before the

start of the data collection period. The chart was made before the class began and before they acquired any other resources. This chart was the primary teaching aid that was used to teach the children the sounds and sequence of the Nepali Devanagari 'syllabary' (Matthews, 1998, p.19). The linguistic term syllabary was never used by the teachers, rather 'alphabet' or "ka, kha, ga" (the first three sounds) tended to be terms of reference for this chart.

When the teacher-made chart is compared to a published chart (fig.15, brought to class, from Nepal, in April 2015) several similarities in the choice of features can be seen. Because of the similarities, it is not illogical to suggest that the volunteer teachers drew on their own memories and experience of learning to read and write when selecting their own features for the chart.



Figure 15 Alphabet chart, published

The creation of the consonant chart by the teachers is emblematic of beliefs about what makes the blank canvas of a community hall into a classroom for learning Nepali. It is my understanding that the teachers would have liked to have put the chart on the wall, but there was nowhere suitable to attach it and so it was mounted on sturdy cardboard. This proved useful as the teachers could take the chart with them as a resource for teaching. I observed the chart being used almost every week during the data collection period.

On first looking, the chart's pictures (fig.14) are unsurprisingly varied as may be typically found on many alphabet charts or in alphabet books for children (Sutherland and Arbuthnot, 1991). Features include animals, food, transport, learning, natural phenomena, household objects and worship. Each picture starts with the sound to which it relates, for example, the first picture of an ant, in Nepali कमिला <"kamilaa">, starts with the initial sound क <"ka">. Like many alphabet charts, pictures appear to have been chosen to aid understanding and phoneme-grapheme correspondence (Cooper, 1996).

When interviewed about the choices, Sundari talked about how some of the pictures represent the 'standard sound', i.e., a picture that is commonly used for that sound in Nepali classrooms. However, other pictures were chosen specifically with this group of children in mind. Sundari said 'we decided what would be good for these children.' Sundari went on to explain that children learning at school in the 'city' would be taught certain sounds with corresponding religious features, for example ह <"ha"> would have the picture हनुमान <"hanuman" the monkey god>. By contrast, teachers in the rural area would typically teach हलो <"halo" plough>, for the same ह <"ha"> sound. These small comments begin to suggest a particular positioning by the volunteer teachers in the UK; a positioning as teachers in the 'city'. The positioning orients away from a 'rural' identity to one of status and privilege associated with learning and religion. In Nepalese

society, the roles of teacher and priest are traditionally fulfilled by members of the high caste society (Rajbhandari and Rajbhandari, 2000) and 'although the caste system has now been legally abolished in Nepal, people still have strong beliefs and it is still practised in the society' (Rajbhandari and Rajbhandari, 2000, p.71). A link can be suggested therefore with religion and education. Religious leaders and teachers have a responsibility to pass on knowledge to their students and in Nepalese society, children from high caste families may be expected to continue in these 'assigned' roles as they grow up. Therefore, the link between religion and education is key. Fishman and Gertner remind us that

The role of language as an *index* of culture is a by-product...of its role as part of culture. Languages reveal the ways of thinking or of organizing experience that are common in the ethnocultures with which they are most intimately associated.

(Fishman and Gertner, 1985, p.xi)

There is another important point to make about the religious features on the chart and that is the connection with Sanskrit and Nepali Devanagari script. There are a number of words in Nepali that come from Sanskrit (Matthews, 1998; Wagley and Rauniyar, 2012). Sanskrit is an ancient language, used in traditional Hindu scriptures. Hinduism is a main religion of Nepal and so this connection suggests further clarification for the choices on the chart.

In the teacher-made chart (fig.14) the letters are positioned with each sound group on its own line, enabling the teachers to teach one particular sound group at a time. This is the traditional arrangement (Rajbhandari and Rajbhandari, 2000). The commercial chart has the letters in the correct order but because the sound groups have been merged in the layout, the chart becomes less useful. Another difference is that the vowel characters are printed first in the commercial chart whereas the teachers in NCS always started with the consonants. The teachers rarely used the published chart.

The pictures and letters from the teacher-made alphabet chart (fig.14) are transliterated and translated in figure 16. Each box contains the Nepali letter, the corresponding Nepali word, its transliteration, and translation.

क कमिला <“kamilaa” ant>	ख खरायो <“kharaayo” rabbit>	ग गमला <“gamalaa” flowerpot>	घ घर <“ghar” house>	ङ नङ <“nang” nail>	
च चरा <“charaa” bird>	छ छाता <“chhataa” umbrella>	ज जहाज, जग <“jahaaja, jaga” ship, jug>	झ झरना <“jharanaa” waterfall>	ञ rare, गोरु सिङ <rare, “goru singa nya” lit. the “nya” in the shape of ox horns>	
ट टमाटर <“TamaaTara” tomato>	ठ ठग <“Thaga” swindler or rogue>	ड डमरु <“Damaaru” small x shaped drum>	ढ ढोका <“Dhokaa” door>	ण rare, तिन धर्को <“tina dhorke aNa” lit. the aNa with three lines>	
त तबला <“tabalaa” set of two drums>	थ थपडी <“thapaDii” clapping>	द दमकल <“damakala” fire engine>	ध धनु <“dhanu” bow>	न नरिवल <“nariwala” coconut>	
प परेवा <“parewaa” pigeon>	फ फलफुल <“phalaphula” fruit>	ब बस <“basa” bus>	भ भगवान <“bhagawaana” god>	म मटर, मकै <“maTar, makai” peas, maize corn lit. popcorn>	
य यज्ञ <“yagya” oblation>	र रथ, रकेट <“ratha, rokeT” chariot, rocket>	ल लामा <“laamaa” lama>	व वकील <“wakiila” lawyer>	श शङ्ख <“shangkha” conch shell>	
ष षट्कोण <“shaTkoaNa” hexagon>	स सलाई <“salaaii” matches>	ह हनुमान <“hanumaan” the monkey god>	क्ष क्षेत्रीय <“kshatriya” ruling, military class>	त्र त्रिशुल <“trisula” trident (symbol of Hindu god Shiva)>	ज्ञ ज्ञानी <“gyaanii” wise, learned>

Figure 16 Alphabet chart (consonants), sounds and pictures

5.2.2 Religious features on the consonant chart

The inclusion of so many religious features on the chart indexes the importance of religion in the Nepali language and this in turn indexes the 'city' and the importance of education. The NCS operates in a town and all the participants live in the surrounding urban area. It is likely that the volunteer teachers' positions as residents of this town empowered them to make decisions which index their own positions in society and their aspirations for the children in their care.

In transcripts 12, 13 and 14, Shanti is observed highlighting certain religious features on the chart. These features are important for her and her repetition in explanation emphasises their importance to the children.

As seen in other examples, the sounds on the chart were taught in order, with lots of repetition and emphasis on correct pronunciation. I will return to the issue of pronunciation later, but here I give three short extracts from a video recording on 19th July 2014 of Shanti teaching one student, Nisha. Nisha's sister is busy with another activity but joins Nisha and Shanti later. Shanti is working through the chart, teaching sound by sound. For the purposes of this discussion, I focus on three of the religious features on the chart. Shanti points at these pictures on the consonant chart, emphasising the correct pronunciation of words, checking understanding, and adding explanation where she feels necessary.

5.2.2.1 bha

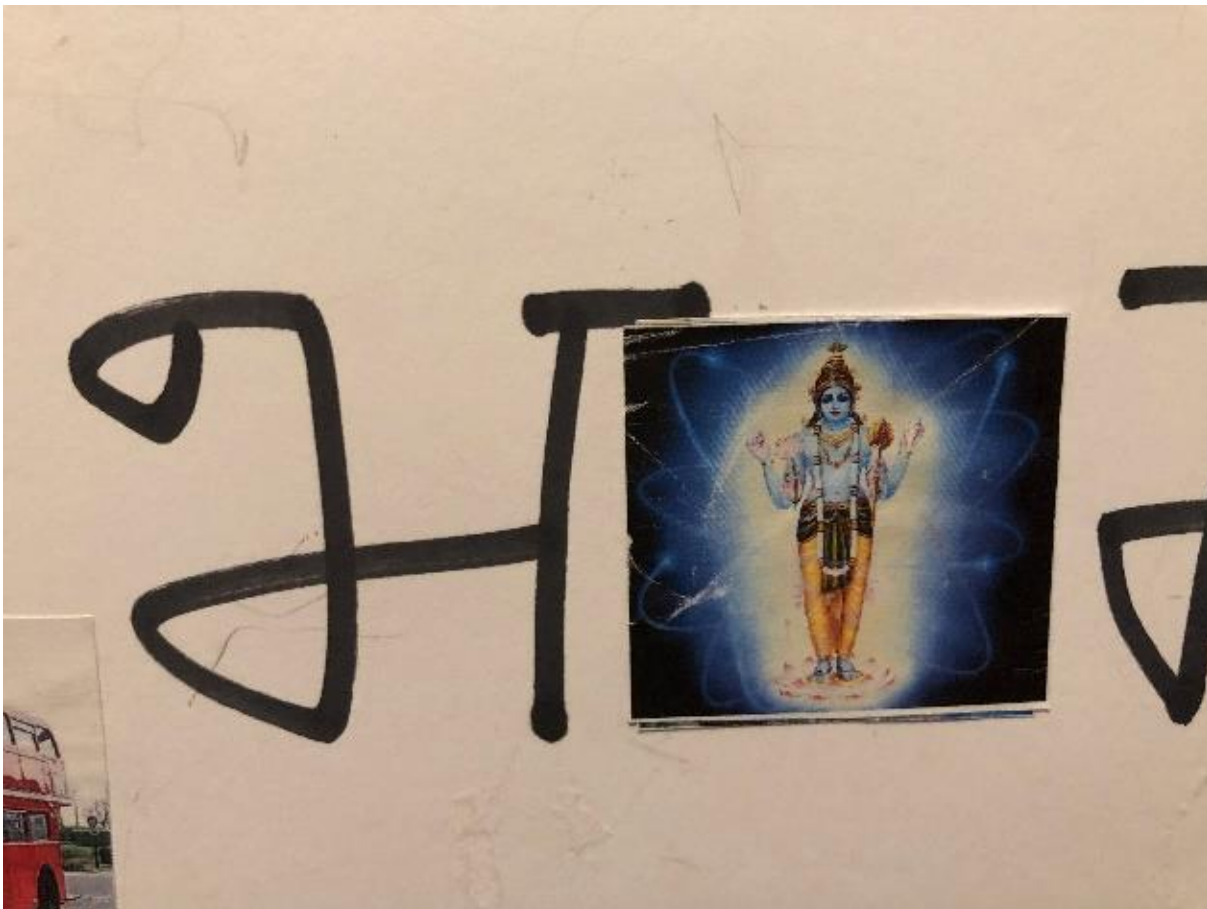


Figure 17 भगवान भ <“bhagawaana bha” god bha>

In the first extract we observe the way Shanti lowers her voice when checking with Nisha the meaning of भगवान <“bhagawaana” god>. <“bha”> (fig.17) is the 24th sound on the chart in figure 14.

1. Shanti: भगवान भ <“bhagawana bha” god bha>
2. Nisha: भगवान भ <“bhagawana bha” god bha>
3. Shanti: भगवान के हो? <what is “bhagawana?”> (spoken in a quiet, reverent sounding voice)
4. Nisha: god
5. Shanti: nods in agreement

(Transcript 12, 19th July 2014)

Shanti speaks in a reverent tone and her answer is a nod, almost as if the word is something too holy to talk about at length.

5.2.2.2 ya



Figure 18 यज्ञ य <“yagya ya” oblation ya>

The next religious feature, यज्ञ <“yagya” oblation> is discussed in more detail. य <“ya”> (fig.18) is the 26th sound on the chart.

1. Shanti: okay, यज्ञ य <“yagya ya” oblation ya>
2. Nisha: यज्ञ य <“yagya ya” oblation ya>
3. Shanti: यो मानछेले के गरेको? पूजा गरेको के? <what is this man doing? He is doing puujaa>
4. Nisha: पूजा <“puujaa”>
5. Shanti: पूजा गर्ने ठाउँले, यज्ञ भन्छ। के भन्छ? <the place where puujaa is performed is called “yagya”. What is it called?>
6. Nisha: यज्ञ <“yagya”>
7. Shanti: okay, यज्ञ य <“yagya ya” oblation ya>
8. Nisha: यज्ञ य <“yagya ya” oblation ya>

(Transcript 13, 19th July 2014)

Attention is drawn to what the man in the picture is doing: puujaa. The dictionary translates “puujaa” as ‘worship’ or ‘rites’ (Wagley and Rauniyar, 2012, p.446). Shanti explains the word “yagya” as the place where puujaa is performed. The translation from the dictionary implies something more than simply the place, describing it as ‘oblation’ (Wagley and Rauniyar, 2012, p.490). Other definitions include ‘a sacrificial rite or performance of duty...accompanied by other rituals such as prayers, chanting mantras, and fire for purification’ (Ananda Church of Self-Realization, 2021).

5.2.2.3 sha



Figure 19 शङ्ख श <“shankha sha” conch shell sha>

The third example I share illustrates the 30th sound on the chart, the last one on the sixth line, श (fig.19). Shanti makes an important connection between this and the explanation of <“yagya”>, the first feature on the sixth line.

1. Shanti: ऊनि यो के भन्छ Englishमा? <and what is this in English?>
2. Nisha: shells
3. Shanti: shellsलाई, शङ्ख भन्छ, यो बाजलाई बजाउन्छ, बजन अनि <the shells are called “shankha” conch shell, this musical instrument is played and when it is played> (cups her hands around her lips imitating the holding of the conch shell and makes the sound of the conch shell) बजे भने ठूलो sound आउन्छ, <if it is played a big sound comes> so whenever हामि पूजा गर्छन अनि यस्तो यज्ञ, पूजा गर्दा केरा, सुरुमा यो शङ्ख बजेर <we do puujaa and like this “yagya”, while we do “puujaa”, at the beginning we

- play the conch shell> (again imitates the playing of the conch shell and makes the sound) बजउन्छ <it is played> that means
4. Nisha: we put it in our ears to hear the ocean
 5. Shanti: अं, यो शङ्ख बजाएपछि so we can start पूजा, बुझ्यो? <yes, after this conch shell is played so we can start puujaa, did you understand?>
 6. Nisha: (nods in understanding)
 7. Shanti: so, सुरुमा यज्ञ गर्ने बेलामा, शङ्ख sound बजाउनछ, yeah. <so, at the beginning of doing the “yagya” time, the conch shell is played> शङ्ख श <“shankha sha”>
 8. Nisha: शङ्ख श <“shankha sha”>

(Transcript 14, 19th July 2014)

This feature appears to be explained in detail. Shanti twice adds imitation and sound effects to her verbal explanation of the role of the conch shell in पूजा <“puujaa”>, (turn 3). The sound is described as a big sound signalling the start of पूजा <“puujaa”> at a यज्ञ <“yagya”>. ‘Like this यज्ञ <“yagya”>’ (turn 3) references the connecting religious feature that she had explained only two minutes earlier. Shanti presents this connection clearly and does not allow Nisha to distract her when Nisha interjects with another use for the shell (turn 4). For Shanti, it is important that Nisha understands the importance of this feature within religious ceremony, and she checks this by asking ‘did you understand?’, (turn 5). Following Nisha’s nod of understanding, Shanti reinforces her explanation with a summary; ‘so, at the beginning of doing the यज्ञ <“yagya”> time, the conch shell is played’ (turn 7). My research diary from the same day echoes the reverence with which यज्ञ <“yagya”> and शङ्ख <“shankha” conch shell> were explained:

Shanti explained with a kind of seriousness / reverence about yagya being the place where they do puja (worship) पूजा गर्ने ठाउँले, यज्ञ भन्छ <the place where they do puja is called yagya> and that the शङ्ख <“shankha” conch shell> is blown at the start of the puujaa to start.

(Research diary, 19th July 2014: lines 1552-1555)

The above transcripts, research diary and discussion have focused on some of the religious features on the chart. The data suggests that these features are important

cultural and religious features within Nepalese society and the detail with which they are explained appear to index the importance of religion and religious activity within this community.

In the following discussion I explore the theme of learning and the identity of a successful learner represented through features on the chart and in discussions relating to achievement and correctness, and to homework.

5.2.3 Essential combinations: the consonant chart continued

I start with features on the chart, ones identified as orienting towards learning and the rewards for successful learners. The first sound that I want to highlight is ṭ <“Tha”>. The artifactual nature of this picture is interesting because the original picture that was chosen had fallen off and has been replaced with a hand-drawn picture of a ‘lazy person’. Joseph and Paul (2005) suggest that we ‘celebrate the individual, the messy, the defacing and remaking of texts, the loving, the forbidden, the joyous and the inconclusive’ in our exploration of handmade literacies (Joseph and Paul, 2005, p.vii). It is clear from the remade nature of this artifact and from the discussion below that one character trait or behaviour to be avoided was that of being lazy.

5.2.3.1 Tha

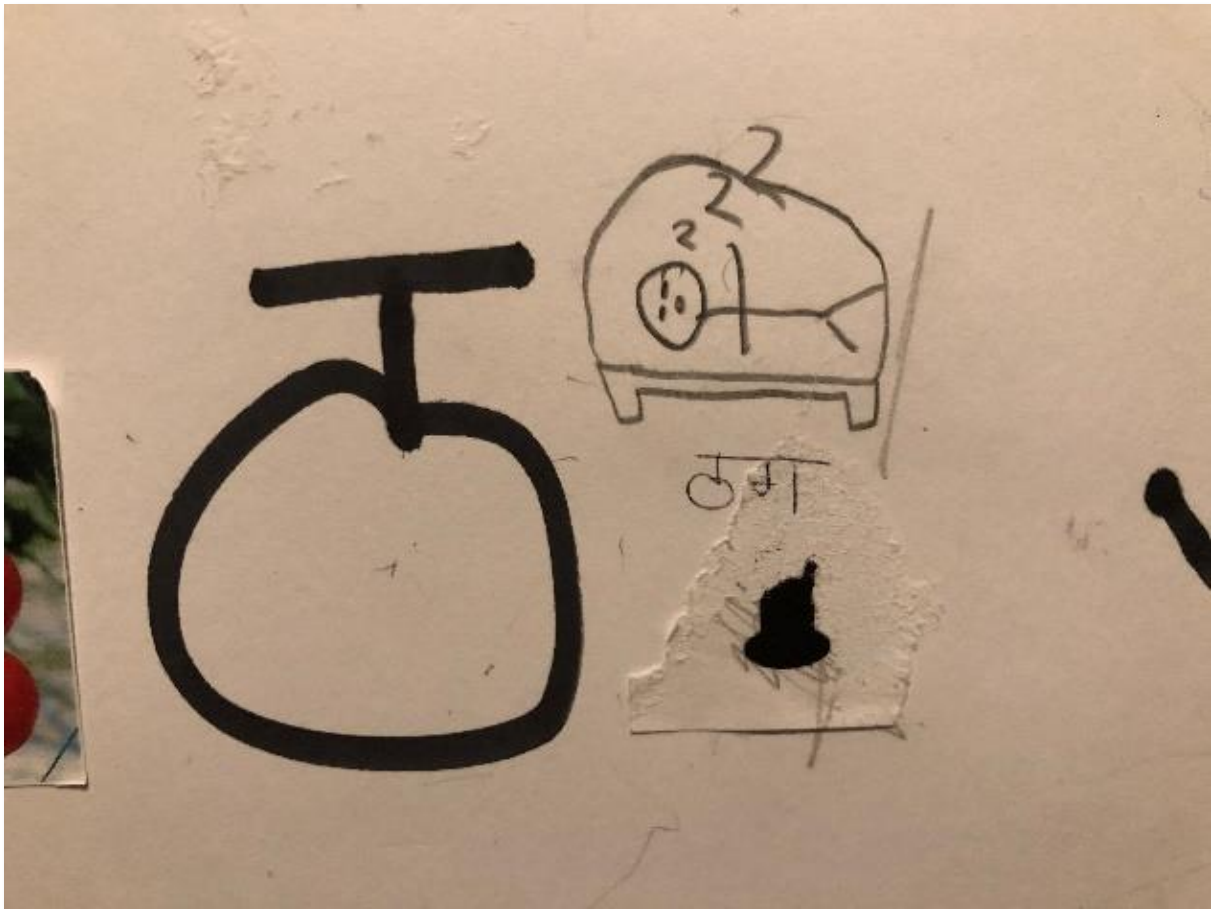


Figure 20 ठग ठ <“Thaga Tha” lazy person Tha>

In transcript 15, Shanti is giving dictation to the three children in the beginner group. It is Nisha’s turn to write on the board but all three are having a go.

1. Shanti: okay, सुनोस छोरी, तिमिले लेख ठग, lazy person के, ठ ग, ठ ग लेखनोस <listen daughter, you write “Thaga”, lazy person what, please write “Tha” “ga”, “Tha” “ga”>
2. Ameer: ठ <“Tha”>
3. Shanti: ग, no not ट, ठ this is ट भयो, ठ ठ ठग ठ, ठग ठ <“ga”, no not “Ta”, “Tha” this became “Ta”, “Tha” “Tha” “Thaga” “Tha”, “Thaga” “Tha”>
4. Ameer: यसरी हो? <like this?>
5. Shanti: अब ग, not घ, गमला ग <now “ga”, not “gha”, “gamalaa ga”>
6. Ameer: ठग <“Thaga”>
7. Shanti: good, अनि ठ भन्ने के हो? <and what is “Tha” called?>
8. Ameer: (eagerly answers) lazy person

9. Nisha: lazy person
10. Shanti: lazy (gasping breath in), lazy person! Wow! यो word जान्न दिए माईले आज
<I gave you this word to know today>

(Transcript 15, 7th March 2015)

The process of writing the word is typical of similar dictation and writing activities in the class. The teacher says the word, and the children try to write it with the correct letters. The teacher checks what the children are writing, points out mistakes and repeats the sounds again so the children can correct their work (turns 3 – 5). Having introduced the meaning of the word “Thaga” ‘lazy person’ in turn 1, Shanti checks that they have remembered it (turn 7). Ameer is quick to answer, closely followed by Nisha, whose turn it had been to write the word on the whiteboard. Shanti gasps and says ‘lazy person! Wow!’ The exaggerated way in which she responds highlights to the children the terribleness of this feature. It is really bad to be a ‘lazy person’ and the second part of her turn is spoken seriously, ‘I gave you this word to know today’ (turn 10). This is spoken with such seriousness and a faint hint of surprise, it is as if Shanti herself is shocked that she gave the children such a word to write. The dictionary translation is more serious, ‘swindler or rogue’ (Wagley and Rauniyar, 2012: 392). The feature is hand drawn (fig.20). Its inclusion in the dictation activity as well as on the chart suggests its presence is there as a reminder for the children not to behave in this way.

Whilst marking a child’s book from the beginner group, Shanti praised her in front of the class.

1. Shanti: ऐ! उ ज्ञ सम्म लेख्न जानिसकिरहेछ ऐ! ओहो! राम्रो गरेछ! <eh! She can write all the way to ज्ञ “gya” oh ho! That was good!>

(Transcript 16, 11th October 2014)

Later in the same lesson, Ameer is reciting the sounds to Shanti and attempting to write them from memory.

1. Shanti: य र <“ya ra”>

2. Ameer: य र ल व श, ष स ह क्ष त्त ज्ञ <“ya ra la wa sha, Sa ha sche tra gya”>
3. Shanti: जान्ने ता हो नि! अनि लेख्न किन ने जाने? <you are knowledgeable! And why can't you write it?>
4. Ameer: म बिसेछु (in a sad voice) <I will forget>

(Transcript 17, 11th October 2014)

The children have both achieved something, but the first child is praised for being able to write all the way to the end. Ameer is struggling. He reaches the end of the consonants, and Shanti praises him for being so knowledgeable and able but questions why he cannot write them all yet? The use of the word जान्ने “jaanne” (turn 3), meaning knowledgeable and able, and links with the last picture on the chart, of children learning with a teacher (fig.21).

5.2.3.2 gya

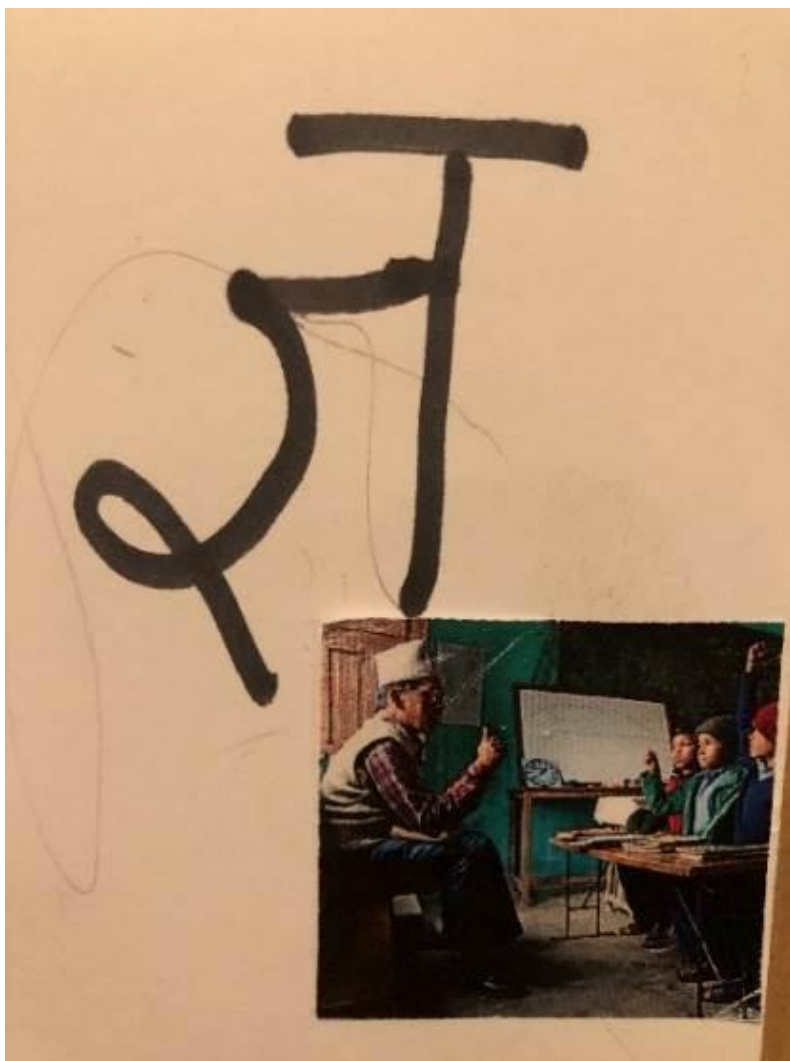


Figure 21 ज्ञानी ज्ञ <“gyaanii gya” wise and knowledgeable gya>

These children are learning to be wise and knowledgeable. Learning is to be valued and succeeding in a task is to be praised. Ameer is upset that he is not able to write all the letters yet and states honestly his concern that he ‘will forget’. This is not picked up by Shanti, who turns her attention to the other children in the group.

5.2.4 Essential combinations: achievement and correctness

An example of the importance of correctness can be seen in the marking patterns by teachers in the children’s exercise books. Correct spellings are ticked, and incorrect

spellings are marked with a cross. The images below are taken from Ameer's and Sanju's books and are typical of the dictation type activities children were given in lessons. Ameer drew the 'yay' and 'smiley' because he got full marks, 6 out of 6 (fig.22). Sanju scored 5 out of 8, 62.5% (fig.23). The intermediate group recorded all their marks on a mark sheet in the back of their exercise book (fig.24).

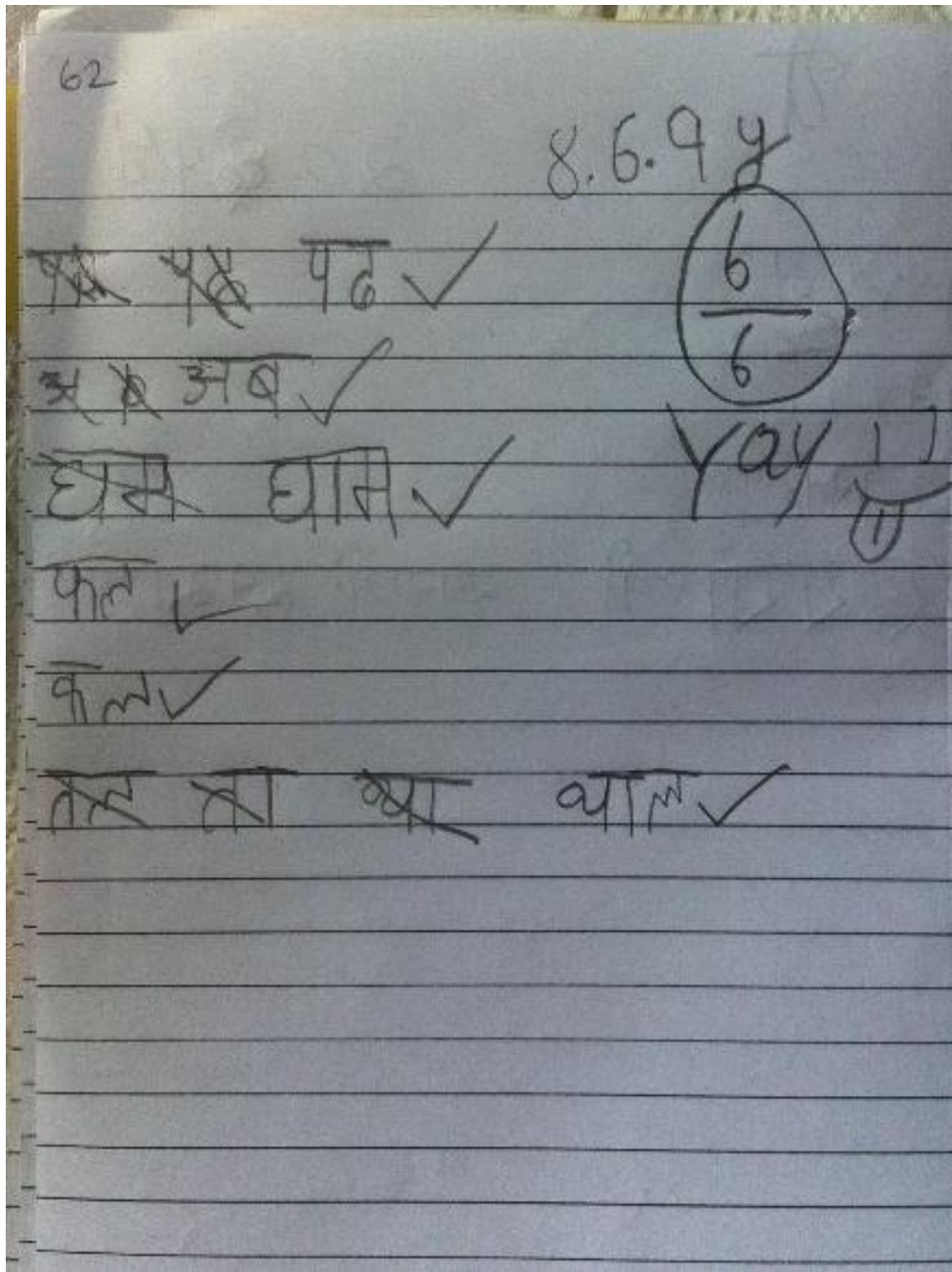


Figure 22 Ameer, dictation, July 2015

Writing (%)			Reading (%)			Listening (%)		
1	100	21	1	80%	21	1	80%	21
2	46	22	2		22	2	72%	22
3	87%	23	3		23	3	66%	23
4	75%	24	4		24	4	22%	24
5	100%	25	5		25	5	82%	25
6		26	6		26	6		26
7		27	7		27	7		27
8		28	8		28	8		28
9		29	9		29	9		29
10		30	10		30	10		30
11		31	11		31	11		31
12		32	12		32	12		32
13		33	13		33	13		33
14		34	14		34	14		34
15		35	15		35	15		35
16		36	16		36	16		36
17		37	17		37	17		37
18		38	18		38	18		38
19		39	19		39	19		39
20		40	20		40	20		40

Figure 24 Example of percentage marks from tests in NCS

The mark sheet was made by Sundari and stuck in by the children. On several occasions, the intermediate group children were asked to translate their scores into percentages and when it was clear that not all the children knew how to do this, Sundari spent time teaching them.

1. Sundari: (to Sanjana) so you got 9 out of 14 which is 64 percent which is good, so तिमिहरु लेख्न घरमा daily अलि अलि practise गर्यो भने धरै राम्रो हुन्छ, हो कि होईन? <if you practise to write a little daily it will be very good, yes, or no?>

(Transcript 18, 22nd November 2014)

The above discussion has pointed towards the value put on learning and achievement in the NCS. Hard work and evidence of achievement appear to be essential combinations for authentic learners in the NCS.

In chapter four, section 4.6, I discussed the focus on transliteration, spelling, and the use of the whiteboard. Here, I extend that discussion to bring further insight into what was important for Sundari in the lesson.

Sanju's and Maya's exercise books provide further insight into what was important in the lesson. From the various crossings out in the two books (figs. 25, 26 below), it can be observed that even without a translation of what is written, both children worked hard to get their spellings correct. This evidences what has been observed from the classroom transcript and from the whiteboard, the importance of getting it right. Whether the word was 'English' or Nepali, (pizza, chips or सुन्तला <orange>) it was equally important that when it was written in Devanagari script, care was taken to identify and represent the sounds as correctly as possible.

In my research diary written up from field notes taken in the lesson, I include some detail about the importance of 'getting it right'. My concern that the children were not helped at the beginning of the lesson to spell the first word मलाई <I> is evident,

Sundari was teaching the older ones how to write a sentence. They had to write 'I like...' She didn't teach them how to write मलाई <"malaai">, so Sanju got the wrong spelling. However, she did teach them that to say 'like' they had to write मन पर्छ। ... Later on, I noticed that Sanju spelled मलाई <"malaai"> correctly. Looking at Maya's book, I notice that she also corrected herself a few times.

(Research diary, 17th January 2015, lines 5400-5406)

My background as a teacher means that I too would want the children to know how to spell all the words required for the task. At the beginning of the activity, it is possible Sundari assumed the children knew how to spell मलाई and so did not discuss it with them. However, once she finished getting the children to write पलफुल <fruits>, pizza, chips and सुन्तला <oranges>, Sundari did check that they knew how to write मलाई,

1. Sundari: has everyone written मलाई? <“malaaii” I> Mayaको मलाई <(Maya)’s I>, okay some of you need to write मलाई I’m not happy with your मलाई <I> No one has written correctly. म ला ई, ई, म ला ई, म, म <“ma” “laa” “ii”, “ii”, “ma”, “laa”, “ii”, “ma”, “ma”> write down म <“ma”> and then what did I say?
2. Children: ल <“la”>
3. Sundari: ला, म ला, <“laa”, “ma”, “laa”> write म ला ई <“ma” “laa” “ii”>, write म, म ला ई, ई <“ma”, “ma”, “laa”, “ii”, “ii”>(emphasising the long ई <“ii”>)...(to Sanju) no that is मात्र <“maatra”> you are using, you need ई <“ii”> itself, you need ई<“ii”>, full ई <“ii”>

(Transcript 19, 17th January 2015)

Sundari was very precise in her sounding out of each phoneme and did this with repetition whilst observing the children writing. She was ‘not happy’ that they had made mistakes with the way they had written मलाई <“malaaii” I> and so time was spent carefully teaching each sound to make sure they understood how to write it correctly. Turn 1 corresponds with the last line in Sanju’s exercise book. The first word crossed out reads मलाई <“malaaii” I> but with the vowel symbol ी <“ii”> at the end instead of the full character ई <“ii”>. Sanju corrects this as instructed and writes the sentence in full.

The importance of being correct was emphasised again later by the other teacher, Shanti who went over to the group at the end of the lesson and read Sanju’s work. She commented on the incorrect मलै <‘malaii’> (first line) and emphasised the correct form मलाई <‘malaaii’ I> (last line).

1. Shanti: so this is मन पर्छ, कति राम्रो लेखेछ! <like, how well it is written!> मेरो नाम Sanju हो <my name is Sanju> । मलाई, मलै, <“malaaii, malaii” I>, no मलाई चिप्स मन पर्छ <I like chips> okay so you have to write मलाई, मलाई <“malaaii, malaaii” I, I> yeah

(Transcript 20, 17th January 2015)

ਮਲੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਾ ਮਨਪਦੇ /
ਚੜ੍ਹਾ ਮਨਪਦੇ /
ਮਲੀ ਮਲਾਇ ਚੜ੍ਹਾ ਮਨਪਦੇ /

Figure 25 Sanju's book, 17th January 2015

ਸੁਨਟਾ ਸੁਨਟਾ
ਪਿਛਾ
ਚਿਛਾ
ਮਲੀ ਮਲੀ ਮਲੀ
ਮਲੀ ਮਲਾਇ ਸੁਨਟਾ ਮਨਪਦੇ /

Figure 26 Maya's book, 17th January 2015

Sanju's and Maya's writing show the different attempts at spelling individual words, including the struggle with मलाई <"malaaii">. This can be seen at the top and bottom of figure 25, and the last two lines of figure 26. Both children copy मन पर्छ correctly and their full sentences are written on the last line of each extract. Sanju's last line records मलाई चिप्स मन पर्छ <"malaaii chips mana parchha" I like chips>. Maya's last line records, मलाई सुन्तला मन पर्छ <"malaaii suntalaa mana parchha" I like oranges>. Sanju transliterated the English 'chips' into Nepali script and Maya used the Nepali word for oranges as discussed in transcript 11.2. Both children completed the task as directed by the teacher.

Transliteration was accepted in the translanguaging space because the teaching and learning focused so intently on the children in this group, with their knowledge, experience, and literacy skills at this point in time. As observed, the teacher spent a lot of time on the fine detail of representing oral words in written Devanagari script and being correct in this was observed as very important for both teachers.

My analysis shows that the preciseness with which Sundari explains about the sentence order, about which words they are to write, and about the individual sounds in 'pizza' and later मलाई <l> show that 'getting it right' is important to her.

5.2.5 Essential combinations: homework

As part of their identity as learners in the NCS, children were expected to attend and participate in the Saturday morning lessons, but also complete homework following these lessons. This was seen as an essential combination for an identity as a good student. Research diary data records the frustration Sundari, and Shanti expressed when the children did not do their homework.

Sundari told the whole group off, saying that she and Auntie (Shanti) are disappointed because only the little ones had prepared their homework....After they'd been working for a while Sundari asked the children how long they had been working in this class – more than 8 or 9 months and they are still

struggling to write the basic alphabet. They all went quiet as she told them. 'We feel really disappointed and why do we put our hard work and effort. We travel, we try to make interesting. Give us back something. Show us some effort. Give us back something cause I am really disappointed.'

(Research diary, 14th June 2014, lines 688-700)

When Shanti saw Ameer she asked him where his homework was and he said he'd done half of it 'माइले halfगारेको छु <I have done half>'. She was cross that he hadn't brought it. She told him to finish it at home and bring it next time. He has three weeks to do it in total.

(Research diary, 18th October 2014, lines 2802-2806)

It was understood that the children were busy with many activities including MS homework. The children sometimes gave this as a reason for not having completed the requested work.

Sundari asked her group if they had done their homework. They had all done something apart from Sanjana who said that she had had too much homework. Sundari was cross with her. She said she was happy even if they did just a little bit.

(Research diary, 15th November 2014, lines 3295-3298)

Data from the ethnographic interview at the end of the lesson on the 15th November, further highlighted Sundari and Shanti's frustration with the children who were not doing their homework.

1. Sundari: (Sanjana is practising a dance in the hallway) Sanjana, if you put that much effort into doing Nepali homework you would be...the best
2. Shanti: हो नि! अब घरमा पुगेर homework गर! <yes! From now on, reaching home, do your homework>
3. Sundari: at least, अलिकति try गरेर जस्तोलाग्छ, तर Sanjana every, every <at least some try a little, it feels like, but Sanjana every, every>
4. Shanti: यो Sanjana मात्र होइन, यो Madhu पनि, आउने बेलामा गर्छ। <this is not just Sanjana, it is also Madhu, she does it at the arrival time>
5. Sundari: तर Madhuले try गरेको छ। <but Madhu has tried> I can see here at least she has tried something with the thing although it is (laughs), Sanjana आउने बित्तिकै ### हो। <as soon as Sanjana comes, she is ###>

(Transcript 21, 15th November 2014)

Even though the descriptive word about Sanjana is omitted in turn 5 because of lack of clarity on the audio recording, Sundari is clearly frustrated at Sanjana's lack of commitment to doing homework (turn 1) and to her perceived negative behaviour (turn 5) as soon as she comes to class. Shanti agrees with Sundari that the children need to put more effort into their homework (turn 2) and instructs the girls to do their homework as soon as they reach home. This appears to be an attempt to diffuse Sundari's frustration and help the children do better in the future. Despite this, Sundari persists in her complaints about Sanjana, comparing her lack of attempt to the fact that at least the others are trying (turn 3). Shanti again attempts to diffuse the focus away from Sanjana, by commenting that it is not just Sanjana, her daughter Madhu is the same. She does her homework at the last minute (turn 4). However, Sundari insists on making a comparison between Sanjana and Madhu, saying that at least Madhu has tried (turn 5).

It is apparent from this extract that attempting to do homework is an essential feature of attendance for students at NCS. Sundari did not mind if the children had had help with their homework.

The lesson then focused on the list of words that Pratibha had made. Her cousin had helped her.

(Research diary, 15th November 2014, lines 3301-3302)

Sometimes homework was done in class.

The little girls (Nisha and Nirmala) then worked on their homework for a while with their mother (in class) and Shanti kept reading to Ameer.

(Research diary, 18th October 2014, lines 2820-2821)

A clear orientation towards the importance of hard work, the acquisition of knowledge and achievement in the NCS is observed. However, it is important to also note in these short extracts from the research diary data, some negotiation was accepted in how and when the homework was done. Nisha and Nirmala did some of their homework in class;

Pratibha's cousin helped Pratibha; Ameer was given another chance; and as long as they did 'just a little bit', Sundari would be 'happy' (15th November 2014). Therefore, despite presenting attendance and homework as essential combinations, the data has also shown that the teachers expressed some flexibility.

In an interview with Sundari towards the end of the data collection period, Sundari expressed some of this flexibility towards the children, particularly as coming to NCS was an 'extra thing' (Sundari, 11th July 2015).

1. Sundari: Yeah, in the beginning I was getting frustrated and think we were, I felt we were going in a very slow pace. I was frustrated. I was angry with them to begin with but later on I realised that...this is extra thing they are doing on top of their school and homework and I calmed down a bit.

(Transcript 22, 11th July 2015)

These comments point towards a view of the NCS as significantly different from their own 'school' and 'homework'. It is not compulsory for the children to attend and so having a calmer attitude towards their pace of achievement was recognised as important. Sundari explained

1. Sundari: In the start they were here because their parents sent them. Now they are here, they know a few words and that has encouraged them to come along and using lots of encouragement in the lesson like mix of techniques like they like to draw, so draw something and colour something and that along with the writing helps them.

(Transcript 23, 11th July 2015)

It is clear that certainly for Sundari, the initial ideals she had about what constitutes a successful learner / student in the NCS became more relaxed over time. This has been in response to the individual children who come to the class and their characters and behaviours. She comments that amongst her list of techniques for teaching, she considers their personalities:

1. Sundari: Yeah cause they all have different personalities and trying to respond to that...

(Transcript 24, 11th July 2015)

In the following section I look in more detail at the theme of 'enoughness' in relation to two extended class activities around the subject of food. I discuss Blommaert and Varis' 2011 term, 'enoughness' in relation to these two themes and consider to what extent knowledge and experience of these themes in the NCS contributes firstly to the children's identities as learners in the NCS, and secondly to their Nepalese identities beyond the walls of the NCS.

The first activity is a writing task with the intermediate group about how to cook rice. The second is a lesson about guavas, based on a story book the children read together.

5.2.6 Enoughness: staple food

A summary of the first part of the 'rice' lesson is recorded in the research diary:

After this, Sundari wanted to talk to the children about food. She asked them what the staple Nepali food is. No one said rice straight away, instead offering other popular choices such as आलु दम <"aalu dam" spicy potato salad> and मः मः <"momos" filled dumplings>. Eventually Pratibha said भात <"bhaata" cooked rice> and was praised! Sundari asked them how it is cooked and Madhu kept saying it was cooked in the rice cooker – you put the rice and water in a bowl and then put the cooker on to cook! Sundari wanted them to say how to cook it on the stove, in a pan!

(Research diary, 7th February 2015, lines 6683-6688)

Let us look more closely at the start of the lesson:

1. Sundari: ल <okay> let's switch on to another activity. How about writing a recipe?
2. Sanju: write numbers
3. Madhu: why not, why not do a poster? A poster about yourself?
4. Sundari: okay, के को recipe? <what kind of recipe?>

5. Pratibha: आलु दम <“aalu dam” spicy potato salad> (group laughter)
6. Sanju: मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings> like those two get a (Sanju begins to suggest the involvement of two children in the preparing of a recipe)
7. Madhu: मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings>
8. Maya: do you know the ingredients?
9. Sanju: no
10. Madhu: Mummyले बनाएको आलु दम र पुरी <the “aalu dam” and “puri” deep fried roti that Mummy made>
11. Sundari: सबभन्दा पहिले <first of all> let’s start with our staple food. Staple food के हो, नेपालि मा? <what is our staple food, in Nepali?>
12. Madhu: आलु दम <“aalu dama” spicy potato salad>
13. Pratibha: मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings>, रोटी <“roti” lit. bread, usually meaning flat bread like chapatis>
14. Sundari: हामि प्राय जसो के खान्छौ? <what do we normally eat?>
15. Sanjana: rice
16. Pratibha: भात हो <it is “bhaata” cooked rice>
17. Madhu: भात <“bhaata” cooked rice>
18. Sundari: so let’s discuss the recipe how to cook the rice

(Transcript 25, 7th February 2015)

The discussion begins with some negotiation between the teacher Sundari and the children in her group. Creese and Blackledge point out that ‘[i]dentities are performed, constructed, enacted, produced, but only in interaction with others’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2015: 25). Because ‘identities arise in interaction among people’ (Jørgensen, 2010: 4), they are ‘to a large extent subject to negotiation’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2015: 25). In turns 1 to 3, we observe some negotiation between Sundari and the children. Sundari proposes a switch of activities and suggests they write a recipe. The children’s suggestions refer to previous activities with which they feel confident. Sanju enjoys maths and has learnt how to write her numbers in Nepali. On one of the days, I observed her at school, she wrote her maths activities in Nepali Devanagari on her whiteboard; an opportunity to explore a newly acquired skill. Madhu suggests they do a poster. This is something they have been promised and so far, have not had the opportunity to do. She knows she can do a poster about herself

because earlier in the academic year, the group spent a number of weeks learning how to describe themselves in Nepali. Both girls share something that they feel confident in, a task they are likely to be able to complete with some level of success. Having discussed the importance of success in the previous section, this identifying feature of the class is possibly in their minds as they contribute to the negotiation.

Sundari chooses to ignore their suggestions however and continue with her recipe writing activity. Again, the children are asked for input. What kind of recipe? She listens to the different suggestions of Nepali food the children enjoy; आलु दम <“aalu dam” spicy potato salad> (turn 5), मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings> (turn 6 & 7), Mummyले बनाएको आलु दम र पुरी <the “aalu dama” and “puri” deep fried roti that Mummy made> (turn 10) and then clarifies the task by making it about ‘our staple food’ (turn 11). The children are enjoying the discussion and light heartedly again suggest आलु दम <“aalu dam” spicy potato salad> (turn 12) and मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings> (turn 13). Pratibha’s addition of रोटी <“roti” lit. bread, usually meaning flat bread like chapatis> (turn 13), spoken more quietly than मःम <“momo” filled steamed dumplings> (turn 13), suggests she realises the activity is relatively serious and they have a task to complete. Sundari ensures they are on track by asking ‘what do we normally eat?’ In her asking of this question (turn 14) and the reference to ‘our staple food’ (turn 11), Sundari is including the children in a particular identity category – Nepalese people whose staple, regular diet is rice. The children do not dispute this. Sanjana immediately knows that the expected answer is ‘rice’ (turn 15), and this is quickly translated by Pratibha and Madhu who say भात <“bhaata” cooked rice> (turns 16 & 17).

The lesson continues with the children talking about the key words that they would need for the recipe. They start with a title on the whiteboard, भात पकाउने तरीका <“bhaata pakaune tariikaa” the method for cooking rice> and then the words for ingredients, सामान <“saamaana”> as the children suggest, or सामाग्री <“saamaagrii”> as Sundari

herself suggests 'if you want to be very specific'. The children write the words in their books, identifying the individual sounds as required, with support from Sundari.

I pick up the lesson as Sundari starts to ask the children about the method.

1. Sundari: now tell me, what do we need first? What do we start with?
2. Sanjana: rice
3. Madhu: rice cooker, yeah 'cos you need the rice cooker bowl before you
4. Sundari: we are cooking it in the stove
5. Madhu: oh!
6. Children: (laughter)
7. Sundari: in the pan!
8. Children: uuh!

(Transcript 26, 7th February 2015)

The transcript shows Sundari and the children steadily working through the requirements for their rice cooking recipe. Madhu knows that they will need a 'rice cooker', 'cos you need the rice cooker bowl' (turn 3). This is obviously how rice is cooked in her home and it is generally considered easier than cooking it on the stove. However, Sundari's proposal that 'we are cooking it in the stove' (turn 4), adds another level of complexity to the task. Madhu's response to the comment that they will have to use the stove suggests she knows this is more difficult, 'oh!' (turn 5) and this comment is affirmed in the laughter of the rest of the group. Sundari adds emphasis by saying, 'in the pan!' and the children all complain with 'uuh!' (turn 8). The style of discourse is similar to that in other lessons. The children and teacher interact fairly openly and are free to express their thoughts and ideas. However, the fact that they are going to be writing about cooking rice on the stove is non-negotiable.

This could simply be a pedagogical decision by Sundari, thinking that describing how to cook with the saucepan on the stove may have more words and therefore be more challenging. However, I am inclined to understand it more as relating to enoughness. Sundari wants the group to learn and demonstrate the traditional way of cooking rice,

before there was electricity for rice cookers. Having this knowledge will equip them with the skills required to be authentic Nepalese individuals.

Transcript 27 highlights some lack of knowledge about the exact words needed for the rice cooking recipe. Sundari is patient, but there is some frustration expressed together with laughter that the children do not know certain words. This lack of 'repertoire' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011: 3) and Sundari's persistence, suggests that the acquisition of these words into their repertoire will be an important contribution towards considerations of 'enoughness' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011: 5) in relation to their Nepalese identities both as students within the NCS and as Nepalese individuals outside the walls of the NCS.

1. Sundari: okay rice, riceलाई के भन्छ नेपालिमा? <what is rice called in Nepali?>
2. Children: भात <“bhaata”>
3. Sundari: अहँ <“ahanh” no> we have different words, in English rice means cooked, uncooked, it's the same isn't it Sarah
4. Researcher: yes
5. Sundari: everything is the same but we have different word for cooked rice and uncooked rice
6. Madhu: Nepali is so weird
7. Children: ###
8. Madhu: why can't there just be one word the same?
9. Children: (laughing)
10. Sundari: uncooked rice?
11. Sanjana: च च <“cha cha”>
12. Sundari: come on, uncooked rice? Nisha, Nirmala uncooked riceलाई नेपालिमा के हो? <what is uncooked rice called in Nepali?>
13. Nisha & Nirmala: huh?
14. Madhu: आमा, आमाजी <mother, mother>
15. Shanti: आमा भन्छौ? <you say mother?>
16. Children: (laughter, dominated by Madhu)
17. Sanju: भात <“bhaata” cooked rice>
18. Researcher: (showing dictionary entry to Sanju) look, one there चा म <“chaa ma”>
19. Sanju: चा <“chaa”>

20. Madhu: चामल <“chaamala” uncooked rice>
21. Children: चामल <“chaamala” uncooked rice> (laughing)
22. Madhu: oh, thank goodness, we got there in the end!
23. Pratibha: चामल <“chaamala” uncooked rice>
24. Sundari: write down चामल <“chaamala” uncooked rice>, good, well done, read it, read your (to Madhu)
25. Madhu: चा म <“chaa ma”>
26. Sundari: we need ल, चा म ल चामल <“la”, “chaa” “ma” “la” “chaamala”>, we don’t need चा म ला <“chaamalaa”>
27. Madhu: so there’s no आकार <“aakaara” aa vowel>, I knew that (quietly, joking tone). Nepali is so weird (laughing), just have one word the same!

(Transcript 27, 7th February 2015)

Sundari’s use of the pronoun ‘we’ (turns 3 and 5) suggests her inclusion of the children as ‘one of us’. The regular practice of eating rice has been discussed and this is a key feature in the identity profile of a Nepalese person outside the walls of the NCS.

Now they need to know how to write the words about this. Being able to do this is one of the identifying features of a student in the NCS. This was discussed earlier. Sanjana knows the first sound is ‘च’ (turn 11). This is not followed up by Sundari. Instead, she refers the question to two girls in the beginner group, sitting at the other table (turn 12). This involves the whole class, and it is possible that the purpose of involving the younger girls was partly to show up the intermediate group, who should by now know these words. However, Nisha and Nirmala do not seem to have the answer either and so Madhu questions her mother, Shanti. Shanti responds with ‘आमा भनछौ? <you say mother?>’ (turn 15), a reminder that she is currently in role as a teacher and should not be referred to as mother.

When Sanju again suggests ‘भात’ (turn 17), the researcher chooses to take an active participatory role by showing Sanju the ‘rice’ entry in the dictionary (Wagley and Rauniyar, 2012: 206). Sanju is able to say the first sound of the word च (turn 19) and this prompts Madhu, sitting nearby to say the full word चामल (turn 20). Madhu is

relieved, 'oh, thank goodness, we got there in the end' (turn 22) but when corrected over her spelling (turn 26), Madhu echoes her earlier statements (turns 6- 8) 'Nepali is so weird, just have one word the same!' (turn 27). Madhu's frustration at the apparent complicated nature of the Nepali language suggests a distancing of herself from the idealised identity being promoted by Sundari. It is not easy. There are different words for the same staple food, depending on whether it is cooked or uncooked and even when Madhu attempts to spell the word, she is only partly correct.

The children were instructed to cook the rice on the stove. However, a rice cooker with electrical cord and heat settings, clearly visible in Sanjana's illustration demonstrates that Sanjana preferred the rice cooker method (fig.27).

भात पकाउने तरीका

सासुन - Ingredients

1. चामल पाँच कप 5 cups of rice.
2. पानी पाँच कप 5 cups of water

तरीका - Method

1. चामल धुने wash the rice
2. पानी पाँच कप राख Add five cups of water
3. अनि पकाउ Then cook

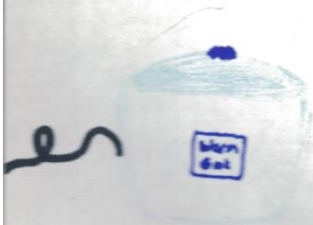


Figure 27 Recipe for cooking rice, 7th February 2019

5.2.7 Enoughness: guavas

The second activity develops the discussion about orientation towards features from Nepal. In this instance, the starting point for the theme, which spanned across three weeks, was a story book from Nepal; मकै कस्ले खायो? <Who has eaten the maize?> (fig.28). The pages included green paper flaps for the reader to lift and check the picture (fig. 29).

At the end of the story the reader is introduced to guavas, a Nepalese fruit (fig.29). Sundari asked the children if they knew what guavas were. Discovering that some of the children were unsure, Sundari bought guavas the following week from an international supermarket in the town and brought them to NCS for the children to taste (fig.30). The whole class were invited to join in the tasting and then talk about the experience. Knowing what guavas are, having tasted them and being able to talk about them are therefore features of Nepalese identity. Although this task had been initiated by Sundari, and it is therefore possible to view her as the person judging levels of enoughness, there is negotiation between all participants as they interact in the lesson. This means that at different times, different participants, for example, Shanti, may take on the role of judge.

मकै करले खायो ?

Who has eaten the maize?



Figure 28 Who has eaten the maize?

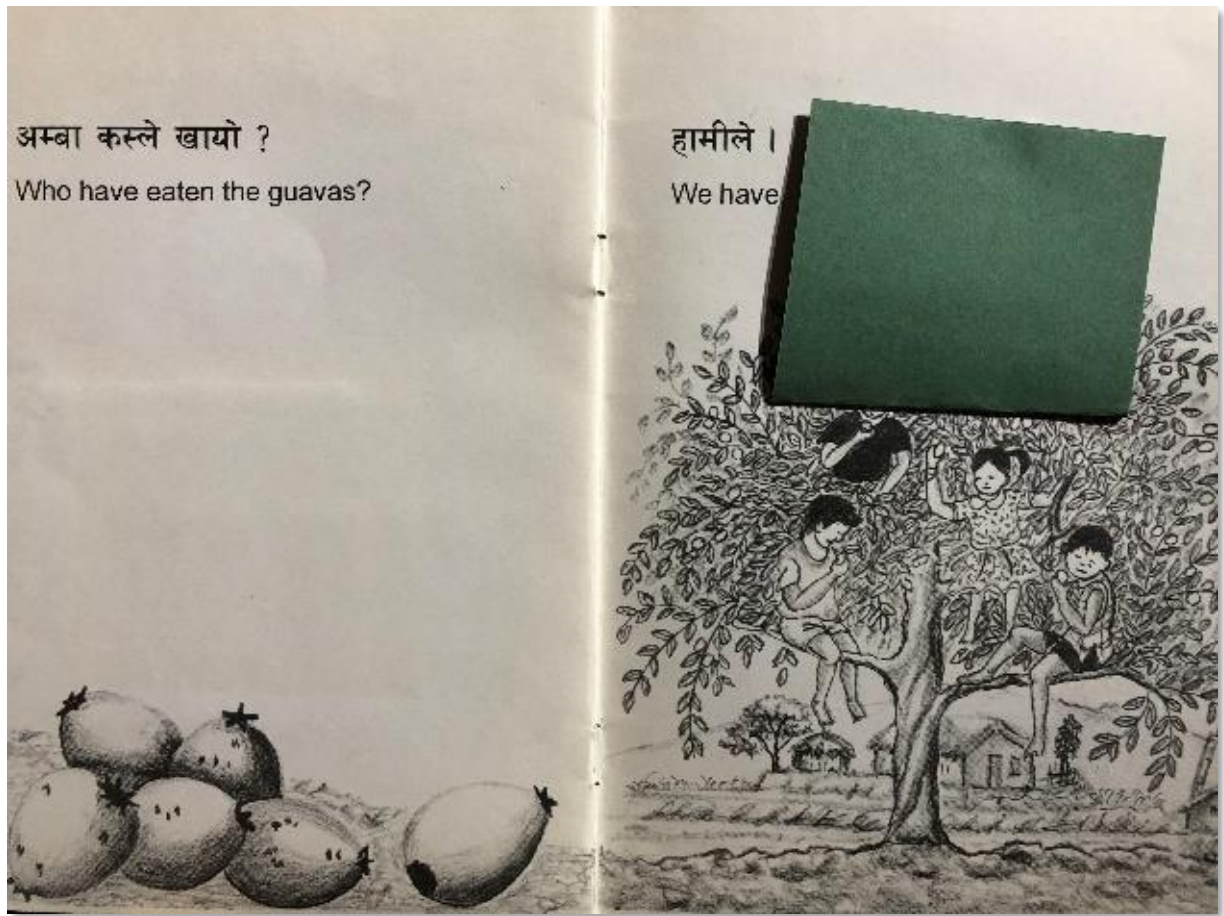


Figure 29 Who have eaten the guavas?

Transcript 28 introduces the theme of guava. Sundari encourages the children to use the Nepali word for guava.

1. Sundari: ल, यो के हो? <okay, what is this?> You can touch, you can smell. सुँधहुन्छ <you can smell>
2. Nisha/ Nirmala: its guava
3. Sanjana: Madhu, what is the English name?
4. Madhu: (laughing) I don't even know what it is!
5. Ameer: guava
6. Sundari: last week के पढ्यो? नेपालि नाम के? <what did you read last week? What is the Nepali name?>
7. Madhu: it's a guava
8. Children: अम्बा <"ambaa">
9. Sundari: यो के हो? <what is this?>
10. Children: guava

11. Sundari: यो के हो? <what is this?>
12. Children: guava, अम्बा <“ambaa”>
13. Madhu: अम्बा <“ambaa”>
14. Sanjana: I said it
15. Sundari: that is the answer I wanted

(Transcript 28, 7th March 2015)

The discussion shows a lot of repetition to reinforce the learning of the word. In the next extract we observe Shanti’s input about the name of the fruit.

1. Shanti: अम्बा, अनि अर्को पनि भन्छन दिदी <“ambaa” and older sister there is also another name>
2. Sundari: बेलौति <“belauti”>
3. Shanti: बेलौति भन्छ <it is called “belauti”>
4. Sundari: बेलौति पनि भन्छ तर प्रायजसो हामि अम्बा केताकेतिलाई भन्दा सजिलो छ <it is also called “belauti” but usually when talking to the children it is easier to say “ambaa”>
5. Shanti: अँ <yes>
6. Sundari: बेलौति पनि भन्छ एलाई <we also call that “belauti”>

(Transcript 29, 7th March 2015)

In transcript 29 Shanti is keen to ensure the children know another word for guava. She suggests this to Sundari who takes the lead in teaching the word “belauti” (turn 2) but suggests to Shanti that अम्बा <“ambaa”> (turn 4) is easier to use while talking to children. Shanti agrees. Different words are used in different parts of Nepal and so both Sundari and Shanti appear to have an opinion here about which one is important. Both words are introduced as important features in the discussion relating to enoughness. Initially, it was enough for the children that they knew अम्बा <“ambaa”>, but Shanti’s introduction of बेलौति <“belauti”> adds another feature in the discussion about enoughness. It appears that more knowledge and experience will reflect more Nepalese authenticity.



Figure 30 Guavas at NCS, 7th March 2015

In the following part of the lesson, Sundari encourages the children to describe what they see and taste. The discussion is detailed, and the children are actively engaged.

1. Sundari: यो कस्तो shape छ? <what shape is it?>
2. Children: pear
3. Sundari: Maya?
4. Maya: pear
5. Sundari: नेपालमा गोलो काल्को पनि पाईन्छ होईन? <in Nepal round kinds are also available are they not>
6. Prabha: aren't they like real limes as well?
7. Madhu: aren't they green?
8. Shanti: green colour पनि हुन्छ <they can also be green colour>
9. Sundari: के रे, एक एक piece लिने बेलामा, हरै ता, बाहिर हरै ता, भित्र पनि कस्तो छ? एलाई कस्तो थ्यो? अनि यो के हो? <what to say, when you take one one piece, look then, look at the outside, how is the inside? What was it like? And what is it?>

10. Maya: I think it is so sour
11. Sundari: yes, कति खाएको थ्यो? <how much did you eat?>
12. Children: ###
13. Sundari: बास्र कस्तो छ? बास्र? <what does it smell like? To smell?>
14. Madhu: smells like a pear
15. Sundari: अनि खाएर कस्तो हुन्छ? <and how is it when you eat it?>
Every bit is edible है, केहिपनि फाल्नुपर्दैन, खाएर हरै <okay, no part has to be thrown away, look when eating>
16. Shanti: okay, so have it, eat it
17. Sundari: अनि यो दाना पनि खान्छ, ल <and you can also eat this seed, okay> Auntie, Sarah (offering plate to others)
18. Madhu: what if I'm allergic to this?
19. Sanju: अमिलो छ <it is sour>
20. Sundari: good, Sanjuले भनेको, अमिलो छ रे, अमिलो भनेको के? <Sanju said, it is "amilo" sour, what is "amilo" sour?> (asking for the translation of "amilo")
21. Ameer: ###
22. Nisha/ Nirmala: sour
23. Sundari: good
24. Madhu: I don't like the seeds
25. Sundari: एकदम राम्रो पाकेको, गुलियो हुन्छ, तर यो चाहि अलि अमिलो छ। यो कहाँ बाट ल्याएको? India बाट कि? <if it is really ripe, it will be sweet, but as for these they are a little sour. Where were they brought from? From India or?>
26. Shanti: Indiaको <of India>
27. Sundari: दाना कस्तो लाग्यो? दाना पनि खान्छ <how is the seed? Also eat the seed>
28. Shanti: hard भयो है <it is hard isn't it>
29. Ameer: crunchy भयो <it became crunchy>

(Transcript 30.1, 7th March 2015)

There is a lot of detail in this extract but for the purposes of the discussion here, I will point out the different features relating to the fruits that Sundari and Shanti have shared. Turns 1-5 talk about the shape. The guavas that Sundari brought in are a kind of pear shape but in Nepal there are round ones available too. The colour is discussed. The ones they were eating had yellowish skins, but green ones are also available (turns 7-8). The taste is sour (turn 10, 19 and 22) but if the fruit is really ripe, it is sweet (turn 25). The smell is like a pear (turn 14). Every part is edible (turn 15). The seeds are hard

and crunchy (turns 28 & 29). It is likely that these have been brought from India. The shape, colour and texture of the fruit can be seen in figure 30.

The discussion continues with talk about where in town you can buy guavas and the differences between guava juice and real guavas. Both teachers appeared to judge this activity a success.

Towards the end of the time with the children, Shanti enthusiastically states that Sundari will bring something else next time, 'so next time Auntie अर्को चीज ल्याउनुहुन्छ' <so next time Auntie will bring something else>. This suggestion is made without the agreement of Sundari but is perhaps indicative of the flexible way activities are planned in the NCS. I discussed earlier the idea that activities are negotiated and how teachers regularly look to the children to take agency in their own learning. Sundari does not audibly challenge this suggestion, instead perhaps considering the idea as a possible activity for the following week or another occasion. Shanti's and Sundari's ideas of what constitutes a good activity for the class could be seen as different in the light of these comments and actions. Again, at the end of the activity, Shanti addresses her desire for Sundari to bring something else next week, describing the activity as interesting for them all.

- 30. Shanti: next week Auntieले के ल्याउनुहुन्छ?... यो यिनीहरुलाई interesting भाएछ <what will Auntie bring next week?...this became interesting for them all>
- 31. Sundari: त्यही बनेर, माईले साढे ८ बजे, पसलमा गयो <saying that, I went at half past 8 to the shop>
- 32. Shanti: धन्यवाद भन्न, धन्यवाद <say thank you, thank you>
- 33. Children: धन्यवाद <thank you>

(Transcript 30.2, 7th March 2015)

Sundari agrees with Shanti that the lesson was interesting, commenting that that is why she went to the shop early to get the fruit (turn 31). However, she does not commit to saying that she will buy something else for next week.

Looking ahead to the data from the following week, Sundari did not bring another item in, but instead chose to build on the previous week's activity by discussing the experience with the children and beginning to write sentences together. The children completed their sentence writing for homework as seen in figure 31 from Maya's exercise book.

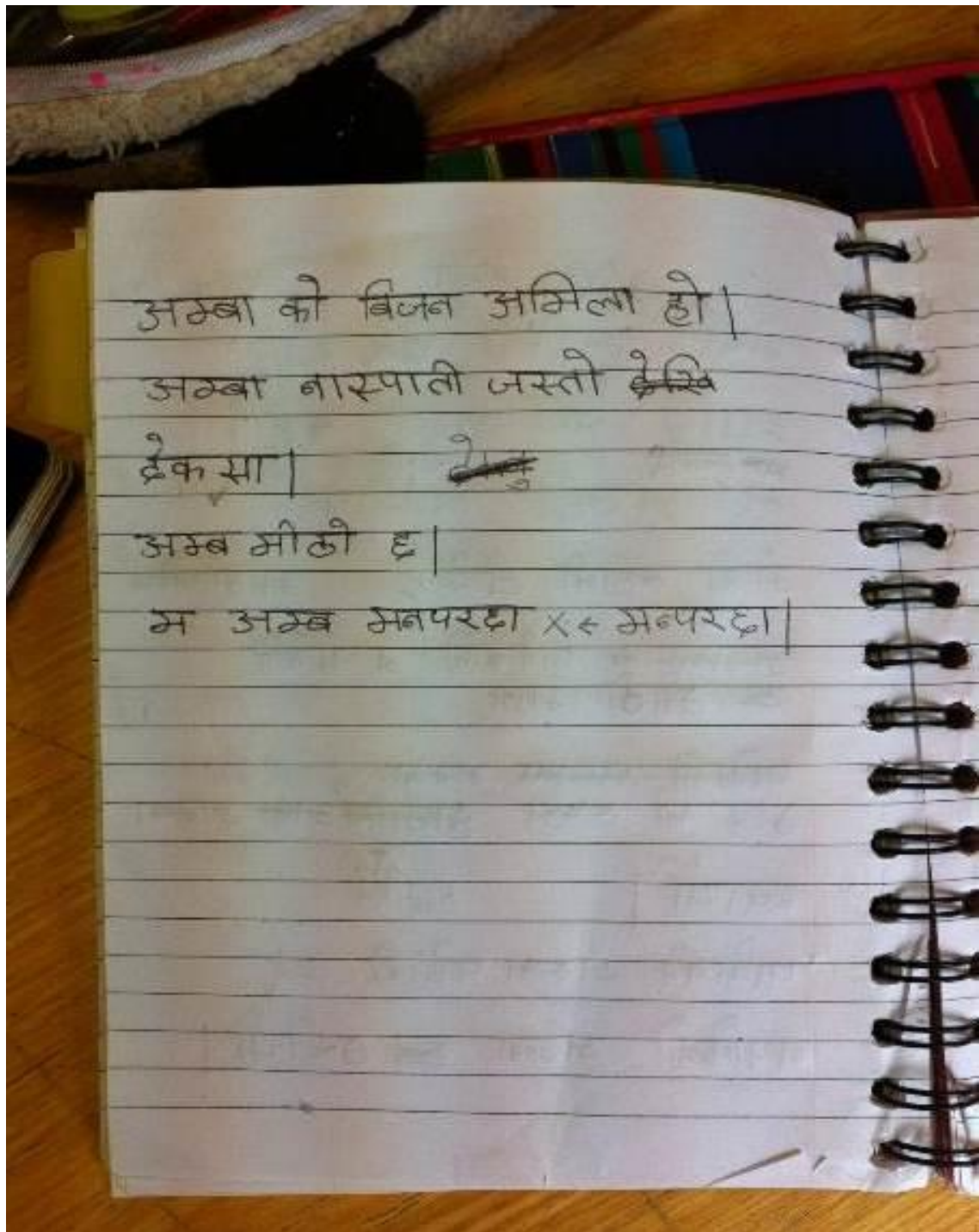


Figure 31 Writing about guavas, 14th March 2015

The guava seeds are sour.

Guava looks like a pear.

Guava is tasty.

I like guava. (Translation of the Nepali text)

The related activities of reading the story, buying and tasting fruit, describing the fruit and then writing about it in sentences not only offered the children valuable experiences that contribute towards an implicit understanding of enoughness as an authentic Nepalese person, but also to identities as students of Nepali literacy within the NCS.

Based on the 'fun' guava tasting activity, seen as a feature indexing Nepalese life outside the walls of the NCS, Sundari focused on a literacy activity which would develop the children's identities as students of Nepali literacy. The teachers were able to explore their experience of guavas with the children and in doing so, provided them with a valuable experience in relation to their identities as Nepalese people outside the walls of the NCS and as students of Nepali literacy.

5.2.8 Conflict and contestation - pronunciation and mispronunciation

Blommaert and Varis write,

conflict and contest are evident in such a shifting and dynamic process...being qualified by others as a 'wannabe', or a 'fake' or some other dismissive category is one of many people's greatest anxieties.

(Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.5)

Questions of authenticity in relation to identity were sometimes highlighted in conversations about pronunciation and mispronunciation of words. On numerous occasions, children would be told to pronounce their sounds properly to support phoneme-grapheme correspondence and to mitigate against problems later. This was a typical feature of the volunteer teachers' repertoire.

1. Sundari: beginning देखि नै <from the very beginning>, clear pronunciation गर्यो भने <if you do> you won't have difficulty later, yeah

(Transcript 31, 7th February 2015)

If the children could identify the correct order for the sounds, 'like आकार missing or ईकार or आकार in the wrong place' (turn 3, transcript 32) and distinguish between the sounds, like the difference between त and ट (turn 1), then they would not make any mistakes.

1. Sundari: अनि <and> the most of the mistakes are very minor mistakes, like आकार <"aakaara">missing, or for example, Sanju asking for coat had written कोत <"kot" coat> and this is ट <"Ta">
2. Children: oh!
3. Sundari: and just because of this, just because of this minor mistake, very minor mistakes like आकार <"aakaara">missing or ईकार <"iikaara">or आकार <"aakaara">in the wrong place

(Transcript 32, 22nd November 2014)

This in turn would contribute to judgements about who in the class was a good student, and who was not. Of course, teacher's views were open to negotiation and change.

On one occasion, Sundari asked Shanti about how Sanjana was ability wise at school. Shanti immediately asked her daughter Madhu this question, in particular asking about which sets she was in at school. Madhu answered that she did not know and that she thought Sanjana was fine. It seemed that Sundari was looking for a reason why Sanjana was not always as confident as some of the other children, so that she could change the judgement she had made that day.

Reference to pronunciation was made several times in my research diary.

The children had to take a card turn by turn and say the sound. If they pronounced it correctly then Sundari praised them. If they didn't she would ask them to repeat what they had said and if they were still wrong, then she would teach specifically where the tongue had to go. The sounds that stood out as particularly difficult for the children to say were the त थ द ध <"ta" "tha" "da" "dha"> sounds because they are pronounced at the very front of the mouth. She showed them very clearly where her tongue was and explained that they

would only be able to say it correctly if they put their tongue at the front of their mouth.

(Research diary, 24th June 2015, lines 11610-11618)

There was a large emphasis on them working together and helping each other to pronounce the sounds correctly. I don't think Ameer liked being corrected by the girls very much. Nisha especially seemed to be quicker to read the words than Ameer or Nirmala and so she was quicker to say the correct pronunciation. At one point Ameer said a word and Nisha corrected him. He thought he had been correct and he said, 'Well it was very close to that.' Nisha and Sundari I think both picked him up and said that he has to be careful how he says things otherwise he will not be correct.

(Research diary 4th July 2015, lines 11850-11858)

However, in conversational interaction, conflict and contestation sometimes arose over the issue of pronunciation. Children sometimes pronounced words incorrectly. Parents would comment on this within the class, usually accompanying their comments with laughter.

I saw this as face-saving work (Goffman, 1967), protecting themselves from the shame of not having managed to impart Nepali language well enough to their children. Lytra highlights the focus on correct pronunciation in her work with Turkish speaking children in London (Lytra, 2015) and Creese, Blackledge and Takhi discuss teacher-student interaction around pronunciation in their work with a Panjabi complementary school in Birmingham (Creese, Blackledge and Takhi, 2014). Language is always indexical. Language always points to something or 'indexes a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position' (Blackledge and Creese, 2015, p.169; Blackledge *et al.*, 2018, p.xxxiv).

In transcript 33, Sundari is checking Maya's spellings and notices that chicken is spelled incorrectly. Shanti joins in the conversation from the other side of the room, and laughingly comments that yesterday Madhu said chicken wrong (turn 4). Madhu appears to enjoy the attention this brings her and explains her mistake to everyone!

1. Sundari: (to Maya) Chicken नेपालिमा के भन्छ? <what is chicken called in Nepali?>
2. Children: कुखुरा <“kukhuraa”>.
3. Sundari: अँ <yes>
4. Shanti: कु खु रा, कखरा, कुखर भने चोरि! (laughter) <“ku” “khu” “raa”, “kukhuraa”, my daughter said “kukhura”>
5. Madhu: I did that yesterday. I said कुखुर, <“kukhura”> Mummy said कुखुरा! <“kukhuraa”>

(Transcript 33, 22nd November 2014)

The situation is understood as humorous, whilst at the same time highlighting the difficulties the children have in producing correct forms of Nepali. Furthermore, the way Shanti joins in from the opposite side of the room highlights the flexibility of the setting.

5.2.9 Section one summary

Section one has focused on issues of identity and authenticity in the NCS. Blommaert and Varis' first two tiers are discussed in relation to the consonant chart. These features are identified as important in the data not only because the teachers themselves decided on these particular features through a process of negotiation and decision making, but by the way in which they are explained to the children. Religion and the importance of understanding religious activities is discussed as important and understanding that hard work, not being a 'lazy person' are essential combinations that will make a person wise and knowledgeable. Related to this is other data focused on the importance of achievement, correctness and doing homework.

Different literacy events which focused on Nepalese food are understood as emblematic of Blommaert and Varis' third tier, enoughness. Knowing certain words related to particular foods and being able to describe certain procedures verbally and in written form contribute to an implicit understanding of enoughness as an authentic Nepalese person and also as students of Nepali literacy.

The fourth tier, conflict and contestation has been discussed in relation to correct pronunciation in the NCS. Teachers frequently focused on the importance of correct pronunciation of the sounds for good phoneme-grapheme correspondence. Being able to identify these phoneme – grapheme correspondences correctly to read, write and communicate is indexical of a being a good student of Nepali, but also of a Nepalese person who can communicate in Nepali outside the walls of the NCS. The difficulty is that despite the teachers going over the same things again and again, the children's lack of ability to communicate correctly in Nepali, (although the concept of correctly also is negotiable) means that their authenticity as Nepalese people is open to question.

5.3 Section two: MS

The MS is a very different environment to the NCS. Whereas the NCS teachers were free to design their own curriculum and assessment, the MS teachers followed the UK National Curriculum. Pressures from local authority and government assessment bodies meant that focus on 'learning' and 'success' were key features of this space. Early observations recorded these features.

When a visitor enters the classroom, two children go up to them, introduce themselves and explain what they are doing. The 'Learning Intention' (LI) is up on the board and the children know what they are learning. There are also always 'steps to success' given to support their learning.

(Research diary, 23rd September 2014, lines 2072-2075)

[The children are encouraged to work independently where possible and the slogan], C3B4ME is displayed in each classroom. [This encouraged the children to 'see' or do at least three of the following]; ask a friend, check steps to success, look at other examples, look at previous work, use classroom resources [before asking the teacher].

(Research diary, 23rd September 2014, lines 2076-2077)

In order to meet the expectations set out in the National Curriculum, learning was very structured. Discussion between the teacher and children, and between the children

featured as part of the lessons. Such lessons appeared to be very carefully structured with less negotiation between the teacher and children about lesson themes, content, and structure than in the NCS. The teacher had a plan which was carefully followed, for example

As she was deciding to move them on, she took them over to the maths 'learning wall' and showed them the information that was printed about finding the areas of shapes. There was also an extension activity pinned to the board for all the children to do when they had finished their worksheet. They had to find the area of the cut out shape and stick a post-it note on there. The lesson was going to continue after break.

(Research diary, 23rd September 2014, lines 2053-2059)

However, a similarity between the two learning sites was the way in which teachers employed the concept of scaffolding to support the children in their learning. I made note,

This lesson was very structured, and the teacher was clearly scaffolding their learning by giving them a short task and then asking for feedback before reminding them of other things they could use and showing them examples and pictures.

(Research diary, 23rd September 2014, lines 2698-2701)

Sometimes, the children would be asked to discuss their learning with a partner, for example

"Look for the verbs in the poem – discuss with your shoulder partner"

(Research diary, 14th October 2014, line 2711)

Then they had to 'rally robin' with their shoulder partner = take it in turns to tell each other things they had found out.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3010-3011)

Sanju and her partner wanted to find out information about polar bears

(Research diary, 18th November 2014, lines 3433-3434)

The above extracts point to a highly organised space in which the key features of learning, learning intentions, steps to success, partners and independent learning were encouraged.

The MS was also a largely monolingual space, where English language and literacy took priority in the curriculum and activities. Whilst participants' multilingual and multicultural identities were not entirely ignored, in the large quantity of data collected, only a small number of specific events relate directly to Nepalese identities. These events are positioned under Blommaert and Varis' (2011) fourth tier, highlighting the ways in which there may be conflict and contestation in identity negotiation. Other identity discourses observed align more with the institutional discourses of learning and success. It is to these that I now turn.

5.3.1 Discursive orientations: learner identity in the MS

In the Year 4 classroom, Sanju was one of three Nepalese students. In the Year 5 classroom, Ameer was the only Nepalese student. In the Year 6 classroom, Maya was one of two Nepalese students.

In section 5.3.1, I discuss selected extracts from the data which highlight discursive orientations towards learning, both from the perspective of the teacher, as well as from the perspective of the children in the class. Behaviours and practices which illustrate aspects of learner identity within this setting are highlighted. They do not necessarily have any thing to do with being a multilingual or multicultural child, but establish an overview of the MS environment and the participants' place within this.

Sanju is positioned by the teacher as a higher ability student. Notes from the research diary point to this ability.

Sanju knew how to do the extension task on the second sheet as well, no problems.

(Research diary, 13th January 2015, lines 5205-5206)

Sanju is in the top group for maths...all of the group got it fully correct. Sanju said she found it easy. It seemed as if she just knew the answers as she just wrote them on her paper.

(Research diary, 20th January 2015, lines 5450-5453)

The teacher had obviously positioned Sanju as able, based on her ability to do the work set. Following this, the other children seemed to view her in the same category and would sometimes ask her questions if they were not sure about something. The extract below from the research diary highlights the way in which Sanju helped other children in the class, through the use of her whiteboard and pen.

One girl wanted to know how to spell Scandinavia and brought a dictionary to me for my help. While I was helping her, Sanju wrote the word on a whiteboard for her. E, from the next door table also wanted to know and so Sanju got up and gave the board to her. She is a very helpful child.

(Research diary, 27th January 2015, lines 6031-6034)

I interpreted Sanju's behaviour as 'very helpful' as it was a move made on her own initiative. Furthermore, she did not just help one child, but was proactive in helping two children. Sanju obviously realised that using the whiteboard was a useful strategy as I observe it in another literacy lesson.

1. Child: (whispering) Sanju, what is a fronted adverbial?
2. Sanju: ### (unclear as she is also whispering)
3. Child: I can't hear you
4. Sanju: I will write it (gets up and collects a small whiteboard and pen. Writes 'it's an adverb in front at a sentence'). You have a word ending in 'ly' and like, in the front
5. Researcher: do you mean it starts, Sanju, it starts with an adverb?
6. Sanju: (nods)
7. Researcher: Yeah, thank you

(Transcript 34, 14th April 2015)

Whilst working through their teacher's corrections for stories they had started the day before, one child whispered to Sanju for help. Sanju began to try and explain what a fronted adverbial is. However, it was very difficult for the other child to hear her as she was whispering so quietly. She therefore decided to use her whiteboard to write the explanation "it's an adverb in front at a sentence" (recorded in my research diary of the same day), and then added further oral explanation (turn 4). Sanju demonstrated her willingness to help and tried hard to help the other child understand, using both oral and written literacy practices in her explanation.

As well as being positioned as able and helpful, Sanju was observed as a conscientious student. Transcript 35 records the teacher commenting on her work.

1. Teacher: Sanju, can I have a quick look at yours please? Have you thought about what we talked about yesterday?... (reads her work) that is so much better than what was written yesterday. Well done. You've taken note of everything we talked about. Good girl, all done.

(Transcript 35, 14th April 2015)

This short extract illustrates Sanju's conscientious nature, doing what is told and following the teacher's suggestions about how to improve her work. However, it also highlights important discourses around what it means to be a teacher and a learner in this setting. The teacher marked the work, gave feedback and Sanju was expected to work hard to improve her work.

One of the features of the MS was the focus on marking. As observed in the extract above, sometimes the teacher would mark the children's work and give feedback.

At other times, children marked their own work or that of their peers. In the extract below, I made reference to the use of green and pink pens for marking.

The teacher asked the children to swap books with their neighbour and mark their work. They had to tick green where a contraction had been correctly underlined. They also had to check that the apostrophe was in the correct

place. If they had missed making any contractions, they could underline in pink and ask their partner to change the words into a contraction....M wrote VERY neatly in Maya's book for her! He told her that he was going to do his best for her!

(Research diary 27th January 2015, lines 6160-6164)

Figures 32 and 33 show Maya's exercise book with green marking and a note that it is has been peer marked by M. M took this task seriously and I made the observation that he wrote very neatly for Maya.

Tuesday 27th January 2015

L.I.T. use contractions

they're, hadn't, We've, I'll, I'd, he's, she's, she'd

Dear Lonely Learner,

~~I'm understand~~ sorry to hear about
your problem but I think your mother
is right you shouldn't worry about
making friends so don't be scared of
being ^{alone at school} ~~alone~~. If ^{you're} ~~your~~ really worried it's
ok for you to tell a teacher or an adult
because you aren't alone you've got -
everyone else at school you can rely
on.

Figure 32 Lonely learner part 1, 27th January 2015

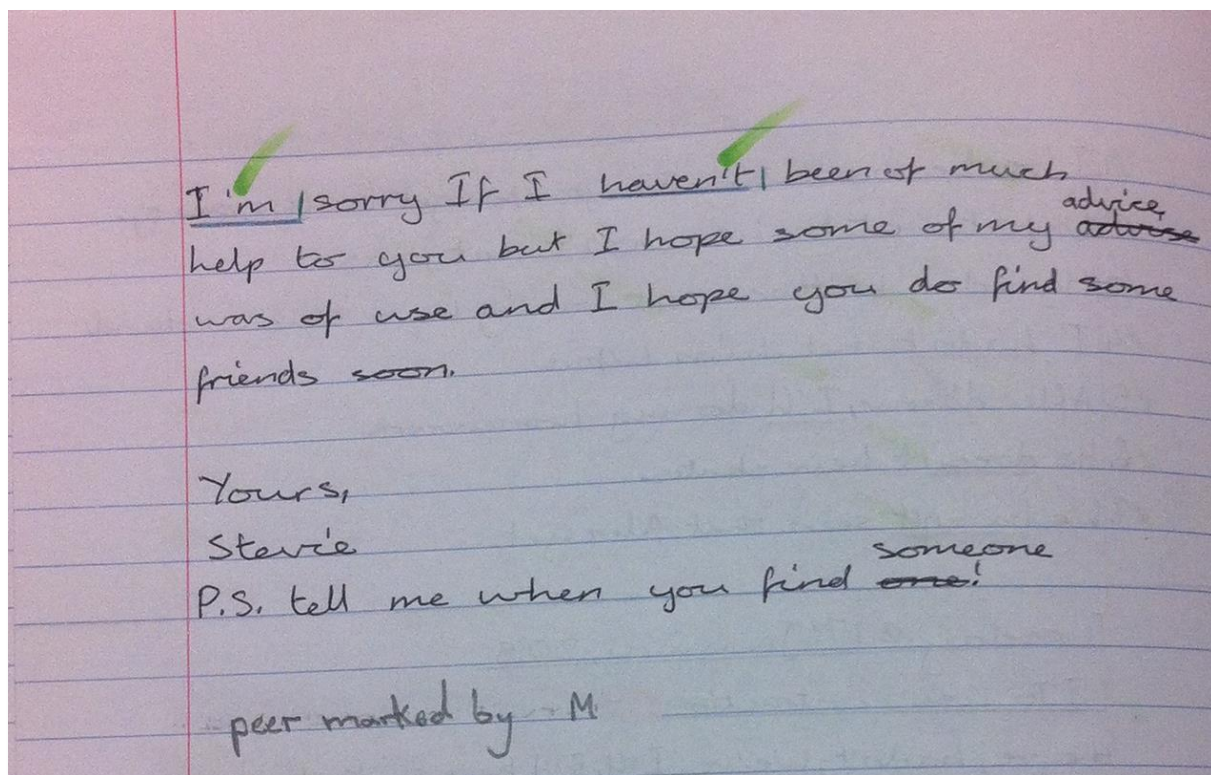


Figure 33 Lonely learner part 2, 27th January 2015

It can be seen in figures 32 and 33 that Maya had no mistakes with her contractions. However, the crossed out 'one', replaced by 'someone' in the last line (fig.33) evidences the way in which children were encouraged to work together to support each other's learning.

M suggested to Maya that she change the 'one' into 'someone' to make it clearer. She thought about it and agreed with him.

(Research diary, 27th January 2015, lines 6153-6154)

The following extract from my research diary relating to Maya's identity as a learner is one which highlights the way she engaged in the task quickly and followed instructions. Furthermore, she was able to explain her learning to me.

As a warm up, the children had to work in pairs to match up the contractions with the two words. Maya's table had the harder activity, and their puzzle

joined together as a hexagon. The rest of the class had a puzzle that joined up as a triangle...

The children then had to do exercises on a worksheet, selecting the correct version. Maya didn't make any mistakes. She found it really easy.

(Research diary, 24th February 2015, lines 7262 – 7267, 7290-7291)

Maya's teacher also positioned her as an able student. In this extract, the teacher has given her group the harder literacy activity and I make reference to the fact that she did not make any mistakes and found the task 'really easy'.

These discursive orientations towards getting things right, hard work, and working together were also observed in the Y5 classroom with Ameer.

The following extract highlights steps to success and working with a partner to check each other's work.

The teacher explained that the answer is based on whether the subject is singular or not. She wrote these steps to success on the whiteboard:

Singular subject – verb usually ends in 's'
Your friend talks too much.

Then she asked the children to work together. They had to each make three sentences with a choice of verb and then their partner had to select which was the correct form of the verb.

(Research diary, 13th January 2015, lines 5223-5229)

The following extract is from a guided reading session in which Ameer was part of a group of approximately 10 children, working with the teacher. They were reading a book called 'Perseus the gorgon slayer'. Children take turns to answer the teacher's questions.

1. Teacher: right, we are going to write some character descriptions. Can you get your orange books please.... Right, you were writing a description of the three sisters, using this picture please. Shall we have a listen to what you have written? Who wants to start?
2. Ameer: (puts his hand up)

3. Teacher: right, you want to start. Okay, let's have a listen
4. Ameer: (reading his work) 'the grey sisters have a greasy hair with thin hands (pause) they have long claws and a big pig nose (pause) thin body long hands and one eye like a cyclops no eyes of the cyclopes sisters'
5. Teacher: okay, I like that 'one eye like a cyclops', well done.

(Transcript 36.1, 10th March 2015)

The children continue to take it in turns to read their work. The teacher comments on each one. Following this, she asks the children what they think the sisters were like. Ameer is eager to answer and puts his hand up straight away (turn 6).

6. Teacher: what makes you think this sister is the oldest one? (Ameer puts his hand up) Ameer?
7. Ameer: well she has one eye and, and when you look at it, she's much bigger
8. Teacher: she's a bit taller. Okay. Is it always that the older one is taller?
9. Children: no
10. Teacher: no, not always
11. Ameer: cause P's little sister is taller than her
12. Teacher: yes, that's right. What makes us assume that she is older?
13. Ameer: her teeth or her hair
14. Teacher: okay, her teeth and the eye you've mentioned
15. Ameer: ooh, and a longer hand

(Transcript 36.2, 10th March 2015)

Ameer is able to draw on his skills of observation to add detail in his responses to the teacher. She corrects his 'much bigger' comment (turn 7) with 'a bit taller' (turn 8) and then develops the discussion to ask the children whether height is always related to age? Some children answer, no and Ameer clarifies this in turn 11. The teacher continues to respond to his answers with a focus on the teeth and the eye (turn 14). As the lesson continues, the teacher focuses on developing the children's descriptive and interpretational skills.

Despite the eagerness observed in the session above, it was clear that Ameer was positioned with a group of lower ability children for literacy activities. In a similar lesson

the following week, his group had to all read silently to a certain page in the book. I made a note that

Ameer was the slowest reader in the group. He also re-read a section that they had already read in class. The other children sat there chatting about the story and other things. This was possibly quite distracting for Ameer. However, he persevered with reading and asked me questions when he wasn't sure what things meant.

(Research diary, 17th March 2015, lines 8729-8733)

The first point to note is that Ameer's attitude to learning remains positive. Even though he is the slowest in the group, he perseveres in reading the section he has been asked to read. The second point to highlight is the way in which my physical positioning at his table meant that I was someone he could ask for help. The research diary records how Ameer did not fully understand the story and that he asked me about quite a few words, including 'nymphs' (lines 8735- 8736) and 'discus' (line 8743).

In a discussion with the teacher at the end of the day, she mentioned that she was concerned that he was not very good at listening. I suggested that based on my observations of him that day, that he does not always understand the vocabulary, 'It's easy to think he's understood when actually he might not have done' (Research diary, 17th March 2015, 8748-8749). This was me being temporarily positioned as an expert by the teacher.

In the following section, I discuss what is meant by 'essential combinations' of features when understanding authenticity in identity within the MS.

5.3.2 Essential combinations – matching the teacher's expectations

Being viewed by the teacher and other students in the class as more 'able', meant that Sanju was selected on one occasion to go and work in a small group with the

Headteacher (HT) in his office. However, she had started crying and so he sent her back. Sanju told me that,

she got upset because she didn't know what the HT was going to ask her and whether she could do it or not. She didn't know what was going to happen.

(Research diary, 3rd March 2015, lines 7652-7654)

This positioning by the teacher meant that Sanju was put in a situation which made her feel nervous and led to her being expected to do more than she was able to in that moment. In order to maintain her positioned identity as an able student, she needed to be able to participate in the headteacher's session. However, because she got upset and the headteacher sent her back, this identity position was temporarily questioned.

Essential combinations therefore may relate to being able to meet a teacher's expectations. Teachers position children in certain ways according to their behaviour and abilities, but these identity positionings are threatened when they are not able to be maintained.

A different kind of essential combination was observed in the interview with Maya's teacher.

1. Teacher: cause Maya was telling me about going to the Nepali school and I was like, oh wow! 'How lovely that you can do that'. I said 'can you write in Nepalese?' she said, 'well, I can just about do my name. I could do my name before the summer, but now I have forgotten how to do it'.
2. Researcher: Oh, she's forgotten
3. Teacher: I thought, oh my! Put it into context, as a bright girl struggling to write her own name

(Transcript 37, 9th December 2014)

The extract highlights the way in which Maya's teacher had positioned Maya as a bright girl, and how this positioning did not appear to match up with what Maya was telling her about her Nepali literacy skills. The teacher implies (turn 3) that as a bright child,

she would naturally be able to write her name. Furthermore, the writing of the name is understood as the most basic skill, having already discarded the idea that she can 'write in Nepalese'. These are surprising revelations for the teacher and challenge her view of the essential combinations required to understand Maya as a bilingual child.

For Ameer, it was observed earlier that he struggles at times with his literacy work. During the literacy lesson on 17th March 2015, he shared that he was now going to extra tuition at school, to help him with his commas and sentences. The teacher confirmed it was to support him in his literacy work. Receiving extra support through tuition would provide him with more opportunity to reach the Year 5 National Curriculum criteria. Towards the end of the data collection period, I asked his teacher whether she thought the tuition had helped him.

She said she didn't really think so. She saw his sentences but isn't convinced that he is confident to use them in his everyday writing yet. This is similar to what Mrs D, the tutor said – that he was beginning to get the idea but that he wasn't really confident to use it in his everyday work yet.

(Research diary, 12th May 2015, lines 10811-10815)

The essential combination of learning skills and application in everyday work is very important here for deciding whether Ameer has enough skills to meet the criteria for Y5 National Curriculum.

In the following section, I will continue this discussion in relation to the testing that the children received. The question arises in the school as to whether the number of marks a child receives in tests are 'enough' to be considered successful learners at their level.

5.3.3 Enoughness – testing and assessment

Being positioned in relation to marks achieved highlighted the discursive orientation towards achievement but also to 'enoughness'. In the following extract, Maya and another child are reviewing the marks the teacher has given them for a piece of work.

She noticed that she had been given a level 5b for her Egyptian work and she was happy with this. J praised her and said that he had got a 5c. He wants to get a level 6 by the end of the year. He thinks Maya will definitely get there as she is quite bright.

(Research diary, 6th January 2015, lines 5036-5039)

This extract highlights the orientations to achievement that were so prevalent in the school, and the way in which one child assumes the other is working for the same goal as he is, to achieve level 6 by the end of the year. This extract can also be understood as relating to the concept of enoughness, as the children consider whether they will have met enough criteria by the end of the year to reach level 6.

Figure 34 shows the highlighted level 4 and 5 assessment criteria that Maya was reading. Highlighted sections are the criteria she has achieved. The '5b' level is written at the top right-hand side. This was stuck in her exercise book at the end of the topic.

Teachers kept records of standardised test results. Ameer's teacher talked about how in September 2014, Ameer's reading age was assessed as 9 years 9 months, a level 3a, but in February 2015, his reading age had dropped to 9 years and 4 months, a level 3b. His teacher expressed some concern about this, and it may be a contributing factor as to why he was given extra tuition. Throughout the year, different tests were given, and ultimately, children and teachers worked towards the Statutory Assessment Tests (SATs) in the summer term of Year 6.

Throughout the school, teachers used 'steps to success' as a guide for the children as they carried out tasks and as assessment criteria following the completion of tasks. Figure 35 is an example of steps to success in Maya's book, with the teacher's own additional marking comments; a 'what I like' green sticker for something positive, 'Great effort! You've used the Steps to Success to help you punctuate direct speech correctly' and a 'think pink' sticker with a comment for something to work on. This marking policy was also something observed in all the classes, evidencing a consistent approach to marking and assessment across the school.

"Then I shall go as one of the youth of Athens and slaughter that monstrous creature!" said Theseus bravely.

Steps to Success	Have I done this?
Put " " around the words the speaker says.	✓
A new speech sentence starts with a capital letter (even if it is the middle of another sentence).	✓ Sometimes
Separate what was said from speaker with a comma unless there is already a ? or an !	✓
Start a new paragraph if a sentence has a new speaker saying something.	✓
Challenge: Start a new paragraph if the narrative/story continues after speech.	



**What
I like...**

Great effort! You've used the steps to Success to help you punctuate direct speech correctly.



**Think
Pink!**

Can you work out why I used - ?
Come and tell me what you think.

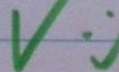


Figure 35 Steps to success

The final extract in this section illustrates the way in which the teacher talked to the children about steps to success for a spelling test and the way in which Sanju was eager to respond (turn 16). Not only is there a focus on the steps to success, but on the importance of using the correct literacy terms, phonemes and graphemes.

1. Teacher: who can remember what the steps to success are, for spelling?
2. Child: ### (unclear as others start talking)
3. Teacher: Just a minute. M is answering the question I've set. Its an important question, one that everyone needs to know the answer to. Your focus should be on M.
4. Child M: look at the word and then have a try and then check the word and see if its right
5. Teacher: you are not going to have any vocabulary to look at though because I'm going to say the word. A good try. What are those steps to success that we have been using for spelling words? You were practising this yesterday, sort of.
6. Child: one of them is look at the word and then try and write it
7. Teacher: you can't look this time. When you are doing spelling you have to listen, ooh that's the right bossy word isn't it, the imperative word. Listen to the word, so listen to the word, then
8. Child: sound out the word into the different phonemes then draw a line for how many phonemes there are
9. Teacher: that's right, yeah. So draw a line for each phoneme that you can hear
10. Child: then you write the phonemes
11. Teacher: you're getting a bit confused at this point aren't you. So, if you have the word 'potato', you can draw the lines for it like this (draws 6 lines on the whiteboard) but then what do we do?
12. Child: write the phonemes
13. Teacher: phonemes are sounds, you can't write sounds down. What do we call the things that we write for the phonemes? Things that represent the sounds when you write it? It begins with 'g'
14. Children: graph...
15. Teacher: phonemes and graph...

16. Sanju: oh, graphemes
17. Teacher: graphemes, we use the graphemes on the lines. So we listen to the word, we count how many phonemes we have, we write down the lines to represent each phoneme and then we try and work out what the graphemes are that represent each of those phonemes. Okay, let me see who's ready.

(Transcript 38, 8th July 2014)

The teacher proceeded to call out 40 words which the children wrote on their sheets. At the end of the test, I commented to Sanju that the test was not too bad, and she agreed, saying 'no it was not. If I'd have done it in Nepali, I would have got one or zero'. This reference to Nepali most likely occurred because I was present, however, it highlights the way she felt about her abilities in Nepali at this stage.

In the following section, I begin by exploring the likely influence that my presence in the MS had on the children's discourses towards Nepali language and NCS.

5.3.4 Conflict and contestation – bringing Nepal and Nepali into the MS

Because of my connection to the participants through NCS and home visits, my presence as a participant observer in this setting meant that the children sometimes initiated discourse relating to Nepal and Nepali language / literacy. For the majority of the time, these discourses usually just occurred in passing and did not interrupt the lesson or anything that the teacher had planned, for example Sanju's reference to Nepali at the end of the last section. In a similar way, the following extract illustrates the way in which Nepali comes to mind for Ameer whilst his group are working on an English literacy task with his group.

The girl next to Ameer asked me if I could think of any names beginning with 'ex' and I couldn't...Ameer thought that there might be a Nepali name but when I asked him if he knew what it was, he didn't. He just thought that it sounded like something Nepali maybe. Ameer wrote:
The chocolate was very expensive.

(Research diary, 23rd Sept 2014, lines 2122-2130)

The possibility of a Nepali word is temporarily discussed before Ameer settles on English, 'expensive'. The issue of trying to bring in a Nepali word for him caused some difficulty. He could not retrieve it and therefore had to resort to using English.

On a different occasion however, the introduction of Nepal and Nepali to his English lesson caused a temporary disruption to the lesson when he asked the teacher if he could write about Nepal in his story. Ameer's teacher thought he meant could he write his story in Nepali, and hastily replied that he could but that he would have to translate it so she could understand. The research diary records the event as follows

She at first thought he meant could he write in Nepali. She said yes, but also in English so that she could understand it!

(Research diary, 21st April, lines 9701-9703)

When he then tried to explain that he wanted to write about going to Nepal, the teacher discouraged him because of the impracticalities of getting there (during the period of history they were studying, World War 2).

Then he explained that he didn't mean that and he meant that he wondered whether he could go to Nepal. She explained that there weren't the same kinds of flights then as there are nowadays.

(Research diary, 21st April 2015, lines 9703-9705)

The teacher was not ready for Ameer's question about Nepal. It was completely unexpected. Furthermore, she was unaware that his low ability in Nepali literacy meant that writing a story in Nepali would have been difficult for him. She initially had assumed that this is what he meant and therefore requested that he translate it for her.

I understand this literacy event as a desire from Ameer to introduce some of his Nepalese heritage into his MS. However, on this occasion, he is not successful. Rather, it is understood by the teacher as a temporary disruption to the flow of the lesson.

Sanju also was keen to explore and practice her Nepali literacy skills during moments at MS. On one occasion, I observed her writing her maths in Nepali. This is possibly because I was there. However, I also understand it as Sanju wanting to share more of her Nepali knowledge and skills within the monolingual setting of the MS. In that moment, she understood it as safe to share with me as the researcher and with her friend across the table. The research diary records

Sanju told me that she could do the maths in Nepali! She could put Nepali numbers instead. She put them in small writing above her English and then rubbed out the English altogether and put only Nepali. She was excited about this and showed the boy across the table from her.... She understood the English maths and thought it would be fun to experiment with Nepali.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 2954-2961)

I decided to share this event with the teaching assistant (TA) who had been taking the class that day.

1. Researcher: you know Sanju, when you were doing the first bit...she was writing the Nepali figures
2. TA: ah! Right (responding with interest)
3. Researcher: the numbering is different
4. TA: ah! (added interest)
5. Researcher: in Nepali class she had learnt the numbers to 10 and she wrote them
6. TA: oh she! ... (as teacher comes in), alright thanks, right so ... (begins feedback about the lesson)

(Transcript 39, 11th November 2014)

Initially the TA seems interested, but when the teacher comes in, she quickly turns to him to give the lesson feedback. I understand this therefore not as a lack of interest in what Sanju had shared, but a result of the busy schedule she and the teacher were experiencing. There was no time for the TA to explore this further, even if she had wanted to.

In a different example with Sanju, there was room for her Nepali literacy to be used. In a previous lesson, the teacher began an art activity based on Islamic designs. The children had practised drawing their names to make a design on a paper plate. In the session I observed, the class were continuing to work on their designs. I was sat at a table of six children, next to Sanju. Sanju had completed the border and was working on writing her name in Nepali Devanagari script in the middle of the plate. The transcript below records the discussion.

1. Researcher: (to Sanju) I like the way you did your name. That was really nice
2. Sanju: Sanju
3. Researcher: so what's this bit?
4. Sanju: that's ###
5. Researcher: how do you write your name in Nepali?
6. Sanju: (writes on rough paper)
7. Researcher: okay
8. Teacher: so think about how we drew our names, the patterns we created, the symmetry in the patterns, the colours that we used. Think about the borders I have given you, could you try and copy one of them to go round your plate?

(Transcript 40.1, 19th May 2015)

The atmosphere in the classroom is relatively relaxed. Sanju's idea of writing her name in Nepali appears to prompt further discussion about Nepali literacy,

9. Child S: I know, I don't know how to do my name in Nepali
10. Researcher: you don't or you do? do you S or don't you?
11. Child S: I don't know
12. Researcher: you don't know
13. Child S: and I'm from there
14. Researcher: can your Mum or Dad teach you?
15. Child S: er, I need to go to Nepali school
16. Researcher: yes, you can come. Sanju goes to Nepali school. I go to Nepali school on Saturdays as well because I help there. Yeah. You are welcome to come.

(Transcript 40.2, 19th May 2015)

Child S shares that he does not know how to write his name in Nepali, even though he is 'from there' (turn 13). This appears to be a comparison with Sanju, who he observes using her knowledge of Nepali to write her name in Devanagari script. His inability to write his name in Nepali compared to Sanju's ability means that she is positioned as skilled. Child S rejects the idea of his mum or dad teaching him to write his name, instead saying that he needs 'to go to Nepali school' (turn 15). I interpret this as an orientation to his understanding that it is not his parent's job to teach him, but that he would learn at Nepali school. I make sure he knows that he would be welcome, further pointing out that Sanju goes to Nepali school (turn 16).

In the following extract, Child S continues to develop the theme of Nepal and another child also becomes interested in the language.

17. Child S: they had an earthquake
18. Researcher: I know
19. Other child: was that a Nepal one?
20. Researcher: yes
21. Other child: what is a "c"?
22. Researcher: like a "k" you mean? Yeah (no audio response)
23. Other child: I know Ameer goes to Nepali school
24. Researcher: yes he does
25. Sanju: he's in the other, the other group where Sarah teaches and there's Madhu, Madhu
26. Researcher: Madhu is Nepali
27. Other child: does L?
28. Researcher and Sanju: no, no he doesn't
29. Other child: I know Maya does
30. Sanju: ### does as well

(Transcript 40.3, 19th May 2015)

This interaction around Nepal and Nepali is not a typical topic of discussion in the MS and is obviously affected by my position at the table as someone connected to Sanju through the NCS. Despite this, Sanju had an opportunity to share her skills and meant

that other children found out a little bit about Nepal; that 'they had an earthquake' (turn 17), and that there is a Nepali school which is attended by some of the children they know (turns 23-30). Sanju appears to rise to the position of experienced member as she is keen to clarify to the group that Ameer is in the other group (turn 25) and that she knows L does not attend (turn 28).

Sanju's decision to write her name in Nepali for the activity did not cause disruption to the flow of the lesson. Possibly because it was more art focused, there was room for her other skills to be explored. Neither the teacher nor the TA made any comment about Sanju's design, only at the beginning of the lesson did the TA explain that Sanju had got

upset last time they did this apparently as her design went wrong. The TA said she'd ... had a bit of a meltdown about it and she was going to start again. She observes that Sanju gets upset if the things she's planned don't go well to plan.

(Research diary, 19th May 2015, lines 11090 – 11094)

It was this behaviour which had upset the flow of the lesson for Sanju and her teacher / TA, not the Nepali script decision. I understand this literacy event as a desire to show more of who Sanju is as a person. She has another way of writing her name. This is part of her literacy repertoire.

When Maya was asked to write an autobiographical account, she chose to write an account of a visit to Nepal that she had as a child. On first reading, the account records quite a miserable time. Because of this it is possible to suggest that Maya's bad memories point to a dislike of the country. However, on second reading, I observe the detail with which she writes. Maya has used complex sentence structures and description to produce an account which is both interesting and engaging. A copy of the account is in figure 36 with the text in figure 37.

Tuesday 9th September 2014
 L.I. To write an autobiographical account

I remember my first time in Nepal, it was huge with enormous mountains. When me and my family got to a village two men put me and my sister inside horrible baskets which poked into my back and made me feel frustrated. Frantically ~~my~~ I swayed this way and that way until my mother screamed she told me we were going to my ~~gma~~ grandmother house we climbed up a steep mountain, then we had to cross a stream my dad almost fell inside it luckily my mum was there to help him. Suddenly it started raining my parents and the two men were screaming and shouting as the silver drops fell on them the man who carried me inside the basket, dropped me in a house to help the others, a few seconds later, I heard some thunder and saw some black figures behind me talking in another language that's when my parents came.

Steps to Success	
First person	✓
Past tense	✓
Descriptive language	✓
Chronological order	✓
Time Connectives	✓

What I like

Think Pink!

Wow! What an experience. You've made me feel like I was there.

Now complete the STS checklist - can you find examples of everything?

until ✓
 enormous ✓

Ⓜ → effort

Open your notebook and choose your own words

Compare

To show

- also
- moreover
- let alone
- not only

To show

- however
- in contrast
- by contrast
- yet
- whereas
- instead
- but

To reinforce

- besides
- moreover

Figure 36 Autobiographical account (photo), 9th September 2014

Tuesday 9th September 2014

LI: To write an autobiographical account

I remember my first time in Nepal, it was huge with enormous mountains. When me and my family got to a village two men put me and my sister inside horrible baskets which poked into my back and made me frustrated. Frantically ~~my~~ I swayed this way and that way untill my mother screamed she told me we were going to my ~~gran~~ grandmother house we climbed up a steep mountain, then we had to cross a stream my dad almost fell inside it luckily my mum was there to help him. Suddenly it started raining my parents and the two men were screaming and shouting as the silver drops fell on them the men carried me inside the basket, dropped me in a house to help the others, a few seconds later, I heard some thunder and saw some black figures behind me talking in another language that's when my parents came.

Figure 37 Autobiographical account (text), 9th September 2014

A list of 'Steps to Success' have been stuck in Maya's book (fig.36). She has checked that these different points are included in her account by underlining relevant words in green and then ticking next to the step on the chart. I suggest that Maya chose this subject, knowing she could draw on her detailed memories, to produce a high standard piece of work that would not only fulfil the 'Learning Intention (LI)' and 'Steps to Success' but also allow her to share something interesting about her Nepalese heritage and identity. Because there was space in the curriculum for account writing, Maya's example of something which indexed her Nepalese heritage did not cause conflict or contestation in the school. However, the account itself does raise some questions as to how she feels about Nepal.

The final event to share in this section relates again to finding other space in the MS timetable for the children to share other aspects of their lives. Ameer had the opportunity to share something related to his Nepalese identity in the talent show towards the end of the school year. This was something unrelated to the curriculum. He had mentioned on various occasions (NCS 17th January and 9th May 2015; MS 5th and 12th May 2015; at home 6th May 2015) about how he had been learning a Nepali

bajan (song) with a Nepalese music teacher (see figure 38) and had played and sang it for me during the home visit on the 6th May.

He decided to sing this for the talent show and won first prize. My comments in the research diary following the competition highlight the way in which this was a positive experience for him and a way of connecting with other children and adults in the school.

He came in today all excited about it...He kept following me around to tell me about it. I asked him as he followed me into the other room whether he felt all the other children were happy that he had won. He said that he had made friends with a Year 6 person and they had kept saying that he would win! I asked him who the judges were and he said one teacher, one TA, someone from the nursery and someone from the office. I asked if it was Mrs C and he said, yes maybe! He said that they said it made them feel like they were in the mountains. I asked if he'd played his Nepali song and he said yes.... He got a prize and a certificate.

(Research diary, NCS, 16th May 2015, lines 11281-11294)

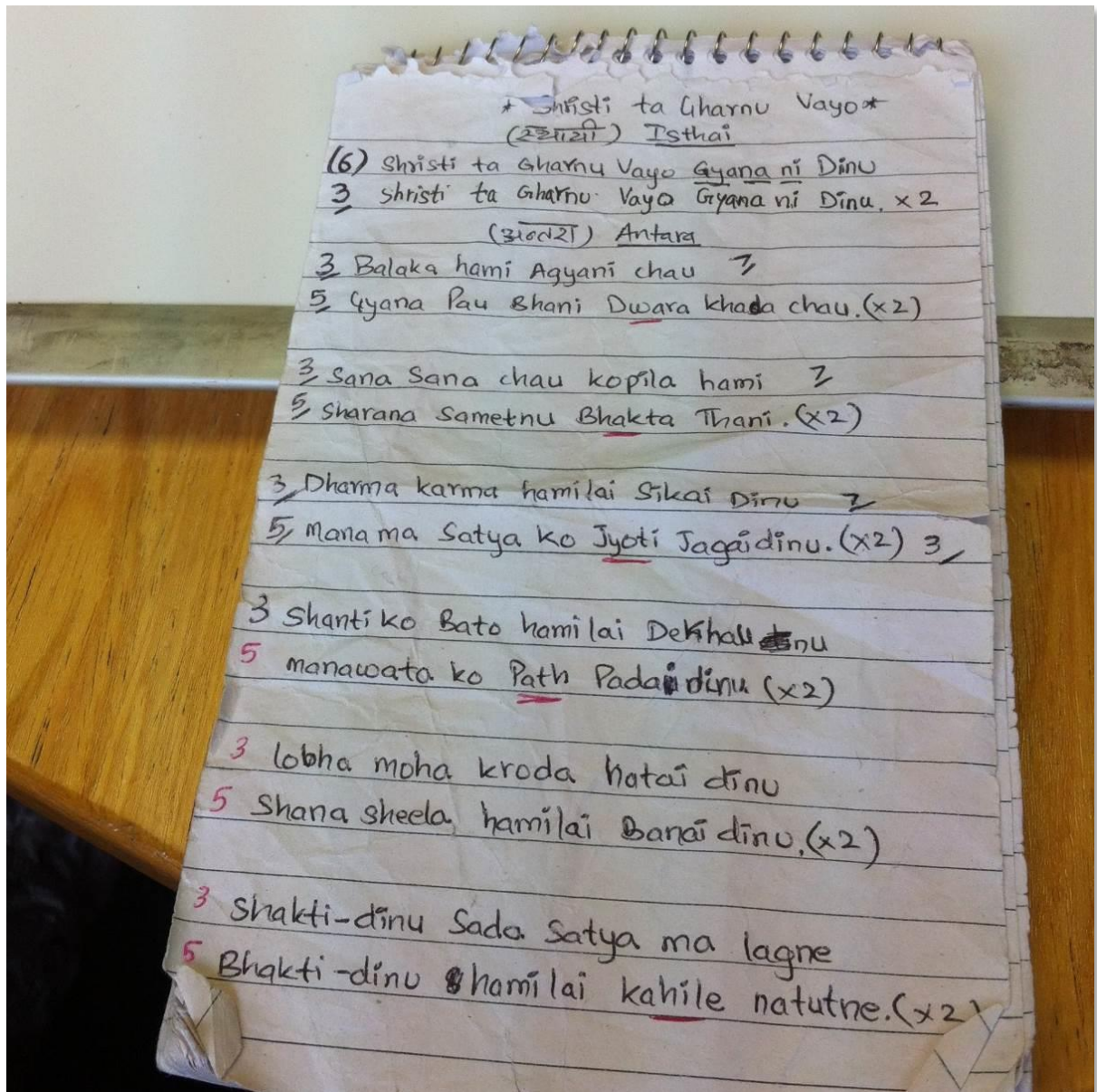


Figure 38 Ameer's Nepali 'bajan' (song) words

5.3.5 Section two summary

This section has considered the data collected from the MS and has analysed the ways in which the participants' identities are shaped by discourses and ideologies already present in the MS. Their multicultural and multilingual identities remain largely hidden in a setting which is so intently focused on English and the teaching and learning goals set out in the national curriculum. The teachers' own expectations of the students in their class, is that they follow what has been decided by the teacher, with little negotiation.

Teachers' reactions to children's attempts to bring something of their heritage and language into the MS day (Sanju with her Nepali maths, and Ameer with his request to write about going to Nepal) highlight the fact that there was little recognition of other repertoires. Furthermore, there was little space for these to be explored within the mainstream curriculum. I understand this as potentially depriving the participants and the wider class in which they were members from exploring other languages and cultures.

The year six teacher shared that she would like to have parents come in and do something about different cultures, but this was not explored further. And when I mentioned it to the teachers at Nepali class and to the parents of the children themselves, they did not want to. Furthermore, even though the Y6 teacher had mentioned the school's desire to make a connection to NCS, this did not happen. I am inclined to understand it as just something extra to do for which the teachers and parents do not have time.

Multiculturalism was allowed to be shared in the talent show and it was Ameer who won this with his Nepali bayan. It was also permitted for Maya's writing activity as she was free to choose a situation to give account of....and for Sanju's plate design. These events are glimpses into the children's multicultural and multilingual identities. I want

to suggest that maybe the school could make more room for learning about other cultures and languages without singling children out, make room for showing that they value, appreciate and are interested in other cultures and draw on the children's 'funds of knowledge' in planning and extra-curricular activities (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.ix).

5.4 Section three: Home

I made six home visits in total, one to Maya and Sanju's home and five to Ameer's. The reasons for this are explained in the methodology chapter. In this section, I draw again on Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework to discuss 'discursive orientations', 'essential combinations', 'enoughness' and 'conflict and contestation' in relation to literacy learning and multicultural identities in the UK.

Learning was very important for the families I visited. Discussions between me and the parents often oriented towards learning. This was not a surprise as I had introduced myself as a teacher with a background of teaching in Nepal. They understood that I was interested in literacy and that their involvement in the study was interesting and helpful for me in completing this study. The focus on learning, which is reflected in the data, was also to be expected due to the interest I shared about Nepali language and learning at home, school and NCS. The related aspects of multicultural identity are discussed within 'essential combinations'. I begin by considering some of the discursive orientations towards different people's roles in the learning process.

5.4.1 Discursive orientations towards teacher and learner roles

One of the aspects which the data highlights is the orientation to different people having different roles in relation to literacy. In November 2014, I visited Sanju and Maya in their home after school. Their younger twin brothers were there, as were their mother and father. After initial introductions, conversation turned to Sanju and Maya and

whether they could write their names in Nepali. Their father suggested that the girls go and get some lined paper and have a try to write their names. The research diary extract below records how they struggled to do this and the frustration of both the mother and father that the girls were not able to do this without help.

I asked Sanju and Maya if they knew how to write their names. They had a go but it wasn't easy for them. They both sat for a while trying to remember and the mum asked them 'बिसयो?' <forgotten?> She seemed quite cross that they couldn't do it immediately and dad said, 'what do they teach you at that place?' Sanju got it correct. She was really excited and started cheering! Maya made a small mistake – she'd done it like her dad but then altered it.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3087-3093)

I understand the parents' comments, particularly that of the father, as an orientation towards teaching Nepali being the responsibility of the NCS teachers, not his. The mother's frustration that the girls appear to have forgotten how to write their name suggests that they should remember what they have been taught. Despite this apparent view that NCS teachers need to teach you, I observed Sanju and Maya's father temporarily taking on the role of the teacher by using the whiteboard to demonstrate certain words to the girls. I recorded his comments on this in the research diary.

They are never normally interested in learning Nepali like this with him – only when their cousin is there. I think he was surprised that they were so interested and I said it was probably because I was there! He said that he will answer their questions but he doesn't like to put extra stress on them. He said he is happy to help them if they ask, but he doesn't want to pressurize them.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3118-3124)

These comments suggest an orientation towards the NCS being the place that is responsible for teaching his children. His role is to support and help if they ask, but he did not want to put extra pressure on them. The children's role was to pay attention at NCS, and to not forget what they had learnt.

The orientation towards the children learning at class and working independently on tasks at home unless they are stuck was apparent also in the data from visits to Ameer's home.

I asked him again if he does reading with Mummy or Daddy or on his own and he replied that he does it on his own. What about his homework? If he gets stuck then he asks his mum or dad.

(Research diary, 6th May 2015, lines 10479-10481)

Ameer's comments display a level of independence in his work, only turning to parents if he needs help. However, his mother appears to see things differently, that the iPad occupies the children's time so that they never do any reading or writing.

His mum commented that the children always want to play with the iPad and they never do any reading or writing. Ameer said that he does (in a whining kind of voice!).

(Research diary, 6th May 2015, lines 10476-10478)

I understand this comment about never doing any reading or writing about Ameer doing it independently. I wondered how much support his mother felt she could give him with his homework. On a previous visit, Ameer's mother had asked me about tuition. She was familiar with the practice of children being sent for tuition in Nepal to support their schooling, but she was unsure whether it was a good idea here in the UK.

During the meal [Ameer's mother] asked what she could do about Ameer's education. She asked if some children go for tuition in the UK. He was in the middle of the class, and she obviously wants him to be higher up. She had seen an advert for Kumon education on the television, but it is only for English and Maths. I said that some people do pay for tuition, but she can help him by doing some reading with him and helping him with his homework. She looked a bit disappointed by this, seemingly wanting a different answer that I couldn't give.

(Research diary, 13th February 2015, lines 6957-6963)

Ameer's mother was concerned that he was only in the middle of the class, and she wanted him to do better. Her solution appears to orientate towards finding a tutor who

can help him. I remember feeling that she was disappointed that I could not suggest a solution. The discourse continues to orientate towards tutors for specialist help, discussing how Ameer sometimes had Nepalese music lessons with a member of the community.

She also commented on his music and how she loves it when he sings and plays the piano. The Nepalese music teacher was teaching him, but she is a doctor and is in Nottingham, so doesn't come down very often. Ameer does seem to be musical, and it would be nice if they were able to get some more tuition for this area.

(Research diary, 13th February 2015, lines 6963-6965)

These music lessons were important to him and his family and on another visit the discourse turned to the news that Ameer had played the piano as part of a religious ceremony the previous weekend. Ameer brought the keyboard out and played it to me. The song he played was the one he had shown me on a different occasion at Nepali class, and the one he played for the talent show at school.

In the following section, I will discuss the way in which there appeared to be an orientation towards accessing features of Nepaleseness, whilst simultaneously accessing features of English and the identities of people in the UK. I frame the discussion under 'essential combinations'. Blommaert and Varis note that

The features rarely occur as a random or flexible complex; when they appear they are presented (and oriented towards) as 'essential' combinations of features that reflect, bestow and emphasize 'authenticity'.

(Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.146)

The data highlights the way in which families were free to select features of Nepaleseness and Englishness to create their own essential combinations of what it means to be an authentic Nepalese person living in the UK. The discussion begins by talking about different literacy resources in the homes.

5.4.2 Essential combinations – literacy and a multicultural identity as Nepalese in the UK

Influenced by Kenner's research amongst multilingual families (Kenner, 2000b; 2004a), in which she discusses different literacy resources and practices in the homes she visited, one of the things I was interested in was whether the families used any Nepali literacy resources in their homes. It became apparent early on in visits however, that families owned very few Nepali language books. This was not completely unexpected as I was aware of the difficulty the NCS teachers had had of accessing and purchasing Nepali language resources from UK. Furthermore, my experience of talking to teachers and parents at NCS highlighted the fact that literacy resources brought from Nepal were scarce in the community. Sanju and Maya's mother was not Nepalese but had met her husband in Hong Kong when he was stationed there with the army. She showed me one textbook from which she had previously learnt English.

The mother said that she has two books in English / Nepali that he sent her from Nepal... they were both books about learning English. They could only find one of them. It had no cover and was only a little larger than A6 size. She said that she had tried to read the words but when she heard them, they sounded different from what was written in the book. Then it was quite confusing.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3196-3202)

This book had obviously been an important literacy resource for the mother as she had tried to learn English. However, it was clear that she had found reading the text difficult and had made the decision to focus on learning to speak English rather than write. Furthermore, she had not learnt Nepali Devanagari script, so could not read and write Nepali. Despite this, she was able to communicate verbally in both Nepali and English and talked about how she decided not to use her language in the home, rather choosing to focus on Nepali and English. She was happy that the girls were learning Nepali at NCS and the 'in-laws are very happy that the girls are learning Nepali' (Research diary, 11th November 2014, line 3234).

A similar lack of books was noted in Ameer's home.

I asked Ameer if they have any Nepali stories at home and he said no. They just have one book in Nepali about learning English.

(Research diary, 27th January 2015, lines 6238-6239)

Despite the lack of Nepali books, the presence of digital devices; televisions in both homes, and an iPad in Ameer's home was very apparent. This observation aligned with Kress' (2003) discussion about the move from the dominance of written literacy, to the dominance of image; the move from books to screen (Kress, 2003). The television remained on during the whole of my visit to Sanju and Maya's home, initially playing a children's program 'Thomas the Tank Engine' for the twin boys, and later, a film about Pakistan and India.

The twins like Thomas a lot and one of them was holding a plastic Thomas toy. I asked if they watch lots of English TV and [the parents] said they watch both English and Indian – they like the Hindi serials (soap operas). If they miss an episode, they can record it and watch it later. He said it is like Coronation Street or Eastenders here. I looked at Maya and she smiled and nodded. They pay £10 a month for Indian TV, and it has lots of Bollywood movies. Later in the evening they turned it to one of the Indian channels – I think so I could see the kind of thing they were watching. They said that 40% of Hindi is like Nepali and so it is easy for them to understand. There was a film on about the war between India and Pakistan. It was very old.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3214-3224)

Several features are highlighted in this extract. Firstly, the importance of the TV for entertaining the younger children and as a resource to help them learn about something they are interested in. One of the children was holding a plastic 'Thomas the Tank Engine' toy as he watched the program, demonstrating that he had connected the physical object with the image on the screen. Subscribing to the Indian TV channel enabled them to watch familiar content to that in Nepal; Bollywood movies, Hindi serials and historical films based in India. The parents explained how the Hindi language was similar to Nepali, so they did not have any trouble understanding what was happening

in the programmes. Ameer's family also talked about the different things they watch on TV.

I asked Ameer what he watches on TV. His mum watches Hindu and Nepali soap operas and films and his dad watches Hindi films. Ameer watches things in English.

(Research Diary, 3rd March 2015, lines 7926-7928)

I understand the TV as a literacy resource in these two homes (Beavis, 2002; 2008; Beavis and Charles, 2005). The families have access to languages and styles of programme that they are interested in and that indirectly connect them with the identity and culture of others who are watching the same, or similar programmes. Sanju and Maya's father was very interested in watching the news as it was reporting about Remembrance Day services around the country.

when the boys disappeared upstairs, the channel was changed to the news. There were lots of articles on the news about Remembrance Day and they were all interested, particularly as Maya had been chosen on Sunday to be the flag bearer with another girl on the Remembrance Day parade in [town]. She wondered if she would see herself. She recognised one lady who had been in [there]. It was now Tuesday 11th – I think she might have been a mayor.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3224-3231)

This was relevant to the whole family as the father was in the army and Maya had been selected to be involved in a Remembrance Day service parade the previous Sunday. Therefore, she was excited to see if she or anyone she knew from the parade had been captured on the film from their town. The TV news highlighted features that were important to the family in their identity as an army family in the UK.

Ameer and his brother used the iPad as a resource for looking things up that they were interested in, such as an online computer game. On one occasion, Ameer had the computer game playing via YouTube on the large TV, and he was looking up cheats on the iPad that his friend at school had told him about. I understood this as Ameer seeking to acquire features that would help him to fit in with his friends at school. On a

different occasion, my notes in the research diary record the way in which Ameer talked of looking other things up on YouTube; music that he wanted to play on the piano, and other songs that are related to computer games that he and his brother enjoy.

He was keen to play Für Elise on the piano and can do the beginning but not the rest. He asked me what it was called, and I told him. He said he would look it up on YouTube as he finds instructions there on how to play the music. He just copies the notes that are being played by someone's hands or being highlighted. He found other songs which were related to computer games that he really enjoyed and [his brother] also sang along.

(Research diary, 6th May 2015, lines 10417-10422)

These extracts relating to TV or iPad highlight the value of these devices as literacy resources that family members can refer to find things out, but also the act of aligning themselves with identity features of Nepalis in the UK and being an army family. The access to these digital resources strengthens their access to information which in turn allows them to acquire features which align with the above identities.

This section has highlighted the way in which the two families on the one hand accessed features of Nepaleseness through the TV and through the script in the English-Nepali textbook, whilst on the other hand enjoyed features of English and UK life, such as Eastenders and other songs, TV programmes and computer games in English on the iPad and TV.

In the third section, I consider the issue of 'enoughness' as students of Nepali in relation to vocabulary, reading and writing.

5.4.3 Enoughness – vocabulary, reading and writing

Sometimes the data analysis revealed an orientation towards the concept of 'enoughness' in discourse around literacy abilities. The extract below follows a question I asked Sanju and Maya about what they had done in NCS the previous Saturday when I had been away. Sanju was excited to explain that

they had played a game at guessing what the word was with cards that Sundari had shown them. She said it was really fun. Maya added that they hardly ever got them right! Sanju repeated to us all again (as she had done to me in class this morning) that Sundari said she could write a sentence.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3073 – 3079)

Sanju and Maya were obviously engaged in the activity at NCS, and Sanju's excitement is evident in the way she describes the activity as 'really fun'. At the same time, there is an orientation towards the theme of achievement and correctness that I observed earlier in the NCS (5.2.4) and of testing that I discussed in relation to the MS (5.3.3) as Sanju is excited to tell her family that she can now write a sentence. I had noted earlier in the MS day that she had told me this news, so it was clearly important to her. This contrasts with Maya's comment about guessing the words, that 'they hardly ever got them right!'. Although apparently said in jest, I also interpret Maya's comment as a face saving technique (Goffman, 1967), just in case someone plans to ask her how to spell or read something in Nepali.

On the first visit to Ameer's home, I had taken three Nepali-English bilingual story books with me as a discussion starter, and these were lent to the family until the following visit.

While his dad was making tea, I looked at these with Ameer. Even though he doesn't know the vowels, I showed him that he knows the consonants by covering up the vowel symbols and characters. He said all the consonants correctly. To start with his dad said but he can't read, I said that he knows the consonants now and I think his dad was quite impressed.

(Research diary, 27th January 2015, lines 6238-6245)

When his dad came back in, I recall feeling discouraged by his comment that Ameer 'can't read' and was quick to defend the skills he had already learnt, the reading of the consonants. However, I recognise that with a teaching background, my natural inclination is to encourage and so I may have been over generous in my defence of Ameer's abilities. I understand that Ameer's father had a different perspective, which

focused on the fact that Ameer did not yet have enough Nepali literacy skills to be able to read a story book fluently.

Related to this is the example of Sanju and Maya writing words with their father. Having revised the alphabet on the whiteboard with them, Sanju and Maya's father asks them to write the Nepali for Everest.

He then asked them to write the word for Everest 'सगरमाथा' <"Sagaramaathaa">. The girls weren't sure how to do this and so their dad told them that they had to remember their 'क ख ग घ' <"ka" "kha" "ga" "gha">. He also told them to look at his mouth when he was speaking. They were trying hard and kept repeating the word after him. They both tried to write it in their books. They showed him but they hadn't got it completely correct. He wrote it on the whiteboard for them: 'सगरमाथा' <"Sagaramaathaa">.

(Research diary, 11th November 2014, lines 3104-3110)

He tries a number of techniques to help them write the word; to remember their 'क ख ग घ' <"ka" "kha" "ga" "gha"> (consonants), to look at his mouth while he is speaking, to repeat the word after him, write the word, and to correct their spellings based on his version. Although this extract highlights the importance of correct pronunciation, issues of conflict and contestation are not as evident around the discourse as they were in the NCS discussions around pronunciation (3.2.7). In this instance, the extract appears to highlight more the importance of having enough literacy skills and being able to draw on those skills for spelling.

The fourth section considers aspects of conflict and contestation around literacy in the home.

5.4.4 Conflict and contestation – how many words do you know?

Whilst Ameer and I were looking at the bilingual story books, he asked me

how many words I know in Nepali? I said I don't know but that he probably knows more than me! His dad laughed and asked him how many he knows, and

Ameer answered in Nepali, 'धेरै, धेरै, एकदम धेरै <a lot, a lot, a very lot>'. He is very proud of what he knows.

(Research diary, 3rd March, lines 7872-7874)

Even though Ameer's dad asked him the question in English, Ameer was quick to defend himself, responding that he knows 'धेरै, धेरै, एकदम धेरै <a lot, a lot, a very lot>'. I understand Ameer's use of Nepali as a way of adding emphasis to prove the point that he knows lots of words. This emphasises his identity as a Nepali speaker, like his dad. The interaction is a light-hearted response to an issue of potential conflict and contestation, the honest fact that Ameer's dad knows that Ameer does not always know Nepali words.

5.5 Section three summary

The third section has focused on aspects of literacy and identity in the homes of Sanju and Maya, and Ameer. Data highlighted discursive orientations towards teachers in the NCS or tutors being the ones to teach the children, and the parents being there to offer support or help if requested. It was observed that Nepali books were scarce in the homes, but the TV and iPad were understood as digital literacies through which family members could access different literacy resources. Furthermore, the variety of programmes and resources available meant that each family could create what they understood as essential combinations of features for a Nepalese person in the UK. Discussions around 'enoughness' related to the importance of having enough literacy skills to be able to read, write and spell, and the fourth concept, 'conflict and contestation' was highlighted in the discussion around who knew the most Nepali words, Ameer or the researcher. It possibly disguised a more serious reality that maybe Ameer did not know as many Nepali words as his father would like him to.

5.6 Chapter summary

Chapter five has examined the construction of ethno-cultural and learner identities across the three sites of NCS, MS and homes. Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework has been used as an analytical framework to interpret the data. Although similarities have been identified across sites, there are also significant differences. The following section seeks to draw out and compare findings across these three sites.

5.6.1 Comparisons across the three sites of NCS, MS and homes

This chapter began by discussing alphabet learning in the NCS. An important connection was made between literacy skills teaching and culturally and religiously relevant semiotic features on the handmade alphabet chart which pointed to aspects of Nepalese and learner identity. The latter was supported by other data in the NCS and the MS highlighting certain learner behaviours and dispositions (e.g., doing homework, demonstrating progress and achievement). This attention to achievement was particularly apparent in the MS, with the teachers' use of standardised tests and their practice of providing 'steps to success' as a scaffold for learning and student/teacher assessment (see fig.35 and 36). The MS data also highlighted the way in which MS teachers' discussion with the children and with the researcher was able to correct earlier assumptions about the children's language and literacy levels in Nepali. However, external and institutional pressures on the MS teachers meant that despite well intentioned plans to develop connections between MS, NCS and the community, these were not able to be fully realised during the data collection period.

Discourses relating to a successful learner identity in the home were closely connected with the literacy practice of learning consonants, vowels and then words. Sanju and Maya's father commented to the children that they had to learn their alphabet correctly in order to be able to write, and Ameer's father was concerned about him reading a bilingual book because Ameer did not yet know all his sounds. Although I was not able

to observe early English literacy learning due to the children being in years 4, 5 and 6 respectively, the classroom literacy practices I observed, such as Ameer's reading aloud in guided reading time and the way in which children had access to, and were encouraged to use, a wide variety of resources to help them in their learning seems to point to different understandings and practices in relation to literacy learning in the MS.

A vivid comparison between the NCS and the MS is the way in which the children were encouraged to learn about and explore their cultural heritage in the NCS, whereas any reference to Nepal or Nepali was typically only found on the margins of the MS. The focus on writing a recipe and reading about, tasting, and then writing about guava, offered opportunities to explore features of Nepaleseness and categories of 'enoughness' in relation to teachers' expectations.

The importance of digital literacies in the homes (e.g., watching soaps in Hindi, the news in English, or looking up things on the iPad) were discussed as important channels through which Nepalese and UK identities were explored and maintained.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This research has explored the literacy practices, and ethnic and learner negotiations of Nepalese children in the UK. The Nepalese community in the UK are a linguistic minority community, and as such have received little attention to date in research relating to literacy practices.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of my research findings under the two questions and relate these to the broader literature. Following this, I consider how the findings contribute to fields of knowledge, methodologically and theoretically. Some limitations and recommendations for further research are presented before concluding with some final reflections.

6.2 Answering the research questions

This section provides a summary of my findings for the two research questions. Findings are organised in sub sections where relevant.

6.3 Q1 What are the literacy practices of Nepalese children in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

6.3.1 Informal and traditional practices in the NCS

The NCS was a volunteer led (Creese and Blackledge, 2010) literacy class, attended by children from the Nepalese community, operated from the 'borrowed space' of a community hall (Martin *et al.*, 2006). Teachers did not follow a formal curriculum or schedule of assessment, rather they designed their own literacy activities and resources, sometimes in negotiation with the children in the class. This contributed to

a relatively informal setting in which the teachers and children worked closely together, typically in two groups, with occasional overlap by the teachers.

One of the features of this space was the way in which teachers and children were free to draw on their linguistic repertoires for communication and teaching. This was understood as ‘translanguaging’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García and Li, 2014). Although observed as an effective tool for supporting the teaching and learning, for scaffolding the interaction (Daniel *et al.*, 2017; Pacheco, Kang and Hurd, 2019; Rosiers, 2017; Rosiers, Lancker and Delarue, 2018; Toth and Paulsrud, 2017), and for keeping the children engaged, the two teachers drew on translanguaging to differing degrees due to their different beliefs about the way languages should be taught (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b; Valdés *et al.*, 2008). Their practices sometimes echo, while at other times contradict their beliefs (Lytra *et al.*, 2010).

In my study, it was posited that influencing factors in relation to the differences between Sundari’s and Shanti’s practices are their different migration and professional histories. Had I been able to conduct a semi-structured interview with Shanti, responses may have shone more light on the reasons for the teachers’ different practices.

As well as discussing how she sometimes used ‘the hybrid version’ of language (Knee, 2016), Sundari also shared how she felt it was important for the children to use a ‘mix of techniques’ (transcript 23) such as drawing and colouring alongside the writing tasks. Both Shanti and Sundari were observed using a variety of multimodal techniques (Flewitt, 2008; Jewitt and Kress, 2008; Kress, 1997; Lancaster, 2008; Pahl and Rowsell, 2012), (e.g. pointing to features on the alphabet chart or whiteboard, using actions to illustrate a story, reading a story, tasting fruit, singing) which at times complemented traditional literacy practices such as choral reading, choral repetition and chanting. Such literacy practices focused on phoneme-grapheme correspondence

and the importance of learning the consonants and then vowels in order to be able to build words.

6.3.2 Formality and the UK MS curriculum

MS data highlighted a focus again on literacy skills teaching, largely in relation to meeting criteria set out by the UK national curriculum. The focus also on formal testing and formal assessments and inspections contrasted with the absence of formal testing and assessments or inspection in the NCS. Children's full linguistic repertoires were marginalised in the MS, and I understand this to be because of external and in school pressures related to curriculum, testing and assessment.

6.3.3 Literacy in the homes

The data from the children's homes revealed a discursive orientation towards literacy teaching being the role of tutors or the educational establishments discussed above. Children had a responsibility to learn, remember, and work independently on literacy tasks at home. However, if the children had questions or problems parents were willing to help, as in the observations with Sanju and Maya and their father.

6.4 Q2 How is Nepaleseness and identity explored in the three sites of complementary school, mainstream school, and home?

6.4.1 Alphabet charts in the NCS

Analysis highlighted the importance of the culturally relevant semiotic alphabet chart which had been made by the teachers. Different features on the chart were understood as emblematic of religious and cultural identity. Despite the wealth of research (see section 2.4) relating to the role and place of alphabet charts, their use, their design and the way they are sometimes handmade, discussion relating to moral and religious

features of alphabet charts has received limited attention (e.g. Cooper, 1996; Duranti, Ochs and Ta'ase, 1995; Plimpton, 1916). The work on artifactual literacies goes some way to exploring such ideas by discussing links between material objects and cultural stories (Pahl and Rowsell, 2010), however there has been less attention to the reasons for the choices of illustrations and their application in literacy learning.

6.4.2 Multicultural and learner identity in the MS

Despite the existence of several government documents for mainstream schools, detailing ways that children from linguistic minority communities may be supported (DfE, 2011; 2020; DfES, 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c), there was little space for recognition of multicultural identities and diversity within the typical MS day. Nepalese culture and linguistic repertoire, during the period of data collection, were rarely acknowledged and this meant that the children were prevented from having opportunity to explore Nepali language and literacy in this context. By contrast, English took priority.

Instead, the children's identities as learners in this setting were emphasised. Children's skills and abilities were assessed against formal criteria and the children were assessed as either high ability (Sanju and Maya) or needing more support for literacy (Ameer). However, data revealed that when Sanju was not able to fully meet the teacher's criteria for an able learner when the headteacher sent her back to class, this brought into question the identity position that the teacher had created.

Furthermore, the lack of acknowledgement of the children's multilingual and multicultural identities was confounded by a lack of understanding about the children's low level of Nepali literacy skills. An example of this in the data were comments by Maya's teacher in relation to Maya not being able to write her name; 'I thought, oh my!

Put it into context, as a bright girl struggling to write her own name' (Y6 teacher, 9th December 2014).

6.4.3 Competing voices and digital literacies in the homes

Within the home environments, I observed competing voices in relation to literacy and identity. It was observed that literacy teaching was seen as the role of teachers and tutors, whilst parents were there to give support and help if requested. Usually, the children were expected to do homework independently.

The discussion about digital literacies, the presence of the TV and iPad, shed further light on the fact that there were competing voices between Nepali and English. These digital literacies enabled the family members to align themselves with features of Nepaleseness whilst simultaneously acquiring features of Englishness. Essential combinations of these different features could change from situation to situation.

6.5 Contributions to knowledge

The following sub-sections consider the different contributions to knowledge that this study offers.

6.5.1 Methodological and analytical approaches

This study has demonstrated that Braun and Clarke's methodology for thematic analysis was effective for analysing a large data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2013). It enabled the identification and analysis of key themes related to the research questions across a wide data set which included research diary, audio recordings, photographs, copies of children's work, interviews and other documents. Despite the fact it was not possible to transcribe all the audio data, my analysis was able to effectively identify literacy events that I could transcribe and then analyse in more detail within the framework of the relevant chapters, literacy and identity.

6.5.2 Theoretical contributions

The analysis discussed the way in which translanguaging was used as a scaffold for teaching and learning in the NCS. It is, in its current format (as described by Blommaert (2010), García (2009), García, Johnson and Seltzer (2017), García and Lin (2016), García and Li (2014), Jaspers (2019), Rampton (2019), Vogel and García (2017) and Li (2018)), not a specific tool for pedagogy in the UK.

In chapter 4, I discussed how I understood the concept of transliteration to be part of translanguaging. Transliteration typically is used to aid understanding and readability of a difficult script. In the data I discussed however, Sundari encouraged the children to use transliteration across scripts to support the learning of the more difficult script. This offers an interesting addition to the translanguaging debate.

Blommaert and Varis' (2011) framework has been used to discuss identity categories and emblematic features of such categories across the three sites of NCS, MS and home. Blommaert and Varis' four tiers enabled me to focus on different categories of identity in the different sites and highlighted both similarities and differences between the expectations of authenticity. For instance, there were similarities across the three sites in the features related to learner identity (doing homework, demonstrating progress and achievement, remembering the sounds). However, features relating to Nepalese culture and practices were connected mainly with the NCS (religion, cooking the staple food, tasting guava). Aspects of Nepaleseness were typically only found in the margins of MS life.

6.6 Limitations and recommendations for further research

It is acknowledged as a limitation of the study that I was not able to conduct a semi-structured interview with Shanti. Had I been able to do this, her response may have

revealed more about her language choices and literacy practices in the NCS, in particular how they differed to those used by Sundari.

I discussed the way that despite the large volume of research on alphabet charts and books, there has been limited attention to the relevance of religious and cultural features on alphabet charts and their application in literacy learning. Further research in this area would be beneficial.

The second recommendation is that research could explore the place of transliteration within translanguaging across scripts.

6.7 Final reflections

This linguistic ethnographic study has considered the literacy practices and identity negotiations of Nepalese children in the UK. The study has focused mainly on the NCS, with additional insight from MS and homes data to explore identity discourses in chapter 5. The study revealed the way in which these sites were largely separate from each other and that the children were expected to assume different literacy practices and identities within each setting.

Main findings relate to the use of translanguaging as a scaffold for learning, and the use of transliteration across scripts, to support the learning of a more difficult script. The other key finding relates to the importance of culturally semiotic features on alphabet charts, where features on the chart are understood as emblematic of religious and cultural identity.

This thesis calls for a raised awareness of individuals' literacy skills and linguistic repertoires within multilingual and multicultural communities, in particular with children from minority linguistic communities whose own language skills and repertoires may be easily overlooked in a MS setting. These repertoires can be understood as 'funds

of knowledge' (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005) on which curriculums may be designed with a greater understanding of and relevance to individual students.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, NCS

Participant Information Sheet
Sarah Pryor, University of Birmingham

Nepali Literacy Class
Research on multilingual literacy learning
May 2014 – June 2015

The research

The study aims to understand the ways Nepalese children learn to read and write in Nepali and English and how they use Nepali and English in their daily lives.

It is hoped that the study will support and improve the teaching and learning of multilingual children in the UK, in particular the Nepalese children.

Children and Teachers would be observed in Nepali Literacy Class. Photographs, audio and video recording (audiovisual recording) would be used to record the teaching and learning.

To gain a wider understanding of multilingual literacy development, it would be helpful to observe some children in their mainstream school and/or home. This would be discussed with individual parents.

All children and teachers will remain anonymous and will be free to withdraw from the study at any time up till the 30th June 2015 without having to give a reason.

A summary of the research will be provided to all participants at the end of the study.

Data protection

Small amounts of anonymised data (field notes, photocopies, photographs, audio and visual recordings) may be used in the researcher's (Sarah's) thesis and publications or presentations to illustrate research findings.

All participants will be anonymised in all published and presented findings. Faces in any published or presented photos or videos will be pixilated.

Data will be stored with password protection on Sarah's laptop and her two external hard drives. Paper copies of research data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at her home.

Data will be stored by Sarah until July 2025, after which time all unpublished data will be destroyed.

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS AT NCS

Consent form for Teachers at Nepali Literacy Class

My name _____

I am willing to

- ☐ participate in the above project.
- ☐ talk to Sarah about my teaching.
- ☐ be recorded with a Dictaphone.
- ☐ be recorded with a video camera.
- ☐ be photographed.

- ☐ allow Sarah to use the Dictaphone recordings in her work.
- ☐ allow Sarah to use the video recordings in her work.
- ☐ allow Sarah to use the photographs in her work.

I understand that

- ☐ Sarah's work includes her research, thesis, publications and presentations.
- ☐ participation in the study is completely voluntary.
- ☐ I can withdraw myself from the study at any time until 30th June 2015 without having to give a reason.
- ☐ my name will remain anonymous.

Signature _____

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

Consent form for Parents

My name _____

My child's name _____

☐ I am happy to talk to Sarah about how my child learns Nepali and English.

I give permission for my child

☐ to take part in Sarah's project.

☐ to be recorded with a Dictaphone.

☐ to be recorded with a video camera.

☐ and their work to be photographed.

☐ allow Sarah to use the Dictaphone recordings in her work.

☐ allow Sarah to use the video recordings in her work.

☐ allow Sarah to use the photographs in her work.

I understand that

☐ Sarah's work includes her research, thesis, publications and presentations.

☐ participation in the study is completely voluntary.

☐ I can withdraw my child from the study at any time until the 30th June 2015 without having to give a reason.

☐ my child can still attend Nepali Literacy Class without being involved in the project.

☐ my child's name will remain anonymous.

Signature_____

APPENDIX 4: ADDITIONAL CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

Additional consent form for parents

My name _____

My child's name _____

☐ I am happy for Sarah to observe my child's learning of English at school

☐ I am happy for Sarah to visit my home and observe my child

APPENDIX 5: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR CHILDREN

Information sheet

Sarah is looking at Nepalese children. She wants to find out how Nepalese children learn to read and write. She wants to help the teachers to teach the children better.

She wants to make some videos in Nepali class. She wants to take some photos of us learning and she wants to record us speaking.

Sarah will write about our lessons and how we learn so that our teachers can be better. Sarah will talk to other people and write things for other teachers so that other children can be helped to learn better.

Sarah will not use my real name when she is talking or writing about my learning.

My parents have said that Sarah can look at me learning and if I or they change our minds we don't have to take part anymore.

APPENDIX 6: CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

Consent form for children

My name _____

Please put a tick in all the little boxes that you are happy with

- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to video me.
- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to photograph me.
- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to record my speaking.

- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to photocopy or photograph my work and use it in her writings and her talks to other people.
- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to use videos of me in her work.
- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to use photographs of me in her work.
- ☐ I am happy for Sarah to use the recordings of my speaking to write about what I say.
- ☐ I know that my name will not be used in her writing.

Signed _____

APPENDIX 7: HEADTEACHER CONSENT FORM

Headteacher consent

My name _____

I am willing for Sarah Pryor to

- ☐ visit the school for her PhD research
- ☐ talk to teachers about teaching and learning in their classes
- ☐ record teaching and learning with a Dictaphone
- ☐ photograph teaching and learning
- ☐ record teaching and learning with a video camera once consent has been granted by parents

I understand that

- ☐ anonymised copies of children's and teachers' speaking and writing may be used in Sarah's thesis and writing
- ☐ photographs and video may be used in Sarah's presentations about her research
- ☐ participation in the study is completely voluntary
- ☐ I can withdraw the school from the study at any time without having to give a reason
- ☐ the school's name and its location will remain anonymous

Signature_____

APPENDIX 8: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, PRIMARY SCHOOL

Participant Information Sheet

Sarah Pryor, University of Birmingham

Primary School

Research on multilingual literacy learning

May 2014 – June 2015

The research

The study aims to understand the ways Nepalese children learn to read and write in Nepali and English and how they use Nepali and English in their daily lives.

It is hoped that the study will support the teaching and learning of multilingual children in the UK, in particular the Nepalese children.

Children would be observed in their Primary school, their home and Nepali Literacy Class in order to gain a wide understanding of multilingual literacy development. Teachers would be observed with children in their school teaching settings. Field notes along with photocopies of participants' work, photographs, audio and video recording (audiovisual recording) would be used to record the teaching and learning where possible. The researcher would discuss her observations with the teachers.

Participants will be free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the 30th June 2015 without having to give a reason.

A summary of the research will be provided to all participants at the end of the study.

Data protection

Small amounts of anonymised data (field notes, photocopies, photographs, audio and visual recordings) may be used in the researcher's thesis and publications or presentations to illustrate research findings.

All participants will be anonymised in all published and presented findings. Faces in any published or presented photos or videos will be pixilated. This is regular research practice in linguistic ethnography at the University of Birmingham.

Data will be stored with password protection on the researcher's laptop and her two external hard drives. Paper copies of research data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at her home.

Data will be stored by the researcher until July 2025, after which time all unpublished data will be destroyed.

APPENDIX 9: TEACHER CONSENT FORM, PRIMARY SCHOOL

Consent form for Teachers

My name _____

I am willing to

- ☐ participate in the above project.
- ☐ talk to Sarah about my teaching.
- ☐ be recorded with a Dictaphone.
- ☐ be recorded with a video camera.
- ☐ be photographed.

- ☐ allow Sarah to use the Dictaphone recordings in her work.
- ☐ allow Sarah to use the video recordings in her work.
- ☐ allow Sarah to use the photographs in her work.

I understand that

- ☐ Sarah's work includes her research, thesis, publications and presentations.
- ☐ participation in the study is completely voluntary.
- ☐ I can withdraw myself from the study at any time until 30th June 2015 without having to give a reason.
- ☐ my name will remain anonymous.

Signature_____

APPENDIX 10: THEMES AND SUBTHEMES

The table below has been sorted by theme, subtheme 1,2 and 3

Theme	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 2	Subtheme 3
Identity	family life		
Identity	family life		
Identity	family life		
Identity	family life		
Identity	learner	able	working together
Identity	learner	able	
Identity	Learner	achievement	tuition
Identity	Learner	achievement	
Identity	learner	alphabet	recite
Identity	learner	assessment	disappointed
Identity	learner	attitude	
Identity	learner	confidence	my role
Identity	learner	confident	
Identity	learner	differentiation	teacher control
Identity	learner	difficulty	
identity	learner	difficulty	
identity	learner	evaluation	
Identity	learner	helpful	classroom environment
Identity	Learner	improve	
Identity	learner	lazy	not any more
Identity	Learner	Nepalese	
Identity	learner	reading	my role
Identity	learner	saying large numbers	
Identity	learner	sentence structure	
Identity	learner	sentence structure	money for tuition
Identity	Learner	slow	
identity	learner	slow	working together
Identity	Learner	spelling	
Identity	learner	tired	
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	learner		

Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	learner		
Identity	Learner		
identity	learner	ability	
Identity	learner	assessment	
identity	learner	careful	
Identity	learner	child's view	
Identity	learner	correct	
Identity	learner	difficulty	
identity	Learner	enoughness	
Identity	learner	home	
identity	learner	patient	
identity	learner	quick and eager	
Identity	learner	school	hardest
Identity	learner	slow	
Identity	learner	slow	
Identity	learner	social	
Identity	learner		
identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
identity	Learner		
identity	Learner		
Identity	Learner		
Identity	Multilingual learner		
Identity	Multilingual learner		

Identity	Multilingual learner		
Identity	Multilingual learner		
Identity	Nepalese	ability	
Identity	Nepalese	alphabet chart	religion and culture
Identity	Nepalese	alphabet chart	religion
Identity	Nepalese	attending NCS	home life
Identity	Nepalese	attending NCS	
Identity	Nepalese	enoughness	translanguaging
Identity	Nepalese	family life	attendance
Identity	Nepalese	family life	attendance
Identity	Nepalese	family life	supporting family
Identity	Nepalese	fluency	difficulty
Identity	Nepalese	fluency	difficulty
Identity	Nepalese	food	literacy starting point
Identity	Nepalese	food	
Identity	Nepalese	food	hospitality
Identity	Nepalese	fruit	
Identity	Nepalese	fruit	guava
Identity	Nepalese	fruit	
Identity	Nepalese	home	
Identity	Nepalese	home visit	
Identity	Nepalese	hospitality	food
Identity	Nepalese	know the 'standard Nepali food'	
Identity	Nepalese	know the 'standard Nepali food'	know how to cook rice on the stove
Identity	Nepalese	know the 'standard Nepali food'	know the correct words
Identity	Nepalese	learner	
Identity	Nepalese	learner	
Identity	Nepalese	learner	
Identity	Nepalese	learner	English
Identity	Nepalese	learning to cook	limitations of borrowed space
Identity	Nepalese	literacy	planning together
Identity	Nepalese	Mahendra caves	translation
Identity	Nepalese	music	
Identity	Nepalese	numbers	
Identity	Nepalese	out of school	
Identity	Nepalese	outside school	friend
Identity	Nepalese	proper word	translation/ translanguaging
Identity	Nepalese	sounds	
Identity	Nepalese	sounds	
Identity	Nepalese	teacher identity	hierarchy
Identity	Nepalese	translation	home
Identity	Nepalese	Translation and transliteration	

literacy	learner	my role as helper	
literacy	learning	school	cuneiform
literacy	learning	whiteboard	dictionary
literacy	learning		
literacy	pedagogy	from memory	books
literacy	pedagogy	from memory	whiteboard
literacy	pedagogy	help each other	copy from board
literacy	pedagogy	my role as expert	grammar
literacy	pedagogy	quickly write	alphabet
literacy	pedagogy	skills	spelling
literacy	pedagogy	skills	
literacy	pedagogy	strategies	timed work
literacy	pedagogy	teacher hierarchy	following other teacher
literacy	pedagogy	teacher hierarchy	
literacy	pedagogy	teacher hierarchy	following other teacher
literacy	pedagogy	test	
literacy	pedagogy	word order	transliteration
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	pedagogy		
literacy	practice	home	
literacy	practice	home	
literacy	practice	home	
literacy	practice	home	stress
literacy	practice	independent learning	
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	steps to success
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	learning wall
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	C3B4ME
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	literacy practice
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	PRRSSS
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	PRRSSS
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	whiteboard
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	marking
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	dictionary
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	literacy wall
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	extra curricular
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	PRRSSS

literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	TV
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	TV
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	TV
literacy	practice	linguistic landscape	assessment
literacy	practice	my role as expert	English spelling
literacy	practice	NCS	
literacy	practice	NCS	
literacy	practice	NCS	
literacy	practice	NCS	homework policy
literacy	practice	Nepalese	dramatically
literacy	practice	pedagogy	sequence an activity
literacy	practice	school	
literacy	practice	school	
literacy	practice	school	
literacy	practice	school	
literacy	practice	school	working together
literacy	practice	school	maths language
literacy	practice	school	marking
literacy	practice	school	working together
literacy	practice	school	working together
literacy	practice	school	
literacy	practice	school	spelling
literacy	practice	school	working together
literacy	practice	school	ask teacher or friend
literacy	practice	speaking Nepali	with support
literacy	practice	translanguaging	
literacy	practice	understanding the story	discuss together
literacy	practice	whiteboards	
literacy	practice	whiteboards	
literacy	practice	working together	
literacy	practice	working together	
literacy	practice	working together	
literacy	practice	working together	whiteboard
literacy	practice	writing out the alphabet again	difficulty
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	practice		
literacy	resources	home	
literacy	resources	home	

literacy	resources	practice	
literacy	resources	practice	
literacy	resources	preparation	
literacy	resources		
literacy	resources		
literacy	skills	alphabet	
literacy	skills	consonant cards	resources
literacy	skills	dictation	translation
literacy	skills	dictionary	
literacy	skills	difficulty	
literacy	skills	difficulty	alphabet
literacy	skills	grammar	
literacy	skills	grammar	verb endings
literacy	skills	graphemes	
literacy	skills	home	
literacy	skills	home	
literacy	skills	home	
literacy	skills	home	
literacy	skills	independent learning	school policy
literacy	skills	independent learning	school policy
literacy	skills	meanings of words	working together
literacy	skills	meanings of words	my role as helper
literacy	skills	NCS	
literacy	skills	NCS	
literacy	skills	Nepalese identity	
literacy	skills	phonics	
literacy	skills	pronunciation	
literacy	skills	pronunciation	
literacy	skills	reading	difficulty
literacy	skills	reading	phonics
literacy	skills	repetition	
literacy	skills	repetition	read together
literacy	skills	school policy	
literacy	skills	sentence writing	
literacy	skills	spelling	
literacy	skills	spelling	
literacy	skills	spelling	
literacy	skills	transferable skills	
literacy	skills	translanguaging	
literacy	skills	translanguaging	written
literacy	skills	translanguaging and translation	
literacy	skills	translanguaging and translation	
literacy	skills	translanguaging and translation	
literacy	skills	transliteration	
literacy	skills	transliteration	dictionary

literacy	skills		
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literacy	skills		
literacy	skills		
literacy	skills		
literacy	skills		
literacy	skills		
literacy	skills	repetition	multimodal
methodology	attendance	NCS	
methodology	attendance		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	connections		
methodology	developing research questions		
methodology	difficulty	home visit	
methodology	ethnographic interview		
methodology	expert		
methodology	helper		
methodology	helper		
methodology	helper		
methodology	helper		
methodology	helper		
methodology	helper		
methodology	homework	support at home	
methodology	my presence		
methodology	my presence		
methodology	my role	supervise the younger children	less time to observe others

methodology	participant observer		
methodology	speak Nepali		
methodology	teacher		
methodology	teacher		
methodology	whiteboard	photos	
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			
methodology			

APPENDIX 11: DATA COLLECTED NCS

Week number	Date	Data types																Notes	
		Field notes intermediate	Field notes beginner group	Research diary	Audio recording	Ethnographic interview	Semi-structured interview	Lesson materials	Photos	Part transcription	Children's work								
											Prabha work (none)	Madhu work	Pratibha work	Sanjana work	Maya work	Ameer work	Sanju work		Nisha work
1	13 September 2014	1	1	1	1			1	0	1	0								script, translation and transliteration in transcript children read 'my job' book
2	20 September 2014	1	1	1	1			1	0	1	0								Romanised transcript
3	27 September 2014	1	1	1	0			1	0	0	0								Only Madhu in intermediate group today with researcher. Other adult with beginners.
	4 October 2014																		Dasain break
4	11 October 2014	1	1	1	1	1		1	0	1	0					1			beginner group, script and translation in transcript.
5	18 October 2014	1	1	1	1			1	23	1	0								Ameer used translanguaging with Shanti. Adjectives focus with intermediate group Sundari e.g., dark/ fair
	25 October 2014																		Tihar break
	1 November 2014																		Half term
6	8 November 2014	0	0	0	0				0	0	0		1	1	1		1		Researcher away

7	15 November 2014	1	1	1	1			1	0	1	0	1	1		1		1	1	1	Beginners learning vowels. Intermediate group marking homework and practising words.
8	22 November 2014	1	1	1	1			1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Both groups in same room - noisy. K, kh words test with Intermediate group from picture sheet
9	29 November 2014	0	0	0	0				0	0	0		0		1			1	1	Researcher away at the Education Conference
10	6 December 2014	1	1	1	1	1		1	0	1	0		1	1				1	2	Sundari with intermediate group. Researcher with beginners, assisted by Sundari.
11	13 December 2014	1	1	1	1	1		1	19	1	0									separate notes for intermediate and beginners
	20 December 2014																			Christmas break
	27 December 2014																			Christmas break
	3 January 2015																			Christmas break
12	10 January 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	0					3		1		Shanti teaching intermediate group. Researcher and other adult with beginner group.
13	17 January 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	44	1	0	2	1		1		1			Gh' test pictures by Sundari. Intermediate group have listed these words in their books.
14	24 January 2015	1	1	1	1			1	16	1	0	3			4	1	2			Dictionary note on Facebook. Transcript section written for KCL. Lesson materials as part of field notes and photos. Detailed transcript
15	31 January 2015	1	1	1	1			1	7	1	0	2	0		2	1	3	1	1	book loans notebook created
16	7 February 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	4	1	0	3	1	2	2	1	1			only Phillips audio recording today
17	14 February 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	0	1	1	1		1		1	1	audio difficult to hear. Had to help teach beginners. Intermediate group make posters about how to cook rice.
	21 February 2015																			Half term

18	28 February 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	0					1		1	audio difficult to hear, esp. Sundari
19	7 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	8	1	0	1	1		1		2		clear audio guavas to eat
20	14 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	5	1	0		1			1	1	2	clear audio. Intermediate group write about guavas.
21	21 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	2	1	0				1			1	Researcher worked with Ashok
22	28 March 2015	0	0	1	1			1	47	0	0								Easter activities
	4 April 2015																		Easter break
	11 April 2015																		Easter break
23	18 April 2015	0	0	0	0					0	0								Researcher away
24	25 April 2015	1	0	1	1	1		1	4	1	0	1			1		2		Earthquake, no beginners today
25	2 May 2015	1	1	1	1			1	10	1	0	1	1	1	1		2		Intermediate group writing about earthquake
26	9 May 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	45	1	0	1	1				1		had to teach beginners – poster about Nepal discussion with teacher about consonants and vowels photos include photos of children's work. Intermediate group writing about the earthquake for homework.
27	16 May 2015	1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1		1		lesson based on a story book
28	23 May 2015	1	1	1	1			1	16	1	0	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	Researcher teaching intermediate group. Other adult and child with beginner group.
	30 May 2015																		Half term
29	6 June 2015										0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Researcher away
30	13 June 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	3	1	0	1				1			Sundari with intermediate. Researcher with beginners. Clear recording. Ameer, Nisha and Nirmala move up group
31	20 June 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	2	1	0				2	1	2		Sundari with intermediate. Shanti with beginners. Clear recording. Class photos
32	27 June 2015	1	1	1	0			1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2		1		No audio recording today, however, lots of observations in research diary regarding translanguaging and flash cards.

33	4 July 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	4	1	0	0							Sundari with Pratibha, Ameer, Nisha, Nirmala. No other children.
34	11 July 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	1	0				1		1		Sundari with Ameer, Sanju and Maya. Shanti with new child. Interview with Sundari.
	TOTAL	29	28	30	28	19	1	30	287	27	0	25	17	12	25	15	25	13	14

APPENDIX 12: ATTENDANCE AT NCS

Week number	Date	Attendance													Notes
		Teachers		Children									Other		
		Sundari	Shanti	Prabha	Madhu	Pratibha	Sanjana	Maya	Ameer	Sanju	Nisha	Nirmala	Other adult	Other child	
1	13 September 2014	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
2	20 September 2014	1	0	1		1			1						
3	27 September 2014	1	0	0	1				1		1	1	1		
	4 October 2014														Dasain break
4	11 October 2014	1	1		1			0	1	0	1	1			
5	18 October 2014	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
	25 October 2014														Tihar break
	1 November 2014														Half term
6	8 November 2014					1	1	1		1					Researcher away
7	15 November 2014	1	1		1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1		
8	22 November 2014	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
9	29 November 2014					0		1	1		1	1			Researcher away
10	6 December 2014	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1			
11	13 December 2014	1	1		1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1		
	20 December 2014														Christmas break
	27 December 2014														Christmas break
	3 January 2015														Christmas break

12	10 January 2015	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1			
13	17 January 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1			
14	24 January 2015	1	1		1		0	1	1	1					
15	31 January 2015	1	1		1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1			
16	7 February 2015	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	
17	14 February 2015	1			1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	
	21 February 2015														Half term
18	28 February 2015	1	0	1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
19	7 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
20	14 March 2015	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1			
21	21 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1		1	
22	28 March 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	4 April 2015														Easter break
	11 April 2015														Easter break
23	18 April 2015													1	Researcher away
24	25 April 2015	0	1		1	1	1	1		1			1	2	
25	2 May 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
26	9 May 2015	1	0		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
27	16 May 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		3	
28	23 May 2015	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	
	30 May 2015														Half term
29	6 June 2015				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			Researcher away
30	13 June 2015	1	0	0	1	0		0	1	0	1	1		1	
31	20 June 2015	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1		2	
32	27 June 2015	1	1		1	1	1	1	0	1			1	1	
33	4 July 2015	1	0		0	1	0		1		1	1			
34	11 July 2015	1	1					1	1	1				1	
	TOTAL	27	20	14	25	25	19	23	26	21	25	25	13	20	

APPENDIX 13: HOME VISIT DATA

Home visits Y4 and Y6 participants date	Photos	Field notes and research diary
11 th November 2014		✓
Home visits Y5 participant date		
27 th January 2015		✓
13 th February 2015		✓
3 rd March 2015	2 photos of Nepalese snacks given	✓
14 th April 2015		✓
6 th May 2015	1 photo of Fur Elise downloaded for participant	✓

APPENDIX 14: MAINSTREAM SCHOOL DATA, PART 1

Week number	Mainstream school	Field notes			Research diary	Audio	Semi-structured interviews			Ethnographic interviews		
		Y4	Y5	Y6			Y4	Y5	Y6	Y4	Y5	Y6
	Pre-data collection	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1
1	16 th Sept 2014	1	1	1	1	1						
2	23 rd Sept	1	1	1	1	1						
3	30 th Sept	1	1	1	1	1						
4	7 th Oct	1	1	0	1	1						
5	14 th Oct	1	1	1	1	1						
6	20 th Oct	0	0	0	0	0						
7	4 th Nov	0	0	0	0	0						
8	11 th Nov	1	0	1	1	1						
9	18 th Nov	1	1	0	1	1						1
10	25 th Nov	1	1	1	1	1				1		1
11	2 nd Dec	1	1	1	1	1						
12	3 rd Dec	0	0	1	1	0						1
13	9 th Dec	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1
14	16 th Dec	1	1	1	1	1					1	1
15	6 th Jan 2015	1	1	1	1	1					1	
16	13 th Jan	1	1	1	1	1						
17	20 th Jan	1	0	1	1	1						

18	27 th Jan	1	1	1	1	1						1
19	3 rd Feb	1	1	1	1	1						
20	10 th Feb	0	1	0	1	1						
21	24 th Feb	1	1	1	1	1						
22	3 rd Mar	1	1	0	1	1						
23	10 th Mar	1	1	1	1	1						
24	17 th Mar	1	1	0	1	0						
25	24 th Mar	1	1	0	1	1						1
26	14 th April	1	1	1	1	1						
27	21 st April	1	1	1	1	1						
28	28 th April	1	1	1	1	1						
29	5 th May	1	1	0	1	1					1	
30	12 th May	1	1	0	1	1	1	1			1	
31	19 th May	1	0	1	1	1			1			
	TOTAL	27	25	21	29	27	1	1	1	2	5	7

APPENDIX 15: MAINSTREAM SCHOOL DATA, PART 2

		Children's work and lesson materials										
Week number	Mainstream school	Y4 Basic skills	Y4 Theme	Y4 Maths	Y4 Planning	Y4 Basic skills Photos including guided reading	Y4 spelling log photos	Y4 Theme Photos	Y4 Maths Photos	Y4 Tests Photos	Y4 Display and classroom Photos	Y4 Photos date taken
	Pre-data collection					3						
1	16 th Sept 2014	7				3						
2	23 rd Sept	1				1						
3	30 th Sept	3				5						
4	7 th Oct	0				0						
5	14 th Oct	1				1						
6	20 th Oct											
7	4 th Nov					1						
8	11 th Nov	1				2						
9	18 th Nov	1				2						
10	25 th Nov	1				1						
11	2 nd Dec											
12	3 rd Dec											
13	9 th Dec											
14	16 th Dec	2				1						
15	6 th Jan 2015				1	1						
16	13 th Jan											
17	20 th Jan	7				4						
18	27 th Jan	1				3		3				3

19	3 rd Feb	1							5			4
20	10 th Feb								2			
21	24 th Feb	3	1			3		35	3			5
22	3 rd Mar	2	3					4	4		8	12
23	10 th Mar	5		3		6		1				1
24	17 th Mar	1				2		5				2
25	24 th Mar				3	3		5				
26	14 th April		3	2				7	1		7	5
27	21 st April					2		2	11			5
28	28 th April					2		5	7			
29	5 th May	2				5		7	4		10	22
30	12 th May					3		3	3			16
31	19 th May					2	2	6			51	85
	TOTAL	39	7	5	4	53	2	83	40	0	76	160

APPENDIX 16: MAINSTREAM SCHOOL DATA, PART 3

		Children's work and lesson materials												
Week number	Mainstream school	Y5 General workbook	Y5 Basic skills	Y5 Theme	Y5 Maths	Y5 Tests	Y5 Planning	Y5 basic skills photos including guided reading	Y5 spelling log photos	Y5 Theme photos	Y5 Maths photos	Y5 display and classroom photos	Y5 Tests photos	Y5 Photos date taken
	Pre-data collection							6	17					
1	16 th Sept 2014		3	6				1	1					
2	23 rd Sept		2					8	1					
3	30 th Sept		3	3				5	1					
4	7 th Oct		2				1	4	1					
5	14 th Oct		0	1				5						
6	20 th Oct							3	1					
7	4 th Nov							1	1					
8	11 th Nov		3					4	1					
9	18 th Nov		2	6				2	1					
10	25 th Nov		4	2			1	5	1					
11	2 nd Dec		4	1				5						
12	3 rd Dec	0	0	0					2					
13	9 th Dec			10			1		1					
14	16 th Dec		3					3	1					
15	6 th Jan 2015						1							
16	13 th Jan	1						4						
17	20 th Jan				4				1					
18	27 th Jan	1		3	5									

19	3 rd Feb	2	2	3				6	2	1				16
20	10 th Feb		1		4			2	2					
21	24 th Feb	1	3	3				6	1	3				3
22	3 rd Mar			1					1	2				3
23	10 th Mar			2				2	1	4				4
24	17 th Mar		1	2				5	1	7				5
25	24 th Mar			6				5		4				4
26	14 th April			1				4	1	2	1			2
27	21 st April			4				8		3				3
28	28 th April			2				2		1				5
29	5 th May			1			17	7						
30	12 th May			1		6		5	3	4				36
31	19 th May	0	0	0								21		113
	TOTAL	5	33	58	13	6	21	102	26	31	1	21	0	194

APPENDIX 17: MAINSTREAM SCHOOL DATA, PART 4

		Children's work and lesson materials										
Week number	Mainstream school	Y6 Basic skills	Y6 Theme	Y6 Tests	Y6 Planning	Y6 Basic skills photos	Y6 spelling log photos	Y6 Theme Photos	Y6 Maths Photos	Y6 Tests photos	Y6 display and classroom photos	Y6 Photos date taken
	Pre-data collection					2		6				
1	16 th Sept 2014					0		0				
2	23 rd Sept					1		3				
3	30 th Sept					1		3				
4	7 th Oct					3		7				
5	14 th Oct					4		4				
6	20 th Oct					2		4				
7	4 th Nov											
8	11 th Nov		1					15				
9	18 th Nov		1					10				
10	25 th Nov		3			2		11				
11	2 nd Dec		1			1		3				15
12	3 rd Dec		2					2				
13	9 th Dec		1		2	2		0				
14	16 th Dec	2	2			2		14				
15	6 th Jan 2015	1	0		1	1		3				
16	13 th Jan	5	0			4		8				
17	20 th Jan	2	1			3		4				
18	27 th Jan	7				2		7				

19	3 rd Feb	1				1		12				
20	10 th Feb	0						11				
21	24 th Feb	1				2		0				
22	3 rd Mar	2				2		8				
23	10 th Mar	3				2		2				
24	17 th Mar	0				2		7				
25	24 th Mar	0	4			2		4				
26	14 th April	0	1			7		0				1
27	21 st April	0				3	1	5				3
28	28 th April	0				3		5				
29	5 th May	0		1		3		4				
30	12 th May	0		2				0		29		29
31	19 th May	1		18			14	4		6		222
	TOTAL	25	17	21	3	55	15	160	0	35	0	270

APPENDIX 18: MAINSTREAM SCHOOL DATA, PART 5

	Mainstream school	School library photos	School staffroom photos	School assessments and reports	Newsletters	Transcription	Notes
	Pre-data collection				21		21 newsletters are dated pre-data collection period. 1 is from the new term, September 2014. Y6 photos of theme book include Y6 account of visit in Nepal.
1	16 th Sept 2014				1	1 Y5	
2	23 rd Sept						
3	30 th Sept						2nd Oct photo stuck in exercise book
4	7 th Oct						Y5 planning sheet
5	14 th Oct						
6	20 th Oct						I did not visit this week
7	4 th Nov						
8	11 th Nov						2 staff room photos
9	18 th Nov						Y5 Theme work is unmarked and marked, also annotated
10	25 th Nov						Y5 planning sheet. LA inspection
11	2 nd Dec						Y5 basic skills work is annotated
12	3 rd Dec					N/A	This was a one-off visit to Y6 in the afternoon
13	9 th Dec					1	Consonant and phoneme charts given by Y6 teacher. These are available for use by the children. Literacy lesson plan given by Y5 teacher.
14	16 th Dec			1			Word lists for spelling Y5 and Y6, + school plan for teaching spelling words/ patterns. School levels listed at the end of 2014.
15	6 th Jan 2015						Y4,Y5,Y6 curriculum themes for parents
16	13 th Jan						
17	20 th Jan						
18	27 th Jan	6					Nepali books in school library
19	3 rd Feb			1			OFSTED Y5 'I was top at my Nepali school...'in general workbook

20	10 th Feb						staffroom notices Y6 able maths day Y4 school trip
21	24 th Feb		4				
22	3 rd Mar						
23	10 th Mar						Y4 I observed the guided reading. Y6 note in basic skills 'On Saturday, my sister and me go to Nepali school'
24	17 th Mar					1	Y6 school trip
25	24 th Mar				4		discussion with Y6 teacher about basic skills lesson no time to visit Y6. Y5 theme work is annotated and marked by the teacher. Y4 lesson plans for maths and theme.
26	14 th April		6				Y4 I observed the theme writing lesson
27	21 st April						
28	28 th April				1		New Sony recorder. Nepalese earthquake disaster in newsletter
29	5 th May		5		1		Meeting with Y5 participant's tutor and Individual tutoring plan copied with his work. I did not observe these lessons.
30	12 th May		3				Y6 SPAG levels 3-5, 6 semi-structured interviews with Y4 and Y5 teachers and participants Y6 SATs. Y5 Reading Pira tests given and pupil levels.
31	19 th May	23					semi-structured interview with Y6 teacher Bomb alert, fire alarm Spelling cards Y5 at church and class visitor. Y6 spelling log is not dated. Y4 Islamic designs in theme lesson.
TOTAL		29	18	2	7	2	