



**MULTILINGUAL TALK, CLASSROOM TEXTBOOKS AND LANGUAGE VALUES:
A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY IN TIMOR-LESTE**

by

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“UTILIZAMOS DUAS LÍNGUAS NUMA SÓ VEZ”

“WE USE THE TWO LANGUAGES AT THE SAME TIME”

(Teacher Lucia, Transcript of Classroom Interaction, 05/06/2012)

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a multi-layered study of multilingual classroom discourse, with two teachers, in a primary school in Timor-Leste. The wider context for the study was a major shift in language-in-education policy – to the use of Portuguese and Tetum as media of instruction – on the independence of Timor-Leste in 2002. This is the first study in this context to use linguistic ethnography to investigate the ways in which teachers are navigating the policy shift and to analyse the links between multilingual classroom interaction and wider policy processes and language ideologies. Fieldwork for the study was conducted in 2012. It included classroom observation, note-taking, audio/video-recording of classroom interaction, interviews with teachers and with policymakers. The data analysis presented here centres on talk around Portuguese textbooks, in Tetum and Portuguese. The findings were as follows: (1.) teacher-pupil relationships were discursively co-constructed as strict and asymmetrical; (2.) code-switching practices evoked beliefs associated with hegemonic ideologies about bilingual education; and (3.) teachers mediated textbooks language and content by building bridges between textual knowledge and local knowledge. The study foregrounds teacher agency in language policy processes, but also makes connections with powerful political and academic discourses about language tied to nationhood and culture.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all the teachers and pupils in Timor-Leste.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CNRT	Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorense or National Council for Timorese Resistance
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa or Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries
FALINTIL	Forças Armadas de Libertação de Timor-Leste Independente or The Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East-Timor
INL	Instituto Nacional de Linguística or National Institute of Linguistics
MECYS	Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports
MOI	Medium of instruction
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
RDTL	República Democrática de Timor-Leste or Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste
UDT	União Democrática Timorense or East-Timorese Democratic Union
UN	United Nations
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East-Timor

TRANSCRIPTIONS CONVENTIONS OF CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS

Teacher Dalia – TD

Pupils – PPS

Pupil – PP

FP – Female Pupil

MP – Male pupil

Bold – in **Tetum**

Normal – in Portuguese

/2/ /10/ - Pause in seconds

[] – Researcher's comments

I - Ildegrada

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Introduction

This chapter provides a brief description of the context for this doctoral thesis, the rationale for conducting this study in Timor-Leste, the research questions which guided this ethnographic study, the significance of this study, and the structure of the thesis.

1.1 The context of study

This study was conducted during the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of independence of Timor-Leste (as it is known in Portuguese). Timor-Leste is the eastern half of an island in Southeast Asia, to the east of Indonesia and to the north of Australia, which became independent in 2002. Timor-Leste was the first new nation of the twenty-first century, and so its post-colonial language policy is being implemented in a very different global context from that of countries such as Malaysia and Laos which gained their independence in the 1950s. This study provides a new Southeast Asian perspective on language policy implementation.

The country gained its independence after centuries of colonisation, being first a colony of Portugal, and then being occupied by Indonesia. From 1500s to 1975, there was no explicit language policy to expand Portuguese into the territory, although the situation changed in the twentieth century into an assimilation strategy. The colonial strategy was to create a group of East-Timorese people who would identify themselves as Portuguese and would support the colonial administration. Most of those who were educated in the Portuguese education system later on became strong defenders of the colonial language, particularly in 1975 when the East-Timorese were working vigorously for self-determination. The language policy designed by the pro-independence party (FRETILIN - Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente

or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East-Timor) in 1975 called for the adoption of Portuguese, along with Tetum, one of the most widely spoken languages of the country, as official languages. In total, there were (and still are) 16 indigenous languages in the territory of Timor-Leste (Hull, 2002, p.1; Taylor-Leech, 2009, p.12), and by 1975 Tetum had become the lingua franca of the country (Dunn, 2003, p.3; Hajek, 2000, p.401). So it had a special status as a unifying language.

However, the proposed bilingual language policy, calling for Tetum and Portuguese, remained a distant promise. At the end of that year, Indonesia invaded the territory of Timor-Leste and occupied the country for 24 years and imposed Bahasa-Indonesia as the official language. Finally in August 1999, the withdrawal of the Indonesian army occurred after a historic vote in favour of Independence in August 1999. From 1999 to 2002, under the UN administration, Bahasa-Indonesia was retained as a working language (for example in education, in Parliament and public institutions). Portuguese was reintroduced as another working language along with Tetum and English. English was included, because 1999 saw the arrival of UN workers and of numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the territory. In 2002, the new East-Timorese government finally defined Tetum, one of the national languages and still the most widely spoken one, and Portuguese as the two official languages of the country (<http://www.gov.east-timor.org>). Since then the use of Bahasa-Indonesia has gradually been phased out. Portuguese and Tetum are currently the languages of education. In chapter 2, I will expand on the history, the changing sociolinguistic landscape and the language policy of Timor-Leste.

This changing language policy in the context of nation building is challenging in many ways and this constituted the starting point of my PhD project. Following the tradition of looking for ways to theorise the ways in which multilingual classroom discourse is connected to the wider social order, policy processes and ideologies of language, the fieldwork was based on audio- and video-recording and participant-observation in classrooms. Many of these studies were conducted in the global south

such as of the work of Hornberger (1988) in Peru, Arthur (1994) in Botswana and Martin (2005) in Malaysia. The use of the term 'global south' refers to countries situated in the south of the globe which have been also often designated as *developing*, or even more negatively, *undeveloped* (Shoba and Chimbutane, 2013). Mignolo (2014), for instance, has observed that the geographical division of the world as 'West'/'East' or 'North'/'South' is determined mainly by economic and political criteria. He says that the division as 'West'/'East' which was previously determined by colonialism, Christianity and its civilizing mission shifted after World War II to 'North'/'South' divide in order to legitimize a mission of development and modernisation lead by Europe and the USA. Being situated in the south of the globe, being independent since 2002, Timor-Leste could be ascribed as a global south country which is still in the process of nation-building.

The focus of this study was on the ways in which the new language policy adopted in Timor-Leste was shaping everyday classroom practices and patterns of communication. I also investigated the understanding of practitioners and policymakers of the recent language policy changes, along with the language ideologies they invoked.

1.2 My rationale

My interest in this topic is essentially personal as I am of East-Timorese origin, though I was brought up in Portugal. I am bilingual in Tetum and Portuguese. I moved to Portugal in 1986 with my family, and there, I received all my education from primary school until my first degree. I only moved to the UK in 2008. Vignette 1 below describes my upbringing in more than one language and how my personal interest about Timor-Leste has developed.

Vignette 1: My bilingual upbringing

In Portugal, in my childhood, our household language policy involved the use of Portuguese most of the time. My parents are both Tetum and Portuguese speakers. My father, his mother, sister and brother are also speakers of Makasae, another East-Timorese language. As we, the children, started learning Portuguese at school, my parents used mainly Portuguese with us. Tetum was also being used but mainly in the conversations of the adults in the household or between the adults and my older sister and brother. Makasae was also spoken in the house between the adults on my father's side. Since my schooling was all in Portuguese, it became my strongest language.

I grew up being mostly a listener of Tetum, and only felt comfortable actually speaking it often after 2000 since some cousins also migrated to Portugal and came to live near us. They knew some Portuguese, but they were more comfortable in speaking Tetum, so Tetum was our language of communication. My proficiency in Tetum improved because of them and after my first visit back to Timor-Leste in 2001. The process of migration to Portugal in 1986 and the arrival, in 2000, of my extended family, has shaped my linguistic repertoire. Living in an environment in which more than one language was spoken was the norm in my life.

Throughout my upbringing in Portugal, neither my parents nor other relatives coming to the house would talk about or explain to us children the situation of conflict of Timor-Leste. It was a political matter to be discussed only among the adults. Yet, my uncle, my father and older sister took part in political meetings and events to promote campaigns to support the Resistance and fight for independence. Accompanied by them, my younger sisters and I later joined in a few of those events which raised our awareness about the conflict in Timor-Leste.

The topic of this study has a personal dimension. My interest in the topic of bilingualism originates from my own experience of being a bilingual person, my upbringing, my educational background, my research interest in understanding language issues through an ethnographical lens, and also importantly, my aim of bringing an insider perception to contemporary research in Timor-Leste. Identifying

myself as an East-Timorese, I have a personal aspiration of being able to contribute, with this study, to informing classroom practices and policies being developed in the area of education and language as part of the project of nation building in Timor-Leste. These self-positionings as an East-Timorese and my personal aspirations have been crucial from the outset of this doctoral journey to the writing up of this doctoral thesis.

My topic for my MA dissertation related to people in the East-Timorese community living here in the UK, and the title was *From Dili to Dungannon: a case study of two bilingual migrant families from East-Timor*. The research focused on Timorese migrant families in Northern Ireland in the city of Dungannon. The purpose in studying this group was to describe their language repertoires and current language practices. I also aimed to understand their beliefs, and language values along with the sociohistorical processes that have shaped their current language repertoires, language practices and values. As a researcher I drew on my multilingual abilities in communicating with the participants throughout the fieldwork. Both my heritage connections and multilingual resources allowed me to access the research site for my MA dissertation research. The MA experience increased my awareness of the ways in which I could navigate being a simultaneous insider and outsider in research related to Timor-Leste, and made me alert to the need to avoid asymmetrical relationships with the participants due to my proficiency in Portuguese language. As I will show in this PhD thesis my heritage connections and my multilingual resources also facilitated my access to the field site, albeit in a different way.

I have chosen to do research in primary schools, because my first university degree was in primary education and because of my experience as a primary school teacher in Portugal. Moreover, all of the studies of school-related language policy in Timor-Leste have, so far, been done by ex-patriates, such as Australians, Dutch, Portuguese and Brazilians. It is important for a tradition of research by East-Timorese to be initiated. The knowledge and interpretation of classroom practices by East-Timorese researchers, who can offer insider perceptions, can complement the ones

offered by Australians, Dutch, Portuguese and Brazilians and contribute to the building of wider understanding of the education-based processes of language policy-making in Timor-Leste.

My aim in this research has been to document the challenges faced by teachers and learners as the new policy is being put 'into action' in the classroom. I not only had access to schools in the capital city, Dili, where I observed the classroom practices of primary school teachers, but I also gathered interview data on the interpretations of the language-in-education policy by headteachers, teachers and policymakers involved in the implementation of the language-in-education policy. I hope this study contributes to a better understanding of the issues regarding language in-education practice in Timor-Leste and to the identification of the ideological issues and the implications of the language choices underpinning the current bilingual language policy in classrooms in Timor-Leste.

1.3 Research questions

The purpose of this project was not only to describe East-Timorese language policy processes and their specific social and historical context, but also to portray policymakers, headteachers, and primary school teachers' interpretations of the language policy and to investigate the way that these interpretations were related to the implementation of language policy by two teachers working in a Year 6 classroom in a primary school in Timor-Leste. The following questions have guided this research project:

1. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese to talk about the textbook shape the relationships between teachers and pupils in the classroom?

2. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese facilitate teaching and learning of the textbook in the classroom?

3. What values and beliefs about Tetum and Portuguese are constructed in primary teachers' classroom practices?

4. What linguistic values and beliefs shape policymakers' (i.e. Ministry of Education and Parliament) interpretations of the language-in-education policy?

In the construction of these research questions I am assuming that language and classroom textbooks play an important social role in the daily interaction within the classroom, but also that language policy itself shapes those daily interactions. The language policy might be reproduced, negotiated or challenged by its mediators at the classroom level. Language values are also constructed discursively by people, in particular during the introduction of a new language policy in a nation-building process such as those taking place in Timor-Leste.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised in the following way:

Part I has just one chapter, namely Chapter 2. This chapter offers an account of the historical, sociolinguistic and language-in-education policy context in which this study was conducted.

Part II offers a review of the theoretical frameworks and concepts in which this doctoral thesis is grounded. It is divided into three literature review chapters. Chapter 3 describes ethnography and linguistic ethnography as the overarching theoretical framework of this study. Chapter 4 connects the study to the field of bilingualism and multilingualism in which scholars, who have been using ethnographic approaches,

have been trying to look for ways to theorise the ways in which multilingual classroom discourse is connected to the wider social order, policy processes and ideologies of language. Next I also situate this doctoral study at the interface of two fields: the field of language policy and the field of multilingual classroom discourse grounded in an ethnographic approach. Then I connect this doctoral study with other ethnographic studies conducted in multilingual educational settings in the global south. Chapter 5 reviews each of the key analytical concepts in order to explain how they have been used by different scholars in theory-building and in empirical work. The analytical concepts are: textbooks and the construction of text talk; participant structure; safetalk; the classroom discourse model (Initiation Response Feedback and Initiation Reply Evaluation); participant-related code-switching; language ideologies; scales, funds of knowledge and deictics. I also try to demonstrate how the concepts were useful in developing the study presented in this thesis.

Part III is the core of the study. It first describes the research methodology, related issues and the research site, and it then presents the findings of the study. It is divided into 5 chapters, including two on methodology and three on discussion of the findings. Chapter 6 is the first chapter on methodological issues. The purpose is to describe the ethnographic methods I used during the fieldwork, taking into account some relevant methodological issues encountered throughout the data collection stage. Chapter 7 is the second of the two chapters on methodology. Considering the data analysis process as 'progressive problem-solving', it describes the ways in which the data was found, constructed and analysed. The school and participants selected for this thesis are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 8 is the first data analysis chapter and it analyses the co-construction of interactional patterns and the ways in which these patterns shape the relationships between teachers and pupils in the classroom. I draw on the literature on text and talk about text and combine this with the notions of participatory structure and Initiation Response Feedback models. Chapter 9 is the second data analysis chapter. It takes a

wider look at how code-switching practices and linguistic values are connected to language ideologies and to institutional discourses about bilingual education articulated by the policymakers in my study. I draw on the notions of participant-related codeswitching, metacommentary and language ideologies. Chapter 10 is the third, and last, data analysis chapter. It considers the ways in which the teachers make bridges between institutional/textual knowledge and pupils' domestic knowledge. I draw on the notion of scales, funds of knowledge and deictics to look at teacher-pupil classroom interaction.

Part IV is the last part of the thesis. It includes just one chapter, Chapter 11, which summarises the findings of this doctoral study by returning to the research questions. I also describe here the nature and significance of the study and I explore the pedagogical implications for bilingual education. I conclude with an outline of the constraints on this study and I point to ways to expand this research project.

PART I – HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN TIMOR-LESTE



CHAPTER 2: History, a changing sociolinguistic landscape and language policy

Introduction

This chapter outlines the sociolinguistic landscape of Timor-Leste by emphasizing the connection between history and the sociolinguistic context of the country. The first part describes the Portuguese period of colonisation from 1514 to 1974 and then, by the Indonesians from 1975 to 1999 and then, the arrival of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces from 1999 to 2002. The arrival of these three different external powers along with post-independence factors such as the influence of international agencies in governance and bilateral aid programmes with Portugal and Brazil have shaped the country's sociolinguistic landscape in significant ways. The second part describes the development of medium of instruction (MOI) policy from 2002 to 2012. With this chapter, I hope to provide a broad account of the multilingual context in which this study was conducted. The empirical findings need to be understood with reference to this context.

2.1 The changing multilingual landscape of Timor-Leste

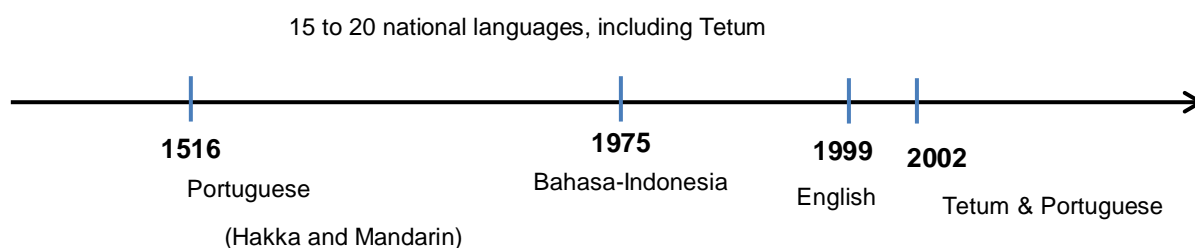
Estimates of the number of indigenous 'languages' that are used in Timor-Leste vary (e.g. Hull, 1998; Hayek, 2000). Hayek (2002) places the 'real number' between 15 and 20. Tetum-Dili is the most widely spoken local language within the national borders. It is spoken by over 80% of East-Timorese according to the National Census of 2004 (Direcção Nacional de Estatística 2006, p. 66).

Portuguese and Bahasa-Indonesia are the two most widely used non-indigenous languages of Timor-Leste. They were embedded in East-Timorese people's lives by the former colonial powers (Hajek, 2002). The Portuguese arrived in the territory in 1514, but imposed their language only at a later stage of their colonial rule in

the twentieth century. During the long years of Portuguese colonialism, Hakka and Cantonese were also brought into some urban areas of the island due to the arrival of Chinese immigrants (Hajek, 2002). Those who were educated in the Portuguese education system later on became strong defenders of the colonial language, particularly in 1974-1975 when the East-Timorese were working vigorously for self-determination. By then Tetum had become the lingua franca of the country (Dunn, 2003; Hajek, 2000). As indicated earlier, the Indonesian army invaded Timor-Leste and occupied it from 1975 to 1999. The most important objective of the Indonesian government was a rapid cultural, political and linguistic process of “Indonesianisation” (Hajek, 2002). Bahasa-Indonesia then became the new colonial language. It was institutionalised in education as in other areas in the life of East-Timorese people. After the arrival of the international peace-keeping forces in 1999 and the three years of UN administration, English came to be used, mostly in urban areas.

Diagram 1 below provides an overview of the multilingual landscape of Timor-Leste and the moments of its history when other languages were added to the social, political and economic life of the country.

Figure 1: The changing sociolinguistic landscape of Timor-Leste



In the following sections, I describe in more detail the transformations of the linguistic landscape of Timor-Leste during each of these periods in the country’s colonial and contemporary history.

2.1.1 Early contacts and colonisation by the Portuguese: from 1516 to 1975

The Portuguese arrived in Timor around 1514, and developed first colonial dominance by regulating the trade exchanges in that area. Dominican missionaries had already established a fort nearby. However, this control of trade was soon challenged by the Dutch who drove the Portuguese out of the West of the island in 1653 (Cristalis, 2009). Partition of the island was finally negotiated between these two European empires as late as 1916. Then in 1945, Indonesia declared independence from the Netherlands and West Timor was eventually integrated into the nation of Indonesia.

The Portuguese started to gain control of the eastern part of the island in the late 1800s after 60 military campaigns (Hajek, 2002). By 1912, this part of the island was fully under Portuguese control, but for nearly five decades there was no explicit language policy to expand Portuguese into the territory. The Portuguese administration was located in Dili, the colonial capital, and the Portuguese language was well established in this city alongside Tetum. Tetum was already the lingua franca in some areas in the eastern part of Timor and it was also a highly regarded language which was spoken by people in an influential kingdom on the island. Moreover, Tetum was adopted as a language of wider communication and later as the language for evangelisation by Catholic missionaries in Timor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The colonisation policy of Portugal changed, in the 1960s, into an explicit assimilation strategy. The Catholic Church was the main promoter of Portuguese medium education and of the use of the language in other aspects of life on the island. The colonial strategy was to create a group of East-Timorese people, 'assimilados' (assimilated natives), who would identify themselves as Portuguese and who would support the colonial administration. The Portuguese authorities intended to 'civilise' the East-Timorese through education and religious conversion (Hajek, 2002). Full

acceptance of the Portuguese ways of living, professing the Catholic faith and mastery of the Portuguese language were required for entry into the elite.

As mentioned earlier, Chinese traders also began to settle in Timor-Leste during the years of Portuguese colonialism. They settled in urban areas of Timor-Leste and had close relations with the Portuguese-speaker elite. They were mostly Hakka and/or Cantonese speakers coming from South of China (Hajek, 2002).

Overall, during almost five centuries of colonisation, Portugal made little investment in education in Timor-Leste, so there was little negative impact on the indigenous languages (Hajek, 2002). Schooling in Portuguese started late. It was mostly based in urban areas and reached only few local East-Timorese in the rural areas.

In 1974, a process of decolonisation was initiated in Timor-Leste, as with other Portuguese colonies, after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal. In Timor-Leste, a civil war broke out between the two leading political parties and, as a result, the Portuguese withdrew unilaterally (Taylor, 1999). The leadership of these two main parties, FRETILIN (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East-Timor) and UDT (União Democrática Timorese or East-Timorese Democratic Union), were Portuguese-speaking 'assimilados' (Nixon, 2012). UDT called for continued political association with Portugal, while FRETILIN called for independence. FRETILIN gained control of the territory after a brief civil war and declared independence on 28th November 1975. This declaration was followed soon afterwards by an invasion from West Timor by Indonesian forces. The occupying forces showed extreme brutality so as to suppress any resistance. Nevertheless, the East-Timorese Resistance was supported by the population over 24 years. Indonesia occupied the country for 24 years, and imposed Bahasa-Indonesia as the official language.

2.1.2 The Indonesian occupation and the East-Timorese Resistance: from 1975 to 1999

The Indonesian invasion took place in December 1975 and by September 1976 Timor-Leste was fully integrated into the Republic of Indonesia as the 27th province. At the outset, as indicated earlier, Indonesian government's greatest concern was to promote the rapid cultural, political and linguistic 'Indonesianisation' of Timor-Leste. They were zealous in promoting their own language in the territory while extinguishing any traces of Portuguese (e.g. on street signs). People in every province of the nation of Indonesia were expected to speak Bahasa-Indonesia as a mark of unity and as a contribution to the development of the Republic of Indonesia (Hajek, 2002). According to Hajek (2002) and Errington (1998), the development of Bahasa-Indonesia throughout Timor-Leste was closely followed by the Indonesian authorities in order to ensure the population's integration into the Indonesian state. In 1980-1981, for the purpose of imposing the adoption of Bahasa-Indonesia in the Catholic Church, the Indonesian authorities prohibited the use of Portuguese in religious services. As an alternative, the East-Timorese authorities substituted Portuguese with Tetum with the approval of the Vatican (Hajek, 2002). Tetum which had gained prominence during the Portuguese occupation saw its value increasing even more under the Indonesian occupation. Another strategy to undermine the status of Portuguese amongst the East-Timorese elite was the promotion of the study of English by the Indonesian government (Hajek, 2002). Portuguese, or the Chinese languages spoken by the small Chinese community, were banned from the schools, administration, media and the Catholic Church. This 24 years period of occupation has left its legacy. East-Timorese who were educated between 1975 and 2002 have added Bahasa-Indonesia to their language repertoire.

The military occupation of Indonesia was brutal and cruel, causing massive population displacement and the death of approximately 200,000 Timorese. The population at the time of the Indonesian invasion is estimated to have been around

600,000 (Taylor, 1999; Cabral, 2002). Indonesian rule was never recognised by the UN. After the invasion, Timor-Leste remained closed to non-Indonesian visitors until the mid-1980s (Nixon, 2012).

Local resistance was already well structured by 1975 and ready for combat since there were military incursions by the Indonesia army over the border with West Timor (Cabral, 2002). This Resistance was led by FRETILIN with the support of its armed wing FALINTIL (Forças Armadas de Libertação de Timor-Leste Independente or The Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor). Throughout the early years of Indonesian occupation, FALINTIL consolidated their role in the fight against the Indonesian army for self-determination. The Resistance was organised in three broad fronts: an armed front, a clandestine force and diplomatic front (Cabral, 2002). The Resistance restructured itself in 1981 and made links with the Catholic Church, different groups of men and women from civil society and members of other East-Timorese political parties including UDT through the clandestine networks (Cabral, 2002). The aim was to achieve a wider mobilisation and collaboration of the East-Timorese population in order to strengthen the resistance to the occupation of Indonesia Army. Many East-Timorese got involved with the Resistance, while living under the control of the Indonesian Army. Tetum and Portuguese were the languages for 'writing the Resistance', depending on the background and purpose of the writers (Cabral & Martin-Jones, 2008, p.88). Tetum played an important role in other clandestine forms of communication, as for example letters from prison (Cabral & Martin-Jones, 2008). Portuguese was the language used not only in formal internal political affairs, but also in diplomatic and international communication, in particularly with the nation-states in Africa where Portuguese was the official language (such as Mozambique and Angola). These African countries provided diplomatic supply for the Resistance in Timor-Leste. Alongside with Tetum, Portuguese language, which was the Portuguese colonial language, was appropriated and reconceptualised as a symbol of resistance and opposition to the Indonesian occupation.

The 'opening up' policy of Timor-Leste to foreign visits by the Indonesian government in the 1980s enabled the East-Timorese fight for independence to gain greater visibility in the international community (Nixon, 2012). This was also a time when there was globalisation of media and increasing interest in Timor-Leste. The Santa Cruz Massacre of 12 November 1991 was a tragic event which served to place the East-Timorese cause on the international human rights agenda. Max Stahl, a British journalist, filmed this dramatic event in which hundreds of students gathered in a peaceful assembly were shot by the Indonesian army. This generation of Indonesian-educated students also played a valuable role in the fight for independence. Mass demonstrations in the capital city organised by students were carried out with banners written Portuguese words. The use of Portuguese was primarily symbolic since many of this young East-Timorese people could not speak it (Hajek, 2002). The use of Portuguese was not a neutral practice, but a way of many East-Timorese to position them against the Indonesian occupation. Further events organised by this youth cohort after the 1991 massacre also kept Timor-Leste's cause on the international agenda (eg. protests at embassies in Indonesia where East-Timorese students were seeking asylum). At the same time, East-Timorese small guerrilla force kept a symbolic fight for independence in the mountains of Timor-Leste.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the foundations for an independent Timor-Leste was being prepared by the East-Timorese Resistance (Cabral, 2013). The East-Timorese Resistance had become a larger organisation by then with support all over Timor-Leste, but also from outside the country. In a meeting in March 1994, in Portugal, organised by FRETILIN, a draft of the constitution was produced. It was stated that Tetum and Portuguese were the official languages of the nation-to-be (Cabral, 2013). In 1998, the Resistance was reconstructed as CNRT (Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorense or National Council for Timorese Resistance) (Cabral, 2002), and the status of Tetum and Portuguese was approved at the first meeting of CNRT in March 1998.

As I have shown in this section, the 24 years of Indonesian occupation drastically transformed the sociolinguistic landscape of Timor-Leste. Bahasa-Indonesia was introduced; Tetum became the predominant local language (as other local languages were neglected); Portuguese was eradicated from public places and institutions, although it gained national symbolic value through the efforts of the East-Timorese Resistance. The sociolinguistic change that took place in Timor-Leste could be said to be similar change in the symbolic value of English in South Africa, described by Peirce (1989), that is a change from former colonial language to people's Portuguese like people's English in South Africa.

After 24 years of occupation, a referendum on self-determination was held on 30 August 1999.

2.1.3 The United Nations Administration (UNTAET): from 1999 to 2002

In August 1999, the Indonesian army withdrew after a historic vote in favour of Independence in August 1999 (Martin, 2001). During the 1999 referendum, there was more violence as pro-Indonesian militia tried to use terror to discourage voters, and afterwards they increased their attacks when the majority of the population voted for independence, burning towns and murdering hundreds of people. On October 1999, the United Nation Security Council adopted a resolution to create an international peacekeeping force, United Nations Transitional Administration in East-Timor (UNTAET), to enter the country and cease the violence. After that intervention, UNTAET held the executive powers of a state, providing support for the creation of political structures and for preparation for elections to prepare for independence.

In this period between 1999 and 2002, in the transitional period to the official independence under the UN administration, Bahasa-Indonesia was retained as a working language (for example in education, in Parliament and public institutions). In education the focus was on the means of phasing out Bahasa-Indonesia and introducing Portuguese as the medium of instruction in the academic year of 2000-

2001 (Taylor-Leech, 2013). Portuguese was also reintroduced as co-official language along with Tetum. English was also adopted as a working language. It was included, because 1999 saw the arrival of UN workers and of numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the territory (Taylor-Leech, 2009). The wide use of English by these international workers gave it new value in the East-Timorese context (Taylor-Leech, 2013). There were some political and linguistic disagreements during this period regarding language-in-education policy (see Taylor-Leech, 2013; Cabral 2013).

During the UNTAET period, Portuguese was adopted as the medium of instruction from Year 1 to Year 6 and it was taught as a subject 4 hours a week. Teachers were under pressure from the Ministry of Education to use Portuguese only. The teaching of Bahasa-Indonesia as a subject was withdrawn from the school curriculum and from the national university. Yet, in practice, Taylor-Leech (2013) says that educational institutions were still using a revised version of the Indonesian curriculum, and Indonesian textbooks since they were the only available teaching resources for a certain period. No reference was yet made to Tetum or other national languages of Timor-Leste in the early educational policy documents.

The handover from the UN to the newly elected government occurred in May 2002. On independence in 2002, the new East-Timorese government finally defined Tetum, one of the national languages and still the most widely spoken one, and Portuguese as the two official languages of the country. The status of different languages was stated in Section 13 of the Constitution as follows:

Section 13 (Official languages and national languages)

1. Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Democratic Republic of East Timor.
2. Tetum and the other national languages shall be valued and developed by the State.

Section 159 (Working Languages)

Indonesian and English shall be working languages within civil service side by side with official languages as long as deemed necessary.

<http://timor-leste.gov.tl/?cat=37&lang=en>

In the next section, I describe the discourses that have circulated since independence on the choice of the official languages of Timor-Leste. I will also trace chronologically the evolution of the education policy and successive directives with regard to the use of these two languages in education. As I have shown, it is crucial to understand the sociolinguistics transformations that took place in the territory as a result of Portuguese colonialism, Indonesian occupation and the East-Timorese Resistance. It is also crucial to take account of these post-independence discourses and language-in-education policy developments in order to understand the complexities and challenges that have been involved in implementing the new language policy. The linguistic views of the participants in this doctoral study conducted in 2012 were of course, historically situated and they hint to the different discourses and language policy developments that I am about to outline.

2.2 Independent Timor-Leste and the implementation of language policy in the schools: from 2002 to 2012

The choice of Portuguese and Tetum as official languages, in particular Portuguese, has caused intense controversy among the East-Timorese, in the foreign press, and in research circles in the early years of independence (Leach, 2008; Taylor-Leech, 2008).

Leach's (2008) longitudinal survey of the attitudes of East-Timorese university students, undertaken in Dili from 2002 and 2007, concluded that in fact attitudes towards the choice of Portuguese as a co-official language changed over the first 5

years of independence. In the early years after independence, East-Timorese youth felt side-lined by the choice of Portuguese and by the fact that no official role was given to Bahasa-Indonesia. According to the National Census of 2004 (Direcção Nacional de Estatística 2006, p. 66), over 80% of the East-Timorese population claimed to speak some Bahasa-Indonesia. The official use of Portuguese language made sense to the educated minority of East-Timorese who had live through the last years of Portuguese colonisation and who had received education through the medium of Portuguese, but it had less meaning for a group of students who had been educated during the Indonesian occupation. Potential exclusion from participating in the new society and new economic order in the new state was one of the legitimate concerns of the young people between 25 and 40 who had been educated in Bahasa-Indonesia. However, Leach (2008) also found out that, in 2007, a younger cohort showed higher acceptance of the two official languages and acknowledged that speaking Portuguese was a 'very important' feature of being 'truly East Timorese' (p.423). After 5 years, the intergenerational discrepancy in attitudes documented in 2002 had become more complex. The 2007 cohort of participants who had had the experience an education in Portuguese since 1999 appeared to be bringing in newer attitudes towards Portuguese.

Taylor-Leech (2008) analysed the discourse of newspapers in two neighbouring countries, Australia and Indonesia, focusing on views on language policy in Timor-Leste and, in particular, on arguments put forward in favour of the rejection of Portuguese language. Some elements of the Australian press argued for the adoption of English as the other official language, whereas some commentators in the Indonesian press argued for Bahasa-Indonesia. Taylor-Leech (2008) also reported on a study she conducted with older and younger groups. She investigated their views concerning language policy employing semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The participants were East Timorese people based in East Timor and in Australia. In her report, she found that both the older and younger respondents perceived Tetum as the language of national identity and as the language of wider communication in Timor-

Leste. Yet they were less certain about its use and value in education and in the globalised world. With regards to Portuguese, Bahasa-Indonesia and English there were distinct values and beliefs. On the one hand, Portuguese was held by the older participants as part of the history of the country, as the language of the Resistance, as an expression of national identity and international solidarity. On the other hand, younger participants were overtly against Portuguese and described it as a language of the elite and of the policy decision makers on the front. They did not consider it as a language which expressed their culture and identity, but still saw it as the language of the coloniser. However, they agreed that Portuguese could be a means to support the revitalization of Tetum since so many Portuguese lexical items have been incorporated into urban varieties of Tetum. With regard to Bahasa-Indonesia, the older respondents perceived it as the language of the coloniser. The young respondents held a more pragmatic view of Bahasa-Indonesia and of English, considering them as useful languages for wider communication in Timor-Leste. Overall, despite these reported differences in linguistic values and beliefs, Taylor-Leach (2008) states that the perceptions of the East-Timorese in her sample were highly consistent with the range of contemporary discourses circulating with regard to official language policy across all group ages. The study by Leach (2008) and the more detailed study by Taylor-Leech (2008) both illustrate wide agreement among participants that Tetum was the most valuable official language as the language of national identity.

The implementation of the language-in-education policy has been a challenging process from the outset (Cabral, 2013; Taylor-Leech, 2013). In the early years of independence, the reintroduction of Portuguese as the main language of teaching and learning in the schools was the main focus. It was a difficult process due to the shortage of teachers and the uneven distribution of Portuguese language abilities across the educational system (Cabral, 2013). The Ministry of Education mandated obligatory in-service Portuguese language training for the recruited teachers from 2002 onwards (Taylor-Leech, 2013).

In 2004, a new standardised orthography for Tetum, prepared by the INL (Instituto Nacional de Linguística or National Institute of Linguistics) was formally adopted in a governmental decree. Over time, there have been changes in policy directives regarding the use of Portuguese and Tetum as the media of instruction in schooling. These are described in details by Taylor-Leech (2013). The first reference to the simultaneous use of Portuguese and Tetum as the languages of instruction appeared in the Education Policy Framework of 2004-2009 (MECYS, 2004). From then on, one of the curriculum objectives was to develop the two official languages “at the same time in a process of mutual enrichment” (p. 8). It was also recommended that Tetum could be used as a “pedagogic aide” (p.11), together with Portuguese, at the basic levels. Taylor-Leech’s (2013) view is that the role conceded to Tetum was limited, and that from this time onwards the value of using the two official languages was not made clear. There also no guidelines on classroom language use. Quinn (2013) argues that the policy documents of that period still pointed to clear preference for Portuguese in relationship to Tetum. In her study of a small sample of Year 5 and 6 classrooms in Timor-Leste conducted in 2005-2006, Quinn interviewed teachers who told her that they used Portuguese to teach and Tetum to support students’ understanding in the classroom.

In 2008, the Ministry of Education of the newly elected government finally provided explicit educational guidelines on the use of the two official languages as media of instruction from Year 1 to Year 4. The ratio of the use of Portuguese and Tetum was established in these guidelines for each year.

Year 1	70% Tetum, 30% Portuguese
Year 2	50% Tetum, 50% Portuguese
Year 3	30% Tetum, 70% Portuguese
Year 4	0% Tetum, 100% Portuguese

From Year 4, the language of instruction and writing was to be Portuguese, whilst Tetum was to be a language for oral instruction only. Another important policy development in 2008 was the introduction of the Lei de Base do Sistema Educativo 14/2008 (the Education System Framework Law). This document established the structure of the education system and made important references to the objectives for education with regards to the official languages. These objectives are stated there as follows:

- The teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese (p. 6, Article 8)

- The mastery of the Portuguese and Tetum languages should be ensured (p.9, Article 12)

These objectives indicated important moves towards definition of the role of the two official languages as media of instruction, not prioritising Portuguese only, but attributing to both Portuguese and Tetum a relatively equal status at the educational policy planning level. Taylor-Leech (2013) considered this as a key planning document which has contributed to opening up spaces for the use of not only Tetum but also the 'national languages' in education.

Other planning documents were approved from 2008 onwards. These led to the emergency of a new set of discourses with regard to the use of the children's 'mother tongues' that is the languages designated as 'national languages' in the Constitution. Cabral (2013) and Taylor-Leech (2013) discuss in depth the ideas and discourses underpinning these planning documents, the subsequent debates and positions taken up by different groups in civil society regarding the *mother tongue* issue. In May 2012, ten years after independence and during the period of my fieldwork, the new President of Timor-Leste, Taur Matan Ruak, at this inaugural ceremony emphasised and consolidated the role of Portuguese as an official language of the country. He affirmed that Portuguese had a political and strategic role to play in the country, as well as being

emblematic of national identity (Press: *Público*). He also made a personal critical point, arguing that the teaching of Portuguese should assume methodologies appropriate to the teaching of a foreign language rather than that appropriate to teaching a *mother tongue*.

Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the sociolinguistic context of Timor-Leste along with the socio-historical and language-in-education policy developments in the country. I have shown that the country's sociolinguistic landscape and language policy conditions have changed significantly over a five hundred year time scale. It was shaped by colonisation by Portugal from 1514 to 1974, the occupation by Indonesia from 1975 to 1999, the arrival of the UN Peacekeeping Forces and, then, the UN Administration from 1999 to 2002 and finally the influence of bilateral cooperation with Portugal and Brazil. It was within the specific socio-historical context and the specific educational policy and planning developments described above that I conducted my fieldwork. As I will show further on, in the chapters on the findings of my data analysis, the different discourses and views on language debated in Timor-Leste since independence in 2002 are clearly reflected in the linguistic practices, views and beliefs of the key participants of this doctoral study.

At this moment of nation-building, my research can contribute to the building on a broader understanding of the ways in which the current language-in-education policy has being put into practice. This is a process of re-appropriation and re-valuing of Portuguese and Tetum which has its roots in the East-Timorese Resistance. Drawing on my analysis of the classroom practices observed in this study some recommendations can be provided about the implementation of this bilingual education policy. More attention needs to be given to the ways in which language ideologies are shaping classroom practices along with the views about Tetum and Portuguese

articulated by teachers and policymakers. My research can contribute to the building of greater awareness of some classroom practices and to understand to what extent they meet the needs of teachers and pupils.

PART II – LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 3: Ethnography and Linguistic Ethnography

Introduction

In this chapter I describe Ethnography and Linguistic Ethnography as the theoretical and methodological approaches on which I draw to investigate the processes of implementing language-in-education policy in the context of Timor-Leste. I have selected them for their principles and methods, and I show how they have helped me to analyse and understand the ways in which people make meaning of the language-in-education policy processes at different levels. Following these two approaches, I began by looking at the micro-level language interactions in schools in-depth, setting them against a wider phenomena. As Erickson (1990) has mentioned about ethnographic approaches, they are a combination of a “close analysis of fine details of behaviour and meaning in everyday social interaction with analysis of the wider societal context” (p.80).

In section 3.1, I explain the methodological principles of ethnography. Next, in 3.1.1, I describe the procedures and methods of ethnographic approach and in 3.1.2, I consider the crucial role of researchers’ reflexivity in ethnography. In 3.2, I describe Linguistic Ethnography as the particular theoretical framework which has informed my doctoral study in combination with ethnography.

3. 1. Ethnography: origin and principles

Ethnography derives from the field of anthropology (Athanases and Heath, 1995; Walford, 2009; Blommaert, 2006a). Blommaert (2009) says that ethnography is more than a set of complex fieldwork techniques. He adds that since ethnography derives from anthropology it “means that the basic architecture of ethnography is one that already contains ontologies, methodologies, and epistemologies”, and it should be understood within the framework of this tradition (p.262). Despite some lack of clarity

and consensus among researchers in its definition (Hammersley, 1993), long-term participation and observation of people in their natural setting is at the centre of ethnographic research. The ethnographer vividly gets involved in people's daily life for an extended period of time to watch what happens, to listen to what is said, and ask questions in order to collect data to elucidate the issues that are at the centre of the investigation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2003). This can only be accomplished in direct connection with natural settings. In fact, this is one of the assumptions of ethnography (Hammersley, 1993). As a result, there is a concern about decreasing the effects of the participation of the researcher on the behaviour of the participants. Another assumption of naturalism of ethnography is that explanations of social events and processes are situated, i. e., they have to be understood in relation to the context in which they occur (Hammersley, 1993). As ethnography is situated within the tradition of anthropology, the study of language (as in this doctoral study is) has to be carried out, as far as is possible, from the view point of those who are using it and with reference the context in which the language is being used. Since language is never 'context-less', but is incorporated within social structures and relations, language has always "a particular function, a concrete shape, a specific mode of operation, and an identifiable set of relations between singular acts of language and wider patterns of resources and their functions." (Blommaert, 2006a, p.4).

The objective of ethnography in undertaking research in natural settings is to get access to the insider interpretations and meaning making practices of the people participating in the research. For instance, Athanases and Heath (1995) mention that, in the early twentieth century ethnography, the aim was to conduct fieldwork in the local language and describe *what was* happening within a group, and not what was not happening or what needed to be changed from the researcher's point of view. Learning ways of being and experience of the world from participants' own point of view is vital in ethnography. Erickson (1990) emphasizes the importance of studying familiar settings in order to develop an awareness of the "invisibility of everyday life" (p.121). He affirms

that by adopting a reflective gaze on the usualness and contradictions of people's everyday life, the researcher makes "the familiar strange and interesting again" (p.121).

As England (1994) has put, with regard to her research, ethnography is the study of a particular world which is "already interpreted by people who are living their lives in it and my research would be an account of the "betweenness" of their world and mine." (p.251). This comment by England foregrounds the fact that researchers play an important role in the ethnographic process. The level of understanding that they will gather about people's lives will depend on how close they can get into people's lives. Erickson (2008) adds that it is not only a matter of spending time with people, but most importantly to build an equal relationship with people in order to get closer to them. He denotes that an inadequate closeness to people's lives confines the ethnographer's comprehension. Ultimately, the aim is to provide a balance account and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of what the ethnographer has learned from 'being there' and of the participants understanding of their daily life. This combination of the ethnographer's account of people's lives and their own account of their lives is what is called the combination of the etic and emic perspectives. These notions were originally coined by Pike (1967) who defined etic as referring to an outsider's account and observations that do not have the personal and/or lived experience of the people and context of study; whereas emic refers to an insider's perception and an account of lived experience for the group being studied. Ethnography can contribute to change in people's lives, only after learning about how they make sense of their lives. Feedback can be provided and potential directions for changes can be discussed with the participants in order for them to implement them in a way that works best for them.

Building an understanding of participants' lives, in their natural setting, can be maximised as the researcher initiates the project with few assumptions and as s/he narrows the focus of the research (Hammersley, 1993). Erickson (1984) concurs that ethnography ought not to be considered an investigation process lead by a point of view. He says that preconceptions and leading questions shape the research from the

outset; however it is uncertain to the researcher where those initial questions might lead the research (Erickson, 1990).

From the vantage point of a positivist philosophy of science, the principles and objectives of ethnography as described above have been taken by some scholars as not 'scientific' enough (Hammersley, 1993). Within this positivist tradition, empirical research has to be based on hypotheses which ought to be tested, either by manipulating variables or through statistical analysis of large samples. Notions of reliability and validity are also given particular prominence in this way of thinking about science. These kinds of criticisms have, of course, been countered within the interpretive traditions of social science with the assertion of the importance of gaining access to meaning, and values (eg. Erickson 1990). In this study, I aligned myself with Erickson's work and found that his own description of his research resonated with my own conception of the work I wanted to undertake, that is as an "attempt to be empirical without being positivist; to be rigorous and systematic" in studying the interactions of people's everyday life, in investigating the meanings enacted through their interactions and in making connections with the wider social world (1990, p.120).

Nader (2011) describes ethnography as a theoretical endeavour, description and explanation. The aim of ethnography to be and get involved in people's lives, to investigate their lives and how they see their lives, and to relate people's understandings to a context are a set of important principles used to explain social phenomena. I elaborated my study according to those ethnographic principles in order to explain multilingual classroom practices around textbooks and language ideologies which shape teachers' practices and policymakers interpretations of education policy documents.

3.1.1 An ethnographic approach: Procedures and methods

Ethnography as a research design incorporates a set of procedures and a range of methods based on the principles described above. By describing the procedures and methods of ethnography I do not intend to reduce ethnography to 'fieldwork', but to consider how conducting ethnographic research is connected to its principles of naturalism, participating in people's everyday lives, and interpreting the meanings they construct in and through their daily routines.

One of the important stages of ethnographic research is that of the negotiation of getting access to the research site and to the participants. Troman (1996) says that the success of this negotiation depends very much on the researcher's identity. Erickson (1990) warns that access in itself is of no use if the researcher does not take the opportunity to build trust and rapport with the participants. Athanases and Heath (1995) affirm that if the researcher fails to build rapport with the participants, they might refuse to share "insights or defend themselves against the perceived judgment of the researcher." (p.272). Consequently, without their insights the researcher cannot gain access to emic perspectives. In my fieldwork the role of a few mediators was vital in providing me access to the participants and I use this opportunity in order to develop a good relationship with them. I was positioned as a local in Timor-Leste, I could speak both of the local official languages, Tetum and Portuguese, and I invested considerable efforts to gain access to the participants. I will consider the dynamics between the researcher, mediators and participants further on in the Methodology chapter, Chapter 6.

With regards to the data collection stage, it is recognized that an ethnographic design is multi-method by nature. Observation, participant-observation, fieldnotes, interviews with the participants, audio- and video-recording are some of the techniques of collecting data. The use of each technique during the fieldwork ought to be negotiated with the participants. For instance, respecting the participants' willingness to be interviewed or audio-recorded in their own time is vital for the development of a

trusting relationship between the researcher and the participants. Since the objective of ethnographic inquiry is to elicit the participants' point of view, the use of different techniques allows the researcher to triangulate the information collected from different data sources.

The approach to the data collected after the fieldwork consists of a thorough search for patterns within the entire data corpus. Erickson (2004) describes the data construction and data analysis stage as a "process of progressive problem-solving" (p.486). In this sense, he argues that the data and patterns or themes must be 'found' and that they do not naturally appear or 'emerge' to the researcher. The researcher has an active role in the process of finding the data as s/he looks for meanings which are significant in the mundane practices of the participants. Erickson (2004) adds that this process is grounded in both the researcher's intuition and logic, and thus it is both a subjective and objective analysis. Furthermore, the whole process of data analysis is always shaped by theoretical concepts encountered by the researcher along her or his academic trajectory. In his 2004 article on "Demystifying data construction and analysis", Erickson also suggests a top-down approach to the data analysis (in contrast to a bottom-up one). In the second Methodology chapter, Chapter 7, I discuss in some detail the approaches to data construction and data analysis that I adopted following my reading of Erickson's 2004 article.

3.1.2 The need for researcher reflexivity

An important development, with the influence of feminist theorists, was the consideration of power relationships between the researcher and the researched in ethnographic research (eg. Cameron et al., 1992). England (1994) describes fieldwork as a dialogical process which is shaped by both the researcher and the participants being researched. In this view, both the researcher and the participants are made equally visible and vital in the research process. For her, the researchers and

participants are instruments of their research in which they are “differently positioned subjects with different biographies” and who “are not dematerialized, disembodied entities” (p.248). Mullings (1999) argues that researchers’ knowledge is characteristically partial, because it is influenced by different social identities that shape their positionality, and it is also influenced by location in time and in space in ways that shape their views and interpretations of the world. Positionality is also connected to the dynamic insider/outsider relationship. Researchers are potentially seen as insiders if they study a group to which they belong to, while in contrast if they are not part of the group they are more likely to be considered as outsiders. Nevertheless, Mullings (1999) emphasizes that this binary insider/outsider positioning is not fixed but dynamic and can change over time.

Researcher’s reflexivity is needed in ethnography in order to understand the nature and the consequences of the ways in which relationships of power, positioning and identity are constructed between the researcher and the participants, at different stages of the research process; from the first entry to the research site to the writing up stage. England (1994) affirms that reflexivity is vital to conduct fieldwork as she describes it as “self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the self as researcher” which “induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research questions” (p.244). In this study in Timor-Leste, I have also tried to explore reflexively and critically how the data I have collected and the analysis that I have produced were shaped by my relationship with the participants in my research.

3.2 Linguistic Ethnography

Linguistic Ethnography (Rampton et al., 2004; Tusting and Maybin, 2007; Rampton, 2007; Creese, 2008, 2010; Blackledge, 2011) is an epistemological, theoretical and methodological framework which studies social life by looking for

connections on the interactional level of discourse with the wider socio-historical and/or socio-political processes.

This field of Linguistic Ethnography is still in its early stage of existence in the UK, and, although it proceeds from particular strands of Linguistic Anthropology from North America such as ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics and micro-ethnography, and critical sociolinguistic ethnography, it aims to distinguish itself from them (Creese, 2008). This is because it has the influence of the work of applied linguistics in the UK, in particular, research on literacy, ethnicity and identity, ideology, classroom discourse and language teaching. Rampton et al. (2004) and Creese (2008) explain in more detail the roots of linguistic ethnography which drew on the work of North American and British scholars.

According to Rampton et. al (2004), a general premise of linguistic ethnography is that “language and the social world are mutually shaping” (p.2). Linguistic ethnography emerged as primarily connected to the British sociolinguistic academic context and its connections with applied linguists, rather than anthropology. Some strands of linguistic ethnography have also been shaped by post-structuralism and social constructionism in the social sciences (Tusting and Maybin, 2007; Creese, 2008). Due to these local connections with applied linguistics scholars, linguistic ethnography has characteristically taken “language rather than culture as its principal point of analytic entry into the problems it seeks to address” (Creese, 2008, p. 234). Rampton et al. (2004) says that “both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” can be provided from the detailed scrutiny of situated language use (p.2). The objective is to view “close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world” (Creese, 2008, p.233).

The case for the association of ‘linguistics’ and ‘ethnography’ in Linguistic Ethnography is made by arguing that the knowledge-building in each field complements that in the other field. Rampton et al. (2004) argue that Linguistics

delimits ethnographic data analysis processes by incorporating analytical frameworks for the close study of text and interaction; whereas Ethnography brings reflexive sensitivity to Linguistics and to the development of claims about language practices. These authors describe this merging of disciplines as “tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up” (p.4).

In my study, if I had approached my analysis of the classroom discourse without an ethnographic analytical framework, I would not have been able to consider the meanings constructed by the participants in and through their everyday routines in the classroom. Without the crucial ethnographic perspective, I might also have provided an account of the classroom as a ‘self-contained’ unit with no external influences on teachers’ practices. Ethnography allowed me to open the linguistic analysis up and to look at the recurring features of classroom discourse and the construction of meaning and values from the viewpoint of the participants and in relationship to the social, historical, ideological and political processes of Timor-Leste. On the other hand, analysing ethnographic data without close analysis of the classroom discourse would have reduced the possibility of demonstrating how language was being used and developing explanations about the linguistic patterns observed. In this way, linguistics enabled me to tie ethnography down to the detail of classroom interaction and demonstrate the ways in which teaching and learning processes and social relationships are simultaneously co-constructed by teachers and pupils through language. The combination of ethnographic and classroom discourse analytical frameworks helped me to capture more neatly the associations between classroom practices, the construction of situated meanings by the participants and the articulation of language values by the teachers – values which echoed the wider political discourses and ideologies about language. As I tried to make these connections, my aim was to describe the interrelationship between language and the social life of the participants.

Concerns regarding the researcher's reflexivity in linguistic ethnography are also very relevant in my study. My identity as a researcher was particularly relevant in this study as I indicated above. By considering issues of researcher positionality in this study I hope to contribute to the wider discussion on the importance of reflexivity regarding the involvement of the researcher in fieldwork observations and the interpretive process in linguistic ethnography, and on the commitment of the researcher to the representation of the participants' views (Tusting and Maybin, 2007).

Following the Linguistic Ethnography focus on classrooms as sites of interaction and as cultural contexts (Creese, 2008), I set out in this doctoral study to document the classroom practices of teachers as a new language policy was being put 'into action' in the classroom and by trying to understand how the new language in-education policy adopted in Timor-Leste was, and still is, shaping everyday classroom practices and patterns of communication. The interdisciplinary research orientation of this approach allows me to "look closely and look locally" to the classroom interactional event while also taking account of wider power and ideological processes (Blackledge, 2011, p.123). In Chapter 4, I review the work of some scholars who have been making these connections. I describe the academic movement to go beyond the classroom interactional order and make connections with the wider social order. Then I situate this study at the interface of two fields: the field of language policy and multilingual classroom discourse analysis grounded in an ethnographic approach.

Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a review of the literature concerning the theoretical and methodological frameworks that I am drawing on in my doctoral study. I have described the principles of ethnography, the procedures and methods of ethnographic approach and the vital importance of researcher reflexivity. I ended with a section on Linguistic Ethnography. I attempted to illustrate the ways in which linguistic

ethnography as a theory and a methodology was helpful in framing my study in Timor-Leste. In my doctoral study, the association of linguistic analysis and ethnography enabled me to provide insights into participants' views about their own lived experience, as well as a description of their language practices. The linguistic analysis allow me to interpret the meaning of what was said by the participants, whereas ethnography supported the linguistic claims I made in connection with the patterns in the participants' daily routines in the classroom. Moreover, it also allowed me to make connections with wider social, political discourses and language ideologies circulating at a national level, with regard to language-in-education policy processes. I hope this research can contribute to wider discussions on the value of ethnographic frameworks in understanding the connections between the interactional order and the wider social and ideological order.

In the next chapter, Chapter 4, I review the literature on the use of ethnographic frameworks in multilingual education settings in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography.

CHAPTER 4: A long standing tradition of research in language-in-education in multilingual contexts: Locating this study

Introduction

In this chapter, I review some studies in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography that have used ethnographic approach in multilingual education settings, to varying degrees, and in different ways, to explain the relationships between situated interactional phenomena and the wider context of language use. The multi-layered nature of the design of this doctoral study follows this academic tradition by trying to look for ways to theorise the ways in which multilingual classroom discourse is connected to the wider social order, policy processes and ideologies of language.

In section 4.1, I describe how scholars have been connecting the interactional order and the wider historical, social, political, institutional and ideological order. Then in 4.2, I situate this doctoral study within the interface of two fields: the field of language policy and the field of multilingual classroom discourse grounded on ethnographic approach. In 4.3, I connect this doctoral study with other ethnographic studies conducted in multilingual educational settings in the global south. In particular I mention two studies conducted in Timor-Leste school settings. They were studies that drew on other qualitative and quantitative approaches.

4.1 Research on multilingualism: Connecting the interactional order with the wider social and ideological order

Many studies in contemporary sociolinguistics follow the idea that sociolinguistic phenomena on the level of face-to-face interaction in multilingual contexts cannot be explained dissociated from other social aspects of human life. These have often been described in terms of micro and macro levels of social organisation or agency and

structure that scholars have attempted to explain the connections between language-in-interaction and the social organisation, or the connections between the interactional order and the wider institutional and ideological order. Scholars currently committed to critical and interpretive research about language have been developing theoretical and methodological approaches to widen their analysis beyond the interactional situated event. Martin-Jones (2007), for instance, mentions that, from the mid-1980s onwards, many scholars felt the need to go beyond descriptions of the interactional routines in sociolinguistic and educational contexts. Heller (1999), for instance, has long been arguing for a view of language as one kind of social practice that enables connections to be made between social action and social structure and that considers the role of agency regarding language practice within wider aspects of social organisation. Regarding educational institutions, Martin-Jones (2007) suggests that, from the 1980s, scholars began to “seek ways of linking local situated practices and detailed accounts of the interactional order of the classroom with an analysis of institutional and historical processes, with wider discourses about language and about the role of schooling in the context of linguistic diversity” (p.171-172). She adds that much of the research took a bottom-up perspective in which researchers started from analysing local discursive practices and tried to explain the ways in which these practices were linked to the wider social and historical contexts (p.172).

Some scholars doing research in multilingual classroom contexts acknowledged the creative potential of individuals, but tended to focus more on the power relationships between spaces and people that facilitated and/or constrained individuals' creativity. Building on the insights from the work of Bourdieu (1991) on language and symbolic power, Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) approached schools as settings where social identities and unequal relations of power are produced and reproduced in multilingual contexts. They argued that to fully understand these processes of production and reproduction in education in multilingual settings “it is essential to

examine discursive practices and ideologies in the cycles of everyday life in educational institutions” (p.128).

In the complementary field of language planning and policy (LPP) scholars such as Nancy Hornberger (1988) looked at bilingual education in practice. In her work she described different layers of language policy-making and highlighted the importance of ethnography in capturing these different layers. The onion metaphor that she introduced through the collaboration with Thomas Ricento (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996) was a way of showing the connections between different social and institutional spaces. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) argued that language policy processes, of a social and ideological nature are played out in different spaces, at different layers of the LPP ‘onion’, and they took the views that they are always spaces for human agency to implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy coercion in so called situated ways. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) suggest that research should take account of agents, as layers of the LPP. They also noted that LPP processes affect on different and interact with each other to different degrees. Classroom practitioners are at the centre of the LPP onion. As Ricento and Hornberger (1996) see it, teachers do not simply reproduce social reality; they can also transform their classrooms through their practices, even promoting institutional change over time, or beyond that, contributing to wider social and political change. They use the notions of agency, structure and creativity to explain unexpected patterns in human actions at different layers of language policy. They say that “because human society is constituted of, by, and through language, all acts and actions mediated by language are opportunities for the implicit (or explicit) expression of language policies” (p.420). People have agency, and are creative enough to decide on how they can use language individually and through collective action in their institutions, communities and professional organisations. In her later work with David Cassels Johnson (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007), Hornberger argued that people can also construct alternative ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual practice when interpreting language policy texts and their beliefs

shape their practices. The alternative spaces consisted of spaces outside the classroom as well as inside the classroom including face-to-face interaction within local communities, spaces for regional and national educational policy-making, and spaces in which globalised policy processes are at work (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007).

In the field of anthropology of language education, scholars such as Stanton Wortham (2010) argue that the levels of explanation of social organisation regarding action and interaction should not be addressed in terms of a binary micro-macro distinction. Moreover, he believes that the notions of agency and structure are also incomplete and constitute inaccurate analytical tools of explanation. He argues that the terms 'emergence' and 'constraint' are more useful categories. The term 'emergence' refers to the occurrence of unexpected patterns or changes that develop gradually across time. He affirms that changes in larger social patterns can occur occasionally due to the actions of individuals, but they often develop due to the actions of collectives (eg. workgroups or family). These changes can also be intentionally constructed by individuals or collectives or they develop without the clear intention of any individual or collective. The term 'emergence' is proposed in place of terms such as 'micro' and 'agency'. Wortham (2012) argues that those two notions do not capture all the necessary levels of explanation of an unexpected pattern and changes, and denote restricting the explanation of phenomena to homogeneous aspects such as individual actions or interactional creativity of isolated events. The term 'constraint' refers to the processes that coerce individual or collective thoughts, actions or interactions. These processes are practices and ideas which are ephemeral or longstanding, and they derive from lasting institutional or ideological constraints or local ones. According to Wortham (2012), the term 'constraint' is more appropriate in the anthropology of education than terms like 'macro' or 'structure' because it incorporates awareness of the diverse kinds of ideas and practices that constrain social events. Moreover, constraints can function in various kinds. They can sustain or subvert each other. He argues for the focus on different kinds of constraints that influence people's actions and

thoughts. In Wortham's (2012) own words: "A narrow focus on micro or macro, agency or structure will thus fail to explain many phenomena in the anthropology of education" (p.8). Ultimately, Wortham argues for an investigation of interactional events by considering the different scales of social organisation (including spatial and temporal scales) in which the ideologies of language move. In this way, he argues that it is possible to capture relevant resources that constraint and facilitate the functions of speech. This approach enables to look at the emergence of unexpected patterns across interactional time and the shaping of actions and events by wider-scale ideas, institutions and practices.

The work of the scholars cited above shows that there has been an ongoing academic movement across decades, in which researchers have endeavoured to go beyond the classroom interactional order and making connections with the wider social order. Scholars share the idea that actions of individuals shape the space they find themselves in. However, they offer different explanations regarding the nature of the constraints on individual and group actions. Scholars such as Hornberger (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger and Johnson, 2007), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) explain the dynamics of the dialectic relationship between structure and agency by focusing on the creative potential of individuals and groups, and taking account of the power of ideological and institutional forces in shaping human social action. Wortham (2012) favours an analysis which considers the trajectories of individuals, discourses, objects, practices or ideologies in order to capture all the relevant resources that shape the unpredicted interaction. His notion of 'emergence' and 'constraint' are useful, and he places an adequate emphasis on collective action as well as individual action. Moreover, his adoption of the notion of spatial and temporal scales offers the possibility of greater depth of analysis.

The study of situated interaction ought to consider relevant aspects of the wider social and institutional order, and how they shape human action in order to provide potential explanations. In this section of this chapter, I have reviewed the ways in which

scholars have studied interaction in educational settings have proposed different theories to build an understanding of how institutional structures and processes and/or ideologies shape language practices and to explain the use of linguistic resources in social interactions. These different approaches are all relevant to my work. They provide different lenses, refined in different ways to guide me in connecting the interactional order in the classroom in my study with the wider social, historical, and political order. In the new nation of Timor-Leste, in my study, I align myself with Hornberger's (1996, 2007) views since I consider the core of my analysis to be the teachers' practices and utterances and I have tried to illustrate their interactional creativity as they work with a new curriculum and a new medium of instruction. Following Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), I also consider the power relationships and structures which shape these interactions. Despite the appealing notion of Wortham's (2012) notion of 'emergence' and 'constraint', the time limitations of my study did not provide me with the opportunity to interpret the meaning of classroom interactions of emergent and constraint patterns over a longer term as he did.

In the next section, I situate this study at the interface of two fields: the field of language policy and planning and the field of multilingual classroom discourse, which draws on ethnographic approach.

4.2 The interface of multilingual classroom discourse analysis and language policy and planning

Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013) point out that there has been an historical lack of articulation between researchers involved in ethnographic and discourse analytic studies on multilingual classroom interactions and those working on studies of language policy and planning (LPP) policy. They argue that since the early 1980s, there has been a tradition of research into language policy processes from the viewpoint of the classroom. These studies followed a bottom-up approach and

described the “multilingual realities of local schools and classrooms and the language values and lived experiences of students and their teachers.” (p.285). They also involved “theorising the ways in which multilingual discourse practices index wider policy contexts and wider ideologies of language” (p.290). In contrast, in the LPP field scholars originally followed a top-down approach and the shift towards research into language policy processes at other levels occurred mainly in the mid-1990s.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) led this shift in the ways that I have described above. Saxena and Martin-Jones (2103) addressed the lack of connections between these fields and described the advances made by historical-structural and critical theorists in looking at the ideologies underpinning language policies. They also traced the ways in which the two fields of critical research in multilingual classroom discourse and critical ethnographic approaches to language policy have come together. With regard to the first field, ethnography and classroom discourse analysis, Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013) describe the work of two generations of scholars who have approached processes of language policy from a bottom-up perspective. The first generation emerged in North America in the 1980s from the work of scholars developing approaches to study language in social life in the field of linguistic anthropology. The approaches which shaped interpretive research in different educational settings at the time were ethnomethodology (Mehan, 1979), micro-ethnography (Erickson, 1975), ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982), and the sociology of face-to-face interaction (Goffman, 1981). In this body of research, the core of the analysis was focused on bilingual classroom interactions. Researchers investigated features of classroom talk such as the sequential structuring of bilingual classroom interactions, the organisation of turn taking, the interactional routines, the use of verbal and non-verbal cues between teachers and pupils or different narrative or interactional styles.

The second generation of studies described by Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013) was developed from the early 1990s onwards. Researchers developed critical,

interpretive approaches to the investigation of multilingual classroom interactions, by incorporating post-structuralist and post-modern perspectives. They continued to apply the analytical tools already developed in the early work in multilingual classrooms developed by scholars of the first-generation, but they pursued ways of making connections between the interactional order and the wider social and ideological orders. The research sites for the second generation studies included post-colonial contexts, minority language contexts in Europe and in the USA and Canada. These second generation studies were often explicitly concerned with language-in-education policy issues which distinguished them from the first-generation ones.

With regard to the second field, that of LPP, Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013) gave particular attention to the contribution made by researchers such as Ricento and Hornberger (1996), and then Hornberger and Johnson (2007), to the reconceptualisation of language policy processes as multi-layered phenomena. We can see, from their review, that the last decade has seen the development of ethnographic approach to language policy (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009; McCarty, 2011). Arguments have also been put forward for a focus on the agentive role of practitioners who interpret and implement the educational policies instead of an overemphasis on the institutional and ideological processes of policy-making (Menken and Garcia, 2010).

My doctoral study follows the two research traditions discussed above: it adopts an ethnographic approach to language policy combined with classroom discourse analysis. I consider the multilingual discourse practices that occur in interactions between teachers and learners in connection with the wider policy context and wider language ideologies in Timor-Leste. Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013) referred to research of this kind as third-generation research, as research which is contributing to the building of new understandings of “the agentive ways in which teachers and learners manage the gap between reified institutional mono-lingualism and the lived multilingual realities of everyday classroom practice” (p.291).

4. 3 Studies in multilingual educational settings of the global south

This study is an institutional ethnography in a context in the global south in which other similar studies have also been conducted. An example of the use of ethnography to study bilingual education and understand teacher-pupils relationships in a postcolonial context and using a bottom-up approach can be found in the work of Martin (2005). This scholar conducted a detailed study in two classrooms in a rural area in Malaysia. Using micro-ethnography and discourse analysis, he analysed the classroom practices by considering the socio-political and educational contexts of the two communities. Martin's study gives emphasis to the actual language practices in the schools and shows the tensions between the local, national and global as he describes in detail the subtle messages about the status of different languages being conveyed through the multilingual teaching/learning routines in the two classrooms.

Chimbutane (2011) has also carried out an ethnographic study of bilingual education in a postcolonial context in Mozambique. The author investigated 5 bilingual classrooms in two primary schools that were involved in the transitional phase of a bilingual programme where an African language was used as the medium of instruction alongside Portuguese. He examined the connections between the bilingual classroom practices and the institutional, local and societal discourses on multilingualism. Other ethnographic studies focused on classroom talk have also been undertaken in other contexts in the global. Take for example, Cincotta-Segi's (2011) work in Laos; Hornberger and Chick's (2001) work in Peru and South Africa; Arthur's work (1994) in Botswana. Now I turn to the studies carried out in the particular context that I am concerned with, namely Timor-Leste's classrooms.

Studies have been conducted by two scholars in classrooms in Timor-Leste. Mary Quinn (2011) investigated Year 5 and 6 classrooms in different parts of Timor-Leste. Danielle Boon (2014) studied a range of classrooms in adult literacy programmes throughout the island. Quinn (2011) conducted her investigation between December 2005 and January 2006. She adopted a ground theory approach and

selected a number of case studies. Her aim was to investigate the patterns of language use in Year 5 and 6 classrooms and teachers' motivations for using Tetum and Portuguese language. She analysed classroom talk in relationship to learning and focused on functions of classroom talk. Her main concern was with the 'effective' teacher-pupil communication, following the work of scholars such as Neil Mercer and Gibson Ferguson. Boon (2014) conducted her investigation between June 2009 and June 2011 in three adult literacy programmes in eight districts of Timor-Leste. As part of a wider study of adult literacy education, Boon (2014) conducted case studies in order to understand in-depth the teaching and learning processes at work in selected adult literacy classes, and the ways in which different language were drawn upon in the daily rounds of classroom interaction between the literacy tutors and the adult learners.

Neither of the two studies in education settings of Timor-Leste adopted a linguistic ethnographic approach, though they were both grounded in the tradition of case study research. The significance of my doctoral study lies in the fact that it brings a linguistic ethnographic perspective to the investigation of classroom discourse and language policy in the context of Timor-Leste. It does so by drawing on a combination of ethnography and linguistic ethnography, and on the specific theoretical and methodological orientations that I have described here and in the previous chapter.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have reviewed the ways in which scholars have been trying to connect the interactional order with the wider social and ideological order in the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography. I have also situated this study at the interface of two research traditions: multilingual classroom discourse analysis and language policy and planning. In the end of this chapter, I made brief reference to some studies conducted in the global south and in Timor-Leste in particular.

As Erickson (2004) points out with regard to qualitative analysis, “such analysis is never theory-independent or theory-neutral” (p.489). Shaped by the kinds of readings I have been doing throughout my doctoral journey, this chapter demonstrated how my study follows the work of scholars in different fields who have used ethnographic approaches to investigate policy processes in multilingual educational settings from a bottom-up perspective. By focusing on the context of Timor-Leste, with its unique language-in-education policy, this study can contribute to existing research and debate on the associations between everyday interactions in multilingual classrooms and wider social and ideological processes.

In the next chapter, Chapter 5, I review in detail the specific theoretical concepts which have been adopted for this study. These include: textbooks and the construction of text talk; participant structure; safetalk; the classroom discourse model (Initiation Response Feedback and Initiation Reply Evaluation); participant-related code-switching; language ideologies; scales, funds of knowledge and deictics. As my readers will see, these theoretical concepts have also been commonly applied in the fields and research traditions I reviewed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5: Combining research on classroom discourse practices and wider social and ideological processes

Introduction

The objective of this study is to investigate the language-in-education policy of Timor-Leste from a bottom-up perspective by focusing on classroom talk in a multilingual setting. Classroom talk is described by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and others as sites for the reproduction and contestation of linguistic ideologies and hierarchies. Creese (2008) also notes that, as site of interaction, a classroom is “a cultural context with its own sites of struggle and its own local institutional imperatives and affordances for particular kinds of learning and interaction” (p.235). So, in this chapter, I aim to focus on theoretical notions which assist the comprehension and interpretation of interactional practices that structure the kind of relationships that develops in classrooms between teachers and pupils, and the patterns of the communication in which shape teaching and learning environments around texts and textbooks. As Jaffe (2003) points out, texts shape bilingual practices and, at the same time, bilingual practices mediate the text used in classrooms.

In section 5.1, I review the work of scholars regarding literacy practices around textbooks and around the construction of the value of particular texts in classrooms. In section 5.2 I review the work of Philips (2001) regarding the concept of participant structure. In section 5.3 I consider the notion of safetalk. In 5.4, I describe the model of classroom discourse Initiation-Response-Feedback/Evaluation structure developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and later by Mehan (1979a; 1985). In 5.5, I review the work on code-switching in classrooms. In 5.6, I review the notion of language ideologies with particular emphasis on the area of education. Finally in 5.7, I describe Blommaert’s (2007, 2010b) notion of scales.

5.1 Textbooks and construction of the text talk

Scholars in the field of Literacy Studies argue that “nearly all everyday activities in the contemporary world are mediated by literacy and that people act within a textually mediated social world.” (Barton, 2001, p.100). Activities in the classroom are not different at all. The textbook is indeed one of the vital ways in which the curricular knowledge and language-in-education policy are intentionally implemented in the classroom. Luke et. al (1983) say that “Since education aims to transmit to each new generation culturally significant knowledge, then, textbooks are an ideal format.” (p.112). Luke (1988) points out that, to some extent, textbooks are potential resources of ideological incorporation through which sets of ideas, attitudes, values and competences are transmitted. Luke also notes that the reading of textbooks in the classroom is necessarily bound to rules and mediation. Teaching with texts often involves contributing to the transmission of ideological content and it also involves “ideological superimposition of codes of readership, of officially sanctioned and culturally acceptable behaviours with the technology of literacy” (Luke, 1988, p.156). Furthermore, Luke et al. draw attention to the fact that pupils do not have direct and personal access to the knowledge underpinning the text, and emphasise that the teacher is the one who mediates the knowledge presented in the text. The teacher follows particular pedagogical practices and may follow a “standard script” in the teaching of the text. In fact, all around the world, teaching is developed around text talk. Given the value assigned to texts, it is important to understand their educational use in the classroom.

Luke et al. (1983) argues that the discursive construction of the authority of the text also derives from the authority of relationships within a school. He therefore makes the following remark about the significance of this for research design: “As a piece of school and therefore public property, and as a medium of instruction and interaction, the text must be examined within the institutional context” (p.122). In the hierarchical social network of the school, teachers sustain the status of texts and this, in turn,

shapes pupils beliefs about their status. As Luke et. al (1983) elaborates on this point, arguing that, as they work with the textbook, pupils treat it as being an object with social significance: “a thing to be ritually cared for and venerated” (p.122) as to be disliked or disdained.

In the research that he conducted in the multilingual context of Brunei, Martin (2003) refers to the high status given to the text in the classroom where the “text itself is positioned as a major authoritative ‘participant’ in the lesson” (p.197). What he meant by characterising a text as a participant in a lesson was that the integration of text wordings in lessons are made visible or invisible in classroom interactions between the teacher and the pupils (Luke et al., 1983). Martin (2003) showed that textual wordings are often made visible in multilingual settings through alternating between languages. In his research in Brunei, Martin (2003) illustrates the authority given to texts with references to audio-recordings of multilingual classroom discourse. He describes how pupils were directed to a text from the very beginning of the lesson. He also shows how they were asked to find words in the text or to stand up to read portions of the text. At other times, talk even centred on a text which was no longer present as they had worked with it in a previous lesson.

In classroom contexts, teachers are the leaders of classroom interactional events around a text. They are positioned as the guardians and mediators of textual knowledge: “They are the elders, the “clerics” who initiate children not only into the prescribed knowledge of an era, but also into the literate processes requisite to the acquisition and application of that knowledge” (Luke, 1983, p.118). Luke also describes a teacher as the “surrogate author” of a text for pupils, since the content of the text is not connected with the meanings of an identifiable speaker/author: “The teacher speaks on behalf of the text and interprets the world view expressed in the text” (p.124).

Lemke (1989) has also drawn attention to the significance of different kinds of texts in classrooms. According to Lemke (1989), there are two ways of talking about a

text. One way is to read the text aloud and engaging with it. This involves the participation of the teacher and the pupils; and the other way is to “talk out” the text (p.136). With regard to the first approach, when teachers ask questions about a text and pupils answer, this assigns a functional role to the text.

With regard to the second approach, “talking out” the text is a way of making sense of it. This enable us to “truly bring the text to life by giving it a “voice” that is not just audible but also fully meaningful” (Lemke, 1989, p.136). In the views of Lemke, in order to understand a text, participants need to understand it and retell it, using their own words and translating its meaning “into the more comfortable patterns of spoken language” (Lemke, 1989, p.136). Applying this perspective on texts to research in a multilingual context, Martin (2003) points out that teachers’ control over classroom discourse and over access to the text content is further reinforced by the fact that the text is written in a language that is not familiar to many pupils. Often texts are written in a language in which teachers have better proficiency than pupils. Teachers have to make bridges not only between textual knowledge and the pupils’ knowledge, but also between their customary language and the written language of the text. Lemke (1989) affirms that “classroom dialogue follows fairly definite rules that define the sequence of actions that both teachers and students come to expect.” (p.136). He adds that the dialogue around text in classrooms is shaped by teachers and pupils attempts to make sense of the text, and to include their own voice in its interpretation.

In the next section 5.2, I review the literature on participant structures in classroom discourse.

5.2 Participant structure

Bremme and Erickson (1977) argue that verbal and non-verbal communication in classrooms is predicated on a shared set of rules or conventions. These shape teachers and pupils’ practices as they co-construct a particular social occasion. These

rules enable the activities in the classroom to function in an orderly and straightforward manner. A very important convention is the distinction between the role of the teacher and the role of the pupils. While this convention applies widely in schooling, the specific ways in which pupils and teachers are institutionally positioned varies from one social and cultural context to another. According to Philips (2001), “there is the explicit and implicit assumption that the teacher controls all of the activity taking place in the classroom and the students accept and are obedient to her authority”. In many classrooms in the world, teachers in their authoritative roles regulate the dynamics of communication in the classroom. Philips also characterises the teachers as performers in front of an audience who interact with pupils in different ways. She designates the term “participant structures” to refer to the fact that there are several possible variations in the structural organization of teacher-controlled interaction (Philips, 2001, p.306). Different participant structures or ways of organising verbal interaction with pupils are developed by teachers in order to communicate educational content, and to hold pupils’ interests in the lesson. Moreover, some types of participant structure are better suited to some types of materials than others. Philips mentions four types of participation structures. In the first type, the teacher interacts with all pupils in the class. A second participant structure consists of simultaneous interaction by the teacher with one group of pupils in the class. The example given by Philips is that of reading groups. In the third type, pupils are working autonomously, but they are allowed to approach the teacher and initiate an interaction with her or him if they need to. In the fourth participant structure, pupils are organised into small groups and work autonomously with distant supervision by the teacher as when they are engaged in “group-projects”. In her work with Indian young children of Indigenous origin in Warm Springs, Philips looks at the participant structures that these children encountered in school, in their homes and in social events in the community. The sociolinguistic assumptions about verbal communication and features of participation in the social activities in these two spaces were quite distinct. There was a significant mismatch between participant structures at

home, and in local community gatherings and those at school. Philips interpreted this as one reason why the Indigenous children were seen as not perceiving the behaviour expected by their teachers in classroom interaction. Commenting on this early strand of work on 'cultural differences' between home and school, Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) say that these differences found in Philips (1983) work may be differences which result from distinct experiences, but they may also be "a manifestation of resistance to white institutions in the context of a wider history of domination" (p.5).

In the following section 5.3, I continue on the literature in relation to classroom interaction structure by reviewing the notion of safetalk.

5.3 Safetalk

Safetalk is a term used in classroom discourse research to describe the kinds of interactions in which teachers and pupils develop strategies in order to preserve their dignity and avoid displays of incompetence (Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001). In this way, it is seen as having a social function. It provides opportunities for pupils to participate with correct responses to teacher's prompts and reduces the risk of loss of face because of not knowing the answer. Yet, the authors who use this concept also argue that this means of co-constructing of classroom practices, despite providing a sense of purpose and accomplishment of the lesson, hides the fact that, from an academic perspective, little or no learning at all is occurring. In this kind of classroom talk, both teachers and pupils know, to a certain extent, "what to expect and how to behave in class, but where a high price is paid in terms of (a lack of) learning" (Hornberger and Chick, 2001, p.52).

The most common interactional practice in safetalk is the one in which oral participation is characterised by an initiation by the teacher and a choral response by the pupils. The initiations are accomplished by means of prompts, questions or the use of a rising tone of voice by the teacher. Yes/no questions elicit yes/no responses and

are 'closed' questions. Unfinished words or sentences are also used as prompts and are accompanied by changes in the tone of voice of the teacher. Pupils are then expected to complete the teacher's utterances (see Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Arthur and Martin, 2006; Chimbutane, 2011). For instance, a comparative study of classrooms observed in Botswana and Brunei, Arthur and Martin (2006) say that "As in the case of sentence or word completion, chorusing by pupils would seem to allow participation while minimising the risk of responses that are wrong or unacceptable" (p.185). Safetalk is represented as a collaborative discursive strategy which is used to deal with social and policy restrictions on classroom interaction, and conceal unpleasant facts of the classroom everyday life (Hornberger and Chick, 2001). According to Hornberger and Chick (2001), these facts of everyday classroom life are the fact that the medium of instruction is not the language of the pupils or as a way of coping with different levels of teacher linguistic proficiency, limited training, overcrowded classrooms, relatively limited academic learning and an authoritarian education structure.

However, there is some disagreement about the universal claims made about 'safetalk'. In an ethnographic study of English language education in three urban schools in China, Pérez-Milans (2011) offers a different perspective on safetalk and choral response. He argues that the use of safetalk as an analytical concept to explain choral practices could lead to the misrepresentation of local and institutionally situated processes. Choral response may not necessarily be a safetalk strategy holding back academic learning. According to his investigations in Chinese classes, choral practices were produced "as educationally oriented institutional shows, which were discursively justified on the basis of their representation as a specifically Chinese way of teaching English, grounded on Chinese traditions and cultural values as opposed to foreign ones" (p.27).

The next section 5.4 outlines one of the most common classroom discourse models in the world: IRF (Initiation Response Feedback) or IRE (Initiation Reply Evaluation).

5.4 The classroom discourse model (IRF or IRE)

Barton (2001) emphasises that the “interaction around a text is different” (p.99), as it produces discursive structure with specific characteristics. The most common type of classroom interaction structure in teacher-centred classrooms is the one developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). These authors developed a framework to analyse classroom discourse as a result of their interest in understanding the function of utterances and the structure of discourse. Their aim was primarily to investigate situations where a common form of spoken discourse recurred, with an overt structure; that is, one where one person only has the acknowledged role of leading the discourse, of deciding who and when other participants can speak, and of presenting and closing topics. They assumed that in this situation, all participants ought to be openly trying to communicate, and utterances which could be ambiguous are likely to have one established meaning. They selected the classroom as the space where the discursive features they were interested in recurred most frequently. In their analysis of classroom discourse, they were concerned with questions regarding the function of utterances and with questions regarding the nature of the interactional exchanges taking place between teacher and pupils. The model of discursive structure developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) consisted of an Initiation (I), a Response or Reply (R), and then Feedback (F): IRF (p.50). The initiation moves performed by the teacher in the classroom are seen as occurring as elicitations, directives or informative. An elicitation act generally expects a linguistic response; a directive or informative act expects only a simple acknowledgement that one is listening and a non-linguistic reply is accepted.

These three forms of spoken discourse can be realised by interrogatives, imperatives and declaratives.

R is the response to an Initiation. It can be one word or longer utterances. In addition to Responses, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) considered feedback (F) from the teacher to be a vital element in the structuring of classroom interaction. These two authors noted that not only do teachers ask questions and expect responses, but they also evaluate pupils' responses, indicating whether they have responded correctly or not. A teacher can express appreciation for the pupils' response or disapproval.

Mehan (1979a) also emphasized the need to study language use in schools with a view to revealing the underlying interactional patterns of classroom communication. He also described the sequential structuring of the interactions between teachers and pupils in a way similar to Sinclair and Coulthard's framework. Like Sinclair and Coulthard's model, Mehan's model of classroom discourse has three interrelated parts: Initiation (I), Reply (R) and Evaluation (E). His model gives particular emphasis in sequentiality and he stresses the fact that these three dimensions of classroom discourse follow one another in the interaction. He also draws attention to the fact that in the Initiations teachers ask questions to which they have the answers. Regarding the third part of the exchange structure, (F) or (E), Mehan's definition is similar to that of Sinclair and Coulthard. He affirms: "It contributes information to students about the teachers' intentions, and contributes to the negotiation of a mutually acceptable reply." (1979b, p.290). In fact, Mehan's emphasizes evaluation as one of the most important features of classroom discourse. He also distinguishes between positive and negative evaluation as: "Positive evaluations occur as soon as a correct reply appears, while negative evaluations, prompts, or corrections may or may not appear after incorrect or incomplete answers." (1979b, p.290). A negative evaluation can occur within an I R (E) sequence, especially when a teacher gives different cues to pupils to help them to provide a correct response; while positive evaluation marks the conclusion of a lesson sequence and the introduction of a possible new sequence. So,

according to Mehan (1979a), negative evaluations are optional, while positive evaluations are necessary to be provided to pupils in order to move on with the lesson.

The IRF structure has been of particular interests to scholars dealing with multilingual contexts in the global south, since the 3 parts IRF exchange structure often incorporates alternation from one language to another. For instance, Lin (1999), in her research in Hong Kong, shows how the IRF structure in a story reading activity served as a way in which teachers can lead pupils from familiar experiences to less familiar experiences.

Patterns of bilingual interaction are outlined in the next section 5.5 by reviewing the notion of participant-related code-switching in classroom discourse.

5.5 Research on code-switching in classroom discourse, with a focus on participant-related code-switching

Code-switching has been described as “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or sentence” (Grosjean, 1982, p.145), and in this doctoral study it will refer to the use of code-switching between Portuguese, Tetum and Bahasa-Indonesia, the languages that teachers used in the classroom where I did my research. Whilst researchers working in this field have shown that code-switching can be a resource of meaning-making in interaction, in school settings in multilingual contexts, when the focus is on producing monolingual texts, code-switching is often viewed in a negative light. For instance, Arthur (1994), mentions how often she encountered a popular perception of code-switching in Botswana schools as being a reflection of lack of languages abilities and as “a compensatory strategy whereby limited proficiency forces speakers to lapse from one language into another” (p.39). She argues instead for accepting of the pedagogical use of code-switching as a communicative strategy in classrooms and acknowledging its value.

The work of Gumperz (1982) on code-switching as a contextualisation cue has made possible the wider recognition that code-switching in classroom discourse is an interactional resource (e.g. Auer, 1984; Martin-Jones, 1995, 1997, 2007; Martin, 2003; Lin, 2008; Chimbutane, 2011). Some early work on classroom code-switching (eg. Milk, 1982) focused mainly on identifying and listing the functions of code-switching in teacher talk. However, as Auer (1984) has shown, scholars need to go beyond building inventories of communicative functions and investigate the ways in which code contrast (in languages, style or genres) is used to add extra meaning in classroom discourse. Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualisation does this. Codeswitches, in Gumperz's views served as contextualisation cues, along with other communicative resources such as lexical choices, prosody or gestures. Contextualisation cues are the key resources for negotiating meanings in interaction. Participants use them to make inferences about what is going on, to signal how their contributions are to be understood and to evaluate the significance of contributions by others. Writing about the metaphorical aspect of human communication, Gumperz (1982) argues that contextualisation cues can evoke particular values, ideologies, identities, relationships or shared worlds of experience, adding further layers of meaning to what is already being said. So for this doctoral study I will not put together an inventory of the functions and meanings of code-switching of the classrooms that I observed; instead I will focus on the teachers and learners' use of code-switching as a contextualisation cue to co-construct textual knowledge. I draw particularly on Auer's (1984) original notion of participant-related switching which was developed as part of his conversation analysis approach to naturally occurring everyday interaction in bilingual settings. This notion derives from the Gumperz's notion of contextualisation cue. Auer (1984, 1995) argues that code-alternation is situated and locally meaningful and interpreted by conversational participants within a sequential pattern. In his words: "the status of language alternation as a form of linguistic behaviour in a given speech community differs according to the local functions it serves in interaction." (1984, p.2).

In a bilingual classroom, besides employing code-switching for the incorporation of additional meaning making in regular sequences of interaction, teachers and pupils also consider each others' proficiency in the languages used in the interaction to accomplish the lesson (Martin-Jones, 1995, 1997). Participant-related code-switching is a resource that interlocutors use to keep the conversation going by alternating the language according to the listener's linguistic preferences or competences. This theoretical notion has also been used in multilingual classroom studies such as one by Mejía (1994) in Colombia and Arthur (2001) in Botswana. It is useful to look at participant-related code-switching in bilingual classroom discourse in which teacher-talk prevails, especially when classroom interaction is taking place in a foreign language to which pupils have had little exposure to in their everyday life outside the schools. In his later work, Auer (1995) replaces the term 'participant-related code-switching' with 'preference-related code-switching', he defines this as follows:

"By preference-related switching, a speaker may simply want to avoid the language in which he or she feels insecure and speak the one in which he or she has greater competence" (p.125)

On the other hand, this preference-related switching may also be grounded in political and ideological considerations. In his study in Jaffna in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah (2001) argues that the study of everyday code-switching by teachers and pupils in the classroom in multilingual contexts can provide understandings of the ways in which teachers and pupils negotiate dominant ideologies and, at the same time, construct their own identities and values. In his study he discovered, for instance, that teachers' pedagogy and the recurrent code-switching between teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil were a way to respond to local conditions and were due to the existing tensions between the political and cultural groups, that is Tamil and Sinhalese speakers. He also adds that code-switching practices of the participants of his study were a subtle form of

resistance to those who established the language policy. Through their code-switching practices, participants detached themselves from the Tamil-only policy and incorporated the linguistic and cultural pluralism of Tamil social life. In her study in Laos, Cincotta-Segi (2011) describes the ways in which centrality was given to the official language, the Lao language, in the lessons and activities of one teacher, despite frequent use of both Lao and the Kmhmu language of the northern region. She emphasises that in this teacher's classroom, the goal was clearly to "work from the Lao language curriculum in the mother tongue of the students in order that they would be able to engage successfully in the activity." (p.26).

The work of these scholars are examples of research in Asian multilingual settings following the broad trajectory of studies focusing initially on code-switching practices, while also explaining the reasons for those code-switching practices in connection to the context in which they occur. As they illustrate in their work, code-switching is a legitimate medium of communication in multilingual classrooms. The importance of examining local language alternation practices in the classrooms of Timor-Leste in terms of language-in-education policy is to understand the meanings and the construction of values and beliefs about language underpinning the existence of two languages. Teachers translate policies into classroom practice. Teachers may reproduce, negotiate and resist to language-in-education policies. The existence of two languages in a classroom might mean clear separation and distinction of the two languages, but also the intertwining of two languages in order to accomplish the lesson.

According to scholars involved in current debates about the nature of communicative practices in the context of contemporary linguistic and cultural diversity, the notion of code-switching only refers to switches between two languages and often assumes an idea of languages as bounded and separate entities. There has been a movement in the literature on bilingualism/multilingualism towards looking for alternative terms to describe the reality of language use in bilingual/multilingual

contexts (García and Wei, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2015). The recent critical discussion about the notion of 'linguaging' is part of an academic movement in sociolinguistics which aims to reconceptualise bilingual/multilingual practices as going beyond the social construction of languages as separable and autonomous entities. It is argued that, in people's everyday life worlds, languages are used in fluid and complex ways and resources from different languages are often blended, even within a single utterance. Moreover, the focus is on speakers, rather than on language. Speakers are seen as using diverse linguistic resources in order to communicate and make meaning in the different situations in which they find themselves. Polylingual linguaging (Jørgensen, 2008), translanguaging (García, 2009; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Creese and Blackledge, 2015), metrolingualism (Otsjui and Pennycook, 2010), or translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013) are some of the terms introduced by sociolinguists investigating multilingual practices in late modern societies.

Despite the value of this alternative terminology for research in the context of the increasing diversity of urban neighbourhoods in large cities e.g. in Europe and North America, these terms do not capture adequately the reality of the multilingual practices of the classrooms that I observed in the post-colonial educational setting of Timor-Leste. As I will show later, in the analytic chapters of this thesis, in a Year 6 classroom in a school in Timor-Leste, Portuguese and Tetum were being discursively constructed by teachers, through their day to day bilingual practices, as two bounded and separate entities. These bilingual practices were also shaped by the rigid institutional relationships between teachers and pupils and strict language hierarchies. Through the use of code-switching as the main analytical lens, through interviews and informal conversations with the teachers and through participant observation and the taking of field notes, I was able to capture these specific, situated bilingual classroom practices, in Year 6 lessons, from the emic perspective of the participants.

In Chapter 9 I try to explain further the reasons why code-switching practices occur in connection with wider socio-historical, institutional and ideological contexts. My

interest in the work around code-switching derives from a need to understand how code-switching operates in the transmission of institutional knowledge and how it contributes to the reproduction of or resistance to social hierarchies and linguistic ideologies which are embedded in language-in-education policy discourses.

In the next section 5.6, I review the literature on language ideologies in relation to nation-building and multilingual educational contexts.

5.6 Language ideologies: in nation building and educational contexts

The study of language ideology developed from both anthropology and linguistics. It developed from the work of scholars in the field of the ethnography of speaking; politics of multilingualism; literacy studies; historiography of linguistics and public discourse on language and metapragmatics (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). These fields shared a common concern regarding the connections between language and culture, although each had their own methodological approaches and central topics (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994; Blackledge, 2000a; Blommaert, 2006b).

Linguistic ideological theory grew out of the need of many scholars to connect local situated practices with the wider social, historical and political structures. Different scholars define it in similar ways. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) say that is “a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk (p.55). According to Gal (1998), language ideology refers to “ideas, consciousness, and beliefs about the relation of language and talk to social life” (p.319). She argues that since this concept involves the analysis of social interaction and state policy, the evidence about language ideology consists of “verbalized, thematized discussion” (e.g. about the policies of nation states) and “implicit understanding and unspoken assumptions embedded and reproduced in the structure of institutions and their everyday practices” (p.319). Similarly Blackledge (2000a) says that language ideologies consist of “the values,

practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse that constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels” (p.29).

As Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) point out, the concept of linguistic ideologies provides a means to understand how code-switching practices and beliefs of teachers and discourses of policymakers at the national or institutional level are shaped by hegemonic views of language-in-education and how the particular legitimation of languages operates in postcolonial states in connection with national development, ‘internationalization’ and ‘globalisation’. According to Heller (2007), the investigation of bilingualism as an ideology means recognising and deconstructing the view of bilingualism as ideologized in “the coexistence of two linguistic systems” (p.1). Heller’s (2006) notion of ‘parallel monolingualisms’ (p.271) is very helpful to look at the code-switching practices of the teachers in this doctoral study. Parallel monolingualism refers to forms of educational policies, programmes and linguistic practices in which two languages are rigorously kept separated from one another. This contributes to a construction of bilingualism as two separated monolingualisms. This notion has also been taken up by Blacklegde and Creese (2010) who designated this way of thinking as ‘separate bilingualism’ in their study of complementary schools in the UK. In their study, they looked at how two distinct ideologies of bilingualism, ‘separate bilingualism’ and ‘flexible bilingualism, guided linguistic practices in the classroom. Additionally, they also made connections between these ideologies of bilingualism and powerful political and academic discourses about language, which were tied to nationhood and culture.

Following the work of the scholars above, in this doctoral study I try to connect my analysis of situated codeswitching practices and the flexible use of linguistic resources to the beliefs and views about bilingualism in education at the national level. As these three scholars and also others have discussed extensively, characterizing multilingualism as multiple monolingualisms reflects an understanding of languages as stable, standardized, monolithic, discrete and bounded entities rather than as fluid and changing resources for situated social practice. As Lin (2013) has pointed out,

hegemonic ideologies about language, language use, and language learning/teaching still shape language-in-education policy in many contexts in the global south. The following quote from Blommaert (2006b) illustrates clearly how this view of language has spread and how the discipline of linguistics, and structuralist approaches to language have contributed to its dissemination:

“Linguistics has contributed in no small degree to the cultural construction of language in general as a stable, contextless individual mental object, and language and educational policies as well as larger nation-building programs have been deeply influenced by this ideology.” (p.512)

Other scholars (e.g. Blackledge, 2000b) had shared similar views expressed by Blommaert (2006a).

Either linguistic practices or comments on language point to ideologies of language. Woolard (1998) states that “Ideology is variously discovered in linguistic practice itself; in explicit talk about language, that is metalinguistic or metapragmatic discourse” (p.9). Rymes (2014) uses the term metacommentary to refer to comments about language in educational settings. She identifies six broad types of metacommentaries. Those relating to marking code; marking the sounds of language; marking address terms; gesture; comments of clothing, appearance. The examples relevant to this doctoral study are the metacommentaries of the first type, those relating to the ‘marking code’. Rymes provides examples of classrooms in the United States where there are Spanish speaking pupils. One of the examples she used to illustrate an interaction in the classroom in which – metacommentary on the code appeared – was one in which pupils were doing a listing exercise in group work. One pupil, Sylvia, used the Spanish expression “qué más”. The main interaction was in English and, because Sylvia had used Spanish, one of her peers drew attention to this and provided her a translation: “What more” (p.5). The conversation continued with Sylvia praising her peer for the accurate translation, and so the listing exercise was interrupted.

Rymes argues that, in this interaction, pupils highlighted those two words as “foreign” words (2014, p.5) with the metapragmatic function of making Spanish as ‘out of place’ in interaction. In this paper, Rymes’ overarching goal is to demonstrate the importance of investigating “explicit remarks about language use and implicit metapragmatic function” in relationship to heteroglossic communication. In the context of Timor-Leste, I attempt to illustrate how talk about language can reveal ideologies of language which are connected to longstanding discourses on language in academia and which still shape language-in-education policies and practices.

With regard to views of language in nation-building projects, Heller (2006) says that “the imagining of the nation includes ideological struggles over its most central values, and these struggles take place not only with respect to what monolingualism and multilingualism represent, but also to the very shape of the language to be privileged” (p.10). Timor-Leste has a bilingual education policy, yet it does not necessarily mean that the two languages have equal social value. Similar hierarchies of language occur in other postcolonial contexts where a European language and local languages are both used in different institutional spaces. For instance, in a discussion on Haitian Creole, Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) mention the hierarchical relationship between French and Haitian Creole in Haiti. French is seen as the prestige language and Creole has lower social status. They also note that Creole languages like Haitian Creole are described by some linguistics and many creole speakers themselves in Haiti as “‘reduced,’ simple, and easy to learn; lacking in abstract terms, they are inadequate for scientific, philosophical and logical operations. For most of their histories, creole languages have not been considered adequate for government, schooling, or Western religious services.” (p.181-182).

Blommaert (1994) has investigated the context of Tanzania and has analysed the metaphors of ‘development’ and ‘modernization’ that have been used with regard to Kiswahili and other languages in one particular journal after the independence of the country (p.213). The developed languages were languages such as English, French or

German, while Kiswahili was considered a developing one. As I showed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, there have also been changing discourses in Timor-Leste about the languages spoken there. The social value of Tetum and Portuguese changed throughout history. In Chapter 8 I describe the linguistic practices and language ideologies that are currently circulating in Timor-Leste in connection with the introduction of the new language policy which calls for the use of both Tetum and Portuguese as languages of teaching and learning. I will also try to make connections with the ideologies of language that are articulated at national level regarding the use of the two languages in education.

The notions of scales and deictics are outlined next in section 5.7. The combination of these two concepts is useful to look at classroom discourse.

5.7 Scales and deictics

Blommaert uses the notion of sociolinguistic scales (2007, 2010b) to characterise the movement of people and messages through space and time which are filled with codes, norms and expectations. This metaphor refers to the shift from one spatial or temporal level to another in interaction and it is predicated on the understanding of an act of communication as being by nature an “individual, one-time phenomenon and, simultaneously, as a collective and relatively stable phenomenon”. Sociolinguistic scales have often been labeled in the past as ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ levels of sociolinguistic analysis (2010b, p.33). Blommaert (2010) acknowledges that movement between scales functions in a similar way to the notion of ‘contextualization’ first proposed by Gumperz (1982).

The use of the term scales is an attempt by Blommaert (2007, 2010b) to provide an image of societal spaces which are vertical, arranged in ranked layers and endowed with different degrees of power. He also remarks, though, that his notion of scales includes a horizontal image of spaces as well which is present in terms such as

'distribution', 'spread', 'community' and 'culture'. The vertical extension complements the horizontal image of space by considering a vertical order of hierarchy and power differentiation. In an institutional setting, power often is connected to the social role performed by a person who can engage in the scale-jumping. As Blommaert (2007) puts it: "upscaling is consequently an act that can only be performed from a particular position of power" (p.11). In a classroom setting, the teacher's authority dominates over the pupils. Scales is a useful conceptual framework to analyse the hierarchical nature of an educational system and the asymmetrical relationship between teachers and pupils, and the ways in which teachers use bilingual resources in constructing their authority and in making bridges between institutional/textual knowledge and their pupils' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). Funds of knowledge refer to the "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al., 1992, p.133).

In the study of contemporary multilingualism, Blommaert (2007) also makes some considerations concerning power relations bounded up with language policy by looking at the role of the State. The State is the higher scale-level which determines and designates the sociolinguistic landscape of a country. However, this does not mean that empirically the State indicates accurately the country's sociolinguistic landscape. In fact, the horizontal distribution of languages, i. e., the languages used which can be sociolinguistically observed, do not correspond exactly with the vertical division of languages as categorised in the language policy. He adds that the State "is a particular scale level and it operates in the sense defined above: it silences and excludes phenomena that, horizontally appear to be core features of the system" (2007, p.12). As a consequence the horizontal division of languages is defined as substandard language in the vertical representation imposed by the State even if that language is used and valuable for many people. Blommaert says that language policies

tend to change horizontal sociolinguistic events to vertical ones since it follows the State's regulations of the sociolinguistic organization.

Blommaert (2010b) mentions that three qualifications need to be made in relation to his notion of scales. All three are inter-related. Firstly, scales refer not only to horizontal and vertical image of spaces where events occur, but also to time. Social events occurring in a space and time often evoke simultaneously other spaces and time frames. Thus he states that social events at different scales are developed in TimeSpace. Secondly, reference to events in TimeSpace needs to take account of the fact that they are *social* events and that they have a physical context. They are thus *made social* by the people who participate in them (p.34). As Blommaert (2010b) puts it, people's semiotic practices "make physical space and time into controlled, regimented objects and instruments" (p.34). The semiotic practices in TimeSocial are social, cultural, political, historical and ideological aspects of TimeSpace. Thirdly, the invocation of *images of society* through indexical references takes place when movements from one scale-level to another are performed through the semiotic practices of people in TimeSpace. Blommaert (2010b) uses the notion of indexicality to convey the idea that an utterance points towards norms, genres, traditions, expectations which are structured socially and culturally at a higher scale-level.

The movements from one-scale to another are called 'scale-jumping' in Blommaert's account (2010b, p.35). An example of scale-jumping in the classrooms would be teachers using their authority over the construction of institutional textual knowledge to talk about other worlds and periods of time beyond the classroom or beyond the ones described in the text. As Blommaert (2007) argues, this kind of scale-jumping is dependent on the "access to discursive resources that index and iconize particular scale levels, and such access is an object of inequality" (p.7). The teachers and pupils in the study presented in this thesis were positioned in different ways, with regard to the knowledge preserved in the curriculum and they had different linguistic resources, so they had an asymmetrical capacity to perform scale-jumping in

classroom conversations. For instance, if their interactions had not been about textual knowledge, or if their interactions had not been happening in the classroom, the scale-jumping movements could have been different.

Regarding the interactional order, Blommaert (2010b) states that the scale movements in TimeSpace are transformed “into *statements that index social order*” (p.35). The semiotic practices of TimeSpace index aspects of real or imagined social order. Scales seem to allow us to look at a particular utterance exchanged between people and to capture other layers of the social order, beyond the situated and momentary physical context in which the utterance was made.

Canagarajah (2013) also takes the view that scales is a useful analytical tool to “unpack the many layers of context” (p.154). He argues that the strength of Blommaert’s scales lies in the construction of a vertical image of space, which is hierarchically layered and thus endowed with power. He also lists several other advantages of using the notion of scales: it takes into account understandings of contexts from different perspectives and relationships; it addresses the ways in which people invoke scales of various orders and dimensions to construct their interactions; it identifies the ways in which distinct orders subtly concur in simultaneous layers; it addresses the power relationships involved in the negotiation of language resources in shifting contexts. However, Canagarajah (2013) argues that one of the limitations of Blommaert’s idea of scales is that it is very normative. According to Canagarajah (2013), there are two main limitations to the notion of scales: first, the scales metaphor conveys a perception of social norms as unavailable for renegotiation, resistance and reconstruction. It provides a static view as if norms are distinctly defined and fixed in society. Canagarajah’s view is that, in a given situation, norms are dynamic; they are constructed and renegotiated in interaction by different participants. If we apply this argument in the study of the interaction between teacher and pupils in classrooms, we need to see the social norms in this context as always being renegotiated. Canagarajah (2013) does concede though that this orientation does not have to imply

the fragmentation and chaos of postmodern views of society, but it has “to accommodate a more dynamic view of norms” (p.158). The second limitation relates to the impersonal character of scales. Canagarajah (2013) says that the metaphor considers the movement of people across predefined scales and spaces, but it does not consider the ways in which people can also shape spaces. The scales metaphor conveys the fact that hierarchical orderly spaces regulate people’s mobility and status, but it disregards the ways in which people negotiate, construct and modify spaces for their own benefit. He adds that, instead of accepting that scales shape people’s practices, the consideration should be given to the question of “how people invoke scales for their communicative and social objectives” (p.158).

Blommaert and Canagarajah have applied this notion of scales as an analytical tool to investigate the ways in which linguistic resources in the context of contemporary mobility and in the context of change brought in by globalisation; whereas I am using it in this doctoral study to analyse classroom discourse in a Year 6 classroom in Timor-Leste. The features of this analytical tool that were most useful for analysis of classroom interactions in this context were: The way it foregrounds different layers of social context, the way it enables me to capture scale-jumping and the indexing of socially ordered norms and expectations, and the emphasis on scales being ordered in a vertical and hierarchical way as different power-vested spaces. What my study adds to this use of scales for sociolinguistic analysis is close attention to the ways in which textbooks are used in classrooms. In the classrooms that I have been concerned with in Timor-Leste, as teachers were communicating the content of their curriculum subjects in the TimeSpace of the classroom, they had to reconstruct meaning of the texts in Portuguese by evoking other spaces beyond the physical context of the classroom. One of the recurring features of the classroom interaction was the use of the pronouns “you” and “we” by the teacher.

An indexical analysis of pronoun use in classrooms was also adopted in a study by Creese (2005) on teacher collaboration in multilingual secondary classrooms in

London. In the relationship between the subject-teacher and pupils, she used two personal pronouns, “I” and “you”, to connect herself with her pupils and the content of the subject she was teaching and to powerful ideologies. In a study of classrooms in Corsica, Jaffe (2003) describes how the use of the pronoun ‘we’ was used by the teacher to talk about a text that had been produced collectively in a previous lesson. Recalling the way in which the teacher indicated this previous literacy event, Jaffe (2003) says: “The text was one that ‘we’ wrote; the details were those that ‘we’ remembered, the Corsican characters were ones that ‘we’ selected.” (p.208). The former text was a source of the class authority, because it had been negotiated, drafted and revised through collaborative work in the classroom; and therefore that text cannot be changed. Challenging that former text would mean questioning the authority of the class.

The analysis of the use of pronouns ‘I’ and ‘we’ in the works of Creese (2005) and Jaffe (2003) indexed a different set of classroom relationships between teachers and pupils, based on inclusion and collectivity and not asymmetry. Personal pronouns are part of a group of deictics that depend on the context in which they are used and they can shape the interactional context. Participant and non-participant deictics, or personal pronouns, are used by speakers to define the participants’ interactional positions, i. e., what roles each person is playing in relationship to others in the interaction and in connection with the social context (Wortham, 1994). In the context of my study, “you” and “we” were produced by the teachers in the social context of the classroom, but they also connected the pupils to different worlds and periods of time.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed each of the concepts above in turn in order to explain how they have been used by different scholars in theory-building and in empirical work. I have also tried to demonstrate how the concepts have been useful in

developing the study presented in this thesis. The notions of 'authority of the text' and 'textual knowledge' are applied in all three of the data analysis chapters that follow. With regard to the other concepts, in Chapter 8, I focus on the ways in which the text is given authority in the classroom, on the participation structure and on IRF exchanges as I describe the way the relationships between teachers and the pupils were built through the text talk. In Chapter 9, I combine the notions of code-switching, metacommentary and language ideology in order to illustrate how values and beliefs are conveyed to pupils through bilingual discourse practices in the classroom. In Chapter 10, I focus on the notions of scales, deictics and code-switching to look at the ways in which teachers make bridges between textual knowledge and pupils' local knowledge. I emphasise that the discussion of dimensions of bilingual discourse in classroom such as those I observed in Timor-Leste need to be understood in the light of the wider bilingual language-in-education policy that has been developed in the context of nation building, and with reference to the fact that the only teaching material currently available is monolingual textbooks in Portuguese. These textbooks have been produced in Portugal bearing in mind the global connections between former Portuguese colonies in the so-called 'Portuguese speaking world'.

In the data analysis chapters, I use each theoretical concept separately or I combine them in order to shed light on what was happening in the classrooms in my study. My decision to organise each data analysis chapter around the application of different theoretical concepts does not imply that these dimensions of bilingual classroom discourse are unrelated. Linguistic practices, social relationships, connections between institutional knowledge and local knowledge, and language ideologies are intricately bound up with each other. However, by foregrounding particular dimensions of bilingual classroom discourse in each data analysis chapter, I hope to explore each dimension in-depth.

**PART III – LINGUISTIC ETHNNOGRAPHY IN TIMOR-LESTE: MULTILINGUAL,
TEXT-ORIENTED DISCOURSE PRACTICES AND IDEOLOGIES IN THE
CLASSROOM AND AT A NATIONAL LEVEL**

CHAPTER 6: Ethnographic fieldwork as an intersubjective process

Introduction

Chapter 6 is the first of two methodology chapters. This chapter considers the methodological issues during the fieldwork period, and the next, Chapter 7, considers the period post-fieldwork of data construction, data analysis and writing.

England (1994) states that the “intersubjective nature of social life means that the researcher and the people being researched have shared meanings and we should seek methods that develop this advantage” (p.243). The use of ethnographic methods and the researcher’s reflexivity of their use in the field can offer the opportunity to study people in their own terms. The aim of Chapter 6 is to describe the ethnographic fieldwork process by taking account of the effort and the issues of the researcher in participating and getting involved in the participants’ lives.

In 6.1 I start by introducing the research questions of this study. In 6.2 I briefly mention again ethnography as the research design selected to answer the research questions developed for this study. In 6.3 and 6.4 I explain the ways in which I gained access to the participants considered worthy for the linguistic ethnography framework this study is attached to. In 6.4, in particular, I consider the role of local mediators in providing access to the participants. In 6.5 I explain the ethnographic methods used by reflecting on the opportunities and constraints that developed as they were implemented in this study. In 6.6 I describe my relationship with the participants regarding the ways in which they positioned me. In 6.7 an account is given of the ethical issues encountered before and during the fieldwork.

In the end of the thesis, appendices are included and I will make references to them throughout these two methodology chapters, Chapter 6 and 7. Appendices are research related material which I hope can provide a better understanding of the ways in which data was collected during fieldwork. In addition, I also provide examples of transcriptions of fieldnotes, classroom interactions and interviews in order to provide

examples of how the data has been organized and constructed after the fieldwork stage.

6.1 Research questions

Before describing the methodological approach and issues, I would like to reaffirm that the aim of this study is to answer the following research questions:

1. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese to talk about the textbook shape the relationships between teachers and pupils in the classroom?

2. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese facilitate teaching and learning of the textbook in the classroom?

3. What values and beliefs about Tetum and Portuguese are constructed in the primary teachers' classroom practices?

4. What linguistic values and beliefs shape policymakers' (i.e. Ministry of Education and Parliament) interpretations of the language-in-education policy?

Those were the four research questions constructed for this thesis, yet they were not exactly the research questions which guided the fieldwork. The four questions at the outset of this study were as follows:

1. What are the official discourses in-education policy documents about Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages of Timor-Leste?

2. How do people within the different levels of the education hierarchy (Ministry of Education, headteachers) and primary teachers read the language-in-education policy?

3. How and which ways do the use of Tetum and Portuguese facilitate teaching and learning in the classroom?

4. What are the pupils' views about the teaching and learning in Tetum and/or Portuguese in their classroom?

As Erickson (1990) affirms "Preconceptions and guiding questions are present from the outset, but the researcher does not presume at the outset to know where, specifically, the initial questions might lead next". Those initial research questions were valuable to study the research setting in a more comprehensive way, and as I analysed the data sources I focused on the classroom practices and routines thought to be more relevant for this study. Driven by the data I discovered, the research questions were reformulated to match more specifically those findings. The data analysis process is described in more detail in Chapter 7.

In order to do that I followed an ethnographic approach (as described in Chapter 3), and conducted fieldwork in Timor-Leste in order to answer these research questions. In the following sections I describe the procedures followed in the field.

6.2 Research methodology

Methodology includes the design in which the choice and the specific use of a set of methods are grounded and associating the choice of the use of methods with the intended outcomes (Crotty, 1998), and I consider below the justifications of those methodological choices. Methods are the techniques or procedures I used to collect

and analyse data in relationship to the research questions (Crotty, 1998). As described in Chapter 3, ethnography was the research design selected in order to answer the research questions above. According to Hartas (2010) research design is the “strategy for addressing a specified research question or concern”. Robson (2003) also provides a similar definition, but adds that this strategy is used in order to convert the research question into a project. Yin (2003) defines it as a logical plan that links the research questions and data as the conclusions to be drawn, while for de Vaus (2001) it is “a design or structure before data collection” as he associates the researcher with a builder or architect as the person who makes the design. An analysis of these definitions shows that there is a common view of what research design is. Overall, and importantly, a research design is a strategy that links research questions to data collection, and the results of that data collection that should be defined when setting up a research project. I would also suggest that the choice of a research design is associated with one's view of the world. An ethnographical approach incorporates a methodological framework which is subjective and interpretive in nature. My purpose is to provide a “thick description” of the practices, beliefs and values about languages of the teachers, headteachers, and policymakers in Timor-Leste. I hope to describe analytically the intertwined connection between my interpretation and the interpretation of the world the participants are living in.

Next I turn to the description of the fieldwork conducted in Timor-Leste.

6.3 Entering the research settings and accessing the participants

I conducted my fieldwork in Dili, Timor-Leste, from 13th March 2012 to 11th July 2012. Appendix 1 illustrates the timetable of my fieldwork activities during this period. This study was an ethnography of language policy in institutional settings. The purpose was to study how languages shaped people's linguistic beliefs, values and practices in the institutional settings where they were based. Primary schools, governmental

institutions, such as the Parliament and the Ministry of Education, and a university in Dili were the settings visited during my fieldwork in order to interact with my participants. Access to the classroom was given by the headteacher after Easter holidays, so the actual school observations occurred mostly in May and June 2012. The visits to the university, Parliament and the Ministry of Education occurred at different times during my fieldwork according to the availability of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted during working time and in the workplace of the interviewees. Before presenting the methods of data collection and how I used them throughout the fieldwork, I would like to present the people I had access to in these institutional settings and the ways in which I accessed them. Details of the people I had access to and data gathered during the fieldwork is presented in Table 1 and Table 2 below.

Table 1: Participants and data collected in the two schools throughout the fieldwork

School A Year 4 (3 classrooms) Duration of a lesson observed: 1h	School B Year 6 (2 classrooms) Duration of a lesson observed: 1h30
Teacher Tina – Environmental Studies lessons 1 observation	Teacher Dalia – Portuguese language lessons 6 observations + Interview (00:42:19)
Teacher Ana – Portuguese language and Environmental Studies lessons 8 observations + 1 Interview (00:54:41)	Teacher Lucia – Environmental Studies lessons 8 observations + 1 Interview (01:01:21)
Teacher Maria – Portuguese language; Environmental Studies and Tetum language lessons 4 observations	Teacher Adelia – Mathematics 1 observation

	Teacher Pedro – Health lesson 1 observation
Observations at teacher's room during break	Observations at teacher's room during break
	Interviews with Year 6 classroom: 5 girls From 00:02 to 00:13:10
1 Interview with the headteacher (01:18:53)	1 Interview with the General Director of the school: Tiago Gama (02:32:40)

Table 2: Participants and data collected at university, Parliament and Ministry of Education

Participants	Duration; Language use (mostly)
Member of the Parliament 1: Pedro Magno	1 meeting: 01:30:20, in Portuguese
Senior Member at the MoE 2: Júlio Neto	1 meeting: 00:22:56, in Portuguese
Senior Member at the MoE 3: Paulo Costa	2 meetings: 00:20:04 + 00:58:30, in Tetum
Senior Member at the MoE: 4 Manuel Gomes	1 meeting: 01:18:54, in Portuguese
Senior Member at the MoE 5: Tomás Mota	1 meeting: 01:29:41, in Tetum
Academic 6: Daniel Santos	4 meetings: 00:57:56 + 01:23:46 + 01:19:18 + 01:40:41, in Portuguese

However, I wish to point out that it was not possible to bring the views of all these people into this thesis. From Chapter 7 to the final chapter, I will define again the views of the people selected to be in this thesis. In Chapter 7 I will indicate my focus on the participants of School B and on the views of policymakers and the academic I interviewed, and will also provide the reasons why.

In this chapter, at this point of the thesis, I present everybody who contributed to this study in order to describe the methodological issues I encountered during the fieldwork stage. There are different accounts about how I personally met all these people in order to ask them to take part in my study. The means of access to these

people was mainly through connections with my extended family living in Dili. I describe in the next sections the ways in which in three months I observed and spoke to these people, which is important for an ethnographic study. They were approached through local people whom I designated as mediators. Next I describe their role in providing access to the participants. Then I engage in a more theoretical discussion of my accounts to enable an understanding of the value of my family and friends' connections and ties to the overall research project.

6.4 Research mediators

Mediators in my study were local people living within the area of the research, with local expertise and possessed important social capital for introducing me to the gatekeepers and to other participants. They were part of longstanding social and historical networks based on family and friendship which allowed me to gain access to people and sites which would not otherwise have been available. I argue that by engaging reflexively with issues of positionality, a social network consisting of family and friendship ties would enhance issues and dilemmas of social allegiances and ethical questions in gaining access to participants in ethnography.

The negotiation of entry to the research setting is the most important stage of ethnographic work. As 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" (p.71). However, he emphasizes that the reflexive accounts of the processes of entering the field are limited and not given prominence. He describes the entry process as being typically negotiated by the researcher and the gatekeepers who have the authority to facilitate or prevent the researcher's access to the setting. However, in the context of my study the negotiation of entry was performed firstly by local mediators. Renzi (2005) identified them as research associates or local associates who worked as mediators between her and the people in the village which

she was studying. As a new field researcher in Malwa region, in India, and due to her lack of linguistic resources of the region, the quest for a local person to work with her both as an interpreter and as a guide was needed. Although I was well aware that I needed a local contact to explain the procedures of gaining access to educational settings and participants, I was not looking for a local mediator to work with me as an interpreter or guide. I was self-sufficient in this respect due to my linguistic resources and knowledge of the area. Nevertheless, the mediators who collaborated with me positioned themselves in those roles. Silva (2013), for instance, argues that the role of mediation, mediators and kinship ties as the interchange of assets and favours are common features of the character and dynamic relationships in Dili, as in her example of negotiation of marriages.

The awareness of positioning myself as an East-Timorese, and be accepted as such, was given careful thought before starting the fieldwork. In their work within a multilingual research team, Blackledge and Creese (2010) illustrate how researchers' identity positions were constantly shifting in their work on complementary schools. For instance, with regard to the research participants, the researchers were aware of the need to strategically move between insider and outsider status in order to attain closeness and preserve distance. In his research vignette, Arvind Bhatt, one of the team members conducting the Gujarati case study on the complementary schools project with Blackledge and Creese (2010), positioned himself and was positioned as a member of the community in which he was studying. He described how he performed certain identities and reviewed it as: "I use my 'insider' persona to build trust and my 'outsider' persona to keep my distance" (p.90). In his position as an insider, he emphasized the value of the emotional connection and the continuing relationships with the community after the end of the research project. These valuable connections could not make him "take the 'research and go' stance" (p.90) as he affirmed. I have stated in the introduction to Chapter 1 that I considered myself East-Timorese, and in the field,

being recognised as an East-Timorese was the status which provided me access to participants. This status means having the following features:

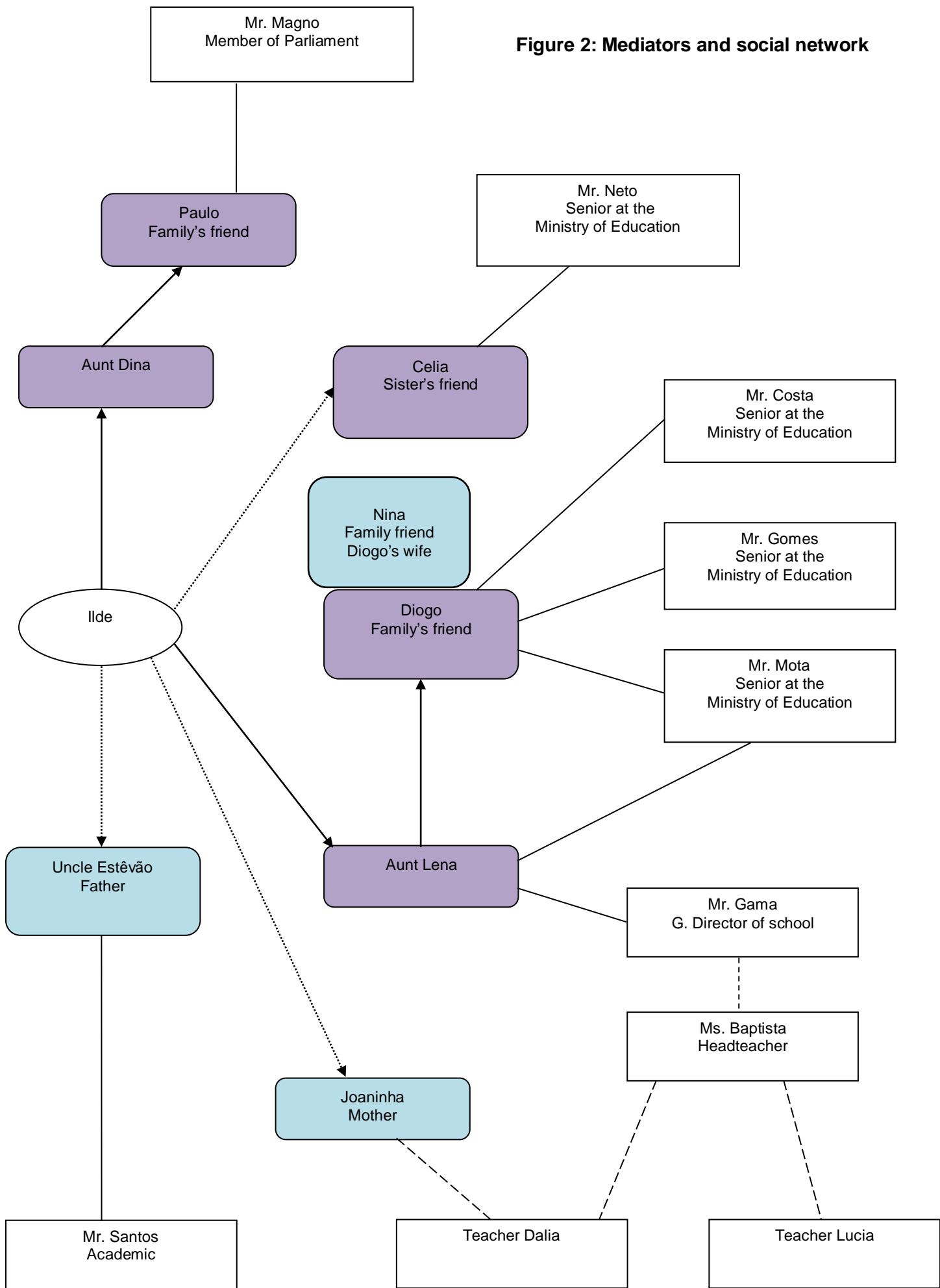
- to have East-Timorese parents;
- to be born in Timor-Leste, but carrying a Portuguese passport;
- to have kinship ties in Timor-Leste;
- to be able to understand and speak Tetun;
- to have fled with the family to Portugal;
- to be brought up with the knowledge of East-Timorese cultural and social values and beliefs;
- to be able to speak Portuguese.

This status was co-constructed by me, the mediators and the participants. In my view being positioned as an East-Timorese has been attached to other dynamic categories in time and through space of my personal history. Positioning or being accepted as an insider does not fall in a single and fixed category.

The strategy was to use this insider status to gain knowledge of the ways in which one could gain access to the research sites and participants. I relied hence on the use of my social network.

My social network in the situation of gaining access during fieldwork was a valuable asset. Figure 1, below, is an example of how this social network functioned in my study by illustrating my connection with the mediators and with some of the people who took part in my study. Many of the names in this illustration and the following extracts are fictitious. The mediators in the purple boxes were the ones who personally and directly put me in contact with participants in the field; whereas those in the blue boxes had a more subtle influence in the way I was received by the participants. They were not physically there to introduce me to the potential participants, yet they were mentioned by them in a respectful way as I introduced myself to them. Other mediators sometimes were not physically there to introduce me to the potential participants, yet they were mentioned by them in a respectful way as I introduced myself to them.

Figure 2: Mediators and social network



For instance, Aunt Lena, who was one of my key mediators, put me in contact with another mediator called Diogo through her social network. Due to her social role she knew many people occupying higher positions in political, academic and religious institutions. She had arranged a meeting with Diogo in her place a week before the meeting. We met afterwards at his office and he suggested putting me in contact with some senior members of the Ministry of Education. Below there is an account of our second meeting in which Diogo contacted one of the potential participants and accompanied me to meet him is presented the extract below.

Mediator: Diogo

One of the people he talked to was Mr. Santos. They spoke in English on the phone. Mr. Santos was a friend of Diogo. He agreed to receive us today for about half an hour after Diogo had talked to him on the phone. Diogo drove us to the Ministry of Education and half an hour later we were talking to Mr. Santos. At his office, Diogo introduced me to him, and they chatted for a while in Tetun. Then Diogo gave me the word so that I could explain my study and what help I needed from Mr. Santos. He told me to explain it in English. I started in English, but then Diogo switched into Tetun, and I did also. I think he thought I was saying too many complicated things, so he switched to Tetun, and told me to tell Mr. Santos what I needed. I told Mr. Santos that right now I was after some policy documents, and to interview people from the ministry. He was helpful and gave us the names and contacts of some people at the ME who could be worth talking to. I also asked Mr. Santos if I could interview him. He agreed, and I told him that I would call him later. We chatted for about 20 minutes. The conversation was firstly in English, and then in Tetun. Diogo switched to Tetun and Mr. Santos and I followed his code-switching.

(...)

Regarding doing research he (Diogo) said me something that I thought it was very interesting: to reach someone in Timor one has to know someone there so that people can receive you...it is not like in Europe.

(Fieldnotes extracts)

Another example illustrates my encounter with a teacher of Year 6 who became one of my key participants afterwards. I call her teacher Dalia and she was teaching Portuguese language. Below I provide another account of my first visit to a classroom, how I approached a teacher of Year 6 and how she positioned me.

Mediator: Aunt Lena and my mother

She showed me who the teacher of Year 6 was, and I went to talk with her. In Tetun I told her that I had arranged with the HT to come today. This teacher said that the HT had told her about my school visit. The pupils started walking to their classroom. I walked and chatted with the teacher up to the door of her classroom. When we got near the classroom door she asked me in Portuguese: “É filha da professora Joaninha?” (Are you daughter of teacher Joaninha?). I replied: “Sim” (Yes). She said in Tetun: “Professora Joaninha uluk hau nia professor iha tempu indonesio” (Teacher Joaninha was my teacher during the Indonesian time). I was surprised that she was my mother’s pupil. Then she asked me about my aunt, my mother’s sister. She was apparently a school mate of my aunt Hermínia. She told me too that in her lesson today she was going to work on ‘Belas-Artes’ (Arts) with the pupils and not Portuguese language, and asked me if I would like to observe that class. I told her that I was interesting in observing any class, that I was looking at the way teachers use Portuguese and Tetun in any lesson. She invited me to enter in her classroom.

(Fieldnotes extracts)

Overall in both extracts, I positioned myself and I was accepted as an insider in the field as I was negotiating the access to participants and sites through the work of the mediators and my social capital. Being aware of my insider status in the field, I did not want any of my characteristics such as linguistic resources or education to make me appear to be in a higher position. Thus I tried to assume a lower profile in my interactions with people by following and accepting their linguistic choices and the identities they attributed to me despite the tensions and dilemmas. I had knowledge of the importance of kinship ties and the use of mediators among East-Timorese in different social and cultural situations. In my role as a researcher concerned with the ethical issues, I tried to avoid the value of these kinship ties. However, it was difficult to deconstruct my insider persona. The East-Timorese insider status integrated me in a social network that existed prior to my fieldwork in Timor-Leste. Social network value is embedded in the notion of social capital. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), social capital is "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p.119). This definition recognizes the existence of a social structure and social relationships which facilitate an individual to gain access to assets. Social network was an individual resource that I had as an East-Timorese. My relationships with family and friends were a strong tie as they also had their own social network. In the absence of these strong ties, gaining access to certain participants and information could have happened in a different way. This resource provided me with the benefit of gaining access not to an economic good, but to a non-economic one such as valuable participants for my study. Tensions and dilemmas were related to the system of reciprocated exchange of favours in which the participants might have felt some kind of social obligation to receive me due to their relationship with the mediator and/or due to my kinship ties. The insider status of being an East-Timorese was an advantage as this enabled me to use my social capital in order to gain access to participants and sites. However, these reciprocal bonds created

a tension in the fieldwork: as an East-Timorese I included myself in these social obligations, but as a researcher ethical issues concerned me. Nevertheless, as a researcher I followed the ethical process in order to respect the participants' willingness to take part in this study. Moreover, the access given by the mediators might have created some conditions for a relationship of trust with them, but as Erickson (1990) says "Access in itself is of no use to the researcher without the opportunity to develop trust and rapport" (p.77). Rapport and trust has been my concern throughout the fieldwork.

Next, in section 6.4.1, I briefly describe the ways in which I gained access to participants at school, and in section 6.4.2 the access to representatives of the government and university.

6.4.1 Accessing participants at schools

The first step to gaining access to participants in the school settings, and to confirm whether it was possible to undertake this doctoral study in Timor-Leste, was to go there prior to the time scheduled for the fieldwork. I undertook pre-fieldwork in Dili, the capital city, in October 2011 in order to confirm whether or not I could have access to schools. I contacted two primary schools: one state school, School A, and one private school, School B. I start by describing how I accessed them during my pre-fieldwork in October 2011, and then during the actual fieldwork conducted in 2012.

The access to School A was arranged through a distant cousin who was the secretary of the headteacher. This distant cousin booked an appointment for me to meet with the headteacher. I went to the school accompanied by an aunt who put me in contact with that distant cousin. At the school, after the initial introductions and some conventional conversation between my aunt, the secretary and the headteacher, I introduced my doctoral study. I was asked and answered questions by the headteacher about myself, about my kinship and about my doctoral study. Before I left I handed her the bilingual recruitment and the participant information letters in Tetum and

Portuguese languages (see Appendix 2). I gained her verbal consent to give me access to the school the following year, but she asked me to request the official consent of the Ministry of Education authorities of Dili since it was a state school in the capital district. I was aware of these procedures, but decided to go to the school first for her agreement, rather than entering as an imposition of the Ministry of Education to the school. In that school visit, she introduced me to a few teachers. I also observed one lesson of a Year 4 classroom.

The access to the second school, School B, was arranged through another aunt, aunt Lena, as mentioned above in Figure 2. In September 2011, I emailed her from Birmingham and told her about the idea of doing research at the schools in Dili and asked her advice on how to contact schools in Dili. She was very supportive and asked me what was the purpose of my doctoral study, and what kind of school I was looking for. We continued exchanging emails, and we finally met in October 2011 in Dili. I explained to her the aims of my research, and she assured me that I could enter the private school she knew. She spoke to the general director of the school, Mr. Gama, and set an appointment with him. When I met with him I followed similar formal procedures as with the headteacher of school A. I handed him bilingual recruitment and participant information letters. I had his verbal consent to access his school and visit some classrooms. I observed two Portuguese language lessons (Years 4 and 5) and a Maths lesson (Year 5). The purpose of these visits was to observe whether my research aims and the kind of research questions I was asking were pertinent to this school context or not. After having this confirmation, I decided that these schools could be the research sites of my doctoral project.

During the pre-fieldwork stage in October 2011, I also dealt with a bureaucratic matter which was to ask for official informed consent to do research in Timor-Leste. The norm was that all researchers wanting to do research in Timor-Leste which included Tetum language required official permission from the INL, the Instituto Nacional de Linguística (National Institute of Linguistics). I made an appointment with

the director of the INL to introduce myself and my doctoral study and to learn what documents I had to show to the INL in order to conduct my research. I then had several email exchanges with the director and also with my supervisor in order to meet the INL's requirements (see Appendix 3). In one of the email exchanges with my supervisor I wrote the following:

“I should ask you, as my supervisor in Birmingham, to write this letter and email it to the director of the INL who will forward to the head of the UNTL. He said that being an East Timorese and having the support of local institutions such as INL and UNTL I could have more credibility when accessing the schools rather than just introducing myself as an East Timorese from University of Birmingham doing research in Timor.” (19/10/2011)

My supervisor in Birmingham provided the letter for me, and after a few more email exchanges, and a few visits to the INL looking for the secretary who dealt with these issues, I received the identity card. The card was valid from 25th October 2011 to July 2012 and open to being renewed if necessary.

I returned to Dili in March 2012 to conduct the fieldwork. I required the official informed consent from the relevant authorities of the Ministry of Education in order to be able to start doing research at School A. I then contacted the headteacher of the state school again who received me very well at her school. I reminded her of my research and I handed in the official consent from the Ministry of Education as she requested. However, since the pupils were doing their exams at the end of the first term and would then go on Easter holidays, the headteacher asked me to start after the Easter holidays. I also contacted the general director of School B who put me in contact with the headteacher. In the meeting with her, I introduced myself and followed similar formal research procedures to ask for her consent to observe a few classrooms. She suggested that I follow the two classrooms of Year 6 and I agreed with her. In this

way, the school observations at both schools occurred in the second term of the school year, from April 30th to June 26th 2012.

In School A I focused on Year 4 classrooms. In my first day of observation I was taken to the teacher's room and introduced myself to the teachers there who seemed to generally know about my role there. I met two other female teachers who also allowed me to observe their lessons. In School B I focused on Year 6 classrooms. I entered in a Year 6 classroom and approached one of the teachers. She and her colleagues seemed to know who I was, including my family background. I met the other teachers of Year 6 on the week I started the classroom observation or in the following week. I introduced myself to them and asked for their informed consent to observe their lessons. All of them gave me their verbal consent to observe their lessons. I met and observed at least one lesson with the teachers of Maths, Portuguese language, Environmental Studies, and Health and Sports.

My entrance to the classrooms of both schools was negotiated at different levels in order to respect the institutional hierarchies of the school system. A concurrent negotiation was the language choice to interact with the people I met during these initial stages of the fieldwork. My conscious choice was to speak Tetum or Portuguese according to the preference of my interlocutor, although if I had to initiate the conversation I often did it in Portuguese. However, my ability to speak both languages seemed to have been important to build trust at the beginning of the fieldwork with the headteachers, teachers and pupils in the school and to develop a cooperative relationship throughout the fieldwork.

6.4.2 Accessing representatives of the government and university

I interviewed five representatives of the government and one academic. They all occupied senior positions at their institutions. Different friends put me in contact with them. I spoke with a few friends living in Dili about my doctoral study and the different people at the Ministry of Education or members of Parliament whom I would like to

interview. They telephoned them and made an appointment for me. On the day of the appointment they accompanied me there, introduced me to them and let me explain my doctoral study. For instance, one of the interviewees, Mr. Pedro Magno from the Parliament, agreed to give me the interview straightaway on the day I was introduced to him since he was available at that specific time. Another of the interviewees, Mr. Júlio Neto from the Ministry of Education, who was extremely busy due to his senior position, met with me at a public outdoor event, a Book Fair, at a weekend. I was uncomfortable in approaching him, but encouraged and accompanied by a friend who was also there and knew him, and she introduced me to him. She emphasized to him that I was an East-Timorese doing doctoral research and that I would like to interview him. I introduced myself and talked to him briefly about my doctoral study. He told me that he was going to be at the same event on the following day, and asked me if I could interview him then or if the interview had to be in his office. I did not want to miss my opportunity to interview him, so I agreed to interview him on the following day. The other interviewees, after listening to my explanation, agreed to conduct an interview and we made an appointment or different appointments so they could answer all my interview questions. For these interviews I left a copy of the interview schedule in case they may have time to read it through.

6.5 Methods of data collection

Methods of data collection were the techniques I used to collect and analyse data connected to my research questions (Crotty, 1998). Following an ethnographic design I used ethnographic methods. England says that the “intersubjective nature of social life means that the researcher and the people being researched have shared meanings and we should seek methods that develop this advantage” (1994, p.243). The use of ethnographic methods as reflexivity of their use can offer the opportunity to study people in their own terms. The methods I used are as follows: participant

observation, fieldnotes, audio- and video-recording, document collection and interviews.

6.5.1 Participant observation

Teachers, pupils and classroom practices were the centre of this whole ethnography of language policy study. Participant observation is studying people in their natural setting in their own space and time (Buroway, 2003). The selection of observation as a method seems evident, simple and natural, since if one wants to know about people's actions and attitudes (Nortier, 2008), one should just watch and listen to them in their natural environment. Being there with teachers and pupils in their own space and time proved to be of particular value in order to have a general notion of the classroom organisation, of the relationship dynamics of the participants, to develop my relationship with the participants, and to gradually focus on the most relevant aspects of the language phenomena for my doctoral study.

I would say that I conducted the school visits consistently in the beginning and then at different times due to my health condition, but also since the teachers were not accustomed to having a researcher in their classroom, I did not want to put too much pressure on them to have me in their classrooms. So there were weeks in which I did classroom observations nearly every day at the two schools and weeks in which I did not. The Year 4 classrooms at School A had lessons in the afternoon from 13h30 to 17h30, whereas the Year 6 classroom at School B was from 13h to 17h. At School A lessons were in blocks of 1h and then children had a break, while at School B lessons were of 1h30 and then a break. At School A I observed three female teachers of Year 4, while at School B I observed three female teachers and one male teacher of Year 6. From the beginning until the end of the fieldwork there were 29 classroom observations produced in total. After this general survey of the seven teachers' classroom practices, the observations went on to be restricted to four teachers. Erickson (1990) says that this comprehensive view in the beginning allows the researcher to establish a variety of

perspectives of social organization arrangements, meaning-perspectives, and connections of influence within and across system levels in the fieldwork site (p. 80-81). Three weeks later after regular observations in both schools, I decided to focus only on four teachers, and two classrooms. This decision was grounded on feasibility reasons since following seven teachers became very impracticable.

At School A I observed two female teachers of two Year 4 classrooms, but as one teacher requested a leave of absence for health reasons, I ended up observing only one teacher there until the end of my fieldwork. At School B, I focused on two female teachers of a Year 6 classroom. Table 3 illustrates the three key teachers at this stage of my fieldwork until the end of it: teacher Ana, teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia. The observations of the classroom practices of these three teachers were 22 in total.

Table 3: Narrowing down to observe mainly 3 teachers

School A Year 4 (3 classrooms) Duration of a lesson observed: 1h	School B Year 6 (2 classrooms) Duration of a lesson: 1h30
Teacher Ana – Portuguese language and Environmental Studies lessons 8 observations + 1 Interview (00:54:41)	Teacher Dalia – Portuguese language lessons 6 observations + 1 Interview (00:42:19)
	Teacher Lucia – Environmental Studies lessons 8 observations + 1 Interview (01:01:21)

Teacher Ana as a Year 4 teacher from School A was teaching different subjects such as Portuguese language, Tetum language, Maths, Environmental Studies and Religion. From School B, Teacher Dalia was the teacher of Portuguese language and Teacher Lucia of Environmental Studies. I observed each teacher once or twice per week according to their decision. Each visit was usually arranged one after

another with the teachers according to how I experienced their willingness to receive me again during that week. The classroom practices of the Year 4 teacher were interesting for my study, but she was much more uncomfortable and anxious about her classroom practices and my presence there. In order to avoid causing more intrusion and stress for her, I decided to gradually decrease the number of observations there.

The directness of this method permitted me to conduct observations of teachers' and pupils' everyday life in the classroom with a particular interest in how language shaped their space and time. In the distinction between news reporting and ethnographic reporting, Walford (2009) says that ethnographers "are often more interested in the mundane than the unusual" (p.273). The existence of a coding system to regulate the observations was not vital to this ethnographic way of inquiring a phenomenon. Guiding my observations was a comprehensive framework grounded in my research questions, and shaped by the views of Martin-Jones (personal communication) about the role of language in a classroom:

- 1) it mediates the co-construction of knowledge;
- 2) it mediates the construction of relationships between the people;
- 3) and it mediates language development as a way of practising language.

The organisation of the classroom, the materials used in the classroom, the activities promoted in the classroom, the relationship system between teachers and pupils, the patterns of communication and the use of language were accounted for during the observations.

My role at the two schools was on most occasions that of an observer, a spectator intending to look attentively and register the participants' usual routine. Immersing in the classroom life was the ultimate goal. Nevertheless, this physical proximity to participants' time and space was at the start distressing and disturbing to the participants living their usual routine. In some classrooms I was sitting at the back, but in others I was given a privileged seat, by the teacher's desk. It was a small and

overcrowded classroom, and I was given a chair by her desk. It was a better location to see and listen to what was happening in the classroom. I tried not to disturb the lessons and I only participated when required as described above. Gradually, the teachers and pupils became accustomed to my physical presence in the classroom with less constrained reactions. They seemed to concentrate on their own activities rather than being concerned with what I was doing.

6.5.2 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes were the most common source of evidence in this fieldwork. Based on my observations, they were the initial method to be used from the first day to the last day in Timor-Leste (see Appendix 6). They are often a general descriptive means of reporting “the space, the actors, the activities, the objects, the acts, the events, the time, the goals (of the conversation) and the feelings” (Robson, 2002, p.320). I wrote fieldnotes about any interactions I had with people regarding language issues in Timor-Leste and of the observations at the schools. Appendix 7 illustrates an example of a conversation with a missionary who provided her views on the linguistic issues in Timor-Leste.

At the outset of the classroom observations I tried to present only the facts of what was being observed. I described the school and classroom settings, the sequence of events and interactions, the patterns of language use in the classroom, the utterances spoken and written on the blackboard by the participants, and language statements made by the participants of this study. I decided not to make any evaluation of what I was observing, but to provide an accurate account of what was happening. However, as a self-reporting method, fieldnotes inevitably reflected my own observational bias since they were my own selection and my own interpretation of the practices in the classrooms.

I wrote my fieldnotes in the classroom sitting by the teacher’s desk in front of everyone in the classroom. The narration I was writing was in Portuguese, occasionally

with some English words so that I could write promptly and follow the classroom pace. This was not always possible and created some feelings of frustration, which I managed by accepting that one cannot register everything, particularly what has been spoken. Often I honestly wrote what I could manage to register instead.

I typed up my fieldnotes on the computer at home on the day after I observed the lesson. Sometimes I could not finish them that day, and I would finish them the following morning. In consideration to the readers of this thesis they were typed up in English, but I kept the interactions in the original languages, Tetum or Portuguese, which were spoken or written in the classroom. I have typed up fieldnotes from 29 different lessons. I also kept a research diary where I wrote my afterthoughts and considerations about the classroom I observed and a few notes of the themes I was constructing from the fieldnotes. In my mind, the fieldnotes should provide mainly my description of the teachers' and pupils' actions and attitudes in the classroom, whereas the research diary was for my personal comments about them and my involvement in their space and time. Being mindful of the bias of fieldnotes as mentioned before, I wanted mostly to avoid early, unfair and false interpretations about teachers' classroom practices and interaction patterns without having gathered evidence to support them. Simultaneously, as some patterns seemed to appear I felt the need to register them. I was hoping that in a later stage of my research when I actually analysed thoroughly all the notes taken in the field, I would be able to interpret them as a whole with more fairness to the participants. I thought that by doing this I was respecting the teachers' ways of working and the integrity of the research, and for me they were both equally very important.

During my fieldwork I often found the production of fieldnotes an overwhelming process. Ethnographers "often write without knowing whether that fieldnote will later be important in the full analysis" (Emerson et al., 2011, p.79). Observing lessons regularly in order to provide detailed accounts of everything and be simultaneously reflective about them was time-consuming and required diligence. Existing throughout the

fieldwork was always the worry of how valuable the fieldnotes would be. Being immersed in the field, in the time and space of where things were occurring, alongside perhaps with being an inexperienced fieldnote writer, did not always allow one to be totally self-assured about the importance of the fieldnotes. Sharing my fieldnotes with someone else, like my supervisor, who in this case was less immersed in the field, played an important role in conveying confidence in my fieldnotes.

Taking fieldnotes was only a preliminary phase of the research inquiry about the participants and their settings. Emerson et al. (2011) emphasised that writing about people's actions over a period of time could "enable the ethnographer to find patterns of behaviour and connections between people's actions through different fieldnotes" (p.79). Only going through the fieldnotes repeatedly afterwards I realised their real value to the fieldwork I undertook. Although triangulation of different data sources is necessary in an ethnographic study, many of my fieldnote transcripts have their own value in the account they made of the classroom environment. Fieldnotes are valuable for providing the 'thick description' of everyday life as they give visibility to routines. They match the necessity of making the familiar strange in the ethnographic research process (Erickson, 1990).

In Appendix 8 and 9, I provide two examples of full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Portuguese Language subject with teacher Dalia. In Appendix 10 and 11, I provide two other examples of full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Environmental Studies subject with teacher Lucia.

6.5.3 Audio- and video-recording of the classroom interactions

Audio- and video-recordings alongside the fieldnotes were the key sources of data in order to understand how the language policy has been shaping teachers' practices in Timor-Leste. Recording classroom practices in a notebook, an audio- or video-recording are generally obtrusive to those being observed. The audio- and video-recordings were made after teachers and pupils felt less uncomfortable about my

observations. I started audio- and video-recording the lessons in the last week of May until the end of my fieldwork. In the Year 6 classroom particularly the teachers were sometimes more uncomfortable than the pupils. However, at times teachers used the video-recording as a way to control pupils' behaviour. They tried to motivate pupils to behave well for the video-recorder since those video-recordings were going to be watched by foreigners.

I used two very small devices: an Olympus digital voice recorder for the audio-recordings and a Q3HD video recorder for the video-recordings. In the classroom of Year 4 I was sitting at the back and I used only the audio-recorder; while in the classroom of Year 6, I was sitting by the teacher's desk and both devices were put on her desk. This seat was offered by the teacher since there were no other seats available in the classroom. In total there were five weeks of audio- and video-recording. I audio-recorded two different Year 4 lessons at the state school. At the private school I did nine audio- and video-recordings, three with the Portuguese language teacher and six with the Environmental Studies teacher. The use of two devices was also my way of ensuring that I would have both tools to mechanically record the interactions in the classroom. Since the research site was in a different and distant country, I only had three months of fieldwork, and as I was aware that any audio- or video- recording was going to happen at a later stage, I did not want to take the risk of one of the devices not working.

6.5.4 Document collection

The collection of documents was also an important component of this doctoral study. I had already gathered five relevant policy documents in Portuguese and/or English to be used in the interviews. They were as follows: (1) Constitution of Timor-Leste; (2) Base Law for Education; (3) National Education Policy 2007-2012: "Building our nation through quality education"; (4) Parliament Resolution: "The importance of developing and teaching the two official languages for the unity and national cohesion

and for the consolidation of an own identity and original in the world”; and (5) Mother tongue based multilingual education for Timor-Leste – National policy. Extracts of these documents were used as prompts during the interviews (see examples in Appendix 27). Policy texts were produced in meetings by a group of people with their own interests. They were produced to be read by others and they illustrated the official views of the government concerning Tetum and Portuguese. I did not analyse them myself, since my main concern was to use them to elicit the interpretations of the participants of the language-in-education policy or any other views they may have regarding language that they could mention in the interviews.

6.5.5 Interviews

Interviews are one of the most common techniques in social sciences research. The researcher asks the participants directly about themselves and about their views concerning a range of issues. The nature of the interviews was semi-structured due to the level of informality which could leave the participants more comfortable to talk and sometimes to digress. Furthermore, it enabled me to engage in more dialogue. My prepared questions did not decide totally the whole interview, as I adjusted them according to the dynamics of each interview (Robson, 2002).

Interviews are an “ordered conversation” (Blommaert and Dong, 2010a, p.44). For instance, many of the interviews I conducted ended up being formal conversations due to the nature of some questions. The interview schedule was handed in advance to the interviewee, because there were many questions and this would enable participants to formulate their responses. However, it was still my role to direct her/him throughout the interview schedule. I introduced the questions that I wanted to see responded as I selected their order. The researcher constructs the interview with the interviewee as the responses given to questions were produced for the occasion of the interview (Walford, 2001). Teachers, pupils or policymakers produced their responses under their own conceptions of what an interview was, but also considering the setting,

their occupation, my identity as an East-Timorese, a woman, the interviewer, the researcher studying in a British academic institution, the teacher or the Portuguese speaker and education background. In consideration of the researcher being an instrument in her own research, England says that “We are differently positioned subjects with different biographies; we are not dematerialized, disembodied entities” (1994, p.248). In addition to the researcher’s subjectivity, there are also the wider social and political circumstances in Dili where discourses and ideologies of language have been constructed and in which the participants position themselves. There were and still are divergent views on the sociolinguistic environment of Timor-Leste since at least 2002. All of this shaped the different interviews I conducted.

Interviewees’ responses are their own perceptions of the events or beliefs in which they select the words and ideas in order to communicate them to the interviewer (Walford, 2001). They reveal themselves according to their own subjectivity and interpretation of the world they live in. I concur with Pavlenko (2007) who regards that the researcher ought to “be particularly sensitive to the fact that speakers use linguistic and narrative resources to present themselves as particular kinds of individuals” (p.177).

The intertwining of different biographies and positionality of the researcher and participants also ascribed to most of the interviews a certain degree of interview structure and formality. For instance, I decided not to comment much on the participants’ responses not only because of the number of interview questions scheduled, but also because I was interested in their interpretation of some questions. Despite the awareness of my own subjectivity, I tried not to make comments that could influence their interpretation. This contradicted Blommaert and Dong’s (2010a) advice to the researcher not to behave like an interviewer because people will behave like interviewees (p.44). However, this formality did not always constrain the participants from elaborating their responses or for digression to occur.

The purpose of these interviews in general was to gather information about the participants' professional background, views of the school and pupils, of the classroom practices, their views on the sociolinguistic environment of Timor-Leste, and their interpretations of the language policy of the country. The first set of questions in the interview schedule was designed mainly to introduce language as the topic of my doctoral study to the participants and to gather some information about their background. Extracts of official policy documents were selected and the participants were asked to comment on them. I designed the questions to be open-ended in order to elicit personal views and responses. They functioned as prompts to elicit the participants' views on the official discourses on language policy of Timor-Leste.

The actual interviews occurred both in Tetum and Portuguese according to the participant's choice, and in the language that the participant was more comfortable in talking. At the outset of the interview, before even stating the nature and purpose of my research, in order to assure them how their identity and integrity were going to be preserved, the very first question was about what language they preferred to be interviewed. I had printed out the interview questions in both Tetum and Portuguese and handed these to them before the interview. One policymaker did not have the interview questions beforehand because he accepted to give me an interview on the day I met him instead of scheduling it for another day. The extracts which were in Portuguese were not translated into Tetum. I decided not to translate them because there was much technical and formal vocabulary for which I could not find an equivalent in Tetum. My lack of proficiency in some modes of usage of Tetum was an issue. This was overcome by helping during the interview to clarify the meaning of any question the participant could not understand. On the occasions where I was asked to clarify a question or a word I did it in Tetum and left the interviewee to respond.

Interviews with two different groups of people were undertaken. One group included the educators and pupils involved in the process of the language policy implementation in the schools and classrooms, whilst the other group was involved in

the promotion of the language policy pursued by the government. As part of the first group, I interviewed a headteacher, a head of school, three teachers, and five girls of the Year 6 classroom of the schools I observed; and as part of the second group, I interviewed five policymakers and an academic involved in the discussion of language policies in education. They were one-to-one interviews. Every interview was audio-recorded. Now I explain how the interviews were conducted with these two different groups of people.

Interviewing the educators and pupils

Teacher Ana from School A, and teachers Dalia and Lucia from School B were the key participants during the fieldwork (see the interview schedule in Appendix 14). The interviews with them were conducted on the last two weeks of my three month long fieldwork. These interviews were arranged with difficulty due to the teachers' demanding schedule. The teachers of Year 6 were occupied teaching in the morning and in the afternoon to different classrooms and even in a different school as in the case of the teacher of Environmental Studies. The teacher of Year 4 taught only in the afternoon. Nevertheless, being a woman in Timor-Leste other social roles and activities were expected to be accomplished as well. In order for my interviews with the teachers of Environmental Studies and Year 4 to occur, lessons were forsaken. Ethically, the researcher ought not to disturb the normal routine of her participants, but this could not be prevented. The time of the interviews was decided by the teachers.

The Year 6 teachers asked to be interviewed in Portuguese. However, the teacher of Environmental Studies switched into Tetum from time to time and I followed along with her. The teacher of Portuguese language used Portuguese only. The interview with the teacher of Year 4 was in Tetum apart from the extracts of the policy documents. Regarding the questions about the policy documents, the teacher of Portuguese of Year 6 and the teacher of Year 4 only answered the questions about Tetum and Portuguese being the official languages. They said that they did not know

the answer to those questions. I tried to help them by clarifying the questions, but they said that they could not understand and made no more comments. They had their right to decline the interview questioning, and for politeness and ethical reasons I did not insist. Disappointment was the subsequent feeling following these two interviews, as they did not generate the data I expected. From the interviews with those two teachers I only gathered information regarding their views about their background, about the pupils, about their classroom practices and about the choice of Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages. Other participants were able to develop answers to the questions regarding other language policy extracts. Therefore, I assumed they would answer them as well, and I did not alter the interview schedule. Considering the teachers did not answer those questions, the last part of these interviews could be perceived as a failure. Blommaert and Dong (2010) reassure that bad interviews do not exist. They add that although an interview might not produce the 'data' one is aiming for, a practical approach is that "every interview yields something, and often it yields something in unexpected ways" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p.56). In fact, the interviews with the two teachers did not produce the data I was expecting. However, they raised some issues of linguistic proficiency and positionality in the interview dynamics between myself and the interviewee. There could be various explanations for the teachers' refusal to articulate a response, but I determine the following three possibilities: (1) the extracts were official documents written in a formal usage of Portuguese which they were not familiar with, and they felt incapable of providing substantial responses; (2) they conceived the interview as an interrogation in which I was testing their knowledge about the policy documents, and they felt intimidated going through the embarrassment of showing their lack of knowledge or views about these matters on language policy; and (3) they did not wish to challenge the national language policy. Language proficiency was an issue. Moreover, the teachers were not investing directly in the language policy texts as they were with their personal classroom practices in order to generate information about them. They make decisions

that have an impact on their classroom which they seemed to feel comfortable to talk about; whilst they did not know these policy texts and chose not to comment on them. Nevertheless, as these interviews are part of an ethnographic study, the data generated from observations and fieldnotes of their classroom practices elicited pertinent accounts of their linguistic beliefs and values.

I also interviewed five girls from Year 6 in School B in my last week in Dili. Two were indicated by the teachers and they asked to be interviewed in Tetun, while the other three volunteered themselves and asked to use Portuguese. The topics of the interview concerned their family background, their linguistic practices and their lessons of Portuguese and Environmental Studies. They were short interviews since there were not many questions and their responses were short and not very elaborated. Two girls were interviewed in the school. Their teacher permitted them to leave the lesson in order to be interviewed. These two girls elaborated more on their questions than the other three who volunteered. The available date for the interview with the other three girls was on a Saturday afternoon, and they accepted. We arranged to meet at a youth centre they often attended. Although they were not wearing their school uniforms, I noticed that by their formal clothes the interview was for them a formal event. According to Walford (2001) “every person who is interviewed carries his or her own construction of what ‘an interview’ actually is” (p.88). The hierarchical relationship of my role as a teacher and an older person than them determined this interactional event as formal.

The interviews with the headteacher of School A and general director of School B were also conducted towards the end of my fieldwork (see the interview schedule in Appendix 17). The interview with the headteacher was mostly in Portuguese, but with code-switching into Tetum from time to time. It was conducted at the school. The interview with the general director was in Portuguese. It took place in a relative’s residence who was our mediator. Both of them provided elaborated responses to all my questions and were also generous with the time they gave for the interview.

Interviewing policymakers and an academic

The interviews with the policymakers and the academic were conducted from April to June as the opportunity appeared (see the interview schedule in Appendix 19). As I have explained before, the interviews were mostly negotiated through a mediator and in accordance with the interviewee's schedule. Interviews were scheduled in a first personal meeting with each participant and conducted at the participant's workplace. Asking all the interview questions and the best use of their time were my two main concerns. The interviewees generously gave between 1h to 1h30 of their working day to be interviewed. The interview with a policymaker and the academic were an exception. They occurred over two and four different days respectively. There were many interview questions, and they both produced many elaborated responses, but due to their own commitments we had to finish the interview and then scheduled another one. Despite the number of interview questions, the interviewees replied to all of them. The interview responses were mostly aligned with the official discourses of the policy texts and with each other, but they were also grounded in each of their own personal experiences. Walford (2001) states that interviewees "will always have subjective perceptions, which will be related to their own past experiences and current conditions" (p.90). Narratives were a common linguistic resource used on the construction of arguments in the interpretation of the official discourses. Baynham (personal communication) mentioned that the use of narratives often ascribes to the narrator a certain authority about an event. By bringing their own narratives, the interviewees assert their own opinion as the authority of the discourses of the policy texts.

6.6 Relationship between the researcher and the participants

As I mentioned above, the fact that I am an East Timorese born in Dili was an advantage in saving time when gaining access to the participants. I had the help of local mediators, relatives and friends in Dili, who put me in contact with the participants.

However, I still needed to work on gaining their trust about what kind of information I was trying to collect. I introduced myself to the participants at the school and to the policymakers I interviewed as a researcher, a primary school teacher, and a speaker of Tetum and Portuguese. Primarily most of the participants seemed to have focused more on my identity as an East Timorese rather than my other identities. One of the most common questions from some policymakers was whether I was an East Timorese, and after replying positively about my ethnicity they asked who my parents were. Teachers at the school also asked the same questions, or if they did not ask it was because they knew who my mother was (she was a former teacher in Dili) or knew some of my relatives and associated me with them. They identified me as a Timorese because of my kinship, and although I did not feel comfortable with this identity inscription it gave me access to sites and information. I also tried to emphasize my ethnic identity by performing linguistically in Tetum in order to build a closer relationship and trust with the participants.

At the schools, I was addressed as a teacher since I introduced myself as being trained as a primary school teacher in Portugal. However, I was mindful that the ways I could perform in this teacher role could put me in a higher position in my relationship with the teachers. Therefore, I tried to find ways to minimise the impact of this role in the schools. One of the ways was to emphasize my role as a researcher, of someone who was there to learn about their experiences in the classroom in order to understand their classroom practices with a particular focus on the use of language. Another way was by offering my help in the classroom, in supporting the teacher and pupils in the teaching and learning process. On the other hand, my role as a teacher allowed me eventually to build a closer relationship with the teachers. I was invited to join the teachers in the staff room and have tea with them. Teachers talked to me about ordinary topics or about the school and the pupils. Pupils addressed me as a teacher and as a speaker of both Tetum and Portuguese.

In my role as participant-observer in the classroom I was also positioned and positioned myself as a bilingual speaker of Tetum and Portuguese. Subsequently, on my identity as a Portuguese speaker I was positioned by the teacher as an expert of Portuguese language, as a native speaker of Portuguese since I was brought up in Portugal. This was an identity I was trying not to display much since it could also give me a higher and outsider status in relation to the teachers. However, the teachers at school tended to address me in Portuguese. I tried to display this identity only if the teacher required my linguistic resources in Portuguese. My identity as Portuguese was read not only linguistically but also through semiotic means such as my hair, skin colour, dress, behaviour, and Tetum-Portuguese accent. Although this identity of being and speaking Portuguese gave me a higher status, it did not position me as an outsider. It was significant to get access and gain the participants' trust.

In discerning about how my identity could shape my relationship with participants, I described how my own self-identification and positioning was fluid and dynamic. I tried not to fixedly assign myself too much to my self-identification and positioning but tried to empower the participants to let them position me, and then I would perform accordingly. This was a conscious choice in order to create a more equal relationship with them and to avoid imposing a self-identity that could create an asymmetrical or exploitative relationship. I describe the dynamics of the researcher and researcher relationship in Chapter 8 in the lessons of Portuguese Language subject with teacher Dalia.

6.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were taken even before the outset of the fieldwork in Timor-Leste. The protection of the privacy, rights and interests of research participants were at the core of this doctoral study. I followed the ethical and practical guidelines instituted by the University of Birmingham (Code of Practice for Research) and by the British Association for Applied Linguistics (Recommendations for good practice in

Applied Linguistics student projects). I also followed the research practices encountered in Timor-Leste. In addition to these standardised ethical research practices, I adopted as a general principle to follow the social norms of cordiality in Timor-Leste in order to avoid any disrespectful behaviour that might have any harmful effects on my acquaintances' or participants' environment. Positioned as an East-Timorese, any disrespectful behaviour on my side could have negative consequences on the relationship dynamics between my acquaintances and the participants.

6.7.1 Gaining informed consent

The access to participants at schools, university and government was gained through acquaintances in Timor-Leste as I explained previously. They were very keen in supporting me. One of my mediators told me that in Timor-Leste it was common practice to gain access to people through another common acquaintance. He added that it was different from the western society where one was contacted by email or telephone. He was a local person who was aware of how things work in Timor-Leste, and he also lived and studied abroad. Ethically, I was uneasy about this way of gaining access to participants, but at the same time I had little control over this, and I had to comply with the whole process.

Overall, the role of the mediator seemed to be important because s/he was a person of trust to the person who I was interested in contacting. Being also a local person s/he had credibility and authority that allowed her/him to introduce me to them. The participants might have felt some kind of social obligation to receive me due to their relationship with our common acquaintance. Nevertheless, it was ethically appropriate to inform them clearly about the purpose of this study and their right of not participating. The recruitment letter and participant information sheets were in the two official languages of the country: Tetum and Portuguese. Tetum was certainly a language that the participants would master in the capital city. This was indeed one of the questions I had to respond to from the Ethical Committee of the University of

Birmingham. The Ethical Committee seemed to consider it ethically relevant for the letters to be in a language that participants would understand in order to be fully informed of what constituted my research. Moreover, this implied that the researcher was able to speak the participants' languages in order to reiterate and clarify to participants if necessary.

All the participants gave their permission to use the information they shared by signing a consent form. In the Appendix 4 and Appendix 5 I provide an example of a blank consent form given to the parents.

6.7.2 Protection and respect

Teachers, pupils, policymakers and the academic had the right to refuse to participate in this study. For instance, I respected a teacher's decision to withdraw from the study. Also, when negotiating the following visits if I felt they were uncomfortable with my role as a participant-observer, I would avoid making more visits on the same week. This interfered with the number of classroom observations I was planning, but I thought it was even more important to avoid distressing the teachers. Pupils were curious about my presence in their classroom on the first week, but I think they did not feel disturbed by it. In addition, sometimes they asked me if I was going to observe their lesson, and seemed happy if a positive answer was given. Pupils were slightly uncomfortable the first time I turned on the camera, but they became rapidly accustomed to being video-recorded. In fact, there were no noticeable alterations in their patterns of behaviour throughout my classroom observations.

Regarding the contact with policymakers and the academic, after being introduced by the local mediators, the recruitment letter and the participant sheet were presented and the interview questions handed over at our first meeting. Interviewees knew beforehand what kind of questions they were going to be asked in order to avoid any distress about how to answer them. At the outset of the interview the points regarding their anonymity and the confidentiality of their responses were reiterated. As

they were given the opportunity to raise any questions or concerns, I answered them. Interviewees were free not to answer a question if they did not want to. They were not pressured to answer any question that they were not comfortable with during the interview time. These procedures were performed to protect participants' liberty of choice. Care was taken from the fieldwork to the writing up stage of the thesis in order to anticipate any harmful effects on participants' professional competence.

6.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

I have used fictional names for the schools, for the teachers, the policymakers, and the academic throughout this thesis. The titles relating to their occupation were kept in order to show the formality of the treatments and respect for the participants. The purpose was to protect the participants' identity and preserve their integrity.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have described the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Timor-Leste. I referred to the research questions which guided this study, the ways in which I gained access to the participants, my relationship with local mediators and participants, the ethnographic methods I used, and the ethical issues that I addressed. By considering ethnographic fieldwork as an intersubjective process, I have attempted to discuss with as much reflexivity as possible the methodological issues that I faced in this study and my role as researcher in entering the participants' institutional lives and building a rapport with them throughout this fieldwork.

In the next methodology chapter, Chapter 7, I turn to the post-fieldwork period. There, I consider the issues arising from working with the fieldwork materials collected, along with the data construction and interpretation processes that I was involved in. I also introduced and described the key participants of School B whose linguistic practices and views will provide the main focus of the three data analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 7: Ethnographic process of data construction and data analysis: a 'progressive problem-solving'

Introduction

This chapter describes the post-fieldwork in which I dealt more thoroughly with all the fieldwork materials. The resources for data generated from the fieldwork and selected for the data construction and data analysis included:

1. word-processed fieldnotes.
2. audio-recording and transcripts of interviews with teachers, the general director of School B.
3. audio-recordings and transcripts of interviews with policymakers and an academic.
4. audio- and video-recording and transcripts of classroom interactions of two teachers of a Year 6 class in the lessons of Portuguese language and Environmental Studies.

As Erickson (2004) claims these are mainly “resources for data construction within which data must be discovered” (p.486). He also adds that “patterns or themes in the data also must be *found* - they do not simply ‘emerge’” (p.486). He also adds that the stage of constructing, searching and finding the data in the data sources is a “progressive problem-solving” (p.486). He argues for the idea of data and patterns or themes as being constructed and found through meticulous and repeated searches within the data sources. He assigns to the researcher an active role in the whole process of working with data sources. In this chapter, I describe the different stages of problem-solving of my interpretive process of the data I found. This description will refer mainly to the setting and key participants selected to be part of the following data analysis chapters: School B, a Year 6 classroom, Teacher Dalia (teaching Portuguese language subject) and Teacher Lucia (teaching Environmental Studies subject).

In this way in section 7.1 I describe the initial stages of the transcription process and data analysis in finding relevant themes to be developed in the thesis. In 7.2 I describe a later stage of data analysis as I tried to link and arrange the different analytical categories found in different data sources. In section 7.3 I describe the key participants selected to be included in the data analysis chapters.

7.1 Transcription process and organisation of data

I analysed independently each of the data sources and transcriptions in the original languages by looking for themes and patterns. At the outset, I tried not to consider a theoretical framework in particular, but concentrated only on the research questions to guide the analysis in order to construct assertions from the data. However, everything seemed extremely interesting to be disregarded. Decisions about what was the most important data, what issues I would like to bring to the East-Timorese language debate, what arguments could be made and evidence to support them had to be taken. Firstly, I decided not to include the data generated from the participants of School A, and focus only on School B. Secondly, I thought seriously again about the themes I found in the data, by taking into account how useful they could be to the current language debate in Timor-Leste and what arguments I could bring to it. Then, finally I selected carefully the most interesting data extracts that could most clearly contribute to build those arguments. In section 7.2 of this chapter I try to illustrate this thinking process of data selection. I also include the interpretations of the policymakers collected in the audio-recorded interviews.

In the next sections, I illustrate the stages of data transcription and organisation of different data sources, and the different stages of data interpretation conducted.

7.1.1 Construction of the interview data sources

Transcription of interviews was the first activity I performed. The transcription of the interviews with the policymakers occurred roughly between August and October 2012 along with drafts of analysis of some extracts. I did not follow any transcription conventions in full. The principle was to concentrate on the transcription of the content of what was being said and the indications of pause in order to show how arguments were being developed, and simultaneously to be readable. I listened once and transcribed all the interviews in their original language, i.e. either in Portuguese or in Tetum. Portuguese language has been in a process of change of its orthography, but I used the old standard one since it is what is offered by Windows Microsoft Office on my computer. With regard to Tetum I used the standard orthography which was introduced in 2004. In the classroom interactions transcripts, Tetum is indicated in bold while Portuguese is in normal format. The same principle was applied when the transcript was translated into English.

The group of policymakers and the academic were analysed together and then the two teachers separately. During the transcription process I found some interesting themes, and after finishing the transcription, I highlighted some parts and attributed a title in English. Figure 3 provides an example of an interview transcript with a policymaker. In one of the columns was the theme I identified. Each interview was in the original language and the themes I identified were typed in English on the right hand column as illustrated below.

Figure 3: An example of the organisation of an individual interview transcript

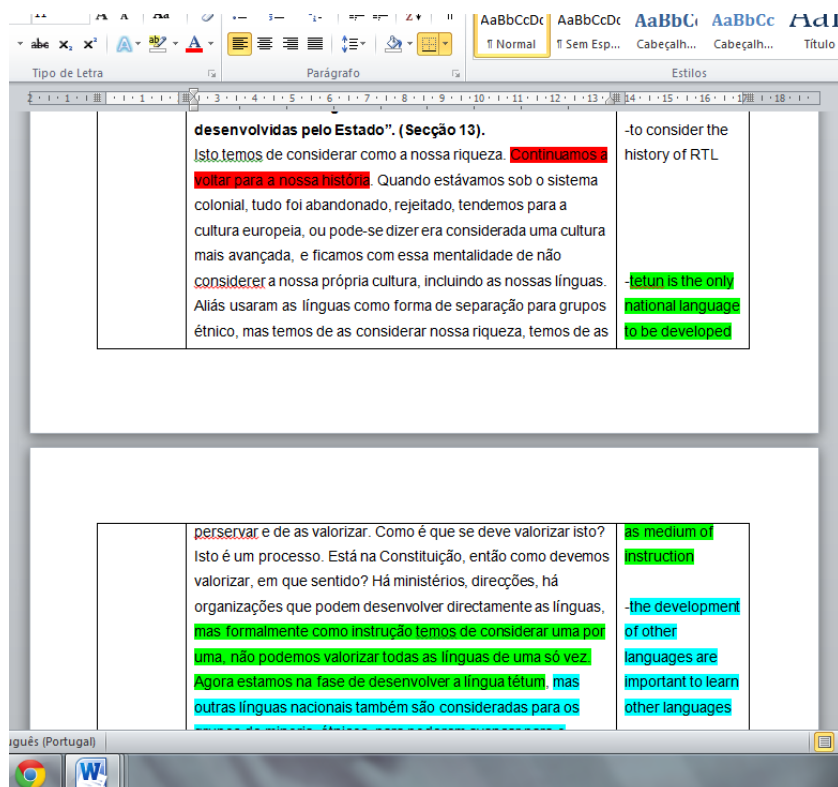


Figure 3 shows how the interviews were organised in columns. In the middle column, highlighted in different colours, was the transcription in Portuguese and in the right column is the ‘Possible themes’ I could find as I was reading through the transcriptions and took note of it.

A similar procedure was completed with the other recorded interviews (see other examples of interview transcripts of policymakers from Appendix 20 to Appendix 25). After having all the interviews transcribed with a theme, I then opened another Word document in which I built a table, provided a theme, then copied the extracts from the individual interviews in which the policymaker explored that theme, and then translated each extract into English. I repeated a similar procedure with other themes. I noted at the top the policy document extracts which I used in the interview schedules with extracts of the interviewees’ responses noted below as Figure 4 illustrates.

Figure 4: An example of the organisation of a set of interview transcripts

exposure, etc.	
Bahasa-Indonesia and English are languages of work.	
Interviewee	Themes
Policymaker 1 (Member of Parliament) I did not ask him about this question.	
Policymaker 2 (ME) I did not ask him about this question.	
Policymaker 3 (ME) Oh yes, languages of work, but we shouldn't forget that it's not only a language of work, I feel like we can never consider English and Bahasa-Indonesia as the same. We have to put English in a more higher level, I don't compare Portuguese and English, I never compare Bahasa-Indonesia with English because these two are not the same, I feel like, they are both languages, but in terms of its use in our everyday life, I'd put English in one side apart. I never compare this with Portuguese. I can compare Tetun and Portuguese, I can compare Portuguese and Bahasa-Indonesia, but I can never any of this three with English, because since we live in this planet English has a very important role (...)	-EN as a globalised language
Policymaker 4 (ME) I did not ask him about this question.	

I looked through each interview transcript individually to find the themes, and then by bringing them together in the same document I focused only on those themes, and within those themes to understand how each interviewee talked about them (see Appendix 26). Based on the themes identified and the extracts selected I wrote a first draft on the broader theme of “Discursive constructions of Portuguese, Tetum, Bahasa-Indonesia and English at the state and national level”. Related to this broader theme were four other themes:

1. the language ideologies about Tetum and Portuguese as being languages of national identity vs. language ideologies about Bahasa-Indonesia and English;
2. the language ideologies about Tetum and Portuguese as hybrid languages;
3. the language ideologies about separate bilingual education: Portuguese as medium of instruction and Tetum as the auxiliary language;
4. the language ideologies about mother tongue education.

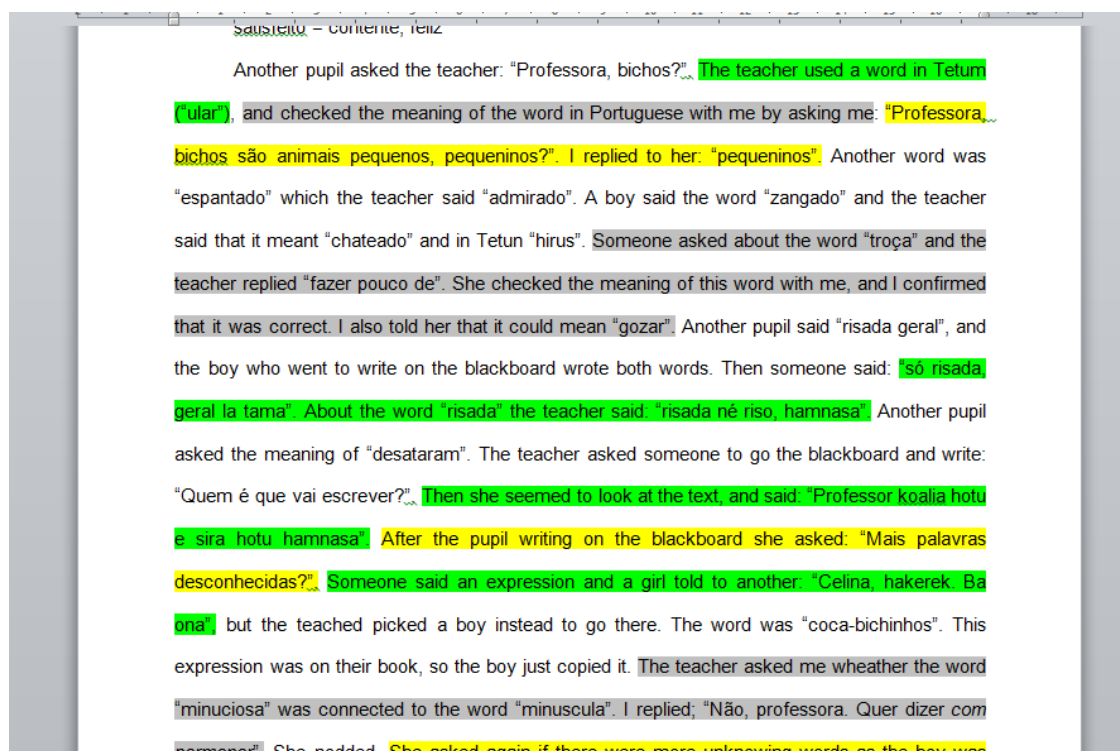
However, as indicated in Chapter 9 I used mainly the themes regarding language ideologies about Tetum and Portuguese in connection to national identity and bilingual education. In my writing up stage, after having chosen the analytical categories from the fieldnotes on the interactional transcripts, I found that these two themes were fairly connected with the linguistic practices occurring in the classroom. In this way, I included them in Chapter 9.

The interviews with the teachers were transcribed (see examples in Appendix 15 and Appendix 16) following the work with the fieldnotes and classroom interactional transcripts. I also transcribed the interviews in the original language, highlighted relevant aspects of their lives and comments with regard to language of the Year 6 classroom. I used the data to provide some information about the teachers and, for instance, in triangulation with the classroom interaction transcripts as the reader will see in Chapter 9 with the translation into English.

7.1.2 Construction of the classroom data sources: fieldnotes and audio- and video-recordings

The second step was to go through all the word-processed fieldnotes again. I gathered in one document the notes concerning the teacher of Portuguese and in another the notes concerning the teacher of Environmental Studies. I looked for lesson routines of both teachers and of their use of Tetum or Portuguese. I also highlighted references to the language used, choral responses, lack of feedback, gender comments, making bridges between the world of the text and the pupil's local knowledge, and the researcher's positionality. Figure 5 below provides an example of my fieldnotes transcript in which it is highlighted the language used and in which teacher Dalia positioned me as a Portuguese expert.

Figure 5: Highlighting themes on my fieldnotes transcripts



Transcription of the classroom interactions of the two teachers of Year 6 was the third activity I undertook (see examples in Appendix 12 and Appendix 13). I started transcribing roughly in November 2012. The principles here were to provide a description of who was speaking, what had been said and the way it was said. The aim was to show the sequence of the classroom interactions so as to allow readability. These transcriptions were also transcribed according to the languages used by the participants as in the interviews. Tetum is indicated in bold while Portuguese is indicated in normal letters. After transcribing everything I read, I started to highlight some patterns and themes in the language use in the lesson. The task of highlighting the patterns was shaped by my research questions and by some themes found during the fieldwork stage. Going over the recording materials and transcripts enabled me to confirm the themes observed in different lessons and registered in different data sources.

Next I selected those themes and translated them into English. In the English version I continued to mark Tetum in bold and Portuguese in normal format. Figure 6 provides an example of a classroom transcript with the original language in the left column and the translation in the right column. Numbering the lines seemed useful in order to refer to specific expressions used by one of the participants.

Figure 6: An example of the organisation of classroom transcripts

15		[pupils talking very loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]		[pupils talking very loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]	
16					
17	TD	Minia, "há"? [3]	TD	Minia, "has"? [3]	
18		verbo?		verb?	
19	PPS	[pupils replying at the same time that I could not hear clearly what they were saying]	PPS	[pupils replying at the same time that I could not hear clearly what they were saying]	
20					
21	TD	ha, verbo haver	TD	"has", verb to have	
22	PPS	do presente do indicativo	PPS	on Present Tense of the Indicative	
23		[pupils talking loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]		[pupils talking loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]	
24					
25	TD	sheiii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]	TD	sheiii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]	
26	FP	silêncio	FP	silence	
27	TD	hei silêncio, por favor	TD	hey silence, please	
28		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	
29		Jaci, vai escrever no quadro		Jaci, go and write on the blackboard	
30		[calling a girl to the blackboard]		[calling a girl to the blackboard]	
31		vá análise morfológica		come on morphological analysis	
32		vá apaga depressa [2]		come on erase it faster [2]	
33		análise morfológica		morphological analysis	
34		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	
35		hei sheii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]		hey sheii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]	
36		vá depressa [to the girl on the blackboard]		come on faster [to the girl on the blackboard]	
37	FP	morfológica	FP	morphological	
38		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	
39	TD	análise morfológica das palavras	TD	morphological analysis of the words	
40	FP	a [4]	FP	"the" [4]	

Several drafts of the analysis of classroom interactions and fieldnotes of different lessons were sent to my supervisor. Being respectful to the participants' work and to the integrity of the research has always been a great concern from commencing the fieldwork to the data analysis stage. Simultaneously, I hoped to provide a detailed analysis of the interactional event I had selected and tried to avoid overstating what was occurring. In my mind I ought to describe the teachers' practices according to the pedagogical knowledge, experiences and circumstances I believed they had. I tried to avoid evaluating their pedagogies grounded in my own knowledge and experience which were different from theirs. It is important to emphasize that the aim of this study was never to evaluate teachers' practices or to illustrate the best (or worst) pedagogical

practice of the bilingual language policy of Timor-Leste. Given the nature of this ethnographic study, I aimed to provide an analysis that could bring ideas about bilingual pedagogy to be debated with teachers, headteachers, teacher trainees, academics or policymakers based in Timor-Leste by considering the classroom practices that I observed.

In section 7.2, I continue to describe the progress of my interpretive process which proceeds from the stages described above. It was the moment in which I discovered a way to link all the different analytical categories found in my data sources.

7.2 Linking analytical categories: From bottom-up to top-down parsing

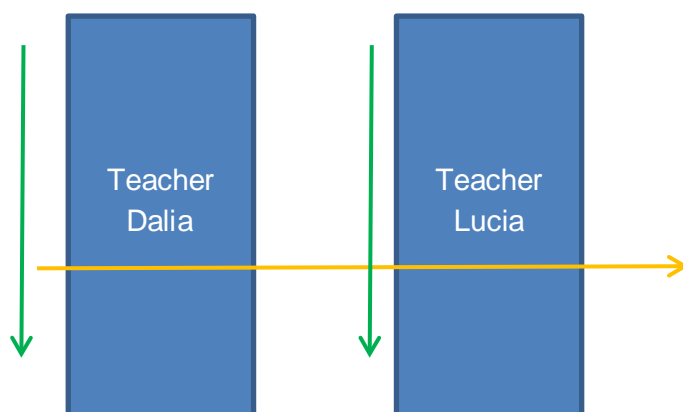
This stage of problem-solving in linking the different analytical categories in the thesis was supported by the re-reading of Frederick Erickson's (2004) article entitled "Demystifying data construction analysis", which I will illustrate below.

A lesson of Teacher Dalia was my first classroom interaction transcription work. As I was transcribing and reading the transcripts I noticed the IRF sequential model in the classroom interactions. This was probably due to my previous readings of the studies of classroom interactions on the global south in which all the scholars have referred to this model in their studies. Also this model seemed to be accepted by many as the most common classroom interactional structure in the world. I then selected a few extracts from that lesson and wrote a description of what I thought was happening in that interaction grounded on the IRF model. Erickson (2004) emphasizes that qualitative analysis is never "theory-independent or theory-natural" (p.489). Other analytical themes were also found. The 'expected' themes were: the use of linguistic resources Portuguese and Tetum; and teachers' practices associated with language ideologies. The anticipation of these themes was considered before the fieldwork since they were included in my research questions and the studies I read. The 'unexpected' ones were: the construction of what was a good pupil/citizen; the different

roles/expectations attributed to girls and boys; and bridging the world of the text with the pupils' world. Although these themes were explored in some of the literature I read, they were not the main questions which I aimed to explore in my study. Nevertheless, as I repeatedly found them across the data transcripts I also considered them in my analysis.

Then I transcribed another lesson of Teacher Dalia and also wrote a few drafts. After that I decided to start transcribing and analysing the lessons of Teacher Lucia. I followed the same procedure as I did with the first teacher. I transcribed three of her lessons, selected a few extracts and analysed them by describing what was happening in the interaction. This initial approach to the analysis of the data was what Barton and Hamilton (1998) call 'vertical' and 'horizontal slicing'. In my study, the vertical slicing involved analysing the classroom practices of each teacher, whereas the horizontal slicing involved looking at common patterns across the data sources of the two teachers. Figure 7 below shows this stage of slicing the data vertically and horizontally.

Figure 7: Vertical and horizontal slicing



The writing of the data analysis was co-constructed with my supervisor Professor Angela Creese. Two or three drafts of different written data analysis were discussed with her regarding the accuracy of my interpretations, my analytical themes

and the construction of arguments. This writing stage and dialogues were a means to explore even further the themes I found and to try to question with reflexivity the importance of these findings to the language-in-education debate in Timor-Leste. During this writing stage and discussions with my supervisor about the analysis, I went through a set of personal, methodological, ethical and theoretical questions as I was thinking forward and considering the structure of the thesis and the word limit. I could not possibly explore all the themes in the thesis. Those questions were as follows:

- Am I providing an accurate and rigorous interpretation of the participants' classroom practices and views?
- Ethical issues: how to describe the participants' practices fairly and simultaneously being analytical and accurate in my analysis?
- What do I want to argue in my analysis? What are my main arguments?
- Which data extracts can illustrate better my argument?
- What aspects of the teachers' classroom practices are important to bring in to the social and political discussion on language in education of Timor-Leste?

These questions shaped the data extracts, data analysis and respective theoretical concepts I selected. At that stage I established the following analytical themes and theoretical concepts:

-The sequential structure and interactional practices by using the IRF interactional model

-Bridging the world of the text with the children's world by using Blommaert's notion of scales

-The use of two languages Portuguese and Tetum by framing it as code-switching practices

This questioning process was important to understand my active role as a researcher with the ability to select and make decisions from the findings. However, I was still unsure how these themes could be connected in the overall thesis structure.

All this illustrates how the interpretive process can be as Erickson (2004) describes it “smooth, coherent, and algorithmic” but also “turbulent, serendipitous, and idiosyncratic” (p.487). The choices and decisions made were not neutral, but grounded on my interpretation of the participants’ views and of the literature reviewed. As Erickson (2004) also states: “Temperament, prior experience, all sorts of personal idiosyncrasy enter into the research process, and we should not be pretending otherwise” (p.489-90).

In a further stage of the data analysis process, around May 2014, re-reading Erickson’s article on ‘Demystifying data construction and analysis’ was very helpful in increasing my awareness of my data interpretation process. He refers to the process of analysing the data sources as a way of finding patterns:

“One way to think of the progressive problem-solving process in qualitative data construction and analysis is to see it as trying on alternative ways of parsing a data corpus until one finds a line of “best fit” in the parsing that also accounts for every item of data in the corpus”. (2004, p.490)

He mentions two strategies of parsing transcripts of classroom interactions: bottom-up and top-down analysis. In the first one, bottom-up, the researcher divides the interaction in conversational turns and assigns descriptive codes to the different parts. In the second one, top-down, the researcher would listen repeatedly to the audio-recordings, review the transcripts and describe what s/he was observing on the transcripts – “a simulacrum of fieldnotes” (2004, p.491). Erickson (2004) follows a top-down approach as he learnt from his mentors and because that is how he assumes social actors do it:

“it usually works better to parse analytically from whole to part and then down again and again, successively identifying subsequent next levels and their

constituents at that level of contrast than it does to start by trying to identify parts first and then work up analytically from there". (p.491)

The two strategies mentioned in Erickson's article enabled me to examine my own interpretive process and analytical themes and ponder on my strategies. Moreover, it helped me to distinguish which could be the highest analytical category and which could be the lower categories. The first consideration was that my interpretive analysis had started from a bottom-up perspective with the description of the interactions by coding the interactional turns using the IRF model. This powerful model of classroom interaction was the starting point to engaging with the classroom data sources. Despite being a common pattern in classrooms around the world, I focused on looking at this linguistic structure as a situated practice shaping the hierarchical relationships between teachers and pupils. For instance, fieldnotes were a valuable source of data to illustrate this pattern and hierarchical relationships in the different lessons I had observed.

However, there was the intuitive feeling that there was one missing link or taking Erickson's words: "What were teachers and pupils doing in the classroom?". Thinking of the thesis structure I also question myself: How will these chapters of data analysis be connected to each other in the whole thesis?

With these questions in mind I realised that I had "to make a leap upward in the analysis to a top-level parsing" (Erickson, 2004, p.491) in order to explain what the participants were doing with the IRF conversation structure. Finding a higher analytical category rather than the IRF conversation structure was needed in order to explain the teachers' and pupils' behaviour in the classroom in connection with the language policy in-education.

Approaching the data by following the two strategies mentioned by Erickson, as parsing the data sources firstly from bottom-up and then top-down, I found a line of "best fit": talking about the textbook in Portuguese language. Teachers and pupils were

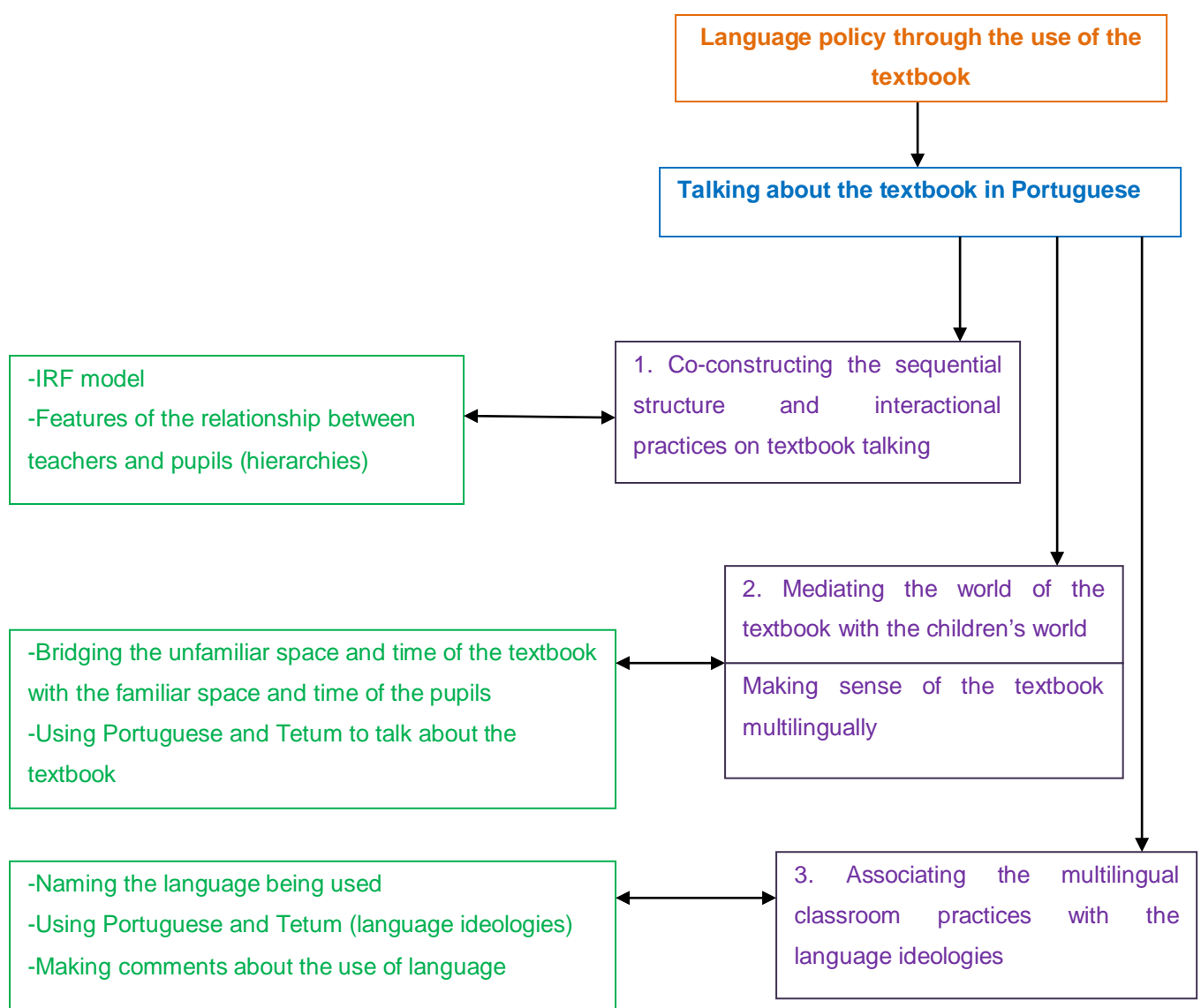
doing the lesson in the classroom not to accomplish the IRF pattern, but to mediate and achieve the meaning of the textbook. The IRF occurred within the category of talking about the textbook. For instance, listening and watching the video-recording again it was clear to distinguish that the IRF pattern did not occur in such a systematic way when talk was not about the textual content towards the end of the lesson.

In framing these two approaches to data sources my two concerns of building my arguments from the data findings and answering the initial research questions have often been present. Some of the themes were developed from my observations in which I looked at how language mediated the construction of relationships between teachers and pupils, and the co-construction of knowledge and language learning. In addition, another theme included in my research questions and in the data sources I analysed were the language beliefs and views of teachers and policymakers regarding language policy in-education. During the interpretive process I questioned myself about the ways in which I could emphasize that theme in my thesis in connection with the other chapters. I decided that the third chapter would focus on the language ideologies shaping the classroom practices and in the discourses of policymakers. In this way, I ended up with three data analysis chapters which were connected through the idea of language policy as shaping the classroom practices through the use of textbooks in Portuguese.

Figure 8 below illustrates the categories I established for this thesis. Although I focused on one whole analytical category and other smaller parts running from that category, I am aware that possibly there could be other higher or smaller categories if the parsing process was to be continued. I had found firstly that the category “talking about the textbook in Portuguese” (blue letters) could be the higher category that could link the three lower analytical categories identified as (1), (2) and (3) in the purple boxes. Under these analytical categories there were also those in the green boxes which I identified as the lowest analytical categories. The highest analytical category would be “Language policy through the use of the textbook” (orange letters) since the

aim of this doctoral study was to investigate how language-in-education policy shaped participants' linguistic practices in the classroom. The use of textbooks in the classroom was just one of the ways in which language policies shaped people's practices. The selection was made taking into account the kinds of data sources I had and the literature review I came across during my doctoral studies.

Figure 8: Parsing the analytical categories



The bottom-up approach was the one I knew how to do first, and it was a useful perspective to start with since it allowed me to find other analytical themes (purple letters). Yet, it needed to be complemented with a top-down approach. Further parsing down or up could certainly be continued, but I consider that this parsing was enough to link the different analytical categories I found.

The transcription process, constructing the data, analysing the data, connecting the different data sources and selecting them for the thesis, in order to construct a coherent argument of the researcher's views of the participants' understandings of language issues in their world, is a methodical and extended process. As the analysis of different data sources developed, choices about what would and would not be included in the thesis had to be made. These choices were guided by the research questions, the kinds of analytical themes I found, and consideration of which topics would be relevant to the debates in Timor-Leste on language policy in-education and multilingualism and to the teachers I investigated.

I explore these themes in three data analysis chapters as follows:

- Chapter 8 – Construction of social relationships: The authority of the textbook and analysis of the text-oriented discourse in the classes
- Chapter 9 – Bilingual education ideology in talk about the textbook: two languages complementing one another
- Chapter 10 – Scale-jumping in textbook mediation as making bridges between textual knowledge and the pupils' worlds

As mentioned above, these chapters are going to be about School B, a Year 6 classroom, and about Teacher Dalia and Teacher Lucia. In the next section, these key participants are described. The selection has to do with the amount and quality of data gathered from each school which enables me to present more accurately and confidently the kinds of claims and conclusions presented in the following chapters.

7.3 Research site and research participants: School B, Teacher Dalia and Lucia with the Year 6 classroom

The observation of such a wide range of teachers at the outset of my fieldwork was important in raising awareness of different classroom practices and for selecting those relevant to answering my research questions. However, for this doctoral thesis, I focused only on the data collected from the private school and the classroom practices of two teachers of Year 6. The concentration on one school was due both to the value of their views being suitable for the research questions that guided this study and the amount of data which consistently supported the kinds of arguments I was constructing. The data collected from these two teachers enabled me to provide an accurate description of their classroom patterns and their perspective of their practices which was also suitable for the research questions that guided this doctoral study. Next I describe briefly the School B setting, the Year 6 classroom and the two teachers selected to be in the data analysis chapters. The following information derived from the classroom observations, fieldnotes, video-recordings and interviews with the teachers and the general director of School B.

7.3.1 School B and the Year 6 classroom

School B is located in the capital city of Timor-Leste, Dili. In order to protect the name of the real school, I have been referring to it as School B, and I carefully selected information to cover its real name. The school started to be an informal meeting of people in the last years of Indonesian occupation as part of a small project with twofold goals: to teach Portuguese and to attend to the needs of families by providing an education to their children. These people, teachers and children did not have classrooms in which to have their lessons. This happened later on with the construction of a flat building with six small classrooms for children from Year 1 to Year 6. However, with the increased number of families wanting a place for their children in this school after independence, the school looked for sponsorship to expand its facilities. The

sponsorship was found, and the school was expanded with the construction of another five classrooms with a library in a nearby location. There is also the idea of expanding this school in order to have a lower number of pupils per class. Moreover, the general director would like to expand it to Year 9 and improve the school organisation.

The classroom of Year 6 had 46 pupils, 21 boys and 25 girls. They were 12 and 13 years old. According to the headteacher, many parents of the children who attended this school worked as civil servants in Dili. The textbooks used in this classroom were written in monolingual Portuguese. However, there were not enough textbooks for everybody. Many books were kept in a locked cabinet in the classroom; some pupils had the textbooks with them and seemed to have permission to take them home.

The use of Portuguese is written in the constitution of the school since one of the reasons for the construction of this school was to teach Portuguese; and thus Portuguese was the language expected to be used as the medium of instruction. Yet, the general director does not disregard Tetum which he describes as a valuable language in Timor-Leste. He supports the development of Tetum and the idea that every East-Timorese ought to know both Tetum and Portuguese as stated in the language-in-education policy documents.

7.3.2 Teacher Dalia: Portuguese Language subject

Teacher Dalia was the teacher of Portuguese Language subject. She has been teaching in School B since 1998. The school needed people who could speak Portuguese and Teacher Dalia was invited to join due to her good Portuguese proficiency. Initially, she had training with some Portuguese teachers from the Escola Portuguesa (Portuguese School), and then she attended a university course from 2005 to 2009 to become a teacher. At the time of the fieldwork, she was teaching two classes from Monday to Saturday, in the morning a Year 4 classroom, and in the afternoon two Year 6 classrooms with the subjects of Portuguese Language, Tetum Language, Religion and Arts. Regarding her personal life, she said she had learnt

Portuguese in a Catholic school until Year 3. Her schooling was interrupted by the Indonesian invasion in 1975. She denied knowing how to speak Bahasa-Indonesia, and said she used both Portuguese and Tetum at home and in school with her colleagues. Below I provide a vignette drawn from my fieldnotes to describe some of the classroom practices I observed in teacher Dalia's classroom.

Vignette 2: The classroom practices of teacher Dalia

Teacher Dalia was at the centre of classroom processes of teaching and learning. She conducted the classroom activities and led the classroom discourse. Portuguese language was the medium of instruction of lessons of Portuguese. The lesson organisation consisted invariably of 4 stages: reading a textbook, looking for unknown words and building a glossary, answering questions about the textbook, and correction of those activities on the blackboard for the whole class. The textbook was read individually, in pairs (as a role play) and/or by the whole class in chorus. The questions about the text were either taken from the textbook or created by the teacher. They were asked verbally and they would be answered individually and/or then in chorus. Sometimes the teacher would write the questions about the text on the blackboard and pupils would take them as homework. They would bring them to the next lesson and give their notebook for the teacher to correct. The correct answers from the glossary list or from the question-and-answer drills written on the blackboard had to be copied down by the pupils into their notebook, so that they could study the answers at home. Some pupils, who were not taking the textbook home, in order to have access to the textbook afterwards, would also copy the textbook into their notebooks.

With regard to the pupils of Year 6, the teacher said that overall they were reasonably well behaved. However, she made the distinction between the behaviour and skills of girls and boys. Boys were often described as misbehaved, disobedient and had difficulties in learning, whereas the girls were well behaved, compliant and good learners. Teacher Dalia said she struggled when pupils were noisy.

7.3.3 Teacher Lucia: *Environmental Studies* subject

Teacher Lucia was the teacher of Environmental Studies. She considered herself a speaker of Tetum-Terik and Tetum-Praça which are two varieties of Tetum language. Before Timor-Leste was invaded in 1975 by Indonesia, she was undertaking her studies in Portuguese language. During that foreign occupation, she was supporting the Timorese Resistance in the mountains by supplying food to the forces near the border with West Timor. Another role that she also undertook was the teaching of children and adults. Tetum and Portuguese were the medium of instruction. However, she was caught by the Indonesians and as a punishment she was deported to a distant mountain area where she was before. She said she could not refuse or she would be killed by them. In 1979, as the Indonesian system was lacking teachers in that rural area, she was told to provide teaching there. Bahasa-Indonesia was the medium of instruction. In 1986, she was ordered to go and study in Dili for three years in order to take the degree as a primary school teacher. She had been teaching in Bahasa-Indonesia until 1999. At the time of my fieldwork, she was teaching in School B in the afternoon, and in the morning she was in another school teaching Mathematics. She also had an overloaded schedule. Below I provide a vignette drawn from my fieldnotes to describe some of the classroom practices I observed in teacher Lucia's classroom.

Vignette 3: Classroom practices of teacher Lucia

Teacher Lucia was at the centre of classroom processes of teaching and learning. She conducted the classroom activities and led the classroom discourse. The process of teaching and learning Environmental Studies consisted in general of the following activities: teacher or pupils writing the text from the textbook on the blackboard; pupils copying the text into their notebooks; pupils quietly reading the text on their own; teacher asking a pupil to read the text aloud; teacher talking about the text; teacher asking oral questions about the text; pupils answering in chorus or individually; teacher writing questions about the content on the

blackboard; pupils asking individually to write the answer on the blackboard; praying at the end of the day; pupils leaving the classroom by bringing the teacher's hand to their foreheads and asking for her blessing; a group of pupils scheduled to clean the classroom at the end of the day.

With regard to the Year 6 classroom, teacher Lucia described them as undisciplined, noisy, inattentive and full of play. She used several strategies to keep them attentive: controlling their behaviour and work by asking them to be quiet, walking around to check their work, reprimanding them in both Portuguese and Tetum, asking questions to pupils who seemed distracted, sending pupils to the blackboard. For her, a good pupil has to sit straight, be quiet, listen to the teacher, pay attention to the lesson, raise their hand before saying something, stand up to answer the teacher, correctly answer the teacher's questions, and be self-disciplined.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have described the development of the interpretive process involved in this doctoral study. Following Erickson's (2004) idea of interpretive process as 'progressive problem-solving' (p.486), I have shown how I transcribed and organised the different data resources generated from the fieldwork. I have also attempted to explain in depth and with as much reflexivity as possible my analytical process, describing the ways in which I made connections between the analytical categories I found in my data sources and the theoretical concepts I came across in my readings. I have also described the key participants in which the following data analysis chapters are drawn on.

These two methodological chapters and the appendices demonstrate the practices I engaged in while conducting ethnographic research. They give an account of the processes involved in the data collection and the issues arising along with my approach to data transcription, data organisation and data analysis in this study. These chapters and the appendix lay the foundations for the data analysis chapters, Chapter 8, 9 and 10, which now follow.

CHAPTER 8: Construction of social relationships: The authority of the textbook and analysis of the text-oriented discourse in the classes

Introduction

This is the first of three data analysis chapters. In this chapter, I show the high status given to the text in Portuguese, and I describe the linguistic practices and the sequences of talk about text. I focus in particular on the use of language in constructing social relationships in the classroom. I draw on the concepts of participant structure by Philips (2001), IRF by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and participant-related code-switching (Auer, 1984) to describe and explain the interactional practices of pupils and teachers in the classroom. Since this is a bilingual classroom, I have taken into account each participant's linguistic repertoire and their positioning in relation to the language of the text as well as participation structures. I provide an analysis of participants' practices in three different sections as shown below.

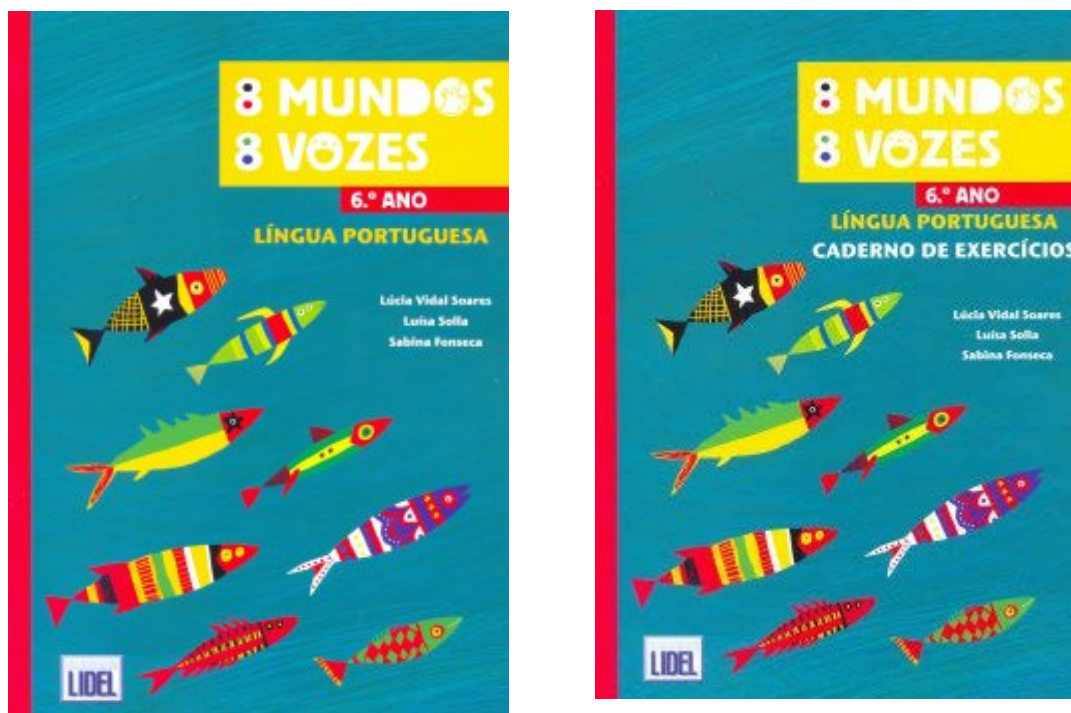
In section 8.1, I consider the high status given to the text in Portuguese in and through the language practices of teachers Dalia and Lucia and the pupils in their classroom. In section 8.2, I focus on the choral response of pupils as one of the main features of the participant structures in the teacher-led discourse. I do this with reference to a lesson with teacher Dalia. In 8.3, I focus on the patterns of the classroom discourse, also referring to teacher Dalia's class. My description and analysis are based on my fieldnotes, audio- and video-recordings. In the transcripts, Tetum is represented graphically in bold format, while Portuguese is in normal format.

8.1 Constructing the high status of the text: “*They started by opening the book*”

A key literacy event in the Year 6 classroom with Teacher Dalia was talk around the textbook in Portuguese. The textbook was entitled: “8 mundos, 8 vozes” (“8 worlds, 8 voices”). It had been written by Portuguese authors based in a university in Portugal

(Lúcia Vidal Soares, Luísa Solla and Sabina Fonseca) for a publisher in Portugal, LIDEL. There was also a book of exercises and a teacher's book. These were the pieces of information that I was able to gather about the textbook. The cover of the textbook is shown in Figure 9 below. It was brightly coloured with pictures of fishes on a blue background. The pattern on each of the fishes indexed the flag of a different nation-state where Portuguese is also an official language, namely Timor-Leste, Brazil, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola, and Portugal.

Figure 9: The cover of the textbook and of the exercises textbook



Below, I describe some of the teaching/learning activities I observed taking place around the text and I indicate what kinds of behaviour pupils were expected to engage in around the text.

8.1.1 Ways of reading the text

Reading was usually the first activity. I observed teachers and pupils reading the text in different ways. Sometimes teacher Dalia asked the pupils to read quietly on their own as I show in the following extract.

Extract 1

They started opening the book, and a few minutes later she said: “Vão fazer a leitura silenciosa. A leitura silenciosa é?” (You are going to do silent reading. Silent reading is?). Some pupils replied in chorus: “Ler com os olhos” (Reading with eyes). The teacher added: “Ler com a vista” (To sight reading). (Fieldnotes, 30/04/2012)

The reading in silence mentioned in Extract 1, and the act of ‘reading with eyes’ implied a need for concentration by pupils so that they were able to read and understand the textbook on their own. Pupils were expected to give full attention to the textbook. This way of reading the text consisted of an opportunity for pupils to practice individually. At other times, teacher Dalia read aloud the text by herself to the pupils as illustrated in Extract 2 from my fieldnotes.

Extract 2

She told them to be quiet and that she would start reading: “Agora vão ouvir a professora ler. Vão acompanhar a leitura” (Now you’re going to hear the teacher reading. You [should] follow the reading). She started reading, the pupils were making some noise, so she stopped reading and said: “Shh, a professora lê” (Shh, the teacher is reading). (Fieldnotes, 07/05/2012)

By reading to the pupils she was providing them with a model of reading aloud and accessing the text. It was important to her that the words of the text were read aloud correctly by the pupils. On another occasion, teacher Dalia asked pupils to read

in chorus. The classroom was arranged in four rows of chairs and tables. The following extract from my fieldnotes illustrates the point when she asked pupils in the different rows to read in chorus.

Extract 3

A few minutes later the teacher stood by the door, and asked the row by the door to start reading aloud: “Vá esta fileira” (Come on, this row). Pupils from that row started reading altogether in chorus. (...)

When they had finished reading aloud the teacher asked the next row to continue reading it aloud as well. She said in Portuguese: “Esta. Vocês.” (This one. You.). They started reading aloud in chorus. (Fieldnotes, 28/05/2012)

As we see from the Extract above, different groups of pupils read parts of the text aloud and in unison. In teacher Dalia's views, this reading procedure was an opportunity for all pupils to participate in the reading activity and for her to listen to their reading. They were 46 pupils in the classroom, so it was difficult to keep track of how they were all doing. It was also a practice where pupils could read as a group and receive support from each other in the performance of the activity. The reading aloud was thus another way of constructing the high status of the text since at times like this the whole class was expected to simultaneously direct its attention to the text.

Another way reading activity consisted of asking the pupils to do individual reading quietly in their seats, and then, afterwards teacher Dalia would ask them to read aloud individually and then to stand up and read out loud to the rest of the class. Each pupil would read only part of a text, and then the next pupil would continue from where the last one had stopped. Individual reading performances were done standing up straight, holding the book and reading in a loud voice to the whole class.

Extract 4 below illustrates the way this particular reading ritual worked and how it was enacted, with individuals standing up and reading aloud.

Extract 4

She quickly picked someone to start reading the text. The girl got up and went up to the front to read aloud for the whole class. (Fieldnotes, 30/04/2012)

They were the embodiment of expressions of respect of pupils towards the text. During this particular procedure the teacher listened carefully to pupils reading and checked that they were reading the text correctly. Reading in silence, listening to the teacher reading, reading aloud in chorus, and reading aloud individually to the rest of the class, while standing up, were explicit rituals of respect around the text which pupils were expected to perform. As in the Martin's (2003) study in Brunei, pupils' attention was constantly directed to a text. As mediators of the text, teachers such as teacher Dalia had the role of ensuring that these actions were performed by the pupils.

8.1.2 Dissecting a text, word by word, and making a 'glossary'

After the reading activity, teacher Dalia would generally do a 'glossary' activity and posed questions about words in the text they had read. This activity consisted of selecting words from the text in Portuguese that were unfamiliar to the pupils and writing lists of those words and their respective meaning in Portuguese as well. The following extract illustrates the way this activity unfolded on different occasions.

Extract 5

When he finished reading, the teacher told the class in Portuguese: "Agora meninos vão tirar palavras que vocês não conhecem. O glossário" (Now children you're going to take words that you don't know. The glossary.)

In this activity the pupils would say the words or expressions they did not know, one pupil would go to the blackboard to write the word, the teacher would tell them the meaning, and that pupils would write it on the blackboard. The rest of the classroom would copy to their notebook. (Fieldnotes, 30/04/2012)

Extract 6

The teacher then started asking questions about the text. She asked them in Portuguese: “O que vêem na gravura? (What do you see in the picture?)”. (Fieldnotes, 07/05/2012)

Extract 7

Next she explained in Portuguese to the pupils what meant it to be a teacher. (Fieldnotes, 07/05/2012)

These text-oriented activities started from reading a textbook, then involved performing different rituals, talking about the text, going through word by word as illustrated in Extracts 5 to 8. Dissecting the text by selecting words from it and then explaining their meaning in Portuguese and in Tetum were recurring practices through which status was conferred to the text in the classroom. In his research in multilingual classroom in Brunei, Martin (2003) also made the observation that this way of mediating texts gives “not only access to the content of the text and the discourse of the text, but also access to the language of the text.” (p.198) Teacher Dalia’s questions were mostly in Portuguese, but she used Tetum as well, as illustrated in Extract 8.

Extract 8

A girl asked in Tetum: “Guerrilheiro ne sa ida?” (“Guerrilheiro’ what does it mean?). The teacher replied in Tetum: “Funu nain” (Guerrilla). Imi hatene Falintil nia musica funu nain? (Do you know FALINTIL’s song about the guerrilla?). (Fieldnotes, 07/05/2012)

In this particular example, the story in the textbook was about Mozambique. She used Tetum to talk about FALINTIL, the guerrilla group of Timor-Leste, who fought in the Resistance against the Indonesian occupation. Her background knowledge of the

pupils made her think that they might know about the FALINTIL fighters up in the mountains of Timor-Leste. The use of Tetum allowed her to link the word ‘guerrilla’ from the Portuguese text, about events happening in Mozambique, to the pupils’ world in Timor-Leste. Lemke (1989) affirms that in such literacy events the text becomes a ‘participant’ as pupils are able to make connections between their own contexts and the ones mentioned by the teacher. In these multilingual classrooms where the teachers were familiar with the language of the texts, these connections were made mainly by the teacher. In Chapter 9 I look in more detail at another example of classroom interaction in which the teacher reconstructed the meaning of the text by making connections between the world of the text and the world of the pupils.

8.1.3 Copying from the blackboard text: “The classroom is for writing”

In the lessons of Environmental Studies, the text from the textbook was copied onto the blackboard since not every pupil had the textbook. There were not enough copies for everybody to have access to the text during the lesson or to take them home to study. The following extract illustrates how teacher Lucia emphasized the value of the text to the pupils.

Extract 9

Classroom interaction, 14/06/2013

161	TL	hei menino que está a falar	161	hei the boy who is talking
162		hei menino que está a falar	162	hei the boy who is talking
163		toma bem atenção	163	pay close attention
164		vê no quadro	164	look at the blackboard
165		os apontamentos daquele texto	165	the notes of that text
166		é para compreender	166	is to understand them
167		sobre o meio que nós estamos	167	about the environment we are [living] in

In Extract 9, teacher Lucia reprimanded one boy for talking, and asked him to pay attention to the written text that was on the blackboard (in Line 163). She made it clear that conversations in the classroom were not appropriate practices when a text

was presented since they hindered their learning of the text. The following extracts, Extract 10 and 11, illustrate how writing and copying the text were discursively constructed as important activities in Teacher Lucia's lessons.

Extract 10

The teacher [Lucia] saw some pupils chatting, and she said: "É para escrever e não para falar" (Now you should write and not chat). She continued writing some more on the blackboard, but she stopped a few times to quieten down the pupils who were very chatty. (Fieldnotes, 15/05/2013)

Extract 11

She [teacher Lucia] seemed to see some pupils chatting and upset with that behaviour she said in Tetum and Portuguese: "Hei la tessi lian la mate. Na sala de aula não há regra que diz que se pode conversar. A sala de aula é para escrever. A professora pergunta e vocês respondem" (Hei, if you don't chat for a while, you won't die. In the classroom there isn't a rule that says that you can chat. The classroom is for writing. The teacher asks the questions and you answer them). (Fieldnotes, 15/05/2013)

As we see in Extracts 10 and 11, teacher Lucia reprimanded the pupils and defined "chatting" or playing as inappropriate pupil behaviour. She tried to persuade them to be quiet. In Extract 10, in the utterance "Now you should write and not chat", she emphasized that during the text-oriented activity conversing was not appropriate pupil behaviour. In Extract 11, she also made explicit reference to the authority that she had over the text in relationship to the pupils, offering a strict meta-comment about what counted as appropriate interactional practice: "The teacher asks the questions and you answer them". In this way, pupils were subordinated to the teacher's mediation and to her questions about the text (Luke et al., 1983). A hierarchical learning environment was constructed through mundane practices such as these.

In the lessons of Portuguese language and Environmental Studies, a significant amount of time was allocated to the text. During that time of talk around the text, both teachers, Dalia and Lucia, controlled the interaction and determined how they wanted the text to be read and by whom, which words would be defined and how the text should be reproduced in pupils' notebook. As I described above several behaviours were expected from the pupils: reading individually in silence, reading aloud together in unison, standing up to read the text out loud, dissecting the text in words, statements and questions, and being quiet to write the text in the notebook.

These were the different ways in which texts were being constructed for pupils as being of considerable significance in knowledge-building in the classroom. According to Luke et al. (1983), the authority of textual knowledge derives from a body such as the government. It is based on and reproduces a national curriculum which is the body of knowledge that a generation of pupils is supposed to acquire. Moreover, these authors also claim that the authority of text and knowledge is related to the educational setting where it is situated. In the setting of the Year 6 classroom, the authority given to the text was produced and reproduced through everyday classroom routines such as those in teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia's classes in Timor-Leste described above. As Martin (2003) also states: "The text itself is positioned as a major authoritative 'participant' in the lesson".

Despite the authority that is increasingly being given to textbooks, Luke et al. (1983) argues that "knowledge is not, nor could it be "in the text" *solus*" (p.116). The background knowledge of the readers regarding the subject and the situation of interpretation in which they find themselves are the main determinants of the interpretation of texts and the meaning making associated with textual knowledge. Of course, in classrooms around the world, teachers are responsible for leading the construction of textual knowledge. As Luke et al (1983) put it, "by virtue of the institutionally defined authority of their role, [teachers] still control the text." (p.123). They also described teachers as "the modern day arbiters of textual knowledge"

(p.118). In this mediation of texts, the text itself can also be seen as having a role as a “participant” since it becomes the main focus of conversations between teachers and pupils (Lemke, 1989).

In the classroom in this study, the text in Portuguese was also a participant as it was the main focus of conversations between teachers and pupils, as illustrated above. These conversations about the text were mainly teacher-led. In addition, the views expressed by the general director of the school were that books, including textbooks, were a valuable resource in children’s learning. In his interview with me, he said: “Now we have to start immediately to put [books] in the children’s hands, so that they get used to books”. He also expressed worries of teachers about the maintenance of the books owned by the school. He expresses this as follows: “but they will damage the book, the family doesn’t have a house, doesn’t have a chair, doesn’t have a book shelf”. Yet, he continued arguing strongly for providing books to children as he said: “but we start it anyway, we educate the children to look after books well, to use books well, that’s it”. His main concern, expressed to me in Portuguese, was with treating the books as important resources for learning in general and for learning Portuguese in particular.

Next in 8.2 I describe the specific patterns of this classroom discourse around text in Portuguese language lessons.

8.2 Participant structure in Portuguese language lessons: “many pupils speaking in chorus”

Participant structure refers to the different possible ways in which teachers organise and control classroom interactions (Philips, 2001). The first and third participant structures described in Chapter 5 were the two most common types in the lessons of Portuguese language in this study. Here, I focus mainly on the first type in which the teacher was addressing all the pupils or one individual pupil in front of the

rest of the class. The questions were put by the teacher and pupils responded, if they knew the answer, by raising their hand. Sometimes, the teacher nominated individual pupils whether they raised their hands or not. In this type of participant structure, it is always the teachers who decide whether they talk to the whole class or an individual pupil, whether they elicit individual or choral responses, and whether they elicit voluntary or compulsory participation by the pupils.

Teacher-led discourse predominated in the Portuguese language lessons, in teacher Dalia's class. These interactions with the whole group were developed mostly around a text in Portuguese. Teacher Dalia clearly had better communicative resources in Portuguese than the pupils to talk about the text. Moreover, she determined who could talk and when pupils could talk. The following extracts illustrate a question-response drill led by the teacher after pupils had read a text entitled "A lenda do cantagalos" ("The legend of the rooster-singers"). The legend had its origins in the African nation of São Tomé e Príncipe, a former Portuguese colony. Below is my translation into English of the first two sentences of the text.

Many years ago, all the roosters in the world sought shelter in the Island of São Tomé, perhaps because it was a very beautiful land and good to live in. At dawn, when the sun broke through the clouds, they all sang together announcing a new day: "cock-a-doodle-doo!".

After the reading of the text, teacher Dalia began to pose questions around it, as shown in Extracts 12, 13 and 14 below:

Extract 12

19	TD	aqui o texto, de que se fala o texto? de que se trata o	TD	the text here, what does the text refer to? what is the text
20		texto? [4] a lenda do? do can-?		about? [4] the legend of the? of the roos-?
21	PPS	CANTAGALO [many responding in chorus]	PPS	ROOSTER-SINGERS [many responding in chorus]

Extract 13

31	TD	lenda? [4] o que é uma lenda? [3] [background chatting; some pupils calling for Birna]	TD	legend? ? [4] what is a legend? [3] [background chatting; some pupils calling for Birna]
32		shiii [3]		shiii [3]
33				
34	PP	professora, é o telefone da Gisela [2]	PP	teacher, it's Gisela's phone [2]
35	TD	o que é uma lenda? [3]	TD	what's a legend? [3]
36		quem é que pode responder? [3]		who can answer this question? [3]
37	PP	lenda [in a very lower voice]	PP	legend [in a much lower voice]
38	TD	hum? [2] história falta, história invent-? [2] inven-?	TD	hum? [2] story, what's missing, story invent-? [2] inven-?
39	PPS	inventada [many pupils replying in chorus]	PPS	invented [many pupils replyin in chorus]
40	TD	inventada, uma história inventada	TD	invented, an invented story
41		a lenda do cantagalos, canta-galos		the legend of the rooster-singers, rooster-sin-gers,
42		lenda quer dizer? história? [2]		legend means? story? [2]
43	PP	inventada	PP	invented
44	PPS	inventada [a few pupils in chorus sounding not very confident]	PPS	invented [a few pupils in chorus sounding not very confident]
45				
46	TD	inventada [2] não é de realidade, história que é	TD	invented [2] it's not reality, a story that is false, it's not
47		falsa, não é uma história verdadeira		a true story
48		mas é uma história falsa, história inven-?		but it's a false story, a story inven-?
49	PPS	inventada [many pupils saying in chorus]	PPS	invented [many pupils saying in chorus]

Extract 14

81	TD	quando as pessoas estão a dormir, 3h, 4h de	TD	when people are sleeping, 3 o'clock, 4 o'clock at dawn,
82		madrugada, as pessoas estão a dormir, quem é que dá		people are still sleeping, who is giving the first alarm, is
83		o sinal primeiro, é o?		the?
84	PPS	GALO	PPS	ROOSTER
85		[almost the whole class saying it loudly in chorus]		[almost the whole class saying it loudly in chorus]
86	TD	é o galo que desperta as?	TD	it is the rooster who wakes up the?
87	FP	pessoas	FP	people
88	PPS	pessoas [a few other pupils saying it afterwards in	PPS	people [a few other pupils saying it afterwards in
89		chorus]		chorus]
90	TD	as?	TD	the?
91	PPS	PESSOAS [almost the whole class saying it loudly in	PPS	PEOPLE [almost the whole class saying it loudly in
92		chorus]		chorus]

As these transcripts illustrate, the most common initiation moves in the lessons involving talk around text were the use of questions and prompts as elicitation. Teacher Dalia initiated and managed the classroom discourse, leading the topics development around the lesson content and eliciting answers from the pupils. Since she did not name any pupil in particular, she was expecting to hear a response from all pupils in

unison. Pupils thus responded as a collective. The choral responses were elicited via three types of cues by teacher Dalia:

1. Display questions (Extract 12)
2. Words or utterances for pupils to complete (Extract 13, Line 38; Extract 14, Lines 87 and 90)
3. Repetition of the same question until she had the choral response (Extract 13, Lines 38, 42 and 48).

By using display questions, teacher Dalia was evaluating pupils' understanding of the text since she knew the answers she would like to hear from them. In order to help them to answer the question she provided a prompt using part of the word they needed to complete her utterance as in Extract 12 (From Line 19 to 21) and Extract 13 (From Lines 38-45 and 49). She started with the word, did not complete saying it and waited for pupils to complete it as they did afterwards. She tended to say the last word or syllable with rising intonation to emphasize her questioning. Prompting the word or utterances for pupils to complete in this way, allowed them to participate in the lesson and provide the correct answer.

Teacher Dalia often repeated the same question as Extract 13 and 14 illustrate. In Extract 14 for instance, only one girl responded correctly to her question (Line 87), but teacher Dalia seemed not to be pleased and repeated the same question until she heard almost the whole class giving the answer in chorus (Lines 88 and 91). She seemed to want to be sure that the whole class knew the answer. Having a choral response and the correct answer could assure her that everybody was following the progression of the lesson. The pupils' answers consisted mostly of one- or two-word responses (eg.: Extract 12, Line 21; Extract 13, Line 38; Extract 14, Line 84 and 91). She insisted on the same question about the same word(s) until she heard the whole class replying correctly to her.

Participation in chorus by the pupils was thus one of the features of the organisation of the teacher-controlled interaction in this Year 6 classroom. She led the

lesson, and the pupils had to follow her and show their learning of the lesson content by answering her questions. As I have shown, she used different strategies to prompt pupils' choral responses, and pupils seemed to be aware that they were expected to participate in the choral responses. The number of voices participating in the chorus seemed to give to the teacher an idea of whom or how many pupils were following what she was saying. She expected the majority of the pupils to participate on the choral response. All pupils seemed to be aware that they should not only participate in the choral response, but when they participated in it, they should provide the correct answer to the teacher.

By joining in the chorus, pupils could conceal their language difficulties, but perform their role as good pupils who understood the lesson and could answer the teacher's questions even if they did not understand them. Teacher Dalia seemed to be aware that the participation of many pupils occurred because of these cues, and not because pupils were confident in responding to her. Her aim was to hear as many voices as possible participating in the choral response with a correct answer. Pupils seemed to be familiar with the way she was teaching. The tests held afterwards were the way for teacher Dalia to check individually who had understood and learnt Portuguese as she pointed out to during an after class conversation. It was hard for her to evaluate who was learning in a class of 46 pupils, hence her reliance on the tests.

Choral response was the most significant participatory structure in Portuguese lessons. The interactional practices of choral response in this Year 6 classroom were a type of "safetalk" strategy (Hornberger and Chick, 2001). Hornberger and Chick argue that, as a safetalk strategy, choral response serves both social and academic functions, but I argue here that, in this classroom, it serves the first function described by Hornberger and Chick, but not the academic one. Concerning the social function in this Year 6 classroom, teacher Dalia used it to facilitate pupils' participation and to evaluate their understanding of the content. However, she did not use it to avoid displays of lack of linguistic knowledge or that of her pupils' lack of communicative

resources, namely the 'academic' dimension of safetalk. She assumed the role of expert in Portuguese and took responsibility to transmit that knowledge to the pupils. When she was insecure about her language knowledge she used other linguistic resources she had available in the classroom as I will illustrate below in Extract 15. Choral response was one of the main patterns of interaction in the classroom, but it was employed in order to help pupils to participate in the lesson and not necessarily to conceal the teacher's lack of linguistic knowledge.

Pupils and teachers had the necessary culture knowledge about how choral response ought to function. As Erickson (1977) discussed the cultural knowledge necessary for participating in classroom routines as follows: "What one has to know in order to act appropriately as a member of a given group includes knowing not only what to do oneself but also how to anticipate the actions of others" (p.64). Pupils understood and could identify what type of participant behaviour was expected of them by observing the teacher's cues to signal their participation or to guide their peers' participation. Their role as 'good' pupils was to follow the teacher's knowledge-building practices and answer to her questions correctly in unison. The social ritual of teacher initiation and choral response was constructed and maintained collectively by the teacher and pupils. The teacher's questions demanded correct answers from the pupils who seemed not to have much choice but to join the recitation routines although they might not be confident about what they were saying. Pupils participated in the choral response because avoiding participation or participating with a wrong answer in public, could position them as a bad pupil. This showed a relationship of complicity between teacher and pupils where each one performed their roles. Teacher Dalia found, in the choral response, a strategy to manage the teaching and learning of Portuguese to this overcrowded class. She was responsible for transmitting knowledge to 46 pupils and struggled to concentrate on individual progression learning of each one of them every day.

Although she communicated with fluency in Portuguese, teacher Dalia told me that her Portuguese was not good. She was sometimes unsure about her linguistic knowledge in Portuguese. I did observe one situation in which she was struggling to provide the meaning of a word in Portuguese, then she turned to me, as observer of the class, for the Portuguese language resources she needed. I was positioned as another resource of Portuguese in the classroom in that situation. The following extract was taken from the activity around a text about a legend from São Tomé e Príncipe, as already mentioned before. As I showed in 8.1, explaining and building an understanding of the meaning of words were among the activities involved in reading comprehension. This following extract illustrates a situation in which the meaning of a word did not match what the teacher was expecting it to be and it shows how she resolved the situation.

Extract 15

111	TD	"as conversas tinham-se tornado tão azedas"	TD	the conversations have become so bitter
112		"azedas" quer dizer amargas, amargas		bitter means harsh, harsh
113		azedas [3]		bitter [3]
114		aze-, 'Z' [2] 'Z' não é 'S'		bitt-, 'TT' [2] 'TT' and not 'D'
115		ai, 'Z'-'E' [3]		ai, 'TT'-'E' [3]
116	FP	zed, zed	FP	tter, tter
117	TD	aze-das [10] azedas [5]	TD	bi-tter [10] bitter [5]
118	BI	azedas, professora [4]	BI	bitter, teacher [4]
119	TD	"tão azedas" [6]	TD	"so bitter" [6]
120		"azedas" quer dizer o quê? [5]		what does bitter mean? [5]
121	FP	planta [inaudible]	FP	plant [inaudible]
122		[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]		[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]
123	TD	"azedas" não é planta	TD	bitter is not a plant
124		"azedas" né		bitter, right
125		"azedas" é planta?		is bitter a plant?
126		[TD asking puzzled about what the pupil said] [2]		[TD asking puzzled about what the pupil said] [2]
127	PP	professora	PP	teacher
128	TD	o quê? [3]	TD	what? [3]
129		o quê é que significa "azedas"? [13]		what does "bitter" mean? [13]
130		o que é significa "azedas", meninas?		what does "bitter" mean, girls?
131	PPS	planta hortense [2 girls in chorus]	PPS	a horticultural plant [2 girls in chorus]
132		hum?		hum?
133	PPS	planta hortense [2 girls in chorus]	PPS	a horticultural plant [2 girls in chorus]
134	TD	"azedas", planta hor-? azedas? [TD puzzled]	TD	"bitter", hor- plant? bitter? [TD puzzled]

135		azedas né dehan be [5]		This [word] bitter means, is like [5]
136		tornou-se pior, ah, pior		it become worst, ah, worst
137		talvez azedas [4] quer dizer [4]		maybe bitter [4] it means [4]
138		onde estão “azedas”? em que linha?		where is “bitter”? in what line?
139		qual linha? [7]		what line? [7]
140		linha ida né be? [3]		what line is it? [3]
141	FP	quinze	FP	fifteen
142	TD	hum?	TD	hum?
143	FP	quinze [2]	FP	fifteen [2]
144	TD	“as conversas iam-se tornando tão azedas”	TD	“the conversations were turning so bitter”
145		quer dizer as conversas eram [3]		it means that the conversations were [3]
146		o quê? [3]		what? [3]
147		“as conversas eram tão azedas” quer dizer		“the conversation were so bitter” means
148		conversa né né manas liu [2]		this conversation was very heated [2]
149		mais o quê, professora? [TD addressing me]		more what, teacher? [TD addressing me]
150		azedas? mais? [3]		“bitter”? more? [3]
151		mais? [4] quer dizer [inaudible]		more? [4] it means [inaudible]
152	I	sim [2]	I	yes [2]

Extract 15 illustrates an issue around the word “bitter”. The meaning of the word “bitter” according to the dictionary was a plant. In this particular context, the meaning initially given by teacher Dalia was correct (“harsh” on Line 112), but she got confused by what one of the girls told her (From Lines 121 to 125). Then she tried to confirm this meaning with other girls who told her that it was a plant as well (Lines 131 and 133). She seemed to trust these girls who she often constructed as good pupils and often participated in the lessons. These girls had a dictionary which they were using to look up the words teacher Dalia was asking for. She continued to be confused after the answer was given by them (From line 134 to 145). She then used Tetum to explain the meaning of “bitter” (Line 148). After this, she confirmed the meaning of the word with me (Line 149) as the last source of linguistic knowledge.

Most of the time, explaining the meaning of the words involved providing a synonym in Portuguese for the pupils. Portuguese was definitely the target language. Teacher Dalia had better command of Portuguese than the pupils and provided most of the synonyms, and she tried to be accurate in the synonyms she was providing. However, some of her linguistic insecurities around Portuguese language were displayed in this activity. She made use of the different linguistic resources she had in

the classroom such as: repeating the same word, confirming with the girls' and their dictionary, turning to Tetum or addressing me. It seemed that she had a hierarchy of linguistic resources when she felt uncertain. She seemed to avail herself of one linguistic source first and then of another to get a response which satisfied her, depending on her level of uncertainty and the level of knowledge of each source in Portuguese. She assumed her role as a teacher of Portuguese who had the responsibility to transmit accurately her knowledge of Portuguese to the pupils. However, she was not always confident in her own language abilities, therefore she relied on the range of sources of linguistic knowledge she had available in the classroom. The girls were a reliable resource because of their level of proficiency in Portuguese. They stood out from the rest of the pupils. They were selected and positioned by the teacher as 'models' of good pupils those who after her had the best language abilities. Thus, they were legitimate leaders of the choral response. Their peers seemed to accept the role of these girls in the classroom and rely on their expertise in order to respond to the teachers' questions. These girls started using the dictionary. This, in turn, became another reliable textual resource for the class. The dictionary was a provider of meaning and it was useful for the activity of providing synonyms for the pupils. I was also positioned as a reliable resource and as an expert in the Portuguese language. I was considered to be a 'native speaker' of Portuguese since I was educated in Portuguese and as an expert in education as I was trained as a primary school teacher. When the teacher was really unsure of her Portuguese ability, of the girls' account, or of what was in the dictionary, I became the most reliable resource of linguistic knowledge. My expertise in Portuguese overtook everyone else's expertise, including that of the dictionary since my response seemed to have concluded the discussion.

8.3 IRF patterns and absence of positive feedback in Portuguese lessons

Within the participant structure described above, of teacher interacting with the whole class about the text, the dominant model of interaction was described by scholars such as the classic IRF (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) or IRE (Mehan, 1979a). As illustrated in section 8.2 the teacher led the interaction in the classroom and, in her talk around text, her initiations were accomplished via three different types of cues, and she elicited pupil responses in chorus. However, in this sequential structure, the third act in which the teacher provided feedback or comment was not explicit and was often absent. The following transcripts illustrate how the teacher responded to the pupils' choral responses. I provide examples from the lesson about the legend involving the roosters in São Tomé e Príncipe. In Extract 16, the talk was about the location of São Tomé e Príncipe; while in Extract 17, after affirming to pupils that São Tomé e Príncipe was an island like Timor-Leste, the teacher asked them about what surrounded an island.

Extract 16

100	TD	ilha de são tomé	TD	island of são tomé
101		onde é fica são tomé? onde?		where is são tomé? where?
102	MP	espanhol	MP	spanish
103	TD	hã?	TD	hum?
104	MP	espanhol [same boy]	MP	spanish [same boy]
105	TD	onde?	TD	where?
106	MP	brasil	MP	brazil
107		[inaudible]		[inaudible]
108	MP	portugal	MP	portugal
109	PPS	europa [2 or 3 pupils speaking in turn]	PPS	europa [2 or 3 pupils speaking in turn]
110	PP	brasilfa	PP	brasilfa
111	FP	europa	FP	europa
112	TD	a ilha de são tomé? ilha quer dizer, ilha quer dizer um	TD	the island of são tomé? island means, island means a
113		pedaço de terra cercada de água por todos os [2]		tract of land surrounded by water in all its [2]

Extract 17

152	TD	o mar está cercado	TD	the sea is around it
153		então vocês vão para onde, a ponte leste, o que é que		so if you go to where, to the eastern most point, what

154		há?		would be there?
155	PPS	mar	PPS	sea
156		[a group of pupils speaking in chorus]		[a group of pupils speaking in chorus]
157	PPS	[inaudible]	PPS	[inaudible]
158	TD	ponta?	TD	side?
159	PP	este [a pupil speaking in a lower voice]	PP	the most eastern side [a pupil speaking in a lower voice]
160	TD	ponta sul?	TD	the most southern point?
161	PP	mar	PP	sea
162	PP	mar	PP	sea
163	PPS	mar [saying a higher number of pupils in chorus]	PPS	sea [saying a higher number of pupils in chorus]
164	PP	mar	PP	sea
165	TD	então [inaudible] quer dizer?	TD	so [inaudible] what does that mean?
166	PP	MAR [a pupil speaking loudly]	PP	SEA [a pupil speaking loudly]
167	PPS	mar [another pupil speaking loudly]	PPS	sea [another pupil speaking loudly]
168	TD	pedaço de terra cercada de água por todos os?	TD	a tract of land surrounded of water in all its?
169	PPS	cercada de água por todos os [a small group speaking	PPS	surrounded of water in all its [a small group
170		in chorus]		speaking in chorus]
171	PPS	por todos os lados [more pupils speaking in chorus]	PPS	in all its sides [more pupils speaking in chorus]
172		[background conversation]		[background conversation]
173	TD	quem é que pode vir escrever?	TD	who can come and write [on the blackboard]?

Teacher Dalia already knew the responses to her questions and she repeated her question several times until she was heard. Extract 16 illustrates three attempts by her to prompt the correct answer from the pupils regarding the location of the country of São Tomé: firstly, she asked the question directly (Line 100 and 101); next she produced a one word utterance “hum?” with questioning intonation (Line 103); and finally she asked “where?” (Line 105). At the end of the sequence as she did not receive the response she expected, she changed the topic slightly to the concept of island. This concept of island was more familiar to the pupils since both Timor-Leste and São Tomé are island nations. The expectations of receiving correct responses from the pupils regarding the meaning of ‘island’ were greater than of the location of São Tomé in Africa. By reducing the complexity of the question she tried to increase the chances of receiving correct responses from the pupils. In Extract 17 she also prompted pupils’ correct response regarding the sea as the element surrounding an island as illustrated in Lines 152 to 154, 158, 160, 165, and finally 168. The answer she expected to receive here was the word ‘sea’; therefore she elicited questions which responses were that word. Repetition and reformulation of prompts by the teacher

occurred often in this classroom due to uneven distribution of abilities in the Portuguese language.

As these two extracts illustrate, once pupils gave the answer she wanted, teacher Dalia tended to continue with the lesson and rarely provided positive feedback to her pupils. According to Mehan's (1979a) model of classroom discourse, after pupils' reply, a positive evaluation was established as necessary for pupils to perceive whether their response was correct or not. The evaluation would indicate the teacher's appreciation of pupils' responses and confirmed that she had heard and accepted positively their response. However, she rarely expressed an appreciation of pupils' responses. The two extracts illustrate that after pupils had answered teacher Dalia's questions, she proceeded to the next turn lesson. She did not evaluate their response or provide an explicit comment on their answers. She rarely gave compliments or praise to pupils in the lessons I observed. Yet, she gave negative feedback. For instance, "Hum" was uttered here (Extract 16, Line 103) as a question and with a rising intonation to indicate that their answer was not the correct one and she repeated the question (Line 105). This monosyllabic word and her repetition of the question could be seen as verbal feedback, of a negative nature. Pupils understood that if the teacher provided a negative feedback it would mean that their answer was not correct; thus they had to provide her with another response.

Mehan (1979a) emphasizes that evaluation is one of the features which differentiate conversations that occur in the classroom from other conversations in our everyday life, but it was not a distinguishable feature of interaction in this Year 6 classroom. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) affirm that if a feedback does not occur, it means that the teacher suspended it for some strategic purpose. They give an example of a teacher who withheld feedback continually to try to imply to pupils that there are not always correct answers. However, this suspension of feedback compelled the pupils to silence since they did not see the point of responding to questions. It was difficult to find out whether the lack of feedback from teacher Dalia was part of a

specific pedagogical strategy. She did not provide clear and positive feedback which could mark the conclusion of a instructional sequence and the introduction of a new one, as Mehan argues, but by not providing negative feedback she signalled that she was going to start a new instructional sequence. Her lack of feedback contributed to the construction of a formal environment and a hierarchical relationship between her and the pupils, between her as an adult and the children. There were strict roles for each of them and explicit positive feedback was not compulsory as long as they both performed their roles.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have focused on the use of language in the classroom and in the ways in which interactional practices contributed to the construction of the relationships between teachers and pupils, especially in talk around the textbook. As I illustrated in this chapter, lessons were accomplished by following the textbook. Pupils were expected to perform certain rituals of respect towards the textbook such as standing up to read aloud from the textbook or copying it from the blackboard. These types of behaviours were indicators of the authority given to textbooks. Textbooks contained the main curriculum knowledge and they had been produced in Portuguese, one of the official languages of the East-Timorese educational system. In general, although textbooks were a valuable means of access to the curriculum, they were rather scarce in the classrooms I observed.

The participant structures of talk around the textbook in Portuguese lessons were co-constructed by teachers and pupils in an IRF sequence of interactions. Teacher Dalia led the discourse in the extracts I analysed, prompting questions and giving cues. Pupils answered in chorus and the lack of positive feedback was some of the salient features of these classroom interactions. Teacher Dalia's role was to give cues or prompts to guide her pupils to correct responses and to comment only if pupils

made 'errors'. Pupils were aware that they had to participate by giving choral responses. The social function of choral response and lack of positive feedback shaped the interactional patterns in this classroom giving the teaching/learning events a formal and rigid character. Proficiency in the Portuguese language was an important factor. She only allowed a small group of girls to talk and lead the choral responses.

The IRF model of classroom discourse was a helpful tool for doing detailed description of the teacher-led turn-taking in this Year 6 classroom. It also enabled me to reveal the lack of positive feedback to student responses and the prominence of the recitation mode. Close analysis of the classroom interactions enabled me to demonstrate the ways in which the talk organised around the textbook in Portuguese contributed to the construction of hierarchical and asymmetrical relationships between the teachers and the pupils. However, since this model was not designed originally to link the interactional order with the social and ideological order, to go beyond description and to deepen my analysis of these interactional practices, I needed to take account of the language-in-education policy context in post-independence Timor-Leste and wider language ideological debates and processes taking place in this new nation.

During the teaching of textual knowledge, teacher Dalia controlled the classroom discourse and her pupils had no choice but to collude with her interactional practices. Yet, I observed that when the teaching and learning of the text in Portuguese was over, the interactions in the classroom did not necessarily follow a rigid participatory structure. There was a distinct change of interactional structure in the Portuguese lessons in this Year 6 classroom when the talk about text was finished: there was a shift from a quieter classroom full of pupils following the teacher's lead mostly through the medium of Portuguese, to a louder classroom characterised by simultaneous conversations between pupils, or between pupils and teacher Dalia, in Tetum, the language in which everybody seemed to be more comfortable with.

CHAPTER 9: Bilingual education ideology in talk about the textbook: two languages complementing one another

Introduction

In this second chapter of data analysis, I describe the language ideologies guiding the bilingual classroom practices of teacher Lucia. I also link them with language ideologies expressed by policymakers in their comments about language in policy texts. I draw on the notions of participant-related code-switching, metacommentary and language ideology. I argue that, given the context of Timor-Leste, the language ideologies shaping this teacher's enactment and interpretation of language-in-education policy had significant connections with language ideologies at the level of the nation-state. In the implementation and interpretation of language-in-education policy, the ideology of languages as a fixed and separate entities informed the bilingual classroom practices of this teacher. It also informed some policymakers' views. Other ideologies of language were also revealed in the discourses of policymakers, and they were connected with their historical accounts of the processes involved in the construction of nationhood and East-Timorese identity.

The chapter is structured in the following way: In section 9.1 I describe the ways in which the use of code-switching practices in the classroom was informed by the ideology of language as fixed and discrete entity. As teacher Lucia made sense of the text in Portuguese she illustrated the ideology shaping her linguistic practices. The combination of code-switching and metacommentary provided useful theoretical orientations to analyse the language ideologies indexed by the bilingual classroom practices. The analysis of metalinguistic comments illustrates how code-switching was often accompanied by comments on language use. These comments revealed the language views and beliefs of the teacher. In 9.2 I describe the wider discourses of policymakers and the constructions of language at the nation-state level as my interviewees interpreted extracts of the language-in-education policy.

9.1. Code-switching practices and values: “We use the two languages at the same time”

In the Environmental Studies lessons, classroom discourse exchanges were mostly led by teacher Lucia. For all the pupils to have access to the textbook in Portuguese, it was usually copied from the textbook to the blackboard since not all the pupils had the Environmental Studies textbook. The text in Portuguese that I will consider here was entitled “Os transportes no meio local” (Means of transportation in the local environment) and it read as follows:

“Os transportes são um factor importante na movimentação de pessoas e mercadorias de uma região para a outra. Em Timor-Leste, o transporte de passageiros interdistritos é assegurado por biskotas.”

(Original text in Portuguese)

“Means of transportation are an important factor in the movement of passengers and merchandise from one region to another. In Timor-Leste, transport of passengers between districts is provided by biskotas (city-buses).”

(My translation into English)

In the next extracts, Extract 18 and 19, I illustrate the talk about this text and consider the use of linguistic resources by the teacher and pupils in order to unpack the meaning of the text in Portuguese. The teacher was talking initially in Portuguese and following the text regarding the topic of “means of transportation from one city to another”. In the extract below, Extract 18, bold shows Tetum being used.

Extract 18

128	TL	que transporte as pessoas utilizam para vir a	128	which transport do people use to come
129		Díli, é a bisko-?	129	to Dili, it is the city-?
130	PPS	biskota [many pupils answering in chorus]	130	city-bus [many pupils answering in chorus]
131	TL	biskotas	131	city-buses
132	MP	biskota [boy repeating loudly]	132	city-bus [boy repeating loudly]
133	PP	biskota [repeating loudly too]	133	city-bus [repeating loudly too]
134	TL	pode transportar passageiros também com	134	it can transport passengers as well as
135		seus produ-?	135	their pro-?
136	PPS	produtos [many saying in chorus]	136	products [many saying in chorus]
137	TL	não só passageiros, hã, passageiros refere a	137	not only passengers, hum, passengers refer to
138		quê? a quem? pesso-?	138	what? to whom? pe-?
139	PPS	pessoas [many pupils replying in chorus]	139	people [many saying in chorus]
140	TL	em tétum passageiros?	140	passengers in tetum?
141	FP	ema [response from a girl sitting in one of the	141	people [response from a girl sitting in one of the
142		front rows]	142	front rows]
143	TL	refere ba ce?	143	it refers to whom?
144	PPS	ema [some pupils replying in chorus]	144	people [some pupils replying in chorus]
145	TL	ema né bé sa-?	145	this people go on
146	PP	sae [repeating in the background]	146	go on [repeating in the background]
147	TL	transporte ba iha distritu ida	147	the transport from one district
148		ba distri-?	148	to another dis-?
149	PPS	distritu [some pupils replying in chorus]	149	district [some pupils replying in chorus]
150	FP	distritu seluk [saying loudly]	150	another district [saying loudly]

Extract 18 shows the first time the teacher switched into Tetum in this lesson. During my observations, I noticed that teacher Lucia often started by ‘talking the text’ in Portuguese and then she switched into Tetum in order to repeat what she had said in Portuguese. In Line 140, she asked for the translation of the Portuguese word “passageiros” (passengers) in Tetum. Teacher Lucia was asking the pupils for the translation of that word and as she put the question, she also named the language: “passengers in tetum is?”. As she named the language Tetum, pupils responded in Tetum. Switching to Tetum and naming the language functioned as a signal for pupils to use Tetum to talk about the text. Choral response was also an important feature of the interactional practices in these Environmental Studies lessons as I showed in Chapter 8 with reference to the lessons in Portuguese. Teacher Lucia’s following

question was also in Tetum and, as she elicited a more precise translation of the word “passageiros” (passengers), in Line 143, she said: “it refers to whom?”.

Portuguese and Tetum were used alternately in this classroom and named by teacher Lucia as she used them. Portuguese was the language of the text and the medium of instruction and switching into Tetum was also a way to talk about this text. As other researchers in multilingual contexts have shown, this is a common feature of multilingual classroom talk (eg. Mejía, 1994; Lin, 1999; Martin, 2003). This code-switching practice is hearer-oriented and defined by Auer (1984) as participant-related code alternation as I noted in Chapter 5. Teacher Lucia drew here on the linguistic resources and competence of the pupils as she was aware that they were more familiar with Tetum than with Portuguese, and to ensure their understanding of the text. By using Tetum she made bridges between the language of the text and the language of the pupils as she unpacked the text meaning in her interaction with the pupils. The code-switching was accompanied by an explicit reference to the name of the language which she was going to use. Highlighting switching into Tetum in this way was clearly a recurring discursive strategy as shown in Extract 18. The naming of the language and the switching into Tetum also functioned as ways to encourage pupils to respond to the teacher in Tetum as well.

Then after the interaction illustrated in Extract 18, teacher Lucia continued talking in Portuguese. The conversation focused on the means of transport inside the city area. The answer expected by the teacher included the use of the words ‘taxi’ and ‘mikrolet’. The next extract illustrates how she continued drawing attention to the language associated with those two words by attributing those words to a particular language and naming the language.

Extract 19

206	TL	tétum também mikrolet	in tetum is also mikrolet
207		taxi também pode ser tetum /2/	taxi can also be a word in tetum /2/
208		mikrolet tetum	tetum mikrolet
209		português microlet	portuguese microlet[a]
210		taxi, mikrolet, taxi , tetum	taxi, mikrolet, taxi tetum
211		é igual	it's the same
212		então utilizamos duas línguas	so we use the two languages all
213		numa só?	at the same?
214		vez	time
215		tétum é táxi , português também é tá-?	in tetum it is taxi , in portuguese too it is ta-??
216	PPS	táxi [fewer pupils answering in chorus]	taxi
217	TL	biskota	biskota
218		português é biskota	in portuguese it is biskota
219		tétum é bis	in tetum is bis
220		é só bis , é só isto bis [she went to the	it's just bis, it's just bis [she went to the
221		blackboard to write 'bis' down] /4/	blackboard to write 'bis' down] /4/
222		tétum é só bis /2/	in tetum it is just bis
223		tá aí escrito bis	you can see it is written out there bis
224		bis Same, bis Ainaro, bis Manatutu	bis Same, bis Ainaro, bis Manatutu

Extract 19 illustrates a shift in the course of the lesson. A few minutes before this interaction, the teacher was asking about the “taxi” and “mikrolet” as means of transport inside the city. Then she used those words to explicitly talk about the Tetum and Portuguese languages. In their textbook, these two means of transport appeared further on in the text, but the teacher decided to talk about them at that moment. Extract 19 illustrates an interaction regarding three means of transport used in different urban contexts in Timor-Leste: “taxi”, “mikrolet” (mini-bus), and “bis kota” or “bis” (city-bus). “Mikrolet” is a mini-bus that functions as a shared taxi which can stop anywhere to collect or drop off customers. It is also much cheaper than a taxi. “Biskota” is an inter-city bus which transports people from one district to another. These two means of transport, along with the words used to name them, were brought to Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation, and they are not used in Portugal. Teacher Lucia referred to the words “taxi” and “mikrolet” as both Tetum and Portuguese words. Then she added the comment in Portuguese: “it’s the same/ so we use at the same?/ time”

(Lines 211 to 215). This statement was an explicit metalinguistic comment which changed the interaction from talking about the text to talking about the linguistic code of two words. When “taxi” and “mikrolet” were used, she implied that those two languages were being used simultaneously as the two words ‘belonged’ both to Tetum and Portuguese.

According to Woolard (1998) explicit talk about language serves as evidence of ideologies of language. Teacher Lucia’s classroom practices of code-switching by naming the languages, attributing words to different languages and counting the languages revealed a view of languages as codes, as separated entities with boundaries and distinct systems.

Teacher Lucia’s comments on language described above highlighted her understanding of languages as distinct and countable entities. Her practices are similar to examples that are cited by Rymes (2014, p.5-7). In Rymes’ examples, metacommentaries marked a linguistic code in the classroom as being ‘foreigner’ language; whereas teacher Lucia’s explicit metacommentary functioned as a means of marking two linguistic codes, Portuguese and Tetum, as distinct but connected languages. “Using two languages at the same time” meant using a word which coexisted in Tetum and Portuguese; while they were assigned to two different languages. She also revealed here another linguistic ideology in which languages were described as being connected with one another.

As teacher Lucia continuously engaged in the bilingual use of Tetum and Portuguese she positioned these two codes at the centre of her classroom linguistic practices. At the same time, she disregarded Bahasa Indonesia in her metacommentary in relation to the word “mikrolet” (mini-bus). Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) affirm that language ideology frequently influences which “linguistic features get selected for cultural attention and for social marking, that is, which ones are important and which ones are not” (p.177). The Portuguese authors of the textbook had shaped the spelling of those two words from Bahasa Indonesia into a Portuguese spelling by

adding the letter /a/ at the end: “microleta”. Mini-buses are one of the most used means of transport and are very well known in the city of Dili. Table 4 below summarises how these two means of transportation are written and pronounced in three languages.

Table 4: shared taxi

	Bahasa-Indonesia	Tetum	Portuguese (from the textbook)
Ortography	mikrolet	mikrolet; microlet	microleta
Phonetics	[mikRɔlət]	[mikRɔlət]	[mikRɔləta]

Table 5: city-bus

	Bahasa-Indonesia	Tetum	Portuguese (from the textbook)
Ortography	bis kota bus-kota	bis	biskota
Phonetics	[bix kɔta]	[bis]	[bixkɔta]

Table 4 illustrates how the word was spelled in different ways as “microlet”, “mikrolet” or “microleta”. Images of this form of transport are shown below. These are photographs of the city of Dili taken from the internet page. There the word was written differently from the version in Portuguese textbook (“microleta”). Table 5 illustrates how the word referring to an inter-citybus has also different orthography in the three languages. The metacommentary by teacher Lucia, discussed above, pointed to the sociohistorical connection between Timor-Leste, Portugal and Indonesia.



Although she pronounced in the East-Timorese or Indonesian way ([mikrɔlet]), she assumed that it was also a Portuguese word, because it was written in the textbook. Due to the textbook being the only resource for Portuguese language, the text was acknowledged as trustworthy and an authoritative source for Portuguese, and thus the teacher brought into her metacommentary the meaning she encountered from the textbook. She then linked it to the Tetum language due to her everyday life as of the pupils where they have seen or used this mean of transportation. In fact, the origin of the word “mikrolet” is not Portuguese, but Indonesian.

The lack of reference to Bahasa-Indonesia suggests that she did not find it relevant to attribute the word “mikrolet” to that language in the teaching and learning of her subject, Environmental Studies. In the interview conducted with her at the school, she also discounted the need to refer to Bahasa-Indonesia. I asked her to comment on

the following statement from the Constitution: “Bahasa-Indonesia and English are working languages”. She responded:

Extract 20

Hoje em dia não se encontra mais. Essa [inaudible] Bahasa e Inglês é no tempo em que a UNAMET, UNAMET e UNTAET, no tempo desses. Agora já não, agora já não. Agora não se usa, usa é o tétum e o português só.

(Interview transcript in Portuguese)

Nowadays, we don't see these languages anymore. These [inaudible] Bahasa-Indonesia and English were during the time of UNAMET, UNAMET and UNTAET, during that time. Now, we don't see that anymore. Now, we don't see that anymore. Now they are not being used, what are being used are Tetum and Portuguese.

(My translation into English)

(Interview with teacher Lucia)

Extract 20 illustrates how her linguistic practices in the classroom were aligned with her interview statements. In teacher Lucia's view, the use of Bahasa-Indonesia and English was accepted during the transition period before independence, after the forces of the United Nations, such as UNAMET (United Nations Mission in East-Timor) or UNTAET (United Nations Transition Administration in East-Timor), arrived in the country in 1999. However, in 2012, at the time of my fieldwork, teacher Lucia said that these two languages were not ‘seen’ or ‘used’. She marked them as socially and educationally unimportant languages. In her opinion, Tetum and Portuguese were the valuable languages to be used and the ones worthy of attention. Also, in her interview, she emphasized the connection between these two languages when I asked her to comment on the Decree-law of the Basic Education System which is written: “The

teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese. (Page 6, Article 8)". Her response was as follows:

Extract 21

Isso é que agora há as escolas, e escolas para fortalecer essas línguas, essas línguas, para que todas as pessoas timorenses possam saber estas duas línguas, não só português, não só tétum, essas duas línguas devem acompanhar um ao outro para ter força, ter força, para não cair.

(Interview transcript in Portuguese)

That is what schools should do now, to strengthen these languages, these languages, so that all Timorese people can learn these two languages, not only Portuguese, not only Tetum, but these two languages should accompany one another in order to be strong, to be strong, and not fall.

(My translation into English)

(Interview with teacher Lucia)

Teacher Lucia argued that schooling should occur with Portuguese and Tetum in association, to support each other. She added that, if these two languages were isolated from another, they would not prevail. In this interview statement, she revealed again her language ideology regarding the two languages as complementing each other. She legitimated the joint use of Tetum and Portuguese as an obligation of the schools.

In her classroom practices, the predominant use of Portuguese signalled to the learners that this was the language of textual knowledge. Using Tetum to make sense of the text, teacher Lucia was employing a different set of linguistic resources to contrast with the language of the text, to make extra meanings. Signalling the use of

these two languages in her code-switching practices implied separating Portuguese from Tetum and evoked a view of language as bounded and distinct entities.

Her use of multilingual resources to talk about the text in Portuguese illustrates her approach to navigating the educational language policy of Timor-Leste and revealed the ideologies of language which framed her practices. Her pedagogical strategy consisted of the use of hearer-oriented code-switching. Her commitment to the current language policy reflected her prior personal history as a member of the Resistance working against the Indonesian occupation before 1999. Her personal language beliefs and her classroom practices had clearly been shaped by her participation in the wider nation-building process and she saw education as part of that process.

In order to help pupils to make sense of the textbook in Portuguese her linguistic practices involved elaborating on it in Tetum as well. As she proceeded in that way she made bridges between the language of the text and pupils' language. And, as I have shown, she also drew attention to the language that she was using by naming it. In the course of the lesson, Tetum and Portuguese were the two languages which she named most often in her explicit linguistic comments. Due to the co-official role of Portuguese and Tetum they were considered by her as two connected resources for education. She had not drawn on Bahasa-Indonesia since she did not see it as a legitimate language of education and since it had already been phased out of the education system.

Talking about the textbook in Tetum and making connections between the meanings of the text and pupils' everyday life were centred to the interactional routines I observed in teacher Lucia's class. Two compatible ideologies shaped her code-switching practices: Tetum and Portuguese were considered distinct entities with different structures, although they complemented each other. My triangulation of data sources, and my linking of the classroom recordings and interview transcripts illustrated the links between these practices and her views of language in the Timor-Leste

context. Her classroom linguistic practices were aligned with her personal interpretation of the language educational policy. Teacher Lucia's agentive role in applying language-in-education policy involved bilingual teaching using Portuguese and Tetum, as originally defined in the official language educational policy document.

In the next section 9.2, I make connections between teacher Lucia's language ideologies with the political discourses at the national level regarding the use of Tetum and Portuguese as the languages of teaching and learning.

9.2 Multiple language ideologies in education

Teacher Lucia's code-switching practices in the classroom and the ideology shaping them were understandable in the current context of language policy in Timor-Leste. Her work was part of the national project for the introduction of Portuguese and Tetum in the education system, and there was clear guidance for the use of these two languages in the classroom. Language ideologies are intertwined with the formation of nation-states (Gal, 1998). As I showed in Chapter 2, Timor-Leste's current language policy calls for a bilingual approach to education in Portuguese and Tetum. In the Decree-law of the Basic Education System it is written: "The teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese." (Page 6, Article 8). The following quotations from interviews in Extracts 22 illustrate the interpretation of the policy by two policymakers Mr. Paulo Costa and Mr. Tomás Mota and by an academic, Mr. Daniel Santos, regarding this article from the Decree-law and their comments about language in the context of teaching and learning.

Extract 22

Interview with Mr. Paulo Costa

...neste momento[ami fo] koragem ba tuir Konstituisaun, rua né tem ke ser lao hamutuk, maibé in praktis, em pratika tamba depende ba ema ida hanoring né, (...) Portantu,

koragem husi Ministériu Edukasaun nian para uza lingua rua né lao dala ida, mas depende kuando iha situasaun balu ke labarik la komprende liu tem ke ser kahur ho tétum.

(Interview transcript in Tetum)

...at this moment we encourage people to follow the Constitution, these two languages (Tetum and Portuguese) have to go hand-in-hand, but in practice, and it also depends on who is teaching, (...) So, encouragement from the Ministry of Education to use these two languages run together, but it depends on the situation if the child doesn't understand at all, the teacher has to use Tetum.

(My translation into English)

Policymaker 3 (ME)

Interview with Mr. Tomás Mota

(...) hanesan ohin ita koalia ona katak dehan ita nian pozisaun tuir português ho tetum ne'e sira rua nia nivel ne'e hanesan, entaun ita labele obriga mestre sira tem ke ho português 100 porsentu iha sala laran, maibé buat ne'e sei faze de aprosimasaun ne, faze de aprosimasaun. Livrus sira ne maka ami dehan tenta [inaudible] português hotu ona. Dala ruma sira bele le hamutuk ho alunus sira hotu português, alunus sira esplika mos bele agora dadauk, hau, ita le ho português hau bele esplika fali ho tétum mos bele iha. Ida ne'e mos bele akontese. (...) maibé ita agora ne'e se iha faze ida ke faze de konsolidasaun, ita labele obriga radikalmente, usik ba neneik, neneik neneik to'o, se to'o tempu ida ke professor hamrik iha sala de aula ne ho português hotu ona, ne'e se to'o tempu ida tan.

(Interview transcript in Tetum)

(...) so, as we were saying earlier on, I said that our position to choose Portuguese and Tetum and that these two languages are the same, so we cannot force teachers to use Portuguese 100% in the classroom, because we are still at an early stage, of approaching [our goals]. We are trying [inaudible] to have all books in Portuguese. Teachers can read with their

pupils in Portuguese, and as we are doing we read in Portuguese and explain in Tetum. This can also happen. (...) because we are now at a stage of consolidation we cannot force radical [change], but let it go very slowly until it gets to the time where the teacher is in the classroom with Portuguese only, this time will come.

(My translation into English)

Policymaker 5 (ME)

Interview with Mr. Daniel Santos

Portanto, era para pôr cada língua no seu devido lugar, enquanto línguas de instrução, a primazia devia ser atribuída às línguas oficiais. Agora no que diz respeito à qual das línguas oficiais a ser utilizada, em que âmbito, em que nível, para que disciplina, nós advogávamos desde sempre que a língua mais preparada para, digamos assim, o exercício da didáctica com todos os rigores, não é, rigor didáctico, rigor lógico, rigor de expressão linguística, etc. com mais tradição deveria ser o português. O português toma precedência quando se qual língua usar para que nível, para que âmbito, para que disciplina, etc. Com uma pequena nota que é, o tétum deve ser sempre dado a oportunidade para a sua experimentação pedagógica e didáctica, acompanhando sempre o português.

(...)

Aí ele [tétum] tem que ir aproveitando-se né do português, que já tem centenas de anos de experimentação, de experiência, tem um nível de abstracção maior, tem uma capacidade maior de transmissão, de acompanhamento da ciência e da tecnologia, portanto tétum tem um parceiro, um aliado em quem confiar para o seu futuro desenvolvimento, provado historicamente que já foi assim. E aí lembramo-nos de casos espalhados pelo mundo fora que as línguas sem prestígio internacional no encontro ou em confronto com o inglês acabam sempre por se sucumbir. E o tétum e o português tem provado exactamente o contrário, convivem, enriquecem-se e produzem um resultado tipicamente timorense.

(Interview transcript in Portuguese)

So it was to give to each language its own place, as languages of instruction, the primacy should be given to the official languages. Now concerning the official languages to be used, in what area, at which level, in what subject, we always advocated that the most prepared language, let's say, for didactic use with all the rigor, didactic rigor, logical rigor, rigor of linguistic expression, etc., with more tradition should be Portuguese. Portuguese is a priority when it is used for each level, in what area, for what subject, etc. With one small remark that is Tetum should always be given an opportunity to be experimented pedagogically and didactically, accompanied always by Portuguese.

(...)

Then Tetum has to make good use of Portuguese that has already had hundreds [of years] use, of experience, it has a capacity to express higher level of abstraction, it has an higher potential for transmission, for following science and technology. Therefore Tetum has a partner, an ally, in whom it can trust for its future development, it has been proved by history that it has been like that before. Then we remember the cases around the world when languages without international prestige eventually collapsed, and Tetum and Portuguese have proved exactly the contrary, they coexist, enrich each other and produce an outcome that is typically Timorese.

(My translation into English)

Academic

Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) state that in multilingual contexts there are often “multiple, competing, and contradictory ideologies of language” (p.177). As I indicated in Chapter 6, these policymakers and the academic were asked to comment on extracts regarding language-in-education policy. Their readings of these extracts illustrated their views on Portuguese and Tetum and disclosed some of their language ideologies. There was generally more than one language ideology underpinning their reading of the language policy.

Mr. Costa, who occupied a senior position at the Ministry of Education, argued for a flexible bilingualism involving the joint use of Tetum and Portuguese emphasizing the agentive role of the teacher in making that choice. He argued that the teachers should be empowered to choose the language to be used according to the pupils' linguistic resources and needs.

Mr. Mota was also a senior member at the Ministry of Education. He also argued for bilingual practices in the classroom, with Portuguese being the main language and Tetum being used as an auxiliary language to clarify the meaning of the text in Portuguese. Since the textbooks were in Portuguese only, he acknowledged the role of Tetum in the current stage of the language policy implementation in schools. Yet he anticipated an era when there could be monolingual teaching in which Portuguese would be the only medium of instruction in the classroom. As he put it: "let it go very slowly until it gets to the time where teacher is in the classroom with Portuguese only, this time will come".

The academic, Mr. Santos, had, from the outset, been involved in the political meetings regarding language policy in education. He also argued for bilingual education. However, he assigned primacy to the teaching and learning of Portuguese. His argument in favour of Portuguese was grounded on his perception that it was the "most prepared" language in pedagogical and didactical terms. Regarding Tetum, he also argued that it should also be used as a pedagogical and didactic "experiment", accompanied constantly by Portuguese. Tetum has never been an official language during the Portuguese or Indonesian educational system. According to him the linguistic resources of Portuguese language were more appropriate for teaching and learning than those of Tetum. Tetum's linguistic system needed to be more developed before becoming a pedagogical linguistic resource in its own right in the classroom.

Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) give an account of a similarly stigmatised view in Haiti in which the creole language, Haitian Creole, was described as having less developed linguistic structure as I mentioned in Chapter 5. Also for most of their

history, like Haitian creole languages, have been represented as inadequate for schooling and carry this stigma. Like in Haiti, the Tetum language is often represented as being inadequate for schooling and it is often believed that the development of Tetum in Timor could only be achieved by continuing to connect it to Portuguese. This view comes over clearly in the academic's statement: "Tetum has a partner, an ally in whom it can trust for its future development, proved by history that it has been like that before". According to him the historical and social intertwining of Tetum and Portuguese has always functioned well: "Tetum and Portuguese have exactly proved the contrary, they coexist, enrich each other and produce an outcome typically Timorese".

The views of language of Mr. Santos revealed two compatible ideologies of language: languages are distinct entities and structures, but due to their sociohistorical connections languages can be intertwined. Tetum and Portuguese were described as two complementary languages in which Portuguese strengthened Tetum. These views of languages clearly have implications for the status of the two languages since one of them is considered "developed" and the other one is "undeveloped", i. e., one language is defined as having "better" structure than the other. Blommaert (1994) describes this metaphorical arrangement as frustrating in the long term. As he argues:

Apart from the relative absurdity of a distinction such as 'developed-underdeveloped' for natural, widespread languages, there is the simple observation that a developed language is not a steady state object, but something dynamic. An underdeveloped language, can, therefore, never become 'developed', since the 'developed' languages themselves develop further. (p.218)

At both the classroom level and at a wider societal level in this study, there was a prevailing orientation to monolingualism with regard to teachers and learners.

Languages were also talked about as distinct entities. Moreover, bilingual education was concerned of as using one language or the other. This contributes to a notion of bilingualism constructed as two separated monolingualisms. At the classroom level on the example of Teacher Lucia, demonstrated an agentive way of reproducing the policy by valuing both the use of Portuguese and Tetum through her code-switching practices in the classroom. This response, on the ground, reflected teacher Lucia's pride in the history of her country in detaching themselves from the imposition of the Indonesian language and her commitment to the use of Portuguese and Tetum as defined in the decree-law for education. Yet, Portuguese was conceptualised as having a higher status since the language of the knowledge contained in the textbook was in Portuguese. The code-switching to Tetum was necessary in order to make connections between the language of the text and pupils' language. Although policymakers advocated substantial flexible bilingualism and space for teacher agency, Portuguese was also represented as the legitimate language for teaching and learning. Tetum was less valued and was assigned an auxiliary role in learning and teaching. There was even an expectation that there would eventually be a move towards monolingual classroom practice with Portuguese as the only medium of instruction. The interpretations of official education policies put forward by those whom I interviewed included a discourse about a subordinate role for Tetum in relationship to Portuguese. Moreover, the Tetum language was seen as not inculcated with the type of authority needed for use in education.

On the positive side, although the two languages were distinguished and were attributed different status in pedagogical terms, they were described as equally valuable and legitimate languages in relation to national identity, the history of the resistance and the independence of the country. For instance Mr. Mota, like all the other two interviewees, was also asked to comment on the extract taken from the Constitution and cited above: "Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste." (Section 13). In his response he argued for

the choice of Tetum and Portuguese as emblems of the national identity based on the history of the country. His response echoed the ones provided by other interviewees in the study. The following extract illustrates how Mr. Mota represented this relationship between language, nationhood and identity.

Extract 23

Interview with Mr. Tomás Mota

Hau hanoin nune'e decizaun ne decizaun ke nia (pause), decizaun kapaz, naton ne ba necessidades Timor-Leste, nia decizaun ke simu tétum ho português hansa línguas oficiais ba República Democrática de Timor-Leste. Hau hanoin ida ne decizaun ke ba longo prazo tamba ita hatene língua mos hansa identidade, entaun, portanto ho tétum hansa identifika ita nudar Timor oan ne, Timor oan, agora português identifica ita hansa mos ita nudar hansa mos uluk ex-kolonia, kolonia português.

(...)

Entaun Australia mos ameasa bo'ot direta, entaun ami foti ingles ne hansa nian geografik, fronteira ida, ami lalika hari fronteira ida, boarder bo'ot ida, muro Berlim ida iha Timor ocidental ho Timor-Leste nia lete, mas língua ne hansa, português ne hansa fronteira ida ba ami Timor oan.

(Interview transcript in Tetum)

I think this was a decision that (pause) it was a great decision, meeting the needs of Timor-Leste, a decision that took Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. I think like this that it was a decision based on the long term because language is like our identity, so Tetum identifies us as Timorese, now Portuguese identifies us as a former colony, a Portuguese colony.

(...)

Australia is like a big direct threat, so if we choose English, [thinking] in geographical terms, considering our borders, then we don't need to build a border, or have a Berlin wall between Timor-Leste and West Timor. But language is like, Portuguese is like a border for the Timorese.

(My translation into English)

Policymaker 5 (ME)

Mr. Mota clearly believed that the choice of the two languages was a very good decision. He believed that, in different ways, these two languages were important languages as emblems of Timorese national identity, explaining that Tetum identified the Timorese as Timorese and Portuguese language identified the past colonial history with Portugal. My interview question asked only about Tetum and Portuguese, but Mr. Mota also mentioned English language. He contrasted the choice of the two current languages with English. Australia was portrayed as a threat to the country and consequently its language represented a danger to Timor-Leste. Mr. Mota used two analogies of the “Berlin wall” and “borders” representing the Portuguese language as a mark of distinction between the national identity of Timor-Leste and Australia. He implied that, if English had become one of the official languages, then Timor-Leste would have been in danger of becoming too closely bound with Australia, a country which had supported the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste. He also seemed to be saying that Timorese people in Timor-Leste ought to be identified with a wider ‘community’ of Portuguese speakers associated with the former colonial power, Portugal. Mr. Mota gave explicit expression to the notion of languages being bound to territories and specified that, since languages were bound to a territory, they were emblems of identity for the people who lived in that territory. He believed that the choice of Tetum and Portuguese had been made thinking of the future (“in the long term”) of a nation in which Timorese people would be identified as speakers of Tetum and of Portuguese.

Mr. Mota language beliefs were connected to the “one-nation/one-language” ideology. His beliefs were grounded on the idea of nation-state unified by one common language, and as a symbol of national identity which distinguish people of a territory from another one. Language was seen as part of national identity of the Timorese people.

He also mentioned the historical reasons for the choice of Portuguese in Timor-Leste and contrasted the significance of the choice of Portuguese as opposed to Bahasa-Indonesia. The following extract illustrates how he viewed this historical connection.

Extract 24

Interview with Mr. Tomás Mota

Entaun ida ne maka ligasaun ida ke forte tebe tebes tamba ne maka ami hili portugués. E Indonesia bem, mas Indonesia foin 24 anos pronto buat ida ne ninian relasaun sidauk metin ho kompara ho 450 anos, ne hau koalia hansa ne, hau dehan ami nia estadu deside portugués ho tétum, ho portugués ne, klaro tebe tebes ne buat ida ke paz naton ona ba ami nia decizaun politika.

(Interview transcript in Tetum)

So this makes a connection that is very strong and that's why we have chosen Portuguese. And Bahasa-Indonesia well, but with it was 24 years of occupation and the connection was not strong if we compare with 450 years, and I say it like this, I say that our state decided on Portuguese and Tetum, and of course Portuguese was something good for us in our political decision at that time.

(My translation into English)

Policymaker 5 (ME)

In Extract 24, Mr. Mota described the importance of the historical connection with Portuguese. He compared timescales of the period of Portuguese colonialism with that of the Indonesian occupation. He argued that the impact of the Portuguese had been much stronger because it was a connection that had lasted longer. By bringing in this point based on timescale he justified the validity of the choice of the Portuguese language. He stressed that Portuguese was a better political decision for the country.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have described the multilingual practices of teacher Lucia. I have shown how she engaged in code-switching practices from Portuguese to Tetum which were oriented to pupils' linguistic preferences, in order to make sense of the text in Portuguese. Bridging the language of the text with the pupils' linguistic resources through code-switching between Portuguese and Tetum, labelling the language resources in use as Tetum or Portuguese, and "talking out" the text in Tetum were the linguistic practices described in this chapter.

Portuguese was the target language of education. Code-switching into Tetum was the linguistic practice which teacher Lucia, and also teacher Dalia, drew on in order to mediate the textbook in Portuguese. Pupils had higher proficiency in Tetum. Bahasa-Indonesia was a language which was still widely used in people's everyday life in Dili, but it was not used as a legitimate language in teacher Lucia's classroom. Although, there were no clear guidelines in the language-in-education policy about the use of Tetum and Portuguese, teacher Lucia's linguistic practices did not contradict the broad terms of this policy or policymakers views. Her views on language use in the classroom were connected with the interpretations of policymakers regarding the use of Portuguese and Tetum in education.

This chapter has also been devoted to an account of the political discourse of the policymakers whom I interviewed was supportive of a 'flexible' bilingual education

approach, with the responsibility for managing the use of the two official languages being assigned to the teachers. The policymakers in my study had different interpretations of bilingual education, but they constructed Tetum and Portuguese as legitimate languages in the nation-building project of Timor-Leste. As I pointed out in chapter 2, the history of Timor-Leste since Portuguese colonialism has been one in which the Portuguese language started out being a colonial language, and then became one of the official languages of the East-Timorese Resistance. Since independence in 2002, Portuguese has been constructed as a social and economically valuable language. Tetum also has considerable value, it was also a language of Resistance and it has been the lingua franca of the country since Portuguese colonial times. However, as I have demonstrated in the classroom in this study it was a language subordinated to Portuguese. Portuguese was constructed as the most valuable and legitimate language of teaching and learning, whereas Tetum was constructed as an auxiliary language. The arguments put forward to justify this included its 'lack' of preparation for use pedagogically in schools.

Overall, the views and practices of teacher Lucia in this study and the discourses of the policymakers and the academic that I interviewed about language-in-education policy in Timor-Leste were similar in nature although they had been shaped by different concerns. The classroom practices of teacher Lucia were shaped by her concern about the linguistic resources and competence of the pupils in both Tetum and Portuguese and by her belief that the two languages complemented each other. Whereas, the discourses of some of the policymakers focused mostly on valuing the use of Portuguese in schools, considering pupils' proficiency and the need to encourage teacher agency. Another discourse that surfaced related to the equal value of Tetum and Portuguese, as legitimate and official languages of the nation, and of national identity. All these different ideologies were indexed in teacher Lucia's classroom practices, in her beliefs stated as well as in the policymakers' discourses.

The shared concern of all participants in this study was about how to emphasise the legitimacy of Tetum and Portuguese as the two chosen national languages.

Teacher Lucia's code-switching practices, metacommentaries and at the same time, the policymakers' interpretations of the language policy included ideological constructions relating to bilingual/multilingual education and relating to the language and nationhood. These were hegemonic and longstanding linguistic ideologies and are not dissimilar to those present in other educational settings and in other nation-building projects in many parts of the world.

CHAPTER 10: Scale-jumping in textbook mediation as making bridges between textual knowledge and the pupils' worlds

Introduction

In this third data analysis chapter, I describe the ways in which the two teachers of this study moved from the unfamiliar space and time of the text to the familiar space and time of the pupils. I do this by using the notion of scales. As I have already shown, the interactions in the Year 6 lessons were teacher-led, and guided by a transmissive pedagogy and a strict hierarchical relationship between teachers and pupils. As in many classrooms around the world, the curricular knowledge that the teachers were expected to 'pass on' to the pupils included textual knowledge and the language of the text. Having authority over the text, the teachers of Portuguese language and Environmental Studies were active mediators of the textual knowledge.

The teachers and pupils of the Year 6 class were situated in a classroom space in a school in Dili, Timor-Leste. In this classroom space other spaces and times and other norms and expectations were indexed. The notion of scales is therefore useful to identify the scale progressions or jumps from the classroom TimeSpace to other ones. As these scale progressions were happening, connections between different layers of context, from the classroom to other aspects of pupils' social life were made. In addition, I explore one group of deictics, personal pronouns and spatial and temporal deictics, in order to look at the linguistic features which marked the scale progression in the classroom interactions. The use of the notion of code-switching was also useful in my analysis of the use of language by the teachers in order to make meaning around the text, taking account of the pupils' linguistic resources and of the textual knowledge to be transmitted. The combination of these three concepts (scales, deictics and code-switching) enabled me to analyse the specific situated ways in which teachers were making connections between the textual knowledge and the pupils' funds of knowledge.

In the following two sections, I describe how the two teachers used pupils' local knowledge and linguistic resources to construct bridges between the curriculum and pupils' everyday experience. In section 10.1, I describe how in a Portuguese language lesson, teacher Dalia talked about a text in Portuguese and how, building on her authority over the text, she jumped between the space and time of the text into the TimeSpace of pupils' everyday life. In section 10.2 I describe how, in an Environmental Studies lesson, teacher Lucia talked about a particular event of the history of Timor-Leste taken from the textbook and made constantly scale progressions between the present of the classroom and the historical event in the past.

10.1 Scale-jumping across spaces in the formal colonial empire: from São Tomé e Príncipe to Timor-Leste

As I have already demonstrated, the teachers were the main mediators and official conveyors of knowledge in these classrooms. The extracts below are taken from a Portuguese lesson with Teacher Dalia and from a lesson on the history of Timor-Leste with Teacher Lucia. Lessons in both subjects were developed around the textbooks in Portuguese.

In the following extracts from the Portuguese lesson, teacher and pupils were talking about the legend already mentioned in Chapter 8 (in the discussion of Extracts 12-14). This legend is from an African country which is part of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) called São Tomé e Príncipe. The title of the text was: "A lenda do canta-galos" (The legend of the rooster-singer). As I showed in Chapter 8, teacher Dalia had asked pupils to read different parts of the text row by row in chorus, and then she started posing questions about the text. Her first question was designed to check if everybody had understood the text. She then asked about the meaning of the title of the text: what the word 'lenda' (legend) and 'cantagalo' (rooster-singer) meant. Next she asked where São Tomé e Príncipe was. The pupils did not

provide a correct answer so she carried on with an explanation of what an island was. Then they started with a glossary activity in which the teacher and pupils selected unknown words from the text and wrote down a list on the blackboard and in pupils' notebooks with word definitions. The goal of the glossary activity seemed to be to facilitate the understanding of the text by providing the meaning of the words in Portuguese. The medium of instruction in this lesson was mostly Portuguese, although there were interactions in Tetum as well.

Extracts 25, 26 and 27 show the interactions that unfolded around the words 'canta-galo' (rooster-singer) and 'coro' (choir). These extracts were chosen to illustrate how often reading comprehension included posing questions and drawing on pupils' own experience and knowledge. The classroom interactions in Extracts 25 and 26 were about the role of the 'rooster-singer'. The interaction in Extract 25 occurred on the initial questioning of the teacher about the text, while Extract 26 occurred later on in the lesson as they were constructing the glossary.

The interaction in Extract 25 started with the teacher's earlier prompt: "what does rooster-singer mean?". This extract illustrates her approach to eliciting an answer to that question.

Extract 25

Line		Classroom interaction		Translation into English
72	TD	o galo canta de manhã, quem é que desperta de manhã	72	the rooster sings in the morning, who is the first one
73		cedinho quando as pessoas ainda estão a dormir	73	early in the morning when people are still sleeping
74		quem é que dá o primeiro alarme, a cantar? é o?	74	who is the first one to give the first alarm? it is the?
75	PPS	GALO [almost the whole class said this loudly]	75	ROOSTER [almost the whole class said this loudly]
76	TD	nia maka fo sinal	76	he is the one who gives the signal
77		kalan bo'ot nia halo sa ida?	77	in the middle of the night what does he do?
78	PP	kokoreku [said one boy in a lower voice]	78	cock-a-doodle-doo
79	TD	nia maka fanu uluk?	79	he is the one who wakes?
80	PPS	EMA [almost the whole class said this loudly in chorus]	80	PEOPLE [almost the whole class said this loudly in chorus]
81	TD	quando as pessoas estão a dormir, 3h, 4h de	81	when people are sleeping, 3 o'clock, 4 o'clock at dawn,
82		madrugada, as pessoas estão a dormir, quem é que dá	82	people are still sleeping, who is it who gives the first
83		o sinal primeiro, é o?	83	alarm, it is the?
84	PPS	GALO	84	ROOSTER
85		[almost the whole class said this loudly in chorus]	85	[almost the whole class said this loudly in chorus]

86	TD	é o galo que desperta as?	86	it is the rooster who wakes up?
87	FP	peessoas	87	people
88	PPS	peessoas [a few other pupils said this afterwards in	88	people [a few other pupils said this afterwards in
89		chorus]	89	chorus]
90	TD	as?	90	the?
91	PPS	PESSOAS [almost the whole class said this loudly in	91	PEOPLE [almost the whole class said this loudly in
92		chorus]	92	chorus]
93	TD	galo né, sabe as horas dele. quais as horas que ele	93	this rooster, knows his time, what times he can sing /2/
94		pode [2] cantar, sabe as horas dele, onde é que estes	94	sing, he knows his times, where those roosters, a long
95		galos, há muitos, muitos anos, todos os galos do	95	time ago, many years ago,[when] all the roosters of the
96		mundo refugiam-se para a ilha de são tomé	96	world retreated to the island of são tomé
97		quer dizer que todos os galos do mundo, para onde é	97	that is that all the roosters of the world, where did they
98		que foram? [2]	98	go? [2]
99	PPS	ilha de são tomé [a few pupils replied in chorus]	99	island of são tomé [a few pupils replied in chorus]

Teacher Dalia attributed the role of waking people up to the rooster by saying that he would give “the alarm” while people were still sleeping (From Line 72 to 74; from Line 81 to 83; from Line 93 to 98). She transmitted this idea in both Portuguese and Tetum. The pupils seemed to acknowledge this role of the rooster as they replied to her questions also both in Portuguese and Tetum. In most of this interaction teacher Dalia seemed to be making links between the text and pupils’ life experience, between the roosters in São Tomé e Príncipe and the roosters in Timor-Leste. Roosters singing early in the morning are very common event in the capital city of Timor-Leste and the teacher made reference to this experience in order to explain what the meaning of “rooster-singing” was. Then she went back to the script of the text by locating the roosters back in São Tomé e Príncipe (Line 99).

In Extract 26, as they were doing the glossary activity, she repeated the same early explanation of the role of the rooster in both Portuguese and Tetum.

Extract 26

Line		Classroom interaction		Translation into English
843	TD	começa a cantar já	843	he starts to sing right away
844		o primeiro galo	844	the first rooster
845	PP	“cócórócó”	845	“cock-a-doodle-doo”
846		[saying in background at the same time as TD]	846	[saying in background at the same time as TD]
847		“anunciando um novo” dia o?	847	“announcing a new day” the?
848	PPS	galo [few pupils saying in chorus]	848	rooster [few pupils saying in chorus]

849	TD	manu né nia sa'ida? nia kanta né	849	this rooster what does he do? he sings
850		nia afanu ema	850	he wakes people up
851		“anunciando um novo dia”	851	“announcing a new day”
852		dehan nia hader	852	he says he is waking up
853		agora ita hader ona	853	now we are waking up
854		tamba rai? sa'ida? rai? da-?	854	because on earth it was? what? da-?
855	PP	loron	855	day light
856	PP	dader	856	day dawning
857	TD	dader ona [TD confirming this as the correct answer]	857	it's morning [TD confirming this as the correct answer]
858		“anunciando um novo dia”	858	“announcing a new day”
859		não é noite, mas já é? [2] dia, para despertar	859	it's not night, but it's? [2] day, to wake up
860		é para acordar	860	[it] is [time] to wake up

The teacher said in Tetum in Line 849 “this rooster what does he do? he sings”. Her question focused on the rooster and his role of waking people up. This time she clearly connected the role of the rooster with everybody in the classroom by using the pronoun “we” (Line 853). The role of the rooster was to wake up people in general, but by using the pronoun “we” in this utterance she referred to and included everybody in the classroom. In both Extracts 25 and 26, although this legend was about roosters in São Tomé e Príncipe, teacher Dalia was aware that this bird was also part of the domestic life of her pupils. This legend alluded to a space that was distant from Timor-Leste. The teacher could have continued talking about the rooster in São Tomé e Príncipe, by referring to ‘people’ in São Tomé or in general. Instead she introduced the pronoun ‘ita’ (we) in Tetum, and in doing so, she created a conceptual bridge between the text in Portuguese and herself and the pupils in the group she was interacting with. She made a bridge between the classroom lesson content and pupils’ domestic knowledge with the use of Tetum.

In the following extract, as they were also doing the glossary activity, they were talking about the word “choir” in relation to the rooster singing. The focus was on the following extract from the textbook:

A alegria imensa de estarem juntos e o facto das suas vozes funcionarem bem e em coro, levava-os a repetir a cantaria a qualquer hora, esquecendo que incomodavam os outros habitantes do arquipélago.

(The immense joy of being together and the fact that their voices worked well in harmony and as a choir, made them to repeat at any time of the day, forgetting that they were disturbing other inhabitants of the island.)

(My translation into English)

Extract 27

Line		Classroom interaction		Translation into English
873	TD	“coro” quer dizer conjunto de vozes	873	“a choir” means a group of voices
874		“coro” né dehan ema ne’bé canta	874	“a choir” this means people who sing
875		canta ida, conjunto de coros	875	one sings , a group of choirs
876		todos cantam	876	everybody sings
877		“grande alegria” para quem?	877	“big joy” for whom?
878		“grande alegria” de quem [2]	878	“big joy” of whom? [2]
879	BI	de estarem juntos	879	of being together
880	TD	de estarem juntos	880	of being together
881		[TD repeating the answer to confirm that it was correct]	881	[TD repeating the answer to confirm that it was correct]
882		juntos	882	together
883		sira contente tamba sa’ida? sira hamu-?	883	they were happy because of what? they were toge-?
884	PPS	hamutuk [many pupils saying in chorus]	884	together [many pupils saying in chorus]
885	TD	hamutuk ba halo sa’ida?	885	together to do what?
886	PP	atu canta	886	to sing
887	TD	hamutuk hodi halu? hodi halu sa’ida?	887	together to do? to do what?
888		estarem juntos para quê? [3]	888	being together for what? [3]
889	BI	para funcionarem bem em coro	889	to function well as a choir
890	TD	estarem juntos para quê? vá	890	being together for what? come on
891		estarem juntos para? [2]	891	being together for? [2]
892		cantar	892	sing
893		manu sira né hamutuk sira halo sa’ida?	893	these roosters together they do what?
894	PPS	cantar	894	[they] sing
895	TD	sira halo [inaudible] sira nia lian, em coro	895	they do [inaudible] their voices, in chorus
896		coro ne dehan hamutuk sira hamutuk,	896	“choir” means together, together they,
897		para sira halu sa’ida?	897	for them to do what?
898		cócórócócó	898	cock-a-doodle-doo
899		sira canta	899	they sing
900		balu	900	some
901		imi hare dader san manu kokore ka lai?	901	in the morning do you see roosters singing or not?
902	PP	hare	902	we see [them]
903	TD	hare	903	you see
904		imi la hare	904	don’t you see

905		kuandu ita sei toba manu sira né	905	when we are still sleeping
906		sira iha ahi ida ba ai ida	906	they are jumping from one tree branch to another
907		hamutuk sira halo kokore	907	together they do cock-a-doodle-doo
908		ida kokore, ida hatan	908	one cock-a-doodle-doo, another responds
909		ida simu nuné, nuné	909	another echoes, and so on
910		todos juntos a? a? cantar	910	all together to? to? sing
911		estarem em coro todos juntos a cantar [2]	911	they are in chorus all together to sing [2]
912		e depois leva-os a repetir a? o quê?	912	then they take they take up and repeat the? what?
913		canta-?	913	sin-?
914	PPS	cantaria [fewer pupils saying this in chorus]	914	singing [fewer pupils saying this in chorus]

In Extract 27, teacher Dalia continued making the bridge between the classroom lesson content and pupils' domestic knowledge. In fact, in this extract she questioned the pupils more explicitly about their knowledge of the roosters in their lives. Initially she followed the text by asking them the reason for the roosters to be together and the answer was to sing together (From Line 873 to 897). Afterwards she tried to explain to them the idea of roosters singing in chorus by drawing on pupils' domestic knowledge about roosters (From Line 901). Teacher Dalia asked them directly about their own experience: "in the morning do you see roosters singing or not?" (901). They replied positively (Line 903). Then she continued describing briefly the behaviour of roosters on the tree branches in Timor-Leste, and then afterwards she described the roosters' patterns of singing. The teacher again used the pronouns "you" and "we" to refer to and include everybody in the classroom and assumed knowledge of the behaviour of roosters. She used mostly Tetum to talk about the meaning of the word "choir" and the roosters' singing to wake people up in Dili (From Line 895 to 909), but when she finished that explanation she code-switched back to Portuguese to return to the words "in chorus" (From Line 909 to 914).

As I have already noted, these exchanges between teacher Dalia and the pupils were situated in a classroom in Dili. They pertained to a text in Portuguese based on a legend about a singing rooster in São Tomé e Príncipe. As I have also shown (Chapter 8), talking about a text in Portuguese was a common activity in this classroom. Teacher Dalia performed a scale-jump in these two extracts by moving from the roosters in São

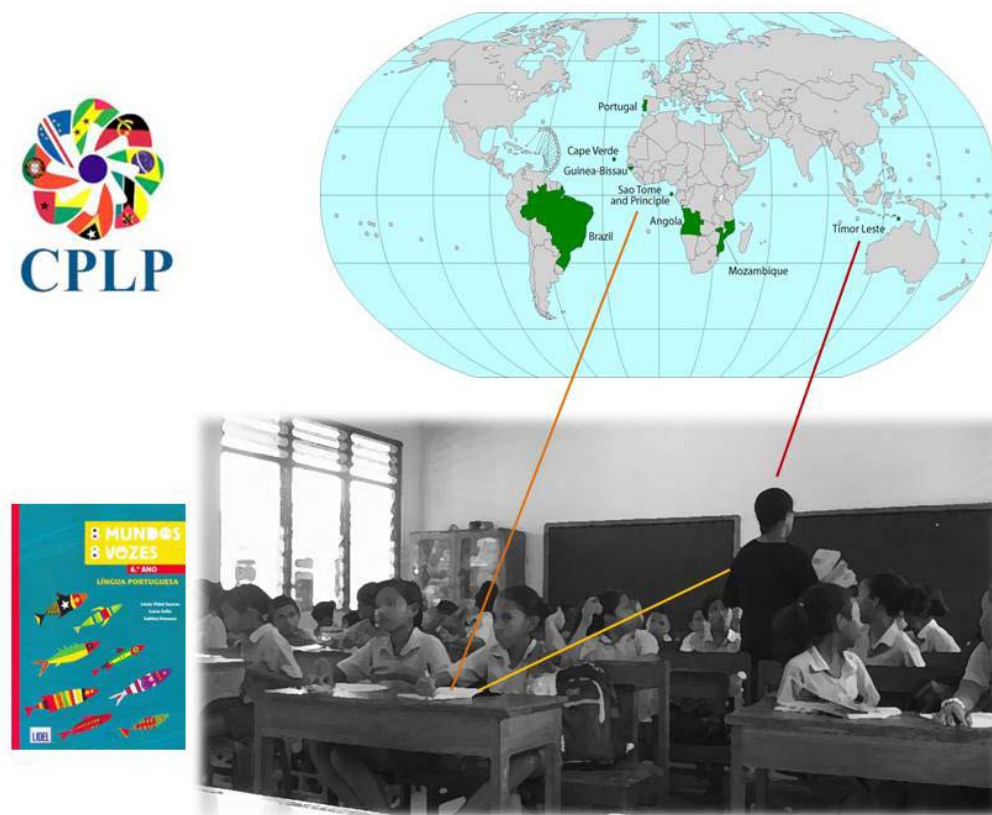
Tomé e Príncipe to the local life worlds of the pupils in Timor-Leste where roosters sing at early in the morning in the city of Dili. As indicated in Chapter 5, the process of scale-jumping occurs when participants in the interaction move from one layer of social context within one particular time and space to another, and invoke other scales that exist beyond the classroom space. In the interactions analysed above, the teacher moved from the context of the text in São Tomé e Príncipe to the local context of pupils' everyday life in Timor-Leste. The progression made by the teacher to another time and space was accomplished by code-switching into Tetum and by the use of pronouns: in Extract 26 the use of pronoun 'we' instead of 'people' in referring to the audience for the rooster in the text (also in Extract 25); and in Extract 27 the use of the pronoun 'you'. These two pronouns are deictics (Wortham, 1994) which functioned indexically in the context of the classroom talk in which they were produced. They indexed not only a change of subject, but also a change of scales. The pronoun 'we' included the teacher and the pupils and indexed the more intimate scale of their everyday life. The text from the textbook was centred on the roosters singing in the time and space of São Tomé e Príncipe; whereas the discourse of the teacher indexed a time and space, Timor-Leste, where both teacher and pupils were located through the use of the pronouns in Tetum 'imi' (you) and 'ita' (we).

The time and space of the text was re-situated by the teacher who invoked another TimeSpace in the local context to build bridges between two worlds, the textual world representing São Tomé e Príncipe and the pupils' life worlds in Timor-Leste. Although singing roosters in imaginary worlds in São Tomé e Príncipe were remote from the real world of the teacher and pupils, it was the teacher's role to deliver the content of the curriculum. The teacher delivered it by drawing on the pupils' "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 1992) regarding everyday life external to the context of the classroom. The use of pupils' funds of knowledge was one of the pedagogical strategies used by the teachers to make indexical connections between the space and time referred to in the textbook and local realities. Teacher Dalia made an explicit link

between the pupils' knowledge of roosters in Timor-Leste and the content of the school textbook: a legend about roosters in São Tomé e Príncipe, Africa. The remarks made by this teacher about the roosters in Dili were based on her knowledge of the pupils' home backgrounds and worlds of experience outside school. The school textbooks often referred only to worlds which were unfamiliar to the pupils. Teacher Dalia made connections between the spaces and times of the pupils' out-of-school worlds and the school textbook, contextualising these connections in the classroom talk. This use of 'funds of knowledge' by this teacher clearly facilitated pupils' understanding of the textbook even though the spaces and times referred to in the textbook were distant from and incongruent with the worlds and life experiences of the pupils.

In fact, teacher Dalia was continuously moving between the world of the text and the pupils' world, between Portuguese and Tetum. Blommaert (2007) says that "the connection between such scales is indexical" as it points towards social and cultural norms, genres, traditions, expectations that occurred in a higher-scale level" (p.4). Moreover, these discursive links were made by teacher Dalia between the two worlds in her position as the main speaker in the classroom, the promoter of the curriculum, as a Tetum speaker and as an East-Timorese familiar with life in Dili. These different positionings provided her a higher level of authority to re-situate and re-integrate the definition of the space described in the text. Her authority over the written text and the pupils derived from these positionings. They enabled her to construct and move across different layers of context. The Figure 10 below illustrates the kinds of connection between different worlds that were occurring in this interaction.

**Figure 10: The Portuguese subject textbook and the CPLP countries:
Connecting Timor-Leste and São Tomé.**



Canagarajah (2013) argues that scales can be reconstructed and renegotiated; participants often change their statuses and values according to the issues that they encounter. Drawing on both her statuses (as someone with an official role in an educational institution and as resident of Dili), and drawing on her linguistic resources, (being a speaker of Portuguese and Tetum), the teacher not only made connections between two spaces and times, but also rearranged the scales in the classroom. With her authority she could perform the scale-jumping between the speech presented on the textual knowledge to the pupils' out-of-school knowledge.

The textbook was a space for Portuguese only, however, teacher Dalia showed that she valued the linguistic resources of the pupils by performing this scale-jumping. According to Blommaert (2007, 2010b), the capacity to scale-jump is associated with a

person's positioning within the social structure. Moreover, the different linguistic resources within participants' repertoires are in themselves markers of an asymmetrical relationship between participants. The hierarchical relationship between the teacher and her pupils and the unequal nature of their linguistic repertoires indexed their capacity to engage in scale progression. However, the capacity of teacher Dalia to upscale had some positive effect for the pupils. As she re-situated the roosters in the space of Dili, pupils tried to answer her questions from their own experience even if it was not the exactly the answer she was expecting. For instance in Extract 26, in Line 854 to Line 857, when teacher Dalia was referring to the role of the rooster as being that of announcing that it was morning, she asked them:

854	TD	tamba rai? sa'ida? rai? da-?	854	because on earth it was? what? da-?
855	PP	loron	855	day light
856	PP	dader	856	day dawning
857	TD	dader ona [TD confirming this as the correct answer]	857	it's morning [TD confirming this as the correct answer]

Another example is from Extract 27, Lines 901 and 902:

901	TD	imi hare dader san manu kokore ka lai?	901	in the morning do you see roosters singing or not?
902	PP	hare	901	we see [them]

Teacher Dalia seemed to want pupils to reply “morning” and not “day light” since “morning” was the word she has used earlier on the lesson. She tried to value pupils' resources instead of persisting with the text in Portuguese only. As she moved from the space of the text, pupils' linguistic resources were renegotiated as valuable in the classroom, although the choral response pattern was sustained. The code-switch into Tetum invoked linguistic practices which occurred beyond the classroom, but which were not valued in the classroom. Canagarajah (2013) argues that the use of

code-switching can reconstruct scales and index new values. As Tetum was used by teacher Dalia it was repeated as a valued language to be used to talk about the lesson content. However, the value and significance of Tetum was continually changing, it was constructed and reconstructed as pedagogic and ideological processes evolved in the classroom. Once, as teacher Dalia told me after one of her lessons: “We have to use Tetum otherwise they don’t understand”. Her code-switching practices were also participant-related. Her concern was with accomodating in order to accommodate the pupils’ need to understand the content. Yet the tone of voice she used to state this implied that she would rather not be using Tetum. She seemed to have mixed feelings about it. On the one hand, the educational setting she represented expected her to use mainly Portuguese, although there was also some flexibility regarding the use of Tetum. On the other hand, pupils needed Tetum to be able to gain access to the curriculum. Nevertheless, teacher Dalia did not seem to feel comfortable using Tetum.

10.2 Scale-jumping from the past to the present: “on that date and until ninety-nine no one could sleep”

In the Environmental Studies lessons, the aim was to learn about the geography, history and the environment of Timor-Leste. The following extracts were from a lesson on an important event in the recent history of Timor-Leste. The teacher wrote the theme of the lesson on the blackboard and introduced to the pupils before writing the text on the blackboard. The lesson was about a massacre at the cemetery of Santa Cruz which occurred on 12th November 1991 in which hundreds of demonstrators, mainly students were killed. They were paying tribute to another East-Timorese student who had been killed by the Indonesian occupying forces. On November 12, the Indonesian army started shooting at the crowd and killed hundreds of those who were attending the demonstration on that day. This massacre was video-recorded and broadcasted by the media around the world. It was the first time since the

invasion in 1975 that the violence of the Indonesian army against the East-Timorese had been filmed and widely broadcasted.

In this lesson, teacher Lucia firstly introduced this event by telling the pupils how many people had died at the massacre and asked them if they had any relative who had died on that date. Then she emphasized that the massacre on 12th November 1991 was an important event in the independence process as illustrated in Extract 28.

Extract 28

32	TL	então nessa data muitos timorenses deram a sua vida	32	so on that day many Timorese gave their life
33	FP	em santa cruz	33	in santa cruz
34	TL	para a nossa independên-	34	for our independen-
35	PPS	independência [few pupils replying in chorus]	35	Independence [few pupils replying in chorus]
36	TL	agora estamos a go-?	36	now we are enjoy-?
37		gozar	37	enjoying
38		a gozar [FP pupil giggling]	38	enjoying [FP pupil giggling]
39		sem guerra, sem nada, sentamos bem	39	no war, nothing, we can sit comfortably
40	FP	sem guerra	40	no war
41	FP	para comer	41	to eat
42		[background noise of few pupils chatting]	42	[background noise of few pupils chatting]
43	TL	dormimos bem	43	we sleep comfortably
44		pronto	44	right
45		nessa data até noventa e nove ninguém	45	on that date and until ninety-nine no one could sleep
46		dormia bem principalmente os timorenses	46	comfortably mainly the Timorese
47		só há	47	there was only
48		começando nessa data todos os timorenses	48	starting on that date all the Timorese
49		não se formam bem, não comem bem	49	could not learn well, could not eat well

In Extract 28, she continued contrasting the past and the present: she opposed the time of death, war, fear of being imprisoned, and the difficulties involved in meeting basic needs such as eating or sleeping before the independence with the time of security after independence in which Timorese were meeting their basic needs and enjoying life. She also said that in the past people could not talk about what had occurred on that date. Then she emphasized the value of this date in the history of the country as the following Extract 29 illustrates. She was more specific as she named someone pupils actually knew.

Extract 29

59	TL	porque se trata, de [uma data] muito importante para a	59	because it, it is a very important [date] for our
60		nossa indepen-?	60	indepen-?
61	PPS	independência [many pupils replying in chorus]	61	independence [many pupils replying in chorus]
62	TL	porque muitos timorenses deram a sua vi-?	62	because many Timorese people gave their li-?
63	PPS	vida [many pupils replying in chorus]	63	life [many pupils replying in chorus]
64	TL	principalmente jovens timorenses	64	mainly many young Timorese
65		temos aqui um jovem timorense que está de pé	65	we have a young Timorese who is still alive
66		que é a mana Augusta que estava lá	66	she is sister Augusta who was there
67		no meio de santa cruz	67	in the middle of Santa Cruz
68		a mana Augusta	68	sister August
69		a professora Augusta	69	teacher Augusta
70	PP	sim	70	yes
71	TL	estava ao lado das flores /2/	71	she was next to the flowers /2/
72	MP	ne hanusa?	72	what was that?
73	TL	sim, era uma missa para aquele, o nosso a /2/	73	yes, it was a mass for that, our a /2/
74		o Sebastião, era Sebastião	74	Sebastião, it was Sebastião
75	PPS	sim, sim [few pupils replying positively to her]	75	yes, yes [few pupils replying positively to her]
76	TL	Sebastião Gomes	76	Sebastião Gomes
77		mana Augusta estava mesmo	77	sister Augusta was right there
78		ao lado daquelas flores	78	next to the flowers
79		mas, oi, por causa de quê?	79	but, hei, why, for what?
80		deixa alguns para contar a histó-?	80	some were left to recount the histo-?
81	PPS	história [many pupils replying in chorus]	81	history [many pupils replying in chorus]

As she talked about the event and the youngsters who participated, she also named Ms. Augusta (From Line 64 to 69). Ms. Augusta was the teacher of Music and English in the school. She had been one of the students at the demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery. The reference to Ms. August raised the attention of a pupil who asked teacher Lucia in Tetum to explain the event at the cemetery (Extract 29, Line 72). Teacher Lucia provided a few more details. Ms. Augusta brought that event in the past to the time and space of the pupils, to the lady who they knew from their everyday life at school. Ms. Augusta had lived through the event and survived and was able to narrate what happened. Teacher Lucia said “sister Augusta was right there” (Line 77). “Sister” is the culturally polite way for East-Timorese woman to refer to each other. It is also a term of address. Teacher Lucia described her as a living testimony of this historical event. The textbook mentioned the students who had participated in the

demonstration, but clearly it did not name any individuals. The reference to the presence of sister Augusta at the cemetery gave extra validity to teacher Lucia's account.

After talking about the instability lived in the country during the Indonesian occupation from 1975 to 1999, how people wanted independence, teacher Lucia moved again to the present tense as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 30

99	TL	o que safa na boca dos jovens é só	99	what was coming out of the mouth of the young people
100		querem a sua independên-?	100	was just they wanted their independen-?
101	PPS	independência [some pupils replying in chorus]	101	independence [some pupils replying in chorus]
102	TL	quê?	102	what?
103		mate ka moris ukun rasik an	103	live or die for self-determination
104	FP	[inaudible in Tetum]	104	[inaudible in Tetum]
105	FP	ukun rasik an [repeating TL]	105	self-determination [repeating TL]
106	TL	hoje em dia vocês não	106	nowadays you
107		é para contribuir	107	it's your turn to contribute
108		agora a vossa contribuição é estudar	108	your contribution now is to study
109		[background noise of pupils chatting]	109	[background noise of pupils chatting]
110		oi	110	hoi
111		não é só andar a falar /7/	111	it's not just chatting around /7/
112		assim os nossos jovens que morreram	112	in this way our young people who died
113		ficam tristes por vossa causa	113	will be sad because of you
114		que não querem estudar	114	who don't want to study
115		só querem andar a falar dentro da sala	115	who want only to chat inside the classroom
116		aprender não é falar	116	learning is not chatting

In Extract 30, Line 106, teacher Lucia moved again to pupils' time and space by introducing an adverb of time "hoje em dia" ("nowadays"). As she considered pupils' period of time she tried to persuade them that their role was to study by saying "your contribution now is to study" (Line 108). She compared and contrasted the wish of the young people in the past with the contemporary practices of the pupils in the class: the contribution made by the young people in the past was guided by their desire of self-determination from Indonesia; whereas the contribution expected of the pupils in the present was to study. She even added that if the pupils in her class did not study, the

young people who lost their lives in the past would be sad with them (Lines 112 and 113). She also repeated one of the most famous slogans during the campaigns for independence in Timor-Leste in Tetum which was “mate ka moris ukun rasik an” (“live or die for self-determination”) (Line 103). She used this slogan when referring to the wish and conviction of the young people in the past. Then she asked for the same kind of determination from the pupils in her class by telling them to dedicate themselves to their studies. She argued that pupils ought to value their studies in remembrance of those young people who died. These situated utterances by teacher Lucia, represented a moralisation of history, i. e., she was teaching her pupils the content of the history curriculum, but at the same time, she also wanted to shape their behaviour according to her notion of what counted as being a good pupil. She thought that her pupils were not studying enough; therefore she tried to morally incite them to study as a means of building on the self-determination achieved by East-Timorese, such as the Santa Cruz’ students, in the past. The children’s talkative behaviour in the classroom seemed to the teacher to be an indication of lack interest in studying. The theme of the Santa Cruz massacre in this lesson became a subtle means of containing the pupils’ talkative behaviour. Teacher Lucia’s reference to the personal sacrifice made by Timor-Leste students during this massacre brought a distinctly moral tone into her efforts to exercise classroom control. She put ‘good behaviour in class’ within a wider context of duty to the nation.

Teacher Lucia’s utterances from extracts 28 to 30 were made in the classroom, they were about the history of Timor-Leste. The consecutive scale progression between the past and the present was mostly accomplished through the use of adverbs of time, the use of the past tense and the present tense or the name of ‘Augusta’. In Extract 28, teacher Lucia said: “on that date” (Line 32 and 45) and “now” (Line 36). In Extract 29, she used verbs in the past tense such as in Lines 62 (“gave”), 71 and 73 (“was”). She also used verbs in the present tense, such as “is” (Line 66) as she introduced “Augusta”. In Extract 30, she used the past tense in Line 99 (“was coming

out”) and the verbs in the present tense from Line 107 to 111. She opened the whole of Extract 30 with the adverbs of time “nowadays” (Line 106). These utterances functioned as deictics, the interpretation of their meaning related to the context in which they were produced. Teacher Lucia invoked and rearranged TimeSpace scales by moving back and forth in time through the use of those utterances.

In addition to these time shifters, she also created a bipolar contrast between the past and the present. The references to the past were associated with a negative environment under the occupation of Indonesia, whereas the references to the present were associated with the more positive scenario of being an independent country. The image below illustrates these movements in time in the classroom interaction.

Figure 11: Teacher Lucia’s Environment class and the Cemetery of Santa Cruz in 1991 and 2012



12 November 1991



2012



The time, space and people in the text were re-situated by the teacher to achieve three goals in communicating with her pupils: firstly, to emphasize the relevance of the historical event at the Santa Cruz cemetery as part of their cultural heritage; secondly, to establish connections between the past and the present; thirdly, and last, to give voice to expectations regarding what counts as being a good pupil. Learning about the history of the country was part of the content of the subject of Environmental Studies which she was teaching. This historical event was appropriated as a form of institutional knowledge to be learnt in schools. It was used by teacher Lucia as a means of introducing a moral element into the task of managing pupils' behaviour in the classroom.

The scale progression between the past and the present indexed the validity and value that teacher Lucia attributed to the historical event that took place in Santa Cruz and to her expectations about being a 'good pupil' in her classroom. The characters of Ms. Augusta and the young people indexed the struggle for self-determination, while the utterance "nowadays" (Line 106) indexed the independence, the construction of a nation in which the role of the pupils was to be 'good pupils'. Commitment seemed to be the main value conveyed by the teacher through the scale progression movements she enacted: pupils need to be committed to be 'good pupils' and not engage in idle chatter, and to study as part of their contribution to the process of constructing the nation of Timor-Leste.

At this moment, teacher Lucia positioned herself discursively in a different way within her class routines by putting the curriculum content on a lower-scale and her pupils' everyday lives in a higher-scale. She exercised her discursive power over the curriculum as she was confronted with this text about the history of Timor-Leste. Simultaneously, she emphasised her personal view of the meaning of that historical event as she connected it with her idea of being a 'good pupil' and a good citizen.

As Blommaert (2010b) stated there are inequalities with regard to who has the power to develop scale progression. In the lessons on history where teacher Lucia led

the discourse, she had better proficiency in Portuguese than her pupils and she had knowledge of the curriculum, so her utterances prevailed over those of the pupils. Undoubtedly, this contributed to the construction of unequal relationships in the classroom. The pupils did not have the same communicative resources as the teacher and so they were mere receivers of the content of the lesson.

Teacher Lucia had the authority to perform this upscaling in her position as the person delivering the Environmental Studies curriculum and as a member of the school community. She was the mediator of the curriculum content, she had knowledge about the pupils' lives, and she also had her own expectations about the pupils' role in the context of nation building of Timor-Leste. Considering that the subject she was teaching included the history of the country, she tried to convey to her pupils their responsibilities as citizens of Timor-Leste.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have shown that teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia were the main authority in their classrooms. They had the power to use Portuguese, Tetum, their own knowledge and that of the pupils, in order to make the space and time connections they found necessary for pupils to understand the curriculum content. For the textbook writers, teaching and learning about other worlds such as that of São Tomé e Príncipe, as part of the national curriculum, was part of a wider project of creating awareness of Timor-Leste's connections with other countries in which Portuguese is also spoken, within the world of CPLP. Talking about the history of Timor-Leste was also important for pupils since this was part of their cultural heritage. Teacher Lucia, in particular, endeavoured to persuade them to assume their responsibilities as citizens in the nation-building project of Timor-Leste. Yet, these forms of knowledge and language of the textbook were not familiar for many pupils. The use of scales and deictics to analyse the classroom interactions shown in the extracts included in this chapter

enabled me to illustrate the ways in which the two teachers made connections between the local knowledge and textual knowledge, between the familiar and unfamiliar worlds and times. The scale-jumping linked the space and the present time in the teacher's talk about the text with wider political, cultural and historical processes of two kinds: Firstly, the theme of roosters in São Tomé e Príncipe had become institutionalised knowledge as a result of wider political and cultural cooperation between the member states of CPLP, which include Timor-Leste and São Tomé e Príncipe. These cooperation activities had led to the production of educational materials in Portuguese for use in different member countries. Secondly, the reference to the Santa Cruz massacre evoked the history of the East-Timorese fight for independence. In the situated practice of the Year 6 classroom, the scale-jumping between the space and time of São Tomé e Príncipe and Timor-Leste was achieved by teacher Dalia by referring to the pupils' local, out-of-school funds of knowledge. The scale-jumping between the time and space of the massacre and the present time of the class was used primarily for teacher Lucia's purposes, that of introducing a moral element into classroom management. As teachers made meanings with their pupils around the textbooks, according to their own experience and knowledge, and that of the pupils, they also invoked educational, social and political issues of national and global significance.

As Blommaert (2007) says: "upscaling is...an act that can only be performed from a particular position of power" (p.11). What we see in this, and the last two chapters, is many instances of teachers exercising power within their classroom. While there were expectations within the educational system of Timor-Leste with regard to the teaching and learning of the curriculum content for Portuguese Language and Environmental Studies subjects, teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia negotiated and arranged the way they approached the curriculum content according to the pupils needs and according to their own personal agendas, exercising their discursive authority as mediators of the classroom textbooks.

PART IV – CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this concluding chapter I summarise the findings and explore their pedagogical implications for bilingual education. In section 11.1, I return to my research questions and show how and to what extent I was able to answer them. In 11.2, I describe the significance of this study, highlighting the ethnographic perspective incorporated. In 11.3, I outline some potential pedagogical contributions and I suggest ways in which this might contribute to the future development of teacher education bilingual practice and educational policies in Timor-Leste. 11.4, I address some of the constraints of this ethnographic study and suggest some lines of research that can be developed in future research projects.

11.1 Returning to the research questions

The aim of my research was to study the ways in which current language-in-education policy of Timor-Leste is being translated into classroom practices in this multilingual context. The purpose of the project was to investigate the linguistic practices of teachers and pupils in a Year 6 classroom and, in particular, to focus on talk around the textbook. A further aim was to find out how the language-in-education policy was interpreted from the perspectives of different stakeholders. These interpretations were viewed as an integral part of the policy process occurring in the specific socio-political and historical context of Timor-Leste.

I look now at the research questions individually and demonstrate how this study responded to each one of them.

1. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese to talk about the textbook shape the relationships between teachers and pupils in the classroom?

The textbook in Portuguese was clearly a valuable resource in the Year 6 classroom as demonstrated in all three data analysis chapters (Chapter 8, 9 and 10). The textbook in monolingual Portuguese was one of the vital means for introducing the curricular knowledge and the current language-in-education policy in schools in Timor-Leste. This research question focused on language use around the textbook and on the ways in which this talk contributed to the construction of the relationship between teachers and pupils. The study has found that rituals were co-constructed by teachers and pupils through whole class, teacher-led talk or through the reading aloud of textbook extracts by pupils nominated by the teacher. These rituals gave the textbook considerable authority in the classroom.

Both Tetum and Portuguese were the official languages of education and they were used by teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia to talk about the textbook. The use of Tetum and Portuguese in Portuguese lessons to talk about the textbook reinforced the hierarchical and asymmetrical relationships between teachers and their pupils. The analysis of the participant structures, organised in multilingual IRF/IRE sequences, in the classroom enabled me to demonstrate how these asymmetrical relationships were ritually constructed. Portuguese was the language of the textbook, the main medium of instruction and it was the target language. Most of the time, teacher Dalia initiated the interaction in Portuguese, asking questions about the textbook or providing prompts to read from a particular text. Pupils were expected to provide choral responses or individual ones if their name was called. They were also expected to respond in the language in which they were addressed by the teacher. Positive feedback or evaluation of pupils responses were rarely given during my observations. The social function of the choral responses and the absence of positive feedback shaped the participatory structures of this classroom as being formal, rigid and asymmetrical. As I argued in Chapter 8, the role of Teacher Dalia seems to be to comment or evaluate responses

only if pupils were doing something wrong and she then gave cues or prompts to guide them to provide a correct response. She did not provide explicit positive feedback about their responses, that is positive evaluation of the kind Mehan (1979a) suggests teachers to do. Pupils were expected to pay attention to the lesson, and to have studied the lesson in order to answer correctly to Teacher Dalia's questions about the textbook.

Proficiency in Portuguese to talk about the textbook was important in both the classes led by teacher Dalia and by teacher Lucia; whereas the use of Tetum indicated the consideration of teachers for pupils' linguistic proficiency. The proficiency in Portuguese language enabled the teacher and particular sets of student, that is a group of proficient girls, to get access to the floor. The teacher led the classroom discourse, as the mediator of the textbook knowledge and the language of the curriculum. The group of girls for instance, were able to lead the choral responses, while the rest of the pupils could not do that and followed their lead.

Another finding was that the use of either Portuguese or Tetum also evoked a relationship of collaboration. I demonstrated in this thesis how pupils noticed switches from one language to another. Pupils' switches occurred according to the language the teacher was using. If teacher Dalia was speaking in Tetum, pupils knew that they should respond in Tetum as well; while when she was speaking Portuguese they were meant to answer in Portuguese. This alternation was also often accompanied by the teacher naming the language. This particular pattern of code-switching between Portuguese and Tetum in the classroom also revealed the importance of understanding cues such as using one language or another in order to accomplish the lesson. This was clearly a code-switching routine that had been established before I entered the classroom.

The study has also found the ways in which Tetum and Portuguese shaped the relationships between teachers and pupils, evoking particular shared local experiences. These shared experiences were expressed in the local language, Tetum, and

accompanied references to concrete examples from the pupils' local environment during the mediation of the textbook in Portuguese.

2. How does the use of Tetum and Portuguese facilitate teaching and learning of the textbook in the classroom?

The textbook contained the curricular knowledge and language which pupils had to learn. The study has found that code-switching between Portuguese and Tetum was one of the communicative resources that were employed in the teaching and learning of the lessons of teacher Dalia and of teacher Lucia.

In this thesis, I have argued, with reference to the lessons of teacher Lucia, that this practice is best captured in the notion of participant-related code-switching (Auer, 1984). This notion highlights the ways in which conversational participants (in this case teacher Lucia and her pupils) take into account each other's linguistic preferences or competences. In teacher Lucia's class, this was a key means of accomplishing the lesson.

I also provided examples of the use of Tetum and Portuguese from the lessons conducted by both teachers. In Portuguese lessons, teacher Dalia claimed that she used Tetum because pupils needed to follow and understand the lessons. The textbook she was using contained stories about other countries of the CPLP (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa or Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries). Teacher and pupils had little knowledge about this world of the CPLP. Yet, as the guardian of the textual knowledge, it was her role to talk about this world. Teacher Dalia often tried to make connections between the textual knowledge and pupils' local knowledge. In her interactions, she scale-jumped in order to build bridges between the CPLP world and the pupils' world.

Teacher Lucia also engaged in scale-jumping in the Environmental studies lessons. In one lesson, analysed in Chapter 9, pupils were learning about the history of Timor-Leste, and about the period of the Indonesian occupation. Teacher Lucia lived

through this period and was endeavouring to transmit to the pupils the importance of learning about the country's history. She engaged in scale-jumping between the colonial past and the current time of independence. The use of this scale-jump had a moral force. Teacher Lucia was emphasising the value of knowing the history of the country as part of pupils' cultural heritage, but she was also linking pupils' behaviour in the classroom and their commitment to learning with building up of the independent nation. By using Tetum she made bridges between the language of the text and the language of the pupils as she unpacked the meaning of the text in her interaction with the pupils. In addition, her switch to Tetum functioned as a prompt for pupils who understood it as a cue to respond in Tetum as well. Another common feature in teacher Lucia's lessons was the code-switching between Portuguese and Tetum to talk about the textbook accompanied by meta-commentary such as the naming of the language before switching.

Code-switching and use of local knowledge were the overall pedagogical strategies of the two teachers as they endeavoured to teach with the textbook in Portuguese. I think there is considerable potential in these two pedagogical strategies for teacher education.

3. What values and beliefs about Tetum and Portuguese are constructed in primary teachers' classroom practices?

This study found that the two teachers' classroom practices were aligned with the East-Timorese language-in-education policy. Teacher Lucia, for instance, revealed in her classroom practices and in her interviews that Tetum and Portuguese were valuable resources for primary education in Timor-Leste. Despite the visibility of Bahasa-Indonesia in people's everyday situations outside the classroom, it was omitted from the classroom.

Portuguese was the language of the textbook and the medium of instruction in the classroom. Tetum was used by the teachers as an auxiliary language as they

mediated the textbook in Portuguese, and as they attended to pupils' preferences and needs or even as they enacted teachers' own linguistic preferences. The use of Tetum or Portuguese was often marked by teacher Lucia by naming the language, just before switching.

According to researchers such as Woolard (1998) and Blackledge (2000a) explicit talk about language and linguistic practices can provide evidence of ideologies of language. The use of a textbook in the Portuguese language, the role of Portuguese as the medium of instruction conveyed the idea that Portuguese was the legitimate language of the curriculum and the target language. Portuguese was thus given a higher status, whereas Tetum was given a lower status as an auxiliary language. Yet, for teacher Lucia they complemented each other.

When teacher Lucia's code-switching practices were accompanied by the naming of languages, or by attributing words to different languages and counting the languages this reflected a view of bilingualism as 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller, 2006, p.271). Through the naming of the language, Tetum and Portuguese were often represented as separate linguistic systems which 'coexisted' in the classroom. This view and these practices revealed an understanding of languages as stable, standardized, monolithic, discrete and bounded entities rather than as fluid and changing resources for situated social practice.

The language ideologies adopted by both teachers were bound up with the wider nation-building project of Timor-Leste. Teacher Dalia and teacher Lucia were reproducing the language-in-education policy by using the two languages as mandated in the policies. However, the two languages did not have the same social value, Portuguese was constructed as the privileged language in the nation-building project of Timor-Leste. The values and beliefs enacted by their code-switching practices were aligned with the language ideologies of policymakers.

4. What linguistic values and beliefs shape policymakers' (i.e. Ministry of Education and Parliament) interpretations of the language-in-education policy?

Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) state that in multilingual contexts there are often “multiple, competing, and contradictory ideologies of language” (p.177). In this thesis I have discussed the different interpretations of the policymakers that I interviewed with regard to the use of Tetum and Portuguese as languages of education. Their interpretations were aligned with the current language-in-education policy, promoting the use of Tetum and Portuguese in schools, but there was some variations across interviews.

One interpretation pointed to ‘flexible’ use of Tetum and Portuguese. This interviewee took the view that language use should be determined by the teachers’ choices and by pupils’ linguistic competences and needs in the classroom. A second interpretation argued for the use of Portuguese as the main medium of instruction, with Tetum as the auxiliary language. In this view, Tetum was an ‘undeveloped’ language which should be used pedagogically and didactically, but its use should be accompanied constantly by the use of Portuguese. A third interpretation was that, although the two languages are currently being used in the classroom, the aspiration was for lessons to eventually be monolingual in Portuguese. A fourth interpretation was that the aim should be to work for a future education in which the two languages would continue to be used alternately in the classroom. A fifth interpretation was that both Tetum and Portuguese were equally important languages for East-Timorese national identity. Tetum identified the East-Timorese as East-Timorese and the Portuguese language indexed historical connection with Portugal and other countries where Portuguese has official status.

The second and third interpretations of the policymakers I interviewed point out clearly to a privilege position for Portuguese as a legitimate language in the nation-building project of Timor-Leste. Looking back at the history of Timor-Leste since

Portuguese colonialism, I showed that the Portuguese language was first introduced in the territory of Timor-Leste as a colonial language. It then became the official language of the East-Timorese Resistance (Cabral and Martin-Jones, 2008). Portuguese was also the official language of nation-states in Africa (such as Mozambique and Angola) which provided diplomatic supply for the Resistance in Timor-Leste. Since independence, Portuguese has been constructed as a language with social and economic value on the global linguistic market. Tetum has been the lingua franca of the country since the Portuguese colonial times, it was also a language of Resistance, and it is also a language of education, yet it was constructed as a language subordinated to Portuguese. The first, fourth and fifth interpretations allude to the linguistic choices and needs of teachers and pupils and to a symmetrical relationship between Tetum and Portuguese. Many East-Timorese people speak Tetum and they also have multilingual resources which could be enhanced in educational settings instead of being given a role that is inferior to Portuguese. Access to Portuguese language does not have to occur by restraining the use of Tetum or of any other linguistic resource brought by teachers and pupils into the classroom.

The interpretations of these policymakers revealed one longstanding ideology which has been shaping nation-building projects in diverse bilingual education settings around the world: that is, the beliefs that language is a stable and bounded entity ideology. As many scholars (eg. Lin, 2013) have shown, these ideologies of bilingualism are associated with powerful political and academic discourses about language being tied to nation and identity.

11.2 The significance of this study

To my knowledge, this is the first study conducted in classrooms in Timor-Leste to have incorporated a linguistic ethnographic perspective. Schools in post-colonial context of Timor-Leste are an interesting research site due to the multilingual environment, and due to the fact that a bilingual policy is still in the process of being

implemented after years of occupation by external forces that imposed strict monolingual policies. This doctoral project is a contribution to Southeast Asian studies, to the development of sociolinguistic and ethnographic work in the region, to the growing body of empirically-informed studies of multilingualism in primary classrooms and to research in language policy that is grounded in theoretical and methodological framework of linguistic ethnography.

The broad aim of this study was to reveal a “close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world” (Creese, 2008, p.233). The detailed descriptions of the classroom interactions were guided by my conviction (based on my reading of the interpretative tradition in social sciences) about the importance of looking closely at multilingual classroom talk in order to understand the ways in which wider social, policy processes and ideologies of language are enacted by teachers and pupils in everyday life. The interdisciplinary research orientation of Linguistic Ethnography enabled me to combine different theoretical concepts in order to explore different layers of language policy and different dimensions of multilingual classroom interaction. In this study, I demonstrate not only the ways in which the language policy and language ideologies were evoked in the teachers and the pupils linguistic practices around the textbook, but also the ways in which teachers and pupils linguistic practices shaped the meanings being constructed around the textbook. By looking at the ways in which the interactional order was constructed, I illustrated how the language policy led to the construction of asymmetrical relationships due to the different language proficiencies of different participants in the classroom. Yet, the two teachers found ways of mediating the textbook and providing access to textual knowledge. There was a striking synchrony between the bilingual classroom practices and policymakers views and a commitment among teachers and policymakers about the need to implement the current form of bilingual education in the classrooms and to develop the nation-building project. Nevertheless, longstanding and hegemonic ideologies about language and bilingualism/multilingualism were still shaping language-in-education policy in Timor-

Leste. Taking account of the role of the Portuguese language in the history and in the current language policy in Timor-Leste, this doctoral study provided insights into specific situated ways in which the nation-building project of Timor-Leste has been privileging Portuguese in relationship to Tetum at the classroom level and in the discourses of policymakers.

To conclude, I will also note that researcher's reflexivity is an important matter in linguistic ethnography. My experience as an ethnographer studying the society in which I have kinship and heritage ties has made me profoundly aware of how the process of negotiating being both an insider and outsider is not always straightforward. As far as I know, this is the first study in the field of linguistic ethnography to consider the role of local mediators in gaining access to a research site. By exploring the role of local mediators, I hoped to foreground the participation of others in the making of this ethnographic account, and voices of other people who also played a significant role in the research. Such people are also part of a researcher's social world, but their contribution is not always revealed in ethnographic research.

11.3 Teaching bilingually in Timor-Leste: Pedagogical implications

The implementation of the language-in-education policy in Timor-Leste has been a challenging process since 1999 (Cabral, 2013; Taylor-Leech, 2013). The short number of trained teachers proficient in Portuguese, the large population of schooling age, the limited number of schools, overcrowded classrooms and lack of materials in Portuguese and Tetum were some aspects that were considered to be challenging in the implementation of the new language-in-education policy in Timor-Leste at the time of my fieldwork. This study has demonstrated the ways in which two teachers were committed to implementing the language policy despite the general educational conditions.

The teachers in this study had their own personal allegiances to the Portuguese language, they were engaged in training to teach in Portuguese language only, and code-switching into Tetum was a strategy to tackle the problem of pupils' linguistic proficiency. Using pupils' linguistic and local knowledge was the overall pedagogical strategy of the two teachers as they endeavoured to teach the language and content of the textbook in Portuguese. In this study, I have drawn attention to the significant potential of the code-switching practices between Portuguese and Tetum. Since the teachers and the pupils were dealing with textual knowledge and a language which they were not very familiar with, code-switching served as a key communicative resource for connecting the textual knowledge and pupils' local knowledge as well as their linguistic knowledge. In workshops with teachers these strategies could be more explored in local detail. The current investment in teacher initial training should cover not only how to teach in Portuguese language, but also has to develop bilingual educational pedagogies including the use of Tetum and/or other national languages. In this bilingual educational training, the notion of language as fluid and changing resource could also be developed. Given the value of both Portuguese and Tetum for social mobility in Timor-Leste, teachers should be encouraged to provide pupils with access to these two languages regardless of the linguistic resources they bring into the classroom. Taking into account areas outside the capital city in which pupils might have another national language in their linguistic repertoire, teachers ought to be in the classroom confident about using any available linguistic resource in teaching and learning, in learning curriculum knowledge and in providing access to the two official languages. As I have shown, Portuguese was considered the language with the highest status, but from this study it is clear that the use of Portuguese as the only medium of instruction would constrain subtle exchange of meanings in the classroom. Tetum is currently an important communicative resource and should not be promoted only as a supplementary language subordinated to Portuguese. An explicit bilingual pedagogy needs to be designed for primary education in Timor-Leste: one that takes

account of the specific sociolinguistic condition in particular areas of the country, while at the same time, drawing on the broad insight emerging from code-switching and multilingual classroom practice and on current thinking about the value of 'flexible bilingualism'. As Blackledge and Creese (2010) have recently noted in their work on translanguaging practices as a bilingual pedagogy, flexible bilingualism and the intertwining of language can be "used by teachers as an instructional strategy to make links for classroom participants between the social, cultural, community and linguistic domains of their lives" (p.213).

The lack of materials to teach was also an important issue and this still places a serious restriction on the promotion of bilingual education in Timor-Leste. Using only textbooks in the Portuguese language for teaching and learning, and not bilingual textbooks in Portuguese and Tetum, was an option adopted by the Ministry of Education. With appropriate training in bilingual pedagogies, teachers might be able to handle the mediation and transmission of content with greater ease, but this may also send the message that Portuguese is the legitimate language to be included in the textbooks, and not Tetum. The representation of Tetum alongside Portuguese in textbooks could help to enhance the value of Tetum as an equally prestige language in the nation-building of Timor-Leste. Investment in biliteracy development, along with the lines drawn by Hornberger (2002) could address the current asymmetries in languages and literacies.

11.4 Limitations and recommendations for further research

I spent 4 months conducting fieldwork in Timor-Leste, but in total I spent only 2 months, as part of the second term, doing school observations. Despite the relationship of trust that I managed to build up with the participants and because of the kinds of data I was able to gather due to my insider status, the scope of my observation was limited. I believe that if I had had the possibility of spending two terms in the school as I

had originally planned or if I had been in the field over the whole school year, I could have observed the teachers' classroom practices over a longer period of time. Perhaps I could also have captured other patterns and changes in the participants' behaviours, and I would have offered greater depth of analysis over a longer period. Becoming aware of the significance of these time constraints contributed to my learning as an ethnographer.

Another dimension of local interpretations of the language policy was that of the pupils' parents. I would have also liked to have studied parents' views regarding current practice in teaching and learning in Portuguese and Tetum. With more time in the field, it would have also been interesting to have followed closely two or three pupils to learn about their insights into the experience of being taught in Portuguese and Tetum.

Despite these constraints on the scope of this doctoral study, I still believe that it can be a useful reference for future projects in Timor-Leste focused on multilingual practices in the classroom. The study was conducted in Dili, the capital city where Tetum is the national language spoken by the majority of the East-Timorese, and it is a context in which people are close to the centre of political powers. It is also an urban context where Portuguese is more likely to be used than in other regions of Timor-Leste. Timor-Leste has an area of 15 thousand km² with a population of slightly over 1 million of inhabitants, speaking 15 to 20 local languages (Hajek, 2002). The administration of education is divided into 13 districts. The role of other national languages is also stated in the constitution of the country and there have been changes in the educational policy which made it possible for those languages to be used in the classrooms as well. The study of educational processes in primary schools in different regions in Timor-Leste would illustrate the classroom practices emerging in classrooms in which other local languages are used alongside with Portuguese. For instance, one of the participants in my study, the academic I interviewed, argued that the local languages should be preserved locally, in the region where they are spoken because the country has small dimensions, with a relatively small population and people's

movement between regions has increased given them access to the local language of the region they moved into. Considered together these three factors are still shaping East-Timorese people's linguistic repertoires; some might not necessarily keep the language of the region they come from if they move to another district or to the capital city. Conducting studies with a bottom-up perspective on language-in-education policy made it possible to provide a wider picture of ideological struggles and representations of what language(s) are privileged in a nation-building project (Heller, 2006) like Timor-Leste, while at the same time gaining detailed insights into the local practices that are emerging.

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APPENDICES TO:

MULTILINGUAL TALK, CLASSROOM TEXTBOOKS AND LANGUAGE VALUES: A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY IN TIMOR-LESTE

A thesis submitted to
the University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Education
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
January 2015

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APPENDIX 1: Schedule of my fieldwork activities in Dili, Timor-Leste

MARCH 2012

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11 Leaving the UK
12	13 -Arrival in Timor-Leste	14	15	16 Meeting up: Alan Carneiro	17	18
19	20 -Consent from Dili district office of the Ministry of Education (Direcção Distrital da Educação de Distrito Díli)	21	22 -National University of Dili: Researcher's Identity Card	23 -University of Dili: Researcher's Identity Card -School B: presenting the MoE's signed consent form to the headteacher; arranging the school observations	24	25
26	27	28	29 ALOLA Foundation – workshop about how to make books for and about children	30 -University of Dili: Researcher's Identity Card	31	

APRIL 2012

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8 Easter Sunday
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23 -Attempt to interview a member of Parliament School B: to confirm the starting date of classroom observations	24	25 -INTERVIEW: Pedro Magno	26 -School B (morning): meeting with the headteacher directora -School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Tina	27 -School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Adelia	28	29
30 -School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia						

MAY 2012

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1 Holiday	2 -School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana	3 Going to MoE w/ DIOGO -School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia	4 INTERVIEW: Manuel Gomes; Tomás Mota	5	6
7 -School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia	8	9	10	11 School B: no school	12	13
14 -School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Maria	15 -School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Pedro. Year 6, Teacher Lucia	16 -School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana. Year 4 Teacher Maria	17 Holiday	18 Holiday	19	20
21 Holiday	22 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia	23 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Maria	24 School B (afternoon): Teacher Lucia (Book Fair)	25 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana	26	27 INTERVIEW: Júlio Neto
28 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia – RECORDING 1	29 INTERVIEW (morning): Daniel Santos 1 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana	30	31 INTERVIEW (morning): Daniel Santos 2 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Maria			

JUNE 2012

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
				1 Holiday SKYPE MEETING: AC, 11H	2	3
4 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia – RECORDING 2	5 INTERVIEW (morning): Daniel Santos 3 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 1	6 INTERVIEW (morning): Daniel Santos 4	7 Holiday	8 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Dalia – RECORDING 3	9	10
11 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana	12 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 2	13 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana RECORDING 1	14 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 3	15	16	17
18 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana	19 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 4 SKYPE MEETING: AC, 11H UK	20 INTERVIEW (morning): Paulo Costa 1	21 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 5	22 INTERVIEW (morning): Paulo Costa 2	23	24
25 School A (afternoon): Year 4, Teacher Ana RECORDING 2	26 School B (afternoon): Year 6, Teacher Lucia RECORDING 6	27	28 INTERVIEW: General director of School B	29	30	

JULY 2012

2.ª feira	3.ª feira	4.ª feira	5.ª feira	6.ª feira	Sábado	Domingo
						1
2 INTERVIEW: Headteacher of School A	3	4	5 INTERVIEWS: Teacher Dalia; 2 girls of Year 6	6	7 INTERVIEWS: 3 girls of Year 6	8
9	10	11 INTERVIEW: Teacher Lucia	12 RETURN TO UK	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

APPENDIX 2 – Recruitment letters: In Tetum (left) and Portuguese (right)

Karik ida neé sei bele interrompe profesor no alunus nia aula?

Lae. Ideia husi projetu ida neé maka hakarak atu compriende oinsa diretor, profesores no mos alunus sira uza tetum, portuges, ou dalaruma lian seluk hodi komunika ba malu lor-loron iha sala de aula. Istudu ida neé sei la sai hanesan interrompe tamba hau nia interese atu hodi hatene oinsa normalmente aulas hala'o. Hau partisipa duni iha atividades profesor husu oinsá por ezemplu ba ajuda alunus sira ho atividade ida iha sala de aula.

Saida maka hau sei halo ho informasaun sira nebé mak hau hetan ho ita bo'ot nia ajuda?

Hau sei uza deit kontextu akademiku atu hatu informasaun nebe mak hau hetan. Por ezemplu, hau sei uza iha hau nia teze doutoramentu nian, hau sei publika iha jornal akadémiku no hau mos sei apresenta iha konferénsia públika nebé karik sei uza vídiu gravaun balu deit.

Benfisiu saida deit mak husi projetu ida nee ba iskola no ba komundadi?

Hau fiar katak hau iha responsabilidadi ba eskola no mos partisipantes sira hotu nebé maka ajuda hau iha dezvoltamentu projetu doutoramentu ida ne'e. Hau mos atu fo hikas fali informasaun ba iskola no participantes sira hotu, husi resultados ikus liu nebe mak hau hetan iha hau nia istudu final husi lian tétum ka portuges. Hau hein katak hau nia istudu ne'e bele ajuda no hadia metodu hanorin iha sala de aula nebé maka refere ba usa lian tétum ka portuges.

Irá o meu estudo interromper as aulas?

Não. A minha ideia é de conhecer como os professores e alunos usam Tétum e Português (e/ou até outra língua) diariamente na sala de aula. Não pretendo interromper o decurso normal das aulas, mas observar e conhecer como as aulas decorrem habitualmente. Participarei apenas nas actividades da sala de aula se o/a professor/a assim o desejar, como por exemplo, ajudar os alunos nas actividades da sala de aula.

Como eu irei usar a informação recolhida neste estudo?

Eu irei usá-la apenas em contextos académicos. Por exemplo, eu a usarei na minha tese de doutoramento, publicarei em jornais académicos e, a apresentarei em conferências públicas onde poderei usar algumas das gravações feitas em vídeo.

Quais são as vantagens deste projecto para a escola?

Eu acredito que tenho responsabilidades para a escola e para os participantes que me ajudarem a desenvolver este estudo. Eu irei fornecer um sumário das minhas observações durante a minha estadia na escola, bem com os resultados finais no final do meu estudo em Tétum e/ou Português. Espero que o meu estudo possa ajudar a melhorar as práticas educativas e pedagógicas na sala de aula no que se refere ao uso do Tétum e Português.

CARTA DE APRESENTASAUN

Hau nia naran Ildegrada e hau nudar estudante dotoramentu iha Faculdadi de Edukasaun nian husi Universidadi Birmingham. Hau agora dadaun neé hala'o hela serbisu ba projetu de peskiza dotoramentu iha área bilingismu e multilingismu nian. Título husi hau nia projetu maka: "Husi política linguística nian ba iha prátika iha sala de aula nia laran: estuda iskola primária rua iha Timor Leste". Hau serbisu hamutuk ho Universidade de Timor-Leste no Instituto Nacional de Linguística de Timor-Leste.

Saida mak hau tenta atu estuda?

Hau interesse tebes atu hatene pontu de vista nebé maka ukun-nain polítikus balu iha Ministério da Edukasaun, directores, profesores primária e alunos sira iha em relasaun ho utilizaun tetum ka portuges. Objetivu principal husi estudu ida neé maka buka hatene (a fundo) profesores e alunos sira nia pratica iha relasaun ho utilizaun lian tétum no portuges iha sala de aula. Hau hodi bele halo dokumentasaun ba dezafius nebé maka profesores no alunos iskola primária sira enfrenta wainhira sira utiliza lian tétum no portuges.

Oinsa maka hau tenta atu compreende situasaun ida neé?

Hodi bele compreende professor no alunos sira nia pratica, hau sei buka atu koalia ho ukun-nain polítiku sira. Hau mos sei ba koalia ho directores no profesores sira, no hau mos sei tama iha aulas balu para hodi coñese profesores no mos alunos sira iha turma laran iha tempu balu. Iha turma nia laran hau sei hala'o observaun ba lisaun sira, i hau mos sei hakerek saida deit maka hau observa. Hau mos hakarak atu halo gravasaun audiu i vídiu ba aulas nebé maka hau observa. Hau mos bele ajuda profesores no alunos sira halao sira nia tarefa, wainhira sira prezisa. I depois, iha projetu neé mos hau sei buka joven nain rua ou tolu hodi hau bele hatene sira nia esperiensa kona ba bilingismu iha iskola. Hau sei muda naran sira hotu, atu nuné bele proteje sira hotu nia identidadi. Informasaun sira hotu nebé mak hau hetan sei totalmente konfidensial.

CARTA DE APRESENTAÇÃO

O meu nome é Ildegrada e sou uma estudante de doutoramento na Escola de Educação, da Universidade de Birmingham, em Inglaterra. Estou a fazer um trabalho de pesquisa na área do bilinguismo e multilinguismo cujo título é: "Da política educativa às práticas na sala de aula: o estudo de duas escolas primárias em Timor-Leste". Este meu estudo conta com a colaboração da Universidade Nacional de Timor Leste e do Instituto de Linguística de Timor-Leste.

O que eu pretendo estudar?

Eu estou interessada em entender a perspectiva sobre a política linguística de alguns membros do Ministério da Educação, mas também de directores de escola, professores e alunos no uso do Tétum e Português línguas nas escolas primárias de Timor-Leste. O meu objectivo principal é, essencialmente, procurar compreender a fundo as práticas educativas dos professores e alunos no uso destas duas línguas. Deste modo, poderei retratar essas práticas educativas, bem como os desafios enfrentados pelos professores e alunos no seu dia-a-dia nas escolas no uso do Tétum e Português.

Como pretendo compreender esta realidade?

Para compreender estas práticas linguísticas eu gostaria de falar com diferentes membros do Ministério da Educação, bem como com directores de escola, professores e alunos. Além disso, eu gostaria também de poder observar as práticas educativas nas salas de aula por algum tempo para conhecer os professores e os alunos na realidade das suas escolas. Nessas aulas, eu irei tomar notas daquilo que eu observar. Mais tarde, eu gostaria de poder também gravar e/ou filmar essas aulas. Depois eu gostaria ainda de falar e seguir dois ou três alunos para saber mais sobre as suas experiências linguísticas na escola. Irei manter o anonimato dos participantes ao mudar-lhes o nome. Toda a informação recolhida para este estudo será confidencial.

From language policy to classroom practice: studying two primary schools in East-Timor

My name is Ildegrada and I am a PhD student at the School of Education in University of Birmingham (UK). I am working on a doctoral research project in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism. My research project will focus on East Timorese teachers and pupils of primary schools in urban and rural areas of East Timor.

Who am I?

I am doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham, and my study is being developed under the supervision of Professor Angela Creese. The title of the project is “From language policy to classroom practice: studying two primary schools in East Timor”. I graduated and worked as a primary school teacher in Portugal and I also did a masters research project in Birmingham with migrant East Timorese people living in Northern Ireland.

What am I trying to study?

I am interested in finding out about teachers and pupils’ experiences in bilingualism and multilingualism primary schools in East Timor. I would like to find out what the views of policy makers, headteachers, primary teachers and pupils are on the use of Tetum and Portuguese in schools, and the ways in which teachers are using Tetum and Portuguese in their classroom. The aim of the study is to document the challenges faced by teachers and pupils on the use of Tetum and Portuguese in the classrooms of primary schools.

How am I trying to find the answers?

To find some answers I will talk to policy makers. I will also come to school to talk with the headteachers and teachers, and come to some lessons to get to know the teachers and the students in the class. In the classroom I will be observing the lessons, and I will often take some notes of what I am observing. I would also like to audio- and video-record the lessons I am observing. If asked I am able to assist teachers and pupils in their tasks as well. Later in the project I will be seeking two or three young people so that I can find out more about their experiences in bilingualism and multilingualism at school.

Will this be disruptive?

The idea of the project is to understand how headteachers, teachers and students use Tetum, Portuguese or perhaps any other language to communicate everyday in the classroom. The study will not be disruptive as I am interested in how lessons typically take place. I will change people's names in order to protect everyone's identity. All the information that I collect will be totally confidential.

What will I do with the information gathered with your help?

I will only use the information collected in academic contexts. For instance, I will write on my doctoral thesis, I will publish on academic journals, and I will present it at public conferences where I may use extracts from the video recordings.

What are the benefits of this project for the school and the community?

I believe that I have a responsibility towards the schools and the participants who helped me to develop this doctoral research project. I will provide feedback to the schools and the participants during the duration of the project and a final report in the end of the project in an accessible form. This will be provided both in Tetum and Portuguese.

Contacts

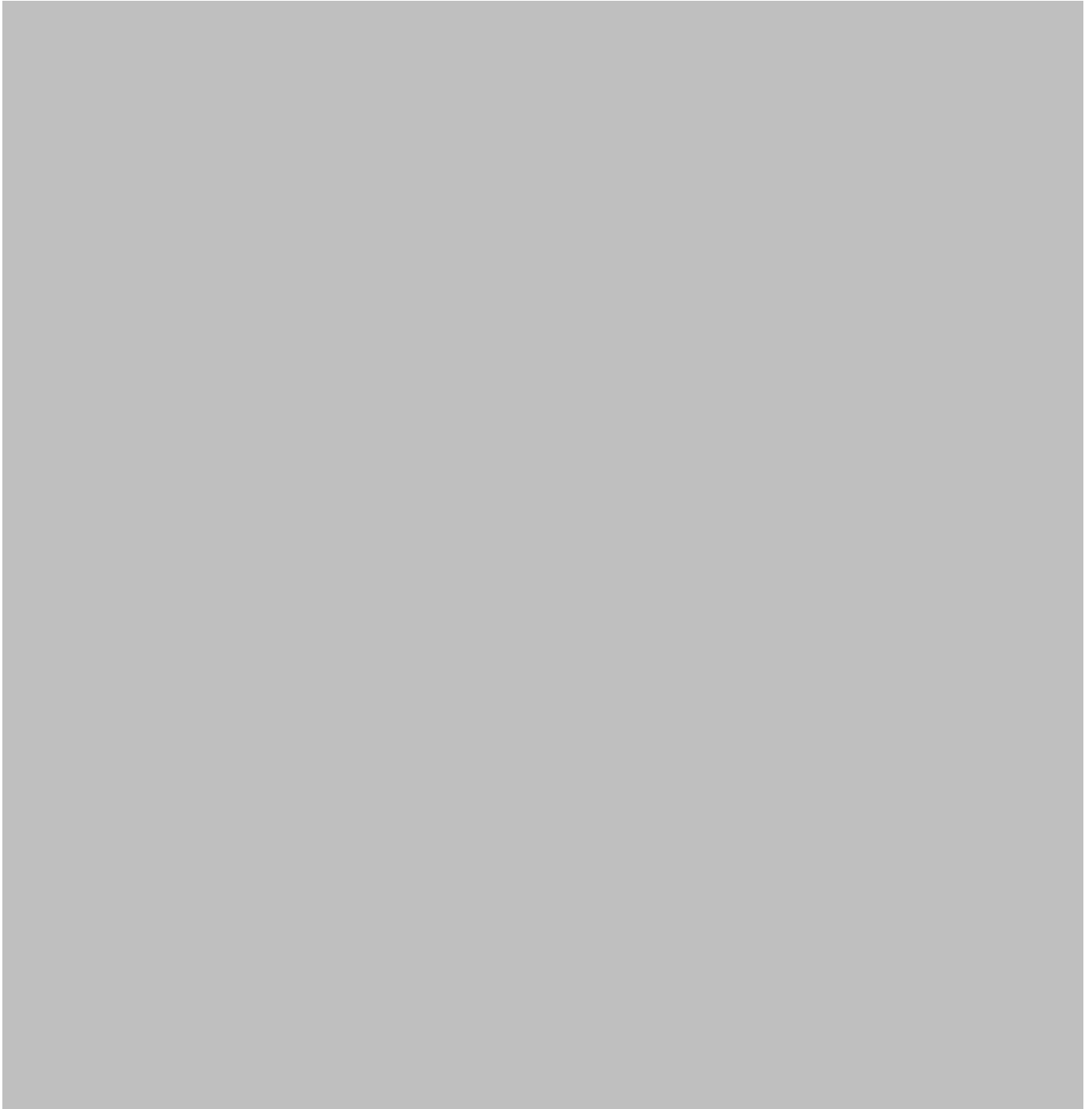
If you would like to discuss this project further, then please contact me or my supervisor by using the contacts below:

Ildegrada da Costa Cabral

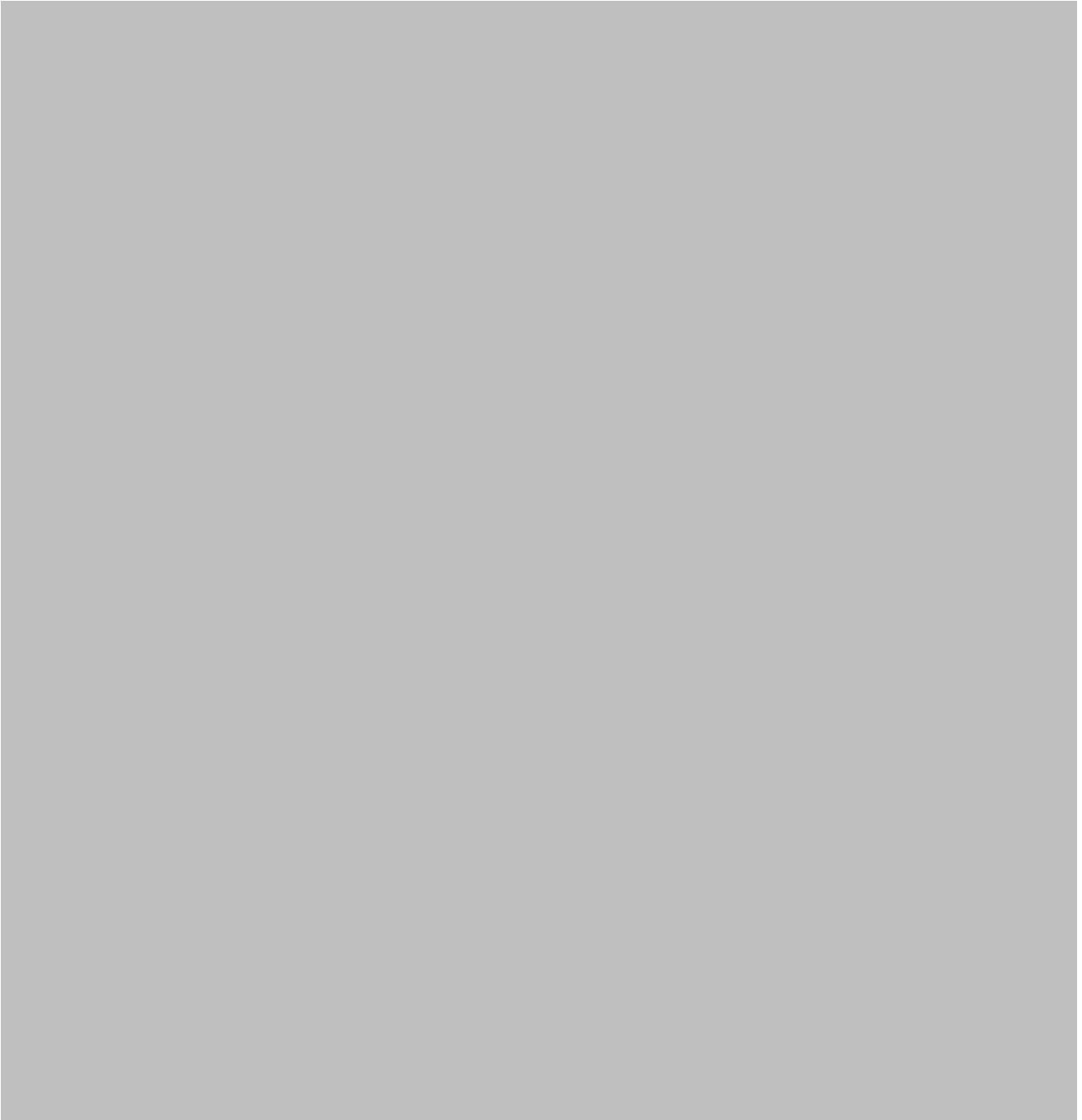
Professor Angela Creese

APPENDIX 3 – Gaining access to the research site: Emails exchange

Arrangements to ask for the official permission from the National Institute of Linguistics



Email 2: 23 October 2011 08:44



APPENDIX 4 – Parents’ consent form in Tetum

TERMO CONSENTIMENTO PARTISIPANTE NIAN IHA INVESTIGASAUN

- Hau konfirma katak hau compreende tiha ona informasaun nebe mak apresenta kona ba projecto ba investigasaun sientífica ba doutoramentu nian.
- Hau kompreende katak estudante ba dotoramentu halo filmagem e entrevista ba hau nia formandu sira durante aulas.
- Hau kompreende katak dados nebe mak recolhe husi hau nia formandu sei konfidensial no iha seguransa.
- Hau kompreende katak dados hirak nebe mak grava tiha ona sei continua nafatin laiha naran se hau la husu kontrario.
- Hau kompreende katak hau nia formando nia participasaun voluntária hau livre atu hasai sira husi investigasaun no hau la iha necessidade atu halo justificasaun ruma.
- Hau kompreende katak dados sira nebe mak recolhe tiha ona sei usa deit ba pesquisa hanesan publicasaun ba jornal academiku, apresentasaun no conferencias.
- Hau iha oportunidade atu analiza informasaun kona ba investigasaun no halo mos pergunta balu hau senti kontente tebes ho respostas sira.

Hau aseita hau nia formando atu partisipa projeto investigasaun ida ne.

Nome do aluno _____

Assinatura do aluno

Assinatura do Encarregado de Educação

Data _____

Contacto _____



APPENDIX 5 – Parents’ consent form in Portuguese

TERMOS DO CONSENTIMENTO DO PARTICIPANTE NA INVESTIGAÇÃO

- Eu confirmo que li e compreendi a informação apresentada sobre este projecto de investigação científica para doutoramento.
- Eu compreendo que o meu educando será vídeo-gravado em algumas aulas.
- Eu compreendo que toda a informação recolhida sobre o meu educando será confidencial e mantida em segurança.
- Eu compreendo que toda a informação gravada será mantida no anonimato, a não ser que eu peça o contrário.
- Eu compreendo que a participação do meu educando é voluntária e que sou livre de retirar a participação dele da investigação, sem dar qualquer justificação.
- Eu compreendo que a informação recolhida será usada apenas para efeitos da pesquisa tais como publicações em jornais académicos e apresentações em conferências.
- Eu tive a oportunidade de analisar a informação sobre esta investigação, fazer perguntas de ter ficado satisfeito com as respostas dadas.

Eu concordo em participar neste projecto de investigação.

Nome do aluno _____

Assinatura do aluno

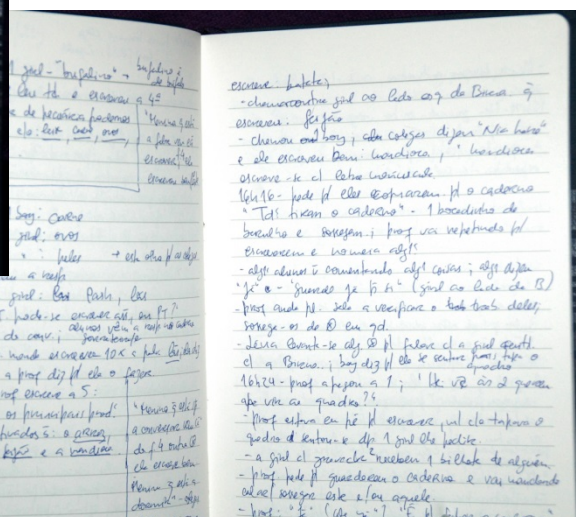
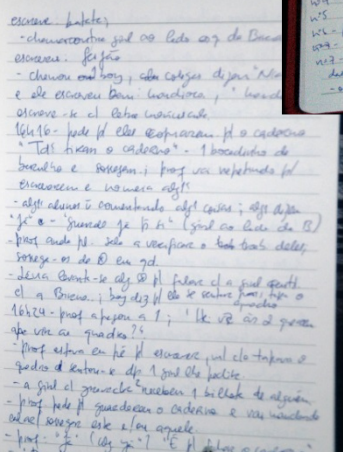
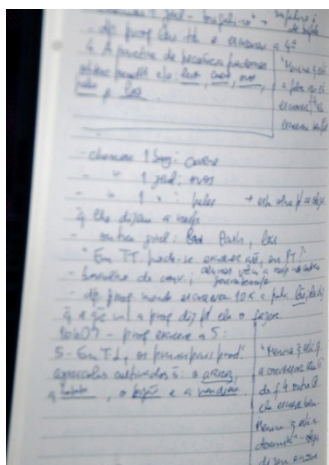
Assinatura do Encarregado de Educação

Data _____

Contacto _____



APPENDIX 6 – Examples of fieldnotes handwritten on the A5 notebook, before being typed up



APPENDIX 7 – Fieldnotes Extracts: Conversations on language issues in Timor-Leste

Fieldnotes from 30/03/2012

Today I had lunch with Sister Lucia from a Portuguese congregation. She is a Portuguese Sister working in Oecussi where the local language is called Baikeno. We were talking about my research topic and then she started telling me what some university students in Oecussi have told her about the mother tongue (MT) question. MT has been a hot topic here in Díli. They told her the following: “Sister, if we were learning our mother tongue would we be at the university now?”. Other people had told her: “We want our children to learn Tetum in order to move forward. They already know Baikeno, they go to school to learn Tetum. To learn in Baikeno is to move backward”.

Sister Lucia also told about the visit of Kirsty Gusmão (KG) to Oecussi in last summer. She came to promote the use of MT as the medium of instruction. KG asked Sister Lucia if she could give her a lift. Sister Lucia agreed to drive her, although she felt a bit embarrassed. She drove KG with police escort. Sister Lucia said that at that time she did wonder why KG did not come with the police escort herself. She said that she realised a few months later in conversation with the Administrator of ME of Oecussi district that KG came to the Oecussi to promote MT programmes but she did not have the official permission from the Ministry of Education (ME) to do it, and for that reason an official car was not granted for her in to move around Oecussi. This Admin told sister Lucia that he knew she was coming to do that, but that he was against it and that he did not give an official permission to do that. He also said that in a meeting in Oecussi where she was trying to promote this idea, he affirmed there to be against it, but he immediately received a text message to be careful with what he was saying and with his wordings! Sister Lucia suspected that it should be someone who was there since this presentation was not transmitted on any medium of communication. KG asked permission to promote this idea to the teachers and the Admin gave her permission to come and talk only on a Saturday and Sunday. For Sister Lucia this showed that the ME was not very interested on this idea.

At the time KG gave a brochure about the MT to sister Lucia who took it home and she showed to her Sisters/nuns at home. The brochure was in Tetum in large letters, then in Baikeno

language in smaller letters than in Tetum, and then in Portuguese in even smaller letters. One of the Sisters in the house was from Oecussi and as she read the brochure she reacted immediately by saying: “Oh this is Baikeno from the Indonesian! No, no, we don’t want to learn Baikeno from Indonesia”. Sister Lucia said that it was a spontaneous reaction from this person.

APPENDIX 8 – Full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Portuguese Language subject with teacher Dalia (Example 1)

30/04/2012, Portuguese language lesson

When I arrived at the school, the pupils were already lining up to enter the room. The HT was on the top of the stairs. I walked towards her and greeted her. She was all dressed up. I stood up there next to her, she started talking to the pupils, I walked away a few meters, and I stand up on the side. She started in Portuguese language. One of her first questions for the pupils was: “Estamos no fim do mês de?” (Which month are we?). Pupils replied: “Abril” (April). Her speech to the pupils was about the month May which was starting tomorrow. She said that on May it was the month on dedication to “Nossa Senhora” (Lady Mary) who is also the mother of everyone. The HT asked them in Portuguese: “Vocês amam a vossa mãe?” (Do you love your mother?). The pupils did not reply and she repeated in Tetum: “Imi adomi imi nia ina?” (Do you love your mother?). They replied positively to the question. Her speech was in Tetum until the end of the class. She asked them about what they do to show how they love their mother, but the children seemed not know what to reply. The HT told them that if they love their mother, they would help her for instance on cleaning the house. She told them at the school in order to show their love to “Nossa Senhora” they have to bring everyday a flower and “rezar o terço” (pray the rosary). When she finished talking, the pupils started walking to their classrooms.

It was about 13h10 when Year 6 B entered in their classroom. I went to talk to their teacher and she invited me to enter her classroom. Pupils greeted me with the usual: “Boa tarde, professora” (Good afternoon, teacher). The teacher went to the back of the classroom to take some books out of the ‘armário’. When she finished, she came to the front, and I asked her if I could sit at the back in front of the ‘armário’ in which she was taking the books out. She replied positively to my question. The teacher wrote on the blackboard the number lesson and the summary of today’s lesson:

Lição n.º 12

Disciplina: Língua Portuguesa

Sumário: leitura e interpretação do texto.

Pupils started copying what was on the blackboard while the teacher started handing off the books of Portuguese language. She handed me one as well so that I could follow the reading I guessed. As the pupils finished copying they started talking mostly in order to arrange themselves to share the book and follow the reading of the text. The teacher told loudly to the pupils: “Silêncio, meninos! Abram o livro na página 24”. They started open the book, and a few minutes later she said: “Vão fazer a leitura silenciosa. A leitura silenciosa é?”. Some pupils replied: “Ler com os olhos”. The teacher added: “Ler com a vista”. The title of the text was: “O coca-bichinhos”. However, I could hear their voices reading because many of them were reading lower but not in silence.

I decided to check the book of Portuguese language. It was:

8 mundos, 8 vozes

6.º ano

Língua Portuguesa

Lúcia Valadares, Luísa Solla, Sabina Fonseca

Ilustrações: Planeta Tangerina

Consultor sócio-cultural: Luís Costa

Patrocínio: Galp energia

The pupils were becoming unquiet, and the teacher loudly told them: “Por favor ida, leitura silenciosa laos para le hansa ne’e”. The pupils were quiet for a few minutes, but then they started reading very low again. Two girls in front of me were sharing the book, one read then she passed to the other when she finished. Some pupils were chatting. The teacher seemed to be reading the text as well. She asked the children to be quiet every time she saw them getting unquiet.

A few minutes later she asked the whole class: “Já acabaram?” (Have you finished (reading)?). They replied altogether: “Siiim” (Yeeess). She added: “Quem é que vai ler?” (Who’s going to read?), and she quickly picked someone to start reading the text. The girl got up and went up to the front to read loud for the whole class. Her classmates were quiet, and I could hear quiet well at the back. She read very well. It was a long text, but she read only part of it. Then the teacher told her to stop, she went back to her seat and called another girl to continue reading from

where the previous one had finished. She read well, and a similar sequence of events that occurred with the first girl was repeated with her. Two other girls came after who read the rest of the text, and the same happened to them. The whole text was read by 4 pupils. The teacher would call their name or looked at the one she wanted to come to read. The text was read about nine times in groups of four. On the second round of reading the text I could listen to some pupils reading at the same time that the one who was reading at the front. On the third round, some pupils were chatting lower, and the girl who was reading was not reading very loud, so the teacher told her: “Lê em voz alta que a professora não consegue ouvir”. The teacher was worried that I could not hear the reading well. When she called another girl to read, she ‘apontou’ to her, and the girl asked “Hau?”. She got up to read as the teacher replied positively to her. Some pupils were turning back and looking at me. The teacher helped her out in her reading because she was reading with some difficulties. I was sitting by the window. A boy came to ask money to her sister who was in the classroom. He spoke in Tetum. On the fourth round came the first boy to read. He read with some difficulties, and not very loud, so the teacher told him: “José, lê em voz alta José”. She turned to the whole class and said: “Shhh! Silêncio! Acompanha a leitura dele”. As José was reading one girl got up, went to blackboard and added some numbers in front of the letters that were already written there, went back to her seat, but came back again, erase and correct what she had first written. She wrote as it follows:

M – (22) 16

F – (16) 22

T – (38)

FLT – M – 5

F – 3

Most of the class was distracted from the reading activity: they were chatting in Tetum, they were checking how many pupils were there. The teacher told the boy who was reading: “Luís, lê em voz alta”. He was reading with some difficulties, and she was helping him. The other pupils were very unquiet and the teacher told them: “Shhhh! Estão a acompanhar a leitura?”. There were also noises of the voices of next classroom door. Close to 14h, at the fifth round, the teacher called another boy to come and read: “Outro. Vá depressa”. When the second boy of this fifth round

came he continued the reading, but from the wrong part of the text. The teacher told him off: “Não prestaste atenção”. He read with many difficulties, and with the help of the teacher in fewer words. When he went back to his seat he seemed to be a bit disappointed with this reading performance. On the sixth round the pupils were very unquiet, and the teacher told them twice to be quiet: “Shhh, silêncio!”, but they continued with the noise. Fewer were quiet. I think they were copying the text to their notebook.

At about 14h10, the teacher left the classroom to deal with some urgent matter. I was alone for a very short time. The boy was reading very low, and his classmates asked him loudly: “Lê makas”. I told loud as I could: “Lê mais alto. Vocês calam-se para eu poder ouvir também”. When the teacher came back, she came to talk to me and she said in Portuguese: “Professora, tenho de fazer assim. Eles leem muito mal. No 1º período era pior, agora no 2.º período está um pouco melhor”. On the seventh round, the teacher asked afterwards to the class: “Quem é que ainda não veio?”. Then she called “Eva”. Another girl also got up and started walking towards the door. She said she was ill. The teacher put her head on the girl’s head, and allowed her to leave the school. Before leaving the classroom, the girl looked at me and said in Tetum: “Hau ba lae”. The teacher and everyone laughed because of what the girl just said. The teacher asked again the class: “Vá quem mais ainda não leu?”. She called “Gere” to read. One boy sitting in front of me told loudly to the teacher: “Sira nain rua sidauk lê”. The teacher left the room again for a very few minutes. This time was a girl reading. She was reading very low, so one of her classmates told her in Tetum: “Lê makas uituan”. Another girl added: “Lê mais alto”. On the eighth round of reading the text, a boy was reading and the teacher told him: “Nelso, lê em voz alta”. Then asked the whole class: “Vocês estão a ouvir a voz dele aí no fundo?”. The pupils replied in chorus: “Naaaão”. He was reading very low and with difficulties. It was about 14h30. On the ninth round and last round of reading, the pupils were increasingly unquiet: they were chatting, turning and moving around at their seats. The teacher told them: “Vocês estão a acompanhar a leitura? Hanusa imi bele aprende. Imi halimar”. They were still unquiet. At about 14h45, the pupils were still very noisy. There was a boy reading very low, and the teacher told him: “Lê makas. Sira ne ba la bele rona ho nia lian”.

When he finished reading, the teacher told to the class: “Agora meninos vão tirar palavras que vocês não conhecem. O glossário” (“Now children you are going to withdraw the words you

don't know. The glossary.). She repeated again since the pupils did not seem to have heard what she said. On this activity the pupils would say the words or expression they did not know, one pupil would go to the blackboard to write the word, the teacher would tell them the meaning, and that pupils would write it on the blackboard. The rest of the classroom would copy to their notebook. Someone said a word, and the teacher called a girl to go to the blackboard and write it down: "Vai escrever no quadro". It was the word "satisfeito". Then she said that the meaning was "contente" and "feliz". The girl wrote it on the blackboard as it follows:

satisfeito = contente, feliz

Another pupil asked the teacher: "Professora, bichos?". The teacher used a word in Tetum ("ular"), and checked the meaning of the word in Portuguese with me by asking me: "Professora, bichos são animais pequenos, pequeninos?". I replied to her: "pequeninos". Another word was "espantado" which the teacher said "admirado". A boy said the word "zangado" and the teacher said that it meant "chateado" and in Tetum "hirus". Someone asked about the word "troça" and the teacher replied "fazer pouco de". She checked the meaning of this word with me, and I confirmed that it was correct. I also told her that it could mean "gozar". Another pupil said "risada geral", and the boy who went to write on the blackboard wrote both words. Then someone said: "só risada, geral la tama". About the word "risada" the teacher said: "risada né riso, hamnasa". Another pupil asked the meaning of "desataram". The teacher asked someone to go the blackboard and write: "Quem é que vai escrever?". Then she seemed to look at the text, and said: "Professor koalia hotu e sira hotu hamnasa". After the pupil writing on the blackboard she asked: "Mais palavras desconhecidas?". Someone said an expression and a girl told to another: "Celina, hakerek. Ba ona", but the teacher picked a boy instead to go there. The word was "coca-bichinhos". This expression was on their book, so the boy just copied it. The teacher asked me whether the word "minuciosa" was connected to the word "minúscula". I replied; "Não, professora. Quer dizer *com pormenor*". She nodded. She asked again if there were more unknowing words as the boy was writing on the blackboard: "Mais palavras desconhecidas? Palavras que não conhecem?". Someone said "não aguentámos". The teacher replied: "Nia la tama/tahan. Não aguentámos, não suportámos. Nia la tahan, nia hamnasa". At the end of this activity the words on the board were as it follows:

At 15h the bell rang for break time. The teacher started in a rush with questions about the text. I could not hear the questions very well because of the background noise of children from other classroom at the playground. I picked only on some of the questions:

-“de que fala o texto?”

-“a história fala de um menino de?”

Many of the pupils were not paying attention to what she was saying or participating on the activity. When the teacher finished with the questions, she said: “Agora vamos fazer a análise morfológica”. This was done orally altogether, and not written down. The teacher said the word and the pupils analysed it. The words were:

“o – artigo definido, masculino, singular

aulas – nome comum, feminino, plural

Justino – nome próprio, masculino”

The last word was “escreveu”. The teacher asked: “Escreveu, em que tempo está?” (Wrote, what tense is?). Pupils replied altogether: “pretérito perfeito” (Past simple). The teacher told them: “Vamos conjugar” (Let's all conjugate it). Pupils said this verb altogether and loudly: “eu escrevi, tu escreveste, ele/ela escreveu, nós escrevemos, vos escreveste, eles/elas escreveram” (I wrote, you wrote, s/he wrote, we wrote, you wrote, they wrote). When they finished, she told them to go out for the break time. She came to me, and told me: “Professora, tem que ser assim. Leitura é fraco. Tenho de fazer todos os dias, quer dizer dia-sim, dia-não”. A few minutes later we both left the room and went to the teacher's room.

At the teacher's room I was offered rice, beans, and tea. I accepted tea only. There were other teachers there who came to have their break time meal. They chatted mainly in Tetum between them, and sometimes Portuguese if they addressed me. They asked me for instance the meaning of the word “lissa” in Bahasa-Indonesia. They explained me in Tetum what was it, and I said that it was ‘fazer vaquinha’ in colloquial Portuguese. Teachers usually gathered money every month, and then they would give to one of the teachers. They select the name of the teacher to give the money by ‘sorteio’. Mana Augusta also came. She asked to enter Year 6 B's class in order to teach the class 2 hymns to be sang at a mass service in the following day.

After the bell being rang each teacher slowly went back to their classroom. I walked out the teacher's room with 'professora' Dalia, and we chat for about 10 minutes at the playground. She repeated again what she told me about her pupils' reading skills in Portuguese not being good. While we were chatting we were also observing what some boys as they collected the garbage on the floor. The teacher told me concerning those pupils: "They only speak Tetum, they don't use Portuguese". I made some questions, and I learned from her about who teaches what subjects at the school:

- Professora Lucia was teaching Estudo do Meio

- Professora Adelia was teaching Mathematics, and was in charge of Year 6 A

- Professora Dalia was teaching Portuguese language, Belas-Artes and Religião Moral, and she was in charge of Year 6 B.

After checking this information with her, I left.

APPENDIX 9 – Full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Portuguese Language subject with teacher Dalia (Example 2)

07/05/2012, Portuguese language lesson

Today I arrived at about 12h50 at the school. The pupils were still praying the 'terço'. I waited by the teacher's room. A few minutes later 2 women and 3 men arrived. I guessed they were the 5 teacher trainees from UNTL that the school was going to receive, and I found out after that I was right. The vice-HT and 'professora' Dalia came to talk to them. Then 'professora' Dalia came and greeted me. She told me that they were pupils of 'professora' Yolanda at the university. Yolanda is her daughter, teacher at the school and at UNTL. We both graduated at the Escola Superior de Educação as primary school teachers. Then 'professora' Ana Pompeia also came and joined the conversation. She also talked about the teacher trainees who wanted to stay in the same classroom doing observation. I was surprised with this. 'Professora' Dalia left us to talk to 'professora' Alda, and see her pupils. The pupils have finished praying and they were leaving the chapel room. Another teacher came and joined the conversation. We also talked about their bachelor a few years ago. I asked 'professora' Pompeia when she did her bachelor. She said she started in 2003. She said that she did her course with Portuguese teachers. I asked if now was still Portuguese teachers or not. This second teacher said that now they were Timorese. Both of them said that they preferred having lessons with Portuguese teachers. They would teach better. One of the teachers said that the Timorese teachers if one asked the meaning of a word they would reprimand them and tell them to go and look themselves on the dictionary.

At about 13h10, the pupils were lining up, and both teachers excused themselves and left me. 'Professora' Pompeia went to talk to the pupils of Year 6. I could see from where I was that she was reprimanded them, although I could not hear them. One girl from Year 6 B (I think her name was Birna) went up to the front. She was waiting for 'professora' Pompeia to finish talking. When she finished, the girl started leading the singing of the Timorese national anthem. Some were singing, others not. After finishing singing they said: "Boa tardi, senhora professor". Then 'professora' Pompeia told them to enter their classroom, and they did. 'Professora' Pompeia came to me, and moaned about how disobedient the pupils of the afternoon years were. She preferred

the children in the morning. She said that three years ago they were not like this. I asked her which year she was teaching in the morning. She said “Quinto ano”. A few minutes later she had to leave, and I walked to the Year 6 B classroom with ‘professora’ Dalia.

At about 13h20, I entered the classroom. The pupils stand up and greeted me with the usual ‘Boa tardi, senhora professora’. Then I told them that they could sit down, and they did. The teacher was arranging some seats on the back for me and possibly for the teacher trainees who might come to observe her class later on. It took about ten minutes to do that. She even had to go outside to get some extra chairs for them. The teacher trainees were at next door with the Year 6 A. I waited for them to finish arranging the chairs and tables. The teacher told me that I could sit there now, and I thanked. I sat on the last row next to the boys there.

The teacher handed me the book of ‘Língua Portuguesa’ and told me: “Página 22, professora”. The pupils were copying the summary of today’s lesson on the blackboard. At about 13h30 the teacher distributed the books of ‘Língua Portuguesa’ to the pupils. There are not enough books for everyone, but there were at least one for two pupils. Then the teacher said: “Vão fazer leitura silenciosa. Quer dizer?”. Someone answered: “Ler com a vista”. The pupils started reading quietly, not in silence, but in a very low voice. The teacher seemed to be reading the text too. I copied what was on the blackboard:

Data: 7 de Maio de 2012

Disciplina: Língua Portuguesa

Sumário: Leitura e interpretação do texto

About ten minutes later, the teacher asked in Portuguese if the pupils had finished reading: “Já acabaram?”. Some said “Não”, while other said “Jáá”. She told them to be quiet and that she would start reading: “Agora vão ouvir a professor ler. Vão acompanhar a leitura”. She started reading, the pupils were making some noise, she stopped reading and said: “Shh, a professora lê”. The pupils calmed down, and quietly they listened to the teacher’s reading. When she finished reading, she asked them: “Compreenderam?”. Many said that they did not understand it.

The teacher started then doing questions about the text. She asked them in Portuguese: “O que vêm na gravura?”. She repeated the question in Portuguese. No one in the classroom answered the question. She repeated in Tetum the same question: “Imi hare sa ida iha gravura?”.

The pupils replied that they were Ngunga, Mavinga and the teacher. Next she explained in Portuguese to the pupils what meant to be a teacher. She continued asking them: “Quem é que fez esta pergunta: ‘És um rapaz esperto e corajoso?’”. She provided the answer that it was Mavinga. She asked: “O que é que ele vai aprender na escolar?”. One said “Ler”, others “Escrever”, and others “Estudar”. She asked next: “Ele nunca foi à escola?”. Many pupils replied in chorus “Não”. She continued: “Então ele não sabia escrever, ler. Vai aprender a ler e escrever”. A girl asked in Tetum: “Guerrilheiro ne sa ida?” (What does ‘guerrilheiro’ mean?). The teacher replied in Tetum: “Funu nain” (Guerrilla). Imi hatene Falintil nia musica funu nain?”. She did other questions here, but I did not get them. I got this next question: “O que é que o comandante disse para ele? Hum? Disse para ir ao mato, para viajar, para a escola?”. Many replied in choir “escola”. She added: “Para quê?”. They replied “Aprender”. Then she asked: “Ngunga não queria que o rapaz fosse guerrilheiro. Porquê?”. Someone said: “Porque o rapaz é pequeno”. The teacher said: “Porque ele é ainda novo como vocês”. She continued asking: “Ngunga nunca viu um professor. Quando ele viu o professor teve uma surpresa. Porquê?”. No one replied to the question. She repeated the question, and answered it after the pupils could not answer it: “Quando ele viu o professor ficou surpreso, porque o professor era novo e fala__?”. Pupils replied in choir “dor” (falador). Then she addressed a boy in particular and told him: “Eduardo, qual era o problema do rapaz?”. He did not answer. She called other boys who I got the following: “Luís? Angelo? Vitor? José? Francisco?”. Luís tried to give an answer: “O problema do rapaz é que ele era corajoso”. The teacher did not approve this answer. He was embarrassed. She gave the answer: “O problema dele é que não sabia ler e escrever”. She repeated this last sentence. She continued with questions about the text, and said in Portuguese: “Porque é que ele não tinha necessidade de ir à escola? Porquê?”. She clarified in Tetum the question by saying: “Tamba sa mak nia la hakarak ba escola?”. The teacher switched to Tetum in order to explain the answer of this question which I did not record everything. She said that if Ngunga would go to school he could learn with a teacher and with his classmates. She said that Mavinga thought that he would not run off from the school. She continued asking: “Que ocupação queria o menino?”. One girl answered “Guerrilheiro”. The teacher added mixing Portuguese and Tetum: “Ele gostaria de ser guerrilheiro, tuno nain, nia gosta kar kilat”. She continued asking: “O que é que ele vai aprender na escola?”. She translated into Tetum: “Nia

hatene sa ida husi escola?”. Some pupils said “Aprender”, “Ler”. She said: “Não é só aprender”. Some of them replied “Estudar”, “Escrever”. She asked another question, but I did not get it, I only record the answer: “Ngunga precisa de estudar para não ser como nós”. The following question was: “Quem é o comandante?”. Some pupils replied “Mavinga”. She asked them about the teacher: “O professor é um rapaz novo ou um homem velho?”. She asked a few more questions but I did not record it. I recorded from the following question: “Quais são as personagens do texto?”. They said in choir: São três pessoas: Mavinga, Ngunga e o professor”. The teacher asked next: “Como imaginou o Ngunga o professor? Procura o texto”. A boy gave the answer by reading from the text: “Ngunga imaginava o professor de outra maneira”. She asked where was that on the text: “Em que linha?”. One girl replied: “15, professor”. The teacher addressed a boy and put him the following question: “Como era a escola, Vitor?” He gave the answer by reading what was on the book: “A escola era só uma cubata de capim”. The teacher asked: “O que é cubata?”. No one replied. She started explaining what was it by asking them in Tetum: “Imi hatene folha de palmeira?”. They replied in choir in Portuguese “Siim”. She continued explaining in Tetum: “Escola nia halo ho dut. Capim ne dut”. She related this topic with schools in her time. She said: “No meu tempo a escola era de capim”. Then she talked about how schools in her time were made of, and which schools existed here in Dili. She included me briefly by addressing me and saying: “Professora na minha altura não haviam tantas escolas assim”. Most of the pupils seemed interested on this topic and did questions about which schools existed in Díli when she was a student. At about 14h05 the teacher said to one girl sitting at the front to read the text loudly. She stand up on her seat and started reading. Some pupils were talking lower, and the teacher said to the whole class: “Meninos acompanham a leitura”. After the girl finished reading, the teacher asked her: “Quais são as personagens do texto?”. The girl replied: “São o Mavinga, o Ngunga e o professor”. The teacher asked her: “Qual era o problema dele?”. The girl did not replied, and the teacher said: “O problema dele é que ele não sabia ler”.

Next the teacher started with the ‘análise morfológica’ of the text by asking the girl who read: “És morfológicamente é?” (You are, in a morphological analysis what it is?). She did not answer straight away. Other classmates replied instead by saying: “É uma forma do verbo ser no Presente do Indicativo”. Then the teacher asked the girl to say/conjugate the verb ‘ser’: “Agora

conjuga o verbo". The girl obediently said: "Eu sou, tu és". The teacher interrupted by saying: "Vá conjuga o verbo". The girl started again: "Eu sou, tu és, ele/ela é, nós somos, vós sois, eles são". Then the teacher asked her: "*Um*, morfologicamente?". She did not answer; she seemed not to know the answer. The teacher asked a few boys: "Luís? Eduardo? Frederica?". One boy said in a lower voice: "Número cardinal". The teacher was amazed and said "Ah?!". It was not the answer she was expecting. Another girl said in quiet voice: "Artigo indefinido". She continued with these kind of questions and asked: "*Corajoso*? Quem pode dizer?". Someone said "Advérbio", another said "Adjectivo". One girl sitting at the front said: "Adjectivo qualificativo, grau normal". The teacher asked about another word: "*Chegou*? Morfologicamente? *Chegou*? Ei meninos!" (Arrived? Morphologically? Arrived? Hei children!). Some pupils were very noisy. The teacher struggled in saying the name of one of the girls but in the end called her correctly: "Zezini". She said something but I could not hear. The teacher said: "Adjectivo?". Then one girl said "Verbo". The teacher asked: "Em que tempo está? É uma forma do verbo chegar, em que tempo está?". Some pupils answered: "Pretérito perfeito", others said "Presente". The teacher started saying the verb on 'Pretérito perfeito': "Eu cheguei, tu chegaste, ele chegou. Então é?". No one replied. She gave the answer: "Na terceira pessoa do singular". She then called Zezini to go to the blackboard: "Zezini vai ao quadro". She got up, went to the blackboard, and wrote what the teacher was telling her. Zezini wrote:

Chegou = é uma forma do verbo chegar está no pretérito perfeito na 3ª pessoa do singular

(arrived = it is a form of the verb to arrive; it is in the past tense in the third person singular)

The pupils copied it to their notebook. From here they copied all the other words that were written on the blackboard. The following word was about "*um*". The teacher called a boy to go to the blackboard: "Emanuel vai ao quadro que hoje não soubeste responder". She was upset and said in Tetum first and carry on in Portuguese: "Loron, loron hau fo artigo imi la hatene. É matéria repetida. Já demos isto e vocês não sabem" (Everyday I talk about this article. It is a repeated lesson. We already gave this and you still don't know.). Emanuel wrote on the blackboard the following:

um = artigo indefinido masculino singular (a = indefinite article masculine singular)

At about 14h20, the teacher talked by the door to the 5 teacher trainees who also were doing observations. A few minutes later the teacher came and told me that they were not coming: “Eles já não vão entrar. Como já foram ao 6.º B. Vão para outra turma”. I just replied: “Está bem”. Then ‘professora’ Alda came by the door, and ‘professora’ Dalia and her chatted for a few minutes. ‘Professora’ Dalia came back to her lesson and asked one boy: “Xávio, *Mavinga* morfologicamente (é o quê)?”. He got up and went to the blackboard. A group of pupils said in choir “É um nome próprio”. The teacher told them to be quiet. In the end Xávio ended up writing on the blackboard the following:

Mavinga = nome próprio, masculino singular (Mavinga = name, masculine singular)

Then she called another boy: “Você”. He got up and went to the blackboard. I asked his name to the boy sitting on my left hand side. The boy who went to the blackboard was José. The teacher asked him: “*Era*, em que tempo está?”. A few girls replied “Pretérito Imperfeito”. In the end the boy wrote up according to what the teacher said:

era = é uma forma do verbo ser, está no pretérito imperfeito da 1ª e 3ª pessoa do singular

The teacher asked José to say the verb: “Agora José conjuga o verbo no pretérito imperfeito”. But he seemed not to know how to do it. Then the teacher said: “Imi la hatene verbos? Disseram que a professora Belinha (vos) ensinou muitos verbos”. José went back to his seat. The teacher continued with the analysis of the words, and she asked: “Nunca?”. Someone said “Advérbio”. The teacher asked a girl to go to the blackboard: “Joaninha, vai escrever. *Não, nunca, jamais*. É advérbio de negação”. Joaninha wrote the following and her classmates copied it:

nunca = advérbio de negação (never = negative adverb)

Then the teacher asked about the word “eu”. Some girls sitting at the front answered loudly “pronome pessoal”. The teacher asked: “Está em que pessoa?”. Some pupils replied loudly: “Primeira pessoa do singular”. The teacher was wondering who was going to write: “Quem vai?”. She was looking at one girl, and three other girls said her name which I did not catch it. The teacher turned to her and said only “Tu”. She got up, went to the blackboard, and wrote the following

Eu = pronome pessoal está na 1ª pessoa do singular (I = personal pronoun; it is in the first person singular)

Then she called another girl: “Birna, pequeno? Morfologicamente?”. She got up and to the blackboard. She stood by the blackboard, and she seemed not to know the answer. Then she said something in Tetum that I could not hear, but the teacher repeated to me smiling: “Hau bele mate”. She ended up writing the following for the others to copy:

pequeno = adjetivo qualificativo está no grau normal (pequeno = adjective; it is in the normal degree)

One girl mentioned the word ‘pequenino’. The teacher said that it would be ‘grau diminutivo’. Then she wondered about what would be the ‘grau aumentativo’ of the word. She checked with me about the ‘grau aumentativo’ of pequeno, if it could be ‘pequenão’. I said that ‘pequenão’ is acceptable. She called another girl to come and write about these two words. The girl wrote:

pequenino = adjective qualificativo está no grau diminutivo

The boys sitting on the last row on my left hand side have been chatting in the last ten minutes. I wondered if they pay attention to the lesson at all. Another girl came to write about ‘pequenão’ as it follows:

pequenão = adjective qualificativo está no grau aumentativo

Then the teacher said a sentence to be analysed morphologically. She asked the whole class: “Já viste o professor? Que tipo de frase é?”. She called a boy to the blackboard. He had some difficulties in writing this sentence. When he finished the teacher asked him in Tetum and Portuguese: “Frase ne naran sa ida? Que qualidade? Vê o ponto de interrogação”. A few minutes later the boy wrote on the blackboard with the help of the teacher:

Já viste um professor? = tipo interrogativa (Have you seen a teacher? = interrogative sentence type)

The teacher reprimanded him/the class in Tetum for not knowing this. I recorded part of what she said as it follows in Tetum: “Professora fo hatene imi la hatene. Já no 2.^o periodo e imi sidauk hatene. Depois exame imi la hatene!”. She added: “Hare passa imi nia caderno ba uma estuda”. Then she called a girl to go to the blackboard. The girl got up, and went to the board. The teacher said the sentence she had to write: “Eu não vi o professor”. She added in Tetum: “Quando

aparece ponto né imi tem que hare ponto ne exclamativa, interrogativa". The girl wrote on the blackboard:

Eu não vi o professor = tipo declarativo, forma negativa

The teacher asked: "Ne nia declara sa ida?". Some pupils replied: "Que não viu o professor". I think the boy saw one boy very unquiet and she told him: "Domingos! Imi halimar, imi hanoin depois imi nia notas diak".

At about 14h50, she called a boy to come to the blackboard. He got up and went there. The teacher said the following sentence: "Eu nunca fujo da escola!". He was writing it, but he was struggling in writing with the 'giz'. The teacher told him how to hold the 'giz'. I recorded the following: "Carrega o giz! Nu sa ho tauk giz han ho". Many pupils giggled. The teacher asked: "Que tipo de frase é?". One girl said "Exclamativa". The teacher asked: "Forma?". Another girl said: "Negativa". The teacher told Angelo what to write. In the end, he wrote:

Eu nunca fujo da escolar! = tipo exclamativo, forma negativa

She said another sentence: "Mais uma frase: A escola era uma cubata de capim". Then she asked: "Quem vai escrever? Frederica, vai ao quadro". The girl got up and went to the blackboard. Angelo who wrote the previous sentence went back to correct what he did. He had written 'negatiga' instead of 'negativa'. Frederica struggled to write the sentence so the teacher and some of her classmates helped her out. In the end, Frederica wrote as it follows:

A escola era uma cubata de capim = tipo declarativa, forma afirmativa

The teacher was looking for another sentence. A few minutes she called a boy to the blackboard: "Luís vai escrever". The teacher said the sentence: "Vais ver como gostarás da escola!". He got up and walked to the blackboard. As he was writing the teacher asked: "Que tipo de frase (é)?". Some girls said "Exclamativa", others added "Forma afirmativa". Luís wrote on the blackboard as it follows:

Vais ver como gostarás da escola! = tipo exclamativa, forma afirmativa

The bell rang outside for the break time. Pupils were getting excited to go out. The teacher said then: "Agora TPC". They seemed a bit disappointed with the teacher saying homework. She continued saying: "Vão ver as palavras desconhecidas". Some pupils seemed to be moaning and she said: "Vocês é que fazem, não é a professora". She also asked if they have copied everything

from the blackboard: “Já copiaram?”. They replied in choir: “Jááá”. Still about the homework the teacher said:” Palavras difíceis, imi ba buka palavras imi la hatene laos professora”. Some pupils were already outside. The majority was still inside the classroom. Someone asked something about what to do with the homework, and the teacher said: “Depois entrega”. The teacher asked a few pupils to collect the books. She was by her desk with fewer girls. They seemed to be talking in Tetum about the ‘bordado’ one of the girl was holding.

I packed up my things and as I walked towards the door, ‘professora’ Dalia invited me for a cup of tea at the teacher’s room. I accepted, and we walked there together. On the way there I asked her that I would like to interview her. She seemed surprised about my question, but I felt that she was also happy about it. She accepted. I booked her for Friday, and I told her that it would be simple questions about her background and about the pupils.

At the teacher’s room, most of the conversation there was in Tetum. After serving me a cup of tea, ‘professora’ Dalia sit for a few minutes, but left the room. ‘Professora’ Catarina came to say she has to leave now. Dalia and other 3 teachers there started teasing her. They said that her name was too long, so they would call her by a shorten name “Cata”. She said she would be upset with that because they know they would be saying “Catar”.

I stayed there with another 3 teachers, and a lady who was preparing some tea for the teacher trainees. ‘Professora’ Alda was having a small meeting with them, she came in briefly, and mentioned that they have criticised the pupils, and that the pupils did not take it very well. One teacher seemed to be a bit upset with this. She said that they came only to observe, so they should not say those kinds of things. We did not chat much. We mentioned briefly the weather. They said that the weather has been changing since last year. ‘Professora’ Lucia said that it would change every 30 years. The bell rang again for the second time of lesson. I asked ‘professora’ Lucia if I could come on Wednesday to observe her lesson. She said that it would be ‘Estudo do Meio (Environmental Studies)’ but in Tetum. I told her that I would be fine with that. She repeated again, and I said again that I would also like to observe a lesson in Tetum. A few minutes later I excused myself and told the teachers that I had to leave.

Outside in the playground as I was walking towards the exit/entrance door of the school ‘professora’ Dalia called me, and I stopped. We chat for a few minutes in Portuguese. We

mentioned briefly her lesson. I told that the group of boys sitting on the back was chatting all the time. She confirmed it. I asked her when they sang the national anthem today was the preparation for party on the 20th May. She said that they sang it every Mondays. While we were chatting I could see some pupils of Year 6 A and 'professora' Lucia outside their classroom. Then I said I had to leave. 'Professora' Dalia said that she was going back to the classroom since 'mana' Augusta did not come to teach music to her class. She came to check if it was raining or not. She said that it was raining a bit. I said that it would not be a problem since a had brought an umbrella. Then I left the classroom to the youth centre.

APPENDIX 10 – Full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Environmental Studies subject with teacher Lucia (Example 1)

05/06/2012, Environmental Studies lesson

Today I arrived at about 13h20 at the school. I stayed at the playground looking at children's behaviour. Most of the boys were running around. Some girls of Year 6 B were sitting at the stairs in front of their classroom. Other pupils were coming in and out of the classroom. Teacher Augusta came to talk to me. I made an observation about some boys playing fighting all the time. She agreed, but did not say much as a boy ran near us and she tried to stop him. Then she told me about an Australian man who asked the general director of the school to come to the school and give some English lessons to the pupils of Year 6. The Australian man was a week in Timor and wanted to do something useful during his time here. He was coming tomorrow for the lessons. Then she left. A few minutes later the bell rang. The teacher of Health and Sports came to ask me if I was going to observe Year 6 A, and wrongly I said 'yes'. He seemed a bit nervous about it. He went to Year 6 A's classroom and as I realized that I said the wrong class, I followed him to tell him that I was wrong, that I was going to observe Year 6 B. He smiled.

I went back to the other classroom and waited for teacher Lucia. She was coming with two girls of Year 6 B. She arrived and we entered the classroom together at about 15h40. Only few of them noticed that we entered, got up and greeted us. The rest of them were standing up and chatting. The teacher did not say anything. I asked her if I could video-record her lesson, and she was surprised. She started to be worried about how pupils will look like. She asked me: "Os alunos sabem?". I replied affirmatively and said that I filmed them on the day before. She agreed and asked me a few minutes to calm down the class and to organise them. I replied affirmatively. I told her that I was going to prepare the camera. I felt that she was a bit worried about how pupils were going to behave. It was very noise because of pupils talking loudly, but I thought I heard her telling them to behave well because the 'malai' was going to watch it. I did not think pupils cared much about what she was saying since the noise did not decrease. I asked the teacher if I could start filming and she agree. I turned on the video camera. The teacher said that they had to copy the text because not everyone had the book of this subject, and started writing on the blackboard. At

about 15h45 there was a noise of something blasting. The teacher stopped writing and went to the boys' table where the noise seemed to be coming. She told them in a very lower voice to behave well because they were being filmed. Then she went back to continue writing. One girl from row 1, on table 2 got up and went to talk to another girl at row 4 on table 1. The teacher wrote as it follows:

Lição n.º

Disciplina: Estudo do Meio.

Sumário: Os transportes no meio local

Os transportes são um factor importante na movimentação de pessoas e mercadorias de uma região para a outra.

Em Timor-Leste, o transporte de passageiros interdistritos é assegurado por biskotas.

The teacher stopped writing because a tall white man came to the classroom to look for teacher Augusta. He said "I was looking for Augusta". I guessed that it was the Australian man teacher Augusta mentioned to me at break time. The teacher left the room for a few seconds just to point him the direction where teacher Augusta was and returned. Some pupils seemed to be excited with the visit. The teacher started talking about biskotas and making questions. Some pupils from row 4 sitting at the front seats seemed to be interested in participating on the lesson. The boys sitting at the back on this row were playing around and provoking each other. Birna seemed to be copying a text from a book. At about 15h55 pupils quieted down for a few minutes to listen the teacher telling about transportation when she was 15 years old. Next she started reading the text and the pupils started reading it too in choir. However I noticed that only pupils of table 1, 2 and maybe 3 of each row was reading. The pupils sitting at the back did not care too much about the lesson.

At about 16h started reading what she had written and explaining it by using Tetum to clarify some words. She asked if they had copied it to their notebook and as most of them seemed to have finished the copy, she wrote more. Some pupils started copying as more or less as she

was writing, others not really. A girl sitting at row 1, on table 2 got up and went to say something to the teacher. A few minutes later most of the pupils quieted down and were copying to the text. The teacher finished writing up the text at nearly 16h15. She wrote as it follows:

Nas deslocações dentro das cidades e das vilas, os meios de transporte mais utilizados são as microletas e os táxis. As angunas, para além de garantirem o transporte de mercadorias, são também utilizadas no transporte de passageiros nas regiões com condições de relevo mais acidentado. Nas ligações marítimas entre Díli e a ilha de Ataúro ou entre Díli e o o enclave de Oecusse são utilizados os ferry-boats (barcos). Para as deslocações internacionais a melhor opção para as pessoas é o avião e para o transporte de mercadorias é o navio.

She walked to the end of row 2 and talked to the boys sitting there. I heard her encouraging the pupils to copy the text on the blackboard. A few minutes later she asked: “Meninos lá de trás já acabaram de escrever ou não?”. Then she walked on the corridor between row 3 and 4. The boys sitting at the back seats seemed to be copying the text now. The teacher asked for the one who had finished copying to read again the text. She said: “Quem já acabou de escrever lê outra vez”. At nearly 16h20, the teacher asked one boy sitting at row 2, table 4 to come to the front and read the first sentence. He came and read the sentence although not very loudly. Pupils started raising their hands up to ask the teacher to read. The teacher explained about the ‘angunas’ which run to Dare. She mentioned that they could see them at ‘hai laran’. The teacher seemed to make meaning by bringing pupils knowledge about their life world to the lesson. The teacher sent one girl sitting at row 2 on table 1 to read. She got up, read the third sentence and then sat again. The teacher explained the meaning of the word ‘marítima’ by using Tetum. The class was very noisy. I observed that as soon as the teacher is explaining what she wrote pupils started chatting and playing around. The teacher continued explaining the the text by translating the Portuguese word ‘terrestre’ into the Tetum word ‘rai maran’. The teacher asked another girl sitting at row 3 on table 1 to read the fourth sentence. She got up, read and sat again. I observed that no one at row 4 seemed to be paying attention to the reading. There was a sound of someone whistling.

At about 14h25 the teacher started making questions about what they have been writing and talking. She started calling one boy to ask him: “Menino que está a dormir”. She made him a question, but he did not answer it. She gave the answer by saying: “Bele mae ho ida ne” and by pointing out on the blackboard the words “microlete”, “taxi”, “avião” and “navio”. In this way she said which transportation one could use. A few minutes later she asked another boy: “Nanito dá um exemplo de um transporte que podemos usar daqui para a Austrália?”. Next she asked the tall girl sitting at row 4 on table 1: “Daqui dentro da cidade?”. She seemed not to be sure, but she ended up saying: “Ténis ou microlete”. The teacher seemed to have accepted the answer and asked another question to a girl sitting at row 4 on table 2.

At about 14h35 the teacher told them that now pupils would be writing the answers on the blackboard. She asked one boy about a transportation that could take him to Oecusse. He seemed not to know. He ended up writing “navio”, but the answer teacher wanted was “barco”. She punished him by telling him to write 10 times the word “barco”. He started writing this word then. Next she called one girl sitting at row 4 on table 2 to the blackboard. She made another question to a boy sitting at row 2 on table 6: “Qual é o transporte que se pode usar para trazer mercadoria de Dares para Díli?”. He answered correctly. Next she made another question to a boy sitting at row 1 table 3: “Daqui para Bémori?”. She called Nanito to come to the blackboard to write one word. Nanito seemed not to know how to write the word. He first wrote “taso”, the teacher looked at him disapproving what he wrote, and he wrote it correctly afterwards “taxi”. Teacher seemed to be calling the boys she felt they have not been paying attention. There were some pupils who raised their hands up wanting to go to the blackboard. Teacher continued with the questions. I felt that the participation of the pupils were disorder since everyone was talking loudly at the same time. Fewer pupils seemed not to be paying attention at all to the lesson. Two boys left the classroom. It seemed that they went to the toilette. The teacher called one boy from row 1 table 4 to the blackboard. She asked him to write “transporte”. He wrote it correctly. She called another boy from row 2 to write the word “importante”. He wrote it correctly too. Next she called a girl sitting at row 3 table 1 to write the word “movimentação”. He also wrote it correctly.

At about 16h45 the teacher asked everyone to close their notebooks, but not everyone closed it. She told one girl sitting at row 4 on table 2 “Ho hanesan beiktein”. She called a boy from

the last table from row 3 to write the word “deslocação”. He wrote wrongly: “deslocasaun”, and the teacher called his classmate sitting next to him to come and write the same word. The two boys seemed not to know how to write the word and the teacher told them: “Este é o resultado de andarem a brincar”. The taller boy on the blackboard ended up writing it correctly. The teacher punished the other one by telling him to write the word 10 times on the blackboard, and he did. She tried to quiet down the pupils. Then she told the boy who was writing on the blackboard that he had to write it 10 times so that he would not forget how to write this word. She also corrected the way he wrote the letter L. The teacher called another boy sitting at row 2, but he put his head down and pretended that it was nothing to do with him. It was about 16h55. She insisted and he came to the blackboard. She asked him to write the word “internacional”. He wrote it up wrongly. He wrote “internesionais”. The teacher made an ugly face to him disapproving what he wrote, and he erased it. She called another boy who seemed to have been also playing around and chatting. This boy came and he was going to correct what his classmate had done, but the teacher pulled him and told him in Tetum to go to the other side of the blackboard to write the word. He wrote the word correctly. The teacher told the class to applause him. Teacher punished the other one by telling him to write up the word “internacionais” 10 times, and he did it. The rest of the class was quiet. I observed that pupils sitting at the back have been switching seats.

At 17h the bell rang. Teacher Augusta came in to ask teacher Lucia if she could talk to the class. Teacher Lucia was worried about the video-recording and I said that it was fine to me. I ran out of battery and the video camera switched off. Teacher Augusta came in and told the class that tomorrow they would be having English lessons with another an Australian teacher on the following day. I was not sure if everyone heard and was paying attention to what she said since they were very noisy. Before leaving the classroom they prayed: “Avé Maria”, “Glória ao Pai”, “Nossa Senhora/Rogai por nós/ Rainha da Paz”.

After this the children started leaving the classroom to go home. The cleaning team stayed to clean the classroom. The teacher and I chatted for a few minutes. She addressed me in Portuguese and told me a bit embarrassed that these pupils behaved so badly. She said a few years ago pupils’ behaviour was different. She has been teaching since 1979, and she said that pupils were different from that time. She said that she also was teaching at another school, Paiol,

since 1989, and that pupils were now like the ones in this school. She has been in Taibessi since 1999. She said in the past pupils respected the teacher even if they were 80 in the classroom. She said that she does not know what was wrong with these pupils to behave in this way. I told her that this was a common phenomenon in many schools in Europe. She said that she had meeting on last Saturday with parents where they had to hand in pupils' book. She said that many parents were unhappy with their children's results. She explained to them that she was not going to give them more than 6 because of their behaviour. I asked what the marks were and she said that they were from 0 to 10. She added that parents wonder why teachers were not given their pupils more than 6. She said that it was because of their behaviour. She wrote on the blackboard and showed an equation of how she calculated pupils' marks. She gave 0 to pupils' behaviour. She showed that in fact pupils mark would be 5,8 and she is giving them a 6. She told me that according to the new teaching methodologies the behaviour of the pupils were included on the final mark of the pupils. I agreed with her remark by saying that pupils' behaviour was important on the education of a child and not only the exams results. When pupils grow up they have to have social skills to live in society. I put myself on the side of the teacher because I thought that pupils were very unquiet on this lesson and did not respect her much during the lesson. She also told me that during the Indonesian time they use to say that 8, 9 and 10 were god's marks, 1, 2, 3, and 4 were the devil ones and in the middle there was 5, 6 and 7. She added that these pupils do not deserve more than 6. There were there 2 girls who had cleaned the classroom. One had written a message on the blackboard for the morning shift on the following day to leave the classroom clean when the leave. The class leader was telling her not to leave it because she was the class leader and they will ask to her. She did not want to be confronted about this issue. The other girl was arguing that they should leave the message there because the classroom is always dirty when they arrive for their lesson. She ended up convincing the class chief and they left. Teacher Lucia was wondering if we should leave, and she left the message there. She said that one could see that it was pupils' handwriting and not of a teacher. We left the classroom and she closed the door. Teacher Lucia reminded that she had to sign something before she goes home. Once again she apologise herself for the behaviour of the pupils, and I tried to assure her that it was fine for my work since I was

looking at natural events. Pupils seemed very natural during the video-recording. Teacher seemed to have felt really uncomfortable about the bad behaviour of the pupils.

APPENDIX 11 – Full typed-up fieldnotes from a lesson of Environmental Studies subject with teacher Lucia (Example 2)

14/06/12, Environmental Studies lesson

Today I arrived at the school at about 15h15 with teacher Augusta. We went to the teacher's room, but as there was no one there we did not stay there. I observed that the teachers were in the classroom. We passed by teacher Lucia who was in one of the classrooms and we waved to her. I stayed at the playground by Year 6 B observing the pupils playing around. Younger boys were running around, but I did not see many girls at the playground. Fewer of the girls of Year 6 B came and greeted me with "Boa tardi". Fewer also asked me if I was coming to observe their lesson. I also had a short chat with teacher Dalia who came to tell me that she was heading off home and that she was going to miss school in the next two days. She had to attend a christening and other personal issues outside the capital city. In some point there were girls from one class teasing each other. I guessed they were from Year 2. The girls were by their classroom, and the boys by theirs near me. Birna was sitting on the stairs near me. I asked her if I could put my audio-recorder on her desk, and she agreed.

The bell rang at 15h30 and they all went into their classroom respectively. Teacher Lucia came a few minutes later, she entered the classroom and I went after her. In the classroom, a few girls greeted me with "Boa tardi" and only one got up and did it as they usually do. The rest of others were too distracted chatting. Somehow this meant that pupils were getting used to see me there, and although their behaviour could be seen as rude, it could also mean that they were use to my presence in the classroom. Teacher Lucia knew that I was going to video-record this lesson too, and she was trying to quiet down the pupils, but with not much effect. They have not sat on their seats properly and were still chatting. I started preparing the video-camera and the audio-recorder. I heard the noise of marbles falling on the floor, and one boy said in Portuguese: "Não pode brincar com berlindes". I put an audio-recorder on Birna's table and started it on. Next I started on the video-recording.

At nearly 13h40 the teacher started wrting on the blackboard the date, and asked the class to be quiet again. She also said: "Primeira regra quem fizer barulho pode ficar lá fora". She

continued writing on the blackboard. Teacher Alda came by the door. Teacher Lucia did not notice it. A girl got up and told her that teacher Alda was there. She went to have a quick word with her by the door. Pupils were still chatting. The teacher got upset with one boy sitting at the front of row 1, and asked him to leave the room since he had just disrespect the rule that she had just said of not talking (“A regra do ensino de falar”). The teacher insisted to him to leave the classroom. However, he refused to do it. He did not leave the classroom. Pupils quiet down a bit. I noticed that Birna started copying from the book before the teacher had started writing on the blackboard. The teacher wrote as it follows:

Data, 14 de Junho de 2012

Sumário: 28 de Novembro de 1975.

Proclamação da independência de RDTL.

Uma fugaz coligação entre UDTL e a FRETILIN (Janeiro a Maio de 1975) falhou e Timor caiu rapidamente numa situação de guerra civil. A UDT tentou apoderar-se do poder por meio de um golpe de Estado, em 11 de Agosto de 1975, seguindo-se um contra-golpe da FRETILIN, denominada Insurreição Geral Armada, em 20 de Agosto de 1975.

Some pupils misbehaved and a girl who had a wooden ruler on her table asked the teacher if she would like to have it to hit the person who was making noise. But the teacher said: “Cada qual conhece a si mesmo”. There were noise of pupils chatting, but most of them seemed to be copying the text. Someone has finished copying the text and said: “Já, professora”. The teacher said when they finished copying they did not have to say it and save the information to themselves.

At about 15h50 the teacher started making question about what she had written on the blackboard. She called one girl and said: “Lévia, em que data foi a proclamação da independência de RDTL?”. She answered correctly: “28 de Novembro de 1975”. She walked around the classroom. Then she said that the lesson of today was going to be about this date: “A nossa lição de hoje é compreender essa data”. She did another question: “A fugaz coligação foi entre que dois partidos?”. No one replied. A couple of minutes later a boy gave the correct answer to that question. She also asked: “Foi de que mês a que mês?”. One girl replied: “Janeiro a Maio de

1975". Everyone replied this sentence. She asked another question to a boy: "Esta coligação falhou ou não falhou, Francisco?". He replied correctly: "Falhou". She explained in Portuguese that the civil war was about Timorese fighting against each other. She also asked when started the UDT party golpe de estado. A girl replied: "11 de Agosto de 1975". Then she asked about the contra golpe de estado of FRETILIN. A girl replied: "20 de Agosto de 1975". I felt that the teacher's questions were easy in a sense that pupils could easily take the answer from the text. Sometimes she used the same wordings as in the text. Pupils could feel that they succeeded in understanding the text in Portuguese.

At about 16h05, the teacher asked if they had finished to copy the text: "Já acabaram?". Fewer said "Jáá". She said that they will continue writing, erased the blackboard, and asked them to be quiet. She reminded them the rule of not chatting in the classroom. Then she continued writing. There were some pupils at row 2 and 3 that were chatting all the time, but the teacher did not send them out as she promised. Some pupils were copying what she wrote, and others were not doing it. Many were chatting in a lower voice. She wrote as it follows:

Timor mergulhou na violência fraticida e o governador Lemos Pires, sem orientações de Lisboa e sem forças militares suficiente para reimpôr a autoridade portuguesa, abandonou a capital e refugiou-se na ilha de Ataúro.

Então a FRETILIN proclamou unilateralmente a independência de Timor-Leste a 28 de Novembro de 1975. Contudo, este processo foi interrompido com a invasão do território pelas forças armadas indonésias em 7 de Dezembro de 1975.

Again fewer pupils have finished writing and said "Já, professora". One tall girl asked the teacher to go to the toilette and the teacher agreed. Later on in different moments pupils would get up and leave the room to go to the toilette without asking the teacher's permission. The teacher was waiting for them to finish and she was walking around the classroom. Then she asked Xávio to read the first sentence she wrote. He stand up and read on his seat. I noticed that the teacher was looking for a word in the dictionary of a pupil. I guessed she was looking for the other "fraticida" in there. Pupils were a bit noisy and she asked them to be quiet.

At about 16h10, she started explaining what she had written. She read the first sentence again and many pupils also read with her. She stopped reading and after they had read, she explained that sentence by using the same words of the text. Next she asked another girl to read the second sentence. She read and the teacher explained it. Some pupils seemed not to care much about the lesson. The teacher asked a boy to read the third sentence. She explained the sentence, and told a bit of how was the Indonesian invasion in Timor with the gun shots and parashoots.

At about 16h20, she asked them if they had any questions: “Há perguntas?”. No one replied. Next she said in Portuguese that they would have five minutes to read what they had written, and then closed their notebooks. She asked them to do silent reading: “Ler com a vista”. She also said in Tetum: “Ho matan deit. Ibun taka”. She added that later she would make questions about what they had written. A couple of minutes later pupils quieted down for a while. The teacher asked if they had finished writing: “Já acabaram de escrever?”. Fewer of them replied in choir: “Jáá”. Then she erased what was written on the blackboard, asked them to be quiet, and put their notebooks and books on their backpack. She said in Portuguese and Tetum: “Guarda tudo” (...) Tau iha pasta laran. Taka. Rai iha pasta laran. Guarda tudo”. She walked by the classroom and giving a quick look on the tables. She said afterwards: “Agora preparem para responder _?”. Fewer pupils replied in choir “Perguntas”. She told them that could only answer the question the ones she would call, and not anyone else. She started writing the question on the blackboard. Many pupils were chatting in a lower voice. She wrote as it follows:

1) *Em que data foi a invasão do território pelas forças armadas indonésias?*

Then she said that she was going to give them some time for them to think very well on the answer before coming to write it on the blackboard. She added that if they would answer it wrongly, she would punish them. One girl was called to the blackboard. She took a few minutes to write the answer. She stopped on which preposition she had to use “em” or “no”. The teacher picked up on her handwriting on the word “foi”. Then her classmates were telling her at the same time what to write, she got upset and told them to be quiet: “Nonok tia”. The teacher gave her a hand with which preposition to use. In the end she wrote as it follows:

R.: A invasão do território pelas forças armadas indonésias foi em 7 de Dezembro de 1975.

Next the teacher told them that they could take their notebooks out and copy that the question and answer. Someone said “Jáá” as s/he finished writing. The teacher said that she did not have to know about it. The class was noisy because of pupils chatting to each other, and in some point a few girls asked the ones who were chatting to be quiet. There was one girl from row 3, table 1, who seemed to be really upset. The teacher started writing another question on the blackboard. Many pupils were still copying the previous one. I observed that fewers were checking the answer on their notebooks. The teacher wrote as it follows:

2) O que é que proclamou a FRETILIN no dia 28 de Novembro de 1975?

The teacher did not call anyone to answer the question. She said she would give them 5 minutes before answering the question. One girl sitting at row 1, table 1, asked insistingly to the teacher to come, and the teacher did not want her to answer because she thought she had called her before. The girl twisted her lips and seemed to really want to come to the blackboard, and the teacher ended up agreeing with that. The girl came and she took a few minutes before starting answering the question. Some of her classmates wanted also to go to the blackboard and they seemed to be saying the answer, but the teacher told them to give her some time. She wrote until “unilateralmente” and stopped there to think. Many of her classmates were were chatting, some were looking at what she was doing; others seemed to be bored or tired as they put their head on their table. The girl ended up writing as it follows:

R.: No dia 28 de Novembro de 1975 a FRETILIN proclama unilateralmente a independência (em) de Timor-Leste.

The teacher read loudly this answer. Then she asked pupils to copy it to their notebook. She walked around the classroom, and insisted with some pupils to write the answer.

At about 16h45 the teacher said: “Acabam de passar. Fechem o caderno”. Then she called a boy to come to the blackboard to write the following question. This boy had been chatting all the

time. He seemed to be a bit uncomfortable in having to do this task. He did not come straight away to the blackboard when the teacher called him. She reprimanded him. One of the things that she said was: “Hatene koalia, taukten ba quadro”. Many of the pupils were chatting a lot. Nilton was standing by the blackboard while he was waiting for the teacher to tell him what to write. At about 16h50, she told him “Escreve 3” and told him what sentence to write. He had some difficulties on writing the words “falhou” and “coligação”. She reprimanded him. One of the things she told him was: “Sabes o que é um gigue?”. She also told him: “Como se escreve? Só sabe brincar?”. She called another boy who came to help him to write the word “coligação”. This boy has been chatting most of the time too, but he wrote it correctly and went back to his seat. Nilton wrote the res of the question. This third question was as it follows:

3) Como falhou a coligação entre a UDT e a FRETILIN?

Then she called another girl to come and write the answer. She wrote correctly the answer. The teacher read the answer, and noticed that she made a mistake on the question, and changed the word “como” for “porquê”. The girl’s answer was as it follows:

R.: A coligação entre a UDT e a FRETILIN falhou, porque Timor caiu rapidamente numa situação de guerra civil.

Then she said the question and the answer in Tetum. She seemed to have seen a boy playing around and told him: “Nanito, estás a escrever ou a brincar?”. He did not reply.

Again the questions that she asked were done in a way that pupils could easily answer since she used the same kind of questions that were on the original text. Pupils just had to look for the words on the text.

At about 17h the bell rang to signal the end of school today. Pupils got up and the noise increased of them chatting increased even more. The teacher tried to quiet them down and told them that she had not told them to stand up, but they seemed to ignore her. Some had put their chairs on the table and were ready to leave the classroom. The teacher asked the class chief to write on the blackboard the names of the pupils who should stay and clean the classroom. She wrote it, but it created some confusion with some pupils standing up and erasing some names and

writing others. There were two girls in front of the blackboard ready to start the prayer. Then the teacher told them to put their hands together by their chest to pray. They started praying. I observed that some seemed not to be in a prayer mood as they were anxious to leave the classroom as soon as the praying finished. When they finished praying, pupils left the school quickly. There were only some pupils who stayed to do the cleaning up.

In the end of the lesson, the teacher downplayed herself a bit by saying that the lesson went bad. I just smiled that in the end they were very noisy. I said that I was looking at their normal behaviour anyway. In the meantime, Cassiana came by the door to talk to teacher Lucia. They were talking and I tidy up my things. Then I told them that I was heading off home, and not to the youth centre as Cassiana asked.

APPENDIX 12 – Full classroom interaction transcript from a lesson of Portuguese Language subject with teacher Dalia

28/05/2012, Monday

Afternoon, 13h00-15h

Video: TEACHER DALIA (00:18:11-49:00:00)

Teacher Dalia – TD

Pupils – PPS

Pupil – PP

FP – Female Pupil

MP – Male pupil

FA – Fabia

Bold – in Tetum

Normal – in Portuguese

/2/ /10/ - Pause in seconds

[] – Researcher's comments

The teacher asked pupils to all together to read loudly the text “The legend of the rooster-singers” (“A lenda do cantagalo”)

A Lenda de Cantagalo

.Há muitos anos, todos os galos do mundo refugiaram-se na Ilha de S. Tomé, talvez por ser uma terra lindíssima e boa para viver. De madrugada, quando o sol rompia as nuvens punham-se todos a cantar anunciando um novo dia: «cocorocóco!»

A alegria imensa de estarem juntos e o facto das suas vozes funcionarem bem e em coro, levava-os a repetir a cantaria a qualquer hora, esquecendo que incomodavam os outros habitantes do arquipélago. Havia pessoas que lhes achavam graça e até gabavam aquela alegria contagiante que enchia a atmosfera de música. Mas a maior parte dos habitantes reclamava: "Isto não pode ser! Precisamos de sossego! Ninguém aguenta esta barulheira..." Os dois grupos discutiam, uns a favor dos galos, outros contra. As conversas iam-se tornando tão azedas que por pouco não se envolviam à pancada. Então um homem sensato resolveu tomar medidas para

resolver isto dizendo aos galos: «Aconselho-vos a emigrarem e a refugiarem-se num lugar afastado onde podem cantar quando lhes apetecer, sem se tornarem aborrecidos; se não aceitarem esta sugestão haverá guerra...». Os galos, sendo bem-educados, decidiram partir, reuniram-se para escolher um rei que chefiasse a expedição; a escolha recaiu num enorme galo preto de quem todos gostavam muito porque tinha imensas qualidades. E então foram em busca de um sítio ideal para músicos bem-dispostos sem se tornarem incómodos. Juntos deram voltas e mais voltas por ilhas, por ilhéus, arquipélagos até encontrarem o local que pretendiam. Ali ficaram para sempre; e as pessoas baptizaram o lugar com o nome de Cantagalo. Esse lugar ainda hoje existe.

Line		Classroom interaction	Translation into English
1 2	TD	todos compreenderam o texto que acabaram de ler? compreenderam o texto?	did everyone understand the text that you finished reading? did you understand it
3	PPS	compreendemos. [4 or 5 pupils replied in chorus]	we did understand [4 or 5 pupils replied in chorus]
4	TD	compreenderam ou não compreenderam?	did you understand it or not?
5	PPS	compreendemos. [many pupils replied in chorus]	we did [many pupils replied in chorus]
6	FP	ainda não	not yet
7	TD	hã? quem é que diz que não?	ha? who said 'no'?
8	PPS	Fabia [many pupils said almost in chorus the name of this girl]	Fabia [many pupils said almost in chorus the name of this girl]
9 10 11	TD	agora vais ler sozinha, tu, que não compreendes agora vais ler /4/ [waiting for Fabia to start reading] Lê! /3/ Lê em voz alta /3/	now you're going to read it on your own, you, you said you didn't understand, now you're going to read /4/ [waiting for Fabia to start reading] Read! /3/ Read it loudly /3/
12	FR	a lenda do cantagalo [she started reading]	the legend of the rooster singers [she started reading]
13	TD	levanta /2/ levanta /2/	stand up /2/ stand up /2/
14	FD	a lenda de cantagalo [she stand up and read from her seat]	the legend of the rooster-singers [she stand up and read from her seat]
15		[Fabia reading]	[Fabia reading]
16 17	TD	aqui o texto, de que se fala o texto? de que se trata o texto? /4/ a lenda do? do can-?	the text here, what is the text about? what is the text about? /4/ the legend of the? of the roos-?
18	PPS	CANTAGALO [many saying in chorus]	ROOSTER-SINGERS [many saying in chorus]
19 20	TD	a lenda do cantagalo vocês sabem quem é, o que é uma lenda? /4/	the legend of the rooster-singers do you know who is, what is a legend? /4/
21	PP	o que professora? [in a lower voice]	what teacher? [in a lower voice]
22	TD	lenda, o que é uma lenda? [background voice of pupils]	legend, what is a legend? [background voice of pupils]

23	PP	uma lenda [unfinished sentence]	a legend [unfinished sentence]
24	TD	agora eu não vou dizer, quem sabe diz, vá	now I'm not telling you, who knows say it, come on
25		responde o que é uma lenda? /5/	answer what is a legend? /5/
26		hum? lenda? /3/ [background chatting]	hum? legend /3/ [background chatting]
27	BI	narrativa escrita, escrita com tradição [inaudible]	written narrative, written with tradition[inaudible]
28	TD	lenda? /4/ o que é uma lenda? /3/ [background chatting; some calling	legend? ? /4/ what is a legend? /3/ [background chatting; some calling for
29		for Birma]	Birma]
30		shiii /3/	shiii /3/
31	PP	professora Gisela telephone /2/	teacher, Gisela's telephone /2/
32	TD	o que é uma lenda? /3/ quem é que pode responder? /3/	what's a legend? /3/ who can answer to this question? /3/
33	PP	lenda [in a very lower voice]	legend [in a very lower voice]
34	TD	hum? /2/ história falta, história invent-? /2/ inven-?	hum? /2/ story it misses, story invent-? /2/ inven-?
35	PPS	inventada [many pupils replying in chorus]	invented [many pupils replied in chorus]
36	TD	inventada, uma história inventada	invented, an invented story
37		a lenda do cantagalos, canta-galos, lenda quer dizer?	the legend of the rooster-singers, rooster-sin-gers, legend means?
38		história? /2/	story? /2/
39	PP	inventada	invented
40	PPS	inventada [joining few pupils in chorus sounding not very	invented [joining few pupils in chorus sounding not very
41		confidently]	confidently]
42	TD	inventada /2/ não é de realidade, história que é falsa, não é uma	invented /2/ it's not a reality, a story that is false, it's not a true story,
43		história verdadeira, mas é uma história falsa, história inven-?	but it's a false story, a story inven-?
44	PPS	inventada [saying many pupils in chorus]	invented [saying many pupils in chorus]
45		cantagalo? hã? o que é que significa cantagalo? /9/	rooster-singer? hum? what does it mean rooster-singer? /9/
46	MP	canta [in a very lower voice]	sings [in a very lower voice]
47	TD	o quê? /2/ cantagalo o que é que significa? cantagalo? a lenda de	what? /2/ rooster-singer what does it mean? rooster-singer? the legend
48		canta-galo? /2/ cantagalo quer dizer? /2/	of the rooster-sin-ger? /2/ rooster-singer means? /2/

49		quer dizer que esse galo todos os dias?	it means that this rooster everyday?
50	PP	canta	sings
51	PP	canta	sings
52	TD	hã?	hum?
53	PPS	canta [fewer pupils in chorus]	sings [fewer pupils in chorus]
54	TD	todos os dias passava?	everyday he was?
55	PP	a cocorocó	cock-a-doodle-doo
56	TD	hã?	hum?
57	PP	a cocorocó	cock-a-doodle-doo
58	PP	a cocorocó	cock-a-doodle-doo
59	PP	canta	sings
60	TD	então qual é a voz do galo?	so what's the rooster's voice?
61	PP	cocorocó [started saying one]	cock-a-doodle-doo [started saying one]
62	PPS	cocorocó [fewer replying in chorus]	cock-a-doodle-doo [fewer replying in chorus]
63	TD	a voz do galo é?	the rooster's voice is?
64	PPS	cocorocó [many pupils saying loudly in chorus]	cock-a-doodle-doo [many pupils saying loudly in chorus]
65	TD	o galo canta de manhã, quem é que desperta de manhã cedinho	the rooster sings in the morning, who is the first one early in the morning
66		quando as pessoas ainda estão a dormir	when people are still sleeping
67		quem é que dá o primeiro alarme, a cantar? é o?	who is the first one to give the first alarm? is the?
68	PPS	GALO [many pupils saying loudly in chorus]	ROOSTER [almost the whole class said it loudly]
69	TD	nia maka fo sinal, kalan bo'ot nia halo sa ida?	he is the first one to give the alarm, late at night what does he do?
70	PP	kokoreku [said one boy in a lower voice]	cock-a-doodle-doo
71	TD	nia maka fanu uluk?	he is the one who wakes up?
72	PPS	EMA [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]	PEOPLE [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]
73	TD	quando as pessoas estão a dormir, 3h, 4h de madrugada, as pessoas	when people are sleeping, 3 o'clock, 4 o'clock at dawn, people are still

74		estão a dormir, quem é que dá o sinal primeiro, é o?	sleeping, who is giving the first alarm, is the?
75	PPS	GALO [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]	ROOSTER [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]
76	TD	é o galo que desperta as?	it is the rooster who wakes up the?
77	FP	peessoas	people
78	PPS	peessoas [fewer other pupils said it afterwards in chorus]	people [fewer other pupils said it afterwards in chorus]
79	TD	as?	the?
80	PPS	PESSOAS [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]	PEOPLE [almost the whole class said it loudly in chorus]
81	TD	galo né, sabe as horas dele. quais as horas que ele pode /2/ cantar,	this rooster, knows his time, what times he can sing /2/ sing, he knows
82		sabe as horas dele, onde é que estes galos, há muitos, muitos anos,	his times, where that these roosters, long time ago, many years ago, all
83		todos os galos do mundo refugiam-se para a ilha de são tomé	the roosters of the world retreated to the island of são tomé
84		quer dizer que todos os galos do mundo para onde é que foram? /2/	that is that all the roosters of the world where did they go? /2/
85	PPS	ilha de são tomé [few pupils replied in chorus]	island of são tomé [few pupils replied in chorus]
86	TD	ilha de são tomé	island of são tomé
87		onde é fica são tomé? onde?	where is são tomé? where?
88	MP	espanhol	spanish
89	TD	hã?	hum?
90	MP	espanhol [same boy]	spanish [same boy]
91	TD	onde?	where?
92	MP	brasil	brazil
93		[inaudible]	[inaudible]
94	MP	portugal	portugal
95	PPS	europa [alternatively saying 2 or 3 pupils]	europa [alternatively saying 2 or 3 pupils]
96	PP	brasilíia	brasilíia
97	FP	europa	europa
98	TD	a ilha de são tomé? ilha quer dizer, ilha quer dizer um pedaço de terra	the island of são tomé? island means, island means a tract of land

99		cercada de água por todos os /2/	surrounded by water in all its /2/
100	MP	ilha	island
101	TD	lados, como timor, timor é uma ilha, é um pedaço de terra, mas ao	sides, like timor, timor is an island, it is a tract of land, but around this
102		redor desta terra, à volta dele o que está cercada? /2/	land, around it what is there? /2/
103	PP	água [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]	water [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]
104	PP	mar [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]	sea [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]
105	TD	de quê?	of what?
106	PP	água [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]	water [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]
107	PP	mar [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]	sea [said one pupil in lower and shy voice]
108	TD	MAR	MAR
109		timor né rai ida maibé ninian volta haleu né se maka haleu?	timor is a tract of land but it has around it what? what is around it?
110	PPS	TACI [saying many pupils loudly and in chorus]	SEA [many pupils saying loudly and in chorus]
111	TD	taci maka haleu nian	the sea surrounds it
112		então a ilha de timor é uma?	so the island of timor is an?
113	PPS	ilha [saying many pupils loudly and in chorus]	island [saying many pupils loudly and in chorus]
114	PP	ilha.	island
115	TD	ilha de são tomé, ilha de são tomé, ilha quer dizer pedaço de terra	island of são tomé, island of são tomé, island means a tract of land
116		cercada de água por todos os? /1/	surrounded of water in all its? /1/
117	MP	ilha	island
118	TD	por todos os?	in all its?
119	PPS	LADOS [saying many pupils loudly and in chorus]	SIDES
120	TD	lados	sides
121		rai né iha klaran tia	the tract of land is in the middle
122	PP	taci haleu [saying in a lower voice]	and sea surrounds it [saying in a lower voice]
123	TD	por exemplo aqui a terra [drawing on the blackboard to explain what an	for instance the land here [drawing on the blackboard to explain what an

124		island is]	island is]
125		ora aqui ao lado, ao redor, o que está cercada?	well here on the sides, around, what is around it?
126	PP	ilha	island
127	PPS	MAR [saying some pupils loudly in chorus]	SEA
128	TD	[inaudible] ita timor né, ita iha klaran maibé taci, taci	[inaudible] we timor here, we are in the middle but there is sea, sea
129		[inaudible] haleu hotu iha né, né	[inaudible] around all of this, this
130		[showing it on her draw on the blackboard]	[showing it on her draw on the blackboard]
131		timor maka né, esta é timor, timor iha klaran tia nuné, agora iha nia	this is timor, this is timor, timor is in the middle like this, now on this
132		sorin, sorin, sorin né, ao lado, os lados são, o quê?	side, side, this side, on the side, on the sides, what is there?
133	PPS	mar [saying a group of pupils in chorus]	sea [saying a group of pupils in chorus]
134	PPS	mar [saying a group of pupils in chorus]	sea [saying more pupils in chorus]
135	TD	o mar está cercado	the sea is around it
136		então vocês vão para onde, a ponte leste, o que é que há?	so if you go to where, to the eastern most point, what would be there?
137	PPS	mar [saying a group of pupils in chorus]	sea [saying a group of pupils in chorus]
138	PPS	[inaudible]	[inaudible]
139	TD	ponta?	point?
140	PP	este [saying a pupil in lower voice]	the most eastern point [saying a pupil in lower voice]
141	TD	ponta sul?	the most southern point?
142	PP	mar	sea
143	PP	mar	sea
144	PPS	mar [saying a more number of pupils in chorus]	sea [saying a more number of pupils in chorus]
145	PP	mar	sea
146	TD	então [inaudible] quer dizer?	so [inaudible] what does that mean?
147	PP	MAR [saying a pupil loudly]	SEA [saying a pupil loudly]
148	PPS	mar [saying another pupil loudly]	sea [saying another pupil loudly]

149	TD	pedaço de terra cercada de água por todos os?	a tract of land surrounded of water in all its?
150	PPS	cercada de água por todos os [saying a small group in chorus]	surrounded of water in all its [saying a small group in chorus]
151	PPS	por todos os lados [more of pupils saying in chorus]	in all its [more of pupils saying in chorus]
152		[background conversation]	[background conversation]
153	TD	quem é que pode vir escrever?	who can come and write (on the blackboard)?
154	PP	eu, professora	me teacher
155	BI	eu, professora	me teacher
156	PPS	eu [different pupils asking one after another]	me [different pupils asking one after another]
157	PPS	eu, professora [many more pupils asking after another; TD selected a	me teacher [many more pupils asking after another]
158		girl to go and write on the blackboard]	[TD selected a girl to go and write on the blackboard]
159	TD	primeiro é lenda	first is legend
160		len-da [TD saying the word slowly]	le-gend [TD saying the word slowly]
161		[background conversation]	[background conversation]
162	TD	glossário [background conversation] lenda de cantagalo	Glossary [background conversation] legend of the rooster-singers
163		[silence; pupils preparing to copy what has been written on the	[silence; pupils preparing to copy what has been written on the
164		blackboard]	blackboard]
165		história inventada [TD telling the girl on the blackboard what to write]	invented story [TD telling the girl on the blackboard what to write]
166		lenda [silence; the girl writing what the teacher is saying] lenda, história	legend [silence; the girl writing what the teacher is saying] legend, story
167	BI	inventada [saying in a lower voice]	Invented [saying in a lower voice]
168	TD	shiii [background lower voices]	shiii [background lower voices]
169		/10/ história inventada	/10sec/ invented story
170		agora cantagalo, o que é que significa cantagalo?	now rooster-singers, what does mean rooster-singers?
171		[the girl on the blackboard waiting for the teacher to tell her what to do]	[the girl on the blackboard waiting for the teacher to tell her what to do]
172	PP	que canta [saying someone in a lower voice]	that sings [saying someone in a lower voice]
173	TD	hã? /4/	hum? /4/
174	PP	[inaudible]	[inaudible]

175	TD	o galo todos os dias canta? canta-galo [background conversation] hã?	the rooster sings everyday? rooster-sin-gers [background conversation]
176		o quê? /3/	hum? what is? /3/
177		canta-galo, o que é que quer dizer?	rooster-sin-gers, what does it mean?
178		o que significa cantagalo? /3/	what does mean rooster-singers? /3/
179		[3 girls sitting in front row look for the word on the dictionary]	[3 girls sitting in front row look for the word on the dictionary]
180	PP	cantagalo [in a lower voice]	rooster-singer [in a lower voice]
181	TD	o que é cantagalo? /11/	what is rooster-singers /11/
182		cantagalo quer dizer, o que é que significa cantagalo	rooster-singers means, what does mean rooster-singer?
183		[TD doesn't seem to know the meaning of this word; the girls were	[TD doesn't seem to know the meaning of this word; the girls were
184		looking up the word on the dictionary]	looking up the word on the dictionary]
185	PP	espera professora /6/	wait teacher /6/
186	TD	as vozes do galo, cantagalo, todas as vozes dos galos, cantam uma só	the voices of the rooster, rooster-singers, all the voices of the roosters,
187		voz, cantagalo, as vozes do galo /3/	singing in one voice, the voices of the rooster /3/
188		né professora [TD addressing me]	right, teacher [TD addressing me]
189		cantagalos, vozes /3/	rooster-singers, voices /3/
190		cantagalo	rooster-singers
200		[girls in the front row staring at me waiting me to give an answer]	[girls in the front row staring at me waiting me to give an answer]
201	I	é um galo que canta	it is a rooster who sings
202		[I was caught in surprise and I was thinking in what to respond to TD]	[I was caught in surprise and I was thinking in what to respond to TD]
203	TD	hei? /4/	hei? /4/
204	I	um galo que canta	a rooster who sings
205	TD	o galo que canta?	a rooster who sings?
206	I	sim	yes
207	TD	galo que canta, vá galo que canta [TD said to the girl on the blackboard	a rooster who sings, come on, a rooster who sings [TD said to the girl on
208		to write this who started writing it up]	the blackboard to write this who started writing it up]
209		galo que canta [teacher waiting for the girl to finish writing; pupils were	a rooster who sings [teacher waiting for the girl to finish writing; pupils

210		coping it from the blackboard to their notebooks]	were coping it from the blackboard to their notebooks]
211	TD	refugiavam-se? refugiavam-se é que todos foram para a ilha de são	they have retreated? retreated means that everyone went to the island of
212		tomé	são tomé
213		refugiavam-se /4/	they have retreated themselves /4/
214	PP	refugiaram-se [in lower voice]	they retreated themselves [in lower voice]
215	TD	refugiavam-se é o quê?	what is they have retreated?
216	PP	refugiar-se [in lower voice]	to retreat themselves [in lower voice]
217	BI	refugiavam-se, não é, professora?	they have retreated themselves, right, teacher?
218		[in a louder voice; then she looked up for the word on her dictionary	[in a louder voice; then she looked up for the word on her dictionary
219		below the table]	below the table]
220	TD	refugiavam, procuravam abrigo	they have retreated, they have looked for shelter
221	PP	procurar abrigo [in lower voice]	to look for shelter [in lower voice]
222	PP	abrigar-se, procurar [in lower voice]	to shelter oneself, to look
223	TD	procurar protecção, senão procurar protecção, procurar protecção [TD	to look for protection, or else to look for protection, to look for
224		was telling to the girl who was writing on the blackboard]	protection [TD was telling to the girl who was writing on the blackboard]
225		procurar, r-a-r, procurar protecção, protec-ção, proTE	to look, o-k, to look for protection, protec-tion, proTE
226		[TD spelling the word for the pupil on the blackboard]	[TD spelling the word for the pupil on the blackboard]
227		protecção, C cedilha /7/	protection, C cedilla /7/
228	BI	refugiava né nia hakerek sala, professora	they have refuged she wrote it wrongly, teacher
229	TD	protecção c cedilha	protection c cedilla
230	PP	aconselhava	have advised
231	TD	C, C cedilha [TD repeating the spelling to the girl on the blackboard]	C, C cedilla [TD repeating the spelling to the girl on the blackboard]
232	BI	protec-ção, c rua	protect-tion, <i>double c</i>
233	TD	c cedilha, c depois /3/	c cedilla, c after /3/
234	BI	c rua /2/	double c /2/

235	TD	depressa /7/ refugiar-se	hurry /7/ to refuge onself
236		[TD checking another word the girl wrote on the blackboard]	[TD checking another word the girl wrote on the blackboard]
237		gigue (g), refu-gi-avam-se [TD saying the word slowly]	g, they have refuged themselves [TD saying the word slowly]
238		refugiavam-se, procurar protecção, procurar protecção como acontece	they have refuged, to look for protection, to look for protection as in
239		com os nossos, quem?	happened with our, who?
240		os nossos conterrâneos que foram p'ra?	our compatriots who went to?
241		pr'a onde? pr'a a parte ocidental de timor?	to where? to the occidental side of timor?
242		porque é que eles foram no momento de?	why did they go in the moment of?
243		no ano de '99 eles foram refugiar-se noutra? noutra parte da? da ilha	in the year of '99 they went to another? another part of? of the island
244		quer dizer eles foram fazer o quê?	means that they went to do what?
245		procurar? protect-?	to look for? protect-?
246	PPS	ção [saying a group of pupils in chorus]	tion [saying a group of pupils in chorus]
247	TD	procurar protecção /2/	to look for protection /2/
248		ilha de são tomé, uma terra lindíssima e boa para viver	island of são tomé, a very beautiful land and good to live
249		[TD reading louder a part in the beginning of the text]	[TD reading louder a part in the beginning of the text]
250		vá mais? /3/	come on, what more? /3/
251		[TD trying to ask for more unknown words]	[TD trying to ask for more unknown words]
252	BI	ilha né, professora, ilha né sidauk	that word island, teacher, island is not there yet
253	TD	ILHA vá escreve ilha, ilha /3/ pedaço de terra [light background noise]	ISLAND, come on, write island, island /3/ [light background noise]
254		shiiii /2/ pedaço C cedilha O	shiiii /2/ tract C cedilla O
255	BI	professora a seguir [inaudible] isolado	teacher next [inaudible] isolated
256	TD	de ter-ra [TD telling the girl what to write on the blackboard]	of land [TD telling the girl what to write on the blackboard]
257		de	of
258	PP	de, de terra	of, of land
259	TD	/4/ pedaço de terra cercada de água /7/ de água	/4/ tract of land surrounded by water /7/ by water
260		shiiii [little background noise]	shiiii [little background noise]
261		por todos os lados /15/	in every sides /15/

262	PP	professora [inaudible]	teacher [inaudible]
263	TD	hã? arquipélago, conjunto de ilhas	hum? archipelago, a group of islands
264		ar-qui-pe-lá-go /2/ ar-QUI /../ q-u-i, aqui	ar-chi-pe-la-go /2/ ar-CHI /2/ c-h-i, archi
265		shiii [small background noise on the class] /4/	shiii [small background noise on the class] /4/
266		ar-QUI	ar-CHI
267	BI	pe-lá-go	pe-la-go
268	TD	pe-la-go [TD saying slower than before] /4/	pe-la-go [TD saying slower than before] /4/
269		acento no e /2/	accent on e /2/
270		arquipélago, conjunto /3/ CONJUNTO, CON /7/ conjunto de ilhas	archipelago, a group /3/ GROUP, GRO /7/ group of islands
271		arquipelago conjunto de ilhas /8/ mais?	archipelago group of islands /8/ more?
272	BI	rompia	have broken through
273	TD	hã?	hum?
274	BI	rompia	have broken through
275	TD	onde?	where?
276	BI	rompia [chorus of 2 or 3 girls]	have broken up [2 or 3 girls in chorus]
277	TD	rompia, onde está rompia?	have broken up, where is have broken through?
278	PP	de madrugada, quando o sol rompia as nuvens	at the dawn, when the sun have broken through the clouds
279		[2 girls reading this from the text]	[2 girls reading this from the text]
280	TD	em que linha?	in which line?
281	BI	rompia, rompia	have broken through, have broken through
282	TD	em que linha?	in which line?
283	FP	linha cinco	line five
284	BI	cinco	five
285	TD	/3/ rompia quer dizer	/3/ have broken through means
286	PP	[inaudible in Tetum]	[inaudible in Tetum]

287	FP	eiça professora hatene tiona	okey the teacher knows it already
288	TD	rompia, escreve rompia /8/	have broken through, write have broken through /8/
289	I	procura verbo romper	look for the verb to break
290		[I was trying to help the 2 girls sitting in front of me to look for the word	[I was trying to help the 2 girls sitting in front of me to look for the word on
291		on the dictionary]	the dictionary]
292	TD	/6/ romper, hã /3/ romper quer dizer, rompia	/6/ to break, hum /3/ to break through means, to break through
293	I	do verbo romper	from the verb to break through
294	TD	rompia	have broken through
295	BI	romper	to break through
296	TD	nascia? [addressing me]	was risen? [addressing me]
297	I	neste caso é o sol abrir	in this case is about the sun appearing
298	TD	loron	sun
299	I	o sol abrir	the sun appearing
300	BI	o sol abrir	the sun appearing
301	TD	rompia, espera /3/	have broken through, wait /3/
302		rompia, o sol rompia, loron matak lakloke né, sim?	have broken through, the sun to appear , yes?
303	I	sim	yes
304	TD	sim?	yes?
305	I	sim	yes
306	PP	o sol [inaudible]	the sun [inaudible]
307	TD	o sol rompia quer dizer /3/	the sun have broken through means /3/
308	I	brilhava	have shone
309		experimenta ver romper, r-o-m-p-e-r	try to see to shine, s-h-i-n-e [trying to help 2 girls sitting on the front row
310		[trying to help 2 girls sitting on the front row to look up at the dictionary]	to look up at the dictionary]
311	TD	vá escreve rompia /10/	come on write to have broken through /10/

312		vá rompia /6/	come on to have broken through /6/
313	PP	o quê professora?	what, teacher?
314	TD	espera, vá rompia	wait, come on, to have broken through
315		o que é que significa rompia /7/	what does mean to have broken through /7/
316	BI	romper	to break through
317	TD	hã?	hum?
318	BI	romper	to break through
319	TD	o que é romper?	what is to break through?
320		romper, romper [TD addressing the girl on the blackboard]	to break through [TD addressing the girl on the blackboard]
321		romper né loron matan nakfera né	to break through this means the sun broke through
322		romper /4/	to break through /4/
323		romper	to break through
324		romper né laloran matan nakfera /6/	to break through this means the sun broke through
325		anunciando? anunciando quer dizer? avisando /8/	announcing? announcing means? to notify /6/
326		anunciando /8/ anunciando um novo dia, anunciando quer dizer,	announcing /8/ announcing a new day, announcing means,
327		avisando /4/ avi-sando	notifying /4/ noti-fying
328		[slower; addressing the girl on the blackboard] /3/	[slower; addressing the girl on the blackboard] /3/
329		anunciando, avisando [background talking]	announcing, notifying [background talking]
330		mais?	more?
331		apaga lenda, cantagalo, vá, apaga /2/	erase legend, rooster-singers, come on erase them /2/
332	BI	lenda, cantagalo	legend, rooster-singers
333	TD	hã? mais	hum? more
334		hã?	hum?
335	PP	professora incomodo	teacher, disturb
336	PP	incomodava /10/	have disturbed /10/
337	TD	incomodavam /5/ inco-modo? incomodavam, incomo-DA,	they have disturbed /5/ disturb? they have disturbed, have dis-TUR, they

338		incomodavam /3/ incomodavam, o que é que	have disturbed /3/ they have disturbed, what is that
339		shiiii	shiiii
340		o que é que significa incomodavam? /5/ [background chatting]	what does mean they have disturbed? /5/ [background chatting]
341		incomodam por exemplo, ema ida, ita nia halo barulho incomoda	they disturbed for example, some people, we made noise we disturb
342		padre sira iha laran	the priests inside
343	PP	[inaudible]	[inaudible]
344	TD	o quê? /3/ incomodavam /3/	what? /3/ they have disturbed /3/
345	PP	desconfortável [2 girls reading from the dictionary]	uncomfortable [2 girls reading from the dictionary]
346	TD	o que é que foi?	what did you say?
347	PPS	desconfortável, aborrecido [1 girl reading from the dictionary]	uncomfortable, boring [1 girl reading from the dictionary]
348	TD	incomodavam	they have disturbed
349		aborrecido?	boring
350		sim quem faz barulho aqui, lá aborrece as pessoas que estão lá no	yes who does noise here, bothers people there who are on the other side
351		outro lado	bo? hum? [addressing the 2 girls who had just read from the dictionary]
352		abo? hã? [addressing the 2 girls who had just read from the dictionary]	
353	PP	[inaudible] aborrecido	[inaudible] boring
354	TD	/.../ aborrecido	/.../ boring
355		por exemplo vocês	for instance you
356		aborre, C I	bo, R I
357	PP	aborreCI__do	boRI__ng
358	TD	vocês fazem barulho aborrece o padre lá	you made noise you bothers the priest there
359	BI	professora, desconfortável, aborrecido	teacher, uncomfortable, boring
360	PP	favio, favio, favio	favio, favio, favio
361		[background voice of a boy calling another one]	[background voice of a boy calling another one]
362	BI	desconfortável	uncomfortable
363	TD	aborrecido	boring

364		shiii	shiii
365	PP	[inaudible]	[inaudible]
366	TD	hã? são homens do mar	hum? they are men from the sea
367		hã? barulheira?	hum? uproar?
368	PPS	barulho [saying a group of 3 or 4 girls in chorus]	noise [saying a group of 3 or 4 girls in chorus]
369	TD	barulho	noise
370		barulho né halo barulho né [inaudible]	noise this is we make noise this [inaudible]
371	PP	professor, expedição?	teacher, expedition?
372	TD	expedição /3/ em que linha? qual linha? /2/	expedition /3/ in which line? which line? /2/
373	PP	vin-	twen-
374	BI	hei lai ida [addressing another classmate]	hei it's not right [addressing another classmate]
375		vinte, professora /2/	twenty, teacher /2/
376	TD	espera	wait
377		expedição /5/	expedition /5/
378	BI	hei la iha ida /3/	hei it's not right /3/
379	FP	hei la iha ida [saying to the one who's writing on the blackboard]	hei it's not right [saying to the one who's writing on the blackboard]
380	TD	barulheira porque é que apaga baru-? hã?	noise why that you erase noi-? hum?
381		barulheiro ou barulhento?	noise or noisier?
382	PPS	barulheiro [saying a group of pupils in chorus]	noise [saying a group of pupils in chorus]
383	PPS	barulheira [saying a smaller group of pupils in chorus]	noise [saying a smaller group of pupils in chorus]
384	TD	vá escreve barulheiro /4/ ba-RU	come one, write noise /4/ no-I
385		RU r dobrado? baru r, um r, r ida deit /5/ baru-lheiro	I doubled i? noi i, one i, one i only, one i only /5/ noise
386		baru /3/ lhe, L-H-E	noi /3/ se, S-E
387		baruleiro?	nose?
388		BA-RU-LHEIRO, lhei /2/ LH	NO-I-SE, i /2/ I
389	FP	L [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	I [addressing the girl on the blackboard]

390	TD	baru-LHEI	no-I-SE
391		barulho	noise
392		barulho, vá mais	noise, come on, more
393		expedição /5/	expedition /5/
394		expedição quer dizer viagem /8/ [background conversation]	expedition means journey /8/ [background conversation]
395		vá, põe, escreve só viagem /2/	come on, put it, write journey /2/
396		shiiii	shiii
397		hei, não façam barulho /2/ ita halo barulho iha né ba né [inaudible]	hei, don't make noise /2/ we make noise here and over there
398		[referring to the áudio/vídeo recorder]	[inaudible] [referring to the audio/video recorder]
399		mais? apaga e faz só /3/	more? erase and do it ? /3/
400	PP	sensato, professora	sensible, teacher
401	PP	professora, sensato, professora	teacher, sensible, teacher
402	PP	sensato	sensible
403	PP	sensato	sensible
404	PP	emigrar	emigrate
405	PP	sensato	sensible
406	TD	vá, escreve	come on, write it
407	BI	emigrar, professora /2/ emigrarem /3/ [background conversation]	emigrate, teacher, /2/ they emigrate 3// [background conversation]
408	PP	incomodavam	they have bothered
409	TD	vá, emigrar, emigrar	come one, emigrate, emigrate
410	PP	emigrar	emigrate
411	TD	e-MI-grar [TD dictating to the girl on the blackboard] /3/	e-MI-grate [TD dictating to the girl on the blackboard] /3/
412	BI	emigrar, emigrarem /7/	emigrate, they emigrate /7/
413		[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]	[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]
414	TD	e-MIGRAR, EMIGRAREM?	e-MIGRATE, THEY EMIGRATED?

415	PP	emigrar /2/	emigrate /2/
416	TD	emigrar quer dizer que ele deixa a terra dele e vai para outra terra	to emigrate means that one leaves one's land and goes to another land
417		nia husik ninia rai nia ba fali ema nian rai seluk	one leaves one's own land and goes instead to another land
418		ne mak quer dizer emigrar	this is what means emigrate
419		deixa a sua terra e vai para outra	one leaves one's land and goes to another one
420	PP	deixa o seu país	one leaves one's country
421	TD	sim	yes
422	PP	para ir viver para outro [background voice of a girl] /5/	to go to another [background voice of a girl] /5/
423	PP	deixa o seu	one leaves one's
424	TD	deixa o seu país para ir viver	one leaves one's country to go and live
425	PP	o seu, o seu [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	one's, one's [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
426	TD	outro país	another country
427		deixa o seu país	one leaves one's country
428		o SEU, O	ONE'S, O
429		deixa o seu país	leaves one's country
430		PAÍS acento no i	COUNTRY accent on i
431		deixa o seu país e vai viver?	leaves one's country and goes to live?
432		para outro	in another
433		e vai viver noutro	and goes and lives in another
434		nia husik ninia rai, nia ba moris fali iha rai seluk	one leaves one's own land and goes to live instead in another land
435		e vai viver noutro /5/	and goes to live in another /5/
436		vai viver noutro, e vai viver para, PARA, não apaga NA, apaga	goes to live in another, and goes to live in, IN, don't erase IN, erase
437		[addressing the girl on the blackboard] /3/	[addressing the girl on the blackboard] /3/
438		para outra	in another
439		deixa o seu país e vai viver para outro /2/	leaves one's country and goes to live in one /2/
440		mais? /3/	more? /3/

441	PP	sensato	sensible
442	TD	hã?	hum?
443	FP	sensato /3/	sensible /3/
444	FP	sensato [background conversation of some pupils]	sensible [background conversation of some pupils]
445	TD	shiii	shiii
446	FP	sensato	sensible
447	FP	sensato	sensible
448	TD	vá, escreve /2/ sensato /10/	come on, write it /2/ sensible /10/
449		[background conversation of some pupils]	[background conversation of some pupils]
450	PP	prudente, ajuizado [reading from the dictionary]	prudent, wise
451	BI	[inaudible] sensato	[inaudible] sensible
452	PPS	sensato	sensible
453		prudente, ajuizado [2 girls reading in chorus]	prudent, wise [2 girls reading in chorus]
454	TD	sensa, sensa, ah?	sensi, sensi, ha?
455		sensato escreve-se assim?	sensible writes it like this?
456	PPS	Ai, NÃO, s [said 2 girls in chorus]	oh, NO, s [said 2 girls in chorus]
457	FP	s	s
458	FP	sensato	sensible
459	FP	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
460	FP	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
461	FP	So [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
462	FP	s [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	S [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
463	TD	sen- /3/ sato	sen- /2/ sible
464		sensato, hei SENSATO /2/	sensible, hei SENSIBLE /2/
465	FP	L la iha ida	T it doesn't have it

466	TD	sensato, ajuizado /2/	sensible, wise /2/
467	BI	ajuizado	wise
468	TD	escreve ajuizado /4/ [background conversation of some pupils]	write wise /4/ [background conversation of some pupils]
469		ajuizado /2/	wise /2/
470		vá, mais? /6/	come on, more? /6/
471		espera A	wait W
472	FP	ajuizado	wise
473	TD	A, a-JUI	W- w-ISE
474	FP	Z	S
475	TD	Z, A, ajuí, j-u-i-z, A /3/	S, E, wi, w-I, W /3/
476		ajuizado /3/	Wise /3/
477		mais? /4/	more? /4/
478	BI	sossego /3/ [background conversation of some pupils]	quiet /3/ [background conversation of some pupils]
479	TD	o quê?	what?
480		têm que estar em silêncio	you have to be in silence
481		silêncio	silence
482		vocês /5/	you /5/
483		so, S-O [addressing the girl on the blackboard] s-o, s dobrado /../ c-e	qui-, Q-U-I [addressing the girl on the blackboard] doubled s /2/ c-e
484		sossego /6/	quiet /6/
485	BI	silêncio	silence
486	FP	silêncio	silence
487	FP	sossego	quiet
488	TD	estar em silêncio, estar em sossego, hakmatek	to be in silence, to be quiet, quiet
489		[background conversation of some pupils]	[background conversation of some pupils]
490		/20/	/20/
491		não se envolviam à pancada [reading from the text], à pancada quer	they didn't involve themselves in swiping [reading from the text], swiping

492		dizer não está? /2/	means one is not in? /2/
493		hei shiii /3/	hei shiii /3/
494	BI	se entendiam, professor	they understood each other, teacher
495		[background conversation of some pupils]	[background conversation of some pupils]
496	TD	[inaudible] se entendiam /2/ mais	[inaudible] they understood each other /2/ more
497	PP	[inaudible]	[inaudible]
498	TD	não se envolviam à pancada	they didn't involve themselves in swiping
499		envolviam, envolviam, en-vol- /2/ viam	involve, involve, in-vol- /2/ ved
500		shiii, hei /2/ hei koalia naton	shiii, hei /2/ hei speak little
501		ho tur lolos hei /3/	sit properly hei /3/
502		não está a par /12/	not being aware of /12/
503		não es-tá, acento, a par /2/ [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	not be-ing, accent, aware of /2/ [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
504		A PAR /3/	AWARE OF /3/
505		a par é separado, A ketak PAR ketak	aware of is separated, AWARE is one word, OF is another
506		ai la hakerek hamutuk ona /3/	oh don't write it as one word /3/
507		pancada? /2/	swiping? /2/
508		outro? pancada quer dizer o quê, pancada?	another? swiping means what, swiping?
509		levas uma pancada?	you get a swiping?
510		né sa ida?	what is that?
511		o quê é uma pancada? /2/ panca-da /6/	what is a swiping? /2/ swi-ping /6/
512		ai muro /2/	oh wal /2/
513		ai muro ou murro, professora? [TD addressing me]	oh wal or wall, teacher? [addressing me]
514	BI	r dobrado	double l
515	TD	pancada, pancada?	swiping, swiping?
516	I	dois, dois, dois, dois [caught in surprise again by teacher's question]	two, two, two, two [caught in surprise again by teacher's question]
517	TD	mais?	more?

518	BI	r dobrado, r dobrado	double r, double r
519	TD	r dobrado? /3/ mais? /3/	double r? more?

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520	BI	pretendiam	they required
521	PP	reclamar	to complain
522	PP	reclamar	to complain
523	BI	reclamar, professora	to complain, teacher
524	TD	exigir, reclamar é exigir, exige	to demand, to complain is to demand, to demand
525		vá recla-mar /3/	to com-plain /3/
526		reclama né exige	to complain is to demand
527		hei [background conversation of some pupils] /4/	hei [background conversation of some pupils] /4/
528		re-cla-mar /2/	com-plain /2/
529	FP	exige /3/	demand /3/
530	TD	e, exi-, x	d, de-, e
531	BI	x	e
532	TD	e, xi-, i, guê, i, r	d, de-, e, m, a, n, d
533		xis	e
534		mais? /2/	more? /2/
535	PP	chefiasse	that would lead
536	PP	chefiasse	that would lead
537	PP	chefiasse	that would lead
538	BI	chefiasse né chefe né /9/	that would lead, that is, the leader /9/

539		[background conversation]	[background conversation]
540	TD	resolveu	solved
541		decidiu	decided
542		RE-SOL-VEU	SOL-VED
543		escreve depressa /2/	write it quickly /2/
544		re-sol-veu	sol-ved
545		decidiu, de-ci-diu /4/	de-ci-ded, de-ci-ded /4/
546		de-CI-DIU, i-u /2/	de-CI-DED, e-d /2/
547		de-ci-di-u /19/ [background conversation of some pupils]	de-ci-ded /19/
548		recaíu quer dizer caíu /3/ recaíu, caíu	fell on means happened to /3/ have fallen, went to
549		a escolha reca-íu quer dizer a escolha caíu	the choice fell on means the choice went to
550		sira escolha né maibé monu fali iha manu metan ida	their choice went to a black rooster
551		recaíu para outro galo	it fell to another rooster
552		dehan mono, sira halo /2/ sira hili chefe né	meaning that it went to, they did /2/ they chose a leader
553		quer dizer foi cair noutro	means it went to
554		sira hili chefe né maibé laos mestre mono fali, sira halo fali hansa	they chose a leader who was not the master, that's what they did
555		né depois mono fali ba ida né maka recaíu bá, calha fali ida, bá	it, then went to this one, that means fell on, it went to a, fell, went to,
556		recaíu, caíu, calhar, calhar, pode ser, calhar, professora? /2/	to happen to, to happen to, can it be, to happen to, teacher? /2/
557		hei [turning to the girls on the blackboard] vírgula, não	hei [turning to the girls on the blackboard] comma, no
558	BI	caíu los ona [addressing the classmate on the blackboard]	went to is alright now [addressing the classmate on the blackboard]
559	TD	ha, A-U /3/	ha, A-U /3/
560	BI	hei, caíu	hei, went to
561	TD	U vírgula	U comma
562		calhar, CA-LHAR	to happen to, HÁ-PPEN-TO
563		HA, ca-LH /2/ ca-LHAR, L-H, ai	PPE, ha-PPE /2/ ha-PPEN-TO, P-P-E, ai
564		calhar /10/ [background conversation of some pupils]	to happen to /10/ [background conversation of some pupils]
565		'enorme'	'enormous'

566		o que é que significa enorme /6/	what does 'enormous' mean?
567		hei ho tur nonok hatene ho? [TD reprimanding a girl] /2/	hei would you seat quiet, could you? [TD reprimanding a girl] /2/
568		nusa? ho bicho carpinteiro ka? /5/	what? can't you be still for a second? /5/
569		[background conversation of pupils]	[background conversation of pupils]
570		vá 'enorme', grande /29/	come on 'enormous', huge /29/
571		'ilhéu', o que é significa 'ilhéu'? /3/	'islet', what does 'islet' mean? /3/
572		'ilhéu' quer dizer ilhas pequeninas, 'ilhéus'	'islet' means small islands, 'islets'
573	BI	ilhas pequeninas [stressing a very Portuguese accent]	small islands [stressing a very Portuguese accent]
574	TD	ilhas pequeninas	small islands
575		acento no 'E', 'ilhéus', ilhas pequeninas	accent on the 'E', 'islets', small islands
576		quer dizer que a ilha mais pequenina	it means that the smallest island
577		ilhas pequeninas, 'ilhéu' quer dizer? /2/	small islands, 'islet' means? /2/
578		mais pequenino que ilha	smaller than an island
579		ilhas pequeninas /5/	small islands /5/
580		'pretendiam' /10/	'they required' /10/
581		'pretendiam' quer dizer queriam, não é professora, 'pretendiam'?	'they required' means they wanted, isn't it teacher, 'they required'?
582		queriam, que-ri-am /2/ quer dizer isto	wanted, wan-ted /2/ it means this
583		hei [TD reprimanding some pupils] /12/	hei [TD reprimanding some pupils] /12/
584		'pretendiam' o que é que quer dizer?	'they required' what does it mean?
585		queriam /2/	they wanted /2/
586	BI	pre-ten, pre-ten [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	re-qui-red, re-qui-red [addressing the girl on the blackboard]
587	FP	'N', la iha	'E', it doesn't have
588	TD	hai	hai
589		pre-ten-diam	re-qui-red
590		apaga 'pren', ne hasai tia	erase 'rei-', take this one [letter 'l'] out
591	BI	'N', 'N'	'l', 'l'
592	TD	'N' hasai tia	'l' take that one out

593	FP	'N' hasai tia	'I' take that one out
594	TD	pre-ten-diam	re-qui-red
595		pre-tem-diam	re-qui-red
596		queriam /8/	they wanted /8/
597		'sugestã'o? o que é 'sugestão'? /6/	'suggestion'? what does 'suggestion' mean? /6/
598		vá, 'sugestão'?	come one, suggestion?
599		o que é que significa 'sugestão'?	what does 'suggestion' mean?
600		hei, meninos	hei, children
601	FP	hai suges-	hei suges-
602	TD	su-ges	suges-
603		'G' /3/	'G' /3/
604		ges-	ges-
605	BI	tão	tion
606	TD	'sugestão'	suggestion
607		o que é que significa 'sugestão'?	what does 'suggestion' mean?
608		vocês? /2/	you? /2/
609		hei meninos, 'sugestão', o que é significa? /2/	hei children, 'suggestion', what does it mean? /2/
610		ideia, 'sugestão', ideia /8/	[it means] idea, 'suggestion', idea /8/
611		quer dizer se não aceitarem,	it means that if you don't accept,
612		se não querem aceitar a minha ideia, o quê?	if you don't accept my idea, what?
613		haverá guerra /2/	there will be war /2/
614		mais?	more?
615		as conversas tinham-se tornado tão azedas	the conversations have become so bitter
616		'azedas' quer dizer amargas, amargas	bitter means harsh, harsh
617		'azedas' /3/	bitter [3]
618		aze-, 'Z' /2/ 'Z' não é 'S'	bitt-, 'TT' [2] 'TT' and not 'D'
619		ai, 'Z'-'E' /3/	ai, 'TT'-'E' [3]

620	FP	-zed, -zed	tter, tter
621	TD	aze-das /10/ azedas /5/	bi-tter /10/ bitter /5/
622	BI	azedas, professora /4/	bitter, teacher /4/
623	TD	tão azedas /6/	“so bitter” /6/
624		‘azedas’ quer dizer o quê? /5/	what does ‘bitter’ mean? /5/
625	FP	planta [inaudible]	plant [inaudible]
626		[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]	[few girls looking up the word on the dictionary]
627	TD	azedas não é planta	bitter is not a plant
628		azedas né	bitter, right
629		azedas é planta? [TD asking puzzled with what a pupil said] /2/	is bitter a plant? [TD asking puzzled about what the pupil said] /2/
630	PP	professora	teacher
631	TD	o quê? /3/	what? /3/
632		o quê é que significa azedas? /13/	what does “bitter” mean? /137
633		o que é significa azedas, meninas?	what does “bitter” mean, girls?
634	PPS	planta hortense [2 girls in chorus]	a horticultural plant [2 girls in chorus]
635		hum?	hum?
636	PPS	planta hortense [2 girls in chorus]	a horticultural plant [2 girls in chorus]
637	TD	azedas planta hor? azedas?	“bitter”, hor- plant? bitter? [TD puzzled]
638		azedas né dehan be [TD puzzled] /5/	This [word] bitter means, is like /5/
639		tornou-se pior, ah, pior	it become worst, ah, worst
640		talvez azedas /4/ quer dizer /4/	maybe bitter /4/ it means /4/
641		onde estão azedas? em que linha? qual linha? /7/	where is “bitter”? in what line? what line? /7/
642		linha ida né be? /3/	what line is it? /3/
643	FP	quinze	fifteen
644	TD	hum?	hum?
645	FP	quinze /2/	fifteen /2/

646	TD	as conversas iam-se tornando tão azedas	the conversations were turning so bitter"
647		quer dizer as conversas eram /3/	it means that the conversations were /3/
648		o quê? /3/	what? /3/
649		as conversas eram tão azedas quer dizer	the conversation were so bitter means
650		conversa né né manas liu /2/	this conversation was very heated /2/
651		mais o quê, professora? [TD addressing me]	more what, teacher? [TD addressing me]
652		'azedas'? mais? /3/	'bitter'? more? /3/
653		mais? /4/ quer dizer? [inaudible]	more? /4/ it means [inaudible]
654	I	sim /2/	yes /2/
655	TD	[TD smiling embarrassed] professora, já não sei dizer	[TD smiling embarrassed] teacher, I don't know what to say
656		as conversas	the conversations
657	PP	professora [inaudible]	teacher [inaudible]
658	TD	hum? /3/	hum? /3/
659		'azedas' né [inaudible] não é planta /2/	this [word] 'bitter' [inaudible] is not a plant /2/
660		conversa né entre sira nain rua maibé	conversation between these two roosters
661		conversa né koalialia koalialia	conversation means talks
662		mas conversa né mas né liu	but this conversation was
663		forte liu, 'azedas' forte talvez	it was intense, 'bitter' is perhaps hard
664	I	irritada, sim, zangados [Ildegrada intervening in the lesson]	frantic, yes, angry [Ildegrada intervening in the lesson]
665	TD	professora?	teacher?
666	I	irritada, zangadas	frantic, resentful
667	TD	zangadas, sim	resentful, yes
668		'azedas' né é melhor zangadas	'bitter', it's better 'resentful'
669		forte /3/	intense /3/
670		zangadas, 'Z' /2/ zangadas	resentful, 'R' /2/ resentful
671		zangadas né sira nia diskusaun né forte	resentful, their discussion was intense
672		hansa makas	like very intense

673		'zangada' ou vírgula, forte /2/ [TD dictating to the pupil]	'resentful' or comma, intense [TD dictating to the pupil]
674		vá /11/	come on /11/
675		oi vá sentar /7/ ah? /3/	go back to your seat /7/ ah? /3/
676		este texto, de que é que fala, fala-se?	this text, what is about, it's about?
677		de uma? a lenda de?	about a? a legend of?
678	PPS	cantagalo [group of pupils replying in chorus]	rooster-singer [group of pupils replying in chorus]
679	TD	'a lenda de cantagalo'	'the legendo of the rooster-singer'
680		'cantagalo' significa que? significa o quê?	'rooster'singer' means that? what does it mean?
681		galo que?	rooster who?
682	PP	canta	sings
683	TD	canta [TD repeating the answer]	sings [TD repeating the answer]
684		galo que canta	rooster who sings
685		'há muitos, muitos anos todos os galos'	'many, many years ago all the roosters'
686	BI	'do mundo' [background voice]	'in the world' [background voice]
687	TD	onde é que se foram refugiar?	where did they go to look for shelter?
688	FP	são tomé	são tomé
689	FP	ilha de são tomé	island of são tomé
690	PP	ilha de são tomé [few pupils joining the girls and saying in chorus]	island of são tomé [few pupils joining the girls and saying in chorus]
691	TD	foram refugiar-se na ilha de?	they looked for shelter on the island of?
692	PPS	são tomé [many pupils saying in chorus more confidently]	são tomé [many pupils saying in chorus more confidently]
693	TD	são tomé é uma ilha	são tomé is an Island
694		uma ilha na	an island in
695		professora, é uma ilha do? [addressing me]	teacher, it is an island in? [addressing me]
696	PP	européia	europe
697	PP	europa	europe
698	I	áfrica [saying in lower voice]	africa [saying in lower voice]

699	TD	áfrica? áfrica	africa? africa
700	PP	europa	europe
701	TD	é uma ilha que está na áfrica	it is an Island in africa
702		não é na europa	it is not in Europe
703		né áfrica, metan sira nia rain	
704		metan, áfrica né oh	
705		ilha né ema ne'bé?	
706		então vocês não costumam ver na televisão	
707	PP	não	
708	TD	televisão quando sai são tomé	
709	FP	sim, professora	
710	TD	imi hare ema ka metan ka mutin?	
711	FP	metan	
712	PP	metan [saying some in chorus]	
713	TD	as pessoas são negras	
714		negras né dehan metan	
715		né ema metan sira nia rai [pupils making some background noise]	
716		shh [TD asking people to be quiet]	
717		hei, como se chama? ah Fabia [4]	
718		há muitos anos os galos refugiam-se na ilha de são Tomé	
719		ilha de são tomé é terra dos ne-gros	
720		rain ema metan sira nia rain	
721		iha africa sira né ba	
722		são tomé é uma ilha	
723		ilha quer dizer?	
724		pedaço de terra cercada de água por todos os?	

725	BI	lados	
726	PPS	lados [a few more people more or less in chorus]	
727	TD	como timor	like timor
728		como ilha de são tomé como timor	são tomé is an island like timor
729		timor é pedaço de terra	timor is a tract of land [surrounded]
730		água	by water
731		cercada de quê?	surrounded by what?
732		de água por todos?	by water in all its?
733	PPS	lados [saying in chorus]	sides [saying in chorus]
734	TD	a ilha de são tomé é assim /3/	on the island of são tomé is like this /3/
735		'na madrugada quando o sol rompia as nuvens,	'at dawn when the sun was breaking through the clouds,
736		punham-se todos a cantar anunciando	all the roosters started to sing announcing
737		um novo dia' [TD reading from the text]	a new day has started' [TD reading from the text]
738	PPS	cócorócó [few pupils saying this]	"cock-a-doodle-doo" [few pupils saying this]
739	TD	'um novo dia' quer dizer de manhã	'a new day' means in the morning
740		de manhã, madrugada	in the morning, at dawn
741		o que é que fazem shhh [TD stopping what she was saying to ask	what do the shhh [TD stopping what she was saying to ask pupils to be
742		pupils to be quiet]	quiet]
743		quem é que desperta primeiro	who is the one who wakes up first?
744	BI	o galo	the rooster
745	PPS	o galo [few pupils replying more or less in chorus after BI]	the rooster [few pupils replying more or less in chorus after BI]
746	TD	o galo é que desperta?	is the rooster who wakes people up?
747	BI	primeiro	first
748	TD	as pessoas	people
749	PPS	primeiro [more pupils replying more or less in chorus after BI and at the	first [more pupils replying more or less in chorus after BI and at the
750		same time as TD was talking]	same time as TD was talking]

751	TD	hã [TD accepting the choral response as correct]	hum [TD accepting the choral response as correct]
752		‘mal que o sol rompia’	‘the sooner the sun broke through’
753		o quê?	what happened?
754		‘mal que o sol rompia?’	‘the sooner the sun broke through’?
755	PP	as nuvens	the clouds
756	TD	as nuvens punham-se todos a?	all the clouds started to?
757	FP	cantar	sing
758	PPS	cantar [few pupils replying more or less in chorus]	sing [few pupils replying more or less in chorus]
759	TD	todos a cantar	everybody singing
760		pois quem é que anunciando um novo dia?	who was announcing the new day?
761	MP	o galo	the rooster
762	PPS	o galo [replying in chorus after the MP]	the rooster [replying in chorus after the MP]
763	TD	o galo	the rooster
764		‘anunciando um novo dia’	‘announcing a new day’
765		então qual é a voz do galo?	so what is the voice of the rooster?
766	BI	cócórocóco	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’
767	PPS	cócórocóco [many pupils replying more or less in chorus after BI]	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’
768	TD	anunciando um novo dia	‘announcing a new day’
769		então o galo começa a fazer	so the rooster started to do
770		o quê? có-?	what? co-?
771	PPS	cócórocóco [many pupils replying in chorus]	cock-a-doodle-doo’
772	TD	começa a cantar já	he starts to sing right away
773		o primeiro galo	the first rooster
774	PP	cócórocóco [saying in background at the same time as TD]	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ [saying in background at the same time as TD]
775		‘anunciando um novo dia’ o?	‘announcing a new day’ the?
776	PPS	galo [few pupils saying in chorus]	rooster [few pupils saying in chorus]

777	TD	manu né nia sa'ida? nia kanta né	this rooster what does he do? he sings
778		nia afanu ema	he wakes people up
779		anunciando um novo dia	"announcing a new day"
780		dehan nia hader	he says he is waking up
781		agora ita hader ona	now we are waking up
782		tamba rai? sa'ida? rai?	because on earth it was? what? da-?
783	PP	loron	day light
784	PP	dader	day dawning
785	TD	dader ona [TD confirming this as the correct answer]	it's morning [TD confirming this as the correct answer]
786		anunciando um novo dia	"announcing a new day"
787		não é noite, mas já é dia, para desperta	it's not night, but it's? [2] day, to wake up
788		é para acordar	[it] is [time] to wake up
789		"alegria imensa"	"enormous joy"
790		grande? "alegria imensa" quer dizer grande ale-?	big? "enormous joy" means big jo-?
791	BI	alegria	joy
792	TD	grande alegria de, grande alegria de estarem	big joy of, big joy of being
793	BI	juntos	Together
794	TD	juntos [2]	together [2]
795		"a alegria de estarem juntos e o facto das suas vozes funcionarem"	"the joy of being together and the fact of their voices functioning" [reading
796		[reading from the text]	from the text]
797		funcionarem quer dizer a trabalhar	"functioning" means to work
798		aquelas suas vozes todos juntos	all those voices altogether
799		a funcionarem bem em coro	to functioning well in chorus
800	BI	coro	in chorus
801	TD	coro quer dizer conjunto de vozes	a choir means a group of voices
802		coro né dehan ema ne'bé canta	a choir this says people who sings
803		canta ida conjunto de coros	it sings a group of choirs

804		todos cantam	everybody sings
805		"grande alegria" para quem?	"big joy" to whom?
806		"grande alegria" de quem [2]	"big joy" of who? [2]
807	BI	de estarem juntos	of being together
808	TD	de estarem juntos	of being together
809		[TD repeating the answer to confirm that it was correct]	[TD repeating the answer to confirm that it was correct]
810		juntos	together
811		sira contente tamba sa'ida? sira hamu-?	they were happy because of what? they were toge-?
812	PPS	hamutuk [many pupils saying in chorus]	together [many pupils saying in chorus]
813	TD	hamutuk ba halo sa'ida?	together to do what?
814	PP	atu canta	to sing
815	TD	hamutuk hodi halu? hodi halu sa'ida?	together to do? to do what?
816		estarem juntos para quê? [3]	being together for what? [3]
817	BI	para funcionarem bem em coro	to function well as a choir
818	TD	estarem juntos para quê? vá	being together for what? come on
819		estarem juntos para? [2]	being together for? [2]
820		cantar	sing
821		manu sira né hamutuk sira halo sa'ida?	this rooster together they do what?
822	PPS	cantar	sing
823	TD	sira halo [inaudible] sira nia lian, em coro	they do [inaudible] their voices, in choir
824		coro ne dehan hamutuk sira hamutuk	in choir it says together, together they
825		para sira halu sa'ida?	for them to do what?
826		cócórocóco	cock-a-doodle-doo
827		sira canta	they sing
828		balu	some
829		imi hare dader san manu kokore ka lai?	in the morning do you see roosters singing or not?
830	PP	hare	we see

831	TD	hare	you see
832		imi la hare	don't you see
833		kuandu ita sei toba manu sira né	when we are still sleeping
834		sira iha ahi ida ba ahi ida	they are jumping from trees brunches to another
835		hamutuk sira halo kokore	together they do cock-a-doodle-doo
836		ida kokore, ida hatan	one cock-a-doodle-doo, another respond
837		ida simu nuné, nuné	another receive, and so on
838		todos juntos a? a? cantar	all together to? to? sing
839		estarem em coro todos juntos a cantar [2]	they are in choir all together to sing [2]
840		e depois leva-os a repetir a? o quê?	then they take them to repeat the? what?
841		canta-?	sin-?
842	PPS	cantaria [fewer pupils saying in chorus]	singing [fewer pupils saying in chorus]
843	TD	cantaria que canta	singing that sings
844		ida né canta, ida né simu,	this one sings, that one receives
845		ida ne'ba nonok	another one is quiet
846		ida ne'ba hatan, né maka	another one responds, this is
847		hoi [asking someone to be quiet] [6]	hey [asking someone to be quiet] [6]
848		a qualquer hora, canta a qualquer hora	at any time, they sing at any time
849		ida né nonok, ida ne'ba canta	this one is quiet, that one sings
850		este aqui está a falar, aquele recebe [3]	this one is talking, that one is receiving [3]
851		"enchia a atmosfera de música"	"it filled the atmosphere with music"
852		[reading from the text]	[reading from the text]
853		preenchia "atmosfera" ar	it filled the atmosphere, the air
854		atmosfera né dehan leten	atmosphere it says up there
855		iha leten ar ne'ba	up there in the air
856		quer dizer leten né enchia-se de música	it means up there filled up with music
857		ar né simu mesak sa'ida?	this air receives what on its own?

858		simu mesak? rona deit?	receives on its own? did you hear?
859		mesak sa'ida? hanesan?	what did it receive on its own? like?
860		o que é que ouvem?	what did they hear?
861		ouvem a voz	they hear a voice
862		rona sira nia lian	listen to their voice
863		sira nia lian ne sa'ida?	what is their voices about?
864		musica sira kanta né [5]	their voices are about the music they are singing [5]
865		havam cantores "que lhes achavam graça"	there were singers "that thought they were funny"
866		[reading from the text]	[reading from the text]
867		ema balu ke sa'ida?	what were some people thinking?
868		hei, meninos atenção	hei, children pay attention
869		havam pessoas que achavam graça	there were people who think they were funny
870		de quê? [3]	of what? [3]
871	PP	[inaudible]	[inaudible]
872	TD	hum?	hum?
873		o quê? haviam pessoas que achavam graça?	what? there were people who thought it was funny?
874		sira, balu, ema balu sa'ida?	they, some of them, some people what?
875		hamnasa	they laughed
876		achavam graça, quer dizer hamnasa	they thought it was funny, it means they laughed
877		hamnasa	laughed
878		"gabavam", sira gaba [2]	they have boasted, they have boasted [2]
879		aquela alegria contagi-	that contagious joy-
880	PP	-giant	joy
881	TD	alegria contagiante	contagious joy
882		[inaudible] que contagia [5]	[inaudible] that spread out [5]

Audio-recording of the same lesson doing the activity of grammatical analysis of words from the text

58:45 - 01:17:11

1	TD	agora vamos à análise morfológica [3]	now let's do the morphological analysis [3]
2		[uncontrolled noise of pupils chatting]	[uncontrolled noise of pupils chatting]
3		“a” morfológicamente [2]	“the” morphologically [2]
4		“a” [2] a morfológicamente	“the” [2] morphologically
5		silêncio [TD asking pupils to be quiet] [4]	silence [TD asking pupils to be quiet] [4]
6		vá escreve “a”, Jaci [6]	come on write “the”, Jaci [6]
7		“lenda”, “lenda”? [3]	“legend”, “legend”? [3]
8		[uncontrolled noise of pupils chatting]	[uncontrolled noise of pupils chatting]
9		Vitor [5]	Vitor [5]
10		cantagalo [8]	rooster-singer [8]
11		cantagalo	rooster-singer
12		nome comum, feminino, singular [referring to “lenda”]	common name, feminine, singular [referring to “legend”]
13		“há”?	“has”?
14	PPS	artigo	Article
15		[pupils talking very loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the	[pupils talking very loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the
16		rest]	rest]
17	TD	Minia, “há”? [3]	Minia, “has”? [3]
18		verbo?	verb?
19	PPS	[pupils replying at the same time that I could not hear clearly what they	[pupils replying at the same time that I could not hear clearly what they
20		were saying]	were saying]
21	TD	“há”, verbo haver	“has”, verb to have
22	PPS	do presente do indicativo	on Present Tense of the Indicative
23		[pupils talking loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]	[pupils talking loudly and at the same time that I could not hear the rest]
24			

25	TD	sheiii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]	sheiii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]
26	FP	silêncio	silence
27	TD	hei silêncio, por favor	hey silence, please
28		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]
29		Jaci, vai escrever no quadro	Jaci, go and write on the blackboard
30		[calling a girl to the blackboard]	[calling a girl to the blackboard]
31		vá análise morfológica	come on morphological analysis
32		vá apaga depressa [2]	come on erase it faster [2]
33		análise morfológica	morphological analysis
34		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]
35		hei sheii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]	hey sheii [TD asking pupils to be quiet]
36		vá depressa [to the girl on the blackboard]	come on faster [to the girl on the blackboard]
37	FP	morfológica	morphological
38		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]
39	TD	análise morfológica das palavras	morphological analysis of the words
40	FP	“a” [4]	“the” [4]
41	TD	hei análise morfológica	hei morphological analysis
42		haiiii	haiiii
43		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
44		hear clearly what people were saying]	clearly what people were saying]
45		das palavras	of the words
46	FP	das palavras	of the words
47	TD	artigo definido, feminino, singular	definite article, feminine, singular
48		“a” artigo definido, feminino, singular [5]	“the” definite article, feminine, singular [5]
49		morfoló- [TD telling the girl on the blackboard how to write this word]	morpholo- [TD telling the girl on the blackboard how to write this word]
50		haiii [3]	haiii [3]
51		artigo definido, feminino, singular	definite article, feminine, singular

52		imi tem ke ser hatene né	you have to know this
53		né sai ba exame mak né	this will be on the exam
54		não querem estudar	if you don't want to study
55		olha isso é convosco	it's up to you
56		artigo definido, feminino [2]	definite article, feminine [2]
57		singular [4]	singular [4]
58	BI	“lenda”, professora	“legend”, teacher
59		[asking for this word to be the next one on the blackboard]	[asking for this word to be the next one on the blackboard]
60			
61	TD	vá é para escrever no caderno	come on, it's to write on the notebook
62		passem para o caderno [4]	copy to your notebook [4]
63		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]
64		vá “lenda” [3]	come on “legend” [3]
65		“lenda” nome comum, feminino, singular [TD dictating to the girl on the	“legend” common name, feminine, singular [TD dictating to the girl on the
66		blackboard] [7]	blackboard] [7]
67		nome comum [2]	common name [2]
68		comum, feminino, singular	common, feminine, singular
69	FP	singular	singular
70	TD	feminino, singular	feminine, singular
71		singular [4]	singular [4]
72		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
73		hear clearly what people were saying]	clearly what people were saying]
74	FP	“lenda”	“legend”
75		“de” [2]	“of” [2]
76	TD	“de”	“of”
77		shei [2]	shei [2]
78		“de”	“of”

79		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
80		hear clearly what people were saying]	clearly what people were saying]
81		“de”	“of”
82		hei “de”	hey “of”
83		[the bell ringing for the end of the lesson]	[the bell ringing for the end of the lesson]
84		“de” escreve “proposição simples” [TD addressing the girl on the	“of” write “simple proposition” [TD addressing the girl on the blackboard]
85		blackboard] [7]	[7]
86		[increasing of background noise from pupils from other classrooms	[increasing of background noise from pupils from other classrooms going
87		going to the playground]	to the playground]
88		“de” proposição simples [5]	“of” simple proposition [5]
89		cantagalo [4] cantagalo [3]	rooster-singer [4] rooster-singer [3]
90		vá nome comum [16]	come on common name [16]
91		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time]
92		nome comum, masculino, singular [7]	nome comum, masculino, singular [7]
93		masculino singular [8]	masculine singular [8]
94	PP	“há”	“hás”
95	TD	“há”	“has”
96		verbo haver [5]	verb “to have” [5]
97		shée	shee
98		[TD asking pupils to be quiet, but the noise continued] [4]	[TD asking pupils to be quiet, but the noise continued] [4]
99		“há” verbo haver	“has” verb to have
100		[pupils continuing to talk loudly	[pupils continuing to talk loudly
101		and at the same time that I could not hear clearly	and at the same time that I could not hear clearly
102		what people were saying from]	what people were saying from]
103	BI	“muitos” [9]	“many” [9]
104	TD	vá “muitos” [2]	come on “many” [2]
105		escreve aí	write it there

106	FP	advérbio de quantidade	adverb of quantity
107	TD	advérbio de quantidade	adverb of quantity
108		“muitos” advérbio de quantidade [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	“many” adverb of quantity [addressing the girl on the blackboard] [8]
109		[8]	adverb of [3]
110		advérbio de [3]	adver-, ad-ver [3]
111		advér-, ad-vér [3]	
112	FP	advérbio de quantidade	adverb of quantity
113	TD	ad-vér quantidade [addressing the girl on the blackboard] [2]	adverb of quantity [addressing the girl on the blackboard] [2]
114		ad-vér, -vér	ad-ver, -ver
115		v-é-r –bio [3]	v-e-r-b [3]
116		ad-vér-bio de quantidade	ad-verb of quantity
117		de quanti-dade [12]	of quanti-ty [12]
118		TPC [4]	homework [4]
119		TPD responde às perguntas	homework is to answer to the questions
120		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
121		hear clearly what people were saying from 01:06:39-01:07:39]	clearly what people were saying from 01:06:39-01:07:39]
122		vá apaga	come on, erase
123		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
124		hear clearly what people were saying from 01:07:40-01:15:36]	clearly what people were saying from 01:07:40-01:15:36]
125		professora, vale a pena fazer perguntas para eles?	teacher, is it worth making questions to them?
126		[addressing me]	[addressing me]
127	I	como?	pardon?
128	TD	fazer perguntas para eles?	making them questions?
129		fazer perguntas?	making questions?
130	I	agora querem ir para o intervalo	now they want to go to the break time
131	TD	hei meninos	hey children
132		vão para o intervalo [addressing the pupils]	go to your break time [addressing the pupils]

133		[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not	[pupils continuing to talk loudly and at the same time that I could not hear
134		hear clearly what people were saying from 01:15:52-01:17:11]	clearly what people were saying from 01:15:52-01:17:11]
		FIM	THE END

APPENDIX 13 – Full classroom interaction transcript in Portuguese from a lesson of Environmental Studies subject with teacher Lucia

*This is an example of transcriptions which were partially translated into English. A data analysis draft was also written about some extracts of this lesson, but not included in the thesis.

14/06/2012, Tuesday

Afternoon, 13h00-15h

Video: Teacher Lucia (00:06:05-01:02:47)

Teacher Lucia – TL

Pupils – PPS

Pupil – PP

Australian man – AM

BI - Birna

FP – Female Pupil

MP – Male pupil

Bold – in Tetum

Normal – in Portuguese

/2/ /10/ - Pause in seconds

[] – Researcher's comments

This was a lesson of Estudo do Meio delivered by teacher Lucia to pupils of Year 6 B. This was a lesson of History: 28 of November of 1975. Proclamation of independence of Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (DRTL). The interactions transcribed below

between the teacher Lucia and the Year 6 pupils were about the following text which was written in the blackboard:

In Portuguese	Translation into English
Proclamação da independência de RDTL	Proclamation of independence in RDTL
Uma fugaz coligação entre UDT e a FRETILIN (Janeiro a Maio de 1975) falhou e Timor caiu rapidamente numa situação de guerra civil. A UDT tentou apoderar-se do poder por meio de um golpe de Estado, em 11 de Agosto de 1975, seguindo-se um contra-golpe da FRETILIN, denominada Insurreição Geral Armada, em 20 de Agosto de 1975.	A fugacious coalition between UDT and FRETILIN (January to May of 1975) failed and Timor rapidly fall into a situation of civil war. UDT tried to get hold of the power by a coup d'etat, on 11 th of August of 1975, followed by a counter coup of FRETILIN, denominated General Insurrection of the Army, on 20 th of August of 1975.

Next she started talking about this text to the class and eliciting pupils participation in the understanding of the text.

Line		Classroom interaction	Translation into English
1	TL	Levia	Levia
2		em que data foi a independência	what was the data of independence
3		a proclamação da independência	the proclamation of independence
4		da RDTL /8/?	of DRTL /8/?
5		shuu [to quiet down some pupils] /6/	shuu [to quiet down some pupils] /6/
6	LE	vinte e oito de novembro	twenty-eight of november
7	TL	vinte e oito de novembro?	twenty-eight of november?
8	PPS	de mil novecentos	of nineteen
9		[fewer pupils were saying the answer]	[fewer pupils were saying the answer]
10	TL	shuu [to quiet down the pupils]	shuu [to quiet down the pupils]
11		é só Livia	I want Livia only
12		respeita	respect her
13	PP	respeita [repeating after the TL]	respect her [repeating after the TL]
14	TL	respeita a colega	respect your classmate
15	LE	mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	nineteen seventy five
16	TL	em vinte e oito de novembro	in twenty-eight of november
17		de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy and five
18		mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy and five
19		aquele ano foi a nossa proclamação	our independence was in that year
20		da nossa independência	of our independence
21		cá em Timor-Les-?	here in Timor-Les-?
22	PPS	Leste [some pupils replying in chorus]	Leste [some pupils replying in chorus]
23	TL	esta é a data da proclamação	this is the date of the proclamation

24		da independência da RDT-?	of independence of DRT-?
25	PPS	L [fewer pupils replying in chorus]	L [fewer pupils replying in chorus]
26	TL	da RDTL	of RDTL
27		RDTL	RDTL
28		R quer dizer República	R means Republic
29	FP	Democrática	Democratic
30	PPS	Democrática de Timor-Leste	Democratic of Timor-Leste
31		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
32	TL	pronto	okey
33		naquela data é que foi a proclamação	on that date which was the proclamation
34		da nossa proclamação	of our proclamation of
35		da independência da República	independence of Republic
36		Democrática de Timor-Leste	Democratic of Timor-Leste
37	PPS	Timor-Leste [few pupils completing simultaneously in chorus	Timor-Leste [few pupils completing simultaneously in chorus
38		with TL]	with TL]
39	TL	isto é para fixar	this is to be memorised
40		a nossa lição de hoje	our today's lesson is to
41		é para compreender sobre essa da-?	know about that da-?
42		data	date
43	FP	data	date
44	TL	e depois? /3/	and then? /3/
45		'uma fugaz coligação entre'	'a rapid coalition between'
46		em que partido?	which parties?
47		oi,	oi,

48		o menino de lá?	the boy over there?
49		[pointing with her finger to a boy sitting at the back row] /2/	[pointing with her finger to a boy sitting at the back row] /2/
50	MP	eu	me
51		[different pupils volunteering to answer to TL's question]	[different pupils volunteering to answer to TL's question]
52	TL	shuu	shuu
53		[to quiet down the pupil who volunteered]	[to quiet down the pupil who volunteered]
54	FP	nonok [to quiet down a classmate]	quiet [to quiet down a classmate]
55	TL	partido	parties
56		tem dois partidos	there were two parties
57		aí não diz partidos,	there in [the text] it doesn't say parties,
58		mas é partidos /2/ entre qual partido? /2/	but there were parties /2/ between which parties? /2/
59		tem dois partidos	there are two parties
60		oi /2/ shuu [to quiet down the pupils] /6/	oi /2/ shuu [to quiet down the pupils] /6/
61		hei menino /3/	hei boy /3/
62		vá você	come on you
63		[indicating another pupil to answer to her question] /2/	[indicating another pupil to answer to her question] /2/
64	MP	a UDT e a FRETILIN	the UDT and FRETILIN
65	TL	entre a UDT e a FRETILIN?	Between UDT and FRETILIN?
66	PPS	FRETILIN	FRETILIN
67		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
68	TL	é para compreender aquela frase que	it is to understand that sentence which says
69		'fugaz coligação', 'ligar'	'rapid coalition', 'to unite'
70		rara, ser jun-?	rare, to be toge-?
71	MP	junto	together

72	PP	junto	together
73	TL	entre o partido da UDT	between the party of UDT
74		e a FRETIL-?	and FRETIL-?
75	PPS	FRETILIN	FRETILIN
76		[some pupils saying in chorus] /2/	[some pupils saying in chorus] /2/
77	FP	bapa [inaudible]	indonesian [inaudible]
78	TL	foi em que mês a ?	which month was?
79		oi menina /2/	hei the girls /2/
80		[addressing a particular girl]	[addressing a particular girl]
81		essa coligação?	that coalition?
82	FP	janeiro a maio de mil novecentos	january to may of nineteen
83		e setenta e cinco	seventy-five
84		[replying of the girl chosen by the teacher]	[replying of the girl chosen by the teacher]
85	TL	janeiro a maio em	january to may of
86	PPS	mil noventa e cinco	nineteen seventy-five
87		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
88	TL	naquele, naqueles meses	
89		o que é que hum	
90		o partido da UDT e a FRETILIN	
91		esta fugaz coli-?	
92	PPS	coligação	
93		[some pupils replying in chorus]	
94	TL	então essa coligação falhou	
95		ou não falhou, Francisco? /4/	

96	FR	falhou [replying in a lower voice]	
97	TL	falhou ou não falhou?	
98	FR	falhou [replying in a lower voice]	
99	TL	falhou	
100		falhou porque não fizeram aquele	
101		coligaça-?	
102	PPS	coligação	
103		[some pupils replying in chorus]	
104	TL	às vezes entre esses dois partidos	there were often problems between the two parties
105		tem alguns problemas	there were some problems
106		entre esses dois partidos	between those two parties
107		então essa fugaz coligação fa-?	so that coalition has fai-?
108	PPS	falhou	it has failed
109		[some pupils replying in chorus and others in different times]	[some pupils replying in chorus and others in different times]
110	TL	então	so
111		[walking and pointing to the blackboard]	[walking and pointing to the blackboard]
112		timor leste caíu rapidamente em quê,	timor-leste felt rapidly on what,
113		menina que está a escrever?	girl who is writing?
114		rapidamente em quê?	rapidly on what? in a situation of
115		numa situação de quê?	what?
116	PP	guerra	war [another pupil replying in lower
117		[another pupil replying in lower voice]	voice]
118	TL	shuu [to quiet down who just spoke]	shuu [to quiet down who just spoke]
119		numa situação de quê?	in a situation of

120		numa situação de quê?	what?
121	FP	de guerra civil	of civil war
122		[replying the pupil who TL asked the question]	[replying the pupil who TL asked the question]
123	TL	guerra civil	civil war
124		guerra civil quer dizer matar um ao outro	civil war means to kill each other
125		mas são os nossos timo-?	but it's our, themselves the Timo-?
126	PPS	Timorenses	Timorese [some pupils replying
127		[some pupils replying in chorus]	in chorus]
128	TL	mata um ao outro	they kill each other
129		essa é a guerra civil	that is civil war
130		guerra civil é matar um ao ou-?	civil war is to kill each o-?
131	PPS	-tro [few pupils answering in chorus]	-ther [few pupils answering in chorus]
132	TL	mas é timorense	but it's the Timorese
133		não é com os outros	it's not against others
134		não é com os indonésios	it's not against the Indonesian
135		com os portugueses	or against Portuguese
136		mas sim com os próprios timo-?	but yes, between themselves, the Timo-?
137	PPS	timorenses [pupils replying in chorus]	Timorese [pupils replying in chorus]
138	TL	que têm esse partido de UDT	what was the problema between the UDT
139		e o partido de FRETl-?	and FRETl-?
140	PPS	FRETILIN	FRETILIN
141		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
142	TL	então falhou e caiu rapidamente numa	so the coalition has failed and [the parties] had felt on a
143	PPS	'situação de guerra civil'	'situation of civil war'

144		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
145	TL	então mataram uns aos ou-?	so then they started killing each o-?
146	PPS	outros [pupils replying in chorus]	other [pupils replying in chorus]
147	TL	mataram uns aos outros	they killed each other
148		esse que se diz guerra civi-?	that's what it's called civil?
149	PPS	guerra civil	civil war
150		[some pupils replying in chorus] /10/	[some pupils replying in chorus] /10/
151	TL	então a UDT apoderou-se em quê? por meio, poder, por meio	so UDT overtook what? overtook the power through
152		de quê?	through what?
153		de um?	through a?
154	PPS	golpe	coup
155		[some pupils replying in chorus and TL also joining the chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus and TL also joining the chorus]
156	TL	golpe	coup
157		de quê?	of what?
158	PPS	de estado	coup d'etat
159		[many pupils replying in chorus]	[many pupils replying in chorus]
160	TL	eles fizeram esse golpe de estado	they made this coup d'etat
161		hei menino que está a falar	hei, boy who is speaking
162		hei menino que está a falar	the boy who is speaking
163		toma bem atenção	pay real attention
164		vê no quadro	look at the blackboard
165		os apontamentos daquele texto	the notes written in that blackboard
166		é para compreender	is to understand
167		sobre o meio que nós estamos	about the environment we're living

168		então em que data	so in which date
169		[fewer pupils raising up their hands]	[fewer pupils raising up their hands]
170		começou esse golpe de estado?	has that coup d'etat started?
171	PPS	eu	me
172		[fewer pupils asking to reply to TL's question]	[fewer pupils asking to reply to TL's question]
173	TL	hoi, só uma	hoi, just one person
174		[indicating with her finger for pupils	[indicating with her finger for pupils
175		to lower down their hands]	to lower down their hands]
176		vá	come on
177		[choosing one pupil to answer her question]	[choosing one pupil to answer her question]
178	FP	onze de agosto de mil novecentos	eleventh of august of nineteen
179		e setenta e cinco	seventy-five
180	TL	ah	ah
181		começou em onze de agosto de	It started on the eleventh of august
182	PPS	mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy-five
183		[pupils in chorus completing TL's sentence]	[pupils in chorus completing TL's sentence]
184		então esse, então	so, this, so
185		a UDT tentou apoderar-se do poder	the UDT tried to overtake the power
186		do meio de um gol-?	through a coup?
187		[pe] [a girl saying at the same time as the teacher]	[pe] [a girl saying at the same time as the teacher]
188	PPS	golpe	coup
189		[many pupils replying at the same time]	[many pupils replying at the same time]
190	TL	golpe de estado, então fizeram aquele golpe	coup d'etat, so they made that coup d'etat
191		em onze de?	on the eleventh of?

192	PPS	agosto de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	august of nineteen seventy-five
193		[many pupils replying in chorus]	[many pupils replying in chorus]
194	TL	e depois	and then
195		hoi menino que está virado para trás	hoi the boy who is turning back to chat
196		menino que está virado para trás	the boy who is turning back to chat
197		[background voice of few pupils saying the boy's name]	[background voice of few pupils saying the boy's name]
198		'denominada insurreição geral armada'	'denominated General Insurrection of the Army'
199		a FRETILIN fez outra vez	FRETILIN [party] did again
200		outro contra-golpe	another coup d'état
201		em que data?	in which data
202		oi espera ainda [TL calming the rest of the class since	hei wait [TL calming the rest of the class since
203		few pupils raising up their hand in order to ask to reply to her	few pupils raising up their hand in order to ask to reply to her
204		question]	question]
205		vá, não	okey, not you
206		[TL about to choosing a pupil, but ending up choosing someone	[TL about to choosing a pupil, but ending up choosing someone
207		else]	else]
208		hei você, em que data?	hei you, in which date was that?
209	FP	vinte de agosto de mil novecentos	twentieth of august of nineteen
210		e setenta e cinco	seventy-five
211	TL	ah este é o contra-golpe?	ah this was the date of the coup?
212	PPS	golpe [some pupils replying in chorus]	d'état [some pupils replying in chorus]
213	TL	a UDT fez o quê? um golpe?	the UDT what did they do? a coup?
214		[moving her hands from up towards the floor	[moving her hands from up towards the floor
215		to signal pupils to reply]	to signal pupils to

216	PPS	golpe [many pupils replying in chorus]	d'état [many pupils replying in chorus]
217	TL	e depois contra-golpe	and then the coup d'etat
218		quem fez outra vez aquele contra-golpe?	who also did another coup d'etat?
219		o FRETÍ-?	it was FRETÍ-?
220	PPS	FRETILIN	FRETILIN
221		[many pupils replying in chorus]	[many pupils replying in chorus]
222	TL	então aquele contra-golpe	
223		contra um ao ou-?	
224	PPS	outro [many pupils replying in chorus]	
225	TL	então aquela coligação falho-?	
2262		[moving her hands from up towards the floor to signal pupils to reply]	
27			
228	PPS	falhou [many pupils replying in chorus]	
229	TL	falhou por causa um deu o golpe	
230		outra fez o contra-	
231	PPS	golpe [many pupils replying in chorus]	
232	TL	então não tem esta coligação	
233		[standing by the blackboard]	
234	PPS	coligação [few pupils in chorus]	
235	FP	coligação	
236	TL	então falho-?	
237	PPS	falhou [many pupils replying in chorus]	
238	TL	então isso vamos conhecer sobre	so we're going to learn about
239		a nossa história da resistên-?	our history of resistan-?

240	PPS	resistência	resistance
241		[many pupils replying in chorus]	[many pupils replying in chorus]
242	TL	o que os timorenses fizeram antes,	what did the timorese do before,
243		antigamente	in the old days
244		no ano de mil novecentos e setenta e ?	in the year of nineteen seventy-?
245	PPS	setenta e cinco	seventy-five
246		[few pupils replying in chorus]	[few pupils replying in chorus]
247	TL	pronto, mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	okay, nineteen seventy-five
248		já acabaram de copiar?	have you finished copying?
249	MP	já	yes
250	PPS	já	yes
251		[some pupils replying in different times]	[some pupils replying in different times]
252	TL	continuamos com a nossa lição	we'll continue with our lesson
253		mas a escrever	but writing
254		primeiro escreve e depois a professora pergunta	first we write and then the teacher asks you questions
255		[TL writing on the blackboard]	[TL writing on the blackboard]
256		hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]
257		shuu	shuu
258		silêncio	silence
259		quem fala, fora	who is talking, out
260		[a MP said Vitor was talking]	[a MP said Vitor was talking]
261		ir lá fora para falar para	get out to talk so that
262		até aborrecer [most of pupils seemed quiet copying the text on	you talk until you get bored [most of pupils seemed quiet
263		the blackboard onto their notebooks]	copying the text on the blackboard onto their notebooks]

264	/17/	/17/
265	shuu hei	shuu hei
266	quem é que está a falar	who is talking
267	hei menino [to quiet down few pupils]	hei the boy over there [to quiet down few pupils]
268	sempre a conversar	always talkin
269	hoje temos a regra de ir para fora	today we this rule of who's talking gets out of the room
270	quem é que tem vontade de falar	who wants to talk
271	vai para fora	goes outside
272	vai para fora	goes outside
273	não é o lugar aqui	this is not the place
274	o lugar é lá fora /4/	the place is outside /4/
275	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]
276	cada qual manda em si	each person has its own mind
277	para não ter aquele barulho /4/	in order to keep silence
278	manda a si [inaudible]	each one has its own mind [inaudible]
279	[most of pupils seemed quiet copying the text on the blackboard	[most of pupils seemed quiet copying the text on the blackboard
280	onto their notebooks]	onto their notebooks]

Then they also copy onto their notebooks the text below.

In Portuguese	Translation into English
<p>Timor mergulhou na violência fraticida e o governador Lemos Pires, sem orientações de Lisboa e sem forças militares suficiente para reimpôr a autoridade portuguesa, abandonou a capital e refugiou-se na ilha de Ataúro.</p> <p>Então a FRETILIN proclamou unilateralmente a independência de Timor-Leste a 28 de Novembro de 1975. Contudo, este processo foi interrompido com a invasão do território pelas forças armadas indonésias em 7 de Dezembro de 1975.</p>	<p>Timor descended on a fraternal homicide and the governor Lemos Pires, without orientations from Lisbon and without sufficient military forced to restore the Portuguese authority, abandoned the capital city and refuged himself on the island of Atauro.</p> <p>Therefore FRETILIN proclaimed unilaterally the independence of Timor-Leste on 28th of November of 1975. However, this process was interrupted by the invasion of the territory by the army of Indonesia on 7th of December of 1975.</p>

After copying this text, teacher Dalia asked different pupils to read it. Then she started asking questions about it. The interactions transcribed below referred to talk around this text from the textbook.

Line		Classroom interaction	Translation into English
300	TL	vá lê	come on read it
301	MP	'Timor mergulhou'	
302		[the boy chosen by TL started reading]	
303	FP	hei nonok	
304		[background noise of pupil chatting]	
305	MP	'Timor mergulhou'	
306		[reading the same sentence again]	
307	TL	hei de pé /5/	
308		shuuu pouco barulho	
309		[to quiet down some pupils]	
310	MP	'Timor mergulhou na violência'	
311		[reading the same sentence	
312		again standing up]	
313	TL	'fratricida'	
314		[TL helping him to read this word]	
315	MP	'fratricida	
316		e o governo Lemos Pires,	
317		sem orientações de Lisboa	
318		e sem forças militares suficiente	
319		para reimpôr a autoridade portuguesa,	
320		abandonou a capital e refugiou-se'	
321		[the girl sitting next to him pointed him	
322			

323		something out on the blackboard, and he replied back,	
324		but it was inaudible]	
325	TL	shee	
326		pouco barulho	
327	MP	refugiou-se [continuing reading]	
328	TL	quer ir para fora pode ir	
329	MP	na ilha de Ataúro [finishing reading]	
330	TL	não é nossa casa	
331		[the boy seemed to be asking something to TL who replied,	
332		but it was inaudible;	
333		the boy sat]	
334		shuu hei /2/	
335		shuu	
336		então vamos ainda ver essa frase	
337		Timor mergulhou na violência	
338	PPS	na violência	
339		[few pupils reading in chorus at the same time as TL]	
340	TL	‘fratricida e o governo Lemos Pires’	
341		[TL reading only]	
342		‘sem orientação’	
343		[few pupils reading in chorus at the same time as TL]	
344	PPS	‘e sem forças militares suficiente	
345		para reimpôr a autoridade portuguesa,’	
346			

347		‘abandonou a capital	
348		e refugiou-se na ilha de Ataúro’	
349		[some pupils continued reading in chorus until the end of the sentence]	
350	TL	vá pronto	okey
351		aqui em Díli tem aquela violência	there was violence here in Dili
352		mataram-se uns aos outros	people killing each other
353		então esse governo Lemos Pires	so the government under Lemos Pires
354		[pointing to the blackboard]	[pointing to the blackboard]
355		não aguentou	did not handle it well
356		porque não tem orientações,	because he did not have any guidelines,
357		[nem] para comunicar para Lisbo-? Lisbo-?	[not] even communicate to Lis-? Lis-?
358	PPS	Lisboa [some pupils replying in chorus]	Lisbon [some pupils replying in chorus]
359	TL	então ele sem forças	so without military forces
360		poucos militares	there were little military forces
361		insuficientes, insuficiente	insufficient, insufficient
362		para repor o quê?	to establish, what?
363		para repor outra vez a autoridade	to establish again the authority
364		então a autoridade portuguesa	so the portuguese authority
365		então abandonou	so they abandoned
366		e refugiou	and look for refugee
367		refugiou na capital de Díli	refugee in the capital of Dili
368		e para Atau-?	and then to Atau-?
369	PPS	Atauro [some pupils replying in chorus]	Atauro [some pupils replying in chorus]

370	TL	então essa frase mostrou	so in that sentence it shows
371		o quê?	what?
372		Timor mergulhou em quê? violên-?	timor plunged in what? violen-?
373	PPS	violência	violence
374		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
375	TL	com essa violência	
376		o nosso governador Lemos Pires	
377		então precisa de quê?	
378		precisa de ter informações	
379		de informar para Lisboa	
380		de Lisboa a Timor	
381		sem orientações	
382		então ele sem forças	
383	FP	força militar [background voice of a girl]	
384	TL	militar	
385		suficiente para repor o que?	
386		outra vez a autoridade-?	
387	PPS	autoridade	
388		[some pupils replying in chorus]	
389	TL	autoridade	
390		para ter outra vez autoridade em	
391		governa-?	
392	FP	governança	
393		[saying a girl sitting at the front seat]	

394	PPS	governar [few pupils in chorus]	
395	TL	em governar	
396		atu bele manda [inaudible] nia la iha força	
397		então isso	
398		então abandonou,	
399		abandonou	
400		abandonou o quê?	
401		abandonou a capital	
402		a capital é Dí-?	
403	PPS	Díli [many pupils replying in chorus]	
404	TL	então abandonou Díli	
405		e refugiou outra vez para	
406	PPS	ilha de Ataúro	
407		[few pupils replying in chorus]	
408	TL	ilha de Ataúro	
409		então nessa	
410		nessa frase é	
411		para nós compreendermos que	
412		com a violência	
413		o governador Lemos Pires	
414		sem força militar	
415		então para	
416	FP	autoridade [background voice of girl]	
417	TL	repor a autoridade portuguesa	

418		o quê?	
419		abandonou Díli e foi-se para onde?	
420		refugiou-se para onde?	
421	PPS	Ataúro [many pupils replying in chorus]	
422	FP	ilha de Ataúro	
423		[background voice of a girl]	
424	TL	é para fixar	it is fix this
425		em que ano estamos	which year were we?
426		é o ano de mil novecentos e?	it's the year of nineteen seventy-?
427	PPS	setenta e cinco	seventy-five
428		[some pupils replying in chorus]	[some pupils replying in chorus]
429	MP	setenta e oito	seventy-eight
430		[background voice of a boy – Pedro – his female classmate gentle	[background voice of a boy – Pedro – his female classmate gentle
431		push his head for his mistake]	push his head for his mistake]
432	TL	setenta e cin-?	seventy-fi-?
433	PPS	setenta e cinco	seventy-five?
434		[few pupils replying in chorus]	[few pupils replying in chorus]
435	TL	hoje estamos em mil novecentos	today we are in nineteen
436		e setenta e cinco	seventy-five
437	PPS	setenta e cinco [few pupils in chorus]	seventy-five [some pupils replying in chorus]
438	TL	para chegar até a proclamação da independência	until we get to the proclamation of independence
439		da nossa repu-?	of our repu-?
440	PPS	república [few pupils replying in chorus]	republic [few pupils replying in chorus]
441	TL	então a menina que está ali	so the girl over there

442	PP	Eva, Eva	Eva, Eva
443		[pupils saying the name of the girl chosen by TL]	[pupils saying the name of the girl chosen by TL]
444	TL	levanta e lê em voz alta a frase	stand up and read aloud the sentence
445		shuu	shuu
446		a outra frase	the next sentence
447		então	so
448		[the girl stood up and	[the girl stood up and
449		started reading from her seat]	started reading from her seat]
450	Eva	'então a FRETILIN proclama	'Therefore FRETILIN proclaimed
451		unilateral[mente] a independência de Timor-Leste	unilaterally the independence of Timor-Lest
452		a 28 de Novembro de 1975'	on 28 th of November of 1975'
453	TL	sim, parou	yes, stop
454		pára	stop
455		então aqui	so here says that
456		sem esse governador Lemos Pires	without the governor Lemos Pires
457		porque está lá em Ataúro	since he went to Ataúro
458		FRETILIN aproveitou para fazer o quê?	FRETILIN took the opportunit to do what?
459	PPS	unilatera [few pupils in chorus]	unilatera [few pupils in chorus]
460	TL	para proclamar? [TL interrupting the pupils]	to proclaim [TL interrupting the pupils]
461	PPS	unilateral [some pupils in chorus]	unilateral [few pupils in chorus]
462	TL	da indepen-?	the indepen-?
463	PPS	independência [few pupils replying in chorus and some in different	Independence [few pupils replying in chorus and some in different
464		times]	times]
465	TL	assim foi aquela [data] vinte e oito	so on that [date] twentieth eight

466		de novembro	of November
467	PPS	de mil novecientos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy five
468		[few pupils in chorus]	[few pupils in chorus]
469	TL	que a proclamação unilateral	that the unilateral proclamation
470		da independên-?	of independen-?
471	PPS	independência [some pupils in chorus]	Independence [some pupils in chorus]
472	TL	assim a FRETILIN aproveitou	
473		como o governador Lemos Pires	
474		não está cá na capital de Díli	
475		então aproveitaram-se disso	
476		para fazer essa proclamação unilateral da independência de	
477		Timor-?	
478	PPS	Leste [some pupils in chorus]	
479	TL	e depois continua	
480		hei menino que está a falar	
481		[pointing to a boy]	
482	PP	Zé	
483		[saying the name of the boy TL chose]	
484	PP	Zé	
485	TL	continua	
486		levanta e em voz alta	
487		hamrik e lê	
488		shuu	
489		hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	

490	FP	silêncio	
491	FP	eu professora /4/	
492	TL	hei	
493		os outros guardam	
494		o seu saber para si /8/	
495		[the boy who the teacher had chosen,	
496		stand up by his seat]	
497		shuu	
498		silêncio	
499		só anda a brincar	
500	ZE	con, con	
501		[started reading; seeming a bit embarrassed]	
502	FP	contudo [sitting in front of him and telling him how to read this	
503		word]	
504	ZE	'contudo este processo foi interrompido	'However, this process was interrupted
505		com a invasão do território	
506		pelas forças armadas indonésias	
507		em sete de dezembro de mil e novecentos	
508		e setenta e cinco'	
509	TL	pronto pode sentar	okey you can sit now
510		[Ze sitting down]	
511		hoi	
512		[to quiet down some pupils] /2/	
513		naquela vez, depois de nove dias	

514		não é mês	not months
515		depois de nove dias	but after nine days
516		começando vinte e oito a sete de dezembro são nove dias	starting on the twenty- eighth to seventh of december are nine days
517		porque vinte e seis, vinte e sete, vinte e oito, vinte e nove, trinta	because twenty-six, twenty-seven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, thirty
518		e depois dia um até dia sete	and then one day until the seventh
519		são nove dias	are nine days
520		depois de nove dias	after nine days
521		a invasão	the invasion [happened]
522	FP	é formada [background voice]	it was formed [background voice]
523	TL	é interrompido pela invasão do território pelas?	was interrupted by the invasion of the territory by whom?
524		quê?	whom?
525	PPS	forças armadas indonésias [some pupils replying in chorus and in	by the army of Indonesia [some pupils replying in chorus and in
526		different times]	different times]
527	TL	forças armadas?	by the army of?
528	PPS	indonésias [few pupils in chorus]	Indonesia [few pupils in chorus]
529	FP	armadas [background voice]	army [background voice]
530	TL	destruíram tudo	they destroy everything
531		destruíram tudo	they destroy everything
532	MP	tudo	everything
533	MP	tudo	everything
534	TL	naquele sete de dezembro	on that day, seventh of december
535	FP	de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy-five
536	FP	de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy-five
537	TL	desembarcaram cá em dília	they landed here in Dili

538		sete de dezembro de mil novecentos	on seventh december of nineteen
539		e setenta e cinco	seventy-five
540		com morteiros a dar os tiros	launching mortars attacks shooting bullets
541		que vêm do céu	which were coming from the sky
542		vem do céu os paraquedistas /3/	there was also paratroopers from the sky
543		paraquedistas mais [inaudible]	more paratroopers
544		com tiros do barco	shootings from boats
545		então isso [guerra civil] é interrompido	so this [civil war] was interrupted
546		pela invasão do território pelas forças?	by the invasion of the territory by the army of?
547	PPS	armadas indonésias	army of Indonesia
548		[few girls replying more or less in chorus]	[few girls replying more or less in chorus]
549	TL	durou quantos anos? /2/	how many years did this occupation last? /2/
550		vinte e qua-?	twenty-fo-?
551	FP	vinte e quatro anos	twenty four years
552	TL	durou vinte e quatro anos	tt lasted twent- four years
553		até vinte e quatro anos	for twenty-four years
554		até eles saíram de Timor-Les-?	until they left Timor-Les-?
555	PPS	Leste [fewer pupils in chorus]	Leste [fewer pupils in chorus]
556	TL	então assim é o nosso tema de hoje	so this was our topic today
557		que é sobre o quê?	about what?
558		vinte e oito de novembro	twenty eighth of November
559	PPS	de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco	of nineteen seventy-five
560		[many pupils replying in chorus]	[many pupils replying in chorus]
561	TL	de mil novecentos setenta	of nineteen seventy-five

562	PPS	cinco [many pupils replying in chorus; the voice of a girl was overstated]	
563			
564	FP	proclamação da independência da RDTL	
565		[background voice]	
566	TL	shuu [to quiet down some pupils]	
567		há perguntas? para perguntar?	
568	FP	não [in lower voice]	
569	TL	não?	
570	PP	pode	
571	PP	pode	
572	TL	cinco minutos só para ver os apontamentos e depois fecha tudo	five minutes to read your notes and then closed everything
573		/2/ [TL asking pupils to study the texts they just copied]	/2/ [TL asking pupils to study the texts they just copied]
574	FP	hã? [asking surprisingly]	
575	TL	sim	
576		assim é que se aprende	
577		assim é que se aprende	
578		não é só a ver, a ler	
579		assim é que se aprende	
580		depois de copiar	
581		lê mais uma vez	
582		duas vezes	
583		só cinco minutos para ver /2/	
584	MP	professora vou a casa-de-banho	
585		[one boy asking with his classmate standing next to him]	

586	TL	[inaudible] depressa sem brincar lá /3/	
587		hoi [background noise of pupils chatting; to quiet down the class]	
588		ver não é conversar /6/	
589		ler silenciosa não é para abrir a boca [TL asking pupils to read in	
590		silence]	
591		hei silenciosa [to quiet down some pupils]	
592		é fechar a boca, só olhos a ver	
593		habituar a isso	
594		hoi só olhos	
595		[TL quieting down some pupils]	
596		com vista, só com vista /3/	
597		só com vista, hei	
598		logo não abre o caderno	
599		porque há perguntas para responder	
600		sem ver guardar tudo	
601		dentro da pasta /2/	
602		hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	
603		depressa guardar tudo	
604		agora é só para ver	
605		aquele texto de hoje /3/	
606		apontamentos de hoje é para	
607		ler só aqueles apontamentos [walking around the classroom]	
608		ler só aquele apontamentos /5/	
609		[background noise of pupils voices reading or chatting]	

610		hoi silenciosa é não abrir a boca hai	
611		taka ibun hai	
612		fecha a boca, só com a vista	
613		ho matan deit	
614		[the two boys returning from the toilet]	
615		ho matan deit /4/	
616		ibun la loke	
617		não abre a boca	
618		não é para ler com /2/	
619		silenciosamente é só com a vista	
620		com olhos /3/	
621		é só para ver	
622		hoi está a compreender ou não? /2/	
623		tou a dizer em tétum em português	
624		também não	
625		hei Levi já?	
626	LE	já professora	
627	TL	já leu?	
628		então fecha o teu caderno, guarda deixa na pasta	
629		[TL asking put away the notebook inside the backpack]	
630	FP	hâ?	
631	TL	dentro da tua pasta sem ver nada /2/	
632		é para ler só aquele texto de hoje /2/	
633		perguntas também sobre	

634		aquele texto de hoje /3/	
635		hoi	
636		quem já acabou de ver	
637		é guardar dentro da pasta vá	
638		[many pupils putting away their notebook in their bag pack as	
639		asked] /4/	
640		hoi Pedro não é falar /9/	
641		já?	
642	FP	já	
643	PP	já professora	
644	TL	quem já acabou de ver é guardar /7/	
645		hoi [TL initiating the question-answer drill activity]	
646		[TL writing on the blackboard] /32/	
647		[she wrote the following question: Em que data foi a invasão do	
648		território pelas forças armadas indonésias?]	
649		[most of pupils were quiet or chatting in very lower voice]	
650		hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	
651		já acabaram de escrever	
652	PPS	já [some pupils replying in chorus]	
653	MP	já [replying just after the chorus] /13/	
654		[background noise of pupils chatting]	
655	TL	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	
656		[background noise of pupils chatting] /32/	
657		hoi [to quiet down some pupils] /15/	

658		hoi guarda	
659		hei guarda tudo	
660		rai buat hotu	
661		rai buat hotu	
662	MP	guarda tudo	
663	TL	depressa	
664		guarda tudo /3/	
665		hei Domingos	
666		Xavio	
667		livro também	
668		sem nada em cima da mesa	
669		sem nada só a cabeça /4/	
670		hei	
671		guarda	
672		guarda, fecha a pasta /4/	
673		[background noise of pupils voices]	
674		rai tia pasta	
675		taka, taka tia [TL at the back of the classroom addressing some	
676		boys] /7/	
677		hei dentro da pasta	
678		guarda dentro da pasta /2/	
679	FP	guarda dentro da pasta /2/	
680	MP	hei professora, professora [calling loudly TL] nia la [inaudible]	
681	TL	guarda tudo [turning to the boy who called her]	

682		guarda tudo	
683		hoi /2/	
684		guarda tudo	
685		Levia	
686		caderno	
687		[inaudible – OUVIR K7]	
688	FP	professora caderno loke hela	
689		professora	
690	TL	hoi	
691		shuu	
692		vá /6/	
693		[little background chat of pupils]	
694		shuu	
695		agora prepara para responder per-?	
696	PPS	perguntas [many pupils replying in chorus]	
697	TL	mas só se a professora chamar	
698		não é todos	
699		chama, chama um	
700		outro não pode responder	
701		sim	
702		só aquele que vai	
703		respo-?	
704	PPS	responder [some pupils replying in chorus]	
705	TL	os outros ficam em silên-?	

706	PPS	silêncio	
707		[many pupils replying in chorus] /4/	
708	TL	se souber responder guarda	
709		para si?	
710	PPS	si [fewer pupils replying more or less in chorus]	
711	TL	para si	
712		guarda para si /2/	
713		hoi /43/ [TL writing on the blackboard]	
714		shuu	
715		é só para	
716		shuu	
717		é só para pensar sem bocas /6/	
718		minutos para ver	
719		formar frase na cabeça	
720		hoi	
721		formar frase na cabeça /9/	
722		quem responde mal	
723		escreve outra vez dez vezes a resposta	
724		por isso deve pensar bem na frase	
725		e ir lá responder /9/	
726		[TL choosing a girl sitting at the row front]	
727	LIA	professora Xavio foti nia [inaudible] <u>buku/notebuku</u> né	51:45
728		[speaking very fast as she noticed her classmate looking at	
729		something under the table]	

730	TL	hã?	
731 732	FP	foti surtahan nia hakerek [saying by the girl sitting next to him; Lia had got up and standing in front of him]	
733 734 735 736	LIA	vizinho nia hã? /5/ [TL just walked and stood up and look at him, but did not say or do anything; Lia had gone back to her seat and had take the sheet he had with her]	
737	TL	vá /2/	
738 739	FP	hei Tita ho pra [inaudible] [standing up and addressing the girl on the blackboard]	
740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749	TL	shuu [to quiet down the girl] vá /6/ responde /7/ falta ainda falta ainda [taking a piece of chalk from the box on the table] falta ainda verbo [seeming to be a bit emabarrassed and going to the blackboard and writing it] /6/ aqui é [putting back the piece of chalk into the box] falta ainda verbo /16/ pensa bem [warning her] /5/	
750	MP	hoi	
751 752 753	FP	eu professora [putting her hand up to ask to answer TL's question on the blackboard] /3/ [pupils were mostly quiet looking at the blackboard]	

754	TL	shuu [to quiet down some pupils] /6/	
755		pode ser	
756		pode começar por aí	
757		ou começa em ?? /3/	
758		shee	
759		em silêncio /8/	
760	LIA	Xavio ho foti tan nanbuku né [inaudible] [after he had taken a	
761		sheet from her table and throw it to the floor; she got up and pick it	
762		up and went back to her seat]	
763	TL	hei Xavio	
764		estás a brincar	
765	MP	sai para fora	
766	TL	pode ir para fora	
767		senão tem vontade para aprender	
768		quem tem vontade para aprender	
769		seguir regras	
770		senão quer pode ir para fora /10/	
771	BI	professora ela abre caderno professora	
772		[indicating the boy with her hand]	
773	TL	hoi é para guardar	
774		[inaudible] ???	
775		logo [inaudible]	
776		agora não	
777		shuu /15/	

778		[some background noise of pupils chatting]	
779		foi em	
780		shee	
781		aquele 'foi' como se escreve?	
782		como 'a'	
783		aquele 'o' é para escrever bem 'o'	
784		é 'o' não é 'a'	
785		não 'o' mas não é bem	
786		escreve bem o 'o' /6/	
787		[some background noise of pupils chatting]	
788		hã 'em' como é?	
789		tem quantas pernas? /2/	
790		mais	
791		aaa [when the girl on the blackboard seemed to have got it right]	
792		hã? data não se escreve	
793		como?	
794		shuu [to quiet down some pupils who seemed to be telling the	
795		answer to TL's question]	
796		shuu /2/	
797		hoi pouco barulho	
798	FP	data	
799	TL	hei não interrompe ela	
800	PP	shuu	
801		[background noise of some pupils chatting and others instructing	

802		the girl on the blackboard what to do]	
803		/10/	
804	PP	nonok tia ba [background voice]	
805	TL	põe 'em'	55:20/40
806		'em' já está bem	
807		aa	
808		nusa bele	
809		hei não /6/	
810		hei não interrrompe	
811	PP	hei nonok tia ba	
812	TL	?? hatene ona matenek ona??	
813	PP	eu professora [asking to go to the blackboard]	
814	PP	eu professora [asking to go to the blackboard]	
815	PP	eu eu	
816		[background voices of different pupils asking to go to the	
817		blackboard]	
818	PP	silêncio	
819	MP	hai deixa ela faz	
820	PP	eu professora [asking to go to the blackboard]	
821	PP	deixa ele faz sozinho	
822	PP	silêncio	
823	TL	hoi meninos	
824	PP	deixa ela faz /11/	
825	PP	data	

826	PP	data /3/	
827	PP	eu professora [asking to go to the blackboard]	
828	PP	eu professora	
829 830	PPS	eu [different pupils asking loudly to go to the blackboard in different times]	
831 832	TL	pouco barulho [noise of pupils voices]	
833 834	PPS	eu professora [different pupils asking loudly to go to the blackboard in different times; some raising up their hand] /6/	
835 836 837	FP	hai ?? [saying the girl who was sitting next to the girl on the blackboard, seeming upset with what she was writing on the blackboard as she hit her hand on the table]	
838 839	FP	professora eu professora professora	
840 841	FP	lalika ida tahu ketak ona [addressing the girl on the blackboard]	
842 843		[TL turning to the class and with her hand indicated them to put their hands down] /9/	
844	MP	hei professora	
845	FP	sete de dezembro [background voice]	
846	PP	hai pá /4/	
847	PP	agosto [background voice]	
848	PP	dezembro, dezembro [background voice]	
849	TL	dezembro	

850		aquele dezembro	
851	FP	emi	
852	TL	foi em sete	
853		não precisa 'dia'	
854		corta aquele dia /3/	
855		??? (57'03)	
856		[the girl on the blackboard doing the corrections suggested by the	
857		teacher; background chat of pupils]	
858		/22/	
859		[TL started reading what the girl wrote on the blackboard]	
860		a invasão pelo território pelas forças armadas indonésias foi em	
861		sete de	
862	PPS	dezembro de mil novecentos e setenta e cinco [many pupils	
863		finishing reading the sentence in chorus; the girl going back to her	
864		seat]	
865	TL	como podemos escrever em sete de dezembro de mil novecentos	
866		e setenta e cinco foi a invasão do território	
867		pelas forças armadas indoné-?	
868	PPS	indonésias [few pupils replying more or less in chorus]	
869	TL	forças armadas indonésias	
870	PP	cópia ga professora?	
871	TL	cópia	
872	PP	cópia [background voice] 2/	
873	TL	cópia cópia	

874		cópia outra vez guarda outra vez	
875		cópia aquela pergunta	
876		passou resposta /3/	
877	FP	já professora	
878	TL	shuu	
879	FP	já professora	
880	PP	já	
881	TL	hoi /2/	
882		guarda 'já' para si	
883		professora não pergunta	
884		não precisam dizer 'já, já, já' /8/	
885	FP	hei pá [inaudible] /4/	
886		[background voice of pupils voices]	
887		[TL writing the second question on the blackboard]	
888		/30/	
889	TL	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	
890		[pupils quieter down and copying from the blackboard] /1min.23/	
891	FP	Binha, Binha /4/	
892		Binha ho foti fo lae /5/	
893		[inaudible] deit	
894		beik sa /2/	
895	FP	Varina [background voice of someone calling another classmate]	
896		/8/	
897	PP	rame la rame la [background voice] /20/	

898	FP	fo'o mai ga [background voice]	
899		/11/	
900	TL	hoi [to quiet down some pupils]	
901	FP	professora /13/	
902	TL	shuu /3/	
903		hakerek salak tia [inaudible]	
904	PP	[inaudible]	
905	TL	hei	
906	PP	[inaudible] professora professora	
907	TL	para outra vez	
908	FP	hau sidauk [background voice]	
909	TL	shuu	
910		cinco minutos para pensar	
911	FP	professora hau sidauk tan	
912		professora	
913		hau sidauk tan	
914		professora /3/	
915	TL	oin se maka mai né?	
916		[Birna indicating with her finger the girl who came before] /3/	
917		mas em ?? assim	
918		vá pode vir [addressing a girl sitting next to the door; the grl got up	
919		and walked towards the blackboard] /2/	
920		shuu	
921		outros têm atenção	

922		Levi onde está teu lugar	
923		vira para a frente	

APPENDIX 14 – Interview schedule to guide the interviews with the the teachers

In Portuguese (-), Tetum (*) and English (#)

-Quantos alunos tem?

***Professora, hanoring alunos nain hira?**

#How many pupils do you have?

-Qual é a idades dos seus alunos?

***Professora nia alunos tinan hira?**

#How old are the pupils?

-Quantas raparigas? E quantos rapazes?

***Feto nain hira? E mane nain hira?**

#How many girls and how many boys do you have in your class?

-Acha que a turma tem um número elevado de alunos?

***Professora hanoin que turma ne iha alunos barak liu?**

#Do you think that you have a large class?

-Tem algum aluna(o) com possibilidade de chumbar na sua disciplina?

***Professora iha alunos atu reprova iha sua classe?**

#Do you have pupils who you think might fail?

-Como caracterizaria a sua turma em termos de comportamento e aprendizagem dos alunos?

***Oinsa ita boot caracteriza turma ida ne kona ba alunos sira nian comportamento no aprendizagem?**

#How would you describe the behaviour and learning of your pupils?

-Há alguma diferença na aprendizagem entre raparigas e rapazes na sua aula?

***Iha diferença ruma husi feto e mane nia aprendizagem iha sala de aula?**

#Is there any difference between learning of girls and boys?

-Há alguma diferença entre raparigas e rapazes no comportamento na sua aula?

***Iha diferença ruma husi feto e mane nia comportamento iha sala de aula?**

#Is there any difference between the behaviour of boys and girls in the classroom?

-Acha que a turma está pronta para aprender a matéria do 4.º/6.º ano? Ou ainda tem que rever com eles a matéria do 3.º/ 5.º ano para aprender os do 4.º/ 6.º ano?

***Professora hanoin que alunos sira pronto ba tama matéria husi 3.º/ 5.º ano? Ou professora tem que revê ho sira matéria husi 4.º/ 6.º ano?**

#Do you think your class is ready to learn the content of Year 4/Year 6? Or do you have to revise with them a lot of Year 3/Year 5 content?

-De um modo geral, existe alguma matéria que precisa de alguma atenção especial?

***De um modo geral, iha matéria ruma que alunos sira sei precisa atensaun barak liu?**

#In general, is there any content which your pupils lack of and you need to focus more?

-A família do aluno participa em alguma forma na aprendizagem do aluno?

***Alunos sira nia família participa/ajuda husi alunos sira nia aprendizagem?**

#Do pupils' families participate in the learning of their children?

-Que matéria acha que os alunos gostam mais de aprender na sua aula?

***Matéria sa ida mak alunos sira gosta aprende liu iha ita boot nia aula?**

#What content pupils enjoy learning more?

-Quais são as potencialidades desta turma?

***Potencialidade sa ida mak iha turma ida ne?**

#What are the positive qualities of this class?

-Quais são os maiores problemas desta turma?

***Problemas sa ida mak ita boot hetan iha turma ida nee?**

#What are the difficulties of working with this class?

-Como sabe o nível do conhecimento dos alunos na sua aula em relação a Belas-Artes/ Religião e Moral/ Matemática/ Língua Portuguesa/ Língua Tétum/ Estudo do Meio?

***Hanusa mak ita boot bele hatene se alunos sira nia conhecimento kona ba Belas-Artes/ Religião e Moral/ Matemática/ Língua Portuguesa/ Língua Tétum/ Estudo do Meio?**

#How do you know the level of knowledge your pupils are learning in Arts/ Religion/ Maths/ Portuguese Language/ Tetum Language/ Environmental Studies

About the teacher linguistic background

-Fala que línguas? Onde as aprendeu? Ainda as usa? Em que contextos e com quem?

***Hatene koalia diak língua/lian saída? Aprende iha nebe? Sei koalia lian née? Koalia iha nebe ho se?**

#How many languages do you speak? Where did you learn them? Do you still use them? When do you use them and with whom?

-Pode falar um pouco da sua formação académica e profissional?

***Ita boot bele explica oit-tuan ita nia formação no experiênciã hansa professora?**

#Could you describe your educational and professional background before assuming this job?

-Agora gostaria que comentasse sobre alguns extractos de documentos educativos que eu recolhi com referências às línguas de Timor-Leste.

#Now I would like you to comment on extracts of some education policy documents with reference to languages in Timor-Leste.

-A Constituição diz “Tétum e Português serão as línguas oficiais da República Democrática de Timor-Leste” (Secção 13). **Oin sa mak ita boot interpreta frase ida nee?**

#The Constitution says “Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste” (Section 13). How do you interpret this quote?

-Concorda com essa escolha?

#Do you agree with this choice?

-Bahasa-Indonésio e Inglês são línguas de trabalho. **Oin sa mak ita boot interpreta frase ida nee?**

-“Tétum e outras línguas nacionais devem ser valorizadas e desenvolvidas pelo Estado”. **Oin sa mak ita boot interpreta frase ida nee?**

#“Tetum and other national language shall be valued and developed by the State”. (Section 13) How do you interpret this?

-Conhece o documento do Decreto-lei do Sistema de Base Educativo?

#Do you know the policy document Base Law for Education?

- Na pág. 6, do Artigo 8.º, diz o seguinte sobre as línguas do sistema educativo: **“As línguas de ensino do sistema educativo timorense são o tétum e o português.”**

Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 6, Article 8, of the Base Law for Education is written that “The teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese”. How do you interpret this quote?

- E sobre este extracto da pág. 9, Artigo 12.º, Objectivos do ensino básico, alínea d): **“Garantir o domínio das línguas portuguesa e tétum”**. Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 9, Article 12 – Basic education objectives, on line d), one of the objectives is to “Ensure the master of Portuguese and Tetum languages”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Conhece o documento do “Plano Estratégico Nacional da Educação 2011-2030”?

#Do you know the policy document “National Education Strategic Plan 2011-2030”?

-Na pág. 26 desse documento, na secção “Programa prioritário VII: Melhoria da Qualidade do Ensino”, descreve o seguinte referindo-se ao actual estado do ensino: “Muitos dos professores conhecem pouco os temas, possuem pouca pedagogia e não apresentam total fluência nos dois idiomas oficiais de formação de Timor-Leste”. Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 26 of that document, on section on “Priority programme VII: To improve the Teaching Quality” concerning the current situation of education it is written as follows: “Many of the teachers know little about the themes; have little pedagogy and do not present total proficiency in the two official languages of instruction in Timor-Leste”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Conhece o projecto de resolução n.73/11 tomado por membros do Parlamento com o título de “A importância da promoção e do ensino nas línguas oficiais para a unidade e coesão nacionais e para a consolidação de uma identidade própria e original no mundo”, assinado a 28/08/2011?

#Do you know the resolution project number 73/11 signed by members of the Parliament on 28/08/2011 which title is “The importance to develop the teaching of the official languages to the unity and national cohesion, and to reinforce a peculiar and original identity in the world”?

-Na pág.1 desse projecto está escrito:

“Em Timor-Leste, pela sua intrínseca diversidade linguística e cultural, e pelas cicatrizes deixadas pela ocupação que se seguiu à Proclamação da Independência, a política da língua também é essencial à construção da identidade nacional, à consolidação do Estado de Direito, à afirmação do país na região e no mundo e, sobretudo, à garantia de coexistência pacífica no seu seio.” Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 1 of this Parliament resolution it is written as follows:

“In Timor-Leste, due its natural linguistic and cultural diversity, and due to wounds left by the occupation that was followed by the Proclamation of Independence, the language policy is essential to the construction of a national identity, to reinforce the State of Right, to the affirmation of the country in the region and in the world, and mainly to ensure a pacific coexistence within it”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Na pág. 2 também está escrito:

“Na verdade, pode-se afirmar que a política da língua que minimize o lugar e o papel da língua portuguesa em Timor-Leste não considera a força que canalizou a Resistência Nacional contra a ocupação: o apego dos Timorenses à génese da sua herança cultural.” Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 2 is also written as follows:

“In fact it could be said that a language policy that minimise the place and role of the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste does not consider the power that conveyed to the National Resistance against the occupation: the reliance of the Timorese to the genesis of their cultural heritage”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Na pág. 3 está escrito:

“Sem a língua portuguesa, o tétum praça, virando-se para as línguas oficiais dos países vizinhos, tornar-se-ia historicamente irreconhecível e, dada a dimensão relativa e consequente força centrípeta das economias daqueles, a identidade cultural nacional acabaria por ser absorvida, a unidade interna e Estado de Direito enfraquecidos e as liberdades políticas neutralizadas.” Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 3 is written as follows:

“Without Portuguese language, Tetum Praça would turn to the official languages of the neighbouring countries, would become historically unrecognisable, and due to their relative size and centripetal power of their economies, the national cultural identity would end up being absorbed by them, the internal unity and the State of Right weaken and the political freedom neutralised”. How do you interpret this quote?

APPENDIX 15 – Example of interview transcripts: Teacher Dalia, Portuguese Language subject

	Comportamento razoáveis.	
	Sim, razoáveis. Porquê?	
I	Porque não estão, são faladores, não estão a tomar atenção. Raparigas são mais ou menos. Os rapazes...	-gender
	Acha que os rapazes comportam-se de forma diferente das raparigas?	
	É. É diferente. Conversam muito.	
	Muito mais?	
	Muito mais que as raparigas. As raparigas mando-as calar e elas calam-se, mas os rapazes não. Por mais que a gente mande calar, continuam a falar. Falam, calam um instante, começa outra vez.	-gender
	E em termos de aprendizagem, assim por exemplo, aprendizagem, aproveitamento escolar?	
	As raparigas sim, os rapazes (hesitante) menos.	-gender
	Menos?	
	As raparigas têm aproveitamento. Sim. Os rapazes só alguns.	

	Os rapazes não, não.	
	E, deixe aqui ver, existe alguma matéria que precise de alguma atenção especial que a professora acha que tenha que trabalhar mais?	
	Mais, mais na língua portuguesa.	-difficulties in understanding Portuguese
	Em que aspecto da língua, que parte da língua?	
	Compreensão	
	Compreensão de texto?	
	Sim. Porque eles não têm compreensão. Compreensão do texto.	
	Sim. Compreensão do texto pois acha que é língua portuguesa...	

	Ficam?	
	Não compreendem, mas para os rapazes.	
	Sim? Acha que, em que situação, eu vi-a algumas vezes a usar tétum. Que situação a professora acha que usa tétum?	-using Tetum to explain
	Na explicação.	
	Na explicação?	
	Na explicação.	
	Na explicação do? Do texto ou?	
	Do texto	
	Mais alguma coisa?	
	Do texto	
	Sim?	
	Explicação do texto, de vez em quando o glossário, palavras difíceis eles não compreendem, o que quer dizer isto não é, começo a dizer em tétum para eles compreenderem.	-using Tetum to explain
	E depois como é que faz a avaliação, faz a avaliação	

APPENDIX 16 – Example of interview transcripts: Teacher Lucia, Environmental Studies subject

	Difikuldade barak atu hanoring, atu kompreende lisaun.	
	Hum. Como caracterizaria a sua turma em termos de comportamento?	
	Comportamento, não é muito bom, komportamentu la dun diak .	-pupils bad behaviour
	Professora bele explica?	
	Tamba la dun diak komparasaun ho estudantes uluk ho agora diferente tamba uluk sira nunka hatene kaer hosan, mai eskola, mas obin loron pai mãe sira servisu hotu, hosan kaer lima sira hanoing deit atu han . Hanoing han. Entaun sira la hatun ho buat ida ne'ebé hanoin estuda, hanoin liu han. Mai komportamentu ida maka né para sira, como sira nian hanoing atu estuda ida mai liu maka han. Entaun la komportamentu [inaudible] sira nia karaterizasaun sira nian né diferente ho alunus Timor uluk, alunus Timor agora diferente tebe tebes .	-past and present: comparing pupils behaviours in the classroom
	mai mos ho telefone, entaun sira la tur hakmatek , sira la iha konsentrasaun ba lisaun. O maior número de alunos, se vinte por turma bele alkansa, ita bele domina klasse, vinte é [inaudible] vinte , hansa maximo vinte, la bele liu ida né liu sa vinte i cinco bele, mas liu né la bele, se vinte, vinte é cinco ita bele sim bele domina klasse, bele conhece sira ida ba ida, bele conhece ida nia bele, nia bele ou ita bele iha sala laran bolu sira hotu ba lisaun ita to'o. Mas kuandu sira barak liu, balu bolu , mas balu lai, ita labele bolu tamba barak liu to'o horas atu sai, pois tempu konforme tempu, tempu, kada disiplina ida iha deit cinquenta minutus nia horas né, kuandu cinquenta minutus né iha hanesan eskola hansa né la to'o komesa, iha eskola sira seluk-seluk kada cinquenta minutus to'o fali tamba ema atu troka disiplina loka . Por ezemplu iha pre-sekundariu quarenta cinco	class size
00:53:47	É sobre documentos educativos [inaudible] com referência às línguas de Timor-Leste. Então a começar com, queria que a professora interpretasse, o que é que esta frase significa para a professora. Por exemplo, como esta aqui que diz que a Constituição diz que tétum e português serão as línguas oficiais da República Democrática de Timor-Leste. Esta frase significa o quê para a professora?	
	Essa frase significa que a nossa identidade, a nossa identidade da língua é sempre acompanhado com aquele português e tétum, essas duas línguas, que faz nós, os timorenses a terem a independência, se não for o português, nós não podemos ter essa independência, porque é internacional, reconheceu por causa da língua portuguesa, se não tiver essa língua, nós não podemos ter essa independência. Temos que andar juntos, tétum com português, mas o principal é esse português não se pode perder, porque é a língua revolucionária, que nos	TT and PT complementarity

APPENDIX 17 – Interview schedule to guide the interviews with the headteachers

-Quantos alunos há nesta escola?

#How many pupils are in this school?

-Quantos 1.ºs anos há? 2.ºs anos? 3.ºs anos? E 4.ºs anos?

#How many classes of Year 1 do you have? Of Year 2? Of Year 3? Of Year 4?

-Qual é a média de alunos por turma?

#In average how many pupils do you have per class?

-De um modo geral, sabe qual é o nível de escolaridade das mães dos alunos? E dos pais? E sabe qual é a situação económica das famílias dos alunos?

#In general, do you know the academic achievement of pupils parents? And do you have information about the families economical situation?

-Quantos professores há nesta escola?

#How many teachers are working in this school?

-Qual é o calendário escolar deste ano lectivo?

#What is the school calendar for this year?

-Que apoios a escola recebe do Ministério da Educação? (financeiro, material, outros)

“What kinds of support does this school receive from the Ministry of Education (economical, materials, others)?

-Esta escola recebe apoio ou tem parceria com alguma outra instituição ou organização sem ser do Ministério da Educação?

#Apart from the Ministry of Education, does this school receive other support or have partnerships with other institutions or organisations?

Perfil da directora/ Background of the headteacher

-Fala que línguas? Onde as aprendeu? Ainda as usa? Em que contextos e com quem?

#How many languages do you speak? Where did you learn them? Do you still use them? When do you use them and with whom?

-Como descreveria o perfil e práticas linguísticas da RTL em geral? E de Díli em particular?

#How would you describe the linguistic practices in Timor-Leste in general? What about Dili (the capital city)?

-Há quanto tempo é directora desta escola?

#How long have you been the headteacher of this school?

-Pode falar-me um pouco do seu percurso académico e profissional antes de exercer o cargo de directora desta escola?

#Could you describe your educational and professional background before assuming this job?

-Agora gostaria que comentasse sobre alguns extractos de documentos educativos que eu recolhi com referências às línguas de Timor-Leste.

#Now I would like you to comment on extracts of some education policy documents with reference to languages in Timor-Leste.

-A Secção 13 da Constituição de Timor-Leste diz “Tétum e Português serão as línguas oficiais da República Democrática de Timor-Leste”. Como interpreta esta frase?

#The Constitution says “Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste” (Section 13). How do you interpret this quote?

-Concorda com a escolha destas 2 línguas (Tétum e Português)?

#Do you agree with this choice?

-“Tétum e outras línguas nacionais devem ser valorizadas e desenvolvidas pelo Estado”. (Secção 13). Como interpreta isto?

#“Tetum and other national language shall be valued and developed by the State”. (Section 13) How do you interpret this?

-Conhece o documento do Decreto-lei do Sistema de Base Educativo?

Do you know the policy document Base Law for Education?

- Na pág. 6, do Artigo 8.º, diz o seguinte sobre as línguas do sistema educativo: “As línguas de ensino do sistema educativo timorense são o tétum e o português.” Como interpreta esta frase?

On page 6, Article 8, of the Base Law for Education is written that “The teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese”. How do you interpret this quote?

-E sobre este extracto da pág. 9, Artigo 12.º, Objectivos do ensino básico, alínea d): “Garantir o domínio das línguas portuguesa e tétum”. Como interpreta esta frase?

On page 9, Article 12 – Basic education objectives, on line d), one of the objectives is to “Ensure the master of Portuguese and Tetum languages”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Conhece o documento do “Plano Estratégico Nacional da Educação 2011-2030”?

#Do you know the policy document “National Education Strategic Plan 2011-2030”?

-Na pág. 26 desse documento, na secção “Programa prioritário VII: Melhoria da Qualidade do Ensino”, descreve o seguinte referindo-se ao actual estado do ensino: “Muitos dos professores conhecem pouco os temas, possuem pouca pedagogia e não apresentam total fluência nos dois idiomas oficiais de formação de Timor-Leste”. Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 26 of that document, on section on “Priority programme VII: To improve the Teaching Quality” concerning the current situation of education it is written as follows: “Many of the teachers know little the themes; have little pedagogy and do not present total proficiency in the two official languages of instruction in Timor-Leste”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Conhece o projecto de resolução n.73/11 tomado por membros do Parlamento com o título de “A importância da promoção e do ensino nas línguas oficiais para a unidade e coesão nacionais e para a consolidação de uma identidade própria e original no mundo”, assinado a 28/08/2011?

#Do you know the resolution project number 73/11 signed by members of the Parliament on 28/08/2011 which title is “The importance to develop the teaching of the official languages to the unity and national cohesion, and to reinforce a peculiar and original identity in the world”?

30-Na pág.1 desse projecto está escrito:

“Em Timor-Leste, pela sua intrínseca diversidade linguística e cultural, e pelas cicatrizes deixadas pela ocupação que se seguiu à Proclamação da Independência, a política da língua também é essencial à construção da identidade nacional, à

consolidação do Estado de Direito, à afirmação do país na região e no mundo e, sobretudo, à garantia de coexistência pacífica no seu seio.”

Como interpreta esta frase?

On page 1 of this Parliament resolution it is written as follows:

“In Timor-Leste, due its natural linguistic and cultural diversity, and due to wounds left by the occupation that was followed by the Proclamation of Independence, the language policy is essential to the construction of a national identity, to reinforce the State of Right, to the affirmation of the country in the region and in the world, and mainly to ensure a pacific coexistence within it”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Na pág. 2 também está escrito:

“Na verdade, pode-se afirmar que a política da língua que minimize o lugar e o papel da língua portuguesa em Timor-Leste não considera a força que canalizou a Resistência Nacional contra a ocupação: o apego dos Timorenses à génese da sua herança cultural.”

Como interpreta esta frase?

#On page 2 is also written as follows:

“In fact it could be said that a language policy that minimise the place and role of the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste does not consider the power that conveyed to the National Resistance against the occupation: the reliance of the Timorese to the genesis of their cultural heritage”. How do you interpret this quote?

-Na pág. 3 está escrito:

“Sem a língua portuguesa, **o tétum praça, virando-se para as línguas oficiais dos países vizinhos, tornar-se-ia historicamente irreconhecível** e, dada a dimensão relativa e consequente força centrípeta das economias daqueles, a identidade cultural nacional acabaria por ser absorvida, a unidade interna e Estado de Direito enfraquecidos e as liberdades políticas neutralizadas.”

Como interpreta esta frase?

On page 3 is written as follows:

“Without Portuguese language, Tetum Praça would turn to the official languages of the neighbouring countries, would become historically unrecognisable, and due to their relative size and centripetal power of their economies, the national cultural identity would end up being absorbed by them, the internal unity and the State of Right weaken and the political freedom neutralised”. How do you interpret this quote?

School B

24:56-39:15	<p>E qual é o papel da língua tétum na escola?</p> <p>A língua tétum enfim é indispensável, até para aperfeiçoar o tétum como eu dizia. O tétum antes da invasão era uma língua que eu ouvia a ler nas igrejas e parecia às vezes como eu dizia o italiano, tão bem, tão suave, tão agradável. Agora, ora nós podemos melhorar o tétum certamente. Agora tal como está reencaminhado não sei se vamos fazer do tétum essa língua, não sei, não sei qual vai ser o futuro da qualidade do tétum, para mim é isso, o tétum claro jamais se pode, tétum ou outras línguas como o fataluku, eu creio que se deveria desenvolver muito o fataluku, não à custa, não encavalitado em cima das criancinhas, mas com o tétum que se fala, com os adultos, pessoas que estudassem bem o que há em certo modo a gramática do fataluku ou do baikeno, e depois cultivar isto, desenvolver-se, evoluir isto, são riquezas culturais, estruturas que poderão ter também ajudas a dar ao tétum, a dar ao tétum também e por conseguinte o tétum é indispensável na língua portuguesa. Creio que o ideal se eu interpreto bem, o que pode ser aquilo que está na Constituição ou na lei básica da educação, da instrução em Timor, a língua de ensino em Timor é português e tétum, aliás é um artigo, é um artigo com uma língua e meia?</p>	-value of Tetum
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<p>não podemos aprender, a criança precisa de um livro. E este é o problema que se tem aqui travado em Timor e não sei talvez aqui um mistério de resistência, talvez de forças ocultas que querem obstaculizar o mais possível o desenvolvimento da língua portuguesa, e até o estudo geral da criança. E então os livros não chegam à mão da criança. Tem de ser um livrinho para aprender a ler, um livrinho para, um livro de leitura, um compêndio de leitura, isso é universal, tem milhares de anos, de experiência, esta pedagogia. Tem até uma gramática, e depois para as outras coisas, as ciências naturais, a botânica, a geologia, a minerologia, sem isso é impossível, nós já não estamos na Idade Média que as coisas eram feitas de outra maneira e com outros cuidados e com uma perfeição muito grande até. Hoje nós já não podemos fazer isso. Estamos a impor às crianças um sistema medieval. A Idade Média, uma Idade riquíssima, mas já não é para agora, nós agora temos que ter outros sistemas, e hoje que é tão fácil o livro, nós atamos as mãos à criança e não lhe damos o livro na mão. Nós fechamos os olhos à criança, não lhe deixamos ler o livrinho, nós tampamos os ouvidos à criança, não lhe damos a audição da conversa em língua portuguesa. Então a criança não aprende,</p>	<p>need of textbooks for children in Timor</p>
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	<p>fazer isso aos sábados lá com aquelas senhas, metade não aparece, não é, mas às vezes vêm bastantes, conscientizá-los desta missão que as leva depois a serem inteligentes no ensino da matemática ou das ciências, mas a nossa missão é formar um ser humano a ter esse respeito para com a pessoa.</p>	
01:00:51-01:02:09	<p>Agora gostava de perguntar sobre que línguas que o FJ fala, as línguas que fala, onde aprendeu, se ainda as usa? Eu aprendi muito pouco de línguas, aprendi português naturalmente em minha casa e depois comecei a aprender o latim, fui para o seminário, francês e depois também estudava grego e hebraico, mas nem falo hebraico, nem falo grego, e depois fui para a Espanha e estudei lá e também falo espanhol, mas sou pouco conhecedor de línguas. Inglês pouco, lendo até, falar, não sei falar inglês não, agora tchau, falo um bocadinho vietnam, com perfeição falo por exemplo o parabe tlaxtani, mas falo um bocadinho vietnam, indonésio também aprendi um bocadinho para me entender com os indonésios, de maneira que não sou poliglota como o João Inocêncio não.</p>	

	<p>e vejo nos jomais, os jomais pelo menos são sobretudo em indonésio, e em inglês um pouco mas mais em indonésio que me parece às vezes são cópias, são coisas que mandam para cá, até parecem filias, os jomais daí, parecem filias, então lá aí jomais que parecem filias dos jomais indonésios e até infelizmente não do melhor que há lá na indonésia, que também há lá coisa muito boa, não é isso que chega aqui, chega aqui como que coisas assim menos, de menos qualidade lá em todo o COMARACAO e outras coisas, tem artigos muito interessantes. Aqui vem mais outras coisas. C que aqui nos jomais é a língua completa do português nos 2 jomais que são mais falados aí, há um que aí você tem um bocadinho de um bocadinho de pandeira segue com um bocadinho de português.</p> <p>Agora não sei falar, não sei nem falar jomais. Assim, a nível da imprensa, a audiência total, a nível de comunicações sociais, a rádio raramente ouço, creio que também não tem, também não sei, a nível de televisão, a televisão local tem um programa em português, o noticiário, não sei se haverá mais</p>	<p>Noticiário em PT</p>
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	<p>alguma coisa isso foi a televisão portuguesa e depois isso que a maioria do povo segue a televisão indonésia, e a rádio também, naturalmente, obviamente para Timor em indonésio por consequente, mas não o aspecto dos meios ou os meios antigos para comunicação realmente vêm em português, não em indonésio ou em inglês, porque em timor algumas coisas, rádio, música em português. Por consequente, da parte de cima, não</p>	
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	<p>Sim, já falamos um bocadinho, da Seção 13 da Constituição de Timor-Leste que diz que Tétum e Português serão as línguas oficiais da República Democrática de Timor-Leste". Se quiser acrescentar mais alguma coisa? Acho que aí está dito aquilo que convinha para Timor estar na linha da evolução da história daquilo que estivemos a dizer, porque se há uma omissão por de uma coisa que de outra, há</p>	
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APPENDIX 19 – Interview schedule to guide the interviews with policymakers

Aims

- To learn about their personal life history (background, linguistic proficiency and professional training)
- To learn about their views on the sociolinguistic context of Timor-Leste
- To understand their interpretation of extracts of policy document collected with reference to languages in Timor-Leste

1-How many languages do you speak? Where did you learn them? Do you still use them? When do you use them and with whom?

2-How would you describe the linguistic practices in Timor-Leste in general? What about Dili (the capital city)?

3-Could you describe your educational and professional background before assuming this job?

4- What is your role in your current job?

5-The Constitution says “Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste” (Section 13). How do you interpret this quote?

6-Do you agree with this choice?

7-“Tetum and other national language shall be valued and developed by the State”.

(Section 13) How do you interpret this?

Now I would like you to comment on extracts of some education policy documents with reference to languages in Timor-Leste.

8-Do you know the policy document Base Law for Education?

9-On page 6, Article 8, of the Base Law for Education is written that “The teaching languages of the Timorese education system are Tetum and Portuguese”. How do you interpret this quote?

10-On page 9, Article 12 – Basic education objectives, on line d), one of the objectives is to “Ensure the master of Portuguese and Tetum languages”. How do you interpret this quote?

11-Do you know the policy document “National Education Policy 2007-2012: Building our nation through quality education”?

12-On page 15 it is written the following: “With the indispensable support from foreign assistance, namely the Portuguese Aid to Development, considerable efforts with clear results have been carried out regarding the teaching of Portuguese, which, along with Tetum, is one of the official languages of the Country.” How do you interpret this quote?

13-Do you know the policy document “National Education Strategic Plan 2011-2030”?

14-On page 26 of that document, on section on “Priority programme VII: To improve the Teaching Quality” concerning the current situation of education it is written as follows: “Many of the teachers know little the themes; have little pedagogy and do not present total proficiency in the two official languages of instruction in Timor-Leste”. How do you interpret this quote?

15-Do you know the resolution project number 73/11 signed by members of the Parliament on 28/08/2011 which title is “The importance to develop the teaching of the official languages to the unity and national cohesion, and to reinforce a peculiar and original identity in the world”?

16-Do you know in which context was this project discussed and signed?

17-On page 1 of this Parliament resolution it is written as follows:

“In Timor-Leste, due its natural linguistic and cultural diversity, and due to wounds left by the occupation that was followed by the Proclamation of Independence, the language policy is essential to the construction of a national identity, to reinforce the State of Right, to the affirmation of the country in the region and in the world, and mainly to ensure a pacific coexistence within it”. How do you interpret this quote?

18- On page 1 is also written as follows: “Language policy in Timor-Leste is a means to access and to contribute to general knowledge, but also is a privileged means to reinforce national unity and cohesion by allowing a tranquil communication between the parts that constitute the whole nation, and the interaction with people historically linked within the Community of Portuguese Language Countries is essentially a strategic one”. How do you interpret this quote?

19-On page 2 it is written as follows:

“Right on 1975 it was unanimous the recognition of the need to value Portuguese language as a unifying element merged in the national culture of Timor-Leste.” How do you interpret this quote?

20-On page 2 is also written as follows:

“In fact it could be said that a language policy that minimise the place and role of the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste does not consider the power that conveyed to the National Resistance against the occupation: the reliance of the Timorese to the genesis of their cultural heritage”. How do you interpret this quote?

21-On page 3 is written as follows:

“Without Portuguese language, Tetum Praça would turn to the official languages of the neighbouring countries, would become historically unrecognisable, and due to their relative size and centripetal power of their economies, the national cultural identity would end up being absorbed by them, the internal unity and the State of Right weaken and the political freedom neutralised”. How do you interpret this quote?

APPENDIX 20 – Examples of interview transcripts: Policymaker 1, Mr. Pedro Magno

INTERVIEW

Policymaker:

Place: Parliament

<u>Time interval</u>	<u>Summary</u>	<u>Possible themes</u>
	This interview was in Portuguese because the participant asked. Before starting with the interview questions, I introduced him the objectives of this interview, and told him that if he had any question he could ask it.	
00:00-00:12	Pode dizer-me o seu nome completo? Eu sou DM e sou membro do Parlamento Nacional. E está na Comissão? Na Comissão F, membro da Comissão F que trata dos assuntos da saúde, educação e cultura.	
00:35-04:46	Vou começar pela primeira pergunta, é fluente em que línguas, que línguas fala? Falo tétum, a língua materna e indonésia, <u>bahasa-indonésia</u> , inglês e um pouco <u>portugues</u> . Onde é que aprendeu essas línguas? Tétum, língua materna, todos os dias eu falo tétum, indonésio,	

	<p>como línguas oficiais?</p> <p>Tem que aprender 2 línguas, tétum língua materna, mas ainda não bem desenvolvida. Português já tem mais anos e bem desenvolvido e quem que (se) sente confortável (confortável) para usar português, quem sente usa tétum, pode usar tétum, e aqui dá-se a flexibilidade para a gente no, como membro do governo ou funcionário público ou quando faz uma, documentos oficiais pode usar estas duas línguas, tétum e português, mas quando usa dois é bom, porque pode ajudar outros que não compreendem português, tem flexibilidade para compreender também, porque tem em tétum, dá flexibilidade para duas línguas.</p> <p>E como explica a escolha, motivos, fundamentos de tétum e português como línguas oficiais em Timor-Leste. Porque não outras?</p> <p>Um pouco político, o passado, a ligação cultural, emocional durante a luta pela independência, todas as comunicações oficiais, ou para, todo, com o preso ali, com a comunicação para, o timorense no estrangeiro sobre a causa da luta pela independência tudo em português, porque protege do indonésio, eles não compreendem muito bem português, mas como</p>	<p>developed language vs. undeveloped language</p> <p>bilingual education: flexibility</p> <p>political, cultural and emotional connections</p>	
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APPENDIX 21 – Examples of interview transcripts: Policymaker 2, Mr.

Júlio Neto

	<p>Este artigo resulta do artigo 59 da Constituição de RTL que fala essencialmente sobre a educação, o fundamento da educação. Este artigo também fala da responsabilidade do Governo de usar as duas línguas oficiais no sistema educativo. Uma lei de bases no que se refere as línguas a serem usadas devem seguir a Constituição que diz claramente que as línguas oficiais são o tétum e o português. Se a Constituição diz que estas 2 línguas são oficiais, então ambas devem ser línguas de ensino. O que acontecia no Governo anterior e que o português era a língua oficial e o tétum era a língua auxiliar, mas depois de ter sido aprovada a Lei de Bases, o tétum deixou de ser uma língua auxiliar e passa a ter o mesmo estatuto. Porém, ele diz que como e do conhecimento de todos, o tétum ainda precisa de ser desenvolvido, então o português é mais usado, esperando-se que o português possa desenvolver o tétum. O tétum e a "nossa" língua franca, mas sabemos que o tétum ainda e uma língua com deficiências em termos de produtos, livros pensados e escritos em tétum. Em termos linguísticos o tétum precisa ainda de ser muito desenvolvido para alcançar o patamar de uma língua de ensino, língua de tecnologia, língua de transferência de conhecimentos. Então usa-se o português que e uma língua estabelecida, língua antiga, rica, capaz de desenvolver o tétum e servir bem o sistema timorense.</p>	<p>-Tetum – not enough languageness (Blommaert)</p>
06.09-09.51	<p>E sobre este extracto da pág. 9, Artigo 12.º, Objectivos do ensino básico, alínea d): “Garantir o domínio das línguas portuguesa e tétum”.</p> <p>Sim, isto está reflectido nos conteúdos curriculares.</p> <p>Se for para uma escola primaria esta a espera do uso destas 2 línguas?</p>	

	<p>Penso que foi uma boa decisão. O português enquanto língua oficial e estrangeira e uma língua intrínseca a nossa identidade enquanto nação. O tétum e a nossa língua, mas não é falada por todos. Foi desenvolvida pelos missionários e tornou-se numa língua franca. Eu pessoalmente penso que a decisão de colocar as 2 línguas no mesmo patamar como línguas oficiais foi uma decisão ótima. Eu penso que o português servirá bem o sistema educativo timorense, mas também terá um papel crítica e importante ao desenvolver o tétum. Como timorense, eu espero que o tétum possa se tornar uma língua de ensino, uma língua estabelecida, de tecnologia, uma língua de transmissão de conhecimentos.</p> <p>Acha que neste momento ainda precisa de...?</p> <p>Neste momento há ainda muito a fazer, por isso é que o estado estabeleceu o INL com a esperança de desenvolver e aperfeiçoar.</p> <p>Qual tem sido o papel do ME no desenvolvimento do tétum?</p> <p>Nos oferecemos o apoio. Devem ser os peritos na área que devem desenvolver o tétum e não o ME. O ME é a organização do Estado responsável pela gestão, pelo ordenamento do sistema, pelos conteúdos, mas quem desenvolve, quem prepara não é o ME. O ME abre oportunidades, cria condições, mas são os peritos que desenvolvem.</p>	<p>-language and identity</p> <p>- development of Tetum</p> <p>-INL</p>
09.53	<p>“3. Difusão, enriquecimento e leques de actual sistema educativo”</p>	

APPENDIX 22 – Examples of interview transcripts: Policymaker 3, Mr. Paulo Costa

INTERVIEW

Policymaker 3:|

Place: ME

Time interval		Possible themes
	<p>Summary This interview was in Tetum because the participant asked. Before starting with the interview questions, I introduced him the objectives of this interview, and told him that if he had any question he could ask it. He thought that it would be a short interview, but I told him that it would be like 1h30. So I interviewed him in 2 different days according to his availability. In the first time, the interview was about 20 minutes and on the second time it was nearly 1h.</p>	
00:00-03:43	<p>Primeira pergunta ne hansa hatene koalia diak lingua/lian saida? Aprende iha nebe? Sei koalia lian née? Koalia iha nebe ho se?</p> <p>Hau hanesan tétum conserteza hau nia lingua materna ne'ebé lingua ida ke ita koalia hanesan ita nia inan aman nia lingua i tu'un kedas mae ita automatikamente ita hatene, ne'bé maka hau domina makas liu e konserteza hanesan ema Timor oan tem ke se hatene tétum. Agora tuir fali lingua ida seluk maka hau hatene inglês tamba uluk iha universidade mos hau estuda inglês uitoan.</p>	

	<p>De ensino do sistema educativo timorense são o tétum e o português". Né dehan ke iha eskola tem ke uza tétum...</p> <p>Ker dizer, neste momentu koragem ba tuir Konstituisaun, rua né tem ke ser lahu hamutuk, maibé in praktis, em pratika tamba depende ba ema ida hanoring né, nia se iha área remotas ke nia koalia português, nia obriga aan koalia português, mas se ema ida rona né, nia por ezemplu nia hatete dehan "inconformidade", labarik sira hanoing "incoformidade" né fehuk ida ka, farina ida, diak liu koalia tétum deit los ka lae. Agora se nia mai iha né hanesan hau foin dadauk ba halo seminariu tipo hansa seminariu, workshop ida ho CPLP sira kuaze em hotu-hotu iha ne'ebá koalia português hotu, agora se iha ne'ebá de repente ho hatama bahasa ou hatama tétum ou koalia tétum, ema sente la dun diak, la dun furak. Entaun tem ke ser obriga aan para koalia português. Portantu, koragem husi Ministériu Edukasaun nian para uza lingua rua né lahu dala ida, mas depende kuando iha situasau balu ke labarik la komprende liu tem ke ser kahu ho tétum. Se mai fali Dili ka, ita ba hanesan eskola portuguesa, por ezemplu hau hare sira ne'ebá jeralmente sira koalia português, ita ba ita iha buat ruma ke ita koalia tétum diak-diak, mas so ke ema rona né né, enatun ami espera para ho mai koalia português ita rona, ita hanesan aprende português para halo tia diak ita nia português</p>	<p>Bilingual education: flexibility</p>
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APPENDIX 23 – Examples of interview transcripts: Policymaker 4, Mr. Manuel Gomes

Policymaker 4:		Place: ME
Parte I		
Time interval	Summary	Possible themes
00:00-01:16	On the day before I handed in the set of questions of the interview in Portuguese. I started by presenting the objectives of this interview in Portuguese. He asked if the interview was going to be in Portuguese and I replied positively due to my limitations in asking questions about this topic in Tetum. However, I told him that he could answer them in Tetum or Portuguese. He agreed to be in Portuguese and if in difficulties in finding terms in Portuguese he would use Tetum.	-negotiating the languages to be used on the interview
01:17-04:25	É fluente em que línguas? Onde as aprendeu? Ainda as usa? Em que contextos e com quem? Terminei o meu curso no tempo português. Acabei o 5 ano em 1975 no seminário de menor de idade. Aprendeu Latim, Francês, Inglês e tive como língua de instrução o português. Aprendemos, mas como não tivemos contacto, aprendemos só por aprender. Quase que não praticamos nada. Estou arrependido, mas pronto...o tempo passou e o que eu posso usar é português.	-Portuguese as language of instruction -use of Portuguese and English

	princípios da universalidade, temos de caminhar juntos e não podemos andar para trás. E se rejeitarmos também o uso das línguas maternas vamos também contra a nossa própria identidade. Agora a questão do uso é que é problemático. Usar a língua materna apenas como meio, ou como uma disciplina, ou como uma língua ao lado da língua oficial. Esse é que é o problema. Agora se usarmos apenas como um meio de transmissão, de conhecimento, para aprender outras línguas, isso é o que estamos a caminhar. Agora se começarmos com as línguas maternas pode vir a baralhar outra vez. Se formos para a diversidade pode haver um falhanço na unificação, na unidade. Temos o princípio de unidade, mas temos também o princípio da diversidade. Por onde devemos começar? Vendo a nossa história, a nossa atenção tem de se concentrar primeiro na unidade nacional. Então vem esta pergunta: se formos para as línguas maternas, em Timor-Leste temos 30 e tal línguas-mãe, línguas maternas, pode trazer dificuldades, em vez de avançar a unidade, voltamos outra vez para a diversidade, para	-principles of mother tongue -the development of TT and PT as essential
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APPENDIX 24 – Examples of interview transcripts: Policymaker 5, Mr. Tomás Mota

	<p>nacional, do estado, e da afirmação do país?</p> <p>Ne maka hau dehan dala ruma iha enkontru ruma ho professores sira sempre, balun mas sei kestiona ida ne, dala ruma ho jovens sira iha foruma ruma ne'ebé sira organiza sira kestiona ne maka há dehan "língua hanesan identidade ida, identidade ida, i oinsá, tamba sa maka ita hili português ne?" Tamba hau dehan "iha aspetu rua, aspetu geografiku i aspetu politiku. Aspetu politiku hanesan identidade ida ba ita, identidade ida ba ita tamba bainhira ita Timor oan ida ita lao ba lihur", hansa hau dala ruma dehan ba maluk Timor, foin dadauk mos iha diretor iha eskola, eskola sekundariu, ne mos sira balun mensiona ida ne, hau dehan "lae ba senhores diretor sira hotu, iha Timor ita la sente dehan ita língua ne hanesan identidade ida ba ita, mas kuando ita hakat ba liur, ita sente katak ita hakfodak ne identidade ida ba ita, se mestre sira iha ne koalia tétum, ema dehan ida ne'e Timor oan, mas kuando ita ba iha Indonesia, iha Bali, iha Java, ilha seluk, seluk ne ita koalia tétum, maluk Timor oan nia bele serbisu iha Lospalos, bele koalis huis Oecussi ka, ida koalia husi Suai, nia rona deit nia maluk alin koalia tétum nia hakfodak, ne pa hau nia maluk Timor ona ida. Entaun ida ne identidade ba ema koñese malu. Agora se por ezemplu ita ba Australia ita koalia inglês,</p>	<p>Narrative on language as identity</p>
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	<p>agora koalia portugues, ami atu ba Moçambique ho Angola. Entaun hau dehan bainhira imi missionariu iha ne'ebá hotu imi ba Timor ona, tambá] português. Entau dala ruma ita nia rai, ita la sente ne ke língua ne identidade, mas kuandu ita hakat ba liur, sim, ita foin sente identidade ida. Ne'ebá hau nia hanoin hanesan hau ba iha Brasil iha 2000 hau lé buat ne'ebé espresaun- espresaun taka iha parede sira ne dehan "língua é o passaporte do mundo", entaun hau [inaudible] ne ita aprende lingua hodi ba mae ba mae iha mundu ne.</p>	<p>Language as identity</p>
<p>01:14:39- 01:17:09</p>	<p>Agora pergunta 22</p> <p>Também "A política da língua em Timor Leste, como meio para aceder e contribuir para o conhecimento universal, mas também como meio privilegiado para consolidar a unidade e coesão nacionais, ao permitir a comunicação harmoniosa entre as partes que compõem o todo nacional e a interacção com povos historicamente imanados, no seio da Comunidade dos Países da Língua Portuguesa, tem pois um carácter essencialmente estratégico."</p> <p>Ne maka ohin hau dehan CPLP ne, ne kuando ita hatene tan portugues ita iha maun alin balun iha husi Portugal, Angola, husi Brasil, husi Moçambique, husi Guiné. Se ita hatene ona ingles,</p>	

APPENDIX 25 – Examples of interview transcripts: Academic, Mr. Daniel Santos

	<p>relativamente ao tétum penso que os timorenses vinham ganhando a consciência da importância da língua ao longo do processo de Resistência, porque em '74, '75 no âmbito dos partidos políticos a FRETILIN parece ter sido o único partido que tinha um programa claro sobre o desenvolvimento do tétum, e assim o praticou, pois enviou estudantes para o interior do país a ensinar os agricultores, as pessoas do campo utilizando já o tétum, alfabetizando já as pessoas em tétum. O método, não tenho muito conhecimento disso, mas estive no júri do doutoramento, da tese de doutoramento de um timorense que concluiu na Austrália e que cujo o trabalho aborda muito esses anos iniciais da Resistência em que de facto a FRETILIN foi pioneira, né? Na consciencialização da identidade cultural, tendo como um elemento de trabalho de unidade nacional a língua tétum, e que a Igreja por seu lado, tem sido um protagonista muito importante na promoção do tétum, na</p>	<p>The Resistance and promotion of TT</p> <p>The catholic Church and the promotion of TT</p>
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<p>INTERVIEW</p> <p>Academic 1: Place:</p> <p>Parte III</p>		
Time interval	Summary	Possible themes
00:00-01:16	I told him that we stopped our interview on the topic of 'mother tongue'. He asked about the document policy extracts, and I explained that I selected them, I typed it up and would ask people to comment on it. I would also ask them if they would know the document, although it was not very relevant if they knew it or not.	
01:17-24:59	Na pág. 6, do Artigo 8.º, diz o seguinte sobre as linguas do sistema educativo: "As linguas de ensino do sistema educativo timorense são o tétum e o português." Que leitura faz disto? Os professores devem usar estas duas linguas para ensinar, ou podem usar somente o tétum ou somente o português?	

APPENDIX 26 – Construction of themes from the interviews with the policymakers

“Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste.” (Constitution, Section 13)

Interviewee	Themes
<p>Policymaker 1 (Member of Parliament)</p> <p>One has to learn two languages, tetum, the mother tongue, but not yet well developed. Portuguese is an older language and well developed and who feels comfortable can use Portuguese, who feels (comfortable) using Tetum, can use Tetum, here there is flexibility for people as a member of the government or a civil servant using official documents can use both languages, Tetum and Portuguese, (...) there is flexibility for the two languages.</p> <p>How do you explain the choice, motives, and factors of Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages in Timor-Leste. Why not others?</p> <p>A bit of political, the past, the cultural connection and emotional during the fight for independence, all the official communications, as imprisoned there, all the communication for the Timorese overseas about the struggle for independence were in Portuguese, as the Indonesian in Western Timor knows Tetum, to protect (the communications) we used Portuguese as the language of clandestinity to pass the information about the process in Timor. The cultural connection, political, cultural, emotional of Portuguese that is almost of 400 ou 500 years, it has emotional and cultural connection and our Constitution recognises this and consecrates it.</p>	<p>-bilingual education: flexibility</p> <p>-political, cultural and emotional connections</p>
<p>Policymaker 2 (ME)</p> <p>This article follows the article 59 from the Constitution of RTL (Republic of Timor-Leste) that talks essentially about education, the fundament of education. This article also talks about the responsibility of the government to use the two official languages on the education system. One of the basic laws that refers to languages</p>	

<p>to be used should follow the Constitution that says clearly that is Tetum and Portuguese. What happened in the previous government was that Portuguese was the official languages and Tetum was the auxiliary languages, but after the Base Law for Education being approved, Tetum was not anymore an auxiliary language and started to have the same status. However, as it is the knowledge of everyone, Tetum needs to be developed, so Portuguese is used mostly, expecting that Portuguese can develop Tetum. Tetum is our lingua franca, but we know that Tetum is a language with some flaws in terms of products (like) books that are thought and written in Tetum. In linguistic terms, Tetum still needs to be very developed to reach the level of a language for teaching, a language of technology, a language of transmission of knowledge. Therefore (for now) we use Portuguese which is a established language, an older language, rich, capable to develop Tetum and serve well the Timorese system.</p> <p>Do you agree with the choice of Portuguese and Tetum as the official languages?</p> <p>Being a Minister it is not a question of agreeing or not. The Minister is here to implement the Constitution and the law. He does not have an opinion here.</p> <p>And what is your personal opinion?</p> <p>I think it was a good decision. Portuguese as an official language and foreigner is a language intrinsic to our identity as a nation. Tetum is our language, but is not spoken by everybody. It was developed by the missionaries and became a lingua franca. I personally think that the decision of putting both languages in the same level was a great decision. I think that Portuguese will serve well the Timorese education system, but it will also have a critical role and important in developing Tetum. As a Timorese, I hope that Tetum can become a language of teaching, a established language, of technology, and a language of transmission of knowledge.</p>	<p>-TT is a language in-development</p> <p>-PT as an established language</p> <p>-PT as a language of identity</p>
<p>Policymaker 3 (ME)</p> <p>In this moment, we know that although article 13 of the Constitution writes that, in the past before this alteration it was “Portuguese as the</p>	<p>-the young</p>

<p>official language, and Tetum as the national language". After demands mainly from youngsters, deputies changed to make them languages in the same level. So these two are right now like co-official languages.</p> <p>Firstly, Tetum is like in the stage of developing, we can say that Tetum is a language that could adapt from other languages, but it is in a stage of developing which seems a bit slow, because we Timorese never want to receive new things.</p>	<p>people</p> <p>-Tetum as an undeveloped language; borrowing from other languages</p>
<p>Policymaker 4 (ME)</p> <p>We have to go back in the history. After two decades we have a new generation. We go back to our history, to the history of our struggle, Portuguese has been used as a language, as an instrument of struggle, but the language is not dominated by a new generation. When our leaders determine the future of our nation as an independent nation it has to have its own language. So grounded in our history, in our struggle, Portuguese continue as our language, an official language. But in reality there are still difficulties, since one new generation does not master the language, because they did not learn the language, but there were also attempts and struggles to finish with the rest of colonialism. The think that language is part of this colonial rest, that has to end too, that was the policy of Indonesia. No one else was doing that, the tendency was for the Indonesia language, Portuguese got lost. Now we have to promote again the Portuguese language (...)</p> <p>Our leaders determined that our official language would be Portuguese and it was consecrated in the Constitution of RDTL (Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste). We like it or not, we have to implement it. We are implementing this with much difficulty, but we have to motivate the youth for this. They are starting to forget the history, what might weaken their will to learn Portuguese language, although we consider it a complicated language, it is easier to learn other languages, but the tendency in our society is for facilitisms, there could be the temptation to escape from that, but our duty as</p>	<p>-Portuguese and history of Timor-Leste</p> <p>-promoting Portuguese</p> <p>-Portuguese and heritage</p>

<p>implementer of the law, it is to make the effort that this law is promoted and used as an official language.</p> <p>In the beginning it was a bilingue system, Portuguese and Tetum, but as we know Tetum is still an oral language, therefore we cannot use it. On face of this situation we see that the two languages have to walk together to help each other. Tetum can develop itself with Portuguese. The two languages have to walk together. Now for the teachers as educators, like it or not they have to master the Portuguese language. They don't have a justification not to learn Portuguese. If they don't want to learn Portuguese language it's better for them not be teachers. To be a teacher in this moment of the nation they have to use the Portuguese language and not another language.</p> <p>How do you explain that the leaders have chosen Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages?</p> <p>Naturally it was based on our struggle, on our history and our culture too. There are explanations that justify this that has to be repeated to generations and generations. On the cultural context, on the political context and regional, we have to have our own language, and what we can use is the Portuguese language and nothing else. There isn't any other language if we based on politics, on history, on culture, we can only use the Portuguese language as a property and not other languages.</p> <p>Is the focus still on Portuguese?</p> <p>We are focus on developing Tetum and Portuguese, and we give opportunity to whom wants to develop other things. The Ministry of Education cannot do everything at the same time. We don't have strength to do that.</p>	<p>-Tetum as needing to be supported by Portuguese</p> <p>-being a teacher = using Portuguese</p> <p>-Portuguese: history, culture and politics</p>
<p>Policymaker 5 (ME)</p> <p>I think this was a decision that it was a great decision, the needs of Timor-Leste, a decision that took Tetum and Portuguese as the official languages of the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste. I think like this that it was a decision thinking in long term because language</p>	<p>-Tetum and Portuguese as part of</p>

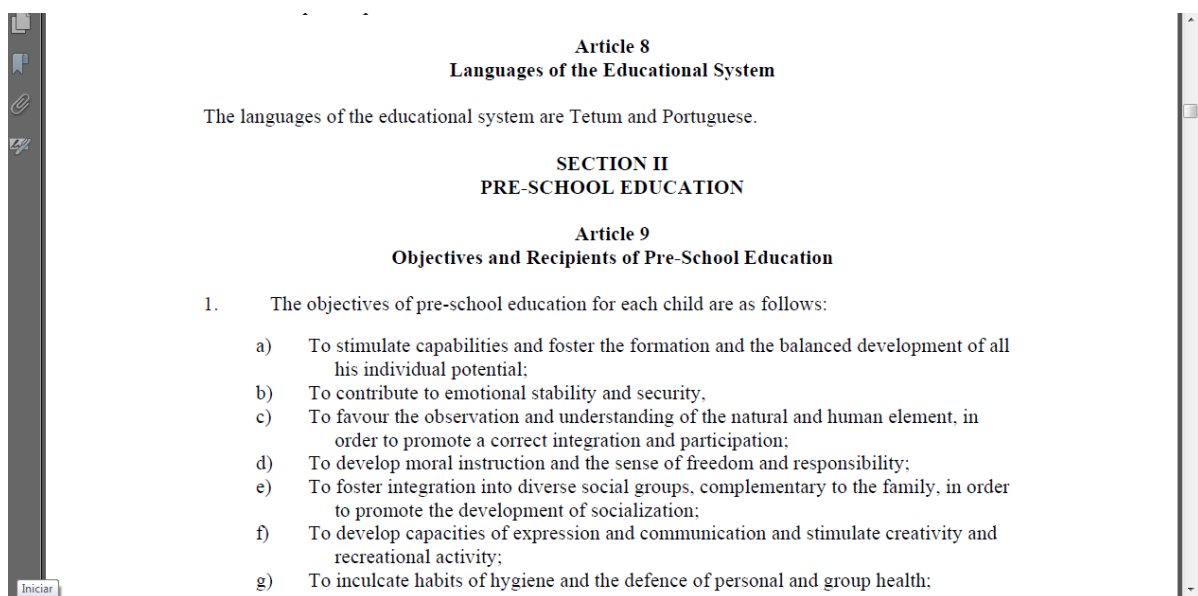
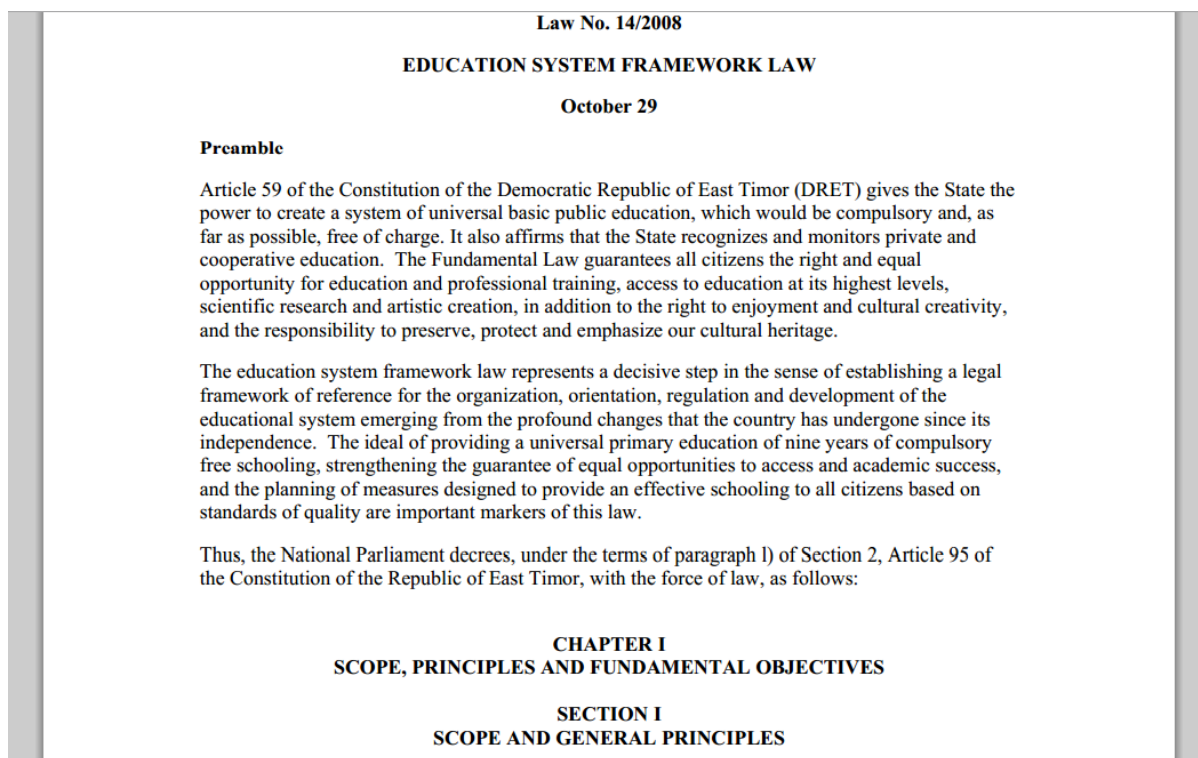
<p>is like our identity, so Tetum identify us as Timorese, now Portuguese identify us as a former colony, a Portuguese colony. So I think that this decision is acceptable and now this has been running in teaching and learning, and there aren't reactions to this decision.</p> <p>Everyone accepts it then?</p> <p>Yes. Everyone accepts it, but some like some internacional agencies come here and bring this up again as an issue, sometimes they say that some younesters don't agree and they will be victims of this decision because many don't know Portuguese, but maybe some international agencies, international NGOs come here and apply the political interests in here. But the reality is not like that. For instance, there are some new political parties that include in their regulations that they will promote English, some say they will promote Bahasa-Indonesia instead. The reality is that any of those parties won a seat which means that people don't agree, but some people try always to raise this question (on the official languages). Sometimes some people says that Portuguese is a complicated language, but it is a matter of learning it. So for me Tetum and Portuguese are equal, they are both national languages. Firstly, they are like an identity.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>"Timor-Leste is a country so small, also only half an island why did you choose Portuguese which is so far from you? Why didn't you choose English? Or why didn't you choose Bahasa-Indonesia?". Then I told them "No. According to my opinion, we chose Portuguese, and I was really involved within the Resistence, and I think there are three aspects to be considered here. In political terms, in geographical terms and in historical terms. In political terms, they decide what language to be used and Timor-Leste is a country with its state's right.</p> <p>So Australia is like a direct big threat, so if we choose English, like in geographical terms, like a boarder, then we don't need to build a boarder, or like having a Berlin wall between Timor-Leste has with the Western Timor. But language is like, Portuguese is like a boarder</p>	<p>national identity</p> <p>-the young people</p> <p>-NGOs political agenda</p> <p>-language and identity</p> <p>-Portuguese and the</p>
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<p>for the Timorese. And yes historical because for 450 years, as it is written in history, I wasn't born but it's written in history that Timor-Leste was a Portuguese colony, there is a strong connection, and nowadays after independence, this ex-colony of Portugal has got independence, and how to unify this friendship? They organize CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries) before Timor-Leste got its independence or restore its independence (...) So this makes a connection that is very strong and that's why we had chosen Portuguese. And Bahasa-Indonesia well, but with it was 24 years of occupation and the connection was not strong if we compare with 450 years, and I say it like this, I say that our state decide for Portuguese and Tetum, and Portuguese of course it's something good enough for us in our political decision.</p>	<p>historical connections</p>
<p>Academic</p> <p>Well, I think that the choice of Portuguese was always a consensual choice in the political leadership level. Also because it's something that was established even in 1974-75, we just have to check the principles of the five political parties at the time (...)</p> <p>On the awareness of the cultural identity, having Tetum as an element of work of national unity, and that in one side the Church has been an important protagonist in the promotion of Tetum, on the development of Tetum in throughout the national territory, therefore Tetum is often linked to the Church, to the missionary activity of the Church. So we have two entities, one in the political field, and another in the religious field that is in the base of the development of Tetum.</p> <p>It was already seen as a factor of national unity due to its development throughout the national territory. Now maybe when both languages were adopted as the official languages, it was more to give a political answer to the society that in the meantime were defending other claims, that is, when Portuguese is seen by a new generation as a complicated language, distant from themselves, because it was silenced for 24 years of occupation, so the political leadership didn't want to bend towards the lack of appreciation of the youngsters for Portuguese, but instead they gave enough attention to</p>	<p>-Portuguese as a consensual choice</p> <p>-Tetum as a language of national identity</p> <p>-Tetum and the catholic Church</p>

<p>a language that that generation could easily articulate, by elevating Tetum to an official language too. However, they (political leadership) was intransigent in the role of the Indonesian language that could never be an official language, but that could play an important role (...)</p> <p>(...) the young people already see Portuguese today as a need not only for their dreams, their future life, but also indeed as part of their identity, mainly in the modern culture of the Timores.</p> <p>(...) Tetum got this status mainly in order to pay attention to the lack of Portuguese proficiency of most of the Timorese population, so that Tetum accommodated that fragility of the majority of Timorese population</p> <p>(...) we saw that Tetum is still very distant from Portuguese, because of its lack of aptitude to be used and function as an official language of a sovereign country, independent, but for being a local language, for being a language mastered by the majority of the population that I think it was confused that amplitude of use with the constitutional importance of the language. That's why it got the status of an official language.</p> <p>(...) but it demands, on the other hand, that the Timorese are ready to face, let's say to face some surprises and shocks (...) because we are giving a expansion larger than the normal for the language, so that the language can be used in areas that has never been before. Nowadays one has to use Tetum in education settings, academic setting with the scientific rigor, with abstract reasoning, in a level that Tetum has not been usually used before, but now it has to be.</p> <p>So, with this same political leadership was also aware that Tetum couldn't match all the requirements of a state, of a nation. Therefore the adoption of Portuguese was the answer for a real need, concrete of that period of the Timorese society and it remained here. Now as time went by, let's say with the historical circumstances, solidarity</p>	<p>-Bahasa-Indonesia disregarded as an official language</p> <p>-Tetum as a choice to accommodate to the young people's needs</p> <p>-Portuguese as developed vs. Tetum as undeveloped</p> <p>-Portuguese and CPLP connections</p>
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<p>with the Portuguese language speaking countries, with the connections with Portugal, with the need to maintain the Timorese society, a country with its own characteristics, since geography seem to be against our destiny, our geography played against us (...) I think the political leadership identifies Portuguese as a distinct aspect to us. We are little, but we insist in our singularity.</p>	<p>-language and identity</p>
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APPENDIX 27 – Examples of documents collected



Inclua na Ordem do
dia do dia 29-08-2011
e fotocópias aos Distintos
Deputados - 
29/08
2011

PARLAMENTO NACIONAL

PJR Nº 73/11

Projecto de Resolução n.º /II

A importância da promoção e do ensino nas línguas oficiais para a unidade e coesão nacionais e
para a consolidação de uma identidade própria e original no mundo

"... na realidade um povo sem identidade cultural não é Povo. E um povo, para atingir um nível
avançado de desenvolvimento, tem de elevar o seu nível cultural."

F =
C =
A =

Konís Santana, texto sobre a língua escrito três meses antes da sua morte
a 15 de Dezembro de 1997

É reconhecido por todos que a língua é um dos factores de maior importância para fazer face aos
desafios criados pelo acesso generalizado da humanidade à informação e ao conhecimento. Em
Timor-Leste, pela sua intrínseca diversidade linguística e cultural, e pelas cicatrizes deixadas pela
ocupação que se seguiu à Proclamação da Independência, a política da língua é também essencial à
construção da identidade nacional, à consolidação do Estado de Direito, à afirmação do país na região



PARLAMENTO NACIONAL

Neste sentido o desafio, consagrado constitucionalmente em 2002, de adoptar o tétum e o português
como línguas oficiais, apesar de o tétum ter sido até então uma língua franca sobretudo falada e de o
português ter sido entretanto reduzido a 5% da população, não foi mais do que o corolário da
consolidação da identidade cultural e política de Timor-Leste, antes e durante a ocupação, e da sua
afirmação pela diferença, que sempre existiu, em relação à outra metade da ilha e às ilhas vizinhas.

A evolução desta consolidação seria pois fortemente prejudicada pela eventual ruptura da relação de
complementaridade que existe entre as duas línguas oficiais, que permite que o tétum possa
continuar a importar vocábulos de uma língua íntima e desinteressada à medida que se adapta às
necessidades da administração do Estado de Direito soberano e à evolução da sociedade. Sem a
língua portuguesa, o tétum praça, virando-se para as línguas oficiais dos países vizinhos, tornar-se-ia
historicamente irreconhecível e, dada a dimensão relativa e consequente força centrípeta das
economias daqueles, a identidade cultural nacional acabaria por ser absorvida, a unidade interna e o
Estado de Direito enfraquecidos e as liberdades políticas neutralizadas.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF TIMOR-LESTE
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER

National Education Policy 2007 - 2012¹

BUILDING OUR NATION THROUGH QUALITY EDUCATION

I – Introduction

1. Background

The education system that prevailed in Timor-Leste up to 1999 may be characterized as conventional or traditional, in the sense that it was the teacher who imparted knowledge in the classroom through a repetitive manner and following a predetermined sequence. This method favoured memorizing over understanding, and did not prepare the citizens for critical reflection and for autonomous decision-making.

However, even before Timor-Leste formally became a sovereign and independent Country, the Nation was already

3. Disturbances, constraints and faults of the current education system

From national independence until now, the education policies have sought to improve and transform the education system inherited from 24 years of Indonesian occupation.

With the indispensable support from foreign assistance, namely the Portuguese Aid to Development, considerable efforts with clear results have been carried out regarding the teaching of Portuguese, which, along with Tetum, is one of the official languages of the Country.

The multilateral assistance by other partners also contributed to significant changes during these years, translated in the overall improvement of the school level of the Timorese population.

Despite all the positive achievements within the education sector, there are still ongoing and / or new disturbances, constraints and faults, namely:

- Lack of clear policies and consistent practises in terms of early childhood and pre-school education;
- Severe local and social asymmetries in access to education, in what concerns the coverage and quality of the offer of compulsive education, in particular in rural areas;
- A degraded school park, with clear harm to compulsive education, with geographical disturbances or issues of wholesomeness and adequacy to pedagogic goals, namely the lack of venues for the practise of school sport,

6

Thus the prime purpose of the education policy is to generalize basic education as the minimum qualification referential of the Timorese.

The policy also seeks to achieve other purposes, namely:

- Develop a legal and regulatory framework for the education sector, to be started with the approval of a Base Law for the Education System;
- Eliminate local and social asymmetries in access to education, in what concerns the coverage and quality of the offer of compulsive education, in particular in rural areas;
- Improve the school park, so as to enable compulsive education without geographical disturbances or issues of wholesomeness and adequacy to pedagogic goals, namely with venues for the practise of school sport, physical education and technological education;
- Define and implement clear policies and consistent practises within the domain of early childhood and pre-school education;
- Promote quality basic education, providing access to all school aged children and youngsters, as well as to citizens outside the formal education system;
- Improve the learning level of the students, as well as the education level in general;
- Fight the high school failure and drop-out rates;
- Accelerate the reintroduction in the schools of the official languages of Timor-Leste, Portuguese and Tetum;
- Promote the alphabetization of adults and non formal education, especially among women and young illiterates;
- Draft curricula for all levels of education, with the drafts incorporating as a consequence the trends suggested

