Including home languages in the classroom: a videographic study on challenges and possibilities of multilingual pedagogy

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Keywords: home languages; multilingual pedagogy; foreign language learning; videography, Switzerland

Introduction

Today, classes made up of students with different linguistic backgrounds are a reality in many countries. How to best deal with this linguistic diversity in school is, however, still an open question. Plurilingual approaches such as 'awakening to languages' are considered a possibility to sensitise for linguistic diversity and to discover differences and similarities of various languages.

In Switzerland, plurilingual approaches are frequently discussed regarding foreign language teaching as it is widely believed that they may lead to more efficient foreign language learning (e.g. EDK 2011, 6). Therefore, plurilingual activities have recently been integrated in most foreign language textbooks. The videographic study this paper reports on explores how pupils deal with multilingual activities of the type currently integrated in foreign language textbooks in German-speaking Switzerland. One of the research questions pertained to possible intended and unintended effects of multilingual activities that include home languages. The intended effects of the implementation of multilingual activities result from the goals of multilingual pedagogy. Observations of both intended and unintended effects will be addressed in the present paper.

Context of the study

Multilingual pedagogy and the inclusion of home languages

Multilingual pedagogy includes a variety of approaches such as the so called 'tertiary language didactics' (e.g. Neuner, 2004; Neuner et al., 2009), intercomprehension of related languages (e.g. Meissner, 2004), awakening to languages (eg. Candelier, 2004) and a common language curriculum (eg. Hufeisen, 2011, 2018). Given the diversity of approaches, it is not surprising that multilingual pedagogy also pursues a number of different objectives (cf. Candelier et al., 2012; Marx, 2016). Based on a comprehensive

literature research, Reich and Krumm (2013, pp. 94ff.) distinguish between primarily cognitive and metacognitive objectives (knowledge of language and language learning, procedures of language analysis and language comparison) and primarily affective and attitudinal objectives (attitudes of openness to linguistic and cultural diversity as well as motivation for further language learning).

A further objective of approaches such as *éveil aux langues/awakening to languages* is the inclusion of the various home languages of children with an immigrant background in class in order to valorise these languages and promote openness towards linguistic and cultural diversity (Candelier & de Pietro, 2014; Gloor, 2007, p. 10). This goal is shared by the concept of 'official translanguaging', which refers to strategies employed by teachers to use several languages in class (e.g. Duarte, 2018; García & Wei, 2015). According to Duarte, official translanguaging can have a symbolic function of 'acknowledging and valorising migrant languages within mainstream education' or a scaffolding function 'when temporary but systematic bridges towards other languages are incorporated in everyday teaching, thus attributing equal value to all languages' (2018, p. 13).

According to some scholars, educational justice requires home languages to be included and valued in school. Krumm (2016) for instance argues that disregarding children's home languages would deprive these children of social recognition. This, in turn, is supposedly central for the development of self-esteem, which itself is an essential prerequisite for the development of identity (Krumm 2016, p. 60f). Dausend and Lohe (2016) also argue that the integration of home languages can support the multilingualism of pupils, especially on the affective level. Similarly to Krumm, they point out that the inclusion of home languages can lead to appreciation of and a positive attitude towards one's own multilingual identity. Moreover, as Sánchez and Kasun point out, 'teachers can enrich classroom lessons and promote cross-cultural understanding among students' by drawing on the knowledge of multilingual children (2012, p. 85).

However, various preconditions must be met in order for the inclusion of home languages to lead to the desired valorisation. First, teachers must be prepared to allow for the reference to languages of which they themselves have only basic knowledge or no knowledge at all. They must have the courage to leave the role of expert to students with home languages while taking on the role of learners of new languages. As far as

pupils are concerned, they must be willing to take on the role of experts for their home languages (cf. Dausend & Lohe, 2016, p. 228).

To this day, there is only little research on how multilingual pupils react to the deliberate inclusion of their home languages in class. It is therefore still unclear, whether multilingual pupils are happy to take on the role of language experts and if they consider the inclusion of their home languages to be positive (cf. Dausend & Lohe, 2016; Göbel, Vieluf & Hesse, 2010). As Schader explains, some children and teenagers with a migration background go through phases in the process of finding their identity during which they want to have as little as possible to do with their home language and culture. If these children are suddenly referred to as experts of their home language or culture, they may feel isolated or as if their desire to be like their colleagues is not being respected (Schader, 2004, p. 35).

Schader's warning coincides in part with findings made by Krüger (2016) during an observational study of a transcultural theatre project. In this project entitled 'fremd?!' (foreign?!), multilingual pupils from a secondary school in Basel (Switzerland) acted as themselves on stage, spoke their languages and addressed their cultures. Krüger observed that the pupils reacted to this conscious thematisation of their languages and cultures with relatively little enthusiasm. She therefore concludes that the idea of a scenic representation of their personality hardly corresponded to their own needs and interests, as they did not see themselves as 'foreign' (Krüger, 2016, p. 249). However, in a written survey, these students nevertheless expressed a strong attachment to their first languages. At the same time, they hardly demanded a better integration of their languages into everyday school life and did not necessarily evaluate the current offerings of the school, which deliberately appreciated their first languages, as positive (Krüger, 2016, p. 250). Similarly, McCabe reports on children with home languages in the US 'who strove to belong with their American peers, refusing to bring ethnic food to school or to speak the HL [heritage language]' (2014, p. 245).

It is therefore still an open question whether explicitly including home languages in education necessarily makes pupils with a migration background feel more appreciated. It is furthermore unclear whether this will reduce possible negative stereotypes and prejudices among other pupils and teachers (cf. Göbel & Schmelter, 2016, pp. 280f).

Research context: multilingual pedagogy in the Swiss educational system

In Switzerland, children learn two foreign languages in primary school. They usually begin their first foreign language in 3rd grade (aged 9) and the second foreign language in 5th grade (aged 11). Depending on the region, they either start by learning one of the Swiss national languages and learn English as the second foreign language or vice versa.

Multilingual approaches have recently been integrated into the new (foreign) language curricula (CIIP, 2012; D-EDK, 2015). The main reason for this integration seems to be a wide-spread expectation – among policy makers and teacher trainers – that multilingual pedagogy may accelerate the foreign language learning process by emphasising and practising transfers of linguistic and language learning competences from one language learning context to another (e.g. EDK, 2011, p. 7). In Switzerland, discussions on multilingual pedagogy are therefore mostly linked to foreign language teaching.

A further goal pursued by introducing multilingual approaches into the new curricula is the valorisation of home languages. The language strategy of the Swiss cantonal ministers of education, on which the curricula are based, states that 'the L1 of children with an immigration background are valorised in the regular curriculum via approaches such as "éveil aux languages/language awareness"' (EDK, 2004, p. 4)[1.] However, especially in the curriculum for the German-speaking region (D-EDK, 2015), home languages are only rarely mentioned. This may be due to the fact that their inclusion into the curriculum is often viewed as a challenge, as there is usually quite a large number of different languages present in a class (cf. EDK, 2012, p. 9).

In L1- and foreign language textbooks currently used in Switzerland, home languages are rarely referred to. An analysis of French and English textbooks used in German-speaking Switzerland shows, that only two primary school textbooks regularly include home languages (First Choice, 2004, and Mille feuilles, 2011) while in the

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[1] In 2017, 37.2% of the permanent resident population of Switzerland had a migration background (FSO n.d.). Tuition in home languages is voluntary and not part of the curriculum. It often takes place on the school premises. However, the teachers are not paid by the state and are not part of the teaching staff.

others − especially those at secondary level − they are only rarely referred to (Kofler, Peyer & Barras, in press). Often, activities are about recognising or guessing the different languages as well as sensitising pupils to the diversity of languages in their own environment and making the home languages visible. For example, expressions such as 'good morning' or birthday songs in several languages (especially Italian, Portuguese, Albanian and Turkish) are discussed in the textbooks. Activities that include home languages and have a primarily cognitive or metacognitive objective, such as language comparison activities, are rare (Kofler, Peyer & Barras, in press).

In summary, the expectations of multilingual pedagogy in Switzerland are high and manifold, and multilingual approaches have been integrated to some degree into foreign language textbooks. This contrasts with the fact that there are hardly any empirical studies on multilingual pedagogy in compulsory schooling, in particular no observational studies at primary level.

The Study

In light of the issues raised in the literature review above, this article discusses data from a study which explores the intended and unintended effects of multilingual teaching approaches currently integrated in the curriculum and in foreign language (i.e. French and English) textbooks in German-speaking Switzerland. The study used videography to observe pupils dealing with various types of multilingual activities (e.g. linguistic comparisons, intercultural comparisons, intercomprehension, language awareness raising activities). The videographic observation was carried out between February and May 2017. It was conducted in primary and secondary schools with pupils aged around 12 and 14 respectively. This paper focuses on the younger age group (pupils aged between 11 and 12) and on activities or situations in which students' home languages are referred to. Such activities usually aim to make home languages visible and valued. However, as has been discussed in the literature review, there is still little evidence on how pupils and teachers deal with such activities as well as on how (multilingual) pupils react to them. This paper therefore addresses the research question of what challenges and opportunities – i.e. unintended and intended effects - may occur when implementing multilingual activities which refer to pupils' home languages.

Materials

The multilingual activities used in the study were mostly created by the project team and modelled after prototypical activities found in French and English language textbooks. To ascertain what types of multilingual activities are integrated in French or English textbooks currently in use, the project team conducted a comprehensive textbook analysis of French and English textbooks used in compulsory education in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The multilingual activities identified were (in order of frequency beginning with the most frequent) a) language comparisons, b) intercultural comparisons, c) reflection on language(s) and culture(s), d) use of and reflection on strategies, e) language identification and f) intercomprehension (for more details see Kofler, Peyer & Barras, in press).

Based on insights of a pilot study, the multilingual activities were organised into three thematically coherent dossiers which are accessible online (see Peyer, Barras, Lüthi & Kofler, 2019). For each dossier, a teacher's manual containing the learning objectives of the dossier and the solutions for the individual activities was created. The project team did not classify the activities used in the project as 'good' or 'bad' examples of multilingual activities nor did it create them with the goal of finding the perfect activity. Rather, the aim was to investigate how pupils deal with prototypical multilingual activities such as the ones in current textbooks. The teacher's handbook was also based on current handbooks, which means that the comments on the activities were short and − especially regarding the learning objectives − relatively vague.

A further research instrument was a short students' questionnaire focussing on the language biography of the children as well as their experiences with and attitudes towards the integration of home languages and native cultures into the foreign language classroom.

Procedure

The participating teachers and their classes were asked to use the multilingual teaching dossiers comprising different types of multilingual activities during two double lessons (of 80-90 minutes). Teachers could choose which activities of the dossier they wanted to use in their class and could change the order of the activities. They could also install plenary phases at their discretion, e.g. to discuss the activities worked on in the groups. The teachers also composed the groups to be filmed and they were asked to select

'average' pupils for these groups. For most filmed groups, the teachers chose at least one child with a home language other than (Swiss) German.

Students were observed and filmed while working on multilingual activities during two double lessons of foreign language classes. Pupils mostly worked in groups of three. Since in most classes there was at least one child for whom there was no parental consent for filming, no class camera was used. In each class, two groups of three learners were filmed.

At the beginning of the first lesson, pupils filled in the students' questionnaire described above. At the end of each double lesson, pupils gave their view on how difficult, interesting and conducive to learning the activities were. Furthermore, retrospective teacher interviews were conducted (for results of these interviews see Barras, Peyer & Lüthi, 2019).

Participants

The Study was conducted in primary and secondary school classes from both educational regions of German-speaking Switzerland. I.e. pupils either learned French as a first foreign language and English as a second foreign language or vice versa. This article focuses exclusively on the younger age group as activities referring to home languages are typically carried out in primary school. The participation by teachers and their classes was voluntary;[2] 10 primary school classes and 169 pupils aged 11-12 partook in the study.

48.5% (n = 82) of the pupils indicated home languages other than (Swiss) German. In total, 25 different first languages are present in our sample. The most common first languages are (Swiss) German (n = 126), English (n = 11), French (n = 11), Tamil (n = 9), Albanian (n = 7) and Italian (n = 6). According to the pupils' questionnaire, most multilingual pupils (73.1%, n = 60) had already experienced their home language being referred to in class. One quarter answered that their home

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[2] In the retrospective teacher interviews, teachers gave the following reasons for participation: some already knew multilingual didactic approaches from their studies, while others said they wanted to try something new. Still others stated that they would like to contribute to the success of research projects. Some wanted to sensitise their pupils to the topic of multilingualism.

language had never been included in class (25.6%, n = 21). Children with home languages not belonging to the Germanic or Romance language families make up the clear majority of the latter group (n = 17). Pupils who had answered the first question in the affirmative were further asked: 'how do you feel about your mother tongue being included in class?' 55.7% of them answered that they liked their home language being included in class, whereas 37.7% ticked the answer 'I don't care'. 6.6% of the pupils ticked the answer 'I'm embarrassed'. The explanations they gave for being embarrassed were that they did not know their home language well enough or that their language would sound weird to the other children. Children who liked their home language being included in class either argued that they themselves could benefit from it or that it might be interesting or fun for their colleagues.

Analysis

Due to time constraints, the original corpus was slightly reduced for data analysis: firstly, videos of poor recording quality were omitted and secondly, in the case of a frequently used dossier, only one of the two groups filmed in a class was randomly selected for analysis. Finally, the analysed corpus consisted of 32 videos (of 80-90 minutes each) from 9 different primary classes of grades 5 and 6. These videos were first summarized in the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA (2018) and then transcribed, using slightly adapted rules for the simple transcription system of Dresing and Pehl (2015). The focus of the transcriptions was on verbal action; non-verbal actions necessary for understanding were also recorded. Individual work phases and student conversations without reference to the research topic were not transcribed.

Subsequently, the data were analysed using qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015) focusing on manifest content. For this, the research team developed a category system that takes into account the breadth of the videographic material. In a first step, three researchers independently compiled a list of categories based on the research questions, specialist literature and the data (the summaries of the videos already produced). The three lists of categories were then compared and combined into one category system. It focuses on three main topics: the inclusion of home languages and cultures, the verbalisation of strategies (with subcategories for the different strategies, e.g. using similarities between languages, referring to world knowledge) and meta-linguistic comments (with subcategories for the various linguistic levels

commented on, e.g. vocabulary, grammar, phonology, orthography/writing system). Subsequently, the research team tested the original system on several transcripts and gradually adapted and completed it. Short interactions about a topic were defined as the coding unit, which means that a coding unit usually comprises at least one turn-taking. Finally, the transcripts were coded by two persons in MAXQDA, with one third of the transcripts being coded twice to check intercoder reliability. Only few inconsistencies could be found, which usually stemmed from the fact that some passages needed to be coded with several overlapping codes and one code had been forgotten.

For the purposes of this paper all of the codings 'inclusion of home languages' were paraphrased and thereafter sorted into the subcategories 'intended effects' and 'unintended effects'. In the following, various sequences will be analysed which illustrate the breadth of reactions to home language inclusion.

Results

Below, we will present (recurring) observations made when analysing the video sequences coded as 'inclusion of home languages'. Apart from interactions which exemplify the activities' intended effects, e.g. opportunities for valorising home languages, we also observed many interactions which show various unintended effects that need to be considered when referring to home languages in the classroom.

Home language inclusion – intended effects

In our corpus we can frequently observe pupils who admire their colleagues with other home languages for their linguistic knowledge, especially if a child speaks a language perceived as prestigious (e.g. Spanish) or as useful and very difficult to learn (e.g. Chinese).

Also, students who were able to write their home language were often admired for this ability, particularly if they could write in another writing system (e.g. Tamil). This was often the case during an activity, in which pupils were asked to translate a joke into the artificial language Europanto (a macaronic language using a fluid vocabulary from European languages) and thereby to make use of their home languages. At the same time, this activity was also an opportunity for students to learn about other writing systems. One group, for instance, decided to write their joke in a mixture of Serbian, Hungarian and Swiss German. At one point, the Hungarian-speaking girl is visibly

proud of having written down a Serbian word correctly by ear. The Serbian-speaking girl then explains to her that Serbian is actually written in the Cyrillic alphabet, something the Hungarian-speaking girl is surprised to hear (transcript OA_0703_A1, l. 663-666).

We also observed that, thanks to the multilingual activities, one 12-year-old girl seems to have discovered for the first time how rich her linguistic repertoire actually is:

Excerpt 1 (SK_1303_B1, l. 60-66)

S1, S2, S3: pupils

*: Phrases between asterisks were originally spoken in Swiss German

60	S2: *Was reden wir noch?*	S2: What else do we speak?
61	S1: [liest vom Blatt der Kollegin S3 ab] *Urdu! Was ist Urdu?*	S1: [reads from the worksheet of her colleague S3] Urdu! What is Urdu?
62	S3: *Das ist eine Sprache, die man in Pakistan und viele (unv.)*	S3: It's a language that is spoken in Pakistan and many (incompr.)
63	S1: *Ah. Redest du auch noch Englisch zu Hause?*	S1: Ah. Do you also speak English at home?
64	S3: *Einfach mit meinem Bruder.*	S3: Just with my brother.
65	S2: *Dann musst du Englisch schreiben noch. (1) Ich schreibe.* [nimmt ein Post-It]	S2: Then you also have to write down English. (1) I'll write. [takes a post-it]
66	S3: *Ich schreibe eigen/ ich spreche eigentlich mehrere Sprachen? [macht erstaunten Gesichtsausdruck] Wow!*	S3: I actually write/ I actually speak several languages? [makes an astonished face] Wow!

Also, some students were visibly proud and glad about being referred to as experts for their home languages by teachers or colleagues. However, this was not always the case (cf. excerpt 4).

Furthermore, the multilingual activities gave pupils without a migrant background the opportunity to ask questions about the languages and cultures of their multilingual colleagues. However, pupils hardly seized this opportunity. One of these rare instances occurred in the group already cited in excerpt 1, which consisted of a girl without migration background (S1), a girl whose parents come from Sri Lanka (S2) and a girl whose parents are from Pakistan (S3). In the following sequence, the girls have

finished their group work and are waiting. S2 and S3 are talking about wanting to learn Turkish when S1 interrupts them.

Excerpt 2 (SK_2003_B2, l. 464-475)

S1, S2, S3: pupils

464	S1 [zu S2]: *Gell, deine Eltern kommen aus Sri Lanka?*	S1 [to S2]: Your parents come from Sri Lanka, right?
465	[S2 nickt]	[S2 nods]
466	S3 [zu S2]: *'Hallo' sagt man 'Merheba', 'merheba.'*	S3 [to S2]: 'Hello' is called 'merheba', 'merheba'.
467	S1: *Hat deine Mutter einen Punkt hier?* [zeigt auf ihre Stirn]	S1: Does your mother have a dot here? [points to her forehead]
468	S2: Hä? [schaut überrascht und lächelt]	S2: Eh? [looks surprised and smiles]
469	S1: *Hat deine Mutter hier einen Punkt?* [zeigt auf ihr Stirn]	S1: Does your mother have a dot here? [points to her forehead]
470	S2: [lacht] *Ja.*	S2: [laughs] Yes.
471	S3: *Das klebt man selber, oder so.*	S3: You stick it yourself or so.
472	S1: [nickt]	S1: [nods]
473	S2: *Das sollte so zeigen,* ich bin nicht zu vergeben Männer *oder so weisst du.*	S2: That's supposed to show 'I'm already taken, men' or so you know.
474	S1: Aha.	S1: Aha.
475	S2: *Dass man, also dass man verheiratet ist.*	S2: That one, that one is married.

For S1, the multilingual activities gave her an opportunity to satisfy her curiosity about her colleague's mother and at the same time to learn something about other customs. However, it remains unclear how it felt for S2 to be asked if her mother wears a bindi or not. Her smile and laugh seem to express a mixture between amusement and surprise about this unexpected question.

Home language inclusion – unintended effects

In our data, we observed many interactions by pupils and teachers which in one way or the other contrast with the aim of valorising pupils' home languages and cultures. Such sequences were rather frequent when multilingual children were asked to say or write an expression in their home languages. In the teacher's guide to a dossier about the topic of

food, for instance, it was suggested to start the lesson by gathering the expression 'enjoy your meal' in various languages at the blackboard. Four out of five teachers working with this dossier followed this suggestion and gathered the expressions either at the blackboard or orally. The only teacher who did not chose this introduction was teaching a class in which no child had another home language.

Excerpt 3 offers an insight into pupils' reactions to the request to say or write the expression in their home languages. The three pupils in this sequence are all speakers of home languages. S4 indicated Portuguese as his L1, S5 Serbian and S6 mentioned both German and Albanian as her L1s. If not otherwise indicated, the three children are talking to one another in this sequence:

Excerpt 3 (CH1_0704_B2, l. 62-99)

S4, S5, S6: pupils, Sx: unidentifiable pupil (i.e. not filmed), T: teacher

62	LP: Zum Start möchte ich gerne, dass du dir überlegst, wie 'Guten Appetit' allenfalls in deiner Sprache, in deiner Muttersprache heisst. Und wer kann, soll es doch in seiner Sprache auf die Wandtafel schreiben.	T: For starters, I would like you to think about what 'Enjoy your meal' is called in your language, in your mother tongue. And whoever can should write it in his language on the blackboard.
63	S4: *Keine Ahnung.*	S4: No idea.
64	S5: [flüstert] *Ich habe es vergessen.*	S5: [whispers] I forgot it.
65	S4: *Ich habe keine Ahnung.*	S4: I have no idea.
66	LP: Wer kann da einen Start machen?	T: Who can start?
67	S5: *Warte, wie heisst das?* [studiert angestrengt]	S5: Wait, what is it called? [thinks hard]
68	LP: Sx kann auch kommen. [S4 hebt Hand]	T: Sx can come too. [S4 raises his hand]
69	LP: S4?	T: S4?
70	S4: [Zur Lehrperson] Ich bin mir aber/ [steht auf und geht zur Tafel] ich bin mir aber nicht sicher. [schreibt 'bon apetito' an die Tafel]	S4: [To the teacher] But I'm not/ [stands up and goes to the blackboard] but I'm not sure. [writes 'bon apetito' on the blackboard]
71	S5: [flüstert zu S6 und lächelt erstaunt] *Ich habe vergessen.*	S5: [whispers to S6, smiles and seems surprised] I have forgotten.
72	S6: [flüstert] *Ich weiss selber gar nicht, wie man es schreibt.*	S6: [whispers] I myself don't know at all how to write it.

	[…]	[…]
85	LP: Keine anderen?	T: No one else?
86	S5: Ich habe es vergessen. [zu S4, der zum Tisch zurückkommt] *Ich habe es vergessen.*	S5: I forgot it. [to S4 who is coming back to the desk] I forgot it.
87	S4: *Ich habe/ ich habe (dich?) auf dem Bild dort darauf gesehen.* [zeigt auf Kamera]	S4: I/ I saw (you?) on the picture there. [points to the display of the camera]
88	[S6 hebt Hand, bekommt eine Kreide, geht an die Tafel und schreibt 'Të bofte mirë']	[S6 raises her hand, gets a piece of chalk, goes to the blackboard and writes 'Të bofte mirë']
89	S4: *Ich bin mir nicht sicher, aber ich glaube schon. 'En Guete'* [zeigt auf Tafel und lacht]	S4: I'm not sure, but I think so. 'En Guete' [points to the blackboard and laughs, presumably because the expression is in Swiss German.]
90	(6) [S5 denkt angestrengt nach]	(6) [S5 thinks hard]
91	S5: [Runzelt die Stirn und berührt diese] *He ich habe vergessen, wie das heisst.*	S5: [Frowns and touches his forehead] Hey, I forgot what it's called.
92	S4: *Keine Ahnung. Keine Ahnung (unv.)*	S4: No idea. No idea (incompr.)
93	S5: *Ich weiss, was 'Gesundheit' heisst.*	S5: I know what 'bless you' means.
94	Sx: S5!	Sx: S5!
95	S5: [Lacht] *Ich habe es vergessen!*	S5: [Laughs] I forgot it!
96	Sx: *Dein Vater wäre enttäuscht.*	Sx: Your father would be disappointed.
97	S5: *Ich weiss.* [lacht]	S5: I know. [laughs]
98	S4: [zu jemand anderem] *Abgeschrieben! Abgeschrieben!*	S4: [to someone else] Copied! Copied!
99	S5: *Hei, das gibt es doch nicht!* [Spielt nervös mit seinem Radiergummi.]	S5: Hey, this can't be true! [Plays nervously with his rubber.]

In the above sequence, each of the three multilingual pupils reacts differently. S5 immediately says that he cannot recall the expression, while his face expresses hard thinking and later surprise and disbelief. The fact that he repeats six times that he has forgotten the expression and his exclamation 'Hey, this can't be true!' (l. 99) underlines how surprised he is.

S4 too says at the beginning that he has 'no idea' about how to translate 'Guten Appetit' into his home language Portuguese. Some seconds later, however, he raises his hand and writes 'bon apetito' at the blackboard, while at the same time saying that he is not sure. It seems that he is unsure both about the spelling and about the expression itself as the correct Portuguese expression would be 'bom apetite' or 'bom proveito'.

S6 too, does not feel comfortable with the task of having spontaneously to write an expression in her home language, as she says in line 72 that she does not know at all how to write it. However, after some reflection, she is able to write the expression on the blackboard.

This raises the question how this situation in which all three multilingual children seem to feel uneasy could come about. An important reason seems to be the instruction by the teacher: she asks them to think about what 'enjoy your meal' is called in 'your language'. Thus, the teacher somehow (probably unconsciously and unwillingly) denies the multilingual pupils to have more than one L1 and to also call (Swiss) German 'their language'. Instead, they are supposed to be competent and fluent speakers (and writers) of their home languages. Pupils do not have the time and possibility to consult a dictionary or any other resource but are almost immediately asked to go and write on the blackboard. A more open question, such as: 'do you say anything in your family before you have meal together?' might have led to a more interesting discussion about different customs. However, by asking 'no one else?' (l. 85) instead of calling on somebody in particular, the teacher does not expose multilingual pupils such as S5, who do not know the expression in their home language. Still, excerpt 3 shows how the well-meant objective of 'valorising' pupils home languages can lead to an unpleasant situation for some of them as their lack of linguistic knowledge (or their lack of translation competence) may be exposed to the class. In line 96, S5 is even (jokingly) told by a colleague that his father would be disappointed by his inability to translate the expression into his home language.

Thus, excerpt 3 is an example of the various difficulties that multilingual children may have when spontaneously asked to translate and write an expression in their home language. While some children do not seem to have any problems recalling the expression and/or writing it, many cannot recall the expression, while others are insecure about the spelling or are not able to write their home language at all. Moreover, we also found several examples of pupils making mistakes in their home language or saying incorrect things about the linguistic system of those languages. Such statements

were usually left uncorrected, because the teacher either did not hear them or did not

know that they were incorrect or possibly did not want to expose the child.

Furthermore, we witnessed something that we called *valorisation against students' will*. In those rather frequent situations, a student was asked something about his or her home language. Some of them seemed to feel quite uncomfortable about this. One reason for students' discomfort caused by the unexpected focus on their L1 could be the fact that it often led to a revelation of students' lack of competence in their home language (as seen in excerpt 3). Another reason might be that already primary school pupils seem to be very aware of the unequal prestige of their home languages. Students with a less prestigious language were less eager to be identified as a speaker of that language than students with languages perceived as 'cool'. Examples of pupils who are not eager to say something in their home language in front of the whole class are S7 and S8 in excerpt 4, who both speak Tamil. Before the excerpt begins, multilingual pupils have written 'their' expressions of 'Guten Appetit' on the blackboard and were then asked to read their expression to the class.

Excerpt 4 (SK_2003_B2, l. 72-84)

S7, S8: pupils with Tamil as a home language, Sx: unidentifiable pupil (i.e. not filmed), T: teacher

72	Sx: 'Buon appetito'.	Sx: 'Buon appetito'.
73	LP: Genau. Französische Variante 'Bon appétit' [zeigt darauf]. Und hier ganz spannend die tamili/ tamilische Variante [zeigt darauf].	T: Exactly. French version 'Bon appétit' [points at it]. And here, very interesting the tami/ tamil version [points at it].
74	S7: [zu LP] *S8 kann es gern vorlesen*.	S7: [to T] S8 can read it aloud.
75	Sx: *Man hört nicht.*	Sx: One can't hear.
76	LP: Es ist sehr, sehr schön geschrieben, aber wenn ich das sehen würde, ich hätte keine Ahnung, wo ich anfangen sollte mit dem Aussprechen. Sx?	T: It is very, very beautifully written, but if I saw it, I would have no idea where to start with the pronunciation. Sx?
77	Sx: *Ich habe es nicht gehört.*	Sx: I didn't hear it.
78	LP: Sie hat es auch noch nicht ganz gesagt, aber S8 sagt es sehr gerne, bitte.	T: She hasn't quite said it, but S8 will gladly say it, please.

79	S8 [leise]: 'nalla saapprango'.	S8 [in a low voice]: 'nalla saapprango'.
80	[Mehrere Schüler fragen nach.]	[Several students ask for clarification.]
81	LP: Noch einmal und schau gleich in die Runde.	T: Again, and also look at everybody.
82	[Viele Schüler machen Pst-Geräusche, damit es ruhig wird.]	[Many students shush so that there is silence.]
83	S8: 'nalla saapprango' [S8 senkt den Kopf, lacht, dreht sich von der Klasse weg und verdeckt ihr Lachen mit ihrer Hand; gleichzeitig Gelächter in der Klasse, einige Schüler sprechen nach.]	S8: 'nalla saapprango' [S8 lowers her head, laughs, turns away from the class and hides her smile behind her hand; at the same time laughter, other students repeat it.]
84	LP: Interessant, sehr schön.	T: Interesting, very nice.

As can be seen in excerpt 4, neither S7 nor S8 seem to be keen on reading the Tamil expression to the whole class. S7, who – after a discussion with S8 − had reluctantly written the expression on the blackboard, tells the teacher in line 74 that her colleague S8 will be reading it. S8 then reads it aloud seeming to be very aware that the Tamil expression might sound exotic or strange as she speaks in a low voice and starts laughing when asked to repeat it. On the other hand, excerpt 4 also shows that the other pupils are extremely interested to hear the Tamil expression, as many children shush (l. 82) and one child complains that he has not heard the expression (l. 75 and 77) before it has actually been read aloud. The teachers' comment in line 76 about the beautiful writing might have stimulated the pupils' interest further. Why she then adds that she has no idea how to pronounce it remains unclear: it could be to stimulate the interest of the children or also to acknowledge that the two Tamil speaking children are (for once) the experts and not she. At the same time, this comment somehow categorizes the Tamil language as exotic/unusual and may thus have involuntarily strengthened the uneasiness of S8 to read the expression to the whole class.

Some of the activities also led to a rather superficial implementation of the multilingual pedagogy and a superficial inclusion of students' home languages. For instance, multilingual pupils were asked to say something in their home language (e.g. 'Guten Appetit'), they answered the question and the teacher reacted with 'good' or 'interesting',

but nothing more. It remains doubtful if such interactions really lead to the recognition and appreciation of the students' home languages.

A last type of unintended effect repeatedly observed in our data are situations in which teachers needed a considerable amount of linguistic knowledge (or detailed linguistic background information in the teachers' guide), for instance about language families. Teachers sometimes made a mind map on the blackboard of all the languages spoken in class. In one class, the teacher asked a girl whose parents come from Eritrea what language she speaks at home. At first, the girl answers that she speaks German with her parents on which the teacher asks: 'And how is it in Eritrea? […] Is there one language or are there several?' When the girl answers 'there are several, but we speak Eritrean', the teacher writes 'Eritrean' on the blackboard, probably not knowing that no such language exists or not wanting to expose the child's ignorance. (SK_1303_A1 l. 21 - 51).

Discussion and Outlook

In light of the various aims of multilingual pedagogy presented in the literature, this article discusses data from a videographic observational study on how pupils aged 11-12 deal with prototypical multilingual activities used in foreign language education in German-speaking Switzerland. The aim was to analyse interactions between pupils as well as pupils and teachers in order to discover possible intended and unintended effects of the inclusion of home languages.

In the analysed corpus of 32 videos, several instances can be found which show that thematising home languages may lead to an appreciation of these languages and its speakers. Often, pupils were admired for being able to write or say something in their home language, especially if they were speakers of socially prestigious languages. Furthermore, children who were able to write in a writing system very different from the Latin alphabet, such as Tamil, were often complimented on the beautiful script.

Regarding the aim of fostering attitudes of openness to linguistic and cultural diversity, there are only very few sequences in the corpus which could be interpreted in this way. Although activities which encourage pupils to say something in their home languages help to make home languages visible to the whole class, they do not necessarily influence children's attitudes regarding linguistic and cultural diversity. On

the contrary, these activities seem to be too superficial and not meaningful enough for that. Teachers typically did not elaborate on the contributions in home languages and did not encourage children to compare linguistic or cultural phenomena. They usually contented themselves with making a positive comment such as 'very beautiful' or 'interesting'. The reasons for this are open to speculation: Time constraints may have played a role or the fact that teachers did not possess a great deal of experience with including home languages in a meaningful way, for instance by comparing linguistic or cultural aspects. Furthermore, there was only little guidance in the teachers' commentary. Also, activities which were meant to make the linguistic diversity of a class visible often led to an unpleasant situation for the multilingual children as they could not spontaneously retrieve certain expressions in their home language (cf. excerpt 3).

Moreover, sequences in which pupils speaking less prestigious languages were reluctant to contribute something in their home language (excerpt 4) confirm previous findings revealing that some children with a migration background do not wish their home language and culture to be referred to in school (Krüger, 2016) or refuse to be identified as bicultural (McCabe, 2014, p. 245). In light of these findings, a more learner-oriented approach seems to be imperative. This also implies that the wish of these children not to be identified as 'foreign' or 'bicultural' has to be respected.

The various challenges identified in our study raise a number of questions. First of all, it remains uncertain if the goals of multilingual pedagogy (i.e. valorising all languages and fostering positive attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity) can be reached by the activities currently integrated in foreign language textbooks in Switzerland – or in other words − by what type of activities they can best be achieved. Also, it may well be that these goals could better be attained by week-long projects than by short episodic activities. This would make it possible to analyse and discuss certain aspects in more detail in class and it would give multilingual pupils more time to think, to do research of their own or to ask their parents about certain aspects of their home language and culture. In this way, situations could probably be avoided in which multilingual pupils are unable to fulfill the assigned role of expert of their home language and culture.

Another question that arises is whether the objectives of multilingual pedagogy can and should mainly be achieved in the foreign language classroom − as seems to be

the case in German-speaking Switzerland today. In the light of the questions raised

above, we hope that our study may contribute to the discussion on the potential of

multilingual pedagogy, its relevance and its place in the curriculum.

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