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Eroding the Monolingual Monolith

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Abstract

Australian schools are increasingly linguistically and culturally diverse places, and yet, the monolithic weight of the "monolingual mindset" (Clyne, 2008) still hulks at the centre of Australian education systems. Despite this, there is increasing recognition of the value of multilingualism, and the importance of incorporating students' home languages and multilingual abilities into teaching and learning. Teachers, teacher educators and curriculum developers seek guiding principles for multilingual approaches and examples of effective strategies which can be adapted and translated for diverse educational contexts. This paper suggests some principles which support effective multilingual pedagogy, illustrated with examples from students learning English as an additional language or dialect (EALD) and their teachers in two South Australian secondary schools. At a foundational level, a multilingual stance underpins the success of multilingual pedagogies. Attention to both vertical and horizontal dimensions of multilingualism (Heugh, 2018) is central to effective multilingual pedagogy. Additionally, the expertise of both students and teachers must be recognised and specified. Multilingual students are experts in using and managing their multilingual repertoires for interaction and learning, while teachers are responsible for learning design, teaching school literacies, and maintaining a supportive learning environment. A key to success is that multilingual pedagogies are developed from and respond to students' existing multilingual practices. It is hoped that these principles can help extend discussion around the use of multilingual resources and translanguaging practices in school-based learning, and give impetus to collaboration engaging students, teachers and researchers in action research and development of multilingual pedagogies. In this way, Australian education might begin to emerge from the shadow of the monolingual monolith.

Keywords: multilingualism, EALD, multilingual pedagogies, culturally responsive pedagogies, secondary school

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Data Availability Statement: *All relevant data are within this paper.*

Introduction

While Uluru, a sandstone monolith rising out of the desert, is recognised as a symbol of central Australia, another monolith is firmly embedded at the centre of Australian education. That is the "monolingual monolith" (Crisfield, 2017), the idea that the only valuable language of and for learning is English. However in truth Australian schools are multicultural, multilingual places. Nearly one quarter of school-aged students nationwide speak a language other than English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018), and some schools, like the two schools described in this paper, represent an even higher rate of cultural and linguistic diversity.

At sites such as these, a multilingual stance (see Ollerhead, Choi, & French, 2018, pp. 5–6) is a starting point in challenging the monolingual mindset. This is grounded in an understanding of multilingual competence as a connected and dynamic repertoire of "different functions served by different languages," rather than separate understandings of discrete languages (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 1). In the context of English as an additional language or dialect (EALD) education, a multilingual stance entails viewing learners of English as multilingual learners and users of language and endeavouring to acknowledge, build on and develop students' full multilingual repertoires in order to achieve curriculum goals. These repertoires include home knowledges, that is, systems of knowledge which differ from the monolingual, monocultural knowledges favoured in schools. The use of the plural form is intended to unsettle the idea that the knowledge encoded in the dominant language and dominant institutions is the only one that is legitimate. A multilingual approach necessitates a facilitative rather than authoritarian approach in the classroom, in which students and teachers have and implement different areas of expertise (Ollerhead *et al*., 2018, pp. 5–6).

Following discussion of multilingualism and learning in the Australian context, this paper examines classrooms in two South Australian secondary schools, Western Secondary and Charity College,[i] as sites for action by teachers and students which challenges the "monolingual mindset" (Clyne, 2008) embedded in curriculum and pedagogy. Despite having highly linguistically and culturally diverse student bodies, these are schools where the dominant monolingual approach to education, with a focus on developing Standard Australian English (SAE) (Ellis, Gogolin, & Clyne, 2010, p. 443) persists. However, the autonomy granted to teachers means that students and teachers have found ways to incorporate horizontal multilingual approaches to learning alongside methods for teaching vertical hierarchies of English. This builds a strong foundation for content and language learning that supports curriculum outcomes in EALD and research-based subjects connected to Australian Curriculum and South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) curriculum frameworks. The examples presented suggest ways in which the actions of teachers and students in the classroom can challenge monolingual aspects of state level policy and curriculum. Principles for multilingual pedagogies are distilled from this practice, including the interconnection of horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilingualism, the important role of students as experts and agents in multilingual learning, and considerations for teachers in learning design, pedagogy and classroom management.

Literature Review

The monolingual monolith

In Australia, schooling has historically aimed to develop privileged forms of English, as Australia's *de facto* national language. The privileging of monolingual SAE is reflected in education policy including curricula and standardised testing, where the concept of "literacy" is exclusively associated with English (Cross, 2011; Schalley, Guillemin, & Eisenchlas, 2015). It is also evident in dominant teaching practices across schooling systems and institutions, including within EALD teaching, where there

remains widespread adherence to monolingual "English-only" approaches (Liddicoat, 2013). English-only education frames prior learning in home language as invalid, even suspected of producing negative consequences for student learning (Dooly, 2007; Liddicoat & Crichton, 2008). With such a deficit view of multilingual resources, learning English as an additional language is seen as a form of "remediation" (Liddicoat & Crichton, 2008). Within a limited conception of learning as possible only through English, "the linguistic repertoires of multilingual minority pupils are rarely valorised in education" (Conteh, Kumar, & Beddow, 2008, p. 14) and learners of English come to the curriculum with no perceived valuable cultural and linguistic resources to assist their learning. Rather, only epistemologies and ontologies channelled through English are deemed valid (Liddicoat, 2013), and rapid assimilation becomes the goal (Liddicoat & Crichton, 2008).

Under a widespread monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2008), multilingualism often co-occurs with social, economic and educational disadvantage (Cummins, 2018). Although language differences have been shown not to directly cause educational disadvantage, in monolingually focussed societies, "bilingualism often occurs in contexts of disadvantage, prejudice, and inadequate conditions of learning, literacy, and schooling" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018, p. 74). Factors contributing to educational disadvantage include the disconnection of students' multilingual home environments from the monolingual environment of the school, the low socioeconomic status of many immigrant families, and the social disadvantage imposed on culturally diverse communities (Cummins, 2018, pp. 67–68). Cummins (2015) identifies that schools can mitigate the educational effects of such disadvantage by incorporating home languages into academic practice. Multilingual approaches also help school communities reduce inequality and increase intercultural understanding (García, Seltzer, & Witt, 2018; Li *et al*., 2016).

Multilingualism and learning

By building on students' linguistic and cultural knowledges in school, students can reap the benefits of multilingualism that have been confirmed by research (Cummins, 2009; de Jong, 2011). Multilingualism is understood as more than parallel monolingualisms (Candelier *et al*., 2003, p. 19; Heller, 2006, p. 5) but as a dynamic and connected repertoire in which "complex interactions between languages that go on in the mind of a multilingual individual build on a qualitatively different linguistic system from that of a monolingual" (Benson, 2017, p. 102).

The individual advantages of multilingualism have been widely studied, building on Ruiz's (1984) concept that languages are resources, not problems. Once socioeconomic status and schooling experience are accounted for, multilingual children outperform monolingual children in a range of linguistic, cognitive and social measures (Adesope, Lavin, Thompson, & Ungerleider, 2010; Barac & Bialystok, 2011). Strong first language proficiency predicts positive academic achievement in a second language environment (Cummins *et al*., 2005; de Courcy, Yue, & Furusawa, 2008). Multilingual children can transfer skills and knowledge from one language to another, and most effectively when this is supported by home language and literacy development and explicit instruction for transfer (Cummins, 2009). In a wider context, focussing on the resources and expertise of multilingual students frames learning outside English-only confines. Terms such as "emergent bilinguals" (García, 2009; Wilks-Smith, 2017) reverse the deficit view of students learning English, acknowledging students' existing language capabilities and building culturally safe spaces where diverse cultural and linguistic capital is validated as a resource for learning. Multilingual practice helps teachers understand the range of skills their students bring to learning, and subsequently to raise the complexity of tasks (D'warte, 2015).

The implication is that EALD educators should not only teach the forms and functions of English, but

also give explicit attention to multilingual competencies, home language development, using students' funds of knowledge as resources in the classroom (Moll, 2005) and transferring knowledge between languages.

Horizontal and vertical multilingualism

Effective multilingual pedagogies address both horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilingualism. Horizontal multilingual practice involves speakers engaging their entire repertoire and selecting shared linguistic resources including translanguaging to negotiate meaning, responding to a range of contexts, purposes and interlocutors (Heugh, 2015, 2019). Vertical linguistic practice responds to hierarchical linguistic structures which allow participation in discourses of power (May, 2011). Thus "both dimensions are necessary in education and most particularly for learning" (Heugh, 2018, p. 360).

Multilingual education that addresses both horizontal and vertical dimensions can build on students' existing capabilities as a foundation for developing new linguistic forms which enable access to social power (Stroud & Heugh, 2004, p. 212). A tradition of genre-based pedagogies in Australian EALD teaching has been effective in reinforcing the vertical elements of academic registers of SAE across the curriculum (White, Mammone, & Caldwell, 2015). Horizontal strategies can enhance vertical approaches by building on students' multilingual resources for identity construction, engagement, home language maintenance and English language learning (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014).

Horizontal and vertical multilingualisms in the contexts of the studies presented in this paper reveal relevance to student experiences of multilingualism within assessment settings such as the Australian Curriculum and SACE. Multilingual students are already thinking and learning across languages where their horizontal experiences in everyday contexts of informal language becomes a bridge (Heugh, 2018) to the vertical domains of school literacies, supporting content learning and academic English development (Heugh, Li, & Song, 2017).

Multilingual pedagogy and language policy

In making decisions about multilingual pedagogies, teachers and students interact with and create language policy (French, 2016). In relation to classroom practice, multiple policy actors influence the way language is used and taught. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) use the metaphor of an onion to represent multiple layers of policy, identifying the state, institutions and teachers as key actors. They "place the classroom practitioner at the heart of language policy" (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 417), as shown in Figure 1.

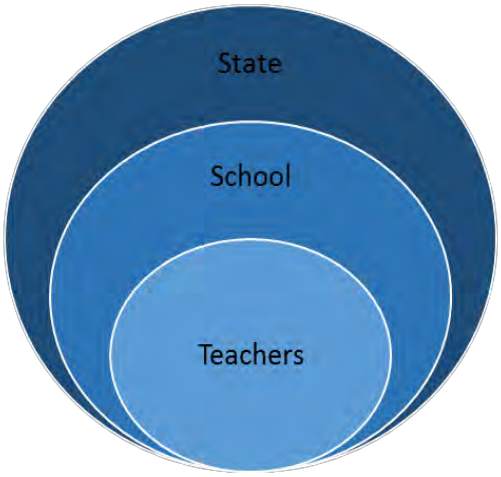

Figure 1 *Layers of language policy (see Ricento & Hornberger, 1996)*

French has suggested that there is an additional layer in the centre of this "onion," and that multilingual students also have a significant influence on language policy (French, 2016, p. 313) (see Figure 2). From their positions at the centre of the policy onion, teachers and students are influenced from above by official policy and dominant practice of the state and school. At the same time, they can also enact policy from below (Heugh, 2018, p. 346), by challenging the dominant monolingual practice or by improvising new approaches to support multilingual learning (Mohanty, Panda, & Pal, 2010, p. 227).

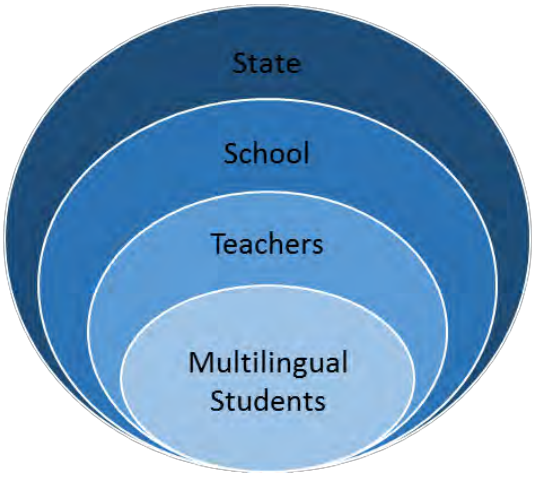

Figure 2 *Expanded layers of language policy*

Multilingual pedagogies

As "traditional approaches to improved literacy in the target language by discouraging multilingual language use have been shown to be ineffective" (Conteh *et al*., 2008, p. 14), multilingual pedagogies are needed in linguistically diverse classrooms. Van Der Wildt, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte emphasise that "teachers who teach in a very diverse setting do not need proficiency in every language represented in their classroom" (2015, p. 5). Rather than having to know and use students' languages themselves, teachers can facilitate students to use their home languages (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014), an approach which also ensures students with different language proficiencies can engage with multilingual learning (Duarte, 2019).

Teachers can develop pedagogical approaches in which they value students' multilingual repertoires, scaffold transfer of knowledge and engage students as experts in order to support participation, content teaching and English language and literacy. Heugh identifies key principles of multilingual pedagogy, including recognising home language as "the foundation for all learning in school," and "[p]urposeful use of code-switching and translanguaging" as a central strategy (Heugh *et al*., 2019, p. 28). Particularly in supporting English language literacy, home languages are seen as helpful in building bridges for students to transfer knowledge and capabilities across languages (Hajek & Slaughter, 2014; Liddicoat & Crichton, 2008).

General strategies to support multilingual learning include building teacher and student awareness of the languages represented in the classroom and how these can support learning; reflection by students on their existing knowledge and how it connects to new learning; purposeful translanguaging; and differentiating the way home languages and English are applied to learning content and language (Heugh *et al*., 2019, p. 29). Cummins (2009) and García (2009) further assert that multilingual learning requires explicit teaching for transfer of knowledge and skills from one language to another. Additionally, cognitive challenge combined with contextual and linguistic scaffolding supports content

and language learning (Cummins, 1996, pp. 57–60; Hammond, 2014). Higher order thinking skills can be enhanced through access to home language (Benson, 2009, p. 74; García, 2009, p. 76; Harper & de Jong, 2004, p. 153), as when EALD students are not grappling with working monolingually in English they are better able to focus on higher order activities such as "breaking down information" and accessing and analysing content information (Duarte, 2019, p. 14). A range of classroom activities have also been described which address participation and developing content, language and literacy (see French, 2019).

Most importantly for academic achievement, students must see themselves reflected in the content and language of the curriculum (Cummins, 1996, p. 147). In addition to languages, cultural knowledges are increasingly valued in settings where an improved response to family and community are seen as supporting improved learning outcomes for students, such as Culturally Responsive (Rigney & Hattam, 2017; Sleeter, 2012) and Culturally Sustaining pedagogies (McCarty & Lee, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2014)

Context and Methodology

Across Australian schooling, statistics confirm that linguistic diversity amongst students is increasing, with the 2016 Census showing that approximately 22.4 per cent of Australian school-aged children and adolescents spoke a language additional to English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018), a notable increase from the 17 per cent recorded in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Teachers are often heard to reflect that linguistic and cultural diversification amongst their students poses a challenge to their established teaching approaches, mirroring discourse at national and global levels (Thomson & Hillman, 2019, pp. xiv; 54–55). However, rather than being attributed to linguistic differences, Cummins' analysis of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), highlights that social and economic factors are more strongly linked to educational disadvantage than is language background (Cummins, 2018). In the case of Western Secondary and Charity College, there are many students for whom these factors overlap.

Western Secondary

The first school referred to in this paper is Western Secondary, a South Australian Department for Education (DforE) site, rated as Category 2 on the DforE index of disadvantage, reflecting parental income and education levels, Aboriginal enrolments and student mobility (Department for Education and Child Development (DECD), 2012). Western Secondary has a strong public reputation for inclusivity and diversity and is one of the few secondary schools still maintaining a Nunga Room as good practice of cultural safety for Aboriginal students and a multi-faith prayer room. Within its grounds is Urban Secondary College, offering city schooling to Aboriginal students from remote communities in South Australia and the Northern Territory. Bilingual School Services Officers (BSSOs) are employed at Western Secondary to assist with school-family communication in Bosnian, Vietnamese and Swahili and with students requiring additional language support while they learn English. Western Secondary is perfectly placed as a site where the "monolingual monolith" might be diminished: cultural and linguistic identities are acknowledged, faith diversity is welcomed, aspirations place the school in an international context through accreditation to the Council of International Schools and non-English speaking background students make up more than 50% of 1002 enrolments (MySchool, 2019).

Charity College

The second school, Charity College, is a Catholic high school for girls, located in an area of increasing immigration in Adelaide, South Australia. At the time of the study, 52 per cent of families were ranked

in the bottom socioeconomic quartile according to the ICSEA measure[ii] (ACARA, 2013) indicating a high level of educational disadvantage (MySchool, 2014). Forty-eight per cent of the 600 students spoke a home language other than English. The most widely spoken of the 42 different home languages were Dari, Vietnamese, Farsi, Dinka and Arabic, and many students were proficient in three or more languages. Approximately one third of students were EALD learners, including students with refugee experience, migrants and international students.

EALD is offered at both Western Secondary and Charity College as an intervention class at all year levels with specialist trained staff, smaller class sizes and explicit teaching of English language. From Year 8 to Year 10, the EALD curriculum is adapted from the Australian Curriculum: English (ACARA, 2019a), and South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) subjects are taught at Years 11 and 12. At both schools, SACE Stage 1 EAL (English as an Additional Language) is taught at Year 11, and in Year 12 in Year 12 an EALD course is offered using the SACE Stage 2 Essential English subject outline (SACE Board of SA, 2019c). At Charity College, SACE Stage 2 EAL is also offered in Year 12. Both SACE Stage 1 EAL and Stage 2 EAL have restricted eligibility based on students' English language development and educational history (SACE Board of SA, 2019a).

Research studies

Separate research projects were conducted in each school; an action research project at Western Secondary (Rigney & Hattam, 2017) and an ethnographic case study at Charity College (French, 2016). From these broader projects, the researchers found connections in the ways students and teachers applied multilingual resources and translanguaging to classroom learning in these two schools.

As a participant of an action research project for the University of South Australia in Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) (Rigney & Hattam, 2017) the teacher at Western Secondary designed opportunities for multilingual formative work in a study of the text type of "recount." An element of CRP, "connecting to student life-worlds," was selected for classroom action research over eight weeks, where students were required to create a connection with a local person outside their family, with whom they shared a language and/or cultural connection. A sample of student work, completed by Minh, is included below. An additional exploration of multilingual formative work was undertaken by a Year 12 student, Rosalie, who selected messaging in Tagalog and English as her text samples for a major investigation.

The research project in Charity College was a two-year ethnographic case study of students and teachers in the school. The key focus in this paper is on data from students, gathered through work samples from nineteen students and focus group discussions involving seventeen students, though the full study also included data from teachers (French, 2016). The student work presented in this paper exemplifies key multilingual approaches to learning led by students. Two examples from one student, Top, demonstrate agency and expertise in engaging multilingual resources strategically as primary and secondary information sources in a research subject, and to support academic English language conventions in an EALD subject.

Examples of practice

The four examples of classroom practice presented here demonstrate different ways in which students' multilingual resources have been engaged in formal units of work, by teachers who do not share the multilingual repertoires of their students. Particularly notable in the senior secondary context is the multilingual expertise evident in selection of text samples, complex analysis of language samples and understanding of contexts. Attention is paid to the horizontal and vertical dimensions of language use

by students and teachers, and the connections between teacher and student practice, school literacy practices and policy at the state level are analysed and mapped (see Figure 4, Figure 7, Figure 12, Figure 16).

Bilingual messaging as text samples at Western Secondary

A Year 12 student, Rosalie, completing her Language Study in Essential English chose the topic *How do bilingual English-Tagalog students express themselves in text messages?* An example of student-driven ethnography, her selected samples of language were texts exchanged with a friend in the Philippines (see Figure 3). Horizontal strategies include translation and descriptions of messages pertinent to her analysis of the friends' linguistic repertoires in Tagalog and English usage, including translanguaging. She was able to use insider knowledge of her friend's regional language as a possible factor in language choices in multilingual translating and reflecting. Vertical development of skills in SAE academic writing were scaffolded through conversations and classroom work with her teacher in writing, reflecting, analysing, and drafting cycles.

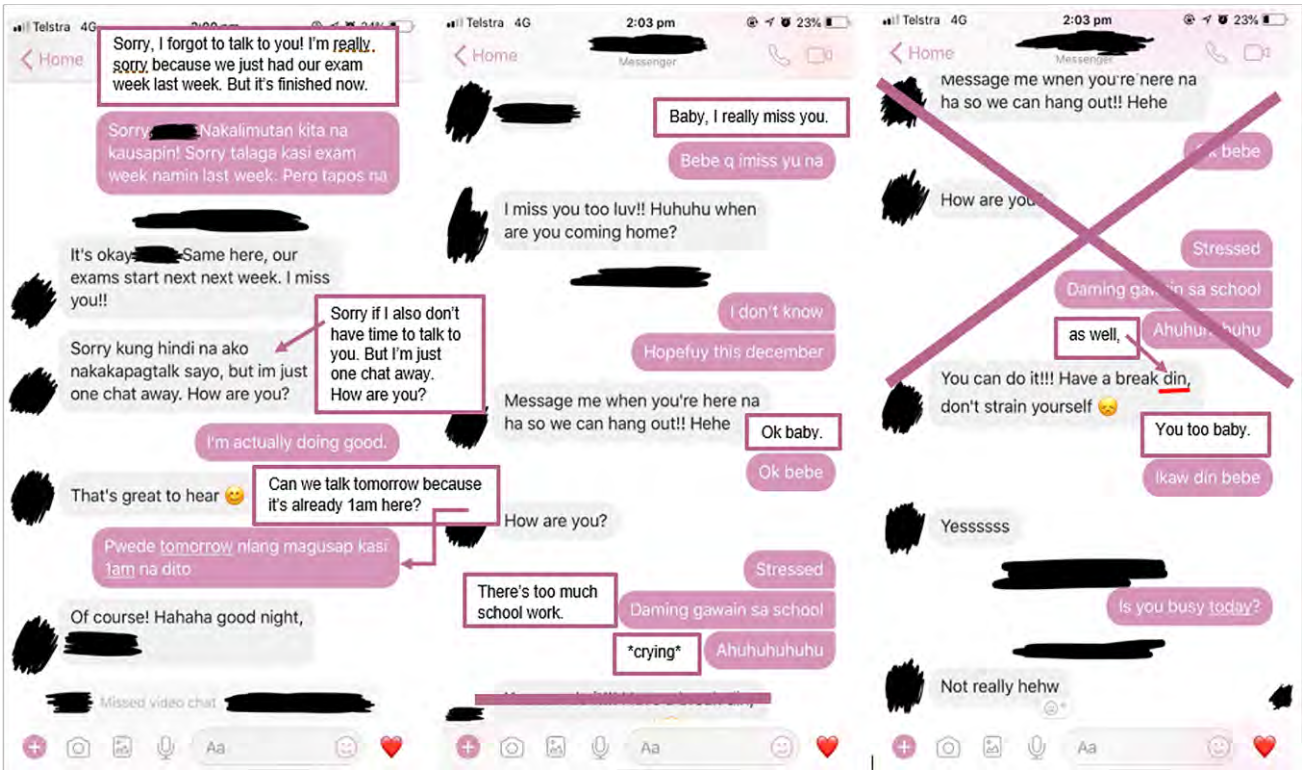

Figure 3 *Rosalie's Essential English Language Study of bilingual English-Tagalog text messaging*

Of particular note in Figure 4 are the teaching strategies and student multilingual resources, where the continual cycle of review and discussion at the senior secondary level bring the student to realisations of her multilingual knowledge and "insider" information about language and culture. These transfer well to the academic analysis required at SACE Stage 2.

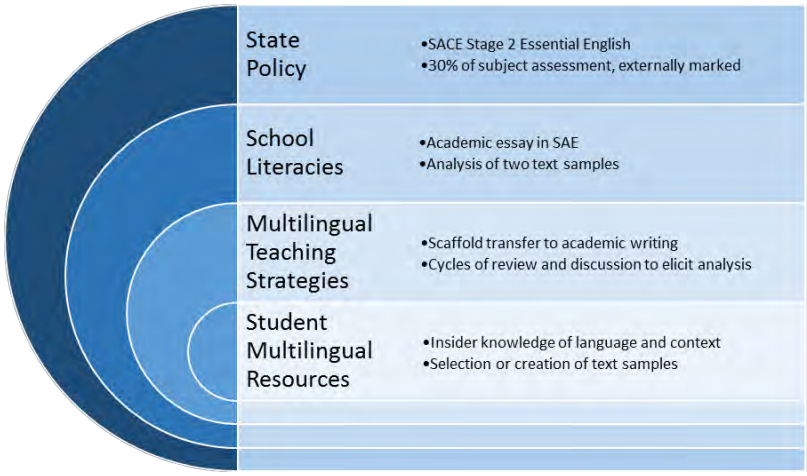

Figure 4 *Different levels of language policy and practice in Rosalie's Language Study*

"What's your story?" at Western Secondary

Exploring the inclusion of home languages in task design saw Year 10 students working with a local contact outside their family and with whom they shared a language or cultural connection. The assessment task was to create a web page including text of a recount based on information gathered in interviews with the student's community contact. A key element in setting up the task is the inclusion of an Information Sheet seeking permission to publish to a website and the sentence, *"You have been chosen because of a possibility of sharing a language connection together. Your conversations do not need to be in English."* This deliberate permission to communicate in languages other than English is designed to help learners move out of the shadow of the monolingual monolith of school learning. Bilingual School Services Officers (BSSO) supported students to make safe community connections outside their families and provide the teacher with relevant background cultural information. Students bring horizontal practices in the pragmatics of cultural and linguistic communications, language and cultural knowledge and connections with community while families offer additional knowledge, cultural history and support in connecting with a community contact for interview. Figure 5 Figure 6 show samples of Minh's webpage where the information gained in Vietnamese conversation is developed into a biographical recount, aligned with a vertical hierarchy of texts in SAE.

Figure 5 *Minh's Year 10 EALD "What's your story?" webpage*

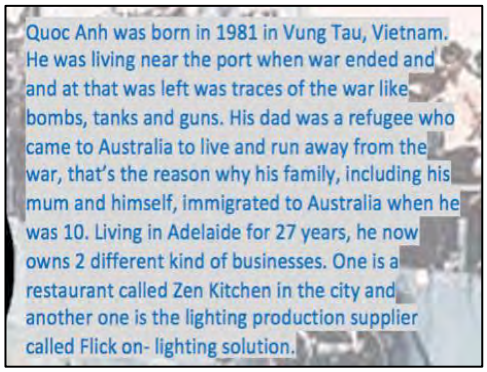
Quoc Anh was born in 1981 in Vung Tau, Vietnam. He was living near the port when war ended and and at that was left was traces of the war like bombs, tanks and guns. His dad was a refugee who came to Australia to live and run away from the war, that's the reason why his family, including his mum and himself, immigrated to Australia when he was 10. Living in Adelaide for 27 years, he now owns 2 different kind of businesses. One is a restaurant called Zen Kitchen in the city and another one is the lighting production supplier called Flick on- lighting solution.

Figure 6 *Text excerpt from Minh's Year 10 EALD "What's your story?" webpage*

Making the texts public created higher stakes for students than teacher assessment and they were motivated to use frequent teacher and peer assisted drafting of their texts in SAE leading to a busier and more focussed classroom than had previously been experienced with this class.

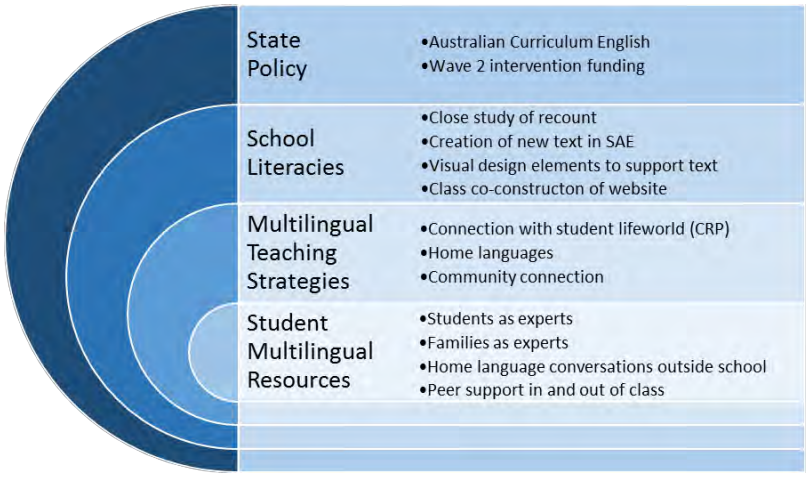

Figure 7 *Different levels of language policy and practice in Minh's Year 10 EALD "What's your story?"*

Research Project at Charity College

The ethnographic study at Charity College revealed that students engage multilingual resources in a range of academic contexts including Research Project, a compulsory Year 12 SACE subject in which students pursue an individual investigation. Assessment tasks include a folio of research evidence, the research outcome, and evaluation of research processes (SACE Board of SA, 2019b). The self-directed nature of the Research Project enabled a number of multilingual students to utilise multilingual resources in languages including Cantonese, Hazaragi, Urdu and Kinyarwanda.

The examples here are from Top, who researched the use of simplified and traditional Chinese characters in Hong Kong's education system. In her research, Top accessed written texts (Figure 8), watched videos, received survey responses (Figure 9) and conducted an interview using Cantonese, Mandarin and English. These multilingual processes supported her to access privileged information and increase depth and detail in her research.

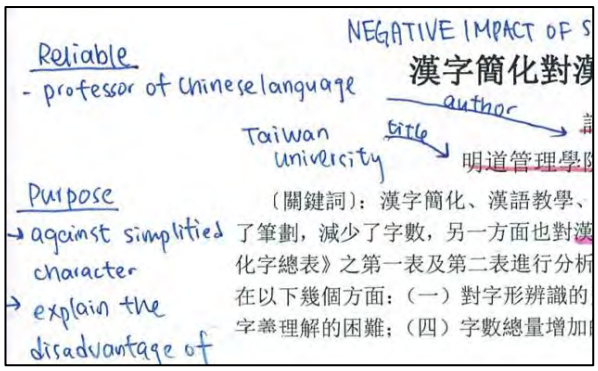

Figure 8 *Top's research folio: notes from a written source*

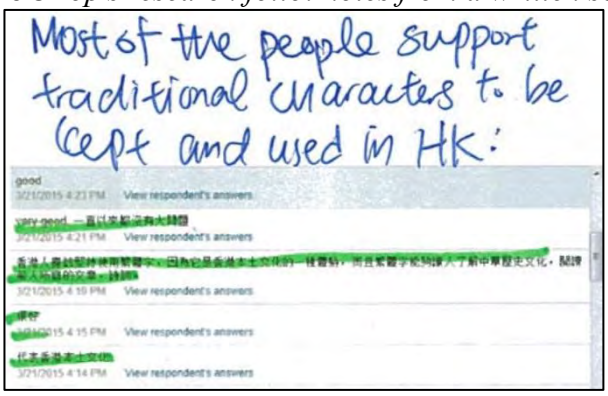

Figure 9 *Top's research folio: survey responses*

Although Top's research outcome was a report written in English, multilingual elements appear in a small number of images (Figure 10) and use of Chinese characters (Figure 11).

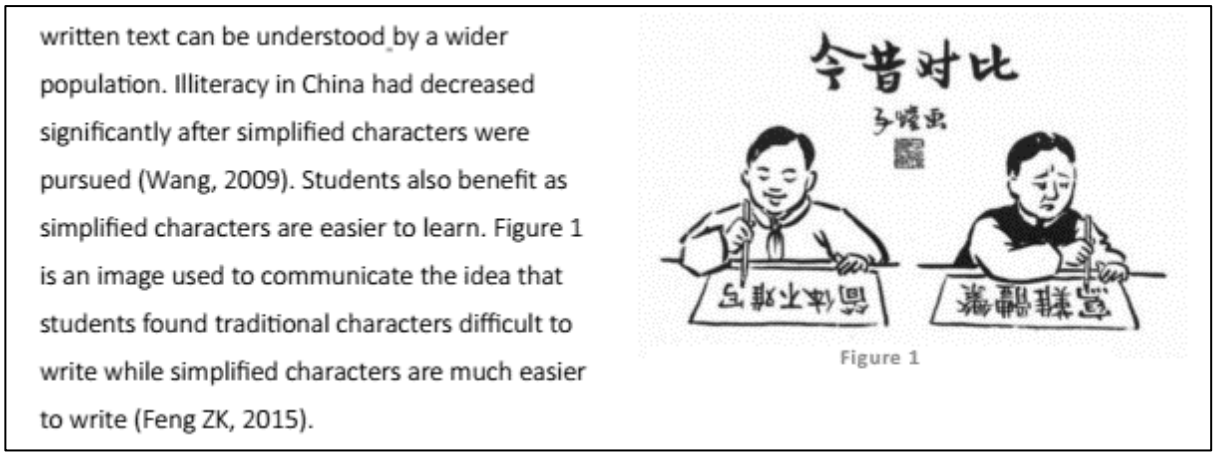
written text can be understood by a wider population. Illiteracy in China had decreased significantly after simplified characters were pursued (Wang, 2009). Students also benefit as simplified characters are easier to learn. Figure 1 is an image used to communicate the idea that students found traditional characters difficult to write while simplified characters are much easier to write (Feng ZK, 2015).

Figure 10 *Top's research outcome: multilingual image*

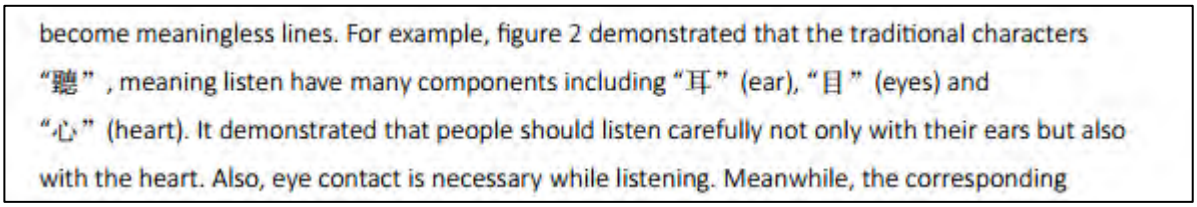
become meaningless lines. For example, figure 2 demonstrated that the traditional characters "聽", meaning listen have many components including "耳" (ear), "目" (eyes) and "心" (heart). It demonstrated that people should listen carefully not only with their ears but also with the heart. Also, eye contact is necessary while listening. Meanwhile, the corresponding

Figure 11 *Top's research outcome: multilingual text*

Top recognised benefits from her multilingual research process, writing in her evaluation, "I decided to use sources presented in Chinese and English to gain a deeper understanding of my topic, especially

from those written in Chinese which is my first language."

Top's Research Project demonstrates both horizontal and vertical dimensions of language. Horizontal multilingual practice was managed and enacted by the student and supported by the teacher. Top's agency as a multilingual learner is evident in her selection of a research topic connected to her prior knowledge and multilingual skills, and in research processes of accessing, comprehending, analysing and synthesising information using Cantonese, Mandarin and English. Vertical elements of language are evident in Top's research outcome of a formal written report in English, as well as in many other English language elements of her research folio and evaluation. These vertical aspects of language has been scaffolded by the teacher. Figure 12 summarises the language practices implemented by the student, teacher, school and state curriculum.

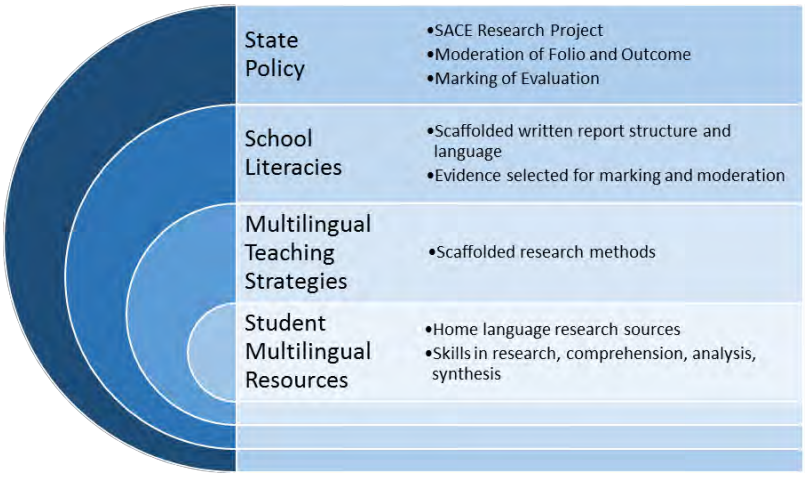

Figure 12 *Different levels of language policy and practice in Top's Research Project*

Reference lists at Charity College

Top's differentiated approach to referencing in her Research Project outcome and an EAL assignment illuminates metalinguistic sensitivity as a significant multilingual resource. Top accessed Chinese language sources in both Research Project and a Year 12 EAL research task in the following year, but her contrasting reference lists show strategic consideration of the role of languages in each subject's assessment expectations. In Research Project, Top included references in both English and Chinese language (Figure 13).

China Uncensored. (2013). *Simplified vs Traditional Chinese Characters.* [Online Video]. 01 August. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uc-H9XUarv8. [Accessed: 26 February 2015]

Chow, E, Wang, E, Meng, H & Matloff, N. (2009). *The Chinese Langauge, Ever Evolving.* [Online] Available at: http://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/02/chinese-language-ever-evolving/?_r=0 [Accessed 16 February 2015].

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Figure 13 *Top's research outcome: reference list (French, 2015)*

However, in EAL, although the use of non-English texts is not explicitly prohibited, Top expressed concern that she might be penalised by central moderators for using non-English sources. So, in an attempt to safeguard against additional marker scrutiny and with the support of her EAL teacher (the first author), she translated the Chinese language references into English. Figure 14 shows the reference list written in English submitted by Top, while Figure 15 shows that some citations refer to Chinese language sources. Top has engaged with multilingual research strategies to enrich her learning, while strategically addressing monolingual assessment expectations.

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/29/world/asia/clashes-in-hong-kong.html?_r=0 [Accessed 13 July 2015].

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Figure 14 *Top's Year 12 EAL research task: reference list (French, 2015)*

Figure 15 *Top's Year 12 EAL research task: translated references for Chinese language sources (French, 2015)*

This example demonstrates separation between horizontal processes of learning and assessment expectations defined by vertical linguistic hierarchies. Top sought to elevate her multilingual resources by selecting a topic that built on her experience and linguistic knowledge, and in undertaking research in multiple languages. Many aspects of the vertical dimension of language have been led by the teacher, including teaching and scaffolding the formal English required for report writing. However the key vertical element in this example, the presentation of references in English only, was initiated by the student and supported by the teacher. This demonstrates Top's accurate interpretation of and sensitivity towards assessment expectations in the academic English language curriculum. In this matter, the teacher's support around translating Chinese references to English followed the student's lead. Figure 16 summarises actions and influences at different layers of language policy and practice in relation to Top's work in EAL.

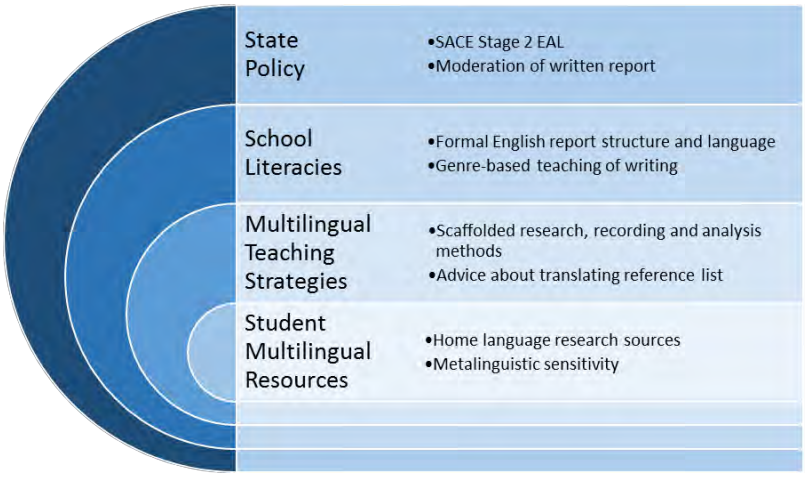

Figure 16 *Different levels of policy and practice in Top's EAL research task*

Summary

In the examples presented, national and state curricula reflect a monolingual English-based approach to learning and assessment. In each of the examples, students have a degree of choice about the content of their tasks, and there are elements of primary or secondary research involved in each. These elements support students to incorporate and build on knowledges and skills from their existing repertoires. At both schools, teachers were granted a degree of autonomy which allowed them to challenge monolingual expectations and implement multilingual pedagogies in their own classrooms. This opportunity for teacher creativity and innovation in relation to learning design, pedagogy and classroom management in turn creates space for students to enact their multilingual repertoires in creative, purposeful and resourceful ways.

Horizontal and vertical elements exist in an interplay of negotiations and navigations by student and teacher resulting in improved learning in home languages and SAE. Classroom learning activities are planned and structured by the teacher, deliberately creating space for Bilingual School Services Officers (at Western Secondary) and family support to scaffold the students' linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills. Activities outside the classroom such as interviews, discussions and note-taking transform home knowledge into resources for further classroom work in writing academic texts in SAE. The application of horizontal multilingual practices to the process of learning supports the vertical elements of language in these tasks, strengthening connections with prior learning, sources of information, improved content understanding, language as content for analysis, support for idea and text development and personal engagement with tasks.

To a large degree, these horizontal elements are tied to the process of learning and their extent and complexity remain invisible in final assessment tasks. However, aspects of students' horizontal multilingual expertise can be included in assessment, as evidenced in Rosalie's screen shots of translanguaging Tagalog text messages, and in Top's Research Project work. As final year assessments submitted to the SACE Board, the multilingual aspects of these works left the confines of the classroom, to be made visible at the state level of curriculum and assessment.

Some additional observations can be made in relation to these four examples of multilingual approaches to curriculum tasks. It is important to negotiate and articulate which areas of expertise remain with the teacher and which belong with the student. Additionally, multilingual pedagogies necessitate a student-focussed classroom, in which the teacher is often a facilitator and supporter. In such a classroom, students bring "insider" expertise to their learning, and may negotiate the use of home language along with resources and knowledges from home. Through this process, students become aware of how much they already know and make easier connections with the content and strategies demanded of them in English. As they develop content expertise, students may be more motivated to draw on the teacher's expertise in scaffolding and drafting formal aspects of English. The classroom environment is likely to be livelier with interaction in multiple languages as students negotiate, connect and articulate their learning. It does not need to be difficult for teachers to create opportunities for multilingual learning, as simple changes to task information can invite home languages to enter the learning space. However, multilingual pedagogies may still be invisible in other areas of learning at school. As Ali, another student from Western Secondary, reflected when asked whether he had used his knowledge of six languages, "So, I think besides in English I haven't used it till now because we didn't get the chance, like, I'm doing other assignments, other subjects but till now no one said anything about like what I did back in Year 11 English." Ali's comment confirms the monolingual monolith of the schooling system and its unquestioning focus on English-only classroom learning, regardless of the wealth of assets students bring to their learning.

Discussion

These examples represent attempts to diminish the "monolingual monolith" by trialling multilingual and translanguaging pedagogies which build on students' home languages and horizontal multilingual practices in the process of learning. These approaches have allowed students experience their own linguistic and cultural competencies being welcomed into the classroom and valued in units of work, and to reflect how these can contribute to learning vertical hierarchies of English. Assessment tasks aligned with Australian Curriculum or SACE attempt to cement a more formal place for home languages and knowledges in the process and products of learning. These multilingual integrated units bring to the fore and acknowledge both teacher and student areas of expertise. It becomes clear that being specific about boundaries of student and teacher expertise is key to multilingual pedagogy.

Horizontal and vertical multilingualism

Interaction between horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilingualism are key to this approach to teaching. Figure 17 indicates a recursive process in which horizontal multilingual skills (purple) and vertically organised skills in SAE (pale blue) are woven together through learning design and teaching. Students have different multilingual communication skills, such as different levels of proficiency in spoken language and cultural knowledges. Multilingual academic skills may include literacy in different languages, diverse educational experiences in home languages and academic knowledges learnt or encoded in home languages. These multilingual competencies along with communication skills in SAE, provide different entry points to school literacies, which are focussed around

comprehending and producing texts in English, and using English to access and process subject content. It is already widely recognised that EALD and subject teachers are responsible for teaching and scaffolding school literacies, in order to raise the competence of students in using English for academic purposes (ACARA, 2019b). Teachers also have a role in teaching and scaffolding multilingual competencies, in order to support students to build their language, literacy, social and academic competencies in home languages. Teaching and learning of multilingual and SAE communication and academic skills is a recursive process rather than a linear one, and a process which supports strong home language as a foundation to learning, as well as continued development in home language.

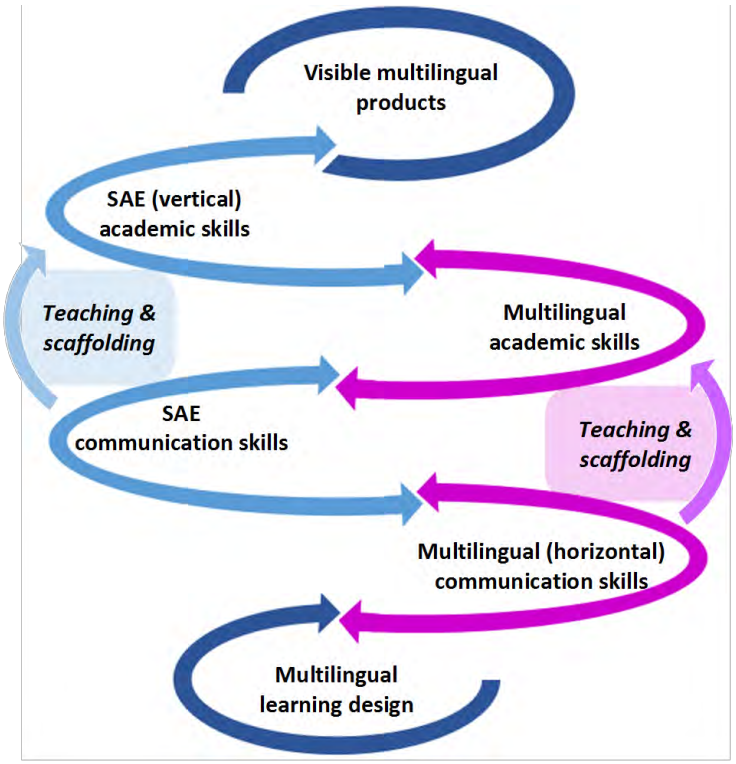

Figure 17 *Horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilingual pedagogies*

Following this model, more concrete examples of student and teacher expertise at each level can be obtained from the school practice described. Teaching and scaffolding of horizontal multilingual skills include teaching skills for a text development process that incorporates home language in planning and drafting, scaffolding academic skills such as accessing home language websites or interviewing community members, teaching for transfer of skills between English and multilingual contexts, and enabling support from home language speakers such as family members, peers and BSSOs. For development of vertically organised skills in SAE, teaching approaches include explicit teaching of text structure and language, teaching research and academic skills such as composing questions or conducting interviews, teaching for transfer of skills from multilingual to English contexts, and scaffolding peer collaboration in undertaking academic activities in English, such as collaborative writing or editing. These are compiled into Figure 18.

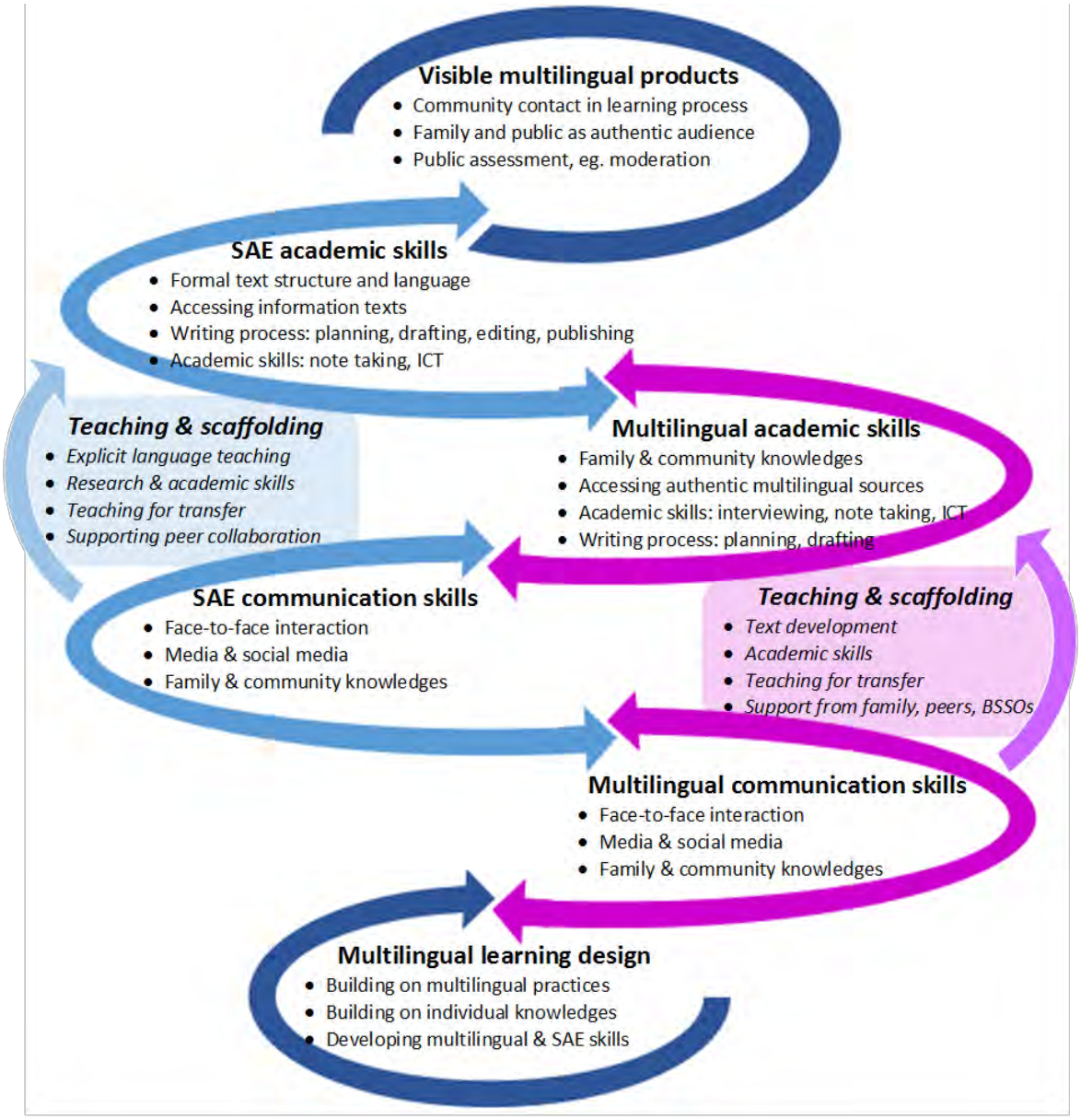

Figure 18 *Horizontal and vertical multilingual skills used in example tasks*

Student expertise

Student expertise is mostly linked to the horizontal dimension of multilingual practice. Through their experiences at home, in the community and in previous educational contexts, multilingual students have developed expertise in using and managing their multilingual repertoires for a range of purposes. This includes home language skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing in a variety of contexts, along with cross-linguistic skills such as translanguaging, interpreting and translating, cultural and sociolinguistic intelligence, and metalinguistic sensitivity. Students are also experts in drawing on their repertoires of multilingual skills to access sources of information including texts and people. They are experts in making contacts in their communities and navigating contexts requiring culturally appropriate communication across languages. Students develop expertise as individual and collaborative learners as well, including peer to peer support in ICT or proofreading in English. It is evident that much of the expertise of students aligns with the horizontal dimension of linguistic practice, that is, the skills and practice that students bring from their everyday multilingual life experience.

Teacher expertise

Teacher expertise is connected to both professional skill and content knowledge, concentrated around learning design, teaching vertical hierarchies of English language, and classroom management. In learning design, teacher expertise is needed in creating or adapting tasks to address the demands of official curriculum and school practice along with the skills of the teacher and needs of the students. Multilingual learning design should begin with the experiences and skills that students bring through horizontal multilingual practices, and then connect these with the vertically structured language demands often embodied in curriculum and school literacies. Success in multilingual learning design can be supported by attention to a range of factors including "affective factors, linguistic abilities, practical considerations and learning outcomes valued by both students and teachers" (Davy & French, 2018, p. 172). Although creating new tasks is an option, this can also be achieved through adaptation of existing tasks with a specific focus on connecting with students' diverse content and linguistic knowledge, and attention to differentiation of student learning for diverse levels of literacy in both English and home languages. This may be in the form of always offering home language activities as optional so to avoid any risk of a student feeling inadequate in-home language while they are also acquiring English.

Another domain of teacher expertise is teaching academic content and language required for access to the higher strata of a vertically organised English language hierarchy. Teacher expertise is needed to organise and scaffold subject content and English language content relevant to the task, including the explicit teaching of text types, text structures, vocabulary, and grammar in English that is a central part of EALD pedagogy. The teacher's role also includes teaching a range of skills adaptable to different languages such as survey design, interview skills, ICT skills and editing strategies. Teaching these skills through English and supporting transfer to students' home languages supports students to develop academic skills multilingually. These are pedagogies that engage students personally and academically in classroom learning, support their access to informational resources and develop their skills in comprehending and creating highly valued forms of English.

Teachers are also experts in managing complexities of behaviours enacted in the classroom. Classroom management is improved when learning is designed "across languages," as students are "free from undergoing language separation or coping with sociolinguistic matters, such as language power and identity, which frequently affect performance in monolingual classrooms" (Duarte, 2019, p. 14). In the multilingual classroom, teacher expertise is required to establish and manage an environment which combines structure with agency; clarity with flexibility. Teachers should establish clarity around the intentions of learning, the roles of the teacher and students and purposes for using different languages in the classroom. At the same time, students benefit from flexibility in the way they manage their multilingual repertoires to access information, interact and create texts. The high degree of student agency entailed by inviting student language and experience into the classroom as capital for learning may require teachers to relinquish traditional expectations of classroom control (Slembrouck, Van Avermaet, & Van Gorp, 2018, p. 19). Teachers need to be prepared to disrupt the "normalised student-teacher hierarchy" (Martinez, Morales, & Aldana, 2017, p. 484), creating space for home language in the learning process whilst providing clarity about learning and assessment, and carefully developing students' academic skills.

Teacher action

Although the multilingual pedagogies described here generally conform to a division between horizontal practices as learning process, and vertical practices as the visible assessment products, this separation is neither strict nor necessary. Rather, it reflects the power of the monolingual mindset in

shaping official curriculum and dominant educational practice. Challenging the monolingual mindset at institutional and state levels requires visibility of students' multilingual resources in contexts such as centralised assessment. Although the example of Top's reference list in EAL actively supports a monolingual approach, her Research Project work and the multilingual text messaging in Rosalie's assignment are clear demonstrations of multilingual content, process and production in senior high school assessment tasks. In South Australia, these tasks are subject to external marking or moderation by the SACE Board, and through this process, the students' multilingual learning is made visible at a higher jurisdiction. Eroding the distinction between horizontal processes and vertical products relies on dynamic pedagogy that responds to and elevates students' multilingual practices.

It may seem a challenge to design and implement learning that connects the multiple layers of language policy and practice, from official curricula and school practice, to teacher expertise and the diverse multilingual resources available to students. However, this can be achieved incrementally, beginning with individual changes and classroom-based action. The first step for teachers is to develop and display a multilingual stance. This includes being supportive of students' multilingual identities by welcoming students' multilingual repertoires and making them visible and audible in the classroom (Ollerhead *et al*., 2018; Somerville, D'Warte, & Brown, 2015). Openness to continued learning is also important for teachers, particularly learning from and about the language practices and cultural knowledges of their students and learning from the experience of trialling different multilingual pedagogies.

It should also be recognised that the pursuit of multilingual pedagogies is a shared endeavour, to be developed from the expertise of both students and teachers. The most effective multilingual pedagogies are grounded on students' existing multilingual practices, and build additional academic and linguistic skills on top of these (French, 2016, 2019). Teachers bring expertise in designing learning, teaching and scaffolding, English language teaching and classroom management. Multilingual students bring expertise in multilingual practice as the starting point for developing classroom pedagogies, along with academic practices including individual and collaborative learning and access to information through home language (French & de Courcy, 2016). Implementing multilingual pedagogies is a worthy challenge, but it does not need to be a daunting one. In undertaking multilingual tasks with their students, the present authors found that making small adjustments to incorporate students' existing linguistic and cultural knowledges into existing tasks was a successful approach. Designing new tasks is also a possibility, though this may come more easily after teachers develop experience and confidence by collaborating with students on small tasks and activities.

Conclusion

Despite significant and increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in Australian schools, a monolithic myth of English monolingualism is still embedded at the centre of Australian educational policy and practice. Research showing the cognitive and social benefits of multilingualism is plentiful, but in an English-focussed system, the multilingual knowledges and skills of students are marginalised, and these students are often disadvantaged when it comes to educational achievement.

However, as research from two South Australian secondary schools demonstrates, it is possible for students and teachers to challenge the monolingual mindset through classroom practice. When students are supported to bring their own languages and knowledges to classroom learning, they can benefit from an engaged and active approach to learning, developing a deeper understanding of concepts learnt through home language, contributing linguistic and cultural knowledge to the classroom and involving family and community members in the process and products of learning. Multilingual and translanguaging approaches are important in the learning process and can also support successful

achievement of formal assessment requirements, both in relation to the Australian Curriculum and senior secondary curricula. Through mechanisms such as centralised assessment, multilingual practice, including translanguaging, can be made visible at the highest levels of educational policy.

Students and teachers bring different expertise to effective multilingual pedagogy. Students are experts in using and managing their multilingual repertoires to achieve social and learning outcomes. Multilingual students in secondary schools already apply their multilingual repertoires to individual and collaborative learning, as well as accessing diverse sources of information (French & de Courcy, 2016). These areas of expertise are strongly connected to horizontal multilingual practices.

Through their expertise in learning design, teachers can adapt or create tasks that connect students' existing horizontal practices to the vertically organised forms of English required by the curriculum. With expertise in teaching vertical hierarchies of language and managing classroom environments, teachers can build on the expertise of students to support academic development in both home language and English. This does not require teachers to understand all the languages in their classroom, but rather the pedagogical expertise to engage multilingual skills that come from family and community practice, scaffold their use, teach for skill transfer between multilingual and English language contexts, and support students in articulating their multilingual resources. Building the vertical dimension of English language on top of students' horizontal multilingual skills draws on the more traditional expertise of EALD teachers in teaching text types, structures, grammar and vocabulary. Maintaining a welcoming, flexible and interactive classroom environment is another key facet to successful multilingual pedagogies. Although it may not yet be possible to move the monolingual monolith of Australian education, teachers have opportunities to step out of its shadow and creatively etch out spaces for students' home languages and cultural knowledges in the classroom.

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[i] School names and student names are pseudonyms

[ii] The *Index of Community and Socio-Educational Advantage* (ICSEA) score is a measure of educational advantage based on parents' education levels, parents' occupations, remoteness of geography and indigeneity (ACARA, 2013).