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Delinking from Colonial Language Ideologies: Creating third spaces in teacher education

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Introduction

In post-colonial contexts it is commonplace for colonial languages to dominate the education system and for proficiency in a European language and script to be seen as the sole marker of being educated.   It is also the Western episteme that is largely responsible for monoglossic myths that construct monolingualism as normative in formal education, including schooling and universities. In South Africa, it is proficiency and literate practices in particular forms of 'standard' English that are often perceived as the exclusive marker of being educated. Recent student movements such as #RMF (Rhodes Must Fall) and #FMF (Fees Must Fall) calling for 'Free Decolonized Education' have put the spotlight on the continuing Coloniality of university spaces such as our own location, the University of Cape Town (UCT).   Drawing on Decolonial theory, the notion of language ideologies and thirdspaces, in this chapter we present two case studies of interventions in a teacher education programme at an elite university. Both interventions are framed as attempts to *delink* (Mignolo, 2007) from Coloniality in an elite university context with a multilingual student body, and aimed to challenge monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies of language.

Our first case focuses on student teachers of primary school children (years one-three) in a course on multilingualism and multiliteracies. Our goal here is to show how in changing the normative language practices of the classroom, power relations are shifted and previously marginalised multilingual students are given opportunities to move centre stage. We analyse the embodied responses of a group of students from different language, cultural and social class backgrounds as they present to their peers the product of their collaborative work. The second case focuses on high school Science student teachers in an academic literacy workshop and considers how translanguaging for learning can be modelled in this space.   The cases are drawn from two distinct research projects. The first is from a collaborative project between Guzula and McKinney which explores 'translanguaging as pedagogy' in a module of the postgraduate certificate in education for early primary (PGCE), while the second is drawn from Abdulatief's doctoral research on extending academic literacy practices with a small group of students from non-dominant backgrounds in the PGCE for high school Science and Mathematics teachers.   Both of these case studies proceed from our acknowledgement that decolonising the curriculum entails a shift institutionally and pedagogically from prioritising English as monolingual Language of learning and teaching (LoLT) to viewing multilingualism as a resource for teaching and learning (Kapp, 1998, Stroud and Kerfoot, 2013). We begin by elaborating on the theoretical concepts that have informed our research and practice.

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Coloniality and language ideologies

Maldonado-Torres (2007) describes coloniality as that which 'survives colonialism'. In contrast to colonialism, coloniality 'refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243). The multiple and entangled power relations of superiority and inferiority established under colonialism – the colonial matrix of power – thus continues to produce unequal relations of power globally and locally. Hierarchies of language and culture are crucial aspects of the colonial matrix of power (Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo, 1986) such that alternatives to the dominance of European languages in education have become almost unthinkable for policy makers, government departments, and thus in the schooling system. Language ideologies, that is the sets of beliefs, values and cultural frames that continually circulate in society, informing the ways in which language is conceptualised and represented, as well as how it is used, and how its users are positioned (Makoe and McKinney, 2014) are profoundly shaped by the colonial matrix of power.

Coloniality shapes language ideologies in at least three ways that are significant for our work. Firstly in the construction of named languages as autonomous, bounded objects: In Southern Africa, scholars such as Makoni (1999) and Makalela (2015) draw attention to the colonial invention of indigenous languages as a product of missionary interventions. Secondly, in the continuing exclusive valuing of a European language and script in post-apartheid South Africa where English is the home language of less than 10% of South Africans while the vast majority of the population are multilingual in African languages. It is also the reason for the power of the Dutch derived creole language Afrikaans, relative to other indigenous languages. The construction of Afrikaans as the language of white settlers of Dutch descent ('The Afrikaners') was a distinct project of Afrikaner nationalism during apartheid. Afrikaans medium universities were established, bilingualism in Afrikaans and English was enforced for white learners; and notoriously, Afrikaans was imposed as a language of instruction on non-Afrikaans speaking Black students in 1974 leading to the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and the labelling of Afrikaans as the 'language of the oppressor'. Thirdly, Eurocentric language ideologies privilege monolingualism in European languages over multilingualism in 'other[ed]' languages that are often characterised as inadequate (Stroud, 2007) and position monolingualism in a European language as normative. Recognising the power of coloniality in shaping what counts as legitimate language practices in South African education is central to our goal of valuing multilingual repertoires and disrupting monoglossic norms in teacher education.

In South Africa, proficiency and literate practices in particular forms of 'standard' English are often equated with being educated and even with intelligence (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). The dominant language ideology can be described with the term Anglonormativity: 'the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English and are deficient, even deviant, if they are not' (McKinney, 2017, 80)[1]. Yet, education in a

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foreign language or through a language in which a student is not sufficiently proficient effectively removes the most valuable resource that s/he brings to the classroom: their linguistic repertoire. While the perception is that the earlier children begin learning in and through English, the better their English proficiency will be, the reality in South African schools is that this practice leads to limited proficiency in English and lack of understanding of curriculum content (Heugh, 2013, McKinney, 2017). This problem of the exclusive valuing of English language and literacy resources continues through schooling into higher education and is, as many have argued, one of the reasons for the persistently poor performance of South Africa's education system (Heugh, 2013, Plüddeman, 2015, McKinney, 2017). Through the coloniality of language in South Africa, the education system continually fails its students and positions educators as linguistically incompetent, while policy-makers and educators often view the problem as residing in the learner, referencing learners' poor proficiency in standard English.

Delinking and transforming - constructing third spaces

Following Mignolo, working against coloniality in language and literacy education would involve *delinking* (Mignolo, 2007) from the dominant monolingual approach and transforming pedagogies as well as language in education policies. It also means recognising that rather than discrete objects, operating autonomously from one another, named languages are social constructs. However, in an education system where the use of indigenous language resources has become so marginalised, we advocate the kind of action that takes power relations at macro and micro levels within a particular context into account when deciding how to work productively with students' language resources (see also Stroud, 2018). In some moments it is key to deconstruct the myth of 'pure' standard languages in order to legitimise the hybrid or mixed language use that is most familiar to urban students, while in other moments we might require students to work with a range of named language resources in order to surface and legitimise resources other than monolingual English. Thus at times, we recognise the importance of naming language resources in order to make them visible, thus arguing for a form of strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988, Fuss, 1989). We propose that disrupting Anglonormativity can happen explicitly, through critical language awareness work that counters hegemonic language ideologies. And it can also take place implicitly through making visible, embracing and enabling the use of students' full linguistic repertoires as well as their meaning-making across a range of modes as legitimate resources for learning.

The notion of third spaces (Anzaldua, 1987, Bhabha, 1994, Gutierrez, 2008) is useful to us in characterising the kinds of learning spaces which delink from monolingual, autonomous notions of language use and which embrace multiple modes for meaning-making. Gutierrez (2008:152) defines third space as 'a transformative space where the potential for an expanded form of learning and the development of new knowledge are heightened.' She argues for the importance of collaborative or collective *third space* as 'interactionally constituted' and characterized by hybrid language and literacy practices,

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leading us to what Flores and Garcia (2013) term, linguistic third spaces. Soja, (1996:5) describes third space 'as a space of extra-ordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable.' In the case studies below we show how the *thirdspaces* concept helps us to work with both the notions of named languages as well as translanguaging to disrupt Anglonormativity and monolingualism in the classroom space. Given Gutierrez's proposal of thirdspaces as 'interactionally constituted', an expanded notion of translanguaging which proceeds from multilingual languaging as the norm helps us to describe and plan for dynamic languaging beyond the constraints of monolingual ideologies. The concept of translanguaging (Garcia, 2009, Garcia and Li Wei, 2014, Makalela, 2015) has been defined in a number of ways with emphasis on the description of communicative practices involving a wide range of linguistic and semiotic resources, as well as on the ideological dimension of disrupting a monoglossic and monomodal understanding of language. Blackledge and Creese (2017:253) also foreground the ways in which people 'bring into contact different biographies, histories and linguistic backgrounds' as they translanguage thus emphasising the ways in which our histories and biographies shape our linguistic resources and practices. Translanguaging as a progressive educational practice can be aligned with Stroud's (2018) notion of 'linguistic citizenship' which emphasises the agentic and transformative use of language in order that speakers may be heard.

Case study 1: Surfacing and legitimising 'non-English' resources in the lecture room

The first case study is drawn from small scale exploratory research conducted in a module on multilingualism and multiliteracies education which took place over 4 workshops (three and a half hours each) with a class of twenty-five students studying a Foundation Phase (Grade one-three) Postgraduate Certificate in Education. Xolisa taught this module, modelling for these future teachers of young children how to embody active learning using the full linguistic repertoires of children in the classroom. For the first time in their teacher education programme, a third space was established to expose students to multilingual and hybrid communicative practices and pedagogy. As a lecturer with a multilingual repertoire, Xolisa realised the importance of surfacing students' linguistic repertoires and engaging with language ideologies, before she could model multilingual pedagogy. The initial lecture on monolingual ideologies challenged students steeped in English dominant ideology and presented them with concepts such as heteroglossia that allowed them to consider their own language ideology and what counts as legitimate language use in society and in schools. The language backgrounds of students ranged from those who identified as isiXhosa speaking (and thus were bilingual in isiXhosa/English), those identifying as English/Afrikaans bilingual (mostly Coloured students) to those who identified as monolingual English speakers (mostly white students), despite the fact that they had studied and passed Afrikaans at school for twelve years. There are a number of possible reasons for white English dominant

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speakers' denial of competence in Afrikaans. A history of hostility, conflict and geographical segregation means that Afrikaans can be identified as 'language of the enemy', and specifically 'language of the oppressor' during apartheid; this history also means that English speakers will have limited exposure to Afrikaans outside of school, with students' exposure being limited to formal teaching, learning and assessments at school.

In the third workshop, Xolisa designed a class around an oral performance of a story about a beautiful bird that brings rain. In order to decentre English, Xolisa first asked for equivalent terms for 'bird' in isiXhosa and Afrikaans and then elicited from the class their knowledge about different birds, recording the names in English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans before eliciting relevant songs and rhymes. She did this to build on students' prior knowledge as well as to legitimise the multiple languages in the classroom. Xolisa's use of named languages even though she works with a heteroglossic notion of language shows her concern to make visible marginalised language resources. Pietikainen & Pietikainen-Huhta (2014: 140) draw attention to the contradictions between acknowledging named languages as constructs at the same time as making marginalised resources visible: "these language conceptualizations and practices and their consequences include questions about how one defines their identity and brings into a learning space marginalised languages [our emphasis] in the crossfire of dominant ideologies that either emphasize the fixed and bounded nature of languages or advocate for fluid ways."

Through these activities, the students shared their knowledge as well as experimented with unfamiliar songs and language resources using isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. Xolisa told the story of the rain bird in English, inserting songs in isiXhosa to make the performance more interactive and bilingual. She then divided the class into four groups. Group two, our focus here, were asked to come up with action songs and rhymes based on the story, thus demonstrating practically what working multilingually and multimodality might look and feel like in practice.

Here we focus our analysis on Group two students' working together and presentation of their work to the class. In the context of marginalised language resources in the university space such as isiXhosa and Afrikaans[1], the students made particular linguistic choices both in the poster they created and their presentation of their poster. These choices include surfacing of isiXhosa and Afrikaans resources. We argue that speakers positioned themselves as knowers, enacting their knowledge with confidence or discomfort depending on their language histories. Just as language practices are embodied, so too are our language histories and language ideologies. We focus on the embodied language practices of two students: Lisa, whose home language is isiXhosa, a language usually

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[1] Neither isiXhosa nor Afrikaans are commonly used in English universities such as UCT. Unlike isiXhosa however, Afrikaans has historically been used as medium of instruction at a number of South African universities including Stellenbosch University, the University of the Free State and University of Pretoria.

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excluded from the formal university classroom, and Tracey who presents in Afrikaans, knowledge of which she had disavowed when initially describing her linguistic repertoire. .
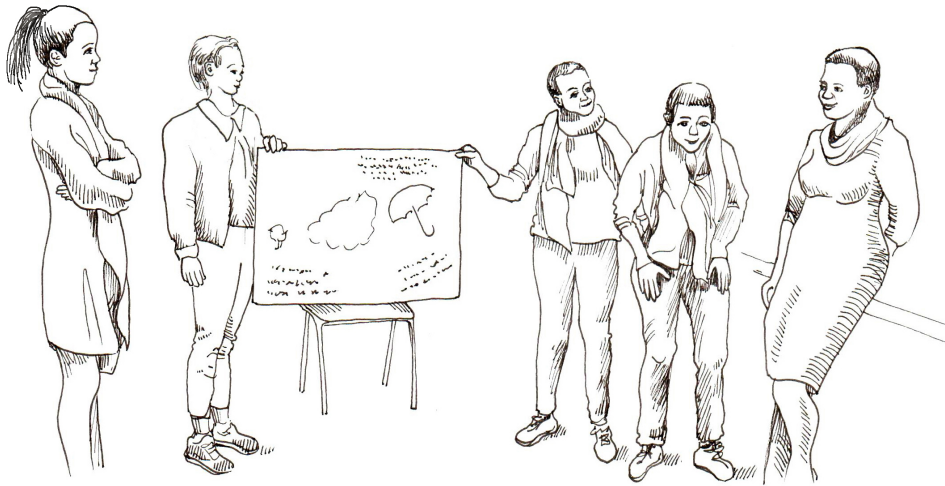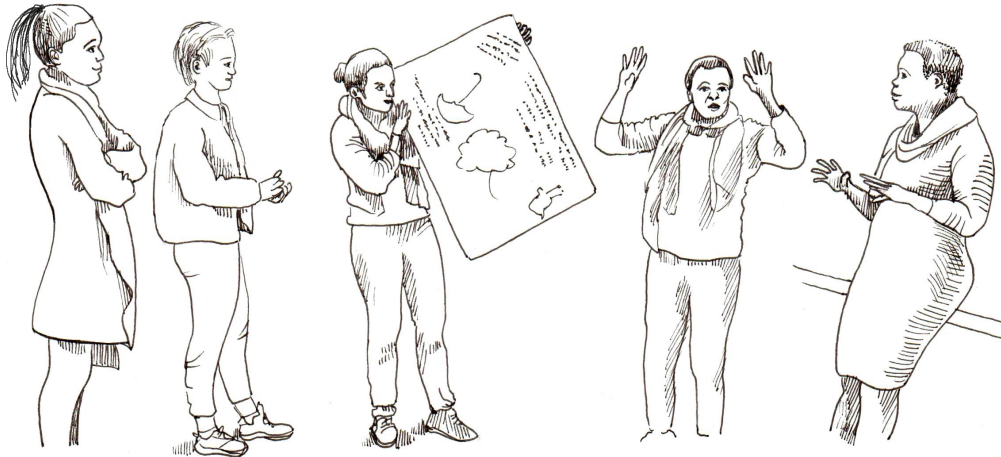

Figure 1: Nicky (second from right) uses body percussion to make the sound of rain by clapping her hands on her thighs.
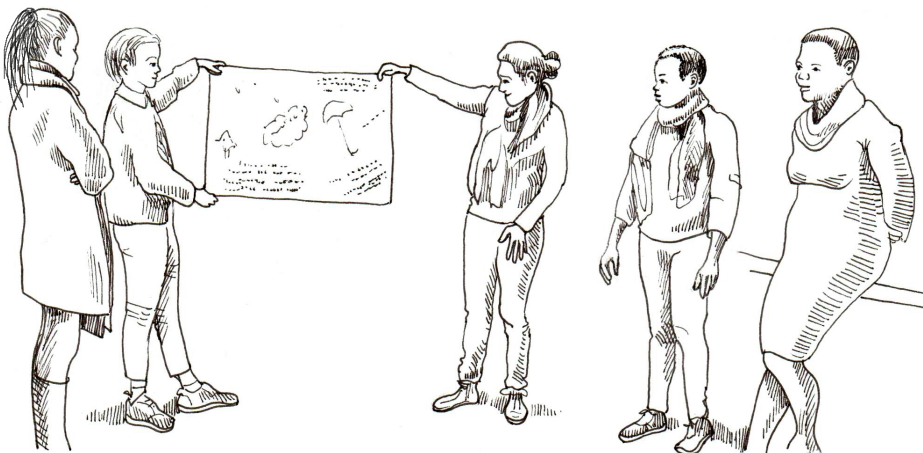
Group two began working with three English dominant students who had all studied Afrikaans at school and who were currently taking a course in isiXhosa communication as part of their PGCE. They were later joined by a fourth isiXhosa/English bilingual student, Lisa. At the start of the group work, Nicky introduced and explained her idea for a non-verbal activity which involved stomping of feet, slapping hands on the thighs and clicking of fingers to make the sounds of a rain storm (as performed in Extract 1). As Nicky's activity was being written up onto newsprint, Lisa arrived to class and joined the group. One student explained the story Xolisa had told and the group task. Lisa immediately began singing an isiXhosa song, *'Imvula imvula chapha chapha chapha imanz' ilokhwe yam'* [It's raining, it's raining, drop drop drop, my dress is wet] and Nicky responded enthusiastically with 'beautiful!' Lisa says 'Yessss!' showing how excited she is that the group appreciates her contribution. Nicky then asks her to explain the song. However, Lisa begins by translating the parts that the others are able to understand because of the accompanying gestures - *'chapha chapha'* sound of rain and *'gqum gqum liyaduduma'* [boom boom, it's thundering], and not *imanz ilokhwe yam* [my dress is wet] which they don't understand. It takes some time for the others to identify for Lisa the words they don't understand. This translation highlights a moment where the English dominant students are totally dependent on Lisa's linguistic repertoire.

The group created a multilingual and multimodal poster using three distinct named languages isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English as can be seen in Figure 2 below.They chose not

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to include written translations of the songs/activities described. While some activities/songs were well known to individuals in the group, others were original compositions.

Figure 2: Multilingual and multimodal newsprint poster created by Group two.

In analysing Lisa's and Tracey's presentations to the class, we draw on Busch's (2015) notion of embodied language ideologies and linguistic repertoires as lived experience as well as Blackledge and Creese's (2017) notion of embodied communicative practice. We demonstrate that Lisa's IsiXhosa/English bilingual repertoire has positioned her as being knowledgeable, and a valued, active participant in class while Tracey's repertoire has positioned her as less comfortable with the Afrikaans language resources that she uses. The multilingual nature of their activity requires students in the group to recognise and acknowledge their own linguistic resources. This is a novel and potentially uncomfortable idea for many English speaking students who resist their English/Afrikaans bilingualism .

Below we provide a transcription of the first part of Group two's presentation to the class.

Extract one
[Please see separate pdf for format of the extract]

Verbal text	Body movement and Gaze
Nicky: Ok. We focused on action songs and rhyme. Um and the first one we looked at was where you get children to create the…ja, the rain while you're in a story so that you start with: [Snaps fingers] Slowly and then you go like that [Claps, slaps thighs, and stomps feet] and they make rain together. I think it might be fun.	Nicky Faces the class See Figure 1
And then we've got a really lovely song over here that uh Lisa could sing for us. [Laughs]	Nicky looks over to Lisa and moves to take poster from her so that she and Tracey are holding it and Lisa can face the

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	audience
Lisa: This song is about *imvula neh*? That's rain, where they have to sing the song like: "[singing]I*mvula, imvula,* *chapha chapha chapha, imanz' ilokhwe yam,* *chapha chapha chapha, imanz' ilokhwe yam,* *gqum gqum kuyaduduma* *gqum gqum kuyadudma* *imanz' ilokhwe yam, imanz' ilokhwe yam*[end singing] There we also show you also the rhyme like that: *gqum* That's a sound of a thunderstorm when it's raining. That's what we were trying to	See Figure 3 L raises arms up and down at chapha chapha; Xolisa joins in with singing and actions. Cindy stands with arms folded across chest and Tracey with arms at side. Both are mouthing the words – lips moving though inaudible

Tracey:
 We wrote a little Afrikaans poem. It goes:
    Voeltjie, voeltjie maak dit reen,
    ons is dankbaar vir die seun,
    een twee drie, sy vlerke is oop.
    kom ons gaan in die reen hardloop.
	See Figure 4
	Tracey turns away from the class and reads off the poster. All three other members look at the poster as she does this

Tracey: So that means: Bird, bird, make it rain, we are thankful for the boy, one two three his wings are open, let's go and run and in the rain.go and run in the rain. Carolyn: Did you make that up? Tracey: Ja. Carolyn: Oh wow	

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(Insert) Figure 3: Lisa (second from right) performing and lecturer (far right) joining in.

(Insert) Figure 4 Tracey (second from left) reading the Afrikaans poem off the left hand bottom corner of the poster

Acts of recognition and legitimation of Lisa's embodied knowledge

Group 2's presentation takes a multimodal form where gestural, visual, oral and written communication are intertwined. Nicky's rain-making through body percussion foregrounds embodied communication using an inclusive semiotic repertoire. Nicky then introduces the 'lovely song' to be sung by Lisa with a nervous laugh, suggesting her discomfort with the groups' dependence on Lisa as the only one who knows the song in isiXhosa. Nicky relieves Lisa from holding the poster so Lisa can take the stage while she and others move to the background. Lisa establishes her presence by looking at the class and maintaining eye

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contact. She stands with both feet apart, firmly planted on the ground signalling her confidence. Then she moves her hands up and down as she sings to show the drop, drop, dropping of the raindrops. The positioning of Lisa as a knowledgeable and competent contributor to the group despite her having joined the class late builds her confidence which we see in her performance. In including an isiXhosa song, the white English speaking students have relied on Lisa to overcome their own linguistic gap. Lisa's body constitutes and gives meaning to the language and the song.

Xolisa's immediate joining in with Lisa's singing and actions shows how the student's knowledge and the lecturer's coalesce. It also creates a context which legitimises and lends authority to Lisa's contribution. The moment of singing and doing actions together signals the lecturer's identification with the student's embodied language history, and constitutes a powerful moment of recognition for the student. Sharing experiences and common narratives, in this case songs and actions by Lisa and Xolisa helps to establish communal commitment to learning as well as to raise the status of isiXhosa language resources in an English dominant class.

Tracey's self-positioning as a reluctant bilingual

After Lisa has explained the meaning of the onomatopoeic sound 'gqum' for thunder, Nicky hands over the next activity to Tracey. Tracey begins by saying "We wrote a little Afrikaans poem" and pausing before she starts reading from the poster. She turns her back on the audience to read the words written in Afrikaans on the poster, suggesting a less comfortable embodied history in relation to this linguistic resource. While Lisa has drawn on highly familiar resources from her linguistic and cultural repertoire in performing a well known isiXhosa song, Tracey doesn't seem to have this cultural repertoire in Afrikaans. Her schooled competence however enables her to compose an appropriate rhyme, and to translate it into English for the class without any difficulty. Tracey's communicative practice resembles that of a language learner who has learnt the grammar of the language without having experienced it affectively. It is striking to us that Tracey has the linguistic resources to create an original rhyme in Afrikaans and translate it into English with ease, despite her self-positioning as a monolingual English speaker at the beginning of the course. The apartheid history of standard Afrikaans as language of the oppressor and of enforced bilingualism in English/Afrikaans for white South African students during apartheid schooling as well as the nature of her language learning provide possible reasons for Tracey's embodied language ideology positioning her as a reluctant bilingual.

The contrast between Lisa's and Tracey's embodied language histories as seen in the group performance is striking. Tracey seems to demonstrate a particular schooled language and literacy history rather than a cultural repertoire. Unlike Tracey who focuses more on the written word than the audience, Lisa's embodied history means she can face the audience and perform from the heart. For Tracey, reading from the text gives her

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comfort, even if it means not facing the audience. Lisa's isiXhosa multimodal song requires use of the body and oral language simultaneously to assist with meaning making. Because there is no translation of the song, this forces the non isiXhosa speaking students in the audience to read Lisa's hand and body movements. Not translating also disrupts English students' comfortability. It moves them to the background, making way for Lisa and giving her voice. This is embodied by Cindy who stands with arms folded protectively across her chest (Far LHS, figure 3) during Lisa's performance.

Case Study 2 - Using multilingualism as a resource in preservice teacher training

In our second case study, delinking from Anglonormative and monolingual language ideologies, involved creating a translingual thirdspace in which the facilitator, Soraya, an English/Afrikaans bilingual modelled using language as a resource for African language speaking preservice Science teachers. In order to support and expand the student teachers' implementation and practice of multilingual and bilingual pedagogy in the science classroom, Soraya drew on Guttiérrez's (2008) conception of Thirdspace, as a space where 'students begin to reconceive who they are and what they may be able to accomplish academically and beyond' (p.148). Soraya created a series of workshops aimed at socialising preservice Science teachers into particular literacy practices so that they could put the theory they had learned, in their course, on using language as a resource into practice. Like the previous case study, Soraya introduced multilingual participatory practices by enabling her students to explore how they could use African language translation activities to support high school Science learning. The workshops took place in the last week of the winter holiday and involved five African language speaking students. Four of them were training to be science teachers for Grades 8 to 12 and one to be a mathematics teacher. There were three females Xara (F), Lera (F), Zinzi (F) and two males, Kagiso (M) and Thebo (M). The data discussed in this section is from the second of the day long workshops where the facilitator took the students through an extended literacy cycle starting with a brain teaser, followed by a practical experiment, next they did an exercise on creating a multilingual glossary and this was followed by writing a scientific report on the experiment using a writing frame. The workshop ended with a visit to a science centre in the afternoon. Two transcripts are used as data, the first transcript is an extract from the section of the workshop where the facilitator is modelling building a multilingual glossary of terms using the linguistic repertoires of the students in the classroom. The second transcript is an extract from an interview with one of the participants, Lera, on her own language practices during university study.

Building a glossary of terms in the science class
Soraya, the facilitator started the segment on using multilingualism as a resource and building a multilingual glossary of scientific terms by discussing Gibbons' (2009) idea of amplifying the curriculum for English Second Language (ESL) learners. Unlike the traditional approach to teaching multilingual learners that involves simplifying the curriculum, Gibbons argues instead that multilingual learners be offered a high level of support on curriculum

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content by creating a glossary using the learners' home language and through the use of multiple modes (illustrations, videos, photos etc.) After the students completed an activity in which they created an electromagnet, Soraya asked the students, 'If you had to use your mother tongue, which words [in the written instructions] would you translate?' Lera answered by saying that she would not translate a text without being aware of the languages spoken by the learners. Next Zinzi, an isiZulu speaker, suggested that the translations be done in isiXhosa since it was the language of three of the five students in the workshop. As both Lera and Zinzi's responses suggest, the decision on which language to use as a resource that supports learning in classrooms where learners speak multiple languages, is often a difficult one for teachers, especially newly qualified teachers. If the teacher does not speak any of the multiple languages in her class, English becomes the *de facto lingua franca*. Soraya, an English first language speaker who does not speak an African language, modelled how to use the language resources of the class in contexts when the teacher does not speak the learners' languages. She suggested that the participants build a multilingual glossary using all the language varieties present in the group, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Setswana. The suggestion to build a multilingual glossary was met with silence which could be interpreted as students' not knowing how to proceed and/ or a reluctance to use African languages in the science classroom. The transcript below starts after the facilitator asked the participants a second time which aspects of the text on how to create an electromagnet they would translate for their learners:

Extract 2

Zinzi: I would translate difficult terms

Soraya: Like what for example? Ok let's use, let's use the experiment that worked which was the magnetic one right. Ok, so look at that experiment and then what would you translate? (Giving the book to Zinzi and Xara)

Zinzi: I would translate 'stripped ends' (Looking at the experiment in the book)

Soraya: Stripped ends? Stripped ends, ok

Zinzi: Especially 'stripped'. What does stripped mean?

Soraya: Ok, then what would you, then what would be the isiXhosa equivalent of that?

Zinzi: Stripped means 'ichuthiwe' (*it's plucked*), ukuchutha (*to pluck*), like this (hand movements) ewe chutha (*yes pluck*)

(yes, pluck), yisuse (*remove it*)

Xara: so you just said, yisuse (*remove it*)

Kagiso: Chipped off, stripped is like chipped. Ukucola (*grind*)

Soraya: Ok spell that for me…

Thebo: Hayi! (*No!*)

Soraya: No, you disagree? (Turning to Thebo)

Xara: No, ukucola (*grind*) is (hand movements), you like… grinding

Thebo: Ukucola is to grind

Zinzi: Ukuchutha ngesZulu (to *pluck in Zulu)*, you understand Zulu? (pointing at Thebo)

Thebo: Xhwitha, isiXhosa (*pluck*)

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Xara: Cause ngasusa the feathers (*I removed the feathers*) (hand movements mimic plucking)

Zinzi: Exactly! And in isiZulu, ukuchutha (*to pluck*)

Soraya: ok spell that for me

Kagiso: A..u..No, u…k (attempting to spell the word '*ukuxhwitha*'

Xara: Kagiso is using the BEE spelling

Kagiso: I think I'm the wrong guy…Ukuxhw…(to pluc…) yth (say) no, with with...a

Soraya: Ok, what does this mean? And what does this mean?

Zinzi: Stripped

Kagiso: Stripped ends

Soraya: And this is the isiXhosa.

Chorus: Yes

Soraya: Now what is the isiZulu word?

Zinzi: U…uku (to)

Soraya: uku (to)

Zinzi: Ukuchutha (*to pluck*)

At first the facilitator is surprised at Zinzi's choice of "stripped ends" as an example of difficult words, as evidenced in her questioning tone and repetition of the phrase "Stripped ends? Stripped ends, ok". Unlike the common assumption made in most textbook glossaries that only the scientific concepts need translation, Zinzi surfaces the challenge of the meta-language of science experiments. She identifies the action verb 'stripped' as a 'difficult' word when she says "Especially stripped. What does stripped mean?" Lemke (1998:2) states that 'scientists use specialized languages and use common language in specialized ways'. In this case "stripped" can be both common language and part of the "actional-operational "languages" of science" or scientific register that formed part of the instructions and actions in the book on how to create an electromagnet (Lemke 1998:5). When the facilitator follows Zinzi's answer, with the question "what would be the isiXhosa equivalent of that?" Zinzi, the only isiZulu speaker in the group, answers by saying, "Stripped means 'ichuthiwe' (it's plucked), ukuchutha (to pluck), like this (hand movements) ewe ukuchutha (yes, pluck), yisuse" (remove it). The facilitator accepts Zinzi's response as accurate and it is uncontested by the other students. However, three isiXhosa speakers in the group of five students, Zara, Kagiso and Thebo, continue to discuss and negotiate the translation of the word 'stripped' into isiXhosa. Kagiso says "Chipped off, stripped is like chipped. Ukucola (to grind)" and while the facilitator accepts his translation (not being able to speak isiXhosa herself) by saying "Ok spell that for me", both Xara and Thebo object. Thebo says "Hayi" (No) while Xara says "No, ukucola (to grind) is (making hand movements), you like… grinding". Thebo offers "Xhwitha" (pluck), in isiXhosa instead. Which Xara concurs with by saying "Cause ngasu sa the feathers" (I removed the feathers) (hand movements mimic plucking). Zinzi's translation into isiZulu remains uncontested but she points at Thebo and asks him "Ukuthini ngesiZulu, you understand Zulu?" It is possible that her question is both for information and

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a challenge because Thebo objected to Kagiso's answer, and she wants to determine whether he will challenge her isiZulu example also. The students eventually provided these translations for stripped:

isiXhosa: *ukuxhwitha* (to pluck - isiXhosa)
isiZulu: *ukuchutha* (to pluck - isiZulu)
Setswana: *go tlhoba* (to pluck - Setswana)

At this stage of the segment, the facilitator is unaware that literally translated, the words (*ukuxhwitha, ukuchutha and go tlhoba*) mean 'to pluck' most often used in 'to pluck feathers'. Xara in fact enacts the plucking movement when she translanguages saying "*Ngasu sae* the feathers" (I removed the feathers).

Here there are several points to consider: firstly that students may have as much difficulty with 'common words used in specialized ways', or the meta language of science in English. Secondly, when the meta language is translated without understanding the meaning of the word in English, the translation may refer to a synonym that is the translator's best understanding of the word and may not be appropriate to the context of the science lesson. Thirdly, while the use of student languages may be considered a good practice, how does the teacher ensure that the answers are correct if the teacher does not speak the home languages of the students? This concern is addressed in one of the examples in Dong's (2011) study demonstrating how a biology teacher teaching English Language learners from multiple language backgrounds in the US, uses an English dictionary while her students use their own bilingual dictionaries to support learning and understanding an English science textbook and lesson. During task analysis, the teacher firstly asks a student to look up the English word and read its meaning aloud to the rest of the class; secondly she asks students to look up the word and meaning in their bilingual dictionaries; thirdly she asks the students to write the word in their home language next to the English word in the textbook. Fourthly she clarifies the meaning of the word in the context of the task or lesson. Dong writes that the teacher, 'not only told but modelled for her students how to approach a new word in the reading and how to highlight key concepts for reading comprehension and review' (2011: 263).

While dictionary use may be considered an outdated practice and is often linked with a grammatical and skills approach to language learning, what happens when this step is missed by the facilitator is discussed next. When Zinzi asks "What does stripped mean?" and the facilitator does not guide the participants to the literal meaning of the word 'stripped' in the English dictionary she misses an opportunity for learning. She assumes that because the students had stripped the wire for the experiment performed an hour ago, they understood the word and so she asked the students instead, "what would be the isiXhosa equivalent of that?". But by not looking up the English word 'stripped' which means "to remove a layer", the students miss the explanation of the word which could have guided

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them more closely when they translated the word into African languages. When teachers switch from scientific English in the textbook to everyday language there is often the danger that the learners will forget the scientific term. Since African language speaking teachers often have to translate English science textbooks so that learners can understand the curriculum content, there is a greater possibility that the teacher will use her own approximate understanding of concepts and words. For example, Kagiso's closest synonym for stripped is chipped: he says, "Chipped off, stripped is like chipped. *Ukucola* (to grind - isXhosa)*".* The literal meaning of chipped is "breaking off or gouging out of a small piece" whereas stripped is 'to remove a layer' and his isiXhosa answer '*Ukucola'* means to grind. All Kagiso's answers directed learners away from the action of removing the layer of plastic coating to expose the copper wire that will conduct the electricity needed to create an electromagnet. Similarly, Lera, Thebo, Zara and Zinzi also rely on their everyday knowledge and translate stripped as "pluck" (isiXhosa: *ukuxhwitha*; isiZulu: *ukuchutha*; Setswana: go *tlhoba*). W hile all the translations are probable answers, they are not appropriate to the context of this science activity. The potential for misunderstanding increases when instead of remembering stripped, the learners remember the teacher's translations 'chipped' or 'grind' or even 'pluck' which could lead to misunderstanding and an incorrect answer in assessments that are written in standard English using scientific register.

Though the teacher in Dong's example demonstrates pedagogically how dictionaries and translation can be used to create a glossary in multilingual classrooms and how this benefits learning, there are added considerations at stake when using language as a resource and delinking from Anglonomative ideology. In Dong's example the dominance of English is not challenged nor are students' languages used as a resource alongside English in a way that benefits the language practices of the rest of the class. Asking students to look up the words in their language and write these next to the English word, might save time and support individual learning but it also means that the teacher in Dong's example and the rest of the class do not need to engage with any other language besides English. Unlike Dong's example, where the teacher tells the students which word to look up, the facilitator, Soraya asks the students to identify the words they find difficult to understand and thereby gets a better understanding of how the metalanguage of science contributes to or hinders learning. The facilitator also draws on the language resources of all the students and the translations are listed below each other on the board so that all the students are given an opportunity to learn the term in each other's languages. When the students provide the translations, the facilitator is repositioned as the learner and there is a shift in power.

Dong's example and this case study thus allow for a closer look at how science teachers are also language teachers and brings to the fore the fact that when students are translating into their familiar language resources they are negotiating meanings, understandings and words. After the workshop when the facilitator was made aware that the translation was incorrect by an isiXhosa/English bilingual colleague, she followed Dong's example to first look up the English word 'stripped' 'to remove a layer' and then asked her

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colleague for an English/ African language science dictionary to find the correct term. The correct version of the translated term 'stripped' would be in isiXhosa, '*ukuhlubulula*' (to remove a layer).

Including the urban varieties and moving between varieties

Both Dong's example and the facilitator in this case study are asking students to translate from a standard variety of English to a standard variety of another language, in this case, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Setswana. However, in the South African context, especially in urban areas and surrounding townships, teaching and learning happen through translanguaging between African language/s and English, with the urban variety of the African language in common use. In Extract 2 for example, Xara and Zinzi both translanguage as they discuss translating the word 'stripped' into their home languages:

Xara: Cause *Ngasu sa* the feathers (I have removed the feathers - isiXhosa) (hand movements mimic plucking)
Zinzi: Exactly! And in isiZulu, *ukuchutha (to pluck)- isiZulu)*[MC19]

To students and learners living in urban areas then, the standard versions of African languages can be as alienating as standard English because they are immersed in multilingual cities inhabited by South Africans and Africans from diverse backgrounds.. Below in Extract 3, Lera (who is Setswana) provides an example of the meshed code of English and isiXhosa that makes up some of the urban variety of isiXhosa when she recalled working in the laboratory at university. Lera and Soraya speak about language use:

Lera: She'll want to say something to me like '*uyayibona* imicroscope' (you see the microscope) [laughing] so you can see, she speaks isiXhosa but then only said 'microscope' in English. Or we will do, we will do…
Soraya: so what is the equivalent for microscope?
Lera: in isiXhosa? Yoooooh
Soraya: in Setswana?
Lera: I don't know. I don't really know Tswana that deep so I'll also just use 'microscope'
Soraya: Ok

The inclusion of the urban variety is important because students may not be familiar with the standard variety thus impeding their learning. In the extract above, the use of the meshed code 'imicroscope' is both an example of translanguaging and part of the language mix that characterises the urban variety and facilitates understanding between multilingual speakers, in this case Lera who is Setswana and her friend who speaks isiXhosa. Lera's admission "I don't really know Tswana that deep so I'll also just use 'microscope'" reveals how the dominance of English and a continuing lack of resources invested into the creation of books in African languages mean that a subtractive bilingual education system is the experience of most students and learners. Students have not learned scientific and academic terms in

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African languages because bilingual science dictionaries or books in African languages to explain these terms are unavailable. Lera's response "Yooh" and "I don't know" could further explain the students' initial silence and reluctance to engage in practices that require translation into scientific or disciplinary registers because they might not have had access to learning these terms in their own schooling. The translation exercise could be risky and have consequences such as a loss of face for both students and teacher.

Similarly, in Extract 2 Kagiso, who lives in an urban area struggles to spell "ukux*hwitha*". He spells it as "ukukwita" and Xara, who went to school in a rural area and knows isiXhosa well, teases him by saying "Kagiso is using the BEE spelling". The "BEE" Xara refers to is an acronym for Black Economic Empowerment and refers to African language speakers in urban areas who may have more opportunities for economic empowerment but lack vocabulary and knowledge of the standard varieties of isiXhosa spoken in the rural areas and used in the few bilingual/ multilingual books published thus far. Kagiso's use of the urban varieties and Xara's calling it "BEE spelling" as well as Zinzi's translation of stripped as "ukuchuta (to pluck)" signalling her experience of plucking feathers provide examples of how, people 'bring into contact different biographies, histories and linguistic backgrounds as they translanguage' (Blackledge and Creese, 2017:253). Heteroglossic language practices such as translanguaging play a crucial role in communication and the urban variety can act as a bridge between the English version and African language translation and is thus important to include in the glossary. It is the movement between the different varieties that enables full conceptual understanding.

Conclusion

Our aim in this paper has been to describe and analyse two case studies of teacher education courses which explicitly delink from monolingual English practices, or Anglonormativity, by decentring English resources and foregrounding the use of language resources other than English. Through an analysis of the student's embodied language practices in case study 1, we have been able to develop insights into their language histories and ideologies. Monolingual language ideologies were challenged through an activity that required students' use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans in small group work and in public presentation of that work for the whole class. In this case, the alignment of the lecturer's and the student's linguistic resources enabled Lisa's usually invisible linguistic resources to become an essential asset and visibly bolstered her confidence as she took up the position of knower and of teacher in relation to the rest of her class.

Thus in case study 1, we used the social construction of named languages productively (in a form of strategic essentialism) to make visible linguistic resources that are usually excluded from formal university spaces. However, the second case study draws our attention to the limitations of 'standard languages' and named language constructs. With a mix of students from urban and rural areas who had different linguistic repertoires, schooling and university experiences, Soraya encouraged students to use as resources all the

language varieties and registers available to them in their repertoires. As with the first case study, students' embodied histories are also seen to shape their language resources with Xara's use of the playful metaphor 'BEE spelling' to reference Kagiso's urbanised isiXhosa and Lera using the more widely used descriptor of 'deep' Setswana to describe schooled, formal Setswana. This case shows the need to work across all registers and varieties to enhance conceptual understanding and language learning. Formal published glossaries that include only standard varieties of named languages and that pre-select which terms should be included have their limitations and do not necessarily delink from colonial language ideologies.

We believe we have shown how these two interventions in teacher education involve a double move: 1) enabling students to recognise (and often recover) their own linguistic resources and gaps as well as their own language ideologies; 2) enabling students to develop strategies to use these resources (i.e their full linguistic and semiotic repertoires) for their own learning as well as for their teaching in schools. Creating thirdspaces in which translanguaging is encouraged and monolingual English is backgrounded has enabled us to begin to disrupt the dominant hierarchies of language and culture that extend the colonial matrix of power in an elite university space in South Africa. As such we would argue that these cases have enabled acts of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2018) that are individually empowering as well as necessary first steps towards shifting restrictive monolingual ideologies of language.

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[1] Anglonormativity draws on the feminist-post-structuralist notion of heteronormativity which foregrounds the institutionalised normativity of heterosexuality and the far-reaching negative consequences for those who do not identify as heterosexual.

[2] We have used pseudonyms for all students named in the chapter.

[3] Students refer to those attending higher education institutions whereas learners refer to those attending schools.