

**CODE-SWITCHING AS A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY IN CLASSROOM SETTINGS: THE
CASE OF TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN METROPOLITAN
MUNICIPALITY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that *CODE-SWITCHING AS A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY IN CLASSROOM SETTINGS: THE CASE OF TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete reference.

Sithembele Marawu

19 March 2018

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the use of code-switching as a pedagogical strategy in bi/multilingual classroom settings. It was prompted by the widespread use of code-switching (CS) in classrooms, particularly in South African rural and township schools. This study highlighted that learners from disadvantaged backgrounds struggle to learn through the medium of English but aspire to acquire it because of its association with socio-economic advancement. However, poor proficiency in English excludes them from being part of the country's economy.

Research studies show that there is a shift from the old orthodoxy which perceived CS as undesirable in classrooms to a new orthodoxy that acknowledges its academic contribution in classrooms. Although more research on classroom CS has been done, this study identified the need for development of new strategies on how to use CS effectively in classrooms as a linguistic and pedagogical resource.

In line with critical classroom ethnography, qualitative interpretation of data was used to understand the teachers' discourse behaviour. Additionally, non-probability sampling – specifically purposive sampling – was used to collect data. These methods and approaches assisted in the analysis of the discourse of the three teachers who served as units of analysis in this study. These teachers relied on CS to impart the content of their subjects to the learners.

It transpired from data analysis that teachers use CS in classrooms to achieve various functions like social and pedagogical functions. Another finding is that the switches teachers make do not affect the syntactic structure of the matrix language. Moreover, CS enhances understanding of the subject matter.

This study concludes by stating that as learners are emergent bilinguals, additive bilingualism would be more ideal in the South African situation than subtractive bilingualism which parents and learners seem to prefer. Lastly, there is a need to harness CS as a communicative and pedagogical resource in classrooms.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CS	Code switching
ESL	English as a Second Language
MT	Mother-tongue
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
TL	Translanguaging
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
BG	Blom & Gumperz
R	Ranamal
B	Bokmal
CA	Conversational Analysis
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most fundamental issues post-colonial societies have to deal with is the question of how indigenous languages which have been subdued could be utilised in educational spaces as pedagogical and linguistic resources. The other critical issue pertains to the need for speakers of indigenous languages, who are more susceptible to colonial languages, to valorise their own languages. These are some of the main issues which are explored in this study.

This chapter provides an overview of this study. It begins by presenting the context of this study, and highlighting the problem it grappled with. After unveiling the research problem this study was concerned with, this chapter looks at how other researchers have explored the phenomenon of classroom CS – the main focus of this study. For example, it looks at the trends and approaches that have been adopted by other researchers in the study of classroom CS. Having done that, it explains the methods, procedures and techniques that were used to collect data. For instance, it gives information about the schools where this research was conducted as well as the teachers and learners that were observed. The chapter closes by sharing information on how the critical issue of ethics in research was observed.

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to explore how code-switching (CS) can be used as a pedagogical strategy in multilingual classroom settings. Code-switching, “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communication discourse episode” is a widespread phenomenon in

South African classrooms (Heller, 1988:4). It is more prevalent in rural and township schools where the majority of learners come from a life world where English, the official language of teaching and learning, is not used for interaction in their homes and communities. Code-switching is used in classrooms in spite of perceptions that it can impede the acquisition of the second language. This perception stems from those who have the opinion that “if two languages are used simultaneously, like in code-switching and with notes in both languages, it will create confusion” (Vorster, 2008:38). Furthermore, another perception is that those who code switch have a poor command of English as Setati points out, “it is generally believed that people who switch codes know neither language well enough to converse in either one alone.” However, CS is a common feature of discourse in multilingual societies and in schools teachers use it to “facilitate the learners’ access to the curriculum content” (Ndaypfukamiye, 1996:36).

The view that code-switching could impede English learning or any second language stems from the fact that in countries like South Africa English still enjoys a dominant position as a language of prestige, and socio-economic advancement. In other words, there are those who believe that learners must master English in order to be an integral part of the country’s socio-economic advancement and to be members of the global community (Kadegde, 2003). The imposition of English as a language of teaching and learning might instead exclude from socio-economic advancement the majority of children whose parents cannot afford to send them to private or other well-resourced schools (Alexander, 2000).

The reality of the situation however, is that most learners and teachers in South Africa come from multilingual backgrounds (South Africa, Department of Education, 1997); therefore, teachers need to devise means and ways of using multilingualism as a pedagogical resource to

empower learners with information. One of the main challenges of countries that were colonised, however, is that former colonial languages continue to be used as languages of teaching and learning even in situations where education can be attained without being offered in the former colonial language. Rubagumya *et al.* (2011:80) citing Brock-Utne (2010) attribute this to “a misconception common among parents and governments, that using a language as Mol – as opposed to learning it as a foreign/second language – is the best way of becoming fluent in it.” In South Africa this misconception is also common as there are African parents who opt for English medium education because they see it “as a gateway to better education and economic empowerment” (De Wet, 2002:120) while perceiving mother-tongue education as perpetuation of the notorious Bantu Education system.

The use of CS in multilingual classrooms cannot be merely dismissed as an undesirable symptom of poor proficiency in a second language by its users but rather there is a need to interrogate its use by teachers in classrooms. The pertinent questions should be the following: what value can CS add to the learners’ understanding of the subject matter? What are the pedagogical implications of CS use in classroom situations? Furthermore, the question of how CS could be harnessed by teachers in classrooms to enhance the learners’ understanding of the subject matter needs to be explored in our research of classroom CS.

The research problem with which this study grappled, was how bi/multilingualism can be valorised in what are traditionally monolingual educational spaces, particularly in societies where many people are multilingual and language diversity is the order of the day. To interrogate monolingual pedagogic ideologies in such a context, this study relied on Bourdieu’s

critical analysis of production and reproduction of legitimate languages while dominated languages are subjected to subordination and devaluation (Bourdieu, 2002).

The need to challenge linguistic hegemony is also depicted by Shannon (1995:177) when she argues that “once a language achieves hegemonic status, dominated languages internalize that lowly status”. She goes on to state that “in a counterhegemonic bilingual classroom, linguistic rights are ensured for all” (Shannon, 1995:198). In addition, multilingual pedagogies in classrooms are used to construct knowledge across the curriculum (Ndayipfukamiye, 1994) and CS, in particular, is used to “negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meaning” (Martin-Jones, 1995:98).

In examining the issue of multilingualism versus monolingualism and more specifically, the research approach that could be used to interrogate the use and relevance of CS in classroom situations, it is imperative to first scrutinise trends of research on classroom CS which have been prevalent in the past. Martin-Jones (1995) states that serious research on classroom CS began in the mid-1970s with a debate on the impact of CS on children’s language development. Furthermore, earlier studies on classroom CS focused on calculating instances of the use of the learners’ first language (L1) in classrooms (see Wong-Fillmore, 1980). Studies later began to use the functional coding approach as could be seen in the studies conducted by Milk (1981) and Guthrie (1984). Studies that followed in the 1990s up to the beginning of the twenty first century relied on interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication (Goffman, 1974; Gumperz, 1982; 1986). These studies according to Lin (2013) include the research work of scholars, among others, like Lin (1990, 1996, 1999, 2006); Merritt et al (1992);

Adendorff (1993); Ndayipfukamiye (1994); Martin-Jones (1995, 2001); Heller (1999, 2001); Simon (2001).

While research that has been done on classroom CS in the past three decades is acknowledged, Lin (2013) calls for a new research approach to classroom CS. Lin (2013) makes the call for a new approach to classroom CS after she conducted a review of research that has been done on classroom CS in the past three decades. She identifies four main factors which have thwarted the advancement of research on classroom CS:

1. Studies tend to be descriptive rather than design-interventionist
2. Lack of “disciplinary plurilinguals”
3. Scarcity of theory-driven research questions
4. Lack of variety in the research questions and research designs (Lin, 2013:14-16).

Lin (2013) argues that studies have tended to focus on giving descriptions of existing CS practices in classrooms. This has been the case because for some time the use of CS in classrooms has been frowned upon by authorities (Lin, 1996) and in some instances by parents who associated education with the learners’ second language (L2) (De Wet, 2002). Researchers, therefore, had the mammoth task of performing through research a “legitimizing motive” (Lin, 2013:14) or “normalising mission” (Rampton, 2002:375). In other words, studies concentrated on describing instances of CS so as to prove their pedagogical importance. In this realm of research, studies conducted by scholars like Lin and Martin (2005); Forman (2007) and Macaro (2009) could be cited. Lin goes on to argue that classroom CS research must now shift from the “normalising mission” and begin to critically analyse existing approaches to classroom CS.

Furthermore, researchers must use “multiple research paradigms and methods, both interpretive and experimental” (Lin, 2013:15).

In addition to the call for new paradigms and approaches to classroom CS, Lin (2013) also yearns for theory-driven research questions on classroom CS research. She points out the need for research literature “to build up an expanded, diversified repertoire of theoretical frameworks”. The development of theoretical frameworks will lead to new research questions that will mark a shift from focusing on the “good sense or rationality” of CS instances in classroom situations (Lin, 2013:15).

The fourth point Lin (2013) makes about classroom CS pertains to lack of variety in the research questions and research designs. Lin argues that studies on classroom CS have been “one-shot” or “cross-sectional.” She suggests that there is a need for longitudinal studies on classroom CS. Furthermore, classroom CS research must also focus on students’ CS instances as well as written code-switching. Equally important, she calls for the involvement of teachers on research as teacher-researchers as well as students as student-researchers so that their voice and insight on their CS practices could be heard. Finally, she points out the need for research that would compare CS in the language and content classrooms (Lin, 2013:16).

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The research gap which this study hoped to fill was informed by the foregoing factors which Lin argues have restrained advancement of research on classroom CS. In this study teachers were observed for a period of three months with a specific focus on their classroom discourse. Its main aim was to scrutinise how code-switching could be used by teachers in multilingual

classroom situations so as to ameliorate the learners' acquisition of the subject matter. It also covered instances of CS by students as there was a need to investigate the CS patterns of learners and their pedagogical value. It did not only focus on giving a descriptive analysis of the CS behaviour of the teachers but the researcher – in collaboration with the teachers – sought to find out how CS was used as a strategy by the teachers to enhance the learners' understanding of the content of the subject. The researcher and the teachers discussed the outcomes of the lesson and examined how CS was going to be used by the teachers as an intervention strategy to improve the learners' understanding of the subject matter.

More specifically, this study aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- 1) To examine how the teachers used code-switching to enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter
- 2) To investigate the teachers' views about their code-switching practices in the classrooms
- 3) To establish the learners' perspective about the use of code-switching as a learning strategy
- 4) To determine if code-switching, after the intervention, has had a positive contribution to the learners' academic performance
- 5) To develop a model of classroom code-switching as a pedagogic strategy.

These research objectives were carried out in two senior secondary schools at the Cape Metropolitan Area in the Western Cape Province.

1.4 METHODS, PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

The research sites where this study was conducted were not only chosen because they were senior secondary schools but also because it was thought that learners at high school level would be able to give their opinion about classroom CS. In addition, these schools were selected because code-switching is prevalent in rural and township schools where most learners and teachers share the same mother-tongue. The participants of this study were three grade eight/nine teachers and their learners. Furthermore, the subjects that were observed were Accounting, History, Geography and English. The researcher chose teachers who agreed that they use code-switching in classrooms. Purposive sampling was used to select the teachers and the learners who participated in this study. Moreover, the teachers and the learners were chosen because of being bilingual in English and Xhosa. This study used mainly the qualitative method as the researcher observed over a period of time the teachers' and the learners' communicative behaviour as they interacted with each other in classrooms.

As the main aim of this study was to examine the communicative patterns of the teachers and their learners, qualitative sampling was also used and enabled the researcher to get a better understanding of their communicative repertoire. Halliday (2009) asserts that qualitative studies provide research opportunities which assist researchers to find more about the lives of the people they are researching. In the context of this research, the qualitative research methodology enabled the researcher to collect detailed data directly from the teachers and their learners. The detailed data served as a mirror of the participants' views, feelings and opinions about the use of CS in educational settings as well as its underlying pedagogical implications.

While this study used mainly the qualitative approach, the quantitative method was also used. It was imperative to use a mixed methods approach in this study so as to enable the researcher to collect enough data. In addition, questionnaires were used to collect data among the learners. This enabled the researcher to get a better understanding of how individual learners felt about the use of CS as a learning strategy.

Furthermore, this study used the design-interventionist approach. The design-interventionist approach was used in this study because research on CS for the past three decades had tended to focus on giving a descriptive analysis of classroom CS practices with a focus on the social and educational functions of CS (Lin, 2013). Also, most of the studies that have been conducted before have not been conducted over a long period but rather are once-off classroom activities featuring CS, as Lin points out; “Studies in the literature tend to be one-shot or cross sectional” (Lin, 2013:16). Lin goes on to argue that the design-interventionist approach is one of the approaches that will bring “new insights into classroom code-switching” (Lin, 2013:19). In this study, the researcher by embarking on a design-interventionist study which employed a combination of research paradigms did not only complement earlier studies on classroom CS but also filled the gap which exists on classroom code-switching research.

Also, the need for a longitudinal, design-interventionist research is prompted by lack of collaborative studies by researchers and teachers so that teachers can also give their perspective about their CS behaviour. The researcher, therefore, discussed the lesson plans together with the teachers, and in the process they decided on how CS would be used to reinforce the learners’ understanding of the lesson. This allowed the researcher to get an insider’s view of what normally happens when the teachers decide to interact with the learners

through code-switching. The researcher for a period of three months observed the phenomenon of code-switching as it occurred between the teachers and the learners. This was to enable the researcher and the teachers to assess over a period of time the CS patterns that the teachers and the learners used as they interacted with each other.

The researcher, the teachers and the learners then scrutinised the code-switching patterns which featured in the classroom discourse and whether their occurrence made any pedagogical contribution. Assessment of the pedagogical value of CS included examining how students who had been exposed to the CS classes performed in their tests. This was specifically applied to the English classes where CS was used as an intervention strategy. In one class the teacher did not use CS while in another class she used CS because she was saying that those learners were struggling with understanding English. The researcher analysed the assessment results of the two classes. The performance of the learners in the two classes was compared to determine if CS has had any impact in their academic performance. Furthermore, in post-observation interviews, the teachers got an opportunity to reflect on their classroom discourse. Similarly, learners through the questionnaires got an opportunity to give their perspective of the teachers' code-switching behaviour as well as their own classroom CS practices.

The involvement of the teachers as well as the learners in the analysis of their communication transactions was of critical importance to this study. This was so because previous studies tended to focus on the perspective of researchers on teachers' communicative repertoire and paid little or no attention to the teachers' and the learners' perspective on their CS patterns. This implies that to get an in depth understanding of the interactional practices in this classroom, this study employed a combination of approaches such as micro-ethnography

and conversational analysis (see chapter three). Rampton *et al.* (2002:388) refer to scholars who are able to use trans-disciplinary approaches as “disciplinary bilinguals”. Similarly, analysis of the learners CS patterns has not been a special focus of studies on classroom CS; this study also focused on how learners perceived their teachers’ code-switching behaviour. The intention of this study, therefore, was not only to give an analysis of the researcher’s perspective of observed code-switching practices but to also get the teachers’ as well as the learners’ perspective on their own code-switching behaviour.

As the researcher observed the teachers’ use of CS as a communicative repertoire and also how learners made use of CS in learning situations, data were collected using a tape-recorder and a video-recorder. This equipment was used to ensure that no classroom activity would be missed even if there could be a technical failure. By using recorders the researcher obtained a visual and an auditory record of the classroom interactions. During that period self-report, interviews and observation were used to collect data. The researcher played-back the recorded classroom activities and selected lessons which he needed for data analysis. The transcriptions of the lessons were done by the researcher. This gave him another opportunity to listen to the teachers’ classroom discourse and thus get a better understanding of their interactive practices.

In sum, the main aim of this study was to scrutinise the use of CS as an interactive and learning resource by teachers and their learners. It had been observed through literature on classroom CS that there was a need for a new approach to classroom CS. It was hoped that this study, a design interventionist study, would close the research gap on classroom CS which had been identified by Lin (2013). Furthermore, this study employed mainly the qualitative research

method to collect data and used critical classroom ethnography to understand the teachers' communicative repertoire. Data were analysed using Grice's theory of conversational implicature. Finally, the researcher strictly observed ethical issues as laid out by Rhodes University Ethics Policy. The following chapter provides a literature review, which underpins the research presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad and critical overview of research that has been done on classroom code-switching. It begins by taking notice of research that has been conducted on code-switching in non-educational contexts. In this instance, it looks at the development of research trends and approaches on CS as an interactional resource among bi/multilingual people, for example, focus of early studies on social motivations and later the shift to the linguistic constraints on CS. Mention is made of Barker (1947) whose study in linguistics anthropology is one of the early studies on language choice and code-switching (Nilep, 2006:4). Other significant early studies on CS that are considered in this chapter are studies by Weinreich (1953); Vogt (1954); Blom & Gumperz (1972) and later Myers-Scotton (1993). Also, a critique of these early studies on CS is provided.

This chapter also pays attention to models and approaches that emerged from early studies on CS and focus on the contribution of these in analysing instances of CS in classroom situations. These include models and approaches to CS such as the interactive/interpretive model, conversational analysis and Myers-Scotton's markedness model. Myers-Scotton (1993) acknowledges the contribution of Blom and Gumperz (B&G) (1972) in the study of CS as an interactional resource among bilinguals. The study of Blom and Gumperz (1972) is significant because it set the foundation for research on classroom CS, the focus of this research study. Therefore, it can be argued that research on CS in non-educational contexts served as a basis for research on CS in classroom situations (Marawu, 1997).

This chapter also emphasises trends and approaches on classroom CS, the main concern of this study. It notes that serious research on classroom CS began in the mid-1970s with a debate on the impact of CS on children's language development (Martin-Jones, 1995). For example, it states that early studies on classroom CS focused on calculating instances of the use of the learners' first language in classrooms (see Wong-Fillmore, 1980). This chapter recognises that studies on classroom CS later shifted to the functional coding approach as could be seen in the studies conducted by Milk (1981) and Guthrie (1984). Notice of research on interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication will be examined, specifically looking at the research work of scholars such as Lin (1990; 1996; 1999; 2006); Martin-Jones (1995, 2001) and Heller (1999, 2001). The perennial issue of symbolic domination, subordination and devaluation of dominated languages will be considered with a special focus, among others, on the work of Bourdieu (2002).

Classroom CS, specifically in the South African context, has been influenced by language planning and policies. The section on language planning and policy will explore how language has been used to exclude and disempower black South Africans during the various periods of colonial and apartheid rule. In this regard focus will be given on Jansen (1990) and Du Plessis (2003) among others. It will also look at whether language planning has been successful in post-apartheid South Africa by examining, among others, the work of Alexander (2012) on the hegemony of English and the need to develop indigenous languages as languages of power and education. The critical work of Halliday (2009) will be among literature that will be reviewed on language and education.

2.2 EARLY STUDIES ON CODE-SWITCHING

It is imperative to appraise trends in research on CS generally in order to get a balanced and fully conceptual perspective on classroom CS. For example, we can cite the study by Gumperz (1982) and more specifically the view that CS is one of the contextualisation cues “or communicative resources available for constructing and interpreting meanings in context” (Martin-Jones, 1995:98). Furthermore, Martin-Jones (1995) appreciates the contribution of earlier studies on code-switching to bilingual education research. Specifically referring to contextualisation cues as articulated by Gumperz (1982) Martin-Jones writes:

The exploitation of code-switching as a contextualisation cue in bilingual classrooms is comparable to the use of contrasting modalities by monolingual teachers in the management of classroom interactions (Martin-Jones, 1995:98).

This is just but one example of instances where earlier research on CS served as basis for classroom code-switching.

In exploring earlier research on code-switching, and how it was later used as a springboard for classroom code-switching; we begin with the work of Barker (1947), particularly his study on language choice and code-switching. The question Barker posed as he grappled with how bilinguals used language set a trend for researchers to examine how bilinguals used two languages in different situations or in a single piece of discourse. Barker (1947:185-186) argued:

How does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another?

Barker's study marked the beginning of interest among scholars on how bilinguals used their languages as interactional resources. Barker focused on describing language use among bilingual Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. He observed that interaction among family members was "likely to be conducted in Spanish, while formal talk with Anglo-Americans was most likely to use the medium of English" (Nilep, 2006:5). He went on to say in bilingual communities, languages are assigned different social functions according to the person or people one interacted with. Furthermore, he argued, "on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another" (Barker, 1947: 185-186).

Barker's study received criticism from Weinreich – this criticism was given in his 1953 work *Languages in Contact*. Weinreich argued that Barker's analysis of language functions in bilingual communities was insufficiently articulated because Barker "divides the social functions of language into familial, or intimate; informal; formal; and inter-group" (Weinreich, 1953:87). At the time Weinreich argued that there was a need for a "general survey of language functions in the bilingual communities of the world" (Weinreich, 1953:87).

During the period researchers such as Barker (1947), Weinreich (1953) and Vogt (1954) showed interest in bilingual discourse, there was a prevailing perception among some researchers that language alternation is a "performance error" and an "unprincipled alternation" (Myers-Scotton, 1993:50). While Barker (1947) observed that language alternation was common among the youth (Nilep, 2006), Weinreich argued that language alternation among the youth was a result of their exposure to more than one language during early childhood:

[A]bnormal proneness to switching) has been attributed to persons who, in early childhood were addressed by the same familiar interlocutors indiscriminately in both languages (Weinreich, 1953:74).

Furthermore, according to Weinreich there is an ideal norm for switching by bilinguals:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence (Weinreich, 1953:73).

It is worth noting that Weinreich sees any deviation from the “ideal bilingual” switching as interference. In other words, he argues that the bilingual’s knowledge of another language interferes with the linguistic process of acquiring another language. He further argues that “bilingualism is an obstacle to ideation”. This basically means that a bilingual’s capacity to create ideas is affected by their languages:

[T]he bilingual’s multiple concurrent word associations interfere with each other, especially in the “expressive” uses of the language (i.e. speaking and writing). It follows that bilingualism is an obstacle to ideation (Weinreich, 1953:71).

In the light of the foregoing arguments, it can be concluded that Weinreich views bilingualism from a monolingual perspective. He views switching as a burden to second language learning. According to him switching languages does not only interfere with the second language acquisition process but also affects creation of ideas by bilinguals. Also, his perception of an ideal bilingual ignores code-switching as a communicative repertoire of bilinguals. He sees intra-sentential switching, for example, as a deviation from what he calls a norm for switching by the “ideal bilingual” (Weinreich, 1953). In sum, Weinreich “either ignored or perceived in explicitly deficit terms” code-switching as part of everyday discourse of bilinguals (May 2011: 233).

In addition to the criticism Barker received from Weinreich, what also made his contribution to the study of CS noticeable was the criticism he received from Vogt (1954). According to Niley (2006) Vogt is the first researcher to use the term code-switching, and he puts emphasis on languages as systems. He argues, for example, that the linguist's "ultimate aim may be to describe languages as systems" (Vogt, 1954:366). According to this line of thought, the notion of linguistic interference becomes apparent in situations where languages come into contact with each other:

When languages are viewed as systems or codes, it becomes of primary interest to investigate what happens when linguistic systems come into contact with each other. The way bilingualism affects linguistic systems can be expected to throw light on the basic concepts we use in dealing with isolated systems (Vogt, 1954: 366).

Vogt's opinion that "bilingualism affects linguistic systems" is not different from Weinreich's perception that "the knowledge of one language intervenes in the learning of subsequent ones" (Weinreich, 1953:71). This shows Weinreich's work had influence in Vogt's own study on languages in contact.

Vogt (1954) asserts that the phenomenon of linguistic interference occurs when "linguistic systems come into contact with each other." He goes on to argue that if languages are viewed as systems any introduction of "loanwords" or "lexical borrowings" is bound to disrupt the linguistic system of the recipient language (Vogt, 1954). Furthermore, his explanation of CS patterns in bilingual communities gives further clarity to his notion of linguistic interference:

When an individual belonging to a speech community speaking a language A, in certain situations switches to a language B in his intercourse with B-speaking individuals, he is said to be bilingual.....In the usual cases code-switching will give rise to interference in

both directions, from A to B and from B to A, and in extreme cases erratic code-switching may even lead to cases of real mixed languages (Vogt, 1954: 368-369).

All in all, Vogt's argument is that languages are linguistic systems and that when these linguistic systems come into contact interference occurs. Therefore, bilingualism "is the condition of what has been called interference between languages" (Vogt, 1954:368). It is, therefore, argued that Vogt perceives bilingualism as an abnormal situation because he approaches CS from a monolingual perspective.

Much as earlier studies on language alternation viewed CS as "part of the performance of the imperfect bilingual, motivated by inability to carry on a conversation in the language on the floor at the moment" (Myers-Scotton, 1993:47-48), they contributed positively in developing research interest on CS as an interactional phenomenon. The point Myers-Scotton makes is that though researchers like Weinreich viewed CS as a performance feature of the "imperfect bilingual" they, nonetheless, contributed in stimulating research interest on CS:

Now that CS is so widely studied, many recent articles on CS quote Weinreich's brief comment about CS more for its ironic impact today than anything else (Myers-Scotton, 1993:48).

It is this ironic contribution of researchers like Weinreich which prompted other researchers to do further research on CS as a communicative feature of bilinguals. Gardner-Chloros (1995) explains the impact of early CS studies on the development of further research on CS as a normal feature of bilinguals as follows:

The study of code-switching coincided with, and was partly the product of, a realisation within linguistics that bilingualism was not an abnormal situation and that linguistic behaviour which results from bilingualism could not be dismissed as arbitrary or aberrant (Gardner-Chloros, 1995: 68).

Before the shift from the study of CS as an “abnormal situation” is considered, it is imperative to first examine the contribution of the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) in the study of CS. The study of Blom and Gumperz (1972) requires consideration because they also made a meaningful contribution to the development of research on CS. Myers-Scotton (1993) attests that the research work of Blom and Gumperz, which focused on the social motivations of CS, had a positive influence on research which studied the social motivations of CS, particularly in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Myers-Cotton (1993) argues that for about fifteen years after the study of Blom and Gumperz, researchers continued to use the notion of *situational and metaphorical CS*.

The notion of *situational and metaphorical CS* remained a source of interest to many researchers because it sought to explain indirectly the phenomenon of CS among bilinguals. The term “indirectly” is used here because Blom and Gumperz (1972), when they explained the notion of situational and metaphorical switching, were concerned with switches from the dialect to the standard language’s part of the linguistic repertoire of a community.

Blom and Gumperz (1972, 417) explain the communicative repertoire of the community they observed as follows:

Some idea of how this came about can be obtained by considering the conditions under which the two varieties are learned. The dialect is acquired in most homes and in the sphere of domestic and friendship relations. As a result, it has acquired the flavour of these locally based relationships. However, dialect speakers learn the standard in school and in church, at a time when they are also introduced to national Norwegian values.

It is important to observe that speakers of a dialect attach value to it and use it as part of expressing their identity, heritage and culture. As Blom and Gumperz (1972, 417) explain, “a person’s native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his

local identity.” On the other hand, the standard variety is used for education and other official purposes.

However, much as the locals view in high regard the dialect, Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study observed that interlocutors sometimes switched from the dialect to the standard language. This is apparent in the example they give, where a group of locals switched from the informal dialect, Ranamal (R) to the formal standard language, Bokmal (B). The switch to the standard language was accompanied by a shift from a casual posture to a formal posture. The shift to a formal posture was used by the locals to show respect to “outsiders” and the language they considered appropriate to use in such a situation was the standard language (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:242). Blom and Gumperz (1972) refer to this type of switch as *situational switching*.

To further illustrate situational switching, Blom and Gumperz (1972) give the example of classroom situations where the formal standard language is used. They state that in classroom situations “the speakers will switch to (R) when they want to encourage open and free discussions among students” (1972, 425). In both examples the switch to the standard language was prompted by change in social situation.

Blom and Gumperz (1972:425) further observed in their study that there are situations where interlocutors “interject casual statements in the dialect into their formal discussion.” To elaborate on this type of switch, they cite the example of clerks at the community administration they observed. The “casual statements” the clerks interjected in their discourse were in the dialect and were conversations about unofficial matters with residents who came

as clients to the office. They further observed that for official business they switched to the standard language. They explain this type of switch by saying; “the language switch here relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation.” Blom and Gumperz call this type of switching, *metaphorical switching* (1972:425). The notion of *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching* which stimulated many researchers to analyse instances of CS among bilinguals as Myers-Scotton puts it; “they [situational and metaphorical switching] struck other researchers at the time as useful” (1993:47).

Much as the contribution of Blom and Gumperz in the study of CS is acknowledged, their explanation of the distinction between situational and metaphorical switching has been subjected to criticism. The main criticism that is levelled against the two constructs is that Blom and Gumperz (1972) did not explain clearly the difference between situational and metaphorical switching. Myers-Scotton (1993:52) argues that:

Situational CS is never really very well defined, but it seems that B & G are referring to CS motivated by changes in factors external to the participant’s own motivations (e.g. makeup of participants, setting, and topic) when situational CS is meant.

And while they continue to talk about “topic” when mentioning metaphorical CS, it is not really topic which B & G wish to relate to metaphorical CS so much as a presentation of self *in relation* to the topic, or changes in relationship.

It is not only Myers-Scotton who critiques Blom and Gumperz’s definition of situational and metaphorical switching but also Pride (1979). Pride argues that situational and metaphorical switching “are not so separate as Blom and Gumperz seem to assume” (Pride, 1979:39-40). Another critic of Blom and Gumperz’s definition of the two constructs is Auer (1984:91) who states that “the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching must be criticised from both ends...”

2.3 MODELS AND APPROACHES TO CODE-SWITCHING

Although Blom and Gumperz's notion of situational and metaphorical switching has been subjected to criticism, their contribution to the development of a theoretical framework for CS is worth noting. This is acknowledged by Myers-Scotton (1993:55):

First, it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that much of the work on CS would not have been done at all without the stimulation of B&G. Second, the B & G approach gave would-be researchers a new model for studying and interpreting data as an alternative to the 'allocation paradigm'. This might be called the 'interactional/interpretative' model, a term derived from Gumperz's own writing.

However, Myers-Scotton (1993:56) argues that this model "is never really explicated." Nevertheless, what distinguishes it from earlier approaches to CS is its focus on small-group interactions, naturally occurring data and use of micro-analysis. This is in contrast to earlier studies by scholars like Labov and Fishman who conducted large scale-studies using macro-analysis (Myers-Scotton, 1993:56).

Gumperz's interactional perspective to CS research was further developed by scholars such as Auer (1984, 1988, 1995), Alfonzetti (1988) and Sebba (1993) when they employed conversation analysis in their research. Auer (1984:116) emphasised "that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its 'sequential environment.'" Boztepe (No date) states that according to the sequential approach, as articulated by Auer (1984), "the meaning of code-switching needs to be interpreted in relation to the preceding and following utterances" (Boztepe, p.12). Therefore, it can be argued that the sequential approach excludes social meaning in its analysis of bilingual discourse. Nilep (2006:2) also asserts that "If linguists regard code-switching simply as a product of a grammatical system, and not as a practice of individual

speakers, they may produce esoteric analyses that have little importance outside the study of linguistics per se..." This implies that studies on CS must not only focus on grammatical aspects but must also include social meaning.

The contribution of Gumperz in CS research became more significant as researchers shifted from viewing CS from the perspective of semilingualism, as the case was with researchers like Weinreich (1953) and Vogt (1954). Semilingualism is defined as the belief that bilingual speakers who code-switch do so because of their lack of linguistic competence in their repertoire (Edelsky, Hudelson, Flores, Barkin, Altwerger, and Jilbert, 1983). Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study do not perceive CS as indicating linguistic incompetence by bilingual speakers. Myers-Scotton (1993:47) further illustrates this by stating that "B & G discuss CS neither as aberrant performance nor as unique to exotic cultures."

Furthermore, Gardner-Chloros (1995) also highlights that there has been a shift from the view that CS is a feature of abnormal discourse behaviour. She argues that "a lot of effort has been expended within the field of code-switching on setting up a new orthodoxy to replace the old orthodoxy of monolingual norms" (Gardner-Chloros, 1995:68). Gumperz's study set the tone for the development of the new orthodoxy in the study of CS, which considered CS "as a special form of skilled behaviour" (Gardner-Chloros, 1995:58). Muysken (1995) concurs that "code-switching is a quite normal and widespread form of bilingual interaction, requiring a great deal of bilingual competence" (Muysken, 1995:177). The positive attitude towards CS as a normal feature of bilingual discourse led to the development of various approaches to its study as a form of bilingual discourse.

As the new orthodoxy in the study of CS took hold, researchers began to develop different approaches. The structural approach and the sociolinguistic approach emerged as the most prevalent approaches in CS research. Boztepe (n.d.) explains the two approaches as follows:

The structural approach to CS is primarily concerned with its grammatical aspects. Its focus is to identify syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on CS. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, sees CS primarily as a discourse phenomenon focusing its attention on questions such as how social meaning is created in CS and what specific discourse functions it serves (p. 3).

As interest in the study of CS grew among scholars, they began to concern themselves with where in a sentence a switch occurred and why. In other words, they scrutinised the syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on CS. According to Nilep (2006:1) the following are examples of researchers who focused on identification of linguistic constraints in their analysis of CS data: Lipski (1978); Pfaff (1979); Poplack (1980); Sankoff and Poplack (1981); Joshi (1985); Di Sciullo and Williams (1987); Belazi *et al.* (1994).

Another model which has been significant in the study of CS is Myers-Scotton's markedness model. Myers-Scotton (1993:57) states that Gumperz premise "that speakers do not use language in the way they do simply because of their social identities or because of other situational factors. Rather, they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature," has been important in the development of the markedness model. What Gumperz postulates here is that when speakers engage in a communication transaction they do not just express social identity and that they are not simply prompted by situational factors; instead they use their linguistic resources to

negotiate meaning. Myers-Scotton goes on to argue that the negotiation principle underlies all the code choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993:113).

In addition, Myers-Scotton (1993) concurs with Gumperz and expands his view by using the term “dynamic factors” to explain that speakers are not only influenced by situational factors when they use different languages during a communication transaction. She elaborates; “they [speakers] also make the choices they do because of what I call the ‘dynamic’ factors” (Myers-Scotton, 1993:57).

Furthermore, a fundamental aspect of the markedness model is the notion of the matrix language and the embedded language. Joshi (1985:190-191) explains this as follows:

[S]peakers and hearers generally agree on which language the mixed sentence is ‘coming from.’ We can call this language the *matrix language* and the other language the *embedded language*.”

Myers-Scotton (1993:75) explains the markedness model as follows:

The theory behind the markedness model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place.

Myers-Scotton (1993:75) in explaining the markedness model also focuses on the social functions of CS, “this model is an explanation accounting for speakers’ socio-psychological motivations when they engage in CS.” She goes on to say that the markedness model integrates themes from other disciplines: sociology of language (the allocation paradigm); pragmatics (implicatures and intentional meaning); social anthropology (transactions/negotiations) and linguistic anthropology (communicative competence).

Myers-Scotton (1993:113) further explains the markedness model by stating that the model

“consists of a set of general maxims applying to any code choice.” These maxims are:

1. the unmarked-choice maxim;
2. the marked-choice maxim; and
3. the exploratory-choice maxim

Myers-Scotton (1993:113-114) further states that four related types of CS stem from these maxims:

1. *CS as a sequence of unmarked choices*. This occurs when the speaker changes from one unmarked code to another unmarked code. For example, if there is alteration of the unmarked RO set, the “speaker will switch codes if he or she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set”. Myers-Scotton puts emphasis on the fact that the change in codes depends on the speakers and not the situation as stated by Blom and Gumperz (1972) (Myers-Scotton, 1993:114-115).
2. *CS itself as the unmarked choice*. In this type of CS focus is not on individual switches but on the overall pattern of CS and the social meaning it conveys.
3. *CS as a marked choice*. This occurs when speakers deviate from the expected or unmarked choice.
4. *CS as an exploratory choice*. This occurs in a new and uncertain situation when strangers explore codes.

Through these maxims and the types of switches that result from them, Myers-Scotton (1993) seeks to unpack how CS patterns, as linguistic systems, are structured. In the example of the interaction between two policemen and a young man and his sisters, she shows how CS is used as an unmarked choice. The conversation is mainly in Swahili with switches to English and Kikuyu. Swahili is the most spoken language for interaction in the area where Myers-Scotton collected her data. Therefore, Swahili is the unmarked choice in this conversation while the switches to English and Kikuyu are the marked choices because they are least expected in a

conversation that is predominantly in Swahili. In the conversation between the policemen and the young man and his sisters there is no sign of use of CS as an exploratory choice. In other words, there is no uncertain communicative situation which requires the interlocutors to explore codes (Myers-Scotton, 1993:77-78).

It is crucial to also note CS itself as an unmarked choice. In other words, in a bi/multilingual society CS itself is a code which members of a multilingual society use to interact with each other. Focus on CS itself as an unmarked choice is not on individual switches and how they occur but on the overall pattern of CS. When CS occurs as an unmarked choice in a bi/multilingual society, it occurs as a linguistic practice which is used to negotiate meaning and to facilitate interaction.

However, Gardner-Chloros (2009:70), citing Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994), argues that in real conversations “it is not always possible to define the situation unambiguously in terms of language choices, and speakers may pay attention to the participants’ conversational moves without referring to external precedents.” Another critique of Myers-Scotton’s markedness model is Burt (2002) who points out that the maxims and sub-maxims within Myers-Scotton’s model can lead to opposite choices (Gardner-Chloros, 2009:71). The main argument here is that interaction in a bilingual situation does not rely on external factors as suggested in Myers-Scotton’s model.

It is also argued that meaning is a “negotiated product” which transpires as a communicative transaction occurs. Stroud (1992:151) argues that ascribing meaning to code-switching instances raises the question of “whose meaning is it?” the analyst’s meaning or the

speaker's meaning? Stroud (1992) further states that "only a deeply ethnographic approach can get anywhere near understanding the 'meaning' of CS from an emic perspective" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009:77) (see chapter three for an explanation of the ethnographic approach).

The question of whose meaning is ascribed to CS instances is a fundamental question in the study of CS. In the study of classroom CS, Lin (2008:11) also raises a similar critique when she suggests that teachers and students should "themselves become researchers of their own classroom practices, and what will happen if they embark on systematic study of their own practices, getting a deeper understanding of their own practices through their own research and then modify their own practices with systematic actions plans and study the consequences..." This implies that "meaning" which is assigned to their CS instances will not be based on the perspective of outside researchers who only come to classrooms to observe how the teacher and the learners interact. This takes us to a close look at trends and approaches to classroom CS.

2.4 CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING: TRENDS AND APPROACHES

The main concern of this study is classroom CS with a special focus on how teachers and learners use CS as a communicative, learning and teaching resource in bi/multilingual classroom situations. However, interest on classroom CS emerged after scholars studied CS as a communicative feature of bi/multilingual people. As pointed out before, initially there were pejorative attitudes and monolingual views towards CS as a discourse phenomenon (Barker, 1947; Weinreich, 1953; Vogt, 1954). The notions of prescriptivism and semilingualism were challenged as a new orthodoxy emerged "defining code-switching as a special form of skilled

behaviour, to be distinguished from the aberrant manifestations of bilingualism which involve one language influencing another” (Gardener-Chloros, 1995:68).

All these research developments on general CS had an impact on classroom CS, which only took hold in the mid-1970s (Martin-Jones, 1995:90). The change from the old orthodoxy of monolingual norms to the view that CS is a normal feature of bilinguals took many years of academic debate and research. Similarly, it took decades of research for CS to be considered as a linguistic resource that could be used for teaching and learning purposes (see Martin-Jones, 1995; Lin, 1996; Adendorff, 1993; Setati, 1998; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Canagarajah, 2001; Marawu, 1997). This was the case because there were those who believed that CS had no place in classrooms even if those classrooms were composed of bi/multilingual learners and teachers.

It is crucial to trace the strands of research which have been conducted on classroom CS. Martin-Jones (1995) in her study of code-switching over two decades (from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s) identifies two main strands of research that were significant during that period. She refers to the first strand as the period where research was conducted in American bilingual educational programmes. These studies focused on the amount of time that was spent on the use of Spanish (the learners’ L1) and English (the learners’ L2) (Martin-Jones, 1995:91). Lin (2008:1) concurs with Martin-Jones when she states that research investigated “whether linguistic minority children’s L1 (e.g., Spanish, Chinese) and the wider, societal language (English) are given equal emphasis by calculating the relative quantities of use in the classroom.”

In addition, earlier studies on bilingual education programmes focused on the negative impact these might have on the development of the learners' L1. There was concern that too much use of the learners' L2 in classrooms might have a negative impact on the development of the learners' L1. Martin-Jones adds that "even where teachers aimed for equal use of both languages and that this was going to have a negative effect on the development of the children's L1" (Martin-Jones, 1995:92). Contrary to this, in countries like South Africa there are those whose concern is that the use of the learners' L1 in classrooms is going to have a negative impact on their L2 (see Vorster, 2008:38). This leads to a situation where parents opt for English only education because they perceive it as a "gateway to better education and economic empowerment" (De Wet, 2002:120).

Earlier studies on bilingual education programmes did not only spark academic debate about bilingual education but led to development of new research approaches to it. For example, Lin (2008:2) states that in early bilingual education studies "classroom utterances were usually coded by the observer with functional system (e.g. Flanders, 1970) yielding frequency counts of distribution of L1 and L2 over different functional categories." However, Martin-Jones (1995:92) notes that the quantitative and functional coding analysis yielded evidence "of a very limited nature." This led to the development of an integrated approach to bilingual education research where researchers investigated "the communicative dimensions of classroom talk in addition to gathering evidence of a quantitative nature" (Martin-Jones, 1995:92).

Research on bilingual education took another dimension when researchers began to analyse functions of classroom discourse. The observation by Milk (1981) that even in a

classroom situation where there might be an equal distribution of time between the learners' L1 and L2, the learners' L1 (which is Spanish in his research) "might be unconsciously relegated to a lower status in the eyes of students because of the different functions to which it is allocated in the classroom as compared to English" (Milk, 1981:12). The observation by Milk is fundamental in bilingual education in that focus should not just be on the quantity and codification of utterances but on the pedagogical value and functions of the learners' L1 in classrooms. This is critical in situations where the learners' L1 has been accorded a lower socio-economic and educational status because of political reasons.

Furthermore, Milk (1981) also observed that the learners' L1 was used in the classroom to create humour, for social functions or solidarity and to captivate the learners' interest and attention (Martin-Jones, 1995). Milk believed that the predominance of English enhanced its status as a language of power and authority. This could be seen as entrenching the hegemonic status of languages like English, while on the other hand perpetuating internalisation of the perceived lowly status of the dominated languages (Shannon, 1995:198). This implies that teachers should be wary of creating a classroom atmosphere where the learners' L1 might be perceived by the learners as of lower educational value than their L2. Nonetheless, dispelling disapproving attitudes towards the learners' L1 does not only require the efforts of teachers but all the stakeholders in education.

Another researcher whose study focused on bilingual classroom interaction was Guthrie (1984). Guthrie made a comparative study of a bilingual teacher and a monolingual teacher who were teaching Chinese children (Martin-Jones, 1995:93). He observed that the teacher's switches to the learners' L1 in the classroom performed five communicative functions:

translation; 'we code'; procedures for directions; for clarification and to check for understanding (Guthrie, 1984:45). Guthrie (1984) and Milk (1981) used audio-recorders to collect data – this was an innovation in bilingual education research.

The observation by Milk (1981) and Guthrie (1984) is crucial in bilingual classroom research. In other words, what they state is that it is not enough for teachers to simply switch to the learners' L1 for purposes of, for instance, establishing solidarity with them. The issue they dealt with is the pedagogical value of the switches to the learners' L1. According to Martin-Jones (1995) Milk (1984) critiqued the predominance of English in the bilingual class he observed:

Milk suggested that the predominance of English in metastatements, an act crucial to grasping the significance of a particular stretch of classroom discourse, put Spanish-dominant students at a disadvantage (Martin-Jones, 1995:93).

While the use of the learners' L1 in classrooms is acknowledged, Milk cautions against a classroom situation where the learners' L1 is merely used for social interaction while their L2 is used for educational purposes. It is believed that the argument is that the learners' L1 could be used to assist them to understand the subject matter.

However, it must be noted that this does not imply that the social functions of switches to the learners' L1 in classrooms are of no significant value. For example, in a study conducted in secondary classrooms in Malta, Camilleri (1996:85) argues that:

Code-switching by Maltese teachers in the classroom contexts...needs to be seen not only as a communicative resource for accomplishing lessons but also as a means of constructing specific professional identities..."

Camilleri (1996) recognises that CS in classrooms must not only serve as a pedestal to construct “specific professional identities” but must also carry educational value – it must be “a communicative resource for accomplishing lessons.” Therefore, Camilleri (1996) agrees with Milk (1981) who also argues that switches to the learners’ L1 in classrooms must transmit a pedagogical value.

Similarly, Martin Jones (1995:98) also debates that there is an association between CS and expression of the speakers’ cultural values; however, she critically adds this:

[I]t is too simplistic to claim that whenever a bilingual teacher who has the same language background as the learners switches into a shared code, s/he is invariably expressing solidarity with the learners. Code-switching is employed in more subtle and diverse ways in bilingual classroom communication. Teachers and learners exploit code contrasts to demarcate different types of discourse, to negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meanings on the spur of the moment.

This implies that analysis of classroom code-switching patterns must go beyond simply stating that CS is used for solidarity purposes in bilingual classroom communication. It has to look at the other functions of classroom CS, and more specifically the educational value of the switches in classroom situations.

Ndaypfukamiye (1994) expresses a similar view to Camilleri (1996) and Martin-Jones (1995) when he argues that teachers use CS as a linguistic resource to meet the demands of the classroom. Ndaypfukamiye (1994) goes on to argue that CS is a resource which teachers use for concept development – it is a “key to the world of the participants and a means of alleviating the artificiality of the classroom from the learners’ experience” (Ndaypfukamiye, 1994:83-84). In addition, Lin (1996) also argues that CS in Hong Kong schools serves as a means of bridging

the gap between the literacies of the home and the literacies of the school as most Chinese children “live in lifeworld where it is impossible and unnatural to use English” (Lin, 1996:62).

Another significant feature of early studies on bilingual classroom interaction, as observed by Martin-Jones (1995), is the use of CS in the sequential flow of classroom discourse.

Martin-Jones (1995: 95) writes:

In a more recent strand of work in bilingual classrooms, the central focus has been on the ways in which teachers and learners achieve this mutual synchronisation of behaviour in different types of bilingual teaching/learning events.

In this regard she cites two studies, the study by Zentella (1981) and the study by Lin (1988, 1990). What is considerable about these studies is that they shifted from the functional coding approach adopted in earlier studies of classroom CS. For example, attention was now given to the learners’ contribution to classroom discourse, sequential flow of classroom interactions and negotiation of meaning (Martin-Jones, 1995:97). The following table to which Martin-Jones (1995:96) alludes illustrates the sequential flow of interactions observed by Zentella (1981) in her study:

Rules governing language choices	Teacher initiation Language	Student reply Language	Teacher evaluation Language
Teacher and student: ‘Speak what you are spoken to’ or ‘follow the leader’	English	English	English
	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Teacher: ‘Follow the child’	English	Spanish	Spanish
	Spanish	English	English
Teacher: ‘Include the child’s choice and yours’	English	Spanish	Code-switching
	Spanish	English	Code-switching

Martin-Jones notes how the teacher in the study by Lin (1990) used CS in recurring sequential patterns (the L2 – L1 – L2 sequence) and Lin further states that “it is unlikely that these patterns have evolved only by accident” (Lin, 1990:116). It is clear from the communicative patterns above that the teacher relies on both languages to interact and impart the content of the subject to the learners. This further illustrates the move by researchers away from focusing on individual functions of CS instances towards the sequential flow of classroom discourse (Martin-Jones, 1995).

Focus by researchers on the sequential structure of classroom discourse marked another development in the study of classroom CS as it also paid attention to the role of learners in the construction of meaning in classroom situations. Lin (2013) in her suggestion for future research on classroom CS highlights the importance of active participation of teachers and learners as researchers of their classroom interactional practices. Lin (2013:18-19) argues that this will give a better perspective on classroom discourse, and this type of research could take the form of action research. This was a fundamental development in the study of classroom CS which also signified its growth as a field of study. Martin-Jones (1995:250) also states that the focus of research “was now on the joint enactment of teaching and learning by bilingual teachers *and* learners rather than just on teacher talk.”

Martin-Jones (1995) also notes how CS, in the studies by Lin (2008) and Zentella (1981), is used to break the tension and formality in classrooms that is usually associated with the use of the learners’ second language for teaching and learning. Lin (2008:79) explains this as follows:

[M]ost of the time, the students were trying to redefine the English language lesson as a less formal, less serious and more play-like situation.

The learners were redefining the English language lesson through their constant use of Cantonese. In other words, Cantonese was used to create an environment that is conducive to learning as well as establish a rapport with the teacher. However, Martin-Jones (1995) also asserts that the teacher used English to impose her authority with the learners when the learners were becoming playful.

Another significant development in the study of bilingual classroom discourse is the use of the ethnographic approach. For example, Martin-Jones (1995) conducted studies using micro-ethnographic observation and analysis of different events of bilingual classroom interaction. Through this study, Martin-Jones illustrates how “ethnographic observation can give us insights into the ways in which views about bilingual education provision get translated into classroom practice in different contexts” (Martin-Jones, 1995:103). Furthermore, she also indicates that the conversational analytic approach when grounded in ethnographic observation can yield a meaningful understanding of how teachers and learners in classrooms use bilingualism as a resource to get things done in classrooms.

Garcez (1997:188) concurs that “ethnographic microanalysis of interaction has also profited from contemporary studies in *conversation analysis* about the real-time sequential organisation of conversation.” What is being highlighted here is the importance of integrating these approaches for a better understanding of interactional patterns in classrooms. Watson-Gegeo (1997) concurs with this view because in her definition of classroom ethnography she also mentions the combination of ethnographic and socio-linguistic approaches. She defines

classroom ethnography as the “application of ethnographic and socio-linguistic or discourse analytic research methods to the study of behaviour, activities, interaction, and discourse in formal and semi-formal educational settings such as schools, adult education programs, and day-care centers” (Watson-Gegeo, 1997:135). Classroom ethnography enables researchers to get a better understanding of the sociocultural aspects which are significant during classroom interactional practices (see chapter three).

Another important highlight of classroom ethnography is that it “incorporates participants’ perspectives on their own behaviour” (Watson-Gegeo, 1997:135). Similarly, Martin-Jones (1995) specifically alluded to the involvement of learners in research that seeks to understand classroom discourse. Furthermore, Lin (2013:16) in her review of classroom CS in the past three decades makes a call for teachers and learners to be actively involved in research on classroom discourse so that they can give their own perspective of their discourse behaviour. While the view expressed by Lin about teacher-researchers and student-researchers is important, it implies that teachers would need to be trained on how to conduct research particularly action research.

In addition, the involvement of teachers and learners as researchers of their own interactional practices in classrooms would give – as noted earlier – input based on their perspective rather than only the analysts’ interpretations of teachers’ utterances. Furthermore, this would be a major shift from previous research on classroom discourse which was mainly preoccupied with teacher talk (Martin-Jones, 1997; Lin, 2013). In addition, the intricate exchange of meaning between teachers and learners was subjected to analysts’ interpretations

which were based on monolingual perspectives of bilingual classroom discourse. Gardner-Chloros (2009:77) citing Stroud (1992) further illustrates this as follows:

[M]eaning is not something the individual brings to the conversation and tries to put across to others; it is a “negotiated product” which emerges from the conversation. In such a case, the problem, he claims, of assigning meaning to code-switches is first of all that of deciding: “Whose meaning is it?” (Stroud, 1992:151).

In the case of research conducted by teachers and learners of their own CS behaviour in classrooms, we would perhaps, get close in understanding the “meaning” of their interaction. This would be different from the “meaning” assigned to their CS instances by analysts who are essentially outsiders to the classroom practices they are observing.

2.5 THE NEED FOR A NEW RESEARCH APPROACH TO CLASSROOM CS

Research on classroom CS has been taking place for the last three decades (Lin, 2013). As indicated in the previous sections, significant developments have been made on classroom CS; notably the shift from cataloguing and quantifying instances of CS by teachers to the consideration of the sequential flow of classroom discourse (Martin-Jones, 1997).

However, Lin (2013) feels that researchers should adopt a new approach to classroom CS. This emanates from her review of classroom CS in the past three decades. She identifies four main factors which have hindered the development of classroom CS to new heights: studies tend to be descriptive rather than design-interventionist; there is lack of disciplinary pluralism; there is scarcity of theory-driven research questions; and there is lack of variety in the research questions and research designs (2013:14-16).

Lin (2013) argues that research on classroom CS tends to be descriptive rather than design-interventionist. She says studies “describe existing practices rather than experiment with innovative ways of code-switching practices as ways both to provide access to (content in) L2 and to critique linguistic hierarchies and pedagogical dogmas” (Lin, 2013). There is a need to challenge the perception that the learners’ L1 in classrooms can only be used to help learners improve proficiency and competence in the L2 or to perform a social function.

In other words, Lin (2013) yearns for research on classroom CS that is going to go beyond merely describing the existing classroom practices where English remains a dominant language, while the learners’ languages remain subordinate languages with no educational value attached to them. In a comparative study of CS practices in Peruvian and South African classes, Hornberger and Chick (2001:42) argue that in “unfavourable social and policy contexts teachers and students may opt for interactional practices that serve important social functions but do not necessarily facilitate learning.” In other words, teachers are constrained by “social and policy contexts” as well as economic contexts which perpetuate the English-only ideology in education. This implies that for the educational value of CS to be fully realised, the dominant position of languages like English must be challenged.

Nevertheless, Lin (2013) acknowledges that focus by researchers on describing classroom interactions where CS was prevalent was fundamental because of negative attitudes towards the use of CS in classrooms. Lin contends that “given the official pedagogical prescriptions of the use of only one language in the classroom in many contexts, many researchers have studied classroom code-switching to seek out their ‘good sense’ or local rationality, or their positive impact on teacher-student relationships, students’ level and various aspects of learning” (Lin,

2013:14). Conversely, Lin believes that research on classroom CS should now go beyond what she refers to as the “legitimizing motive” to explore new research areas on classroom CS such as critique of existing approaches to CS as well as use of multiple research paradigms and methods, both interpretive and experimental (Lin, 2013:15).

2.6 DOMINATION, SUBORDINATION AND DEVALUATION OF DOMINATED LANGUAGES: THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

The critical issues of domination, subordination and devaluation of dominated languages as discussed by Bourdieu (2002) are relevant to this study as the indigenous languages of South Africa are dominated languages and the colonial languages were imposed on black South Africans as ‘official’ or ‘legitimate’ languages in all spheres of life.

Bourdieu (2002:45) unpacks the notion of official and legitimate languages as follows:

To speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language, especially in situations characterised in French as more *officielle* (a very exact translation of the word ‘formal’ used by English-speaking linguists).

In South Africa English and Afrikaans were imposed as official languages on the entire population of South Africa in different historical periods (Du Plessis, 2003). Education is one of the “official places” where these languages were imposed as media of instruction. The 1976 Soweto massacre is a traumatic example of how students in South Africa were prepared to resist the imposition of the ‘official’ or ‘legitimate’ language on their system of education (Hornberger and Chick, 2001:48). The persistent imposition of an *official* language by the dominant group is an indication of its failure in embracing linguistic diversity. Halliday argues

that diversity should not be “seen as a troublesome complication having to be tolerated but as a positive and significant feature in the life of a nation” (Halliday, 2009:239).

The imposition of the “official” languages led to the subjugation and devaluation of indigenous languages in South Africa. Shannon (1995:181) highlights the dangers of subjugating learners’ languages to an inferior, devalued and dominated position:

Linguistic hegemony extends from how languages are perceived to how their speakers are seen. In the United States, English speakers are often viewed as smarter, more successful, and more deserving than Spanish speakers...Speaking Spanish, on the other hand, is often seen as unnecessary, extraneous, and an impediment to success. Spanish speakers are therefore often perceived as less intelligent, less successful, and less worthy than English speakers.

The situation described by Shannon can be related to South Africa where English enjoys a higher status as a language of power, prestige, technology and education. The continued use of English as a language of teaching and learning gives the false impression to learners that their own languages have no pedagogical value. This perception becomes ensconced if switches to the learners’ language do not reflect that it is also an important communicative and linguistic resource for teaching and learning. Enunciating the views of Eriksen (1992) Shannon (1995) further argues that “being perceived and treated as inferior can cause an internalization of those perceptions, a belief that they are true and natural, along with an accompanying sense of self-contempt” (Shannon, 1995:181). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in South Africa there are parents who choose English as a language of teaching and learning for their children because of its association with socio-economic advancement (De Wet, 2002; Potgieter & Anthonissen, 2017).

In a school system where education is received through the dominant language, learners who have not achieved the expected level of competence and proficiency in the dominant language are looked down upon. Bourdieu (2002:55) explicates this when he says; “speakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which competence is required or are condemned to silence.” They are also excluded from the labour market which can only be accessed through the dominant language.

The internalisation of perceptions that dominant languages are superior and that dominated languages are inferior is perpetuated by the system of education which has among its goals, the entrenchment of the status quo. Bourdieu (2002:48) concurs with this view when he states that “in the process which leads to the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language, the educational system plays a decisive role.” The school system is structured in such a way that learners have to pursue a qualification in order to access the labour market and, thus achieve socio-economic advancement. The language of teaching and learning is the “official” language – no space is created for the learners’ mother-tongue except a process which leads to its subordination and devaluation (Bourdieu, 2002).

In this system of education learners of the dominant language strive to achieve linguistic competence and proficiency in their target language. The need to be articulate in the euphemisms of the dominant language becomes critical. Teachers are instrumental in ensuring the dominant position of the “state” language:

Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. Ignorance is no excuse; this linguistic law has its body of jurists – the grammarians – and its agents of regulation and

imposition – the teachers – who are empowered *universally* to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to legal sanction of academic qualification (Bourdieu, 2002:45).

Pressure to promote the “legitimate” language is not only exerted on teachers, whose role is to make sure that learners are competent and proficient in their target language, but also on learners. Bourdieu aptly describes the pressure exerted on learners by their school system as follows:

[I]ndividuals from petit-bourgeois backgrounds must generally make an effort to adapt their linguistic expressions to the demands of formal markets. The result is that their speech is often accompanied by tension and anxiety, and by a tendency to rectify or correct expressions so that they concur with dominant norms. This hyper-correction of petit-bourgeois speech is the sign of a class divided against itself, whose members are seeking, at the cost of constant anxiety, to produce linguistic expressions which bear the mark of a habitus other than their own (Bourdieu, 2002:21).

Learners in the quest to “adapt their linguistic expressions to the demands of formal markets” and to “a habitus other than their own” are forced to speak the dominant language within school premises; and parents at home are encouraged to use it with their children. It is understood that parents do this so as to create an environment of meaningful interaction in the child’s target language (Krashen, 1983). However, parents by creating a language acquisition environment where natural communication in the target language is promoted “collaborate in the destruction of their instruments of expression” (Bourdieu, 2002:49). In other words, they enhance prescriptivism. Citing Crystal (1997) Boztepe (no date) defines prescriptivism as the view that one variety of language is given an inherently higher value than other varieties and that this ought to be imposed on the whole of the speech community, especially through educational means.

In this kind of school system teachers are expected to introduce learners through education to the “linguistic habitus” of the dominant language which will enable them to respond with “linguistic fluency to the demands of formal markets” (Bourdieu, 2002:21). However, the process of acquiring the dominant language is not always achieved effortlessly by learners as in most cases they are not adequately prepared to receive education in the dominant language (Marawu, 1997).

Alexander adds the critical issue of exclusion and disempowerment in language learning arguing that “if one does not command the language(s) of production, exchange and distribution, one is automatically excluded and disempowered” (Alexander, 2012:2-3). In other words, a system of education that is offered through a dominant language will continue to exclude and disempower those who have no good command of the dominant language. This later translates to exclusion from socio-economic advancement where access to means of “production, exchange and distribution” depends on a dominant language (Alexander, 2012).

In spite of research within the field of CS to prove that CS is “a special form of skilled bilingual behaviour, *to be distinguished* from the aberrant manifestations of bilingualism which involve one language influencing another” there are still those who have pejorative attitudes towards CS, particularly classroom CS (Gardner-Chloros, 1995:68). Furthermore, monolingualism is still prevalent in spite of “legimating” research on classroom CS to prove its pedagogical value (Lin, 2013).

One of the reasons for this is the perception that education can be attained only through the medium of the dominant language. Therefore, use of the dominated language in classroom

settings is seen as interfering with the agenda of integrating learners into the class of speakers with a high level of competence and proficiency in the dominant language. Krashen further asserts that:

The child relies primarily on acquisition. Thus, “intake” informal environments are sufficient. The class can provide only additional intake, and it appears to be the case that when children have access to rich intake environments, extra classes in second languages are not necessary (Krashen, 1983, 49).

The language learning situation described above is a language learning situation that does not seem to take into consideration the child’s first language and the role it might play in education. This might lead to a situation where the child’s first language is replaced with the second language because the child is exposed to a language acquisition environment where the target language is dominant. In other words, this might lead to subtractive bilingualism; a language learning environment where the child’s “second language is learned at the expense of the first language, which it gradually replaces” (Lockett, 1993:46). Lockett goes on to argue that “this occurs when the social conditions of learning devalue the child’s first language and its associated culture” (Lockett, 1993:46-47). Halliday (2009) warns against creation of a monolingual society arguing that “a totally homogenous society, in which everyone speaks the same way as everyone else all the time, is as much a fiction as a totally heterogeneous society in which no two individuals speak alike” (Halliday, 2009:240).

In the light of the forgoing arguments on CS in various parts of the world and how dominant languages are used to subjugate indigenous languages, it is imperative to specifically look at how South African languages are used in educational spaces where English is the dominant language of teaching and learning. The following section also relates studies that

were conducted on CS in other parts of the world to classroom situations in South Africa where English is the language of teaching and learning.

2.7 USE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AS PEDAGOGICAL RESOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA

One of the fundamental questions in the study of classroom CS in countries like South Africa is; what necessitates the use of the learners' MT in classroom settings? One of the reasons for this is that African learners are among learners who struggle to learn through the medium of English (Nomlomo, 2007). However, this does not imply that all African learners struggle to learn through the medium of English. What is crucial in second language learning is exposure of learners to their target language (Krashen, 1983). Studies on language learning and teaching in South Africa have shown that the reality of the situation is that in rural areas and in the townships learners are not exposed to their target language (Heugh, 2000; Vesely, 2000).

Do learners have to use English when they are at home even though the everyday language of interaction is their mother-tongue? Alexander (2012:7) answers this question when he advances a strong argument against use of "the legitimate language, mainly because of its pivotal role in the production processes and the social status that proficiency in it confers on its speakers." To alleviate this dichotomy teachers resort to CS (Adendorff, 1993; Peires, 1994; Kieswetter, 1995; Marawu, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 1998; Probyn, 2001; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004; Sebolai, 2017).

Nomlomo (2007) states that there are views that teachers use CS in classrooms because they do not have the level of articulation expected from them to teach through the medium of English. On the other hand, it must be noted that CS is a normal feature of bilinguals.

Notwithstanding the argument that teachers use CS in classrooms because of lack of proficiency in English, they rely on CS as the classroom language of teaching and learning (Halliday, as teachers in addition to their use of CS as a pedagogic resource, also use CS because it is a normal feature of bilinguals. In other words, it is a linguistic resource that is part of their everyday communication. Therefore, research studies also noted the social function of CS in classrooms (Adendorff, 1993).

Research studies on classroom CS in South Africa developed in a similar way as research studies in other parts of the world. Firstly, CS was regarded as undesirable in classroom settings. It was thought that teachers who CS in the classroom did so because they were not proficient in English (Nomlomo, 2007). Secondly, some of the negative attitudes towards the use of CS in South African classrooms stem from the association of education with proficiency in English. Therefore, African languages were seen as languages that have no educational and socio-economic value (De Wet, 2002; Voster, 2008). However, CS remained prevalent inspite of the perceived prestigious position of English. Probyn (2009) in her study on classroom CS in a South African rural school revealed that some teachers felt CS was not good in the classroom but they still continue using it.

Another important aspect of research on classroom CS in South Africa emanates from the commonly held view that indigenous languages do not have enough terminology for science and technology. This implies that science subjects cannot be taught in the learners' MT. However, studies conducted in South Africa by researchers like Setati (2004); Brock-Utne & Homarsdottir (2004) on the use of indigenous languages to teach Maths have shown that learners understand Mathematical concepts better when they are unpacked in their MT. In

addition, Nomlomo (2007) also conducted a research study on the use of isiXhosa to teach science and technology in a township primary school and came to the conclusion that indigenous languages have pedagogical value.

Furthermore, Setati (2004); Brock-Utne and Homarsdottir (2004) attest that in their studies teachers first used English and then switched to isiXhosa when they realised that the learners did not grasp the mathematical concepts. This indicates that teachers use the learners' MT in the classroom as an intervention strategy. In other words, when learners struggle to understand the subject matter when expressed in English, they rely on isiXhosa as a linguistic resource. Brock-Utne & Homarsdottir (2004) go on to argue that use of isiXhosa to teach Mathematics is prevalent in township and rural schools. However, Desai (2003) who has also studied CS in a South African township, states that though CS is commonly used in rural and township schools assessment is done in English and this negates the whole idea of multilingualism.

Studies on the attitude of learners towards use of African languages in classrooms have also been conducted in South Africa (Dyers, 1998; Dalvit, 2004; Aziakpano, 2007; Vesely, 2004; Millar and Barries, 2017). These ranged from attitudes of learners in at the secondary level to learners in tertiary institutions. In this study, learners were also asked to express their views about the use of isiXhosa as a language of teaching and learning as well as the use of CS in classroom settings. Similarly, in research studies conducted in some South African universities, most students favoured English as the language of teaching and learning (Dyers, 1998; Dalvit, 2004; Aziakpono, 2007). However, it is also worth noting that most of the tertiary students valued isiXhosa as their mother-tongue and felt that it has a role to play in education as Dalvit

states; “isiXhosa had a high integrative value and was generally considered very useful to explain technical terms and supplement explanations in English in class and tutorials” (Dalvit, 2004:89).

Learners aspire to receive English medium education because it continues to be associated with quality education and socio-economic advancement; as De Wet (2002:120) elaborates that it is perceived as “a gateway to better education and economic empowerment”. However, Bourdieu (2002) warns about subordination and devaluation of dominated languages and how schools serve as agents of colonial hegemony. Learners will continue to hold the view that English should remain the medium of instruction as long as the system of education continues to portray it as the only language of accessing the means of “production, exchange and distribution” (Alexander, 2012:2-3).

The view that associates English with socio-economic advancement and education has led to the establishment of elitist schools where the ‘English only ideology’ is enhanced. However, it needs to be stated that not all children attend elitist schools where English is the only language used for teaching and learning (Kaschula, 2004). Lin also argues that in Hong Kong only a few children benefit from an English medium education system because the majority comes from a “lifeworld where it is impossible and unnatural to use English” (Lin, 1996:62).

Furthermore, what takes place in the elitist schools where the ‘English only’ form of education is given preference, is not ideal as Cummins (1979) puts it, “children in submersion programs...are mixed together with students whose L1 is that of the school and their lack of proficiency in the school language is often treated as a sign of limited intellectual and academic

ability” (Cummins, 1979:225). Cummins goes on to say that research has proven that, “rather than being a cause of cognitive confusion, bilingualism can positively influence both cognitive and linguistic development” (Cummins, 1979:223).

However, creation of an elitist class of black people based on their proficiency of the dominant language has become a feature of post-colonial societies as Alexander explains:

...it is an indisputable fact that in the post-colonial situation, the linguistic hierarchy built into the colonial system led to knowledge of the conqueror’s language becoming a vital component of the ‘cultural capital’ of the neo-colonial elite. It was and remains their knowledge of English and/or French that sets them apart from the vast majority of their African compatriots and which keeps them and their offspring in the privileged middle and upper classes (Alexander, 2000:11).

In this study, the learners’ choice of English as a language of teaching and learning (see table 10) affirms Alexander’s assertion because these learners perceive English as the entryway to the elitist middle and upper classes. It is believed that use of the learners’ mother-tongue as a pedagogical resource would open more opportunities for learners particularly when previously marginalized languages are valorised. Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004:68) explain this further:

Choosing as the language of instruction an indigenous language, a language people speak, are familiar with and which belongs to their cultural heritage would distribute power from the privileged few to the masses.

As long as indigenous languages are not given the same educational status and value as English, learners and parents will continue to demand English as a language of teaching and learning.

The following section highlights the contribution of language planning and policies in language learning and teaching. One of the central questions is whether language in education policies in South Africa have led to subtractive bilingualism or additive bilingualism. However,

owing to the scope of this study, it does not intend to give an exhaustive analysis of this important issue.

2.8 LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is imperative to position classroom CS in South Africa within the broad context of language planning and policy in South Africa. This is crucial because classroom CS occurs within a context of language in education policies which are supposed to guide language use in education. A number of questions arise regarding the implementation of language in education policies in South Africa: what is the historical background of language in education policies in South Africa? How does English hegemony influence the current language in education policies? What is the attitude of black South Africans towards English as a language of teaching and learning? What is the post-apartheid language in education policy and what is the rate or success of its implementation?

Therefore, this section gives an overview of the South African language planning and policy context in which classroom CS prevails. This will also assist in creating an understanding of how the literature on classroom CS that has been reviewed in this chapter relates to language planning and policy in South Africa. However, it does not intend to give a detailed account of the language planning and policy process in South Africa. Halliday (2009) writing about educational language planning explains:

Educational language planning means deciding about language in the schools, and this is a familiar aspect of life in most multilingual societies. The distinguishing feature of educational planning is that it cannot be avoided...somebody has to take conscious decisions about what is to happen in schools, at least as regards media and subjects of instruction. What language or languages are going to be used as the medium of

instruction, in different regions, at different ages; and what language or languages are to be taught as subjects: these are matters requiring deliberate planning and organised action (Halliday, 2009:220).

South Africa as a multilingual society has embarked on a complex language planning process for many years. This language planning process reflects the political, socio-economic and educational changes which have evolved in South Africa during different historical periods: the pre-apartheid era (1652-1948), the apartheid era (1948-1993) and the post-apartheid era (1993 –) (Hartshorne, 1987; 1995).

Throughout these historical periods the issue of the dominant language and ideology in language in education has been prominent. In particular, clashes that resulted from ideology and the imposed dominant language took centre stage and had impact on language planning and policy in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2003:103). For example, the pre-apartheid era was much more concerned with the question of English and Dutch in South Africa.

This period was characterised by contestation between Dutch and English as official languages, and that which of these languages would be used for teaching and learning. For example, according to Du Plessis (2003) Dutch was replaced by English as the official language of the Cape after the Somerset Language Proclamation of 1822. Furthermore, in 1839 Dutch could be used in the education system for purposes of teaching English. In addition, in 1882 Dutch was reinstated as the official language of the Cape (Du Plessis, 2003). Other significant periods are what Du Plessis (2003) refers to as the Republican period (1834-1899/1902) where Dutch became the official language; and the Unification period where English and Dutch/Afrikaans became official languages (Du Plessis, 2003:105-106). Alexander sums up the contestation for official status between English and Dutch/Afrikaans as follows:

In the South African case, Dutch, English and, later, Afrikaans came to be the 'legitimate languages' in different periods of our History. The legitimacy was/is the result of colonial conquest in the first instance but, as the structural transformations that accompanied that cataclysmic series of events became routine, dominance was complemented and reinforced by hegemony (Alexander, 2012:3).

Furthermore, during the pre-apartheid era (1652-1948), and the apartheid era (1948-1993) focus was not on the indigenous languages of the Cape and the role these could play in the education system (Hartshorne, 1987; 1995). During these eras South African indigenous languages were either "tolerated" or "accommodated" (Du Plessis, 2003:106-107). Furthermore, indigenous languages were never developed to play any significant role in education and society at large. Instead language policies which created the impression that these languages were of no significant educational and socio-economic value were implemented as Mohochi (2010) puts it:

[O]ne can only conclude that the colonial administration machine, knowing the important role of languages in shaping identity, initiated language policies that were meant to subdue their subjects, making them more susceptible to western languages and cultures. Many began to disdain their languages and other cultural practices, trying instead very hard to learn western ways (Mohochi, 2010:5).

Jansen (1990) provides an overview and analysis of curriculum change for Black education in South Africa. He starts by dismissing any perception that education in South Africa started with the arrival of Dutch colonists in 1652 arguing that "[t]raditional African education was led by community elders through an oral tradition based on cultural transmission and was closely integrated with life experience" (Jansen,1990:195). Lewis and Steyn support this view when they say that "prior to the introduction of Western education, indigenous tribes practised an informal type of education which was generally not recognised by western missionaries as relevant. They subsequently replaced it with western educational practices" (Lewis and Steyn,

2003:103). Jansen (1990) identifies four categories of curriculum change which characterised Black South African education: the evangelical curriculum; the academic curriculum; the industrial and training curriculum; the differential curriculum and the apartheid curriculum. Of course, the post-apartheid curriculum can be added to these curricula categories.

The evangelical curriculum featured strict adherence to the epistemology of the scriptures. The products of this curriculum were expected to display knowledge of religious rituals so that they would become full church members (Jansen, 1990). Lewis and Steyn (2003) also assert that “Christianisation went hand in hand with education provision as the latter led to a better understanding of the former” (Lewis and Steyn, 2003:103). Jansen (1990) also argues that this was synonymous with European education at the time. On the other hand, the academic curriculum was introduced and marked a break with the Dutch-Calvinist fundamentalism which was predominant in mission schools (Jansen, 1990).

Jansen (1990) goes on to mention that one of the outstanding curricular at the time which marked the shift from the evangelical curriculum to the academic curriculum was the Lovedale curriculum. In highlighting the academic changes offered by the Lovedale curriculum Jansen goes on to say that “by 1872, the academic curriculum at Lovedale had flourished to such an extent that its curriculum included History, natural philosophy, English literature, political economy, Mathematics, botany, Greek, and Latin” (1990:198).

The academic curriculum did not only equip its products with industrial training but also prepared them for university education abroad:

Both a professional and an industrial class were created at Lovedale. Courses of higher level instruction were adapted to meet university entry requirements, thus opening the door for Africans to enter tertiary education (Jansen, 1990:198).

However, this system of education was seen as posing a threat to Afrikaners, particularly during the period of industrialisation in South Africa as Afrikaners would have to compete with Blacks for employment (Jansen, 1990). Welsh elucidates this when he says:

[T]he general effect of industrialization was to place whites and non-whites in a more acutely competitive situation, and education, depending on its content and the extent to which it was made available to the different groups, might promote or prevent this competition (Welsh, 1971:222).

Central to this system of education was the question of language and teaching which was used to educate black people. In mission education English was the dominant language of teaching and learning:

In the early years of the 19th century English was introduced into many communities of Eastern Cape (and subsequently Natal) by missionaries – who at the time codified Xhosa, and later the other African languages. English was used as the medium of instruction in mission schools – “superior English and classical mathematical education” being offered. By the end of the century there was an influential corps of black educators, writers, ministers, and political leaders who were fluent in English. The elegant writings of Tengo Jabavu, Gwayi Tyamzashe, Sol Plaatje, John Knox Bokwe, and many others, remain as proof of this (Silva, 1997).

That mission education produced a class of Black elite who could equally compete with Afrikaners “intensified the need among Afrikaners for an educational system that could afford them improved economic and political status over the Blacks” (Jansen, 1990:198).

The need for an inferior system of education for Blacks was heightened by calls for a differentiated curriculum “thereby ensuring that the Whites maintained their supremacy, while the mass of Africans were confined to a humbler position” (Burchell, 1976:70). Eventually the differentiated education was introduced for Blacks and Whites at the primary school level (Jansen, 1990). While mother-tongue education was made compulsory in all primary classes and practical skills such as hygiene, handwork and gardening were introduced (Jansen, 1990)

“uniformity existed at the high school level between Black and White schools” (Horrell, 1963:41).

One of the features of the *differentiated curriculum* is that the vernacular was made compulsory in primary schools (Jansen, 1990). However, as seen from demands for a differentiated curriculum, the purpose was not to improve the level of education of Africans in South Africa but to subjugate it so that they could not compete with their White counterparts. Language was used as a tool to exclude and disempower Africans from socio-economic advancement. Tollefson (1991) explains this further:

For while modern social and economic systems require certain kinds of language competence, they simultaneously create conditions which ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire that competence. A central mechanism by which this process occurs is language policy (Tollefson, 1991:7).

The pre-apartheid and apartheid eras, through various curricular changes in Black education, ensured that Africans were disempowered, and thus excluded from the “economic systems” that required linguistic competence in the dominant language. Jansen (1990) explains the *conditions* that were created to exclude Africans from being an integral part of South Africa’s economy:

It is important to note that the move toward racially differentiated curricula was accompanied by massive structural neglect and deterioration of Black schools. Dilapidated buildings, lack of basic facilities and equipment, and a growing majority of unqualified teachers were the norm in these schools (Jansen, 1990:200).

The apartheid regime in South Africa made the situation worse as it promulgated more oppressive and suppressive policies. Although mother-tongue education was introduced by Bantu Education (which was enacted in 1953), the purpose was not to embrace linguistic diversity as a pedagogical resource or to develop indigenous languages but to marginalise them

(Marawu, 2017: in print). Bourdieu (2002) underpins what might be considered the crux of the matter when he argues that “the dominant culture produces this ideological effect by concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication” (Bourdieu, 2005:167). In the context of Bantu Education and specifically mother-tongue education for Africans, the purpose was to reproduce through education the ideological foundation of white supremacy and black inferiority. This was done by “concealing the function of division” by arguing that Blacks had to receive education in their mother-tongue and at the same time this was going to perpetuate white domination over Blacks (Bourdieu, 2002).

Alexander (2000) takes the argument further when he questions the pedagogical seriousness and the underlying reasons for the introduction of mother-tongue education for Africans in South Africa by the Afrikaner National Party:

Afrikaner National Party was using the very sensible UNESCO declarations on the importance of using vernacular languages as media of instruction in schools in order to justify and beautify its racist curriculum (Alexander, 2000:5).

In other words, during the apartheid era there was continuity of the tendency (which existed during the colonial and pre-apartheid eras) to use education and in particular vernacular instruction to exclude Africans from socio-economic advancement. Alexander (2012) further asserts that:

There are two fundamental sources from which language derives its power: the ability of individuals or groups to realise their intentions (will) by means of language (empowerment) or, conversely, the ability of individuals or groups to impose their agendas on others (disempowerment of the latter) (Alexander, 2012:2).

In the light of this statement by Alexander, it is clear that when Bantu Education introduced mother-tongue instruction for black South Africans, the intention was not to assist them to

realise their development by means of language but to superimpose the power and supremacy of Afrikaners over black South Africans. Furthermore, the catastrophic 1976 resistance by African students in Soweto is another example of how Afrikaners were determined to use language to “impose their agendas” on Africans. It is averred that this was not only resistance against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction but also resistance against the exclusion and disempowerment of Africans by means of language (Alexander, 2012).

As far as the impact of the 1976 uprisings on language policy is concerned, the Afrikaner Nationalist government made reconsiderations. Hornberger and Chick explain these as follows:

It [1976 uprisings] led to the regime’s making a number of concessions, one of which was to grant black communities their choice of medium of instruction. One was an abrupt return to the use of English as medium after the first three years of schooling. The uprising also prompted the setting up of a range of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) (Hornberger and Chick, 2001:48).

However, black communities could choose their medium of instruction but no adequate facilities were provided to assist them with the teaching of English as a second language nor were teachers properly trained to teach through English medium. As a result non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were established with the purpose of improving the teaching and learning of English as a second language. Nonetheless, Hornberger and Chick (2001:49) assert that “neither the efforts of NGOs nor the improvement of new core syllabi for teaching of languages in state schools led to widespread changes in the traditional classroom interactional practices in English-language classrooms, let alone in the various content subjects.” It is thought that this is what set the ground, among other things, for classroom CS as teachers had the mammoth task of teaching through English and at the same time ensuring that learners understood the content of the subjects.

Having examined the cataclysmic language planning and policies for Black education in South Africa, it is essential to look at language planning and policy in post-apartheid South Africa. One of the highlights of the post-apartheid era is the recognition of all the languages of South Africa and this is enshrined in the country's constitution. In fact, these have been elevated to an official status; hence South Africa has eleven official languages: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. Moreover, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) section 6 subsection (2) affirms all the languages of the country:

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

In addition, Chapter 2, subsection (2) of the Bill of Rights reinforces the crucial aspect of use of previously marginalised languages in education:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account—

- (a) equity;
- (b) practicability; and
- (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

While the elevation of the nine indigenous languages of South Africa is appreciated, Kaschula (1999) raises a crucial point about the unification of these indigenous languages:

At the same time the National Party government was espousing separate development for the different language groups that they had identified, A.C. Jordan (1957-1958) was calling for the unification of the dialects associated with Nguni as well as the dialects associated with Sotho. His suggestion was that Zulu, Xhosa, Southern Ndebele, and Swati should be codified into one language, namely Nguni, while Northern Sotho,

Southern Sotho, and Tswana should be codified into one language, namely Sotho (Kaschula, 1999:65).

Kaschula goes on to argue that this “would have resulted in two written literatures with a wide readership” and that “it might have served as a tool of unification among different communities whose speech is mutually intelligible” (Kaschula, 1999:65). This would have been a remarkable achievement for people whose languages are “mutually intelligible” but were given the false impression that they are different. Mashiya (2014:6) also expresses this view when she asserts that the number of South African official languages “could be reduced through harmonization/consolidation of Nguni and Sotho cognate languages.”

However, the apartheid government ignored the calls for the unification of these languages as that did not auger well with the Bantustan system. It seems that post-apartheid South Africa missed this opportunity as they enhanced the view that these are different languages (Kaschula, 1999:66). Moreover, what complicates the situation is that though these South African indigenous languages have official status, “the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly English” (Alexander, 2012:3).

In addition to the constitutional recognition of previously marginalized languages, pieces of legislation and policies were promulgated in support of these languages. These include the Language in Education Policy published in terms of section 3(4)m of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996), and the Norms and Standards Regarding Language Policy published in terms of Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996. The Language in Education Policy (1997), for instance, propagates the importance of indigenous languages and the role these could play in education:

[T]he underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). Hence, the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy. With regard to the delivery system, policy will progressively be guided by the results of comparative research, both locally and internationally.

An additive approach to bilingualism would have been ideal for the South African education system where the need to form "individual and social identities" through the learners' mother-tongue as well as the empowerment of learners in the dominant language of "production, exchange and distribution" is fundamental. In this way "the power of language" as an interactional resource and embodiment of a people's culture, heritage and identity would be realized. Similarly, learners would also be equipped with the "language of power" to include them in the country's economy (Alexander, 2012:2-3). On the contrary, when the question of language and economy is considered, international funders influence language policies in developing countries as they "encourage and demand certain language-policy decisions before any funding takes place" and in most cases these favour subtractive bilingualism (Kaschula, 1999:70).

However, D'Oliveira (2003:132) criticizes the way in which the need to use the additive bilingualism approach is stipulated in the Language in Education Policy (1997) arguing that "any learner could manage to finish a complete school career while learning only two languages. Those two languages could be English and Afrikaans without any other local language." This is already happening in some of the former model C schools. On the side of the schools where this prevails, they are using the very same policy which propagates multilingualism to maintain "the *status quo* in schools (bilingualism in Afrikaans and English)" (D'Oliveira, 2003, 132).

As a result, English and Afrikaans remain dominant languages in the system of education in spite of the recognition of indigenous languages by the constitution and language policies. English, of all the official languages, still enjoys a higher status as a language of power, education, technology, prestige and socio-economic advancement. Alexander supports this assertion when he says:

[O]ur language policy, although progressive on paper, has allowed English to become the 'de facto sole official language', which benefits only the middle class and elite in our society. At the same time too little is done to transform our indigenous languages into 'cultural capital' in order to create a better life for the working class as well (Alexander, 2012:3).

That English has become the 'de facto sole official language' creates the false impression among some African parents that education can only be obtained through English; and according to Alexander "they have become victims of a monolingual habitus" (Alexander, 2012:4). On the other hand, any education system that is associated with mother-tongue education is regarded by some African parents as reminiscent of Bantu Education which aimed to relegate South African black people to oppressive menial jobs and, thus exclude them from being active participants in the country's economy (Marawu, 2017: in print).

As indicated earlier, after the 1976 Soweto uprisings the level of proficiency in English among learners in black schools did not improve. The same could be said in post-apartheid South Africa where only those who belong to the middle class and elite benefit from the 'English only' system of education as they can afford to send their children to private and former model C schools. However, Kaschula (2004:24) contends that not all South African children attend elitist schools:

[T]he reality is that the vast majority of South African children are not attending these elitist schools. They attend schools in townships and rural areas where the emphasis is

still communication in MT. Even English as a subject is often taught incorporating the MT in the medium of instruction.

Nonetheless, an 'English only' schooling system is not an ideal language learning situation as it implies that linguistic and cultural diversity are not encompassed. Writing about language education in multilingual societies from a linguistic standpoint, Halliday (2009) advances this argument about the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity:

To say that linguistic and cultural diversity is a positive feature of the community implies more than recognizing that it exists, more even than recognizing it and taking pride in it. It implies that this diversity has significance for the culture, that it is a significant aspect of people's lives. The fact that there are different modes of meaning in the community has now become part of the total environment within which meanings are exchanged. In this situation it is no longer possible to treat monolingual societies as the norm and to regard all others as special cases, as if they were somehow deviations from the norm (Halliday, 2009:240).

By failing to embrace linguistic and cultural diversity means that the rich linguistic and cultural background of the learners is seen as an insignificant "aspect of their lives". Furthermore, this implies that in a post-apartheid South Africa there are still schools that promote monolingualism and perceive it as the "norm".

So far what has been considered is the role of the dominant language or English and to some extent Afrikaans as well as indigenous languages and how these featured in the language planning and policy processes in South Africa. Halliday (2009) when he articulates about the importance of language planning also adds an aspect of language which he says planners do not always focus on:

There is however, a third aspect of language in school, which is something the planners do not decide; namely, what language is going to be the medium of teacher-pupil interaction? What language do the teacher and the children actually use when they are talking to each other? Even in a school there are some natural processes at work, affecting the way people behave; and the best we can hope for is that we should know

what these processes are, and take them into account in our planning (Halliday, 2009:221).

In the context of this study, “the medium of teacher-pupil interaction” is code-switching. In that case, it can be argued that this aspect of language is not considered by language planners and yet it is prevalent in bi/multilingual schools. The rampant use of the learners’ mother-tongue in classrooms is noted by Desai (2001) in her research in South Africa; “it was apparent that, except for the English classes, the teachers used mainly isiXhosa to convey information to the learners, but referred them in their textbooks when appropriate...” (Desai, 2001:331). The demand to teach in English and at the same time ensure that learners understand the content of the subjects often leaves teachers with no option but to resort to the phenomenon of CS as Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004:76) put it, “[i]n South Africa it is also assumed that by using English in all content subjects African language speaking students will in turn become more proficient in English. However, this is not the reality since also here teachers generally code-switch or code-mix during most lessons.”

Analysis of the South African Language in education policy by scholars like Heugh (2000) Desai (2001); D’Oliveira (2003); Kaschula (2004); Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004); and Alexander (2012) indicate that though it is “progressive on paper” English remains the dominant language of teaching and learning (Alexander, 2012:3). For example, in her criticism of Curriculum 2005, Heugh (2000) advances this argument:

Curriculum 2005 included language, as a separate learning area, and any reference to language beyond the learning area was a cursory. It is as if, despite the constitutional provisions giving official status to 11 languages, there were underlying assumptions that only one language has value in the country. South Africa’s multilingual reality and the effects of the language policy on Bantu Education were simply put aside (Heugh, 2000: 6).

On the other hand, while there “were underlying assumptions” that only English has pedagogical value, teachers in rural and township schools interacted with their learners in their mother-tongue as Heugh (2000) puts it; “[i]t is a serious mistake to believe that teaching and learning is taking place through English in township or rural schools where a majority of pupils are often from African language speaking communities” (Heugh 2000:19). This poses a serious challenge in a country where access to socio-economic advancement depends on mastering English. This situation excludes a large number of children in rural and township schools as they “are unable to be absorbed into the economic mainstream dominated by an English-speaking elite” (Kaschula, 1999:71). This implies that not only the educational value of indigenous languages must be recognized but also the role these can play in economic development.

2.9 MOTHER-TONGUE EDUCATION

It is imperative to specifically look at the critical question of mother-tongue education in relation to language in education policy. The UNESCO declaration proclaimed that “it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother-tongue” (UNESCO, 1953:11). In South Africa and other former colonial countries, colonial languages are still dominant and are used as languages of teaching and learning (Marawu, 2017: in print). This study and other research studies have proven that most English Second Language learners in South Africa, particularly in rural and township schools struggle to learn through the medium of English (Probyn, 2009).

That “the best medium for teaching a child” is his mother-tongue is supported by research. In this instance we consider the work of Cummins (1979:223) who argues that use of

the learners' mother in classrooms can contribute positively to "cognitive and linguistic development". This is contrary to views that use of the learners' mother-tongue affects cognitive development in learners (Macnamara, 1966). However, Cummins (1979:227) goes on to argue that there is "functional interdependence between the development of L1 and L2 skills". Therefore, the argument that the learners' MT has no academic value does not hold water. Furthermore, this refutes the view that children must be taught through the medium of their second language.

Cummins (1979) adds the notion of "semilingualism" arguing; "there is also strong evidence ...that some groups of minority language and migrant children are characterised by "semilingualism," i.e. less than native-like skills in both languages, with its detrimental cognitive and academic consequences." Close examination of the South African system of education especially its impact on rural and township schools reveals that learners who come from these disadvantaged schools show signs of "semilingualism". They leave the schooling system with low proficiency in both their mother-tongue as well as their L2 (Potgieter and Anthonissen, 2017). However, this does not imply that those who studied in former model C schools cannot be "semilingual". In fact, "semilingualism" can be worse with them as some of them do not get an opportunity to learn their MT.

One of the reasons for most black learners in South Africa to be likely to have "semilingualism" is that the official language of teaching and learning is their L2. The challenge is that teachers themselves might not have the necessary training to enable them to teach through the medium of English. The schools do not have the required facilities in order to have an environment that is conducive to learning. When this study was conducted, the researcher

observed that teachers relied on textbooks and old chalkboards for teaching (see chapter three).

The type of bilingualism which can resolve the problem of “semilingualism” among learners is additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism is described by Luckett (1993:46) as follows:

By additive bilingualism is meant the gaining of competence in a second language while the first language is maintained. Under favourable social conditions, where both languages and the cultures associated with them are valued and reinforced, both languages have complementary and positive cognitive social effects on the child’s development.

This would imply that learners would leave the Higher Education and Training phase fluent in both their MT and their L2. For example, it has been observed that learners who come from disadvantaged backgrounds enrol in universities lacking the expected level of competence in both their MT and L2 (Millar and Barris, 2017).

Furthermore, Cummins (1979:233) when he unpacks the ‘developmental interdependence hypothesis’ underpins what might be considered the crux of the matter here:

The developmental interdependence hypothesis proposes that the level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins. When the usage of certain functions of language and the development of L1 vocabulary and concepts are strongly promoted by the child’s linguistic environment outside of school, as in the case of most middle-class children in immersion programs, then intensive exposure to L2 is likely to result in high levels of L2 competence at no cost to L1 competence. The initially high level of development makes possible the development of similar levels of competence in L2.

This implies that learners must be given an opportunity to first acquire their L1 before they receive instruction in an L2 only language learning environment. While immersion programmes

in the early grades might register success in L2 acquisition, this leads to the replacement of the learners' L1. Therefore, the linguistic skills learners receive during the process of acquiring their L1 serves as a basis for learning their L2. As Cummins (1979) has argued, this does not negatively affect the children's cognitive development and they gain competence in both their mother-tongue and second language.

In sum, the type of bilingual education that learners can receive is education where their mother-tongue would be retained and used as a basis for learning their second language. Secondly, learners can receive instruction in their mother-tongue up to the highest levels in education but learn their second language as a subject. This would require teachers to be well trained in teaching the learners' L2 as a subject. On the other hand, it would enable learners to gain linguistic skills for wider communication without denying them access to their mother-tongue. While learners who have gone through immersion programmes might gain high levels of proficiency in their L2, ultimately their L1 gets replaced by their L2.

2.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed literature on code-switching, specifically examining research trends and approaches in the study of code-switching both in educational and non-educational contexts. It started by examining early studies on CS and observed that these were concerned with understanding why bilingual speakers switched languages, and what were the functions of languages in bi/multilingual communities. In addition, it was noted that most of the early researchers (Barker, 1947; Weinreich, 1953; Vogt, 1953) on bilingual discourse viewed it from a monolingual perspective; hence they had depreciatory attitudes towards language switching.

Nonetheless, early studies contributed immensely in stimulating research on bilingual discourse.

The chapter noted that as more research was done on bilingual discourse, there was a shift from the orthodoxy of prescriptivism and semilingualism to a new orthodoxy that perceived CS as a normal feature of bilingualism (see Gardner-Chloros, 1995). The positive attitude towards CS led to the development of new models and approaches to the study of CS. Some of these models are the interactional/interpretive model; the conversational analysis and the sequential approach. Thus, CS began to be treated in research not as an eccentric deviation from the norm of monolingualism but as a normal communicative repertoire of bilinguals.

Interest on CS as a research subject grew and this led to new approaches and models. These included the structural approach and the sociolinguistic approach. Also, researchers began to focus on linguistic constraints. Another significant model in the study of CS is Myers-Scotton's markedness model (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The importance of research on CS in non-educational contexts is that it served as a basis for research that sought to understand CS in educational contexts. Research on classroom CS developed in a similar way as research in non-educational contexts. At first there were pejorative attitudes towards the use CS in classroom situations. Later research proved that CS could be used as a teaching and learning aid in classrooms.

This chapter also noted strands of research on classroom CS. The first strand of research focused on calculating instances of CS in classrooms. The second strand of research concentrated on the negative impact use of the learners' L2 in classrooms might have on the development of the learners' L1 (Martin-Jones, 1995).

Also highlighted in this chapter are approaches and models to the study of CS in educational contexts that emerged as classroom CS began to be entrenched as a field of study – these include the quantitative and functional coding approach as well as the integrated approach to bilingual education. Studies on the functions of classroom discourse (Milk, 1981) and bilingual classroom interaction (Guthrie, 1984) are also mentioned in this chapter as developments on classroom CS. The other approaches which are considered in this chapter for a better understanding of interactional practices in classrooms are the ethnographic approach and the integration approach.

The need for a new research approach that goes beyond the current research trends on classroom CS is emphasised. Lin (2013) mentions the need to embark on research that is going to critique studies on classroom CS. For example, Lin (2013), states that there is a need for a design-interventionist approach to the study of CS instead of the descriptive analysis which has been used to “legitimise” the use of CS in classrooms.

Literature that critiques the hegemony of colonial languages especially in former colonies as “legitimate” or “official” languages is reviewed. In this regard the works of scholars like Bourdieu (2002); Halliday (2009); Alexander (2012) and Kaschula (2004), among others, were cited when the chapter dealt with the critical issue of dominant languages as well as subordination and devaluation of dominated languages. In addition, language planning and policy in South Africa were explored. This section critically looked at how language through language planning and policies was used to deny black South Africans access to good education, and to exclude them from being an integral part of South Africa’s economy. It also examined whether language in education policies in post-apartheid South Africa had succeeded in

addressing the critical issue of elevating indigenous languages from the position of domination to a position where they would receive recognition not only as languages with an official or constitutional status but also an educational and economic status. Finally, the question of medium of instruction was also examined. The following chapter outlines the research methodology used in this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on research methods, procedures and approaches that were used in this study to understand how CS was harnessed by teachers in classrooms to enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter (see chapter one). Furthermore, the literature review chapter revealed that studies tend to give a descriptive analysis of classroom CS practices instead of using the design-interventionist approach where teachers and learners would be participants in the study (see Lin, 2008). It also became clear from the literature reviewed in chapter two that there was a need for a model of classroom codeswitching. Therefore, this chapter focuses on research approaches and methods that were used not only to interrogate the use and relevance of CS in classroom situations but to assist the researcher to meet the objectives of this study (see chapter one).

Additionally, the chapter gives details of the process of setting up the research. For example, it explains the province where the study was conducted and how permission to do the study was sought from authorities in the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). In line with critical ethnography the chapter gives a description of the schools and classes that were observed. Having done that, it explains the research population and sample procedures that were relevant to this study. This study falls within classroom ethnography and specifically critical ethnography. The chapter unpacks this approach, explaining its purpose as well as its relevance to this study. Criticism that is levelled against critical ethnography by Hammersley (1998) is also given attention. This is followed by data analysis methods that were used in this

study, particularly conversational analysis and Grice's theory of implicature. Finally, the chapter looks at ethical issues that were given consideration during the data collection process.

3.2 BACKGROUND

This study was conducted in the Western Cape Province which is one of the provinces of the Republic of South Africa. The dominant languages in the province are Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. These languages are not only dominant in the province but are the official languages of the province. Section 3 sub-section 3.1 of the Western Cape Language Policy (2001:3) stipulates that the official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. The following table illustrates the languages that are used in the Western Cape Province:

Table 1: Languages used in the Western Cape Province, Census 2011

First Language	People	Percentage
Afrikaans	2820643	49.70%
isiXhosa	1403233	24.72%
English	1149049	20.25%
Other	127117	2.24%
Sesotho	64066	1.13%
isiZulu	24634	0.43%
Setswana	24534	0.43%

Sign language	22172	0.39%
isiNdebele	15238	0.27%
Xitsonga	9152	0.16%
Sepedi	8144	0.14%
Tshivenda	4415	0.08%
SiSwati	3208	0.06%

Therefore, it was important for the researcher to unpack the methods, procedures and techniques that had been used in this study to investigate how, specifically isiXhosa/English CS was used by teachers and learners as an interactional resource in classrooms.

3.3 PROCESS OF SETTING UP THE RESEARCH

The researcher approached the Western Cape Education Department for permission to conduct research in some of the schools of the province. The researcher also looked for more information about WCED from its website and realized that the WCED is divided into the following districts: Metro South; Metro North; Metro Central; Metro East; West Coast; Cape Winelands; Eden & Central Karoo and Overberg. It then transpired that the district in which the study was conducted was the Metro Central. According to the WCED website, the Metro Central district at the time had 52 secondary government schools.

The following map, adapted from the website of the WCED illustrates the districts into which the Western Cape Metropolitan Area (as it appears within the Western Cape Province) is subdivided:

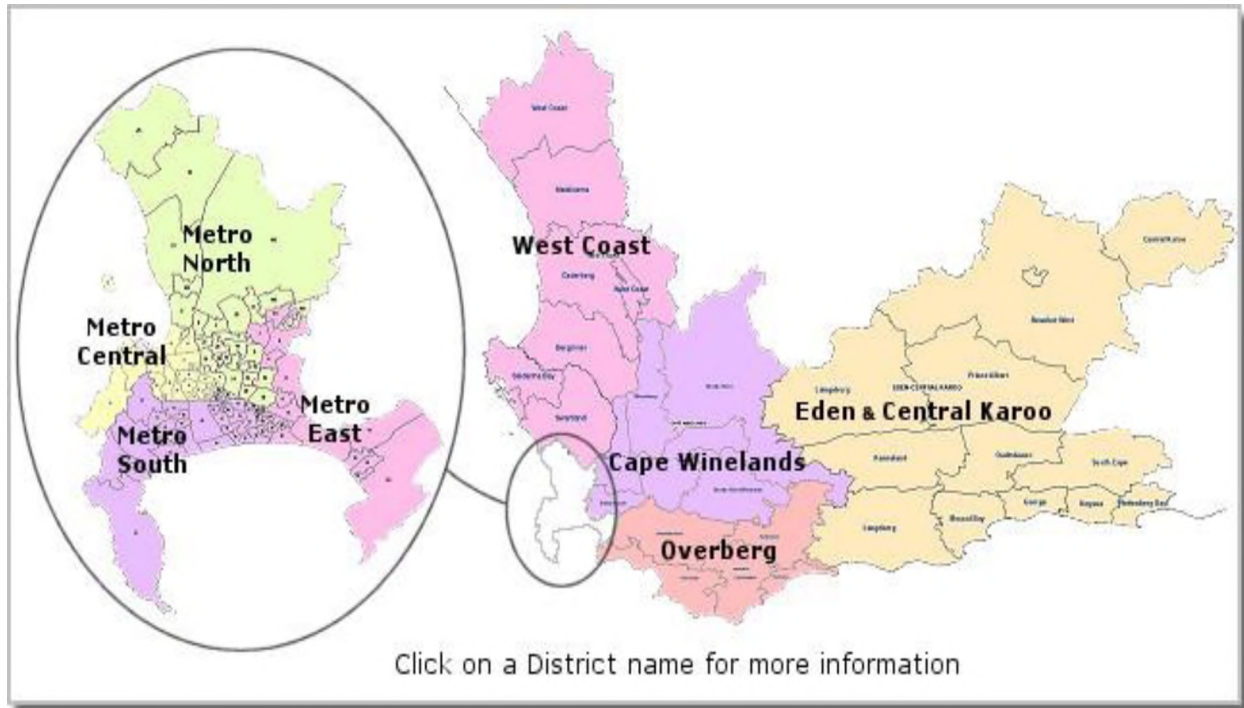


Figure 1: Education districts of the Western Cape Province (WCED)

The schools were chosen randomly from the 52 secondary government schools of the Metro Central district. The schools had to be township schools because the researcher wanted to conduct the study in predominantly English and isiXhosa teaching and learning environments. One of the reasons for choosing isiXhosa speaking teachers and learners was that the researcher himself is bilingual in English and isiXhosa. Therefore, this made it easy for him to follow and understand the discourse of the classrooms. It also enabled him to transcribe and translate accurately the instances of switches to isiXhosa.

In accordance with research ethics, a meeting was set with one of the directors of the WCED. The researcher was well received and the request to conduct the study was granted (see appendix 1). After communicating with the WCED director, the researcher approached the principal of the first school where the study was conducted. The researcher explained the purpose of the research and provided the principal with the research documents such as the researcher's proposal, the research approval letter from the WCED and the registration certificate from the university where the researcher was a candidate.

The principal expressed interest in the study and organized the teachers who participated in it. The teachers also showed interest in the study and expressed their willingness to take part in it. The researcher explained the design of the study to the teachers and how they were expected to take part in it. The researcher also explained to them that neither the name of their school nor their names would be mentioned in the study. This was in accordance with research ethics as well as the stipulations of the consent letters from the WCED (see appendix 1 and appendix 2). The same procedure was used in the second school where the researcher was well received by the principal, the head of division (languages) and the teacher.

3.4 THE SCHOOLS AND THE CLASSES WHERE THIS STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

This study was conducted in two township schools of the Metro Central district. The researcher begins by describing the first school and this was where most of the data were collected. It was a senior secondary school with a large number of African learners, in fact all the learners were isiXhosa speaking. The teachers as well were mainly isiXhosa speaking teachers. The school is located in Langa, a township that is populated mainly by isiXhosa speaking people. In other

words, the linguistic and socio-cultural background of the township was reflected in the school. The school is a well-built school but with insufficient teaching and learning facilities.

In the kwa-Langa school the classes that were observed were History, Geography and Accounting classes. The History/Geography teacher (a male) holds a masters' degree in philosophy and the Accounting teacher (a female) has a degree in commerce and a teachers' qualification. The teachers were enthusiastic, well-informed and experienced. All the learners in the classes where this study was conducted were isiXhosa speaking learners – learning English as a second language. The researcher observed a total of 32 lessons of these teachers over a period of three months.

The total number of learners in these classes was 69. One class had 35 learners and the other had 34 learners. Regarding the gender of the learners, the total number of male learners in both classes was 33 and the total number of female learners was 34 and two students did not indicate their gender.

The questionnaire also required learners to indicate their home language as well as their other languages. All the eleven languages of South Africa were given in the questionnaire. On the question which asked them to indicate their home language, all the 69 learners gave isiXhosa as their home language. Concerning 'other' languages, all the 69 learners gave English as their other language while one student also gave Afrikaans as his other language. Also, two students gave isiZulu as their language while one indicated Sesotho as her other language.

The other question on the learners' demographic information wanted to know their ages. According to the learners' response their ages ranged from 14 to 18 years of age. In

addition, learners were also required to indicate their ethnic background. All the 69 learners indicated that they were of African background.

Having given the demographic information of the learners, we now turn to a description of the school in kwa-Langa, particularly its condition as well as the teaching and learning facilities. The researcher observed that teaching and learning facilities were woefully inadequate in classrooms. For example, there were no data or overhead projectors, no charts on the walls, flip-charts or white boards. The teachers relied on textbooks during lessons in class and always referred the students to the textbooks for illustrations. The boards on which the teachers wrote were very old – it was even difficult to read what was written on them not because the teachers could not write legibly but because the boards were too old to reflect clearly anything written on them.

In the classrooms desks were arranged vertically with the learners facing each other. It was obvious that this seating arrangement was designed for a learner-centred approach. The seating arrangement made it easy for the teachers to move around the class to check the learners' work. However, the classes were dominated by the teachers as they did most of the talking while the learners were listening. In other words, the teachers used the teacher-centred approach in their interaction with the learners. And the classroom discourse featured isiXhosa/English code-switching.

The general educational atmosphere at the school in kwa-Langa is also worth mentioning here. The researcher observed that at times the teachers struggled to control students in the entire school, particularly after the lunch break. Some students took their time

to go back to class while others would still be hiding behind school walls even though break time was over. The teachers informed me that it was difficult to maintain discipline within the school because they were not allowed to inflict corporal punishment on the learners. Furthermore, the teachers also shared with me the serious challenge of substance abuse by the learners. They stated that this problem made it difficult for them to maintain discipline within the school grounds and inside the classrooms.

Data were also collected in the second school which is located in Dunoon. The reason for data to be also collected at the school in Dunoon was that the researcher could not get an English teacher in the kwa-Langa school. This was despite an agreement which the researcher made with the teacher. However, the researcher realised that this teacher was in actual fact not willing to participate in the study because she kept on postponing appointments. She did not state clearly her unwillingness to participate in this study. According to research ethics, to which the researcher subscribes, he had no option but to accept the indirect unwillingness of the teacher to participate in this study. This meant that the researcher had to look for another teacher in a different school – permission to conduct the study was sought from the WCED and was granted (see appendix 2).

Dunoon is one of the townships of Cape Town. Like most South African townships the conditions underwhich people lived there were appalling. There were more shacks than RDP houses (houses which the government built for low-income people). The streets were dirty with broken sewage pipes in some streets flowing all over the road. Interestingly, life went on with people doing their everyday businesses: selling the popular *imibengo* or 'braai' meat. The

streets were small and congested with minibuses (itaxi) moving in anyside of the road, recklessly negotiating their way forward.

In the midst of this hectic township life was the school where the researcher conducted part of his study. The school was chosen because it was conveniently not far from where the researcher stayed. Secondly, it was chosen because the teachers and learners were isiXhosa speakers. Thirdly, the teacher was chosen because she was willing to participate in this study. Moving through the heavy steel gates to the school, a different atmosphere existed. The school is well built and an academic atmosphere existed within it. The school is equipped with a library that is well run. Learners are encouraged to speak English within the school premises. The first thing the researcher observed, which pertained to the use of English within the school, was a notice pasted at the reception office, it stated: ALL LEARNERS MUST SPEAK ENGLISH HERE. Order and discipline were maintained at the school. No children were moving up and down the school during teaching time.

It was in this school where the researcher collected data from a teacher of English. The reason for choosing the teacher of English was that the researcher wanted to observe deliberate use of isiXhosa as an intervention strategy in a class where isiXhosa was not normally used for classroom interaction. IsiXhosa, according to the teacher, was not normally used in this class because it was an English language class and lessons were supposed to be carried out in English. The use of the two languages (English and isiXhosa) in this class could be described as translanguaging. Mayaba (2017:63), citing Baker (2003) and Makalela (2015), defines translanguaging as “the deliberate process of using two or more languages to make meaning, shape experience and formulate or understand concepts during the process of learning”.

In the school at Dunoon two classes were observed over a period of two weeks. In one class (grade 9.6) the teacher delivered her lesson in English only. The lesson was on essay writing skills. The same lesson was delivered to another class (grade 9.7) using isiXhosa and English. The pedagogical impact of the use of isiXhosa on the performance of the learners is unpacked in chapter five.

3.5 POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The problem statement postulated that there is a widespread use of CS in educational contexts where English is supposed to be the language of teaching and learning (see chapter one). Furthermore, that CS is a widespread phenomenon in schools is supported by studies cited in chapter two. For example, a number of studies in South Africa argue that teachers rely on CS to impart information to their learners (see Adendorff, 1993; Marawu, 1997; Setati, 1998; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Desai, 2001, 2003; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004). In other words, the research population for this study comprised teachers and learners – these were fundamental in assisting the researcher to find answers to the problem this study grappled with. Therefore, the three teachers in the schools selected for purposes of this study were units of analysis; “we refer to the members or elements of the population as the **units of analysis**” (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005:53).

As indicated earlier, the Metro Central district has 52 secondary government schools, and out of these schools only four have a majority of learners who are isiXhosa speakers. This implied that the researcher could not draw a sample frame using the schools in the Metro Central district as he might have ended-up with schools which would not meet the

requirements of his study. And at the same time he could not draw a sample frame using all the schools in the Western Cape Education districts as that would have been “impractical and uneconomical” (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005: 55).

In other words, the researcher used a simple and more economical sample in this study. Furthermore, previous research on classroom CS in South African township and rural schools like that of Desai (2003), Brock-Utne and Homarsdottir (2004) including the researcher’s experience as an educator enabled him to rely on non-probability sampling, and specifically purposive sampling. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:69) support this when they argue:

Researchers rely on their experience, ingenuity and/or previous research findings....to deliberately obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample they obtain may be regarded as being representative of the relevant population.

In addition, the researcher had easy access to the schools as he worked and stayed in the Metro Central district. Therefore, non-probability sampling was appropriate for this study, specifically “for reasons of convenience and economy” (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005: 57).

Conversely, the purpose of this study was not to obtain a representative sample of the population hence the use of non-probability sampling. Therefore, while the researcher acknowledged that previous research findings and experience could be used in drawing a non-probability sample and that the sample could be “regarded as being representative of the relevant population” he also took into cognizance that “different researchers may proceed in different ways to obtain such a sample.” Furthermore, the researcher was also aware that it could be “impossible to evaluate the extent to which such samples are representative of the relevant population” (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005: 69).

3.6 RESEARCH APPROACHES AND METHODS

This section is concerned with the research approaches and methods which were used to collect data and thus, assist the researcher to meet the objectives of this study.

In the attempt to find answers to the research problem of this study as well as meet its objectives, the researcher first worked in close collaboration with the teachers. This is what Lin (2008:11) had to say about collaboration between teachers and researchers; “close collaboration between teacher and researcher is also needed; e.g., the teacher is the researcher or there is close collaboration between the teacher and the researcher.” In this study the teachers were actively involved. For example, they discussed with the researcher the concepts which they felt needed to be unpacked in isiXhosa and planned with the researcher how they were going to use isiXhosa as an intervention strategy. This is what Lin (2013:14) called the design-interventionist approach.

Collaboration between the researcher and the teachers was crucial as it minimized any power relations that might have existed between the researcher and the research subjects (May, 1997). The purpose was for the researcher not to be seen as an outsider but as part of a research process that involved the teachers, learners and the researcher. By so doing, the researcher took into cognizance Lin’s criticism of classroom CS when she said that most of the research on classroom CS did not involve teachers as “researchers of their own practices” (Lin, 2013:11). May (1997) refers to the idea of collaboration as “adoption of democratic research strategies which emphasise researcher/practitioner collaboration and participant empowerment” (May, 1997:201). In addition, Watson-Gegeo (1997:141) also supports this view

arguing that “to remain true to its goal of empowerment, critical classroom research must engage teachers and students as research partners in designing and carrying out the research.”

Furthermore, collaboration and empowerment of teachers and learners in research studies that seek to understand their discourse behaviour in classrooms are one of the goals of classroom ethnography as Watson-Gegeo (1997:139) puts it; “[t]he goal of critical classroom ethnography is empowerment for students and teachers, and many such studies involve collaborative relationships among teachers and researchers.” Classroom ethnography was one of the approaches that were used to understand the interactive behaviour of the teachers who participated in this study. Watson-Gegeo (1997:134) defines classroom ethnography as follows:

Classroom ethnography refers to the application of ethnographic and sociolinguistic or discourse analytic research methods to the study of behaviour, activities, interaction, and discourse in formal and semi-formal education settings such as school classrooms, adult education programs, and day-care centers.

The researcher observed the communicative repertoire of the three teachers involved in the study as they interacted with their learners over a period of three months (which is basically a term). The communicative patterns of the teachers were video-recorded – an audio-recorder was also used to capture the classroom communicative processes. The video and auditory recordings made it possible for the researcher to transcribe the lessons, and thus enabled him to give a holistic analysis of the classroom activities. The researcher also used observation, taking notes as the lessons proceeded. In addition, structured interviews were held with the teachers who were participants in this study. These research activities were in line with classroom ethnography as Watson-Gegeo (1997:136) explains:

Classroom ethnography involves the intensive, detailed observation of a classroom over the period of its duration (e.g. semester or year), recording a large sample of classroom

activities on audio- or videotape. Observations are supplemented by interviews with teachers and students.

It is worth noting that classroom ethnography has four basic approaches: ethnography of communication; micro-ethnography; discourse analysis and critical ethnography (Watson-Gegeo, 1997:136). Much as these approaches overlap, this study specifically falls within critical ethnography. The researcher found critical ethnography a suitable research approach for this study as “it is ideally suited to exploring questions of educational inequality in relation to social class, gender and/or ethnicity, and to relate such questions to practice – particularly, to political and emancipatory practice” (May, 1997:199).

May (1997) goes on to explain critical ethnography as follows:

Critical ethnography is a relatively recent development in social science research methodology. Situated within the broad ethnographic tradition, it reflects many of the characteristics of conventional ethnography. For example, it shares with much ethnography a reliance on the qualitative interpretation of data – examining particular social, cultural, or organizational settings from the perspective of the participants involved. It also adheres to many of the core tenets of ethnographic methods, particularly the use of participant observation, where the researcher is both a participant and observer in the research setting (May 1997:197).

The above features of critical ethnography could be related to this study. For example, the researcher in this study used the qualitative research method to interpret and analyse data. Furthermore, he looked at the socio-cultural aspects of the teachers and learners and scrutinized how these were reflected in their communicative practices. It has been already indicated that interviews with teachers were held with the purpose of eliciting their perspective about their communicative behaviour.

May (1997:197) further states that critical ethnography is “simultaneously hermeneutic and emancipatory. Its overriding goal is to free individuals from sources of domination and repression, particularly those characteristic of late capitalism.” Classroom CS was used by the teachers under study in an educational context of colonial hegemony and entrenchment of ‘English only’ ideology. As indicated in chapter two, the issue of production and reproduction of dominant languages like English has been challenged by scholars such as Bourdieu (2002), Alexander (1998; 2008; 2012) and Halliday (2009).

Critical ethnography was used by the researcher to determine whether the research subjects used CS in classrooms to emancipate themselves from the fetters of colonial education (May, 1997). The researcher, using critical ethnography, studied whether the teachers used CS in classrooms to “negotiate their multilingual and multicultural identities” or to challenge “particular hierarchies and hegemonies”, especially hegemonies which perpetuate monolingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2010:103-104). Furthermore, it was of particular interest to the researcher to find out if the units of analysis in this study used CS in classrooms to contest reproduction of social differentiation in the larger society through language and discourse in schools (Watson-Gegeo, 1997:139).

In addition, it was important for the researcher to explore whether the teachers’ use of CS in classrooms indicated their consciousness “of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others” (Fairclough, 2001:1). Specifically, the issue was whether the teachers under study used CS so as to emancipate themselves and their learners from a language that enhanced domination and oppression. The concern of how English (in the context of this study) was used to exclude the majority of black children from socio-economic advancement because

they could not achieve the expected level of competence and proficiency in it was noted in chapter two (see Alexander, 2012). Therefore, the researcher needed an approach like critical ethnography to investigate the emancipatory role of CS in classroom situations.

Fairclough (2001) puts emphasis on consciousness as the first step towards emancipation because of the role languages could play in the domination of some by others. He writes, “[t]he general point is that education, along with all the other social institutions, has its ‘hidden agenda’ the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures, in addition to its overt educational agenda” (Fairclough, 2001:33). The need to “increase consciousness” of how language could be used to perpetuate domination and oppression can be compared to what Ngugi refers to as “decolonization of the mind”. The researcher examined whether the use of CS in educational contexts could be viewed as challenging the tendency of using dominant languages to reproduce through education domination and exclusion.

Similarly, Freire (1993) expressed the need for the oppressed to have “critical awareness of oppression” because oppression can “submerge human beings’ consciousness.” Freire elaborated the necessity for the oppressed to emancipate themselves from oppression as follows:

One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings’ consciousness. Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it (Freire, 1993:33).

Therefore, it was important for the researcher to use a research approach that enabled him to explore the notion of emancipation in educational contexts where language had been used to “submerge human beings’ consciousness.”

Fairclough takes the argument further by emphasizing the importance of “consciousness raising” as a means of liberating people whose consciousness had been “submerged” by domination and oppression; “the struggle and the raising of consciousness are dialectically related: struggle opens people to the raising of consciousness, which empowers them to engage in struggle” (Fairclough, 2001:194). Using critical ethnography, this study scrutinized how teachers used CS to raise their “consciousness” and that of their learners on how their mother-tongue had been denied an educational role in classrooms even though, ordinarily, it could play that role.

While recognizing the views articulated by researchers like May (1997) and Watson-Gegeo (1997) about the importance of classroom ethnography (and specifically critical ethnography as a research approach) the researcher took notice of the criticism levelled against critical ethnography by Hammersley (1998:102):

Many recent versions of critical ethnography also depart from orthodox Marxism in presenting critical theory as the outcome of collaboration between researchers and oppressed, rather than the former bringing to the latter a theory that will dispel their theoretically generated ignorance and/or confusion.

In other words, Hammersley criticizes “collaboration between researcher and oppressed”, and yet collaboration between the researcher and units of analysis is central to critical ethnography as a research approach. As indicated earlier, Watson-Gegeo (1997:139) referred to critical ethnography as “empowerment for students and teachers” while May described it as a “democratic” research strategy (May 1997:201). In addition, Fairclough (2001) in expressing the need for consciousness-raising on how language contributes in preserving domination also emphasized emancipation as crucial.

However, the argument raised by Hammersley (1998) in refuting the notion of emancipatory practice in critical ethnography raises other issues. For example, he writes about domination and oppression as if there is within oppression “unnecessary inequality and surplus repression” (Hammersley 1998:110). This gives the impression that there is necessary inequality, and that repression is inevitable but there must be no “surplus repression.”

Hammersley goes on say:

If oppression is multi-dimensional, and needs and interests are not easily and determinately identifiable, then the idea of emancipation as the freeing from oppression and the meeting of genuine needs becomes highly problematic. This is not to say that people’s conditions of living cannot or should not be improved, simply that what is an improvement (and for whom) is always potentially subject to reasonable disagreement, that it is a matter of degree, and that improvements will be limited to particular respects, and may involve costs for others. What seems unlikely is the transport of all from the realm of necessity into that of freedom (Hammersley, 1998:110-111).

However, the fact of the matter is that repression is repression; and that it cannot be justified whether it occurs in degrees or not. The struggle to emancipate people from repression will always be there as Watson-Gegeo puts it; “critical ethnographers argue that oppressed peoples are not simply passive victims of a discriminatory social system, but are able to take action to improve their situation” (Watson-Gegeo, 1997:139).

This study used non-probability methods but Hammersley (1998:88), though a critic of ethnography, argued that “being unable to use probability methods does not rule out the possibility of making reasonable judgements about the representativeness of findings drawn from a particular setting in relation to some wider population.” According to Hammersley one of the ways for ethnography to achieve this is by combining methods; “Another possibility is

increased collaboration between ethnographers and survey researchers, or the combination of case study and survey methods in the same investigation” (Hammersley, 1998:89). This was particularly relevant to this study as it also used survey methods to ensure that the information it needed was elicited from the respondents.

It was imperative (as one of the objectives of this study) for the researcher to establish the teachers’ views about their code-switching practices in the classrooms (see chapter one). To meet this objective, the researcher prepared interview surveys for the teachers who were participants in the study. According to Babbie (1990:187) researchers in interview surveys “ask the questions verbally and record the respondents’ answers.” In this study the researcher did not encounter difficulties in conducting interview surveys as he had established rapport with the research participants.

Another objective of this study that required survey methods was the need to establish the learners’ perspective about the use of CS as a teaching and learning strategy (see chapter one). To achieve this objective, the researcher distributed questionnaires to all the learners in the classes that were observed. It was possible and practical to give questionnaires to all the learners because the classes did not have big student numbers – there was no need to take a sample of the population. Moreover, the researcher used questionnaires because he could not rely on interviews alone to get the learners’ perspective about the use CS in classrooms. The method used by the researcher in this instance is explained well by Burgess:

One of the contexts in which quantitative and qualitative research are most frequently united is where the ethnographer carries out a survey in order to fill some gaps in his or her knowledge of a community, group, organization, or whatever, because the gaps

cannot be readily filled by reliance on participant observation or unstructured interviewing alone (Burgess, 1993:108).

Therefore, it was imperative for the researcher to use questionnaires in order to get the views of the learners about the use of CS in classrooms. Obtaining the views of the learners about the use of CS in classrooms was in line with what Lin explained as a requirement for research in classroom CS; “depending on the readiness of the students, students can be solicited to become researchers in the study of their own bilingual classroom practices” (Lin, 2008:11).

The other intention of this study was determining whether CS made any positive contribution in the learners’ academic performance (see chapter one). To achieve this, the researcher observed a teacher who stated that she did not normally code switch in class as her learners needed to get exposure to their target language. The teacher was an English teacher. However, she agreed to unpack certain words and concepts in isiXhosa for purposes of this study. The researcher also observed the teacher teaching the same lesson, in English only, in another class. The learners were then given a test based on the lessons and a comparative analysis of their performance was made.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

This section focuses on data analysis methods used by the researcher in this study in order to make sense of the collected data and relate it to the research objectives.

To understand the communicative behaviour of the teachers and students under study, the researcher used conversational analysis (CA) as well. There is similarity between CA and classroom ethnography, especially microethnography. For example, CA also relies on high

quality audio and video recordings so that interactions can be retrieved with ease and in their totality. As indicated before, the researcher used these devices to record classroom interactions and to retrieve data. The similarity between CA and microethnography is also mentioned by Garcez; “given the shared methodological stance of privileging the participants’ recognizable sense-making perspectives in the analysis of talk and social interaction, the conversation analytic and microethnographic perspectives often display close affinity” (Garcez,1997:188).

One of the strengths of conversation analysis is that it examines real conversations. Furthermore, CA has managed to demonstrate that conversations are “systematically structured”. Fairclough describes these structures as “social structures” and CA shows how these structures are produced in everyday conversations (Fairclough, 2001:9). In this study CA was used to examine how CS in classrooms reflected everyday societal interactions among bilingual isiXhosa/English speakers. In other words, the question was whether there were patterns of social structures in the teachers’ classroom discourse and how those related to classroom settings. Conversely, Fairclough also critiques conversation analysis:

But conversation analysis has been resistant to making connections between such ‘micro’ structures of conversation and the ‘macro’ structures of social institutions and societies. As a result, it gives a rather implausible image ...of conversation as a skilled social practice in a social vacuum, as if talk were generally engaged in just for its own sake (Fairclough, 2001:9-10).

Nonetheless, the researcher in this study employed discourse analysis to understand the teachers’ discourse behaviour.

Furthermore, the researcher to analyse data used Grice’s theory of implicature. Thomas (1995:56) explains Grice’s theory as “an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets what is said to

what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of **implied meaning.**" Thomas (1995) goes on to clarify Grice's theory of implicature as follows:

Grice distinguished two different sorts of implicature: **conventional implicature** and **conversational implicature**: they have in common the property that they both convey an additional level of meaning, beyond the semantic meaning of the words uttered (Thomas, 1995:57).

Grice's theory of implicature was used in this study so as to understand the "expressed meaning" as well as the "implied meaning" of the teachers' CS instances.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher in conducting this study took into consideration ethical issues in research. For instance, the researcher familiarized himself with the research ethics policy of Rhodes University and ensured that its stipulations were observed. Secondly, the researcher sought permission from the Department of Education in the Western Cape Province to conduct the study in any of the schools in the Cape Metropolitan Municipality. Permission to conduct the study was granted (see appendix 1). In this instance the department of education served as what Burgess (1993) calls a "gatekeeper":

In some situations access to a research site is gained via a 'gatekeeper'. In these situations members should adhere to the principle of obtaining informed consent directly from research participants to whom access is required, while at the same time taking account of the gatekeeper's interest (Burgess, 1993:129).

Thirdly, the research participants were informed about the important research principles of anonymity and confidentiality, and how these were applied to this study. For example, the researcher approached the school where the study was conducted and informed the principal

and the teachers who participated in the study that the name of the school, the teachers and their learners would not be mentioned in the study. All the respondents agreed to participate in this study. In this way the interests of the research participants as well as those of the “gatekeeper” were considered.

It was further explained to the research participants that the study was conducted for academic purposes only, and that the information obtained from the study would not be used or published to discredit the school, the principal, the teachers and the learners. This was done to show honesty and respect for the rights of people involved in research (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005). Furthermore, the teachers and the learners were informed that they were not obliged to take part in this study as Burgess (1993:128) puts it, “research participants should be aware of their right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason they wish. They should also not be under the impression that they are required to participate.”

As the researcher used video and audio recording devices to capture the teachers’ interactions with their learners he first obtained their consent as well as that of the principal. They were made aware that they had the right to decline use of those data capturing devices in their classes if they were not comfortable with them. Nevertheless, the teachers and the learners who participated in this study were happy with the use of audio and video recorders for purposes of collecting data.

In other words the researcher complied with the principle of informed consent which Burgess unpacks as follows:

This principle is based upon four issues. First, that all those aspects of what might occur, or is to occur, are disclosed to those who agree to participate in the project. Secondly,

that this information is communicated to the individual in a way that is easily understood. Thirdly, that the individual who is to be researched is capable of assessing the situation and making a mature judgement on it. Finally, that there should be an agreement to participate in the project (Burgess, 1993:120).

As indicated, the researcher complied with critical ethical issues so as to make certain that the research respondents were not subjected to a covert study.

The researcher ensured that the respondents were not exposed to emotional harm because of his presence in their classrooms (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2005:201). For example, the researcher did not receive any queries from the respondents that arose from false hopes that might have been created by the researcher's presence in their classes. In addition, the teachers and the learners looked comfortable with the researcher's presence in their classes – they carried on with their day-to-day business without showing anxiety or signs that pressure was exerted on them.

3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter began by giving background information to the chapter stating that the Western Cape province has three dominant languages namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. It then explained the process of setting up the research highlighting how permission to conduct the study was sought. In line with critical ethnography, the schools and the classrooms where the study was conducted are described in the chapter. The chapter explained that a video-recorder and audio-recorder were used to collect data – the importance of informing the units of analysis and getting their permission for use of these equipments is mentioned. Furthermore, to explore the research problem and to meet the objectives of this study, the

researcher used non-probability sampling, specifically purposive sampling. In addition, the objectives of this study were related to the data collection methods so as to explain that these were chosen in accordance with the objectives of the study as given in chapter one. It was also fundamental to explain the research approach that was used to understand the discourse behaviour of the teachers and their learners. In this regard, classroom ethnography and specifically critical ethnography are unpacked – their relevance to this study is also given. The emancipatory role of critical ethnography is emphasized. Also, that critical ethnography relies on qualitative interpretation of data is noted and this study used mainly the qualitative research method (May, 1997). Moreover, it was crucial for this study to highlight the criticism levelled against critical ethnography by Mammersley (1998). In addition, Grice's theory of implicature was used to analyse data. The chapter closes by focusing on the ethical issues that were considered during the data collection process. Chapter four contains the data presentation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter features analysis of the classroom discourse practices of the teachers who were participants in this study. Mainly, this chapter undertakes to make sense of the collected data through analysis, presentation and interpretation of the outcome of analysis. In addition, data are analysed in this chapter to specifically examine whether CS enhances the learners' understanding of the subject. This is one of the objectives of this study (see chapter one).

As mentioned in chapter three, it is crucial for the researcher to convert the raw data “into write-ups which should be intelligible products that can be read, edited for accuracy, commented on, and analysed” (Welman, *et al.* 2005:211). To achieve this, the researcher in this study used the theme identification method in order to identify the recurring themes in the teachers' communicative repertoire. Ryan and Bernard (n.d.) – as cited in Welman, *et al.* (2005) – argue that theme identification “is one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research. Themes can be described as “umbrella” constructs which are usually identified by the researcher before, after, and during the data collection” (Welman, *et al.* 2005:211). In this study theme identification was done through analysis of linguistic features which were expressed in isiXhosa by the units of analysis.

Furthermore, to reduce the “huge amount of data to manageable and understandable texts” the researcher used coding (Welman, *et al.* 2005:213). Codes are defined as “tags or labels that attach meaning to the raw data or notes collected during field work. These tags are used to retrieve and organize chunks of text in order to *categorise it according to particular*

themes” (Welman, *et al.* 2005:214). In this study the researcher created codes mainly for purposes of getting a better understanding of the themes that emerged from the teachers’ discourse. These codes were created for use in this study only.

Nevertheless, after converting words to numbers using theme identification and data coding, the researcher felt it was imperative to use *words* as well in order to get a more meaningful understanding of the data. In other words, it is not only important to “convert words to numbers or symbols” but also to “retain the words and use these together with the numbers/symbols throughout the analysis” (Welman *et al.* 2005:213). Therefore, the dominant themes in the teachers’ communicative discourse are further analysed focusing on *levels of meaning* as discussed by Thomas (1995) as well as Grice’s theory of conversational implicature (Grice, 1989).

4.2 USE OF CODE-SWITCHING TO ENHANCE THE LEARNERS’ UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

As indicated earlier, the purpose of this chapter is to examine how the teachers under study used code-switching to enhance the learners’ understanding of the subject matter. In chapter one it was mentioned that the participants of this study were three grade 8 and 9 teachers as well as their learners. The subjects that were observed for purposes of this objective were History, Geography and Accounting. As mentioned earlier, the code-switching instances used by each teacher were analysed using theme identification and coding. The researcher also drew a frequency table of the themes that were prevalent in each subject as well as a matrix of importance attributed to each theme as shown by frequency. The code-switching instances used by the teachers are further summarized in bar-charts – this helps in giving more clarity of

the themes/code-switching instances prevalent in the teachers' communicative behaviour. Furthermore, use of charts and tables enabled the researcher to convert qualitative data to meaningful numbers and this was particularly important because qualitative research is done primarily with words and not with numbers as in quantitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Welman *et al.*, 2005).

4.3 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CODE-SWITCHING INSTANCES USED BY THE ACCOUNTING TEACHER

One of the teachers the researcher had to observe was the Accounting teacher. The researcher focused on the communicative functions of the teacher's CS instances and divided these into themes. It is worth noting that a number of themes emanated from the Accounting teacher's communicative repertoire. This implies that the teacher's CS instances performed a number of different functions in the classroom. Table 2 gives a list of themes which were recurring in the teacher's discourse – these are based on the isiXhosa switches she made as she interacted with her learners.

Table 2: Code list of themes used by the Accounting teacher

Code	Theme	Definition
EMP	Emphasis	Use of CS to emphasise certain instances of the teachers' classroom discourse
CL	Clarification	Use of CS to clarify concepts, statements, terms and other aspects of the teachers' discourse
REP	Repetition	Use of the learners' mother-tongue (MT) to repeat expressions uttered in English

		so as to help the learners gain a better understanding of the subject matter.
TR	Translation	Direct and conceptual translation of certain terms and expressions from English to isiXhosa
H	Humour	Use of humour by teachers in order to create an atmosphere that is conducive to teaching and learning.
EL	Elaboration	Use of the learners' MT to further explain and reformulate the teachers' expressions for purposes of assisting the learners to understand the content of the subject.
CUS	Checking understanding	Use of the learners' MT to check if the learners understand the lesson.
MANC	Managing class	Use of the learners' MT to manage the class and get the attention of the learners.
SOL	Solidarity	Use of the learners' MT to achieve a social function in the classroom.
GI	Giving instructions	Use of the learners' MT to give instructions.
SD	Structuring device	Use of the learners' MT as a formulaic expression or a discourse marker so as to structure the teachers' discourse.
EE	Expression of emotions	Use of the learners' MT to express emotions especially

After identifying the themes recurring in the Accounting teacher's discourse (see table 2), the researcher drew a table showing frequency of themes (see table 3). The themes were converted to numbers by calculating the frequency of occurrence of each identified theme in the teacher's discourse (Welman, *et al.* 2005). This made it easy for the researcher to see the number of CS instances which the teacher used and what function these performed in the classroom. The same method of theme identification and data coding was used for the History/Geography teacher's communicative repertoire.

Table 3: Frequences of themes occuring in the Accounting teacher's discourse

Theme	Code	Frequency
Emphasis	EMP	4
Clarification	CL	18
Repetition	REP	4
Translation	TR	7
Humour	H	2
Elaboration	EL	12
Checking understanding	CUS	38
Managing class	MANC	18
Solidarity	SOL	13
Giving instructions	GI	23
Expression of emotions	EE	4

Furthermore, the researcher used the information in table 3 to demonstrate the matrix of importance the teacher attached to each theme (see table 4).

Table 4: Matrix of importance ascribed by the Accounting teacher to each theme as shown by frequency

Themes	None	Some	Average	Very	Extremely
Emphasis		x			
Clarification			x		
Repetition		x			
Translation		x			
Humour		x			
Elaboration			x		
Checking understanding					x
Managing class			x		
Solidarity			x		
Giving instructions				x	
Structuring device		x			
Expression of emotions		x			

Notably the Accounting teacher used CS to achieve various functions in the classroom. Similarly, Lin (2008) observed that CS is perceived as “an additional resource in the teacher’s communicative repertoire enabling her/him to signal and negotiate different frames and footings, role-relationships, cultural values, identities and so on in the classroom” (Lin, 2008:6). Canagarajah (2001:207) adds a similar description of English Second Language (ESL) classes when he says that they are sites “for the skilful management of identities, roles, values, and group membership through codeswitching”.

The functions of CS observed by Lin (2008) and described by Canagarajah (2001) are encompassed in the Accounting teacher’s dominant themes and they reflect how CS enabled the teacher to deal “with conflicting communicative norms and ideologies” (Canagarajah, 2001:207). It was imperative to further represent the themes occurring in the Accounting teacher’s discourse in a bar graph. The purpose was to simplify further the teacher’s interactive behaviour and thus, make it easy to analyse.

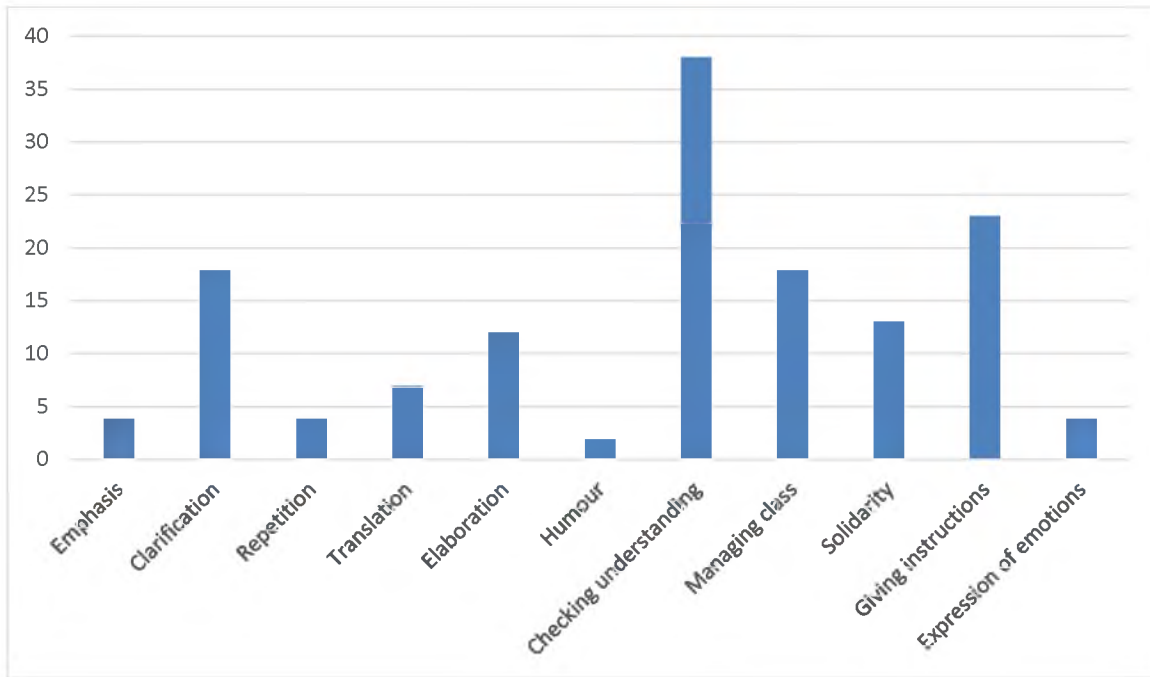


Figure 2: Bar graph showing the themes used by the Accounting teacher

It is clear from figure 2 that the teacher used a number of isiXhosa switches to check if the learners understood the lesson. Let us consider the following example to illustrate this:

Extract 1

In the extracts English translations of isiXhosa CS instances are given between square brackets. (Teacher = T; P = Pupil; Ps = Pupils). Comments by the researcher are written in double brackets.

1. T: so they have to pay back. On the board class neh, apha now *uzakubona unecolumn entsha oqondayo uba le icolumn uyaqala ukuyibona, yeyiphi?* [you will see you have a new column which you see that this column, you have never seen, which one is that?]
2. Ps: Debtors' control

This is one of the examples where the teacher decides to switch to isiXhosa to ask the learners if they know the new column she is introducing to them. The learners got it right because, anyway, the column was on the board. In other words, the teacher switches to isiXhosa to introduce the new column she is going to explain to the learners. Her choice of words and generally her communicative repertoire in this example is relaxed and is mainly conversational. This means she uses isiXhosa to break the formality that is normally associated with classroom situations, particularly teacher-centred classrooms.

The Accounting teacher does not only use CS to check the learners' understanding of the subject matter but also to give instructions. The teacher mainly resorts to isiXhosa to give instructions to her learners:

Extract 2

1. T: ((issues hand-outs)) *Ndicela udlulise umntu one-one ukuya kutsho kubhuti phaya eback. Nawe dlulisa one-one-one...ha-a sanudlala* ((referring to learners who were playing with each other)) *...khawulezisa ndilinde nina. Wonke umntu unayo icopy phambi kwakhe?...wonke umntu unecopy phambi kwakhe* class? X-tra copies...they must come back to me please...alright! [can you each person distribute...up to our big brother there. You must also distribute....no no stop playing...hurry up I'm waiting for you. Does everybody have a copy in front of them?]
2. Ps: Yes mam

In line 1 above, the teacher again switches to isiXhosa to ensure that everybody gets a copy of the pamphlet. She again uses isiXhosa to foreground her lesson but more than that to ensure

that all the learners understand her instructions by mainly expressing them in isiXhosa. This is the pattern throughout her lessons.

The teacher also used isiXhosa to manage her class. Extract 3 shows how the teacher uses isiXhosa to manage the class:

Extract 3

T: People when I'm reading you must put your pens down ((she says this emphatically to indicate how she hates it)) ...and look where I'm reading from. **Uzakuba neh**homework **ungakwazi ukumuva ekhaya** because **ububhala wena**...right **ndiyaphinda kwakhona** iquestion **yam neh!** [you are going to have.....and be unable to move at home....you were writing.....I am repeating again my...neh.....]

It has now become obvious that the teacher uses isiXhosa for various purposes. She relies on isiXhosa to ensure that the learners understand her instructions. She also uses the same amount of switches to isiXhosa to make herself clear to the learners or to make her “contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)” (Grice, 1989:26).

Clarity of expression is fundamental in teaching and learning. The Accounting teacher used CS to ensure that her learners understood the content of the subject matter. The following is an example of a CS instance where the teacher used isiXhosa to clarify her point:

Extract 4

1. T: We will come back to the transaction. Let us first write the name of the business...**mos ezilokishini** we have our small businesses. **Uyibona ngantoni yi**business le? **uqond'uba ubisi lukhona, mawuyothenga ipint yobisi ikhona**... how do you know that....there in that corner they are selling groceries or selling **magwinyas, intlokos** or smileys whatever you call it ((students become relaxed, smiling and laughing at the teacher's use of words like **magwinyas** and

- intlokos*) How do you know? [...in townships....how do you recognise that this is a business? And be sure that there is milk there, so you can go and buy a pint of milk.....fatcakes, sheep's head....fatcakes....sheep's head]
2. P: *ubona ngebhodi* [you will see an advertisement board]
 3. T: Very good...he says you will see a big board...on that big board...what is written on that big board?
 4. P: Vusi's Car Wash

To explain how a business is identified she uses examples which learners are familiar with – this is based on the old educational principle of starting from the known to the unknown, and the learners seem to enjoy this. More interestingly, the learners are amused when the teacher tries to Anglicize isiXhosa words like *amagwinya* [fatcakes] and *intloko* [sheep's head] by articulating them using the English plural form. The teacher's good sense of humour creates a classroom atmosphere that is conducive to learning.

Furthermore, isiXhosa words occur as intra-sentential switches. Intra-sentential switches are switches which occur within a sentence (Marawu, 1997). In extract 4 English is the matrix language and isiXhosa is the embedded language. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) the matrix language is the language that receives linguistic items from another language, whereas embedded language is the language that donates linguistic items to another language (Marawu, 2017). Gardner-Chloros (2008) defines the matrix language "as the language that provides the greater number of morphemes" (Gardner-Chloros, 2008:67).

Extract 4 line 1 could also be cited as an example of an utterance where the teacher uses isiXhosa to establish rapport with the learners and to express solidarity with them. Lin (1996) emphasizes the importance of using the learners' mother-tongue for purposes of

establishing a friendly and educational classroom atmosphere; “[a] teacher, therefore, has to switch to Cantonese to talk to his or her students if he or she wants to establish a warm and friendly atmosphere. On the other hand, he or she can always switch back to English to resume a more distanced stance, for instance, to facilitate a pedagogic task at hand” (Lin,1996:67). Although Lin was writing about the situation in Hong Kong, her research can be related to the South African situation where learners whose mother-tongue is not English have to receive education in English.

The Accounting teacher also uses CS to elaborate and to translate English words to isiXhosa. The following extract shows how she uses isiXhosa to elaborate her point to the learners.

Extract 5

T: after that *kubhalwe yintoni ozoyenza okanye zintoni ezi uzozishiya apha. Emva koko la sisi lowa* after *eggibile uzosayina...abhale ukuba ukutshajamalini. ..akrazule so xa ekrazula uzakunika isiqinisekiso, isiqinisekiso yintoni? Yisource document. Akugqiba uzakunika ireceipt yakho...wena xa uphuma eshop uphuma nantoni? Uphuma neoriginal receipt...yena kula ncwadi ushiyeka nantoni? Neduplicate* [what instructions are written there...after that lady is done there will sign...and write how much she charges you...tear off the slip...and give a source document, what is a source document? After she is done she will give you your...when you leave the shop...what do you leave the shop with? You leave with theand what remains with her in the... her book?]

The above piece of discourse is mainly in isiXhosa. In other words, isiXhosa is the matrix language and English is the embedded language (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Additionally, most of the English words which appear in extract 5 have isiXhosa prefixes: *yisource* document; *yisource*; *eshop*; *neoriginal*; and *neduplicate*. Articulation of these words requires lexical restructuring without losing the meaning of the original source or language (Marawu, 2017).

The teacher manages to produce these code-mixed lexical items and insert them in a predominantly isiXhosa utterance without affecting the grammaticality of the matrix language. What is also noticeable about the example given in extract 5 is that with the code-mixed lexical items the teacher produces an intelligible piece of discourse or a contribution which has no traces of obscurity of expression or ambiguity (Grice, 1989).

Furthermore, the lexical items she uses in extract 5 have not undergone phonological and morphological adaptation to isiXhosa, the recipient language – these are referred to as intra-lexical switches or nonce borrowings (Marawu, 2017: in press). Khati describes intra-lexical switching as the use of morphemes from two languages with the same lexical item (Khati, 1992:183). For example, lexical items such as *yisource*, *eshop* and *neoriginal* are formed by adding isiXhosa morphemes to English words. The isiXhosa prefix morphemes as they appear in the intra-lexical switches in extract 5 could be called bound morphemes “because they cannot occur unattached” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993:43). In addition, Poplack (1985) describes intra-lexical switches as nonce borrowings because their occurrence in a communicative transaction is evanescent and are articulated for specific purposes (Marawu, 1997; 2017). In other words, they are “one-off, spur-of-the-moment code-switches” (Gardner-Chloros, 2008:60).

The teachers do not only articulate intra-lexical switches but also lexical items which have been reconstructed from English to assume isiXhosa phonetic form without major sound-changes from the original lexical items (Marawu, 2017). Let us consider the word *ukumuva* [to move] in the following extract:

Extract 6

T: People when I'm reading you must put your pens down ((she says this emphatically to indicate how she hates it)) ...and look where I'm reading from. **Uzakuba nehomework ungakwazi ukumuva ekhaya** because **ububhala wena...** [you are going to be given....and be unable to do it all by yourself at home...you were busy writing]

The word **ukumuva** (in extract 6) cannot be written as **ukumover** as the case is with words like **nehomework**. This is because the word **ukumuva** is used as a verb in extract 6. It has been formed from the verb *move* and the word *mover* is a noun. In other words, the teacher could not formulate it as an intra-lexical switch as it would have not been perspicuous (Grice, 1989). That the word **ukumuva** has been reconstituted into isiXhosa phonetic form does not mean it is a lexical borrowing but has been used by the teacher at the “spur of the moment” as she exchanges meaning with the learners (Martin-Jones, 1995:98). It must be noted that in this context the word **ukumuva** does not literally mean ‘to move’. The implied message is that the learners will be unable to do the homework on their own because they were busy writing while the teacher was explaining. It is used in this context to warn the learners to stop writing.

Myers-Scotton defines lexical borrowing as “incorporating words from one language (the donor language) in another language (the recipient language)” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:211). Before words could be regarded as lexical borrowings, they have to undergo the process of morphological and phonological integration. It can be argued that the way the teacher uses the word **ukumuva** indicates how the process of phonological and morphological adaptation begins as Gardener-Chloros puts it; “[m]orphological integration of transferred words may be indicative of the first stage in a process of language change” (Gardner-Chloros, 2008:57). Myers-Scotton adds that the “degree of phonological integration should be represented as a

continuum” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:219). In other words, morphological and phonological integration of words into the recipient language is a process. Therefore, the word *ukumuva* cannot be considered as a lexical borrowing because it has not gone through the full process of morphological and phonological integration and its use in this classroom context is ephemeral.

In sum, this part of the first section highlighted the Accounting teacher’s communicative repertoire. It noted that the teacher used a variety of themes to interact with her learners. For example, she used isiXhosa to manage her class, to give instructions and to check if the learners understood her explanations. However, it has to be noted that the other teachers observed in this study used similar communicative patterns but the classroom discourse of the Accounting teacher has also been used to highlight the grammatical aspects of her CS instances. Examples of the communicative functions of the teacher’s CS instances were given and also considered was the issue of lexical borrowings, focusing on the morphological and phonological integration process. This section also considered the notion of matrix and embedded languages – it observed how the CS behaviour of the teacher rendered not only intelligible pieces of discourse but complied with the syntactic structure of the matrix language.

The following part continues to consider morphological and phonological integration using levels of analysis within bilingual data as given by Gardner-Chloros (2008). These levels of analysis are: syntactic level; lexical level; phonological level and morphological level.

4.4 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF CODE-SWITCHING INSTANCES USED BY THE GEOGRAPHY TEACHER

As the case was with the Accounting teacher, the researcher used the same data analysis methods to identify the themes that were dominant in the Geography teacher's discourse: a code list of themes used by the Geography teacher is presented in the form of a table; the frequency of themes occurring in the Geography lessons is given; matrix of importance ascribed to each theme as shown by frequency is demonstrated and a bar chart is used to illustrate all the themes appearing in the Geography teacher's classroom discourse. As mentioned earlier, analysis of these themes is given focusing on different levels of analysis within bilingual data as suggested by Gardner-Chloros (2008).

Table 5: Code list of themes/CS instances used by the Geography teacher

Code	Theme	Definition
CL	Clarification	Use of CS to clarify concepts, statements, terms and other aspects of the teachers' discourse
TR	Translation	Use of the learners' MT to repeat expressions uttered in English so as to help the learners gain a better understanding of the subject matter.
EL	Elaboration	Use of the learners' MT to further explain and reformulate the teachers' expressions for purposes of assisting the learners to understand the content of the subject.

CUS	Checking understanding	Use of the learners' MT to check if the learners understand the lesson.
MANC	Managing class	Use of the learners' MT to manage the class and get the attention of the learners.
GI	Giving instructions	Use of the learners' MT to give instructions.
EE	Expression of emotions	Use of the learners' MT to express emotions especially anger and frustration.

Unlike the Accounting teacher which had 12 themes in her lessons, the Geography teacher had eight dominant themes. This implies that the Accounting teacher used a widespread of CS instances to interact with her learners. Table 6 does not only show what themes were prevalent in the Geography teacher's discourse but also what the frequency of those themes was.

Table 6: Frequency of themes occurring in the Geography teacher's discourse

Theme	Code	Frequency
Clarification	CL	63
Translation	TR	6
Elaboration	EL	36
Checking understanding	CUS	29
Managing class	MANC	19
Giving instructions	GI	16
Lack of Vocabulary	LOV	0
Expression of emotions	EE	7

The Geography teacher used CS to achieve various functions in the classroom. He spent tremendous time clarifying the content of the subject in isiXhosa. This theme was also dominant in the Accounting teacher's discourse. He also used isiXhosa to elaborate aspects of the content to the learners. Switches to isiXhosa were also used to check the learners' understanding of the subject matter, to manage the class and to give instructions. The teacher's use of isiXhosa to perform various functions in the classroom is illustrated in extract 7:

Extract 7

1. T: ***Ndizakubetha wena, sony..hela!*** ((referring to a misbehaving boy)) ***ukhona umntu onokuyicacisa apha iHDI? Bendithethile ngayo andithi?*** [I will beat you...hey you! Is there anyone who can explain HDI? I spoke about it yesterday]
2. Ps: Yes!
3. T: Class, we said...***masiqalele...ndifuna undimamele, mamele kakuhle, ukwenzela uzondiva...***[let's start...I want you to listen, listen carefully, so that you will understand] if we are looking at the development of a country, we look at the following things: one, we look at life expectancy. Life expectancy ***yintoni*** class? [what is it?]
4. P: ***yiminyaka umntu ayiphilayo***[is the years a person can live]
5. T: ***yiminyaka umntu ayiphilayo*** on average...that is what we are saying, ***andithi?*** [is the years a person can live.....is that not so?]
6. Ps: Yes!
7. T: ***Sithi kengoku, ndizakuninika umzekelo...***if a country is a developing country...is a poor country, ***andithi?*** [We are saying now, I will give you an example ...is that not so?]
8. Ps: Yes!
9. T: ***ilife expectancy yabantu*** is also low. If a country is a developed country, a rich nation, life expectancy is high. No. 2 is education attainment. ...in average ***abantu abafundileyo kulo*** country ***bangakanani?*** How many people have achieved education ***kulo*** country? No. 3 Again ***xa sijonga*** ***idevelopment*** in a country...***sijonga*** what you call GNI per capita...GNI per capita is the amount ***...ndide ndinenzele umzekelo othi ke ngoku*** that's why South Africa in our days is talking about National Income because income of a country determines development in a country. ***Sithi ke ngoku idevelopment*** in a country has 3

categories: category 1. High HDI 2. Medium HDI 3. Low HDI. *Unayo lento phakupage 97.*

The importance the teacher attached to each theme is further illustrated in table 7 below:

Table 7: Matrix of importance ascribed to each theme as shown by frequency

Themes	None	Some	Average	Very	Extremely
Clarification					x
Translation		x			
Elaboration					x
Checking understanding				x	
Managing class			x		
Giving instructions			x		
Lack of Vocabulary		x			
Expression of emotions		x			

The dominant themes in the Geography teacher's discourse are also represented in the following bar graph:

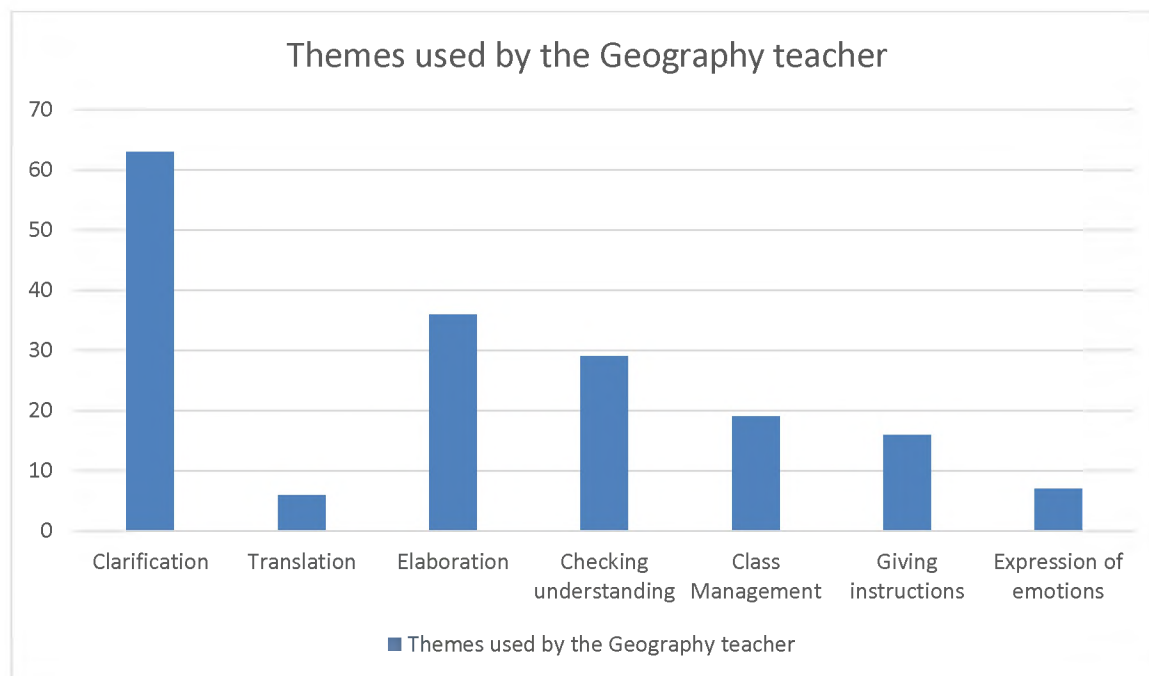


Figure 3: Bar graph illustrating the themes used by the Geography teacher

As stated earlier, to understand the CS phenomenon as used by the teachers understudy and specifically the Geography teacher the researcher uses the levels of analysis within bilingual data (Gardner-Chloros, 2008).

4.5 THE LEXICAL LEVEL

A discussion of these has been started when, for instance, the lexical and intra-lexical switches used by the Accounting teacher were analysed. To continue this analysis we consider the following extract:

Extract 8

1. T: Class *sithe* we have got these three categories of human development index...*icountry siyazi* categoriser...*icountry* into 3. There are countries esi *zicategoriser sizibeke kulalevel ye* high index *neh* high development index. *Sibene* country *esizibeka ku* medium and... low..... HDI.

Masigqithe ke class....turn to page 97-98. [we said...we...we categorise and put them at that level ...of ...and.... And have ...which we put...let's move on]

DIFFERENCE IN DEVELOPMENT. We need to clarify this. Now we used to have the way **esizi** categoriser icountries.....**xa..... sicategoriser** icountries, siyazohlula....hey, hey **uyathetha apho... nam ndiyathetha** you are talking there...I am also talking] ((change in tone, teacher shows dissatisfaction with the learner's misbehaviour)) **masiyeni** class **sonke nindincedise**: [let's all go...please help me]

- High development index
- Medium development index
- Low development index

((teacher says these together with the learners))

2. T: **Masiphindeni** [let's repeat]

3. Ps: High development index, Medium development index, Low development index

In this instance we consider the word *categorizer*. This is an English word which could have been used as a verb (categorise) if the teacher did not switch to isiXhosa. Because the teacher switched to isiXhosa, he had to add the consonant /r/ in order to make this word fit in the isiXhosa switch – as a result a new word is formed. It seems the teacher's main concern in extract 8 is for the learners to understand the 3 categories of development index. To do this he reformulates the word *categorise* in various ways by adding isiXhosa prefixes and suffixes so that it becomes part of his code-switching behaviour (see line 1 in extract 8). These morphemes can be compared to the English **derivational morphemes**. These are called derivational morphemes because “when they are conjoined to other morphemes (or words) a new word is derived or formed. The derived word may have a different meaning than the original word and may even be in a different grammatical class than the underived word” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993:48).

4.6 SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

English and isiXhosa are not cognate languages. However, English/isiXhosa bilingual speakers are able to manipulate the syntax of these languages and produce code-switching patterns which do not affect the syntactic structure of any of these languages. The following example by the Geography teacher illustrates this:

Extract 9

- T: Let us go to **la** term **yelife** expectancy. *Sijonga iminyaka...kwedini* ((referring to a misbehaving boy who was playing with another boy. This is expressed with emphasis and a serious facial expression)) *hay maan....sijonga iminyaka abantu abayihlalayo in average in a country neh...* [we look at the years...young boy...no man/stop it]

If we consider the first sentence in extract 9 we realize the matrix language is English and isiXhosa is the embedded. In the middle of a sentence in English the teacher inserts an isiXhosa word **la** [that] and an isiXhosa prefix to the word *life*. If the teacher did not make switches to isiXhosa this sentence would have been like this; *Let us go to the term of life expectancy*. The insertion of **la** and formation of the intra-lexical switch **yelife** do not affect the syntactic and grammatical structure of the supposedly English sentence. This indicates the teacher's ability in manipulating the two languages but still manages to articulate a sentence that remains intelligible.

Similarly, in the following example from extract 9 we can state that the matrix language is isiXhosa and English is the embedded language:

...sijonga iminyaka abantu abayihlalayo in average in a country, *neh!* [we consider the years people live]

The teacher is able to use both languages to convey his message. That the teacher has switched within the same sentence has not affected the structure of this sentence – it has not affected its meaning as well. The teacher uses isiXhosa phrase to make sure the learners understand the meaning of the term, ‘life expectancy’. In addition, the switch to English is apt in this sentence because the teacher would have struggled to get an equivalent translation of the word ‘average’ in isiXhosa. This indicates that the teacher relies on both languages to impart information to the learners. Therefore, code-switching is a linguistic resource the teachers use to ensure that the learners understand the subject matter.

4.7 PHONOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

Myers-Scotton defines phonological integration as “the process of making borrowed words fit the sound system of the recipient language” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:219). Nonetheless, it has been observed that most of the words which the teachers have phonologically adapted to isiXhosa cannot be considered as lexical borrowings because their use in the observed classroom spaces is momentary. In other words, these teachers spontaneously transpose English words using the phonological characteristics of isiXhosa in order to convey the message to the learners in a language they are familiar with. An example of these words is given in extract 6.

However, the following extract contains an isiXhosa word which is a lexical borrowing and this word is fundamental in what the Geography teacher clarifies and elaborates to the learners:

Extract 10

1. T: ...*then lento ngoku* if a country is a developing country...you know that life expectancy educational attainment is low...again growth per capita is low. What do you know by the term GNI per capita from an EMS point of view? [this thing now]
2. P: GNI per capita?
3. T: Yes, try
4. P: capital left ((laughter from some learners))
5. T: Anyone? GNI
6. P: Capital, capital *yimali* [capital is money]
7. T: *Andiva ke* [I can't hear that]
8. P: Capital
9. T: not capital, per capita...hey *nina niyadelela maan* ((says this to two boys who are playing with each other in class)) [you are undermining me]
10. P: Gross national....
11. T: Gross national what? *Aniyazi lento*? [don't you know this] I will talk to your EMS teacher
12. Ps: *Hayi tishala* [no teacher]
13. T: Gross National Income
14. Ps: yes teacher
15. T: class *kule* term *sijonga* how much does a person have...*imali yomntu ingakanani* if we were to divide the money we have in a country...that is why *sithetha ngoku eSA...ndiyathetha apha* ((referring to two boys who are talking to each other))...that is why *ngoku* eSouth Africa we are talking about national income. *Kwaziwe ukuba* how much a person earns *xa sisithi isezantsi* as well as how much a person earns *xa sisithi iphezulu...andithi?* Then if we were dividing that amount, *lamali besinayo elizweni*, how much will each person get.
[in this...we look at.....how much money does a person have...let's look at ...I am talking here....now...So that it is known...when we say it is low....when we say it is high...is that not so?...the money we had in the country...]
16. T: We used to have erh... class *jonga itopic yakho pha kupage 98*. [look at the ...in page]

In unpacking the term 'Gross National Income' the teacher uses a word which has undergone complete phonological and morphological integration into isiXhosa. This word is *imali* – it is a lexical borrowing. The word *imali* [money] has been reformulated from the English word *money*, thus rendering approximate pronunciation of the original word. In other words, it has been restructured so that it fits the phonotactics of isiXhosa. According to Myers-Scotton "...a

language's phonotactics are the combinations of sounds that are permissible in that language" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:220). The word *imali* [money] is one of those words which have been integrated into isiXhosa sound system as Myers-Scotton puts it, "once a word was borrowed, it would have undergone the same phonological changes as native words, so that now it isn't recognized as a borrowing" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:221). Other examples of words which have undergone the complete process of phonological integration are *elokishini* [location] in extract 4 and *tishala* [teacher] in line 12 extract 10.

4.8 MORPHOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

Gardner-Chloros (2008) asserts that there are three possibilities for words which undergo morphological integration.

The first possibility occurs when words "sometimes are transferred into the recipient language with their original morphology intact" (Gardner-Chloros, 2008:57). There are no many examples of these words in the teachers' data. However, in extract 10 line 16 the teacher uses the words *page* and *class*. There is no equivalent translation of these English words in isiXhosa. The closest translation that is being used for the word *page* is *iphepha ezantsi* [page]. However, the literal translation of *iphepha ezantsi* would be *the paper below*. In a classroom situation this can confuse the learners hence the teacher transfers the word *page* into isiXhosa with its "original morphology intact". The same applies with the word *class*. There is no direct translation of this word in isiXhosa. In addition, the teacher uses it all the time in his lessons when referring to the students to get their attention. He also uses the word *class* as a formulaic expression or discourse marker to structure his lesson.

The second possibility is integration of words morphologically into the recipient language. It has been noted that the teachers under study have used these words in their classroom discourse. The words *tishala* [teacher], *imali* [money] and *elokishini* [township] have been cited as examples of words which have undergone morphological integration into isiXhosa (see extracts 4 and 10).

The third possibility Gardner-Chloros (2008:57) mentions is that words “may be taken over as *bare forms*”. There are no examples of these words in the data collected for this study.

4.9 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF CODE-SWITCHING INSTANCES USED BY THE HISTORY TEACHER

As has been done with the Accounting and Geography teachers, the main themes appearing in the History teacher’s lessons have been codified, themes that are frequently occurring in the teacher’s data have been identified, and these are represented in table 8 and figure 4.

Table 8: Code list of themes/CS instances used by the History teacher

Code	Theme	Definition
CL	Clarification	Use of CS to clarify concepts, statements, terms and other aspects of the teachers’ discourse
TR	Translation	Use of the learners’ MT to repeat expressions uttered in English so as to help the learners gain a better understanding of the subject matter.
EL	Elaboration	Use of the learners’ MT to further explain and reformulate the teachers’

		expressions for purposes of assisting the learners to understand the content of the subject.
CUS	Checking understanding	Use of the learners' MT to check if the learners understand the lesson.
MANC	Managing class	Use of the learners' MT to manage the class and get the attention of the learners.
GI	Giving instructions	Use of the learners' MT to give instructions.
EE	Expression of emotions	Use of the learners' MT to express emotions especially anger and frustration.

The above themes were dominant in the History teacher's interaction with the learners. It is apparent that the teacher used CS to achieve various functions in the classroom. Similarly, Valdez (2010) observed that teachers use CS to clarify, interpret, differentiate and explicate topics and concepts (Valdez, 2010:13).

Furthermore, the researcher observed that while the teacher used isiXhosa to check the learners' understanding of the subject matter most of these questions did not prompt individual answers from the learners but chorus responses. One of the reasons for this is that these questions were not posed to individual learners but were used as discourse markers or contextualisation cues which structure the teacher's discourse (Gumperz, 1982). Extract 11 illustrates this:

Extract 11

1. T: No because there are internal conflicts **andithi**...such as ethnic violence. For example now they have been fighting over and over the years...it's been continuing...they have been fighting over the years...**lanto besithetha ngayo i-**investors they do not have confidence in such a country. They would not want to invest in the business of that country...why? Because the country is not stable politically so **abakwazi abantu** to invest there because there is always conflict neh? [...is that not so.....what we were talking about...people who can...]
2. Ps: Yes!
3. T: Now **kweza** areas **zinjalo njengokuba...niyakhumbula bendikhe ndanenzela umzekelo ndathi** there are people **endibaziyo base** DRC who are saying they will never go back to DRC because **kukho eza** internal wars, **andithi**? Where is the government? Fighting with rebels...**sithi ngabavukeli xa sibabiza, andithi**? [...in...are like that...do you remember I made you an example and said...whom I know from...there are....is that not so? We call them rebels, is that not so?]
4. Ps: Yes!
5. T: infact **kwezi** countries **iqala ibezi...iqala kwi** politics. Once a country infact **e-**Africa...those who are in power are in control of the resources, neh [in those...its starts in ...in]
6. Ps: Yes!
7. T: therefore the ones that are outside...**sinamaqela aphikisayo**...for example **apha e-SA leliphi iqela eliphikisayo**? We have opposition parties...here in SA which party is the opposition party?]
8. Ps: EFF, DA
9. T: **yeyiphi** ipolitical party **ephethayo ngoku**? [Whichis in power now?]
10. Ps: ANC

Examples of questions which prompt the chorus “yes” response from the teacher are in lines 1 and 3 where the teacher (with a rise in tone) after giving explanation poses the question, **andithi**? [is that not so?]. This is what Hornberger and Chick (2001:33) call the “teacher-initiated group chorusing” and it serves a “social rather than academic function” (Hornberger and Chick, 2001:34). Furthermore, in this particular lesson from which extract 11 is taken, it is only lines 7 and 9 in the entire lesson where the teacher poses questions which seek to assess

the learners' understanding of the subject matter. However, much as these questions serve a pedagogical function they also elicit a chorus response from the learners because they are not directed to individual learners.

The frequency of these themes in the History teacher's discourse is displayed in table 9.

Table 9: Frequency of themes occurring in the History lessons

Theme	Code	Frequency
Clarification	CL	44
Translation	TR	8
Elaboration	EL	32
Checking understanding	CUS	14
Managing class	MANC	11
Giving instructions	GI	10
Expression of emotions	EE	3

Table 9 shows clearly the themes that were dominant in the History teacher's communicative repertoire.

This assisted the researcher to scrutinise why certain themes were dominant in the teacher's discourse. Furthermore, the researcher observed that the teacher used isiXhosa mostly to elaborate and clarify what he was imparting to the learners. This implies that his main concern in the use of isiXhosa was to ensure that the learners understood the subject matter. Furthermore, this also indicates that the teacher was not much concerned about the fact that English is the medium of instruction and that the classroom is the only environment where

these learners are supposed to get exposure to their target language. Instead, the teacher used all the linguistic resources at his disposal to achieve the aims of his lessons (Heller, 2001).

Figure 4 exemplifies further the dominant themes in the teacher’s interactive discourse with the learners.

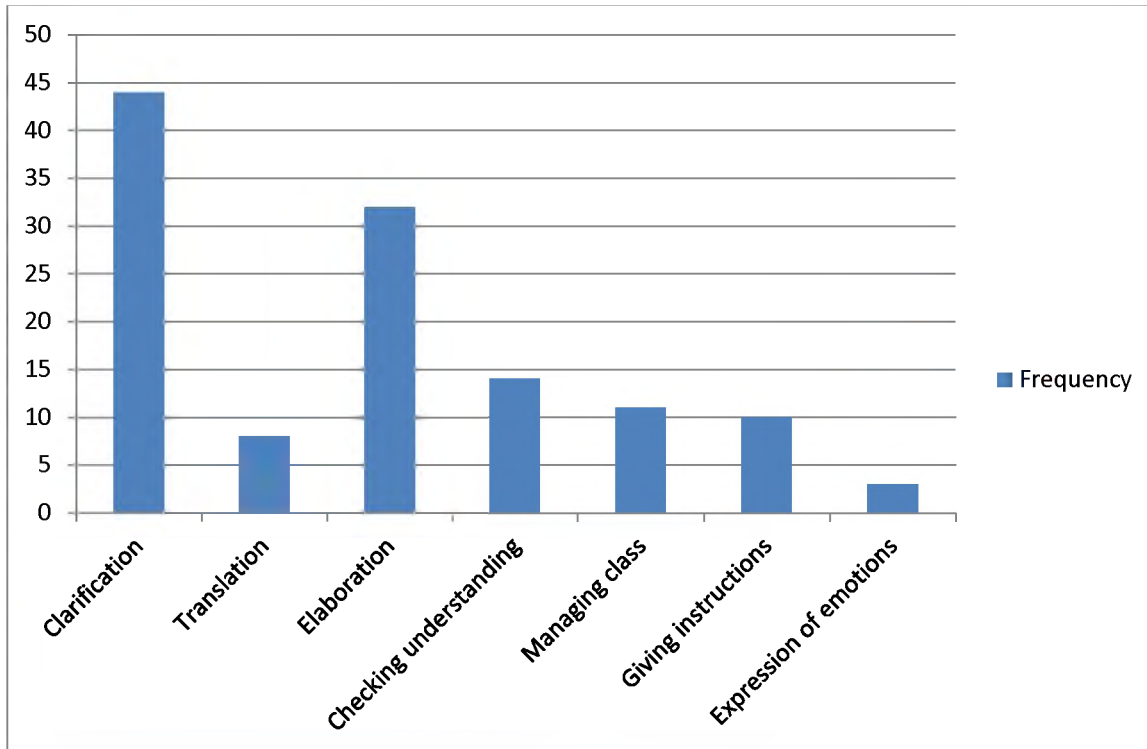


Figure 4: Bar graph illustrating the themes used by the History teacher

It is also worth noting that the teacher in extracts 10 and 11 uses isiXhosa to perform other functions in the classroom: he uses it to translate English words to isiXhosa; to manage the class; to give instructions; and sometimes to express his frustration especially with misbehaving learners. For example, in extract 11 line 3 he gives a translation of the word ‘rebels’. With this translation the teacher also expresses solidarity with the learners as he does not say ‘*kuthiwa ngabavukeli xa bebizwa*’ [they are called rebels] but he includes himself, ‘*sithi ngabavukeli xa*

sibabiza' [we call them rebels]. In this instance CS does not only play an academic function but also a social function.

Furthermore, the teacher uses isiXhosa to manage the class. The following example illustrates this:

- P: ((pupil to another pupil fighting over a desk)) *suka* [get away]
P: *ufike* late ((the other learner's response)) [you are late]
T: *Mfowethu suka ufike* late, *hlala kwenye indawo...zidesika zam ezi, yiclass yam le, akhomntu unedesika apha...hlala phantsi wena xa ufike* late. [my bother go way, you arrived late, sit in another place...these are my desks, this is my class, nobody has desks here...just sit down if you arrived late] ((the teacher resolves the conflict by instructing the learner who arrived late to look for another desk))

The teacher uses isiXhosa to exercise authority in class and to maintain discipline. This shows that languages which are perceived to have no value in education are used by teachers to get things done in classrooms (Martin-Jones, 1995). In addition, this questions the English-only ideology and notion of a legitimate language in bilingual classroom situations (Heller, 2001).

In addition, the teacher uses isiXhosa as a linguistic resource when he gives instructions to his learners:

- T: *Mamelani class yiyani pha kwela gama lithi ethnic violence ...elagama libhalwe blue uyalibona...ndifuna sijonge lona ngesiXhosa elagama...bhala nge lead pencil yakho...izixholo-xholo phakathi kwentlanga ...uyalibona elagama?*

[Listen here...look at the word....that word is written indo you see it...I want us to look at the meaning of that word in isiXhosa...write with aethnic violence...do you see that word?]

The academic function of the above example is that the teacher uses translation to explain the term 'ethnic violence'. In addition to the use of translation to achieve an academic aim, the

teacher also uses isiXhosa to give instructions to learners. This is the pattern throughout his lessons. Therefore, what we deduce from this teacher's interactional practice is that he does not perceive CS as a linguistic oddity but as "a source of comfort for the student[s]" and as a source which creates "an atmosphere of mutual cooperation" (Mondanda and Gajo, 2001:256).

4.10 LEVELS OF MEANING: ABSTRACT MEANING, CONTEXTUAL MEANING AND FORCE

Code-switching in classrooms is about meaning in interaction. To get a better understanding of how the teachers under study used CS to clarify and elaborate concepts to the learners, the researcher made use of the levels of meaning as discussed by Thomas (1995). These levels of meaning are abstract meaning, contextual meaning or utterance meaning and force or the speaker's intention (Thomas 1995:2). These are used to analyse CS instances articulated by the units of analysis in this study.

It was noticed that the teachers in this study relied heavily on the use of isiXhosa to unpack their lessons to the learners. Other researchers who have observed widespread use of CS in South African schools are, among others, Adendorff (1993) Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004); Desai (2003) Kamwangamalu (2003); Hornberger and Chick (2001); De Wet (2002) and Mashiyi (2014). Similarly, use of CS as a teaching strategy has been observed by researchers in other parts of the world, for example, Arthur (2001) in Botswana; Ndaypfukamiye (2001) in Burundi; Lin (2001) in Hong Kong; Canagarajah (2001) in Jaffna and Camilleri Grima (2001) in Malta; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004) in Tanzania. These scholars posit that CS in classrooms plays an important role (see chapter two).

Nonetheless, CS occurs mostly in learning environments where the learners' L2 is the official language of teaching and learning. Therefore, it can be surmised that teachers find themselves in a dichotomous situation – they are expected to teach in the learners' L2 and at the same time they have to ensure that learners understand the content of the subject matter. It is this dilemma which makes teachers to use CS as a vehicle to unpack and clarify concepts in classrooms (Marawu, 1997). On the other hand, the content of any subject can be presented to learners in any language. In chapter two, the issue of language for socio-economic advancement and the perpetuation of English hegemony are explained (see Alexander, 2001; Bourdieu, 2002; Fairclough, 1995).

Furthermore, it was observed that CS occurs “most frequently as a natural part of teachers' classroom discourse” (Marawu, 1997:1). Similarly, Martin-Jones argues that teachers use CS “to negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meanings on the spur of the moment” in order to get things done in classrooms (Martin-Jones, 1995:98). In other words, CS is a communicative resource which teachers use to interact with learners and to impart the subject matter. Extract 12 from the corpus of data elucidates this:

Extract 12

1. T: What is National Credit Act? National Credit Act? Let us first start with the word...Act. What is National Credit Act? Let us start with the word Act. ***Ndanditheni ngala mini?*** What do we mean by Act? National Credit Act, I did explain this. [What did I say the other day?]
2. P. ***Ngumthetho*** [it's the law]
3. T: ***Ngumthetho neh, inantsikai*** Act its either ***ngumthetho okanye yellow...Ilesha elinanzi xasimamele ezinantsikeni eTVini sibone phaya kuxoxwa amatyala...nasezifilimini kubekho ijaji...kuthiwe pha*** according to Act ***Nobani-***

bani le nto ayimelanga ...itheni yenzeke? so xa kusithiwa according to that Act ***kukowutwa lo mthetho.***

[it's the law...what you call...an act or ...most of the time when we are listening to the TV we see there discussions about cases...in films, there will be a judge...they will say there....this and that this things is not supposed to have gone this way...why did it happen? So when they say....they quote the Act]

In the above extract the Accounting teacher felt that it was not enough to explain in English only the National Credit Act. It seems that the teacher has explained the National Credit Act to the learners in a previous lesson – in extract 12 line 1 she says; ***“Ndanditheni ngala mini?”*** [What did I say that day]. In other words, to evoke the students’ memory on what she said to them about the National Credit Act, she switches to isiXhosa. She expresses ***“Ndanditheni ngala mini?”*** as an *aside* to the question she posed in English. This isiXhosa expression is juxtaposed between questions which are in English. In other words, this expression (line 1) does not violate the “use-English-only” official requirement but instead serves as a “radical break in the English pedagogic frame and an urgent change in the teacher’s concerns” (Lin, 2008:5).

Furthermore, the switch to isiXhosa is expressed in a soft low tone – use of this contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1986) enhances the view that the teacher resorts to isiXhosa to assist the learners to recall what she said to them in a previous lesson. After switching to isiXhosa to assist the learners to recall what she said to them, she switches to English in a high-rise tone; “What do we mean by Act? National Credit Act, I did explain this”. The teacher can be interpreted as saying now that she has assisted them in isiXhosa to remember what she said, they must give her the answer. In addition, the switch to isiXhosa occurs as an intertextual connection between the questions which are posed in English. According to Bloome

intertextuality “refers to the juxtaposition of texts. A word, phrase, stylistic device, or other textual feature in one text refers to another text...” (Bloome, *et al.*, 2005:40).

The intonation pattern shift indicates that the teacher uses CS as a contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1986; Lin, 2008). Contextualisation cues “include verbal, nonverbal, and prosodic signals as well as the manipulation of artifacts” (Bloome, *et al.*, 2005:9). The intonation pattern shift which occurred when the teacher said to the learners, “*ndanditheni ngala mini*” [what did I say the other day?] can be described as a contextualization cue; and the “meaning and function of a contextualization cue (or set of contextualization cues) depends on many factors, including participants’ shared understanding of the social context (of what they are doing and the purpose of the event)...” (Bloome, *et al.*, 2005:9). Therefore, the meaning and function of the contextualization cue used by the teacher is based on the social context she shares with the learners.

Moreover, the switch to isiXhosa and more importantly the change in tone indicates that the teacher uses bilingualism as a pedagogical resource. The switch to isiXhosa appeals to the learners to think about what she said to them in the previous lesson. Variations in tone are also noted as contextualization cues which contribute in the clarification of the teacher’s point. Furthermore, in extract 12 line 1 the teacher after asking the learners in isiXhosa what she said to them the other day, she raises her voice as she expresses the same point in English; “I did explain this.” In other words, while the teacher could have used English only to clarify herself to the learners, she decides to repeat herself in isiXhosa in order to help the learners understand her point.

In extract 12 line 2, learners respond to the teacher's question after it has been posed to them more than once in English and after the teacher rephrased her question to ask them first about the meaning of the word 'Act'. Notably, the learners respond to the teacher in isiXhosa; "**Ngumthetho**" [it is the Act]. The teacher seems to be comfortable with the fact that they respond in isiXhosa even though English is the language of teaching and learning in this classroom situation. Furthermore, the students are not necessarily answering the teacher's question, in fact they just gave her a direct translation of the word 'Act' in isiXhosa. Act is **umthetho** in isiXhosa. Much as the teacher wanted to know what is meant by the word 'Act' she seems to accept the learners' response.

Nonetheless, the teacher decides to clarify the meaning of the word Act in isiXhosa. She gives examples of court cases which are screened on TV either in news or movies where Acts are quoted. The examples she gives are examples which students can relate to and, thus can assist them in understanding the subject matter.

It is also worth noting that the teacher uses isiXhosa to check the learners' understanding of the subject matter, for example, "**ndaditheni ngala mini?**" [What did I say the other day?] Posing questions in classrooms to check if the learners understand the subject matter is important and the Accounting teacher relies on isiXhosa to achieve this educational function. As the case is with the History teacher, most of the questions the Accounting teacher asks draw chorus responses from the learners because they are more of discourse markers than questions that assess the learners' understanding of the lesson.

Viewed from another perspective what is of critical importance in this study is to understand the meaning in context of the teachers' utterances which are expressed in isiXhosa. As indicated earlier, Thomas (1995:2) distinguishes three levels of meaning: the abstract meaning; the contextual meaning and 'force' which she basically describes as the speaker's intention. Analysis of these levels of meaning is normally applied to understand utterances which are expressed in one language. The researcher in this study applies these to understand utterances which are articulated in two languages alternatively.

Abstract meaning is defined as "what a word, phrase, sentence, etc. *could* mean (for example, the dictionary meanings of words or phrases)" (Thomas, 1995:2). We can relate this to extract 12 line 3 and look at the word *umthetho*. In isiXhosa *umthetho* refers to both 'act' and 'law'. This explains why in line 3 the teacher unpacks this difference in meaning between 'act' and 'law'. In other words, in line 3 the teacher is focusing on the abstract meaning of the word 'act' and switches to isiXhosa to give an equivalent translation of this word. Basically, the teacher switches to isiXhosa to ensure that the learners understand the abstract meaning of the word 'act'.

The teacher does not only give the learners the abstract meaning of the word 'act' or '*umthetho*' but also the contextual meaning of these words. With the examples of court cases and films on TV where the word 'act' is used, the teacher enables the learners to have an understanding of the contextual meaning of this word. The examples help the learners to create a picture in their minds of court cases where the word 'act' or *umthetho* is used in context. Furthermore, this gives the learners the contextual sense of the word 'act'. Thomas discerns that "part of the process of determining what speakers mean (as opposed to what

their words mean) involves assigning sense to those words” and by sense she means “the sense in which the speaker/writer is using the word” (Thomas, 1995: 5-6). In other words, CS is harnessed by the teacher to determine the abstract and contextual meaning of the word ‘act’ which she aims to unpack to the learners.

The other crucial issue pertains to **force** or the speakers’ intention (Thomas, 1995). In this study, the researcher’s interest is on the teachers’ intention in producing utterances in the learners’ mother-tongue. Thomas (1995) says that in pragmatics the term **force** refers “to the speaker’s communicative intention” (Thomas, 1995:18). In other words, an interlocutor can understand utterance meaning or the first level of speaker meaning but fail to understand the speaker’s intention. For example, in classroom situations learners can understand utterance meaning but misunderstand **force** hence teachers use CS to achieve many communicative functions such as clarification, elaboration and repetition. However, the teachers’ intention in using the learners’ mother-tongue in learning situations where English is supposed to be the language of teaching and learning needs further analysis.

In the extract 13 the researcher does not only focus on the teacher’s utterance meaning but also force or the teacher’s intention:

Extract 13

T: those headings ...*pha ndifuna ukuqonda ukuba* [there I want to understand] how, when, and why the Second World War (WW2) started ...*pha ndifuna ukuqondaiWW2 yaqala nini, phi xa kwakutheni ukuze, njani ukuze iphele neh?* [...there I want to understand when did the WW2 start, where and why? How did it come to an end?]

Extract 13 is another example where the teacher relies on English and isiXhosa to deliver the lesson. The teacher’s purpose is to ensure that the learners understand the subject matter. To

him it is not a matter of what the official language of teaching and learning is but comfortably resorts to isiXhosa whenever he deems it necessary. The teacher does not see isiXhosa as a language that has no pedagogical value.

In extract 13 the teacher is focusing on both utterance meaning and force. He says; **“phaya ndifuna ukuqonda ukuba”** [there I want to understand] this can be interpreted as the teacher’s “communicative intention” and this is expressed in the learners’ mother-tongue (Thomas, 1993). More importantly, we know that it is not the teacher who wants to understand what the topic is about – he wants the learners to understand what the topic is about. However, the teacher articulates this utterance as if he is referring to himself and by so doing he expresses solidarity with the learners. This is what Adendorff (1993) calls the ‘we-code’ because the teacher identifies himself with the learners.

Additionally, use of the learners’ mother-tongue in this context puts learners at ease and thus, creates an environment that is conducive to learning. Someone who is not well-versed with classroom discourse and particularly isiXhosa might misinterpret the teacher’s intention in this communicative transaction. Also, in extract 13 the teacher goes on to say; **“...pha ndifuna ukuqonda iWW2yaqala nini? Phi? xa kwakutheni ukuze, njani ukuze iphele? neh!”** [There I want to know...when did it start? Where? What led to it? How did it end?]. The teacher translates the words *when*, *how* and *why* to isiXhosa so as to make it easy for the learners to understand the utterance meaning.

Another important purpose of using the learners’ mother-tongue in the classroom becomes clear when we consider the following example which illustrates what happens when

speakers understand neither utterance meaning nor force. Conversely, the example is not about bilingual discourse in classrooms but failure to understand force by speakers (in this example) whose mother-tongue is English but come from different countries. This example is given by Thomas (1995:20) in her discussion of force:

A hearer who fails to establish the utterance meaning correctly or at all may fail to understand the force the speaker intended. I was once in a conference in Greece and a group of British and American linguists were discussing another linguist, who was not present. Speaker A (British) said:

‘Her work has become very popular.’

I already knew what he thought of the book in question, and correctly interpreted *popular* as meaning *non-academic*. I therefore correctly interpreted the intended force of the utterance as criticism. The Americans agreed that it was indeed popular, but they interpreted *popular* as meaning *well-received/having a lot of success*. They therefore incorrectly interpreted the intended force of the utterance as praise.

In bi/multilingual classrooms where the teacher and the learners find themselves in situations where they have to use a second language as a language of teaching and learning, the possibility of interpreting incorrectly the teacher’s “intended force of the utterance” remains high. In second language learning situations learners cannot be expected to know all the nuances of their second language. As demonstrated in the above example, nuances of the second language can be intricately linked to the understanding of the speaker’s intention. In a learning situation this further implies that the content of what was imparted to the learners would be misunderstood, and this would not only affect the quality of teaching and learning but also the learners’ pass rate. In a nutshell, it can be argued that classroom CS serves as a linguistic resource that alleviates the differences between the learners’ home language and the language of teaching and learning (Ndaypfukamiye, 2001).

So far we have focused on levels of meaning as articulated by Thomas (1995) in order to understand the CS behaviour of the units of analysis in this study. The following section turns to Grice's notion of implicature so as to appreciate more the teachers' classroom discourse.

4.11 IMPLICATURE

We proceed to explore further the relationship between sense and force using Grice's theory of implicature (see research methodology chapter). According to Thomas (1995) Grice's theory "is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of **implied meaning**" (Thomas, 1995:56). In this study we apply Grice's theory to understand not only the teachers' expressed meaning of their utterances in isiXhosa but also their implied meaning.

Grice (1989) discerns two types of implicature – conventional and nonconventional implicature, he calls the latter conversational implicature. Grice (1989:26) unpacks conversational implicature as follows:

Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes or at least a mutually accepted direction. This purpose or direction may be fixed from the start (e.g., by an initial proposal of a question for discussion), or it may evolve during the exchange; it may be fairly definite, or it may be so indefinite as to leave very considerable latitude to the participants (as in a casual conversation).

It is worth noting how the teachers understudy resorted to CS in classrooms using communicative actions that can be related to Grice's theory. In other words, in the context of this study Grice's theory is applied to a linguistic situation that involves more than one

language. We consider the following interaction by the Geography teacher to observe how the teacher interacts with his learners:

Extract 14

1. T: *nail line agama* [here is another word] class *ignoble* ...means not honourable...that is why Japan could not just give up...could not just stop the war. Now let's go back class *siyojonga pha...ndifuna ke ngoku nimamele kakuhle kuba emva kwale* lesson...*nizobhala* iessay apha as soon as you are done with our...yah *funeka nibhale* iessay now...[to look at...I want you now to listen carefully because after this lesson...you are going to write an essay here.....you must write an essay]
2. T: class in 1945 Germany had surrendered already by that time ...there were two countries...USA...*sathi ke ngoku* on the other side we have USSR...USSR *kengoku yi-* Russia. Now *sithi kengoku* class these were the two countries that were still standing at the time neh [we said then...now it is known as...we are saying now]

The switches to isiXhosa do not affect the linguistic structure of the sentences as well as sentence-meaning. There is sense and coherence in the teacher's discourse. Obviously, if the learners responded to the teacher's directions there would have been no "disconnected remarks" in their exchange because the teacher's "conversation" has been made as required "at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange" in which he is engaged with the learners. In a nutshell, this is what Grice calls the "Cooperative Principle" and the teacher's interaction with the learners complies with it. It can be argued that the teacher's CS discourse is "rational" and the learners understand the *code* he is using to exchange meaning with them (Grice, 1989: 26).

Furthermore, Grice's theory is underpinned by four categories: quantity; quality; relation and manner. Under quantity we have the following maxims:

1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required (Grice, 1989:26).

How do we apply these maxims to bilingual discourse in classrooms? If we examine the teachers' communicative repertoire, the maxims of quantity are applicable. To further demonstrate this let us consider the following piece of discourse by the Accounting teacher:

Extract 15

1. T: *phaya* class we are reading about two documents. When a debtor pays the business, the business will give the debtor an original receipt and the duplicate receipt will be retained by the business. [there...]
2. T: *Mamelake, ndifuna ujonge apha kum kengoku. Ndifuna sohlule phakathi kwe-* original and duplicate receipts. What is the difference between original and duplicate receipts? *Xa uye...erh... senze i-example odla ngoyibona kakuhle, xa use impahla e-dry clean okanye use isihlangu sakho e-shoemaker neh...into eyenzakayo uye ubhalelwe phaya mos kwi receipt kubuzwe igama lakho, i-address yakho, i-phone no. yakho zonke i-details andithi?...neh*
 [Listen. I want you to look at me now. I want us to make a distinction between...when you go...let's make an example which you know well, when you take your clothes to...or your shoes towhat happens is that your details will be written on the...they will ask your name...your....all theis that not so?]
3. Ps: Yes!
4. T: after that *kubhalwe yintoni ozoyenza okanye zintoni ezi uzozishiya apha. Emva koko la sisi lowa after egqibile uzosayina...abhale ukuba ukucharger malini. ..akrazule so xa ekrazula uzakunika isiqinisekiso, isiqinisekiso yintoni? Yi-* source document. *Akugqiba uzakunika i-receipt yakho...wena xa uphuma e-shop uphuma nantoni? Uphuma ne-original receipt...yena kula ncwadi ushiyeka nantoni? Ne-*duplicate

[...what have you come to do or what are the items that you are going to leave there. After the lady is done, she will sign...and write how much she charges you...will tear off the the source document, what is a source document? When

she is done she will give you the receipt. When you leave the shop, what do you leave it with? You leave with...she remains with what in the book?]

5. Ps: Duplicate

According to Grice in a communicative interaction the interlocutor has the responsibility of making his/her contribution “as informative as required” and this maxim falls within the category of quantity. If this is applied to the teacher’s interaction with the learners, it can be observed that the teacher complies with this category. However, we need to state that the interaction between the teacher and the learners does not involve “talk exchange” as the teacher dominates the interaction. The following example illustrates how the teacher’s interaction is informative in accordance with Grice’s category of quantity:

T: ***Mamelake, ndifuna ujonge apha kum kengoku. Ndifuna sohlule phakathi kwe-***
original and duplicate receipts. What is the difference between original and
duplicate receipts? ***Xa uye...erh... senze i-example odla ngoyibona kakuhle, xa***
use impahla e-dry clean okanye use isihlangu sakho e-shoemaker ***neh...into***
eyenzakayo uye ubhalelwe phaya mos kwi receipt ***kubuzwe igama lakho, i-***
address yakho, i-phone no. yakho zonke i-details andithi?...neh

[Listen. I want you to look at me now. I want us to make a distinction between...when you go....let’s make an example which you know well, when you take your clothes to....or your shoes towhat happens is that your details will be written on the...they will ask your name....your....all theis that not so?]

The current purpose of the above exchange is to make the learners understand the difference between an original receipt and a duplicate receipt. The teacher’s explanation is clear as she elaborates well using examples and relying on the learners’ mother in ensuring that her contribution to the communicative transaction is informative. In other words, the teacher draws on her bilingual ability and that of the learners to make her contribution informative.

The second maxim under the category of quantity states that the contribution must not be made more informative than is required. Conversely, Grice has this to say about this maxim:

[t]he second maxim is disputable; it might be said that to be overinformative is not a transgression of the Cooperative Principle but merely a waste of time. However, it might be answered that such over informativeness may be confusing in that it is liable to raise side issues; and there may also be an indirect effect, in that the hearers may be misled as a result of thinking that there is some particular *point* in the provision of the excess of information (Grice, 1989:26-27).

However, in a classroom situation the second maxim of the category of Quantity remains relevant and cannot be regarded as a “waste of time” because “the purpose of the exchange” and the classroom realities demand the teacher to be “over informative” so that the learners grasp the “particular point” she wants them to understand (Grice, 1989:26-27). In a bilingual classroom situation “over informativeness” (as illustrated in extract 15) is necessitated by the fact that the teacher has to ensure that the learners understand the content of the subject, and that the language used to impart the content of the subject to the learners is a second language.

In the second category of Quality Grice puts emphasis on accuracy of shared information. According to this category the contribution of the interlocutor must be true. This is how Grice explains this maxim:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence (Grice, 1989:27)

Having examined the teachers’ communicative discourse there is apparent evidence that the teachers under study present accurate information to the learners. This is crucial in a teaching and learning environment as accuracy of the content of what is imparted to the learners is of

utmost importance. For example, if we consider the Accounting teacher's explanation of the difference between an original receipt and duplicate receipt in extract 15 line 4 we realize that her explanation is true:

T: after that *kubhalwe yintoni ozoyenza okanye zintoni ezi uzozishiya apha. Emva koko la sisi lowa after egqibile uzosayina...abhale ukuba ukucharger malini. ..akrazule so xa ekrazula uzakunika isiqinisekiso, isiqinisekiso yintoni? Yi-source document. Akugqiba uzakunika i-receipt yakho...wena xa uphuma e-shop uphuma nantoni? Uphuma ne-original receipt...yena kula ncwadi ushiyeka nantoni? Ne-duplicate*

[...what have you come to do or what are the items that you are going to leave there. After the lady is done, she will sign...and write how much she charges you...will tear off the source document, what is a source document? When she is done she will give you the receipt. When you leave the shop, what do you leave it with? You leave with...she remains with what in the book?]

What we deduce from this is that use of CS in classrooms does not affect the category of Quality as explained by Grice. In fact, it enhances it as it allows the teacher to expatiate her contribution in more than one language.

Additionally, the teacher's contribution is relevant to the context of what she is communicating to the learners. This can be dovetailed to the category of Relation which is succinctly unpacked by one maxim; "Be relevant" (Grice, 1989:27). As the expectation in a conversation is that the contribution of the interlocutor must be relevant, similarly in teacher-led talk in classrooms relevance is also crucial. The following example from the History teacher illustrates this:

Extract 16

T: ...Now *phambili sinazo eza* key terms ((to a learner)) *yiyeke leyo yi*Geography...*silapha apho sikhoyo ngoku, sisenza i*History [in front there we

have those...(to a learner)) leave that its Geography, here we are now, we are doing History]

The above example indicates that the teacher is conscious about the relevance of the topic. For the learner to understand the topic under discussion he/she must look at the relevant book to the topic. Furthermore, what the teacher shares with the learners must be relevant to the topic that is presented as well as to the learners' level of understanding.

The main point here is to understand the meaning of the teachers' CS instances and how Grice's theory of implicature can be related to them. According to Grice, the category of Manner does not relate "to what is said but, rather, to *how* what is said is to be said". Grice calls the underlying maxim of this category the supermaxim, "Be perspicuous". He explains the other maxims under this category as follows:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression
2. Avoid ambiguity
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
4. Be orderly (Grice, 1989:27).

In classroom situations these maxims are very important. First, avoiding "obscurity of expression" in classrooms is very important. This is more so in teacher-centred classrooms where learners rely on teachers as the main sources of information. The question is whether there are any traces of "obscurity of expression" in the teacher's code-switching behaviour. To determine this, we consider the following piece of discourse:

Extract 17

T: Japan did not surrender...instead what they did...they sent more soldiers to fight...they continued to fight. The only thing that was left at that time was that the USA had armed itself with atomic bombs...*andithi...i*-atomic bombs

zezibulala kakhulu abantu...zinobungozi that is why *zingafunwa*. *Azifunwa eza* atomic bombs *ziyoyikwa nangoku elizweni*...because why? They are very dangerous. Then that is how we got to....what you call the nuclear age now neh? [is that not so...they are fatal...they are dangerous....they are forbidden. Those atomic bombs are prohibited ...countries are scarred of them...]

Obscurity of expression is likely to occur in classroom environments where a second language (for both teachers and learners) is used as a language of teaching and learning. However, it has been observed that CS serves as a linguistic resource that helps teachers to achieve intelligibility with their learners. This is contrary to views that CS in classrooms leads to confusion and thus, negatively affects learning (Boztepe, n.d.).

The other issue is whether the teachers make ambiguous contribution to their communication with the learners. There are no traces of ambiguity in the teachers' communicative repertoire in both English and isiXhosa. Additionally, the teachers cannot be brief in their interaction with the learners. They have to elaborate and repeat expressions so as to ensure that learners understand the subject matter. For example, in the extract 18 the teacher repeats her expression:

Extract 18

1. T: Debtors' control, meaning that column...in that column we are going to record *phaya* neh...when our debtors are paying their debt. *Uyandiva ke ngoku ...uyaliva...elagamalika* debt *liyavela*...neh [there...do you understand me now? The word debt appears...]
2. Ps: Yes!
3. T: *Phaya kula* debtors' control column we are going to record when our debtors, meaning *ababantu abatyelayo neh*...[there in thepeople who owe him]

In the above example the teacher is explaining the debtors' control column and what information is recorded in it. In doing so she elaborates her point in both English and isiXhosa. In extract 18 line 3 there is repetition and translation of expressions from English to isiXhosa – this is also repetition of what the teacher has uttered in line 1. In sum, this illustrates that the maxim, “Be brief” as stated by Grice under the category of Manner is not applicable in classrooms. However, for students the maxim, “Be brief” applies to students as they are not expected to make prolonged contributions. They have to conform to interactive norms that are expected in classroom situations.

As far as the maxim “Be orderly” is concerned, it is applicable in classrooms because conformity with interactive norms is crucial for the teachers to achieve the aims and objectives of their lessons. Furthermore, an orderly interaction is “a matter of conformity on the part of both teacher and pupils to a framework of discursal and pragmatic rights and obligations, involving the taking of turns, the control of topic, rights to question and obligations to answer, rights over metacommunicative acts and so forth...” (Fairclough, 1995:32). The researcher noted that the interaction was orderly in the classrooms that were observed. Additionally, the teachers controlled and dominated classroom interaction.

After observing the use of CS an interactive resource in classrooms by the Accounting and History/Geography teachers, the researcher also undertook to determine if code-switching has a positive contribution to the learners' academic performance (see chapter one). In order to meet this objective the researcher observed an English teacher who agreed to switch to isiXhosa for purposes of this study. Chapter five considers the discourse behaviour of the

English teacher and how her learners performed in the part where she used both English and isiXhosa in order to help the learners understand her lesson.

4.12 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter interpreted and analysed data in order to understand the interactional behaviour of the teachers that were observed by the researcher. The researcher used the theme identification method (Welman, *et al.*, 2005) to identify isiXhosa linguistic features which were prevalent in the teachers' classroom discourse. The collected data was reduced to "understandable texts" using coding. This enabled the researcher to "convert words to numbers or symbols" and thus gain a better understanding of the teachers' CS behaviour (Welman, *et al.*, 2005).

In addition to theme identification and data coding the researcher went further to analyse the meaning of the teachers' communicative repertoire using 'levels of meaning' as articulated by Thomas (1995). The 'levels of meaning' used by the researcher to analyse the teachers' discourse are abstract meaning, contextual meaning and force (Thomas, 1995). The researcher also used Grice's theory of conversational implicature in order to understand the interactional practices of the teachers under study (Grice, 1989).

This chapter also focused on how the teachers under study used CS to enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter. It emanated from data analysis that the teachers under study used CS to achieve various functions in the classroom. For example, they used CS to achieve the following functions: emphasis; clarification; repetition; translation; class management and elaboration. It became clear from data analysis that the teachers did not only

use CS for academic purposes but also to perform a social function. In various instances the teachers used CS to identify with the learners as they taught them through a language the learners were not competent and proficient in. Details of the findings of this chapter are given in chapter seven.

In the process of examining the teachers' discourse in classrooms, the researcher also analysed the grammatical aspects of their CS instances. For example, the researcher scrutinised the lexical borrowings appearing in the teachers' data as well as the process of phonological and morphological integration of English words to isiXhosa. These were analysed using 'levels of analysis' of bilingual data as given by Gardner-Chloros (2008) and Myers-Scotton (2006). These instruments of analysis enabled the researcher to get a better understanding of the teachers' CS instances and to come up with the findings which are presented and discussed in chapter seven.

The chapter that follows discusses CS as an intervention strategy. As indicated in chapter three, the researcher initially intended to do this study in one school, namely the school in kwaLanga. However, the teacher of English did not show interest in participating in this study. As a result, the researcher decided to look for another school. After approaching the department of WCED for consent, the researcher contacted a school in Dunoon and the teacher of English there was willing to participate in this study. This was an important part of this study because the researcher was not just going to observe the teacher's spontaneous instances of CS but her deliberate use of isiXhosa as an intervention strategy. The researcher considers this a shift from CS, which characterised the other three teachers' interaction with the learners, to

translanguaging because of the “deliberate” use of the learners’ MT as an intervention strategy (Makalela, 2015; Mayaba, 2017).

CHAPTER FIVE: CODE-SWITCHING AS AN INTERVENTION STRATEGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the main aims of this chapter is to analyse how a teacher of English as a second language used CS as an intervention strategy. It also looks at the impact of classroom CS in the learners' academic performance (see the objectives of this study in chapter one). It was of critical importance to observe an 'English' teacher using isiXhosa in order to assist learners with the comprehension of her lesson. What prompted this interest is that some people perceive English to be the only language of accessing education and as Maseko and Wolff (2017:39) put it they "uncritically favour languages of European provenance (plus Arabic) and reject any options for the use of African languages in education beyond the lower primary level".

That English was perceived by some to be the only language that could be used in education led to situations where learners were not allowed to speak their mother-tongue within school premises. Maseko and Wolff (2017:35) explain this situation as follows:

Often in the colonial and even postcolonial African reality, children were explicitly forbidden to use their mother-tongues or home languages (L1) on school premises and were punished when caught doing so.

It could be argued that the reason for this was to create a language learning environment where learners would be exposed to frequent use of their target language (Krashen, 1983). However, punishing learners for speaking their mother is a form of linguistic repression and it imposes the learners' L2 as the 'legitimate' language. On the other hand, it creates the false impression that indigenous languages have no pedagogic value and are undesirable as communicative and linguistic resources. As pointed out earlier, this leads to situations where

learners together with their parents internalise the perceived lowly status of their own languages (Shannon, 1995).

The other significance of the use of isiXhosa by the 'English' teacher in the class the researcher observed is that the learners were recognised as "emergent bilinguals" not individuals whose mother-tongue had to be replaced with their second language. Use of isiXhosa in these classrooms is seen as opening up multilingual spaces in educational settings where the learners' L2 is expected to play a dominant pedagogical role (Garcia, Seltzer and Witt, 2017: in press).

This chapter is also concerned with the crucial issue of the development of a model of classroom CS. It is acknowledged in this chapter that research by various scholars confirms that the learners' mother-tongue has a role to play in education (Shannon, 1995; Heller, 2001; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Ndaypfukamiye, 2001; Lin, 2013; Maseko and Wolff, 2017). This marks a shift from the views that CS is an unacceptable discourse practice in classrooms. However, the chapter also highlights that there are teachers (though they CS in classrooms) who feel that CS should not be done in classrooms (Probyn, 2009). This study also examines the need for teachers to be trained on how to use CS as a pedagogical resource. All these viewpoints are used to advance arguments for the development of a model for classroom CS.

This chapter also looks at the notion of translanguaging when it explores the use of CS as an intervention strategy. It presents a model of classroom CS which has been developed using existing models of the communication process. These are expanded to include CS as part of the communication process in classroom situations. What is highlighted by this model is not only the pedagogical value of isiXhosa but recognition of learners as emergent bilinguals

(Canagarajah, 2011). The model also features the social aspects of the switches teachers make in their discourse. This view is also highlighted by Fairclough (2001:197) who argues; “a model suitable for language education would need to give prominence to this socially constituted and socially constituting nature of discourse and language”.

5.2 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CODE-SWITCHING TO LEARNERS’ ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Having considered the use of CS by the Accounting and History/Geography teachers the researcher felt it was crucial to also determine if CS has a positive contribution to learners’ academic performance. To achieve this, the researcher observed an English teacher as she interacted with her learners in both English and isiXhosa. What was important in this part of this study is that the teacher confessed that she does not use CS when teaching English. She said that she does not code-switch because the majority of these learners come from linguistic backgrounds where English is not the medium of communication. In other words, the classroom is the only environment where learners have the opportunity to get exposure or “comprehensible input” to their target language (Krashen, 1983). This became ideal for the researcher because the teacher was going to use isiXhosa in an educational setting where she is expected to use English only.

On the other hand, this study aimed at examining whether use of CS in classrooms makes a meaningful contribution to the learners’ academic performance. After the teacher switched to isiXhosa in her interaction with the learners, the teacher indicated that in the learners’ term assessment there would be a question on the topic she covered using CS. It is the

results of this assessment which would be used to determine the performance of the learners and in particular if use of isiXhosa made any positive contribution to their performance.

It must be noted that the English teacher did not come from the same school as the Accounting and History/Geography teachers. This was the case because the English teacher to whom the researcher was referred seemed unwilling to participate in this study. She kept on postponing meetings with the researcher until it became clear that she was not interested in participating in this study. In line with research ethics, the researcher went to another school and was referred to the English teacher who expressed interest to participate in this study. The researcher received a warm welcome from the principal, the head of department and the teacher he was going to work with. They showed interest in the study and expressed their willingness to participate.

The researcher observed two grade 9 English classes; these classes were taught by one teacher. The teacher's lessons were on writing skills and specifically on how to write a mind map. In the other class the teacher did not use CS. She agreed to use CS and also indicated that most of the learners in that class came from the Eastern Cape Province (EC) and that they were not good at English. Similarly, the Accounting teacher in the other school where data were collected also mentioned that most of the learners from the EC were struggling with English hence she resorts to CS as a resource. As pointed out earlier, Vesely (2000) also observed in her research study that learners from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape Province were not as articulate in English as those from township schools.

We now turn to consider the classroom discourse of the English teacher so as to scrutinise how she uses both English and isiXhosa to assist the learners to understand how to draw a mind map.

Extract 19

1. T: Yesterday I said you must write an essay...**khange nditsho?** [Did I not say so?]
2. Ls: Ubutshilo mam [you said so, mam]
3. T: Now let us ...I need to go through it with you...how you go about writing it...writing a mind map. ...you start there (points at the board). Sh...sh...sh (silences noisy learners).
You are writing about family outing...this is an example...you are writing about family outing...you are supposed to write an essay...when you write an essay what are you supposed to write first...
4. Ls: Mind-map
5. T: Family outing...firstly for sure there will be people under the heading, people. What will we have under people? **Ngubani ifamily yakho?** [Who is your family?]
6. L: mother, father (some learners say this in isiXhosa) **mama, ngutata** [mother, father]
7. T: let's say family and friends...these fall under the umbrella of people.
8. T: Then you get food...under your food ...you have
9. L: (there is a buzz of noise in class as learners give what falls under food)
10. T: Is there a question about this? Then let's go to the venue. What is a venue?
11. L: Place
12. T: Raise up your hand (instructing the learner not to give an answer without raising her hand)...venue? Yes ... (points a learner but no answer comes from the learner)
13. L: it's a place
14. T: Where was this family outing?
15. L: Shopping mall
16. T: Shopping mall....where is this mall?....B. Mall...where there is E. store and W. store
17. L: Shoprite (learners give more names of shops found in B. Mall).
18. T: Family...who can you include under your family
19. L: Mom
20. T: You must raise-up your hand. Yes?
21. L: Mom, dad
22. T: those are your parents...then your friends
23. L: siblings

24. T: no, I said let's leave it like that...it is fine with parents
25. T: Your friends...you have your friends from school, community...people from church...
26. T: ...that is what we call a mind-map...there are no questions...that's how we write a mind-map...without explanations...without paragraphs. You all understand, neh?
27. L: Yes
28. T: **Bhala imind-map encwadini** (to a learner) [Write a mind-map in a book]
Ubhala imind-map yetopic yakho...ye-essay le uyikhethileyo...le uyayikhuphela for i-notes ((students write a mind map based on a topic they were given, using as an example the one they were all doing in class with the teacher)). [You write a midmap for the topic you have chosen]
28. T: ((moving around the class)) you do not write sentences kwi mindmap **bethuna**...you write the key words...**okanye ngesiXhosa ubhala ingongoma...kutheni ubhala isivakalisi?** [people....or in isiXhosa, you write the key words...why are writing sentences?]
29. T: **Uthetha nge family outing...xa uphuma niphuma kowenu nidla ngoyaphi? Nidla ngokuya kwa? Sh...sh...sh**
Umzekelo, nantsiya ifamily outing...ngobani abadla ngokubakhona kwifamily...kwimind-map unamagama or unabantu or people...under your people **unefamily yakho...ngubani ifamily yakho?**
 [You are talking about....when you go on an outing with your family where do you normally go?]
30. Ls: **Ngabazali**...[Parents]
31. T: **Ngabazali bakho...ubabhala pha** ((points at the board)) **Awucacisi ubhala** only ikey words...people **ngababantu besithetha ngabo** under **ababantu unefamily yakho...nantsiya** ((points at the board))
 [It's your parents...you write them there....you don't give details....these are people we are talking about...these people you have your....there it is]
32. L: Yes mam
33. T: Under ifamily **yakho ngobani lefamily sithetha ngayo**...[...who are these members of your family we are talking about]
34. L: **Ngabazali**[Parents]
35. T: **Ngabazali bakho...nabaya sibabhalile phaya**...under ifamily **nezihlobo zakho** ifriends also under the branch of family...**nazi iparents ...nazi ifriends...sagqitha phaya...siyaphi? Apho siyakhona siya kwindawo le uyakuyo...le uye kayo...phi?** [It's your parents...there they are...we write them there...and your friends...here are....here are your...we leave that...what next? The next thing is the venue ...the place where you went to...where was it?]
36. L: **Yi shopping mall** [it's a ...]
37. T: shopping mall ...le shopping mall phi? Isa B-side. **Niyayazi iB-side?** [do you know...]
38. L: Yes

39. T: **Nantsi I B-side** ((points at the board)) ...eB-side mall **zeziphi indawo othe waya kuzo? E-stores, S-shop...nanziya** ((points at the board)).....**awaucacisi nto. Uwabhalile amagama endawo**...under your venue...your venue is the same as the place. [Here is ...which places did you go to? ...there they are....you don't give details. You have written the names of these places....]
40. L: Yes
41. T: **Siye ekutyeni...unenyama...awutshongo? Uyayazi ichicken, ifish, inyama ebomvu...eyenkomo, eyegusha eyebhokhwe...yinyama leyo.**
[Refreshments...you have meat.....didn't you say? You know chicken.....red meat, beef, mutton...that is meat]
41. L: Yes
42. T: under you food again ...you have fruit...**awu-specify-anga** whether it's a banana or apple or whatever. Under your drinks you have got juice, you have got your carbonated...that is also a drink and also sweets. Your deserts fall under sweets. Do we all get that? **Siyayiva?**[You don't specify]
43. L: Yes
44. T: **Sanubhala isivakalisi...yonke into oyibhalayo** under your mind map...sh, sh, sh...if it's people you only write people...your parents...your friends whatsoever...that is under people...so you will not write the name of the people [Don't write sentences...everything that you write....quiet please]
45. L: Yes
46. T: You have got people. Who is this person? Is it a learner? Is it a what? I don't want to see the name of the person in your book. Is that clear?
47. L: Yes
48. T: ((moves around as the learners are writing their mind-map)).

While with the Accounting and Geography/History teachers CS occurred as a spontaneous communicative practice, with the English teacher there is a deliberate use of the learners' mother-tongue as an intervention strategy. The English teacher first explained in English and then repeated in isiXhosa particularly when she realised that the learners did not understand.

Probyn (2009) observed a similar situation in her research study of classroom CS:

In order to accommodate the language proficiency of learners, teachers tended to teach new terms or concepts in Xhosa first and then transfer the understanding to English...Teachers tended to rephrase in Xhosa if they saw learners were not following an exposition or question, either because they seemed not to understand the concept...or because the English syntax was difficult (Probyn, 2009:9).

To further illustrate how the English teacher in this study used isiXhosa to communicate with the learners, we consider the following interaction:

T: ((moving around the class)) you do not write sentences *kwimind-map bethuna*...you write the key words...*okanye ngesiXhosa ubhala ingongoma...kutheni ubhala isivakalisi?* [or as we say in isiXhosa you write key words...why do you write a sentence?]

The lexical item, *bethuna*, has no equivalent English translation but it appropriately describes the teacher's feeling of frustration and disappointment. She is frustrated and disappointed that learners are still writing sentences in a mind-map despite having been informed that sentences are not written in a mind-map. She then decides to repeat in isiXhosa everything she first explained in English. Arthur (2001) compares this discourse behaviour to stage performance where the teacher is not only a co-actor with the learners "but fulfils a number of backstage roles such as director, prompt, and stage manager" (Arthur, 2001:66). Her reversion to isiXhosa to express her frustration when the learners cannot say 'their lines' indicates that she steps aside from her role as the 'English' teacher in order to talk directly to the learners, after all they share the same bilingual and socio-cultural identity.

In a similar study on CS in Jaffna classrooms Canagarajah (2001) also depicts teachers and learners as playing roles in classrooms. He goes on to say; "in situations clearly framed as pedagogical, the teachers had to play the role of English teachers and the students had to take on the role of English students. At other moments, they were ill at ease in these roles" (Canagarajah, 2001:207). In extract 19 the teacher can be described as "ill at ease" in her role as the English teacher and switches to isiXhosa to assume another identity, that of an isiXhosa speaking teacher who plays the role of an English teacher. This is often done to perform various

functions in the classroom such as expression of the teachers' dual identity, solidarity and to give pedagogical assistance to the learners.

In other words, the teacher switches to isiXhosa which can be described as the "language of offstage" but which has an important pragmatic function in the stage performance. She uses isiXhosa to bring the learners back onstage and to assume her role as the 'English' teacher (Arthur, 2001). As a result, she produces a piece of discourse that features juxtaposition of English with isiXhosa. This renders a lesson where English is not exclusively used to offer explanations to the learners but rather isiXhosa is harnessed to unpack concepts and give direct and conceptual translations of English explanations. In sum, the teacher uses isiXhosa as a pedagogical resource.

The teacher's use of isiXhosa as a pedagogical resource can be described as:

[t]he adoption of a positive orientation to the linguistic repertoires which children bring to school and a commitment to the productive exploitation of these repertoires as didactic capital, for example as a scaffold for learning the language of schooling, or more generally, for acquiring knowledge (Slembrouck and Rosiers, 2017: in print).

This is fundamental in a language learning situation where the learners' mother-tongue has been marginalised and suppressed as a language that can positively contribute to teaching and learning. In extract 19 the teacher demonstrates that isiXhosa could be used as "didactic capital" for "acquiring knowledge" or learning English which is also the "language of schooling" in this context.

The issue of "a positive orientation to the linguistic repertoires which children bring to school" is fundamental in educational settings. This is important because it demands that stakeholders in education must be first, prepared to embrace linguistic diversity in schools and other institutions of learning. Emphasis is put on accepting the communicative repertoires

which learners bring to classrooms because there are stakeholders in education who believe that their own languages have no place in education. For example, Creese and Blackledge (2010:105) – citing Shin (2005) – support this view when they say that bilinguals themselves “may feel embarrassed about their code-switching and attribute it to careless language habits”.

Furthermore, it is only when bilinguals do not “feel embarrassed about their code-switching” that they would be able to use the learners’ language as “didactic capital”. Slembrouck and Rosiers (2017: in print) expatiate how the learners’ language could be used as a resource for learning the second language and “for acquiring knowledge”. Cummins (1979:229) concurs as he argues that the learners’ L1 is “in no danger of replacement by L2” instead the learner would be “adding another language to his repertory of skills at no cost to his L1 competence”. Therefore, the teacher’s communicative discourse in extract 19 shows that the learners’ L1 can be used as a resource for acquiring knowledge.

Canagarajah (2011) brings another dimension to the use of the learners’ mother-tongue as an interactional and pedagogic resource when he says; “while the body of scholarship on social manifestations and classroom occurrences of translanguaging are increasing, teachers are also interested in the pedagogical implications of this practice” (Canagarajah, 2011). Similarly, the researcher in this study did not only focus on translanguaging as a communicative practice in classroom contexts but also took interest in its “pedagogical implications”.

In line with the need to establish the “pedagogical implications” of the teacher’s use of isiXhosa as an intervention strategy in what is supposed to be an English-only classroom setting, learners were assessed on essay writing (see the objectives of this study). As mentioned earlier (see chapter three), the researcher observed two classes – in one class the teacher taught using

English only and in the other class she used both English and isiXhosa to share information with learners. We now present the assessment results of both classes to measure how these learners performed in mid-year assessments. We specifically focus on their performance in the paper where they had to write an essay. In this paper they had to apply the information they were taught on mind-map writing.

Table 10: Assessment results (term 2) of the English class where isiXhosa was not used by the teacher (grade 9.6)

	Comp. language use	Essay	Response to Lit
Minimum total mark	60	30	60
1. Learner	20	0	21
2. Learner	38	15	32
3. Learner	23	13	31
4. Learner	32	12	24
5. Learner	31	16	25
6. Learner	28	17	19
7. Learner	17	14	35
8. Learner	34	15	26
9. Learner	36	15	26

10. Learner	33	14	23
11. Learner	30	15	20
12. Learner	11	15	25
13. Learner	23	18	19
14. Learner	39	15	19
15. Learner	27	18	28
16. Learner	26	15	22
17. Learner	45	15	23
18. Learner	40	15	25
19. Learner	24	16	16
20. Learner	35	14	19
21. Learner	43	14	28
22. Learner	31	17	25
23. Learner	35	15	25
24. Learner	43	17	26
25. Learner	28	12	23
26. Learner	23	12	13

27. Learner	24	14	27
28. Learner	30	14	18
29. Learner	30	18	30
30. Learner	27	16	24
31. Learner	37	19	33
32. Learner	33	15	22
33. Learner	33	17	25
34. Learner	30	16	34
35. Learner	40	3	23
36. Learner	31	14	25
37. Learner	22	15	20
38. Learner	42	14	23
39. Learner	32	12	24
40. Learner	33	17	25
41. Learner	45	17	30
42. Learner	41	15	28

In this section we also present table 12 which shows the performance of the learners in the class where isiXhosa was used by the teacher as an intervention strategy:

Table 11: Assessment results (term 2) of the English class where isiXhosa was used as an intervention strategy (grade 9.7)

	Comp. language use	Essay	Response to Literature
Minimum total mark	60	30	60
1. Learner	26	11	36
2. Learner	21	12	30
3. Learner	23	14	26
4. Learner	38	14	49
5. Learner	8	12	15
6. Learner	24	15	25
7. Learner	21	14	40
8. Learner	28	10	46
9. Learner	26	17	33
10. Learner	19	8	11
11. Learner	16	17	44

12. Learner	26	18	44
13. Learner	22	13	42
14. Learner	24	11	17
15. Learner	22	13	38
16. Learner	28	14	30
17. Learner	30	14	43
18. Learner	25	15	46
19. Learner	30	13	27
20. Learner	21	14	47
21. Learner	28	12	25
22. Learner	22	13	20
23. Learner	33	12	43
24. Learner	17	14	17
25. Learner	26	13	38
26. Learner	29	15	52
27. Learner	31	14	39
28. Learner	24	11	44

29. Learner	22	13	20
30. Learner	30	14	18
31. Learner	34	20	49
32. Learner	19	15	19
33. Learner	14	13	16
34. Learner	16	18	37
35. Learner	12	13	17
36. Learner	23	15	28
37. Learner	12	12	7
38. Learner	34	13	36

The numbers appearing in tables 11 and 12 are further broken down and represented in figures 4 and 5. The purpose of this is to make sure that this information is accessible for interpretation and analysis. Figure 4 shows the assessment results (term one) of the class where isiXhosa was used as an intervention strategy (grade 9.7). These are the results of the learners in all the English papers.

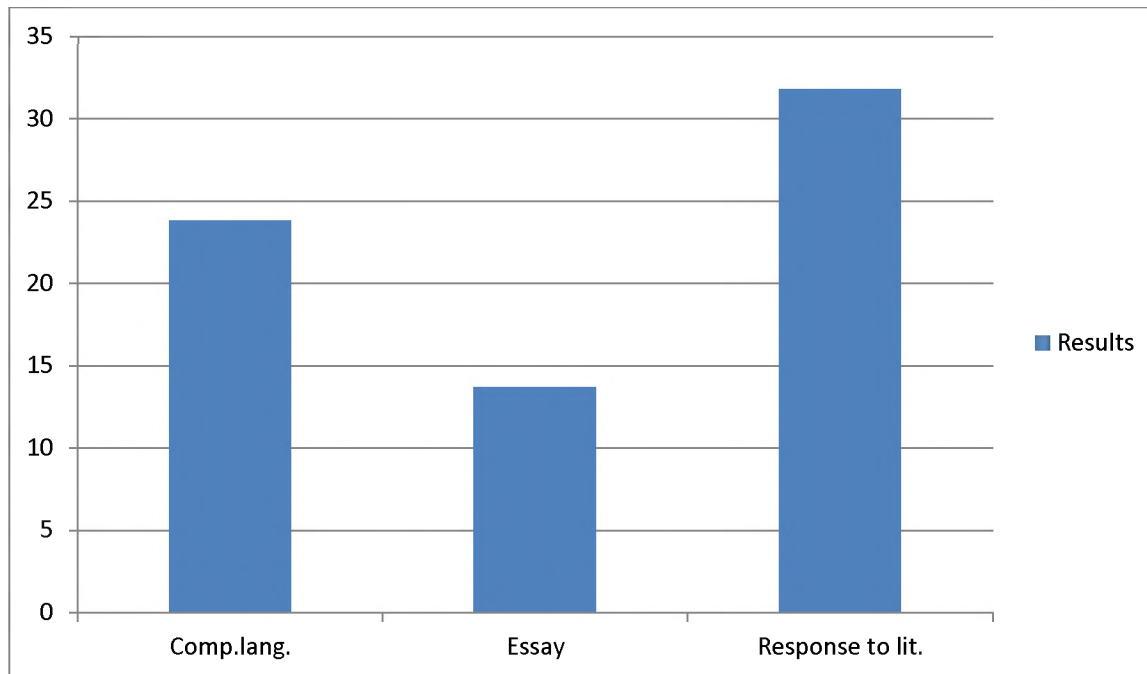


Figure 5: Assessment results of the English class with isiXhosa as an intervention strategy (grade 9.7)

Specifically, my interest is in the learners' performance in essay writing as isiXhosa was used when the teacher taught mind-mapping. The purpose of using isiXhosa was to ensure that the learners understood the lesson and then assess the impact of the use of isiXhosa on their academic performance. Obviously, this is not an easy task as one had to consider other factors that might have contributed either positively or negatively to the learners' performance. For example, we have to consider the fact that learners had to write an essay in English and not both English and isiXhosa. This implies that much as they might have understood the lesson because it was imparted to them partly in their mother-tongue; poor proficiency in English might have affected their performance during assessment.

However, if we examine figure 4 we observe that the average performance of the learners on essay writing was 13.7 whereas in Composition and Language it was 23.8 and in

Literature it was 31.8. It has to be noted that the minimum total mark for the essay was 30 marks and 60 marks for the other papers. However, the suggested weighting for the essay paper and the composition & language paper was 18% while it was 6% for the literature paper. This implies that the 13.7 average mark is not a bad mark and that it carries more weighting which would have impact on the learners' overall performance. The fundamental question is whether this performance was made possible by the teacher's use of isiXhosa or not?

Perhaps to respond to this question we need to compare the learners' performance in essay writing in term one with their performance in essay writing in term two. The learners' performance in essay writing during the first two terms of the year is represented in figure 5. However, one is mindful that there might have been other factors that contributed to the learners' performance either positively or negatively. It is clear from figure 6 that the learners in term one did well in essay writing compared to term two. However, we need to consider that in term 1 not much work was done compared to term 2, therefore their performance could be a reflection of the amount of work that was done. Much as the teacher said she does not CS, we are not quite certain if that is not case as she said that most of the learners in the class where she used CS were not proficient in English.

Figure 6 below compares the performance of the learners in essay writing in terms one and two. This is the class where isiXhosa was used as an intervention strategy.

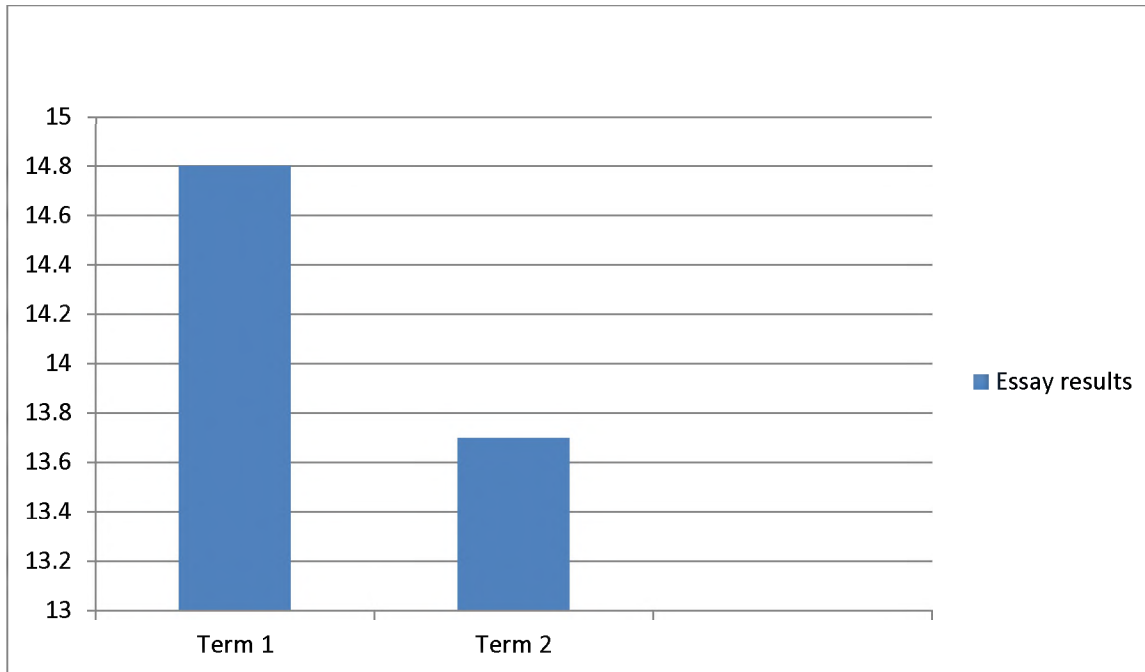


Figure 6: essay results for terms 1 and 2 (grade 9.7)

Although there is a difference in the learners' performance when the two terms are compared the learners in both terms maintained an average mark of 14%. This shows consistency in their performance. When the amount of school work increases, there is a tendency for the learners' performance to drop but in this case there is consistency in their performance. Probably the teacher's use of various communicative strategies contributed to this consistent performance. In the case of this class, the most significant interactive strategy which the teacher used was code-switching.

It is also important to take a glimpse at how the learners performed in the other class (the class with learners from the townships) where the teacher used English only to teach mind-mapping. The teacher said that this class performs better in English than the class with learners from the Eastern Cape Province (see Vesely, 2000). Figure 6 shows the results of the learners in

all the English papers. This is the class where the teacher used English only to teach mind mapping.

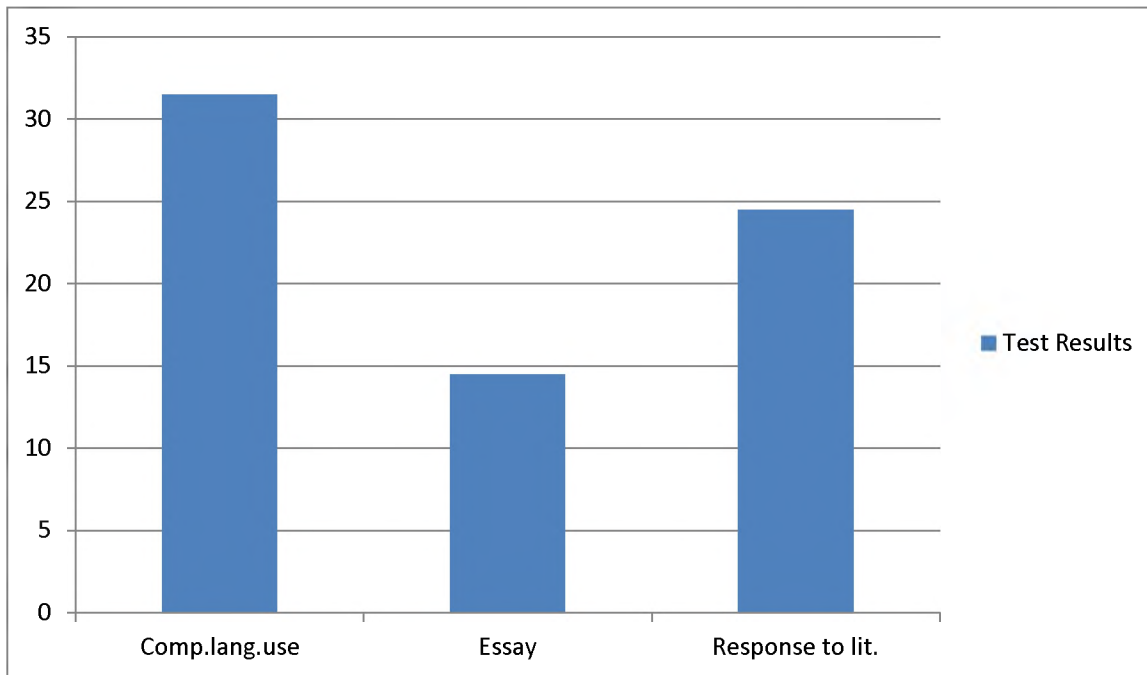


Figure 7: Assessment results (term 2) of the English only class (grade 9.6)

Contrary to what the teacher said, close examination of the two classes show that there is no vast difference in their performance. For example, in term one grade 9.7 had an average mark of 14.8% for essay writing whereas grade 9.6 had an average of 13.6%. We also note that in term one, grade 9.6 had an average mark of 24.5 for literature compared to the 31.8 average mark of grade 9.7. Nonetheless, the weighting for literature is 6% thus rendering the high marks grade 9.7 obtained not so significant when the total mark is considered. Also worth noting is the fact that both classes for essay writing have a consistent average mark of 14%. The question is why do the two classes have more or less the same average mark for essay writing?

Possibly one of the reasons for the consistent average mark between the two classes is that the teacher used isiXhosa as an intervention strategy in the other class (grade 9.7). This helped the class she considered to be struggling in English to perform on a par with the class she believed was doing well in English. In other words, she used isiXhosa as a pedagogical resource and “a reservoir from which they [the learners] can withdraw in the process of learning” (Maseko and Wolff, 2017:43).

5.3 THE NEED FOR A MODEL OF CLASSROOM CODESWITCHING

As indicated in chapter two, studies of CS outside educational contexts began by depicting pejorative attitudes towards CS as a discourse practice of bi/multilingual people (Weinreich, 1953; Vogt, 1954). However, as more research was conducted on the phenomenon of CS studies took a shift from the old orthodoxy which viewed CS from a monolingual perspective to a new orthodoxy that acknowledged it as a normal feature of bilinguals (Gardner-Chloros, 1995; Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1995).

Similarly, when research on classroom CS took hold in the mid-1970s (Martin-Jones, 1995) there were those who felt that the learners’ mother-tongue had no place in monolingual educational spaces. Researchers such as Zentella (1981), Setati (2002) and Shin (2005) cite studies that describe negative attitudes towards classroom CS (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

Creese and Blackledge (2010) sum this well when they state:

These studies show that moving between languages has traditionally been frowned upon in educational settings, with teachers and students often feeling guilty about its practice (Creese and Blackledge, 2010:105).

As indicated earlier, some teachers and students feel guilty about CS because they perceive it as deviation from the norm which has been set for the successful practice of “legitimate” languages. For example, in a study conducted in South African rural/township schools, Probyn (2009) cites the views of some teachers on the use of CS in classrooms:

‘I must confess it’s a bad thing to do’;
‘ . . . we explain in Xhosa, but in actual fact that is not what is supposed to be done’;
‘ . . . if there’s any wrong, the first wrong would be to find teachers teaching History in Xhosa’ (Probyn, 2009:8).

There are teachers who uphold the English-only ideology because of the misconception that indigenous languages have no place in education.

One of the reasons for negative attitudes towards the use of CS in classrooms is the view that languages like English have an inherent position in all spheres of life. Bourdieu (2002) aptly describes the hegemony of dominant languages and their imposition in systems of education:

The educational system, whose scale of operations grew in extent and intensity throughout the nineteenth century, no doubt directly helped to devalue popular modes of expression, dismissing them as ‘slang’ and ‘gibberish’ (as can be seen from teachers’ marginal comments on essays) and to impose recognition of the legitimate language (Bourdieu, 2002:49).

Bourdieu (2002:45) goes on to say that in the case of bilingualism this refers to a particular language. In the South African context, English is the “legitimate language” that was imposed on the entire population during the colonial era. However, it continues to enjoy a dominant position as Alexander puts it; “for reasons connected with the colonial History in southern Africa, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly English” (Alexander, 2012:3).

English remains the “language of power” in spite of new language policies that seek to elevate previously marginalised South African languages to official status (see chapter two). However, Kaschula and Maseko (2017) argue that South Africa is experiencing “policy fatigue” and this “results from lack of policy implementation”. They go on say that “implementation is about getting things done and this is now the challenge that faces language policy and planning initiatives” (Kaschula and Maseko, 2017:19).

Lack of language policy implementation has impact on classroom interactive practices, where teachers face the dilemma of having to teach through English and at the same time feel that use of CS might exclude learners from socio-economic advancement which is associated with mastering English (Marawu, 1997). As a result, teachers in classrooms resort to CS in order to ensure learners understand the subject matter – they “smuggle” the vernacular “into the content of the subject” (Probyn, 2009:8).

One of the causes for teachers to “smuggle” the vernacular into classrooms is that they did not receive training on how to use the learners’ mother-tongue as a pedagogical resource. Probyn (2009) supports this assertion:

As teachers and learners generally share a common home language, a natural communicative response is for both teachers and learners to code switch. However, this has not been sanctioned in teacher training in the past and many teachers regard codeswitching as illicit, a sign of linguistic and pedagogic incompetence, rather than a valid communicative strategy (Probyn, 2009:8).

Lack of teacher training heightens negative perceptions about classroom CS and at the same time perpetuates the hegemony of English. The importance of introducing CS during teacher training is also raised by Adendorff (1993). It is thought that this would help teacher trainees to

appreciate the value of CS as an academic resource. Marawu (1997) also emphasises the need for teacher training on classroom CS:

[t]here is a challenge to education and language planners and all those involved in teacher development to view CS as a valuable learning resource, and to begin to devise ways and means of using it effectively in the classroom. It is a simple fact that CS is a widespread phenomenon in schools, that teachers use it without any proper guidance, and that they will continue to use it in mediating the constraints of the classroom and the curriculum (Marawu, 1997:63).

Some of the fundamental issues that are raised here are that CS is a “widespread phenomenon in schools” but there is a need for teachers to receive formal training on how to use it effectively as a pedagogical resource. Therefore, there is a need for development of strategies on how teachers can use CS in educational settings.

As noted from the analysis of the discourse behaviour of the teachers who were observed in this study – particularly the Accounting and History/Geography teachers – CS to them comes as a spontaneous reaction or normal feature of their everyday discourse which they use in the classroom as a communicative and pedagogical resource. On the other hand, the English teacher who was observed in this study used CS as an intervention strategy. She deliberately decided that she will use it in such a way that she will first give explanations in English and later repeat the lesson using isiXhosa. In other words, the knowledge that was explained in English – and which the learners might have not understood because of low proficiency in English – is transferred to isiXhosa (Probyn, 2009). Therefore, it is in the use of both languages that the teachers’ message to the learners becomes complete as Creese and Blackledge (2010) put it; “it is in the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed” (Creese and Blackledge, 2010:108).

That the English teacher observed in this study used CS as an intervention strategy leads us to the notion of translanguaging (TL). Slembrouck and Rosiers (2017: in print) unpack translanguaging as follows:

TL originates conceptually in a pedagogic context of ‘organized code-switching for the benefit of learning’, it is potentially characterized by a wide range of possible shapes and manifestations. It is a practice which crosses the boundaries between minority and majority languages, a practice which aligns with what children spontaneously do in a multilingual environment, as well as a practice with language learning potential. TL can be teacher-monitored ...or it can occur between peers without teacher direction, and so on.

García (2009: 156) further explains translanguaging as “an important practice, pedagogically to teach, but also cognitively to learn”. In addition, Mayaba (2017:63) describes TL as “the deliberate process of using two or more languages to make meaning, shape experience and formulate or understand concepts during the process of learning”. The way the English teacher used isiXhosa in an English language class can be related to the explanations of TL by Garcia (2009); Slembrouck and Rosiers (2017: in print); Mayaba (2017).

Furthermore, the purpose of observing the English teacher’s classroom discourse was to see how she “organised code-switching for the benefit of learning”. This study particularly looked at how isiXhosa (a minority language) and English (a majority language) were used by the teacher to cross “the boundaries” between the two languages for purposes of achieving pedagogic goals. In other words, TL “aligns with what children spontaneously do in a multilingual environment” when the children’s language of everyday communication is used as a pedagogic resource (Slembrouck and Rosiers, 2017: in print). It can be argued that TL as a

practice challenges the notion of establishing a single 'linguistic community' within institutions of learning (Bourdieu, 2002:46).

Canagarajah (2011) further argues that "translanguaging helps us adopt orientations specific to multilinguals and appreciate their competence in their own terms" (Canagarajah, 2011). Translanguaging puts emphasis on appreciation of previously suppressed communicative practices particularly in classroom settings. Furthermore, it is important that the communicative practices of multilinguals are appreciated "in their own terms". This is the case because multilinguals have been subjected to situations which have a tendency to "adopt binary and hierarchical orientations to language" and these distort "the integrated nature of multilingual competence and communication" (Canagarajah, 2011). In other words, TL is a communicative practice that seeks not to devalue the learners' mother-tongue as a mode of expression in educational contexts.

In the light of the foregoing arguments and on the basis of the data analysed for this study, it was established that it was imperative to develop a model that illustrates how CS could be used as a pedagogical resource. Moreover, the need for research on CS as an intervention strategy has been suggested by researchers like Lin (2013). Literature review (see chapter two) revealed that there is a need for the development of a model of CS as a pedagogical strategy.

5.4 A MODEL OF CODE-SWITCHING AS A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY

Classrooms are domains of interactive communicative practices where negotiation of meaning between teachers and learners is crucial. In order to understand the communicative behaviour of teachers who rely on CS as a classroom strategy, the researcher decided to first use an

already developed model of communication and apply the teachers' communicative repertoire to it. Secondly, the purpose of doing this was to use the already developed communication model as a basis for developing a model of CS as a pedagogical strategy.

Ordinarily, communication models deal with how interlocutors use one language to share a message. For example, the communication process starts when the sender (the person who initiates the process) has an idea or information to share with the receiver (the person who receives the message). Grice (1989) refers to the idea or thought that triggers the communication process as the "purpose or direction" and he explains it as follows:

This purpose or direction may be fixed from the start (e.g., by an initial proposal of a question for discussion), or it may evolve during the exchange; it may be fairly definite, or it may be so indefinite as to leave very considerable latitude to the participants (as in a casual conversation (Grice, 1989:26).

Grice (1989) also emphasises that the interlocutors' contribution must be as "informative as required" for the purpose of the exchange between the sender and the receiver. In other words, there must be no obscurity of expression or ambiguity in the process of conveying the message from the receiver to the sender (Grice, 1989).

Furthermore, this implies that the message must be encoded in such a way that there will be mutual acceptance of the message by the interlocutors. Encoding the message means the sender must convey the message in a code which the receiver understands. In classroom contexts, the teacher or the sender uses the learners' L2 as the code to share the message with the receivers or the learners. This is the case because the learners' L2 is the official language of teaching and learning. However, teachers switch to the learners' mother-tongue because they realise that the message will not be, according to Grice (1989), as "informative as required" if it

is sent to the learners in their L2 only. Teachers use CS, among other reasons, because of the learners' low level of proficiency in their L2.

The focus of the sender when encoding the message is not only on "what is said" but on "what is meant". In other words, focus shifts from the "level of expressed meaning" to the "level of implied meaning" (Thomas, 1995:56). This means the message might be expressed in two languages but what becomes fundamental is the implied meaning or according to Thomas (1995) **force** or the speaker's communicative intention (Thomas, 1995:18). What does the teacher want to achieve by conveying the message in two codes? At the level of "expressed meaning" we can argue that the teacher wants to achieve clarity of expression so that the learners understand the content of the subject matter. On the other hand, the "implied meaning" is that the teacher shares the same language and cultural background with the learners. In sum, the teacher by using CS sends the implied message that "students are not simply 'learners' of a whole 'second language' but 'emergent bilinguals' who dynamically incorporate new features to their single linguistic system" (Garcia, Seltzer and Witt, 2017: in press).

One of the most important elements of the communication process is decoding. When the audience receives the message, they decode it. In other words, the receiver interprets the encoded message in order to ensure that they understand it. One of the common barriers to the communication process in classroom situations is semantic noise. According to Daniels, Hunter, McGhie, Horn, M., Jaarsveldt, V., Vuuren, V. (2014:53), "semantic noise occurs when the sender and the receiver do not share a common understanding of a particular word or expression". In second language classroom settings semantic noise occurs because the teacher

conveys the message to learners in a language which learners are not well-versed with. Teachers resort to CS in order to assist the learners in decoding the message and thus, understand it.

Feedback is fundamental in the communication process and it occurs once the receiver has decoded the message – this implies that the receiver has understood the message and can therefore give response. However, in second language learning classrooms learners might not give feedback (in the form of questions and comments to what the teacher has said) because of their inability to decode the message as it is conveyed to them in a code they are struggling to understand. As stated earlier, over-emphasis on error correction leads to “lathophobic aphasia” (see Stevick, 1976).

Furthermore, much as the learners might have understood the content of the subjects because it was explained to them in their mother-tongue and L2, they might struggle to give feedback in their L2 during assessment because of low proficiency in it. This is the case because during assessment learners are expected to give feedback in their L2 only. This defeats the whole purpose of bi/multilingual education (Desai, 2003).

To illustrate further the communication process which is described above, the researcher designed a communication model that portrays use of two languages by a teacher to negotiate meaning with learners. The design is based on existing models of communication like the transactional model of communication (see Daniels *et al.*, 2014:71). However, none of the models consulted portrays the communication model featuring CS in educational settings. Furthermore, these models are not based on communication transactions in classrooms but focus on the general communication process between two interlocutors.

Figure 8 shows the communication process in a classroom setting where a teacher uses CS to share information with the learners. In this case the transactional model of communication has been expanded to include, for example, code-switching as well as teachers and learners as sources and receivers of information.

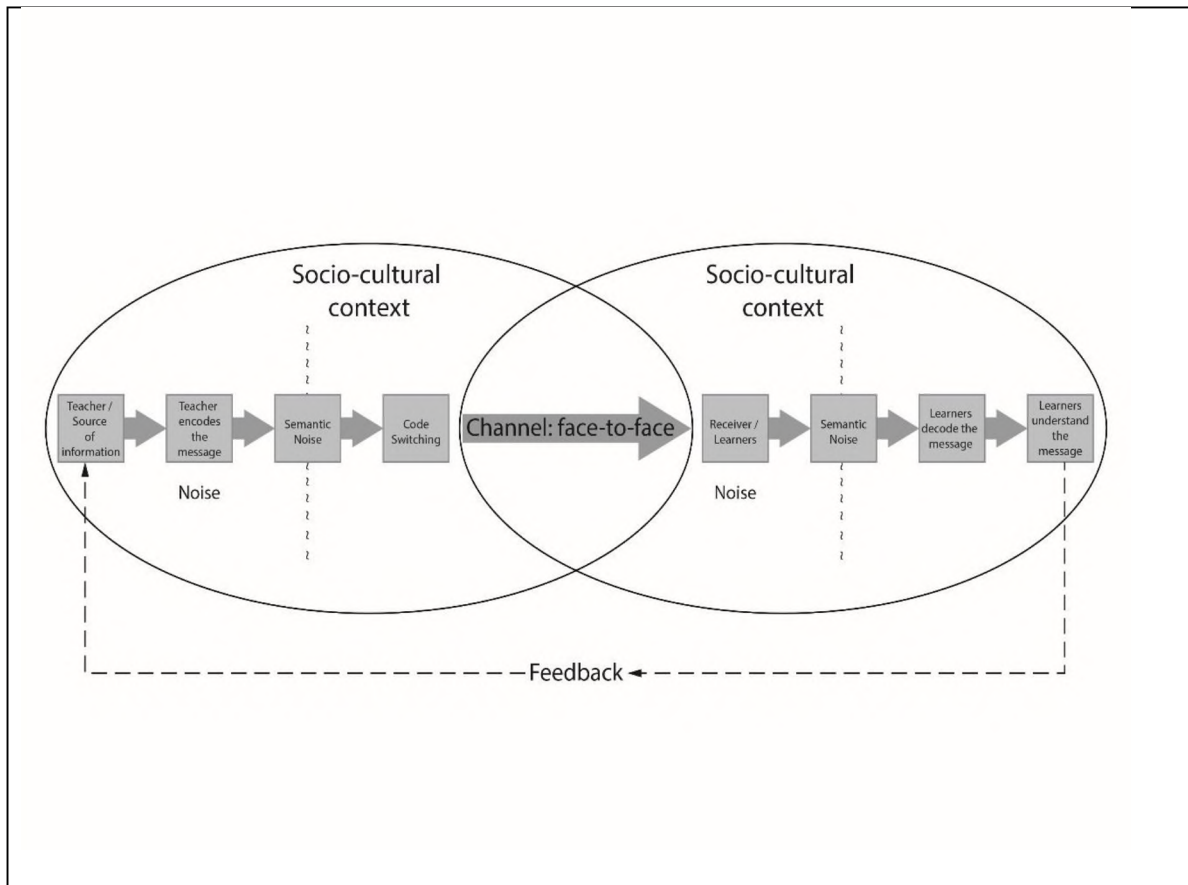


Figure 8: A model of the communication process featuring classroom CS

We further unpack the elements of the communication process portrayed in Figure 8 as follows:

1. *The sender/source* is the teacher. The interaction between the teacher and the learners is prompted by the teacher's need to impart to the learners the content of the subject. For example, in this study the content subjects were mainly concerned with ensuring that the learners understood the content of their subjects.
2. *Message*. In this context the message is the content of the subject which the teacher shares with the learners.
3. *Encode*. Like in any communication transactions the teacher uses a code to send the message to the receivers. The message is encoded in English and isiXhosa.
4. *Noise*. Daniels et al (2014:52) define noise as "anything that prevents a message from reaching the receiver and from being interpreted correctly". Teachers switch to the learners' mother-tongue to minimise semantic noise.
5. *Decode*. Learners decode the message which is expressed simultaneously in two codes.
6. *Receiver*. Learners are the receivers of the message
7. *Response/feedback*. Learners are expected to give response and this could be in the form of questions and comments to the teacher's message. In some instances feedback would come when the teacher prompts the learners to respond to his/her questions. In all the classes the researcher observed, learners were not giving responses without being prompted by the teachers. They were consumers of information.

The model portrayed in figure 8 illustrates that CS can be used as a pedagogic resource. This implies that teachers must identify during lesson preparation words, terms, concepts and phrases which learners might not understand. The teacher can reformulate the difficult concepts using the learners' mother-tongue and second language. Furthermore, it would be

ideal if key words and concepts in textbooks can be translated to the learners' mother-tongue. Another advantage of this is that learners would appreciate their own languages as they would realise that they are also valued as linguistic resources. Vesely (2000:65) sums this well when she argues; "all sectors of public society, from the job market to the educational system to the publishing and broadcasting industry must converge and necessitate the usage of African languages".

Analysis of the classroom discourse of the English teacher as she used isiXhosa as an intervention strategy further highlights how isiXhosa or the learners' L2 can be used as "didactic capital" (Slembrouck and Rosiers, 2017: in print). Furthermore, whereas the Accounting and History/Geography teachers used CS spontaneously or at the spur of the moment (Martin-Jones, 1995) because it is a common feature of bilinguals, the English teacher made a deliberate attempt to process meaning in the classroom using isiXhosa (Mayaba, 2017). The significance of the teacher's deliberate use of the learners' MT is that it serves as a ground for developing a model of how teachers can deliberately use the learners' mother MT as an intervention strategy. Figure 8 illustrates how a teacher uses isiXhosa as an intervention strategy in a classroom. When the learners do not understand the teacher's message, the teacher switches to isiXhosa.

A model of CS as an intervention strategy.

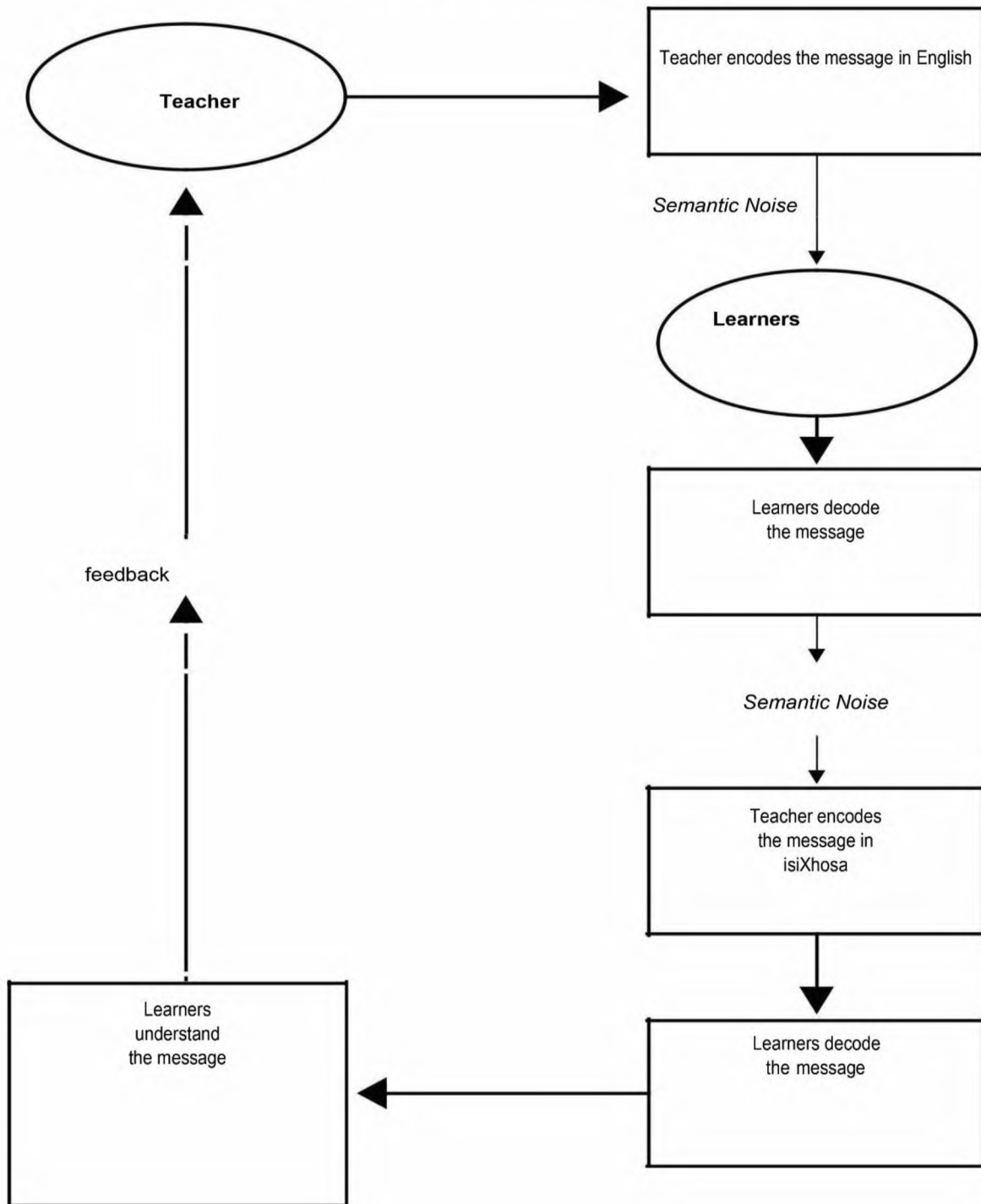


Figure 9: A model of CS as a teaching intervention strategy

The elements of the communicative transaction portrayed in figure 9 are expatiated as follows:

1. *The sender/source.* The teacher is the sender. In this classroom context the teacher is mainly the only source of information. In other words, teachers are not just sources of the communication process because they initiate the communication process but the learners rely on them for information. This is in addition to the textbooks which the teachers use to impart information to the learners. This is always the case in teacher-centred classroom situations with woefully inadequate teaching and learning facilities.
2. *Encoding.* The teacher first encodes the message in the learners' L2 because it is the language of teaching and learning.
3. *Receivers.* Learners are the receivers of the encoded message. When they decode the message they experience semantic noise because the message is encoded in a language they are not proficient in.
4. *Encoding.* The teacher realises that the learners have not grasped the gist of his/her message and decides to switch to codes. In other words, the teacher encodes the message in the learners MT so as to ensure that learners receive his/her message. Furthermore, the teacher by encoding the message in the learners' MT recognises the communicative repertoire learners bring to school and use these as a pedagogical resource.

The communication process that takes place here is different from the communication process explained by most communication models. In all the other communication models that explain the communication process encoding and decoding occur once, that

is, before the whole process starts all over again with the receiver becoming the sender and the sender becoming the receiver.

5. *Decoding.* Learners decode the message and understand it because it is conveyed to them in their mother-tongue.
6. *Feedback.* Some teachers do not allow learners to give feedback in their MT even though they use CS in class. This makes learners not to give feedback because they are always scared of making errors in their second language. For example, in this study learners said that they do not participate in class because they are afraid to make errors. Moreover, during assessments learners are also not allowed to respond to questions in their mother-tongue.

Although the elements of the communication process as portrayed in figures 8 and 9 show communication as about transmission of messages via a code or codes (in the case of CS) there is also the important aspect of the “socially constituted and socially constituting nature of discourse and language” (Fairclough, 2001:197) which needs to be given attention. Fairclough (2001) further explains this as follows:

I would say that education, by contrast, is not just passing things on (though it is partly that); it is developing the child’s critical consciousness of her environment and her critical self-consciousness, and her capacity to contribute to the shaping and reshaping of her social world.

Central to the role of “developing the child’s critical consciousness of her environment” is language and more specifically, the child’s mother-tongue. If the school, which is supposed to reflect the child’s society offers education to the child in his/her second language it detaches the child from his/her environment. Secondly, the child’s mother-tongue plays a critical role in

developing the child's "critical self-consciousness". This is the case because the child's mother-tongue is the embodiment of his/her identity, heritage, and culture.

When teachers use CS in classrooms, they are not only using the learners' mother-tongue to assist them to understand the subject matter but to positively contribute to their holistic development as social beings. Fairclough (2001:196) adds this to this assertion; "...language use – discourse – is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power". In other words, through CS teachers contribute to the development of the child's social identity as well as their totality as individuals and members of society.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter highlighted how a teacher of English as a second language used isiXhosa as an intervention strategy. The teacher first presented the lesson in English and later reinforced the English explanation with isiXhosa. In other words, the teacher relied on isiXhosa as a pedagogical strategy and also used it to recognise the learners as emergent bilinguals. The chapter focused on one of the objectives of this study which sought to evaluate whether CS contributes positively or not to the learners' academic performance. The assessment results of the learners were analysed and it can be surmised that to a certain extent use of isiXhosa as an intervention strategy did have a positive impact on the learners' academic performance. This is based on the fact that the learners where isiXhosa was used as an intervention strategy

performed fairly well and on a par with the class where only English was used to interact with the learners.

The second section of this chapter focused on the development of a model of classroom CS. The researcher used existing models of communication and expanded them to include CS. What is believed to be innovative about this model is that it includes encoding and decoding of messages in more than one language. Secondly, the model explains communication transactions which occur in classrooms. Communication models depict communication processes which occur between two interlocutors. This model of classroom CS deals with transactional communication between one sender (teacher) and many receivers (learners). Above all, this model seeks to equip teachers with how to use CS as an intervention strategy in classrooms. In the following chapter the views of participants regarding CS are presented and analysed.

CHAPTER SIX: PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING

6.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the objectives of this study was to find out what the teachers' views and attitudes were on their CS behaviour. To meet this objective, structured interviews were held with the teachers who participated in this study in order to get their perspective on their CS behaviour and to elicit their views on classroom CS (see chapter three). It is crucial to get not only the analyst's perspective on the meaning of utterances but also that of the speakers (Stroud, 1992; Lin, 2008; Gardner-Chloros, 2009) (see chapter two). In addition, the researcher also solicited the views of learners about the use of CS as a teaching and learning strategy.

6.2 THE TEACHERS' VIEWS ABOUT CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING

One of the fundamental questions that are asked when it pertains to classroom CS is: why do teachers switch codes in classroom settings where they are expected to interact with learners in English? The History teacher stated that he code switches because "almost 80% if not 99%" of their learners are isiXhosa home language learners. This could be perceived as resistance by the teacher to the imposed use of English in classroom settings where the dominant language is that of the learners and the teachers. Writing about CS in Jaffna classrooms, Canagarajah gives an explanation that can be related to the South African situation:

The codeswitching practices of these classrooms constitute a subtle mode of resistance to the agendas of those who control policy in both political and educational domains (Canagarajah, 1999:208).

The “subtle mode of resistance” to the English-only ideology by the teacher under study indicates that this teacher has reached a level of “consciousness” which enables him to understand that a language could be used as a form and means of domination (Fairclough, 2001; Freire, 1993) (see chapter three).

On the other hand, the difference between rural and urban learners came to the fore when the Accounting teacher said that she code switches because most of the learners in her class come from the rural areas in the Eastern Cape. Therefore, she code switches so as to accommodate them. The implication is that they come from an environment where they did not get enough exposure to English. This can be related to a study on the difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties which observed the following:

...that urban Xhosa tends to be more ‘innovative’ than rural Xhosa, which tends to be ‘very conservative’; that urban Xhosa is subject to more rapid change than rural Xhosa, and that rural Xhosa is characteristic of speakers who have least exposure to western influences (Vesely, 2000:24).

Vesely (2000) goes on to say that most of this change is due to “visual environments, the influence of oral, written and visual media, and having English-medium instruction in schools” (Vesely, 2000:24-25). In a way this also explains the Accounting teacher’s line of thought and her apparent reasons for switching to isiXhosa. However, it is worth noting that the Accounting teacher went on to say that the “rural” students do well than the “urban” students when it comes to final examinations because when they mark scripts they do not focus on language but content. She further said that she switches to isiXhosa to ensure that their “rural” background does not disadvantage them.

While some perceive CS as a pedagogical resource others are concerned that it denies learners full exposure to their target language. The argument goes on to say that what is the point of using the learners' mother-tongue in classrooms instead of providing an educational atmosphere where learners would be exposed "to large amounts of the second language in actual use" (Krashen, 1983:38). Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir describe this concern further; "[t]his language paradox then becomes a barrier to knowledge and as a result students are not likely to receive quality education" (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004:78). As far as the students' attitude towards their target language is concerned Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir go on to say:

We also do not pay much attention to the first language spoken because we know that we shall get that information repeated in a language we understand better (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004:78).

However, the teacher's response to this concern during the interview was that English is not easy for their learners hence they resort to CS. The teacher went further to say that CS does not mean that learners cannot learn English.

The other question the teachers were asked during the interviews was whether English should continue being used as a language of teaching and learning. The Accounting teacher argued that much as she code switched she was aware that English remained the language for accessing the economy. She went on to say:

English should continue until such time when textbooks are also written in Xhosa or question papers are written in our mother-tongue and even job interviews are conducted in Xhosa.

It is clear from her response that as long as English remains a dominant language in commerce and education learners should get exposure to it. However, she is not against use of isiXhosa as

a language of teaching and learning but learning materials must be available in it and it should be developed to the same level as English so that it can play its role as a language of socio-economic advancement.

On the other hand, the History/Geography teacher's response was that when learners fail "no one attributes failure to language". The teacher went on to say:

Language is playing a critical role in a learning environment. English cannot continue to be the only language of learning and teaching; that will be disadvantaging those who cannot really understand English. We often take cognizance that our learners are not English; they are isiXhosa speakers.

The teacher by emphasizing that their learners are not English but isiXhosa speakers conveys the message that by denying learners access to a system of education that recognizes their mother-tongue is tantamount to denying them access to their culture, heritage and History. His views seem to be in line with the UNESCO report when it states that it is "axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother-tongue" (UNESCO report, 1953:11).

Furthermore, teachers use CS to ensure that learners understand the subject matter. For example, the History/Geography teacher confirmed that he switched to isiXhosa to ensure that the learners understood the Geography and History concepts because, as he put it himself during the interview, "for my Geography and History it is helping me to clarify concepts". As indicated in chapter two, the teacher uses CS as a communicative resource to alleviate "the artificiality" of the classroom and to meet its linguistic demands (Ndayipfukamiye, 1994; Martin-Jones, 1995; Camilleri, 1996; Lin, 1996).

In a similar research study Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004) observed that a science teacher in Tanzania used CS to ensure that learners understood the content of the subject.

They explain:

The science teacher changes languages completely as he sees that his students do not understand. His own English is not easy to understand. He expresses himself much clearer in Kiswahili. However, for him the important thing is to get the subject matter across. He is teaching science not English (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004:75).

This explains the dichotomy teachers are faced with in classrooms as they are expected to teach in English and at the same time ensure that learners understand the content of the subject. Probyn (2009) also explains a similar situation where a teacher said they have the responsibility of ensuring that learners "understand English.....so that they can express themselves but the problem again, they have to understand what you are actually teaching them, the content, so somewhere, somehow, you have to weigh this..." (Probyn, 2009:128).

The Accounting teacher also agreed that she code switched so as to ensure that the learners understood the content of her subject. She argued that most of the concepts they use in EMS were introduced to learners in grade 7 and sometimes they proceed to grade 8 without having grasped them. She said that CS helps her in bridging this gap and in making sure that the learners understood them. She went to say that one of the reasons for this was that EMS is not a requirement for passing grade 7.

When the teachers were asked about the use of English across the curriculum where all teachers are expected to teach in English so as to expose the learners to their target language, History/Geography teacher argued that that would disadvantage learners:

There are learners who understand English; there are those who do not understand until I explain in isiXhosa. When learners write their tasks in class, I use English questions as per requirements.

When teachers realise that learners do not understand their expositions they switch to isiXhosa so as to ensure that no learners are left behind because of lack of proficiency in English (Probyn,

2009). The Accounting teacher also shared the same view arguing that they are not English teachers.

This implies that the task of teaching English must be left with the English teachers who have been trained to teach English to speakers of other languages. In other words, his main concern is for learners to understand the content of the subject. The teacher's view can be related to a Tanzanian teacher's view cited by Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004:71). The Tanzanian teacher argued that a change to the learners' mother-tongue would mean:

[i]mpressing on all those concerned that English language teaching is a specialized field just like History, Geography, physics, Mathematics, etc. It is thus unreasonable and sometimes insulting to teachers of English when it is assumed that teachers of all subjects can assist in the teaching of English (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004:71).

In other words, that all teachers must use English for teaching purposes is a false notion because not all teachers can be expected to be English teachers when in actual fact they have been trained to specialize in teaching other subjects.

It was interesting to note that the teachers allowed learners to respond to them in isiXhosa. When asked why they allowed learners to respond to them in isiXhosa, one of the teachers responded as follows:

I do that because if I didn't I will have a class that will not engage me. Learners will not ask questions. They sit there and keep quiet which is what I do not want. I do that because I know very well that our learners understand and speak isiXhosa.

Learners were asked a similar question and this is unpacked in the section that deals with the learners' perspective towards CS. Noteworthy is the fact that learners also confirmed that they speak to their teachers in isiXhosa and that they communicate in isiXhosa during class discussions.

On the critical issue of assessment and specifically whether there should be vernacular translations of questions asked in English one of the teachers had this to say:

Every year when results are out, no one says anything about the lack of adequate English and understanding. Rather other things will be the reasons. Translation of questions to isiXhosa would lift a burden for us in our schools even if it is just the translations of questions only and allow learners to respond in English.

Similarly, a respondent in a study by Dalvit (2004) also mentioned that it would be crucial to provide isiXhosa translations of English questions:

In his view, exams should be written in English, but translations of the questions into isiXhosa could be provided. This would motivate the students to use English (the language most used in the workplace) but also allow them to understand the questions (Dalvit, 2004:76).

The researcher notes the consistency of the findings of these studies on attitudes of teachers and learners towards use of isiXhosa as a language of teaching and learning. Importantly, though questions were directed to learners at different levels and sectors of education, respondents express similar views. For example, in the case of assessments there is a need for the authorities in education to consider translations of questions to indigenous languages.

In addition, consistent responses to the question on assessments are also noted in the study conducted by Probyn (2009). Probyn cites the views of a teacher that are similar to the response given by the teacher in my study:

Teachers recognized that learners' poor proficiency in English contributed to high failure rates: 'What I've realized, they fail (examinations) because of the language problem. They understand what is being asked but they can't express themselves in English' (business economics teacher) (Probyn, 2009:129).

From the views of these teachers, it seems there is a generally held view that poor proficiency in English contributes to high failure rates. However, learners are expected to express

themselves in English during examinations even though they have been exposed to the phenomenon of CS in classrooms during the year (Desai, 2001).

Furthermore, regarding multilingualism and examinations Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004:77) quote Zubeida Desai who said in an interview Holmarsdottir held with her in April 2003:

At the moment there is a lot of lip service being paid to multilingualism....But for me the ultimate thing is can students write their exams in Xhosa? If they can't, then don't tell me it is a multilingual classroom.

Desai encapsulates well the dilemma teachers are faced with in classrooms – language policies are in favour of multilingualism but teachers are expected to conduct assessments in English. Heugh (2002:18) argues that one of the problems with South Africa's language-in-education policies is implementation. Moreover, what frustrates teachers is that even if learners might show understanding of the subject matter they could fail because of poor writing skills in English. Furthermore, the learners' low level of articulation in English is often misconstrued as an indication of poor intellectual capacity (Cummins, 1979). This clearly indicates the paradox of the South African language in-education situation because while many believe that it is crucial for learners to receive education in their mother-tongue they are still expected to use English because of its perceived value as a language of socio-economic advancement (Vesely, 1998; Bourdieu, 2005; Alexander, 2012).

The teacher's view that "translation of questions to isiXhosa would lift the burden in our schools" is an expression of frustration. The teacher seems to be conveying the message that learners understand the content of the subjects but fail examinations because of their inability to express themselves proficiently in their target language. However, to obtain the optimum

value and impact of indigenous languages in educational contexts the South African government has to recognize them as pedagogical resources. Heugh explains this further; "...unless languages other than English are maintained in the system as languages through which learning takes place, inequities which existed in education at the change of power in 1994 will remain in place" (Heugh, 2002:19).

The teachers also pointed out that when they mark scripts they do not focus on language errors but the correctness of the content. The History teacher went on say that the department of education allows them to ignore any language errors learners make. Though teachers can ignore the language errors learners make in their target language and focus on content, learners are not allowed to give answers in their mother-tongue. The possibility is that sometimes teachers may not decipher what the learners are trying to say because of the learners' inability to achieve clarity of expression in their target language.

The other question which the teachers were asked during the interview pertained to the use of isiXhosa as a medium of instruction. The History teacher responded as follows:

History in particular in my experience shares some similarities with isiXhosa. There are topics that could be communicated and defined in isiXhosa.

It seems that the History teacher believed that isiXhosa could be used as a language of teaching and learning. He went on say that in their school they had visitors from England who were surprised that they were still offering education to learners in English. One of the reasons for the continued use of English as a language of teaching and learning is the view that languages like isiXhosa would impede the learning of the second language hence "those aspects of the child's identity which are associated with his L1 and home culture are seldom reinforced by the school" (Cummins, 1979:225). They are "seldom reinforced by the school" because they do not

auger well for the agenda of creating a single ‘linguistic community’ and for enhancing the dominant position of the “legitimate language” (Bourdieu, 2002:45-46).

Having examined the teachers’ views on CS, the following section examines the learners’ views on its use in classrooms. It starts by explaining why it is important to include the views of learners in this study. The importance of not relying on the perspective of the analyst only but also that of the teachers and students is stated in chapter two.

6.3 THE LEARNERS’ PERSPECTIVE ABOUT THE USE OF CODE-SWITCHING AS A TEACHING AND LEARNING STRATEGY

It was imperative for the researcher to establish the learners’ perspective about the use of CS as a teaching and learning strategy. This was in line with the objectives of this study (see chapter one). The researcher used questionnaires to elicit the views of the learners (see chapter three). The views of learners in the use of CS as a teaching and learning strategy were fundamental so as to get the learners’ voices as these have been excluded in many studies as Sebolai (2017) puts it; “[r]esearchers tend to speak on behalf of research participants” (Sebolai, 2017:98). Lin (2013) also highlights the importance of involving learners, particularly in research studies that deal with classroom CS (see chapter two).

As indicated earlier, the learners were given questionnaires which sought to understand what the learners’ attitudes were towards CS in classrooms. Their responses to the questionnaires are represented in table 12:

Table 12: The attitude of learners towards use of isiXhosa in classrooms

True False Abstain

	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1 English is the only language that can be used for teaching and learning in South Africa.	51	74	12	17	6	9
2 isiXhosa can also be used as a language of teaching and learning	39	57	28	41	2	3
3 We cannot get jobs if we are taught in isiXhosa.	37	54	28	41	4	6
4 I struggle to understand my teacher if she/he speaks English only in class.	27	39	38	55	4	6
5 I can do well in my studies if I can be taught in isiXhosa only.	20	29	44	64	5	7
6 I do not talk in class because I am afraid of making errors in English.	34	49	33	49	2	3
7 I can do well in my studies if I can write examinations in isiXhosa.	29	42	38	55	2	3
8 My teacher does not allow us to speak isiXhosa in class.	36	52	30	43	2	3
9 Many of our teachers explain difficult words to us in isiXhosa.	51	74	14	20	3	4
10 It is important for us to be taught in English so that we can get jobs.	62	90	7	10	0	0
11 English is more important than isiXhosa.	52	75	15	22	1	
12 After school we speak isiXhosa at home.	60	87	9	13	0	0
13 We speak isiXhosa during class discussions.	60	87	9	13	0	0
14 We speak to our teachers in isiXhosa.	61	88	5	7	3	4

As mentioned in chapter three, the number of learners in the Geography/History class was 35 and both subjects were taught by one teacher. The number of learners in the Accounting class

was 34. Therefore, the total number of learners who were given questionnaires is 69 and all the questionnaires were returned. This was made possible by the fact that learners completed the questionnaires in class and this was administered by the researcher in the presence of the class teachers (see chapter three).

The first issue the learners had to respond to was the critical issue of English as a language of teaching and learning. The learners' response was in favour of English as the language of teaching and learning.

While 74% of the learners believed that English was the only language that could be used for teaching and learning, quite a number of them (57%) also believed that isiXhosa could be used as a language of teaching and learning. This suggests that additive bilingualism would be ideal in this situation as opposed to subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 1979). It is for this reason that it is believed that subtractive bilingualism (which is prevalent in former model C schools and private schools in South Africa) does not auger well for promoting linguistic diversity and for advancing the valorisation of previously marginalized languages in educational environments. Therefore, much as some learners aspire to be taught in English because of its perceived economic value, the reality of the situation is that isiXhosa is used for teaching and learning in South African rural and urban schools (Vesely, 1998; Heugh, 2002; Desai, 2001; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004).

Furthermore, the perception that English is the language of accessing the job market prevails and the learners confirmed this when 54% agreed that they would not get jobs if they were taught in isiXhosa. They further confirmed this when they were specifically asked if it was important to be taught in English for purposes of getting jobs – 90% of them concurred with

this statement. As already indicated, this emanates from the generally held view that English is the only language that could be used to achieve socio-economic advancement and thus, the only language that could be used for teaching and learning. The views expressed by the learners about the importance of English for accessing the labour market are reflecting fears of exclusion and disempowerment from the labour market (Alexander, 2012; Bourdieu, 2005).

Furthermore, in a study conducted in Cape Town townships, Vesely (2000) explains the learners' views about the hegemony of English as follows:

Xhosa-speaking Standard 8 students are no less immune to the power English retains not only as an international language, but also as the language needed for economic opportunities.

While Xhosa is the language spoken between friends and family, it is seen only as a language of community, and valueless for wider use (Vesely, 2000:9).

The perception of isiXhosa as "valueless for wider use" confirms what Shannon (1995) says is the internalisation of perceptions that dominant languages are superior and dominated languages are inferior (see chapter two). This happens because a situation has been created that indigenous languages have no role to play in socio-economic development and the current system of education enforces this false notion.

The other issue the learners had to respond to was whether they would understand their teachers if they spoke English only in class. The majority of them (55%) stated that they did not struggle to understand English in class. However, what always becomes a problem in second language learning contexts is when learners have to use their target language in writing (Millar & Barris, 2017). In South African rural and township schools this occurs because learners do not have exposure to their target language, this is what Krashen (1984) refers to as comprehensible input. On the other hand, to expect teachers to provide "comprehensible

input” by teaching in English only would be regarding English as the “norm” and isiXhosa as a “special case” and a deviation “from the norm” (Halliday, 2009:240) (see chapter two).

While 55% of the learners said they would understand their teachers if they spoke English only in class, it has to be noted that 38% of the learners said they struggle to understand their teachers if they spoke English only and 6% did not respond. This also means there is still a large number of learners who struggle to understand the content of the subject if it is presented in English only. Citing the example of a Mathematics teacher they observed during their research of CS in South Africa, Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir expatiate this as follows:

At first the teacher made an attempt to explain the lesson in English, but quickly switched to isiXhosa after realizing that the students were not following.....This entire lesson was carried out in isiXhosa except for the initial attempt to use English only (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004:76-77).

It is clear that in classroom situations where learners are not well-versed with the language of teaching and learning there will always be a need to switch to their mother in order to assist them to understand the content of the subject. This view was confirmed by the teachers who participated in this study during their interviews with the researcher.

When learners were asked if they would do well in their studies if they were taught in isiXhosa only, 64% of them said they would not do well. This could be linked to the perception that isiXhosa has no academic and educational value. In addition to this, there is a view among some isiXhosa speaking learners that isiXhosa is not an easy language (Hendricks, 2006). In a study conducted in a South African University of Technology about students’ responses to multilingual learning materials Millar and Barris (2017:9) cite a learner who said; “isiXhosa can make sentences very long unlike English sentences.” It is believed that this emanates from the

internalization of the lowly status of isiXhosa (Shannon, 1995) and the fact that English is the 'cultural-capital' (Alexander, 2001) (see chapter two).

The other critical issue in the study of English is the anxiety by learners to make errors. This is supported by the fact that 49% of the learners said that they do not talk in class because they are anxious of making errors in English. It is common among learners to laugh at each other when one of them makes errors in their target language and some teachers do not give positive reinforcement for answers with language errors. This develops what Richard Schaul calls "culture of silence" in his introduction to Paulo Freire's book, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

Our advanced technological society is rapidly making objects of most of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system. To the degree that this happens, we are becoming submerged in a new 'culture of silence' (Schaul, 1996: 15).

The expectation for second language learners to achieve native-like proficiency in their target language leads learners to withdraw from classroom activities that require them to express themselves in their target language. This is what Stevick (1976:4) describes as "lathophobic aphasia" which is an "unwillingness to speak for fear of making a mistake". This inhibits the process of second language learning. Teachers and learners become over concerned with language correctness and thus, become 'submerged' in silence.

Krashen (1983) in his description of the Monitor Theory distinguishes between 'subconscious language *acquisition* and *conscious* language learning'. He defines language acquisition as follows:

Language *acquisition* is very similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language – natural communication – in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their

utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding. Error correction and explicit teaching of rules are not relevant to language acquisition...” (Krashen, 1983:1).

The majority of the learners who participated in this study come from a language background where there is no “meaningful interaction” or “natural communication” in their target language. For example, 87% of them stated that they speak isiXhosa in their homes. In other words, they are not exposed to their target language in order for “subconscious acquisition” to take place which Krashen says “appears to be far more important” (Krashen, 1983:1). Conversely, to expect learners to speak their target in their homes even though it is not the language of “natural communication” in their society would be encouraging learners to collaborate in the destruction of their own mother-tongue (Bourdieu, 2002) (see chapter two).

This implies that learners are only exposed to their target language in schools and the environment is not a subconscious language *acquisition* environment but a conscious language *learning* environment. According to Krashen conscious language *learning* is characterized “a great deal by error correction and the presentation of explicit rules”. He goes on to say; “error correction, it is maintained, helps the learner come to the correct mental representation of the linguistic generalization” (Krashen, 1983:2). It is believed that learners would acquire their L2 better in a subconscious language acquisition environment.

Conversely, over-emphasis on error correction is one of the reasons for second language learners to be anxious of expressing themselves in their target language. This leads to a language learning situation which produces what Krashen (1983) describes as “overusers”. Krashen defines “overusers” as “performers who feel they must “know the rule” for everything and do not entirely trust their feel for grammaticality in the second language” (Krashen,

1983:4). The end result of this is submerging in a culture of silence and “conformity to the logic of system” thus excluding these learners from being active participants in the educational and economic systems which have to be accessed in the language they are struggling to master (Freire, 1996).

Linked to the critical issue of language acquisition and language learning is the question of whether teachers should allow learners to speak isiXhosa in class or not. In this study it was observed that teachers allow learners to respond to their questions in isiXhosa. However, when this question was posed to the learners who participated in this study, 52% said their teachers do not allow them to speak isiXhosa in class. On the other hand, 87% of the learners indicated that during class discussions they speak isiXhosa. This means that in reality learners feel comfortable in conducting academic discussions in English. Peires (1994) made a similar finding when she conducted a study on code-switching as an aid to second language learning. Finally, 88% of the learners agreed that they speak to their teachers in isiXhosa.

That it is common for teachers and learners speak to each other in isiXhosa is also confirmed by Vesely when she says; “it is in fact rare for Xhosa-speaking teachers to communicate solely in English with Xhosa-speaking students. For the most part, classroom instruction and all informal conversation take place in Xhosa” (Vesely, 2000:42). Dalvit (2004) in her study of attitudes of isiXhosa learners at the University of Fort Hare towards the use of isiXhosa as a language of teaching and learning also came with a similar finding. Dalvit (2004) states that learners confirmed that they use isiXhosa for group discussions and informal communication. This clearly indicates that isiXhosa plays an important role as a language of interaction even though English is the ‘official’ language of teaching and learning.

Code-switching is a widespread phenomenon in schools as teachers rely on it as a communicative and pedagogical resource (Lin, 1996; Marawu, 1997; Desai, 2003; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004). This assertion is supported by the learners who participated in this study as 74% of them confirmed that teachers explain difficult words/concepts to them in isiXhosa. Notably there is consistency in research findings that isiXhosa is used as an intervention strategy even in universities where learners and lecturers share the same language (Dyers, 1998). Dalvit (2004) mentions that respondents in his study agreed that isiXhosa was used by lecturers as a pedagogical strategy:

...isiXhosa played a very important role in supplementing explanations in English both in lectures and tutorials. Although this topic was not covered in the questionnaire, the fact that both English and isiXhosa were commonly used was mentioned by approximately 1% of the respondents, and five interviewees out of nine (all of those who had isiXhosa-speaking lecturers in their faculty) reported that code-switching and code mixing were taking place in lectures and/or tutorials. These respondents unanimously seemed to regard this practice as beneficial (Dalvit, 2004:102).

In other words, teachers use the learners' mother-tongue as a linguistic resource so as to help them grasp the gist of the lesson.

When viewed from another perspective this implies that teachers do not simply switch codes so as to communicate and unpack concepts in the learners' mother-tongue but rather to challenge the dominant use of English in teaching and learning. This is described aptly by Bloome, et al (2005:52):

At a particular moment in a classroom, there are tensions and conflicts between the tendency for continuity (reproduction of extant classroom practices and social structures) and change and, put more grandly, between maintaining a cultural ideology or challenging and transforming it. This tension exists both at the level of performance and at the level of the meaning and significance of the performance.

This implies that the tendency by teachers to use CS as a pedagogical resource must not be just seen as an interactive practice but rather a challenge to the demand for teachers to maintain a “cultural ideology” through the use of a dominant language. Therefore, CS is a linguistic resource which teachers use to deal with the tension arising from “the tendency for continuity... and change”. By relying on CS as a communicative resource teachers are disassociating themselves from reproducing “extant classroom practices and social structures”. This is in line with the views expressed by scholars like Bourdieu (2002); Alexander (2008); Halliday (2009) and Fairclough (2001) (see chapter two).

Much as learners noticed their teachers using isiXhosa to explain difficult words to them, most of them still believed that English was more important than isiXhosa. For example, 75% of the learners who participated in this study agreed with the statement that English is more important than isiXhosa. A similar question was asked by Vesely (2000:5) in a study she conducted in townships in the Western Cape Province. The following is the example of the question that was posed by Vesely (2000) to the learners and the response she received from one of the grade 10 learners:

‘Do you think English is more important than Xhosa and other African languages?’

My answer to that question is yes. I think English is more important. Firstly everything in this world is in English like education on Television, cheques, movies, receipts, etc. Almost everything is in English in this world. So I don’t see other language’s so important than English.

Secondly, there are many languages in this world of ours, and it’s hard for us to study them. If you talk to someone who is not a white in English that person will understand you, besides he/she is not educated. So that is why I put English so important in this world. Last but not least English is a communicating language. I hope or wish everyone to be educated so they can survive in this world of ours (Vesely, 2000:5).

What is notable is that the perception that English is more important than isiXhosa and other African languages still prevails as could be seen from the outcome of the statement to which learners in this study had to respond. This is the case because English is still a dominant language. Most learners in township schools aspire to acquire English because they are aware of its prestigious position as well as its role as a language of wider communication, commerce and education but struggle to learn through it (Marawu, 1997). This shows clearly the impact of English hegemony on black people and that it will take time to unravel the internalized perception that their own languages are of a low status (Shannon, 1992; Vesley, 2000).

While it has been observed by various researchers that CS is prevalent in bi/multilingual schools in South Africa the question of assessment remains unresolved (Slembrouck, 2017; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004). In other words, while CS is used for various educational and communicative purposes in schools, learners are not allowed to switch codes in assessment – they are expected to write their assessments in English. The possibility is that even though learners might have understood the content of the subject because it was unpacked to them in their mother-tongue, they might fail to achieve clarity of expression in written English.

It is believed that if learners were to be assessed in their mother-tongue as well it would be easy to determine the value of bi/multilingual education. The pass rate in some of the South African provinces, like the Eastern Cape Province (EC), is not impressive. For example, the pass rate in the Eastern Cape Province in 2016 was 63.3% while the country's average pass rate was 72.5%. Scholars such as Desai (2001) cited in Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004) and Slembrouck (2017: in press) believe that bi/multilingual education would be effective when learners are also assessed in their mother-tongue. Perhaps this would make a positive

contribution to the pass rate, particularly of black children, in countries like South Africa. Furthermore, if learners were assessed in their mother-tongue data would be available to get empirical evidence of the positive role of the use of the learners' mother-tongue in bi/multilingual classroom situations.

However, most of the learners (55%) in this study said that they would not do well in their studies if they wrote examinations in isiXhosa. On the other hand, 42% said that they would do well in examinations if they were assessed in isiXhosa and 3% did not respond to this question. As indicated earlier, one of the reasons for the learners to think that they would not do well if they wrote examinations in English is the view that isiXhosa is difficult (Millar and Barris, 2017). In addition, learners indicated that they feel isiXhosa has no place in the corporate world and this perception stems from the entrenched position of English as a language of commerce.

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the attitudes of teachers and learners towards classroom CS. Basically teachers indicated that CS has a role to play in classroom as a pedagogical strategy. It also became clear that content subject teachers believe that CS could be used to impart the content of the subject to the learners. They also made it clear that not all teachers could be expected to assist in the teaching of English because they are not specialists in ESL teaching – this task must be left with the English teachers. On the other hand, teachers revealed that they are aware of the role of English in socio-economic advancement but maintained that isiXhosa is also an important language which can also be used in education and socio-economic advancement. As

far as assessments are concerned, teachers argued that question papers must be translated to the indigenous languages so that learners can understand the meaning of the questions. They said that this is necessitated by the fact that learners fail not because they do not know the content of their subjects but because their level of articulation in English is low.

The second section of this chapter covered the views and attitudes of learners towards use of CS as a pedagogical resource. It became clear that learners held the view that English is an important language of education and socio-economic advancement. Furthermore, learners also indicated that they value isiXhosa as their home language. Nonetheless, a good number of students felt it would be worthy to have isiXhosa as a language of teaching and learning. Analysis of the learners' attitudes towards use of isiXhosa as a language of teaching and learning revealed that their views are based on the English-only ideology to which they have been exposed in education and in society at large.

Finally, the researcher also noted that the findings of this study are consistent with the findings of similar research studies in South Africa, particularly those that focused on isiXhosa speaking learners (Heugh, 2002; Vesely, 2000; Desai, 2003; Brock-Utne and Homarsdottir, 2004; Probyn, 2009). The researcher also noticed that the findings of studies conducted in three different South African universities are similar with the findings of this study (Dyers, 1998; Dalvit, 2004; Aziakpono, 2007). The chapter that follows presents the findings and conclusions of this thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS, SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of this study. The chapter begins with an overview of this study. This is followed by a summation of the main findings emanating from the data analysed in chapters four, five and six. After drawing conclusions from the findings, the chapter provides a discussion of these findings. In addition, the chapter also presents deductions, the contribution of this study to knowledge as well as agenda for further research.

The findings of this study are categorized according to its objectives as outlined in chapter one:

- To examine how the teachers used code-switching to enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter
- To investigate the teachers' views about their code-switching practices in the classrooms
- To establish the learners' perspective about the use of code-switching as a learning strategy
- To determine if code-switching, after the intervention, has had a positive contribution to the learners' academic performance
- To develop a model of classroom code-switching as a pedagogical strategy.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This study investigated how teachers used CS in classroom situations where they were expected to share information with the learners in English, the official language of teaching and learning. It noted that CS is prevalent in bi/multilingual classrooms in spite of the requirement for teachers to teach through the medium of English. This is one of the paradoxes of the teaching and learning situation in South Africa. Furthermore, teachers and learners are aware of the importance of their mother-tongue and the role it plays as an embodiment of their identity and heritage. However, they aspire to acquire learning through the medium of English because of its dominant position as a language of socio-economic advancement. The reality of the situation is that the majority of learners in most rural and township schools grapple to learn through the medium of English. This leads to a situation where the language they aspire to acquire in order to be an integral part of the country's economy becomes a barrier to their success in education and thus, socio-economic advancement (Alexander, 2012).

The dichotomy teachers are faced with in bi/multilingual classrooms stems from the need to teach in English and at the same time ensure that learners understand the content of the subject. They resort to CS so as to respond to the demands of the classrooms. It transpired from research studies that CS has crucial social and pedagogical functions in classrooms. Nonetheless, it also became clear that there is a need to devise strategies on how to use classroom CS as a pedagogical resource instead of just describing the interactional classroom practices of teachers and learners (Lin, 2013). This is one of the reasons why this study was undertaken. It attempted to come with a model on how to use CS as a pedagogical strategy in classroom situations. In doing this, it relied on the replication of existing models of

communication and extended these to include how an interlocutor can use more than one code to send a message – specifically in a classroom context.

The decision that CS could be used in classrooms as an academic strategy was informed by previous research studies on classroom CS which came with findings that clearly and categorically revealed the pedagogical functions of CS. More than that, it was felt that all languages have a role to play in educational settings. This view stemmed from the works of scholars like Bourdieu (2002); Fairclough (2001); Alexander (2012); Halliday (2009) who argued strongly against use of languages that are perceived as ‘legitimate’ languages and therefore, imposed on others as the only languages that can be used for education, economic development, technology and power.

In order to explore the dynamics of classroom CS, this study had to also review literature that dealt with CS in non-educational contexts. In this section, issues that emanated from early studies on CS are highlighted. The purpose of focusing on these issues is that they had tremendous impact on the study of classroom CS, which is the focal point of this study. The critical issues that emerged from the review of literature on CS in non-educational contexts are the following: views that CS is an abnormal feature of bilinguals; trends and approaches on CS and the question of meaning in data analysis.

It was imperative to first look at research trends on CS non-educational contexts as early researchers first showed interest on why bi/multilingual people alternated codes in a single piece of discourse. In their attempt to understand bilingual discourse they first examined social motivations for CS and then shifted to linguistic constraints. However, researchers like Barker (1947); Weinreich (1953); Vogt (1954) viewed CS from a monolingual perspective. For example,

they argued that CS was a form of speech defect especially when it occurred within a sentence or without a change in topic. What is remarkable about their views on CS though, is that they made an “ironic impact” on CS thus, increasing interest on it as a field of study (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

However, studies by researchers like Myers-Scotton (1993) marked a shift from studies that depicted CS as an aberrant form of bilingual communication. Among studies that made a positive impact and increased interest on CS as a field of study are Blom & Gumperz (1982).

Models that were developed on CS are also highlighted in the literature that was reviewed in this study. One of the significant models that emerged is Myers-Scotton’s markedness model. The development of new models and approaches to CS occurred when the old orthodoxy which viewed CS as a sign of linguistic incompetence was replaced by the new orthodoxy that perceived CS as a normal communicative feature of bilinguals (Gardner-Chloros, 1995). Furthermore, researchers began to undertake studies using the structural approach or the sociolinguistic approach (Boztepe, n.d.).

Another important aspect which came to the fore during literature review pertained to the issue of ‘meaning’. The question was whose meaning is ascribed to the analyzed data – the analyst’s meaning or the speaker’s meaning? This question was raised, among others, by Stroud (1992). The importance of this question to this study is that I had to make sure that the voice of my research subjects was not subdued. To deal with this crucial aspect of this study, I had to include the perspective of the learners to CS as well as that of the teachers. It was important to find out what their views were on the use of CS in classroom situations. Lin (2013) also raised the importance of involving teachers and learners as researchers. The reason for this is that

most studies on CS were conducted by researchers who were not teachers, and therefore brought their own interpretation of classroom discourse.

As the main focus of this study was classroom CS, literature that specifically dealt with classroom CS was reviewed. We first highlight pertinent issues that were raised in literature about language policy and planning in South Africa. Having done that we look at the main issues that were raised in the reviewed literature, specifically focusing on trends and approaches to classroom CS.

It emerged from this study that in countries like South Africa there was a deliberate attempt to devalue indigenous languages using language policies. This pattern can be traced from the colonial era (1652-1948) to the apartheid era (1948-1993). During all these periods in the History of South Africa, language planning and policy focused mainly on English and Dutch. This research study also noted that even when mother-tongue education was introduced by the notorious Bantu Education, the aim was not to develop indigenous languages but to use the critical language question in educational contexts as a tool to enhance domination and oppression. For example, it was noted in chapter two that the racially differentiated curriculum aimed at implementing an inferior system of education for black South Africans (Jansen, 1990).

Furthermore, during the post-apartheid era (1994 –) eleven South African languages were recognized as official languages. However, researchers like Heugh (2002); Kaschula and Maseko (2017) observe that the post-apartheid era is characterized by lack of language policy implementation. Consequently, the hegemony of English remains entrenched while indigenous languages are devalued and their perceived low status internalized (Shannon, 1995) by the very

users of these languages. For example, learners who were participants in this study felt that isiXhosa has no capacity to enable them to access economic development.

It also became apparent in this study that parents who are able to send their children to former model C schools and private schools opt for English-only education as this is perceived as the 'gateway' (De Wet, 2002) to economic development. However, this implies rejection of linguistic diversity in favour of monolingualism. It was noted that this leads to perpetual devaluation of indigenous languages even in the post-colonial era while embracing the imposed superior status of colonial languages.

It was interesting to note that developments in classroom CS took a similar trend as developments on CS in non-educational contexts. For example, there was a period when there was a view that CS has no place in the classroom because it might interfere with second language learning and acquisition. As more research was done on classroom CS, researchers began to come up with findings that recognized its pedagogical value in classrooms.

On the other hand, the following factors about CS in classrooms were observed in the literature reviewed in this study:

1. Early research on CS used quantitative and functional coding analysis (Martin-Jones, 1995).
2. There is a tendency to relegate the learners' L1 to a lower status because it was used mainly to perform social functions.
3. CS is used in classrooms to construct social identities (Camilleri, 1996).
4. CS is used for concept development (Ndayipfukamiye, 1994).

5. CS is used to alleviate the differences between the literacies of the home and the literacies of the school (Lin, 1996).

This study also noted that there was a shift from the functional coding approach of earlier studies on classroom CS to its contribution in the sequential flow of discourse in classrooms (Zentella, 1981; Lin, 1990; Martin-Jones, 1995). Another significant development in research on classroom CS, which is highlighted in this study, was the adoption of the ethnographic approach in the study of classroom discourse as well as use of the conversational analytic approach (Martin-Jones, 1995). In other words, this study also gave background information on the developments, trends and approaches that were used by researchers during different phases and periods of research on classroom CS.

This study also took notice of criticism that is levelled by Lin (2013) on research that has been conducted on classroom CS. The importance of Lin's criticism of classroom CS, when related to this study, is that it pointed direction to what future studies on classroom CS should focus on. In addition, after reviewing research on classroom CS, it became clear that there is a need for development of strategies on how to use CS as a teaching and learning strategy.

We now turn to how this study was designed. Classroom ethnography and, more specifically critical ethnography were used to understand the discourse behaviour of the teachers and learners who were units of analysis in this study. These research approaches, and the reasons for their choice, are unpacked in chapter three. The emancipatory role of critical ethnography is highlighted in this study and it tallies well with the view that teachers use CS so as to emancipate themselves from the hegemony of English. Furthermore, critical ethnography employs qualitative interpretation of data which is used in this study to understand the

interactive practices of teachers in classrooms. This study also took note of the criticism of critical ethnography which is given by Mammersley (1978).

This study used non-probability sampling to collect data and specifically purposive sampling. In addition, data collection methods were related to the research objectives of this study. The researcher managed to explore the objectives of this study and to reach conclusions pertaining to the teachers' use of CS in classrooms. Having given an overview of this study, the following section specifically outlines its findings.

7.3 FINDINGS

One of the objectives of this study was to examine how the teachers used CS to enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter. Data that pertained to this objective were analysed in chapter four and the following findings stemmed from the analysis:

CS is used by teachers to perform various functions in classrooms:

- Teachers in this study used CS in the classroom to perform various functions such as clarification of concepts, elaboration of points and repetition to reinforce understanding and learning.
- CS is used to break tension and formality that is associated with teacher-centred classrooms.
- CS is used to introduce new topics.
- CS is used to foreground the lesson and is used as an attention-getter and for breaking the ice when new lessons are introduced.
- Teachers used CS to exercise authority and to maintain discipline.

- Switches to isiXhosa were used to express humour.
- IsiXhosa was used by the teachers to express rapport with the learners. Conversely, it was also used to express anger and frustration.

CS does not affect the syntactic structure of the matrix language:

- The teachers articulated code-mixed lexical items and inserted them in the matrix language without affecting its grammaticality and syntax.
- In some CS instances isiXhosa was the matrix language and English, the embedded language. This basically means that the discourse was carried mainly in isiXhosa and that a few English words were inserted into the predominantly isiXhosa piece of discourse.
- Some of the switches the teachers used are intra-lexical switches. These are switches which have not undergone phonological and morphological integration into the syntactic structure of the recipient language. Examples of these are *yisource* [it's a source], *eshop* [shop] and *eoriginal* [original].
- The teachers in their CS discourse also used lexical borrowings. These are lexical items which have been reconstructed (in the context of this study) from English to isiXhosa phonetic form without major sound changes from the original lexical item. For example, the word *ukumuva* [to move] is derived from the English word *move*.
- CS is used by teachers not because they are unable to express themselves in English but because it is part of their everyday discourse.

CS is a linguistic resource used to enhance understanding of the subject matter:

- It is used by teachers to ensure that learners understand the subject matter. They use CS to impart the content of their subjects.
- Teachers focus on the understanding by learners of the content of their subjects and not necessarily the language of teaching and learning.
- CS is used to deal with the dilemma which teachers encounter in classrooms – this occurs because of the need to teach in English and at the same time ensure that learners understand the subject matter.
- CS creates an educational atmosphere that is conducive to teaching and learning.

CS has a socio-cultural value in classrooms:

- Teachers used CS to express their dual identity.
- CS is used to recognise learners as emergent bilinguals.
- Teachers and learners play various roles in classrooms to express shared cultural values and identity and these are manifested in the use of CS.
- CS is a linguistic resource which teachers use to alleviate the differences between isiXhosa and English.

CS is used to negotiate meaning:

- Learners understand the code the teachers use to exchange meaning with them.
- Teachers draw on their bilingual ability to make their contribution informative for the benefit of the learners.
- There are no traces of ambiguity in the teachers' discourse because of their use of CS.

- CS is a linguistic resource that helps teachers to achieve intelligibility in classrooms. It is not a source of confusion which negatively affects teaching and learning.

7.4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CODE-SWITCHING TO THE LEARNERS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

One of the concerns of this study was to find out if CS contributes to the learners' academic performance (see chapter 5). As indicated in chapter five, this was done by observing a teacher of English who does not normally use CS in class. In addition, the mid-year assessment results of the classes observed were analysed. This section begins by looking at findings that relate on how CS could be used to enhance the learners' academic performance. The following are the findings we derive from the analysis:

CS can be used to enhance the learners' academic performance:

- CS can be used as an intervention strategy when learners struggle to understand explanations given in their L2.
- Teachers can first present parts of the lesson in the learners' L2 and then translate these to the learners' mother-tongue.
- CS instances used by the teacher are like "off-stage" interactions between the teacher and the learners. The teacher and the learners revert to the "stage performance" when the teacher switches to English (see Arthur, 2001; Canagarajah, 2001).
- IsiXhosa is an important "off-stage" language which has a pragmatic academic function in the classroom.

CS has a positive contribution to the learners' academic performance

- Assessment results revealed that CS had a positive contribution to the learners' academic performance

There are other factors which might make it difficult to determine specifically if CS makes a contribution to the learners' academic performance. Pertaining to this the following finding was made:

CS in spite of its prevalence in schools is not used in assessments

- Question papers are not translated to the learners' mother-tongue.
- Learners are not allowed to CS in writing

There is a need for development of teaching and learning strategies on how to use CS so as to improve learners' academic performance.

7.5 THE PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING

In chapter six the views of learners and teachers (who participated in this study) towards classroom CS were analysed. The following are the findings that transpired from the analysis.

We start with the views of teachers towards CS:

1. Teachers believe that CS has a pedagogical value and use classrooms as terrains for resistance against the English-only ideology.
2. Teachers in the cities use CS to accommodate learners who come from rural areas.
3. Teachers recognise the role of English in socio-economic advancement but use CS to assist learners to master their subjects.

4. Teachers question the use of English for teaching and learning instead of the learners' mother-tongue.
5. Teachers of content subjects must not be expected to assist in the teaching of English. The teaching of English must be left with the English teachers.
6. Teachers allow learners to respond to questions in isiXhosa because learners are scared of making errors in English.
7. During assessments there must be translation of English questions to the learners' mother-tongue.
8. When teachers mark scripts they focus on the correctness of the content of the subject not the language used to convey the content.
9. Teachers believe that isiXhosa can be used as the language of teaching and learning.

The views of learners towards use of CS in classrooms were also solicited and analysed. The following are the findings of the analysis:

1. Most of the learners believed that English should remain the language of teaching and learning because of its status as a language of socio-economic advancement.
2. They believed that they will not get jobs if they were not taught in English.
3. English is more important than isiXhosa.
4. They would not do well in their studies if they were taught in isiXhosa only.
5. A good number (57%) of the learners believed that isiXhosa could be used as a language of teaching and learning.
6. They understand English but struggle to express themselves in it especially in writing.
7. They do not talk in class because they are afraid of making errors in English.

8. Teachers do not allow them to speak isiXhosa in class.
9. Teachers explain difficult words and concepts to them in isiXhosa.

Mainly, teachers and learners share the same views on the use CS as a pedagogical resource. However, the only outstanding difference was on the question of English as the medium of instruction. The majority of the learners stated that they would not get jobs if they were taught in isiXhosa. The following section provides conclusions from the findings.

7.6 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FINDINGS

From the findings of this study we draw the following conclusions:

Keywords and concepts must be translated to indigenous languages. This implies that bilingual study materials have to be developed. However, Millar and Barris (2017:8) in their study of student responses to multilingual learning material in a tertiary institution question the view that “isiXhosa students have achieved a sufficient degree of literacy in the home language by the time they reach university”. The current language learning environment in both South African government and private schools leads to semilingualism which Cummins (1979:228) explains as “less than native-like skills in both languages, with its detrimental cognitive and academic consequences”. This justifies the need to use indigenous languages as pedagogical resources so that learners cannot be characterized as semilingual by the time they leave the further education and training phase (FET). It is worth noting that attempts are being made to address this linguistic need. For example, production of bilingual isiXhosa dictionaries is underway as Nkomo (2017:12) explains it:

[T]he promotion of official multilingualism in post-apartheid South Africa has culminated in the production of monolingual dictionaries in African languages such as isiXhosa and bidirectional bidirectional bilingual dictionaries that support the learning of

English together with African languages, from the foundation phase of basic education to tertiary education.

This is a commendable move towards recognizing learners as emergent bilinguals and their languages as pedagogical resources.

Assessments are done in English only. We also conclude from the findings of this study that there is a need to translate English questions to indigenous languages for the benefit of the speakers of these languages. The History/Geography teacher in this study expressed this need stating that it would help learners who are not proficient in English. It is believed that this exercise will help learners with the comprehension of the questions and thus improve their academic performance.

There is a need to open up monolingual educational spaces to multilingual education. Luckett (1993:48) states that all children have the right to have access to “a designated regional language (of student/parental choice)”. The current practice, particularly in monolingual schools, does not give speakers of indigenous languages access to these languages. As a result, some of these learners claim not to know isiXhosa, as one learner in a study conducted by Millar and Barris (2017:8) commented:

I only learned isiXhosa in Primary School and that was a very long time ago, as some of the words in isiXhosa I do not understand very well.

On the other hand, most learners who come from rural and township schools leave the FET phase not proficient in both their mother-tongue and their second language. This study concludes that it is imperative that learners are given access to their MT in classrooms and, that monolingual schools have to open up spaces for multilingual education.

Additive bilingualism. It transpired from the findings of this study that while CS is an important classroom strategy there is also a need to implement additive bilingualism so that full benefits of using the learners' mother-tongue as a pedagogical strategy can be realized. It is believed that this would contribute to the promotion of multilingualism in classroom settings. Therefore, one of the conclusions of this study is that additive bilingualism must be implemented as an imperative so that learners can develop full proficiency in their mother-tongue as well as their second language. However, the critique by D'Oliveira (2003) of the way additive bilingualism is being implemented in post-apartheid South Africa must be considered when implementing language policy (see chapter two).

Subtractive bilingualism. It was deduced from the findings of this study that because of the association of English with socio-economic development, parents opt for English medium schools. This is irrespective of the fact that in monolingual schools, the learners' success in language learning is based on the replacement of the learners' MT with the second language (Lockett, 1993).

CS as a teaching and learning strategy. It also emanated from this study that there is a need to develop strategies on how to use CS as a teaching and learning resource. It is in the light of this that this study attempted to develop a model on how to use CS as a teaching and learning strategy.

English-only classroom settings. Code-switching is used by teachers to resist exclusive use of English as the language of teaching and learning. It became clear from the findings of this study that exclusive use of English as a language of teaching and learning – under the pretext of

giving learners access to socio-economic advancement – does not necessarily empower economically learners who are not native speakers of the language of teaching and learning.

The teaching of English as a subject. It also transpired from the findings of this study that there is a need to improve the teaching of English as a subject. This would imply that learners would receive education in their mother-tongue. However, use of indigenous languages in teaching and learning is often viewed with suspicion by the speakers of these languages themselves. Fairclough (2001:193) argues that domination in modern society works “through ‘consent’ rather than ‘coercion’, through ideology, and through language.” In other words, they accept domination through language because their own languages were devalued as languages of education, commerce and power. After outlining the findings that transpired from data analysis, we now turn to a discussion of these findings.

7.7 DISCUSSION

This section discusses the findings which emerged from data analysis. It looks at the significance of these findings particularly as they relate to the use of the learners’ mother-tongue in educational settings. It has been noted already that most of the findings of this study are consistent with research findings of other studies on classroom CS (Dyers, 1998; Vesely, 2000; Dalvit, 2004; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004; Desai, 2001; Probyn, 2009). These studies generally agree that there is a need for the valorisation of the learners’ mother-tongue in educational settings.

While research studies concur on the pedagogical value of CS, the need to interrogate the use of CS in classroom situations remains crucial. This is the case because views that the

learners' second language has no place in classrooms are persistent. Hornberger and Chick (2001:51) support this assertion when they say; "mother-tongue instruction is still viewed with deep suspicion, and English is still the overwhelming preference for language instruction." On the other hand, the hegemony of languages like English is entrenched because of, among other things, their association with socio-economic advancement (Alexander, 2008). Nonetheless, it has been established through research that CS has a pedagogical value but there is a need for further research on how to use it as a communicative and academic resource (Lin, 2013).

As indicated in chapter two, early studies on CS came with findings which negatively characterised CS as a sign of linguistic incompetence (Weinreich, 1953). However, as research studies continued on the CS phenomenon, the old orthodoxy of monolingual norms was replaced with the new orthodoxy (Gardner-Chloros, 1995) which perceived CS as a normal feature of bilinguals (Muysken, 1995). Research studies on classroom CS took a similar trend (Martin-Jones, 1995) and began to view classroom CS as a pedagogical resource (Adendorff, 1993; Marawu, 1997; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004; Desai, 2003; Probyn, 2009). Similarly, it was observed in this study that teachers used CS to perform pedagogical functions as well as those which are embedded in a wider social context.

One of the main findings of this study relates to implementation of language policies in South Africa. While it is crucial for language policies to be designed in line with bilingual discourse practices in classrooms, implementation planning remains fundamental. It has been observed in this study that one of the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa is implementation of language in education policies (Kaschula and Maseko, 2017). It is averred that policy implementation will ensure optimum use of the learners' MT as academic resources.

Alexander (2012) agrees with Kaschula and Maseko (2017) that post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by lack of language policy implementation; “lack of implementation planning and, thus, of delivery, tends to negate the principle and to reduce it to mere lip service” (Alexander, 2012:2). This implies that language interests of previously marginalised people will not receive the attention they deserve. Furthermore, their languages will not play any significant role in education and socio-economic advancement.

Alexander (2012) goes on to argue that language policies are developed by governments to serve the interests of certain ‘classes’ and ‘social groups’:

“...it is not true that languages simply develop ‘naturally’, as it were. They are formed and manipulated within definite limits to suit the interests of different groups of people” (Alexander, 2012:2).

It goes without say that during the colonial era in South Africa language policies were designed to serve the interests of the white minority class. For example, the Anglicisation Policy of the Cape was meant to cater for the British and the entrenchment of their power and control of the Cape (Jansen, 1990; Du Plessis, 2003). Similarly, Dutch and later Afrikaans was used to serve the interests of its speakers and to subdue indigenous languages.

Therefore, it is imperative that there must be a concerted effort by the government and other stakeholders in education to ensure that previously marginalised languages are used as communicative and linguistic resources in classrooms. However, one of the challenges that confront language policy implementation in post-apartheid South Africa is dealing with “internalised” perceptions that indigenous languages have no role in education (Shannon, 1995).

As stated in chapter two, language planning and policy in South Africa evolved in different periods which were characterised by manipulation and development of English, Dutch and later Afrikaans as the 'legitimate languages' (Alexander, 2012:3). The domination of English in South Africa as the 'legitimate' language did not "simply develop 'naturally'" but was part of the strategy of the colonial government to entrench the position of English and impose it on its subjects. Manipulation of languages and their imposition as dominant languages is confirmed by the words of Smith to the amaXhosa chiefs when he said to them; "you shall all learn to speak English at the schools which I shall establish for you..." (Oakes, 1988:133-136).

In other words, indigenous languages in South Africa experienced centuries (from 1652 – 1994) of domination, subjugation and devaluation while the colonial government used the 'legitimate' languages to reproduce and sustain its political, social and economic system. Furthermore, through the system of education the 'legitimate' languages were produced and reproduced as languages of prestige, power and socio-economic advancement (Bourdieu, 2002).

Another significant finding of this study concerned the way the teachers articulated the switches from English to isiXhosa or from isiXhosa to English. As the teachers interacted with the learners using CS, it was noticeable that they expressed themselves so well that the alternation of the two languages in a single piece of discourse did not affect the syntactic and morphological structure of the recipient language or the donor language. For example, the teachers managed to formulate intra-lexical switches by attaching isiXhosa prefixes and suffixes to English words at the "spur of the moment" in order to convey the message to the learners (Martin-Jones, 1995). This confirms the view that CS is neither a deviation from monolingual

norms nor an idiosyncratic form of behaviour but a communicative code with a pedagogical value in classrooms (Boztepe, n.d.).

Furthermore, the teachers used lexical borrowings as part of their classroom interactive practices. The significance of the use of lexical borrowings is that where there is no equivalent translation of a word or words, the diachronic process of morphological and phonological integration of a lexical item will take place. In other words, this answers the criticism that indigenous languages have no equivalent terminology for science-based subjects. Maseko and Wolff (2017:40) explain this situation as follows:

The frequently deplored lack of specialised terminology for modern science-based communication in African languages often turns out to be a smoke-screen to veil the lack of effort by teachers and lecturers to use their own languages for (higher) learning and teaching. Many a good teacher in African schools on the ground does so simply in order to establish and maintain active learner involvement and classroom dialogue, and thus to create better learning effects.

In sum, teachers in this study used intra-lexical and lexical borrowings to “create better learning effects” for learners whose mother-tongue is not English but are expected to receive education through it. The ability of the teachers to use inter-lexical and intra-lexical switches in any part of the sentence shows that they do not code-switch because they are not proficient in English but rather use a feature of their everyday communicative practice in classrooms.

Furthermore, it became clear from the data analysed in this study that teachers use CS as a pedagogical resource to help learners grasp the gist of their lessons. This is confirmed by findings of other research studies on the use of isiXhosa as a pedagogical resource. For example, Dalvit (2004:89) has this to say about a study he conducted on the use of English/isiXhosa CS; “isiXhosa had a high integrative value and was generally considered very useful to explain technical terms and supplement explanations in English in class and tutorials”.

Another fundamental issue that comes to the fore – when the use of CS to enhance the learners’ understanding of the subject matter is raised – is the question of whether teachers should concentrate on the content of their subjects or the language that is used for teaching and learning. In this study, the units of analysis made it clear that they are not English teachers but teachers of content subjects. Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004:71) citing the views of a teacher in their study on language policies and practices in Tanzania and South Africa add this to the question of English as a medium of instruction:

I have been teaching English for the last 25 years, and to me a change to Kiswahili medium means...enhancing students’ understanding of the concepts of their subjects and hence creating grounds on which they can build their learning of English and other languages.

What the Tanzanian teacher raises here is of critical importance because it dispels the false notion that second language learners must be taught in their second language in order to master it. This ignores the fact that not all teachers are trained to teach English and therefore, cannot be expected to assist English teachers. This stems from, among other reasons, the fact that teachers of content subjects might not be proficient in English themselves (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004). In fact Potgieter and Anthonissen (2017:140) state that teachers “often exhibit low levels of English proficiency”.

Furthermore, the idea of using the learners’ L2 as a medium of instruction is based on equating attainment of education with mastering the second language (Lockett, 1993). This gives the false impression that if learners are not taught in their L2 they will not receive quality education or education at all. However, what is needed is “improved teaching of English language as a subject and not use it as a medium” (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004:71). This suggests a language teaching scenario where the learners’ mother-tongue would be used as the

medium of instruction and the second language would be taught as a subject. Therefore, instead of expecting all teachers to be English teachers, the system of education would be comprised of well trained teachers of English as a subject. Similarly, it would have teachers who are well trained on how to use the learners' mother-tongue as a medium of instruction.

Secondly, the Tanzanian teacher as cited in Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004) by saying use of the learners' mother-tongue would create "grounds on which they can build their learning of English and other languages" alludes to additive bilingualism (see Cummins, 1979; Lockett, 1993).

In spite of the linguistic benefits of additive bilingualism (see chapter two) most parents opt for the introduction of the learners' second language at the formative years of the children's school days. This is prevalent among the black elite who stay in suburbs and send their children to English-only schools. However, this leads to subtractive bilingualism and "when subtractive bilingualism occurs, a second language is learned at the expense of the first language, which it gradually replaces" (Lockett, 1993:46).

However, the majority of black children remain in government schools where there is no proper implementation of language policies (Kaschula, 2017) specifically additive bilingualism. That additive bilingualism is not implemented properly in schools manifests itself in low levels of articulation by learners in both English and isiXhosa (see Cummins, 1979). This situation is described by Potgieter and Anthonissen (2017:132):

The result of the current situation is that learners reach the end of their formal schooling with lower than expected levels of proficiency in both English and their mother-tongue.

As pointed out earlier, this leads to the creation of an elite black class (Kaschula, 2004; Alexander, 2008) as only a selected few have access to well-resourced former model C and private schools. This could be interpreted as what Lockett (1993) described – before the dawn of democracy in South Africa – as the possible reluctance of the black middle class to renounce their socio-economic status gained through a system of education that required them to excel in English:

It is thus the black middle classes who will structurally be in a position to curb the dominance of English and to enhance the status of the African languages, (and all further development, e.g. corpus planning and their use as languages of education depends on this). The paradox is that it is precisely their proficiency in English which presently guarantees the black middle classes their access to professional employment, civil service, state office etc. Their promotion of the African languages at the expense of English will to some extent require the black middle classes to “commit suicide as a class” (Lockett, 1993:54).

As Lockett (1993) predicted the black middle classes in South Africa (after now 23 years in democracy) have not committed “suicide as a class”. Among other things, this is due to the entrenched hegemony of English. Furthermore, there is a growing interest among black parents across the board to have their children educated through the medium of English. This is supported by the huge number of black learners who leave rural schools in pursuit of education in urban areas.

In addition to the critical issue of additive bilingualism and how it could contribute to language learning and attainment of education in general, it is imperative to also look at the socio-cultural value of the switches to the learners’ mother-tongue. The findings of this study show that CS does not only play a pedagogical role in classrooms but also a social role. If we consider the sociolinguistic approach to CS which according to Boztepe (n.d.) is a “discourse

phenomenon focusing its attention on questions such as how social meaning is created in CS and what specific discourse functions it serves". In this study, the social meaning of the teachers' CS instances was analysed using Grice's theory of implicature. The meaning of the teachers' CS utterances was scrutinised and then related to the classroom situation.

Fairclough (2001) and Alexander (2012) give prominence to the crucial role of language in the construction of social identities. Alexander (2012) highlights the importance of language as a transmitter of culture as follows:

The other source of the power of language is its function as a transmission mechanism of 'culture' or, more popularly, its role in the formation of individual and social identities (Alexander, 2012:3).

It became apparent in the classes that were observed in this study that the teachers were not only using the learners' mother-tongue to impart the content of the subjects to the learners but were moulding the "individual and social identities" of their learners. For example, the teachers in this study when responding to interview questions emphasised that their learners were amaXhosa and that "English is almost their third or fourth language" (see schedule of interview with the Geography/History teacher). Therefore, by switching to the learners' mother-tongue the teachers were not only imparting skills to meet the demands of the syllabus but were also using the learners' language to construct their social identity.

On the question of use of language in classrooms to transmit information and construct social identities, Fairclough (2001) adds this:

...language use – discourse – is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power (Fairclough, 2001:196).

Fairclough (2001) argues that it is important not to undermine the value of language as “constituting and reproducing social identities” in classrooms which he feels is often missing. In other words, if classrooms serve only as domains of task-oriented language learning while excluding creation of social identities, they will enhance “legitimised and naturalised orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 2001:198).

Finally, the other critical issue which emerged from the findings of this study pertains to the issue of assessment. It became clear from the data analyzed in this study that much as CS is a widespread phenomenon in schools, it does not feature in assessments. The importance of the use of the learners’ mother-tongue in assessments is mentioned in other similar studies (see Dalvit, 2004; Desai, 2001; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004). In most of these studies respondents argue that English questions must be translated to the vernacular. Having discussed the issues emanating from the findings of this study, the following section deals with what we deduce from this study.

7.8 DEDUCTIONS

This study explored how CS could be used as a pedagogical strategy in multilingual classroom settings. The main issue was how South African indigenous languages and specifically isiXhosa could be used a pedagogical resource. IsiXhosa is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. However, teachers and learners, who are predominantly mother-tongue speakers of isiXhosa, are expected to receive education through the medium of English. The reality of the situation is that learners in rural and urban schools struggle to study through the medium of English (Probyn, 2009). On the other hand, learners aspire to acquire English because of its

association with socio-economic advancement. Indigenous languages like isiXhosa continue to be devalued in educational spaces even though some of their speakers acknowledge that they are proud of these languages because they are part of their identity, heritage and culture.

This study observed how teachers used CS to alleviate the differences between the literacies of the home and the literacies of the school (Lin, 2013). Furthermore, teachers used CS to ensure that learners understood the content of their subjects. This leads to a dichotomous situation as teachers are expected to teach through the medium of English and at the same ensure that learners understood the content of their subjects. This study observed that while learners aspire to acquire English so that they can be an integral part of the country's economy – they fail to achieve the expected level of articulation in it. As a result, studying through the medium of English excludes them from accessing the economy.

It then became clear from the participants of this study that there is a tendency to associate attainment of education with proficiency in English. This leads to the situation where parents, teachers and learners continue to perceive education that is not offered in English as not quality education. Much as language in education policies have been developed in post-apartheid South Africa for the recognition of all languages, little progress has been made in implementing these policies (Kaschula and Maseko, 2017). As a result the country is shifting towards subtractive bilingualism instead of additive bilingualism (Lockett, 1993). This implies that there is a need for the question of mother-tongue instruction to be revisited in South Africa while exploring means and ways of offering English as a subject so that learners are not denied access to it since it remains a language of wider communication.

There is an urgent need in South Africa to recognize learners as emergent bilinguals. This implies that the government and all stakeholders in education must make a serious effort in ensuring that learners' indigenous languages are not devalued but rather spaces for multilingual teaching and learning are created within the system of education. As long as effort is not made to allow indigenous languages to play their role in education, misconceptions that these languages have no place in education will persist.

Research has proven that a learner's MT can be used as a foundation for second language learning (Cummins, 1979; Lockett, 1993). Therefore, there is no basis for the argument that for learners to acquire English, and thus education they must be denied access to their mother-tongue. Furthermore, teachers continue to use CS as a teaching and learning resource. They use CS because it is part of their communicative discourse. In other words, it is a code which allows them to unpack concepts in class with ease – it becomes the code teachers use to get things done in classrooms. As the case was with the English teacher in this study, teachers deliberately use CS to assist learners with the understanding of the subject matter.

Therefore, there is a paradox between what the language in education policies propagate and what takes place in classrooms. Use of CS in classrooms is determined by challenges and demands which teachers experience. Progress in the implementation of language in education policies, recognition of learners as emergent bilinguals and valorization of marginalized languages requires a concerted effort from all those involved in education. This will curtail the hegemony of English and the misconception that indigenous languages cannot play any role in education and economic development. The findings of this study confirmed

previous research on classroom CS thus enhancing the view that all languages have pedagogical value.

7.9 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

As unveiled in the literature review chapter, research on classroom CS has proven that CS is no longer regarded as an undesirable communicative practice in classrooms. Research studies that have been conducted on classroom CS have proven that CS, in addition to its social functions, also plays an educational role. However, Lin (2013) criticized research on classroom CS arguing that it tends to be descriptive and that there is a need to involve teachers and learners as researchers and not just participants. In other words, they must perform the research themselves.

Similar observations were made in the literature which was reviewed in this study. This implied there is a need to have studies on classroom CS that are going to solicit the views of the teachers and learners on their CS behaviour. This study is one of the studies that have elicited the views of teachers and learners in order to understand their interactive behaviour in classrooms as well as what their attitudes are towards classroom CS.

Another fundamental issue that transpired from the literature review chapter is that researchers agree that CS makes a meaningful contribution in classrooms but there are no strategies that have been developed on how it could be used as a pedagogical resource. As an attempt to meet this, replication of communication models was done in this study and these were extended to include use of two codes when interlocutors exchange meaning (see chapter

four). These communication models were modified in such a way that the communicative transaction they portray could be applied in a classroom situation.

This resulted in a communication model that uses two codes to encode and convey a message in a classroom situation. Moreover, the model also shows the receivers or learners decoding a message that was formulated in two codes. All the existing communication models do not portray interlocutors alternating codes in a single piece of discourse or communication transaction. It was realized in this study that it was crucial to use existing models in order to develop a model that will give an explanation of how teachers could use CS for the benefit of learners.

The findings of this study will be made available to the department of education. The Western Cape Department of Education has already asked for a copy of this thesis. It is hoped that this will enable the department to consider these findings and devise means of implementing them. In addition, CS has to be harnessed as a teaching and learning strategy with programmes on teacher development focusing on how it can be professionally implemented in classrooms settings.

Furthermore, issues arising from the findings of this study will be reformulated to academic papers which will be presented in national and international conferences as well as published in academic journals and as chapters in books. Some of the findings of this study which will be developed to academic articles for dissemination to a larger audience will focus on the following themes:

- The need to recognize indigenous languages as linguistic instruments that can be used in assessments.

- Creation of multilingual spaces in what are traditionally monolingual educational spaces must include translation to indigenous languages of keywords and concepts in textbooks.
- The deliberate use of the learners' mother-tongue in classrooms as an academic resource. This will include exploration of the phenomenon of translanguaging.
- The need to do 'conscience raising' among parents, learners, teachers and other stakeholders in education about the role that could be played by indigenous languages in education as opposed to the current state of affairs that continues to promote English as the language of teaching and learning, while devaluing indigenous languages.
- The question of subjugation and devaluation of indigenous languages and how this gets extended to the speakers of these languages (Shannon, 1995). It was noted that poor articulation in the dominant language is associated with low intelligence. Also, there is a tendency to be intolerant to language errors made by L2 speakers in their target language. In other words, the research will be on how to deal with internalization of perceptions of low status. .
- An overview of language education policy in South Africa with a special focus on post-apartheid South Africa and the continual exclusion and disempowerment of indigenous languages in the field of education.
- The critical issue of mother-tongue education will be revisited, interrogating the notion of additive bilingualism versus subtractive bilingualism and try to understand why the nation is shifting towards subtractive bilingualism.

- The emancipatory role of CS in South African classroom situations will also be scrutinized.

7.10 AGENDA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study set for itself five objectives and throughout this research each of these objectives was explored and achieved. However, in the process of conducting this investigation there are other issues which emerged and they require further research. These are outlined below:

1. The views of parents on CS and in particular use of the learners' mother-tongue in classrooms. While this study investigated the views of teachers and learners on the use of CS in classroom settings, there is a need to also include the views of parents. This is of critical importance because parents, in most cases, choose schools for their children and they opt for schools where the learners' L2 is the medium of instruction.
2. The other area that still needs further research concerns development of strategies on how to use the learners' mother-tongue in classrooms as a pedagogical resource.
3. It is hoped that the model that is proposed in this study will be revised by other researchers and developed further into more models on the use of CS as a pedagogical resource.

7.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

It transpired from the findings of this study that CS has an important role to play in classrooms as a language of teaching and learning. Secondly, much as learners and teachers are aware of the importance of English as a language of teaching and learning and that they need it for their social emancipation; they are equally aware of the value of their own languages. Thirdly,

teachers use CS to express the need for the social emancipation of learners. It became clear from the analysis that isiXhosa can be used as a pedagogical resource in order to assist learners to understand the content of their subjects. Fourthly, the findings of this study emphasized that learners are not just individuals who come to schools to have their mother-tongue replaced with their second language; rather they are emergent bilinguals who require recognition in educational settings. This recognition can be brought to fruition by ensuring that their languages are used in classroom settings as resources instead of being frowned upon as barriers to the learning of the second language.

The need to begin to find means and ways of using learners' languages in assessments came to the fore. It emerged from the findings of this study that use of CS in classrooms (and there is a widespread of this phenomenon in schools) will become a futile exercise if indigenous languages remain prohibited in assessments. On the other, for Afrikaans speaking learners, English questions are translated to Afrikaans in question papers. We deduced from the findings of this study that learners struggle to express themselves clearly in writing. It was felt that this would mean that mother-tongue education would be the option so that learners themselves during assessments can use their own languages. It became clear that in such a situation, English would be taught as a subject but teachers would need training on how to teach it as a subject. Implementation of indigenous languages as languages of teaching and learning would have to be done gradually.

The findings of this study are also discussed in this chapter so as to give a better understanding of their significance and how they relate to other research findings. This chapter also highlighted conclusions that are based on the findings of this study. For example, some of

the conclusions from the findings of this study are that textbooks must have translations of key terms and concepts to indigenous languages. Furthermore, there must be 'consciousness raising' of among others, teachers, learners and parents so that there would not just be submissive consent to use of second languages as the only languages that have pedagogical value. This chapter also presented the contribution of this study to knowledge as well as agenda for further research. It is hoped that use of the learners' mother-tongue will create spaces for multilingualism in what is currently monolingual spaces in educational contexts. The following chapter provides a synopsis of the main issues arising from this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

The main aim of this section is to provide a summation of the whole study focusing on the main points emanating from this study. In exploring the use of code-switching as a pedagogical strategy in classroom situations, this study first reviewed literature in non-educational contexts. This revealed the attitude of early research towards code-switching. For example, it transpired from the reviewed literature that early researchers on code-switching had a pejorative attitude towards the phenomenon of code-switching. They perceived CS as a linguistic interference that occurred as a result of the exposure of bilinguals to more than one language.

Conversely, early studies on CS contributed immensely in the study of CS as researchers began to interrogate the monolingual perspective from which it studied code-switching. In other words, early research on CS ironically stimulated interest on bilingual discourse. This led to a remarkable shift from the old orthodoxy which perceived CS as an aberrant form of discourse behaviour to a new orthodoxy that acknowledged it as a normal feature of bilingual discourse. Studies on CS revealed that it requires a tremendous amount of linguistic skills for anyone to articulate themselves competently and proficiently in more than one language in a single piece of discourse.

Increased interest on the study of CS led to the development of new approaches and models. For instance, we can mention the structural approach and the sociolinguistic approach to the study of code-switching. While the structural approach focused on the grammatical aspects of the switches, the sociolinguistic approach attempted to understand how social meaning was created through CS as well as the discourse functions of code-switching. Furthermore, the study by Blom and Gumperz (1972) took research on CS to another dimension

(particularly the notion of situational and metaphorical CS) as they also contributed to the development of the interactive/interpretive model. The development of Myers-Scotton's markedness model is worth mentioning as this model has been used in many studies on code-switching.

Studies on CS in non-educational contexts also served as a basis for classroom CS, which according to Myers-Scotton (1995) took hold in the mid-1970s. It was noticeable that studies on classroom CS underwent similar research trends as studies on CS in non-educational contexts.

Studies on classroom CS had to deal with the question of negative attitudes towards use of CS in classroom situations. There was a perception that CS could not be used in classrooms as it might have a negative impact on bilingual education. For example, early studies on classroom CS were concerned that if teachers used the learners' L2 a lot that might affect the development of their L1 (see chapter two). Similarly, in countries like South Africa the concern is that if there is too much use of the learners' L1 in classrooms that might affect the rate of second language learning – this is complicated by the fact that learners receive education through the medium of their L2.

As more research was done on classroom CS, researchers developed new approaches and models. Among these we can mention the functional coding analysis which was used in early research on classroom CS. Additionally; there is also interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication which were prevalent in studies conducted in the 1990s up to the beginning of the twenty first century. These models and approaches to classroom CS led to the emergence of an integrated approach to research on bilingual education as well as concentration on the analysis of the functions of classroom discourse. All these research

developments occurred because CS was no longer perceived as an undesirable linguistic element in classrooms but an essential pedagogical resource which teachers relied on to share information with learners.

A call for new approaches to the study of classroom CS has been made by Lin (2013) arguing that there is a need for a design interventionist approach, that is, an approach that would be collaborative research of teachers, learners and researchers. In this study it was realised (after reviewing literature on classroom CS) that there is a need for development of new strategies on how to use CS in classrooms as a pedagogical resource. In this regard, a model that depicts how CS could be used as an intervention strategy in educational contexts has been developed (see chapter five).

As the focal point of this study was an investigation of CS as a pedagogical strategy in classroom settings, the researcher observed three teachers in different schools as they interacted with their learners. Critical classroom ethnography was used in order to understand the interactive behaviour of the teachers. Furthermore, it was imperative for this study to scrutinise how teachers constructed meaning as they interacted with their learners. Grice's theory of implicature was used in order to analyse the teachers' discourse behaviour and in particular to understand how they negotiated meaning with learners.

There are other issues that came to the fore in this study. One of these pertains to the purpose of using the learners' language in classrooms. Is it used to help learners improve proficiency and competence in their L2? Is it used to perform social or pedagogical functions? With reference to the first question, in this study CS was not used to improve the learners' proficiency and competence in their second language. While the teachers were aware of the

official status of English as a medium of instruction, they used isiXhosa so as to help the learners to understand the content of their subjects. Moreover, it transpired in this study that CS was used to perform both social and pedagogical functions.

The other issue that is worth noting is that teachers in classrooms are faced with a dichotomous situation. This descends from the need to teach in English learners who are not proficient and competent in English while at the same time they are expected to respond to the demands of the syllabus. The teachers in this study explained that learners from rural and township areas struggle to learn through the medium of English. In addition, teachers stated that they CS because they have to make sure that learners understand the content of their subjects. However, they pointed out that the challenge with the use of indigenous languages is that textbooks are written in English and that assessments are conducted in English.

The question of the hegemony of English specifically in South Africa remains critical. From my interaction with the learners and the teachers, it became clear that some speakers of the indigenous languages view with disdain their own languages while embracing English because of its prestigious position as a language of power, economy and education. In other words, while learners are aware that they struggle to master the euphemisms of English, they still aspire to be taught through it because it still plays a prominent role as a language of accessing socio-economic advancement.

It is not only teachers and learners who prefer English medium education but also parents. In actual fact, parents make the choice for their children – and they choose English medium education. This is what Bourdieu (2002) called the collaboration of parents in the destruction of their own means of expression. This happens in post-apartheid South Africa.

However, it needs to be stated that this study did not solicit the views of parents on the use of CS in classroom settings – and this emerges as one of the limitations of this study which is due to the fact that this critical issue did not fall within its scope. Therefore, it would be imperative for future research to investigate the attitudes of parents towards classroom CS.

Another issue that emerged in this study is elitism. Children in rural and township schools do not have access to well-resourced schools where the language of teaching and learning is English only. What this implies is that in post-apartheid South Africa there is creation of a black class of learners who will have access to socio-economic advancement, and those are the children of the black middle class. On other hand, those learners who come from rural and township schools, which have woefully inadequate teaching and learning facilities, will remain excluded from the “formal markets” (Bourdieu, 2002:21) because of their inability to express themselves fluently in English, the language of accessing economic development. In sum, through the system of education there is development of a class of black people (and these are in the majority) who will be excluded from being an integral part of the country’s economy.

Development of underdevelopment through the system of education will persist as long as domination, subordination and devaluation of indigenous languages remain in place. This was the pattern during all the various periods of colonial domination where language policies and planning were designed in such a way that they excluded black people from socio-economic development. On the other hand, post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by lack of language policy implementation as observed by Kaschula and Maseko (2017). During the colonial period indigenous languages were subdued while colonial languages were promoted as legitimate languages.

However, attempts that are made in various South African institutions of higher learning to promote multilingualism and intellectualisation of African languages are commendable. More needs to be done to ensure that parents come on board so that they can begin to value their own languages and opt for a system of education that promotes additive bilingualism instead of subtractive bilingualism. This can only happen when all the stakeholders are actively involved in the valorisation of African languages.

It is critically important that indigenous languages are used as pedagogical resources in all the bands of education. The reality of the situation is that South Africa is a multilingual country; therefore it is important to embrace linguistic diversity and use it as a resource for the benefit of all the people of South Africa and beyond. Any attempt to shift the country towards monolingual education will exclude and disempower the majority of learners who come from deprived backgrounds.

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INTERNET SOURCES

<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-04-matric-2016-pass-rate-up-slightly-despite-progressed-pupils/#.Wh4NPtKWbIU>

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CONSENT LETTERS

REFERENCE: 20160323-9014

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Mr Sithembele Marawu
39 Park Royal
Parklands Main Road
Milnerton
7441

Dear Mr Sithembele Marawu

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: CODE-SWITCHING AS A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY IN CLASSROOM SETTINGS: THE CASE OF TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

- Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
- Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
- The Study is to be conducted from **02 May 2016 till 31 August 2016**
- No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
- Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
- Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

DATE: 23 March 2016

REFERENCE: 20160323-9014

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Mr Sithembele Marawu
39 Park Royal
Parklands Main Road
Milnerton
7441

Dear Mr Sithembele Marawu

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: CODE-SWITCHING AS A PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGY IN CLASSROOM SETTINGS:
THE CASE OF A TOWNSHIP SCHOOL IN A SOUTH AFRICAN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY**

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Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.

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- Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
- The Study is to be conducted from **01 March 2017 till 31 August 2017**
- No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
- Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
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- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 07 February 2017

APPENDIX 2: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW WITH THE ACCOUNTING TEACHER

No.	Questions	Teacher's response
1.	I observed that you used code-switching (CS) a lot, why?	Remember these learners... their home language is isiXhosa and they are coming from schools where most of instructions were received in isiXhosa. When they comprehend any new concepts they first try to understand it in isiXhosa then change to English because they are isiXhosa speakers. Secondly, challenge that we have...half of the class...they are coming from the Eastern Cape...explaining in English to them you are really not accommodating them...its like totally excluding them in your lesson. We encounter problems...when they have to do presentation they end up obtaining lower marks as compared to when they write a formal task.
2.	Is CS not going to make it difficult for the learners to know English?	From experience learners who come from Eastern Cape do much better as compared to Cape Town born learners. No CS won't affect their content...that is Accountitng or Life Science.
3.	Do you think English should continue being used as the language of teaching all subjects?	Yes! We are preparing a rainbow nation. Moreover when they leave school for tertiary...English is the medium of instruction, textbooks are written in English. English should continue until such time textbooks are written in isiXhosa or question papers are written in our mother-tongue and even interviews are conducted in isiXhosa.
4.	When you use isiXhosa in class, are you doing so for the learners to understand the content of the subject?	Definitely, yes...most of the concepts especially in EMS... these concepts are new to the learners...they first hear of them in grade 7 and then proceed to grade 8 without really understanding them. Fortunately, failing EMS does not have much 'weight' that the learners can be retained in grade 7. If the learner has failed that area, it falls in the bracket where a learner can obtain...he or she can proceed to another grade.

5.	They say all teachers are English teachers, in other words there must be no CS in class so that learners can get a chance of being exposed to English? Or do you think the teaching of English to learners must be left to the English teachers?	Partially, yes. We should not be crucified for code-switching in class. Here we are assisting learners to choose their carriers...experience has shown us that numbers are depreciating in Accounting because learners lack understanding and interest in the subject because they have to do analysis in English...we cannot do away with it (English) but if also they can be allowed to express themselves in isiXhosa or the question be asked in English and isiXhosa...then they give answers in English...that can help. Numbers for the Accounting subject can increase.
6.	I also observed that you allow learners to respond in isiXhosa. Any particular reason (s) for this?	Those who are not allowed to respond in isiXhosa, I feel they are not fully involved in the lesson, they drop their hands immediately. If I recommend English...then I will end up that day not the having full assessment I am looking for...that is there will be no feedback from the learners.
7.	Assessment is done in English. Do you think questions should be translated to isiXhosa for learners to understand what is required from them?	Yes! Because questions that are left unanswered by learners are left not because learners were not taught but they could not understand the language or answers are given in incorrect English making it difficult for the teacher to understand what the learners is trying to say.

8.	When you mark scripts, do you mark wrong the learners who are unable to put in English the answer even if the content is correct? Or you focus on the correctness of the content?	I am not the language teacher...if the key concept is there...to the right answer...the learners will be marked correct.
9.	When you used CS in class, I had a feeling that you were passing the message that these learners might as well be taught in isiXhosa. What is your view on that?	Yes...to increase the passing rate...passing rate numbers. I want them to focus and not to give up hope as they usually do, thus getting the impression the EMS is difficult.
10.	In other countries of the world, particularly first world countries, learners are taught in their mother-tongue. Do you think we should do the same in South Africa?	Yes, for better understanding until such time isiXhosa is left out as medium of instruction...that is from primary school. Globally the world has changed...we cannot run away from the fact that these learners are exposed to too much technology...that is technology is doing almost everything for them...smart phones and computers have taken place...they research...using google assist to look for words. The TV is doing the talking and they narrate in their mother-tongue...+/- 40% could be masters in English without having been taught.

APPENDIX 3: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW WITH THE HISTORY/GEOGRAPHY TEACHER

No.	Questions	Teacher's response
1.	I observed that you used code-switching (CS) a lot, why?	Yes almost 80% if not 90% of our learners are isiXhosa home language learners. For them to understand what the teachers are teaching, isiXhosa and English must be used to explain concepts of History and Geography in my case. English is almost the third or fourth language to our learners.
2.	Is CS not going to make it difficult for the learners to know English?	English is not easy for our learners. More often we need to mix these languages. CS is not saying that kids cannot learn English but rather their English is not as easy as it should be.
3.	Do you think English should continue being used as the language of teaching all subjects?	When learners are failing, no one is attributing failure to language. Language is playing a critical role in a learning environment. English cannot continue to become the only language of learning and teaching, it will disadvantage those who cannot really understand it. We often take cognisance of the fact that our learners are not English speakers, they are Xhosa speakers.
4.	When you use isiXhosa in class, are you doing so for the learners to understand the content of the subject?	Yes, for my History and Geography it is helping me to clarify concepts and entire contents. At times we find it difficult to engage learners because we are happy to be engaged by learners. We want to tell when learners are part of the lesson, if they are answering question and ask questions, in this regard we use isiXhosa for these above reasons.

5.	They say all teachers are English teachers, in other words there must be no CS in class so that learners can get a chance of being exposed to English? Or do you think the teaching of English to learners must be left to the English teachers?	If we all do that, we will be disadvantaging our learners. There are learners who understand English, there are those who do not understand until I explain in isiXhosa. When learners write their tasks in class, I use English questions as per the requirement.
6.	I also observed that you allow learners to respond in isiXhosa. Any particular reason (s) for this?	Yes, I do this because... if I could I could not that class will not engage me. Learners will not ask questions. They sit there and keep quiet, which is what I do not want. I do not want because I know very well that our learners understand and speak isiXhosa at home.
7.	Assessment is done in English. Do you think questions should be translated to isiXhosa for learners to understand what is required from them?	Every year when results are out, no one says something about the lack of adequate English...understand? Translation of questions to isiXhosa would lift a burden for us in our schools even if its just the translation of questions only and allow learners to respond in English.

8.	When you mark scripts, do you mark wrong the learners who are unable to put in English the answer even if the content is correct? Or you focus on the correctness of the content?	Our system does not allow us to mark English. We mark answers rather than English mistakes...the department recognises that aspect...they understand that English is another language.
9.	When you used CS in class, I had a feeling that you were passing the message that these learners might as well be taught in isiXhosa. What is your view on that?	History, particularly in my case and in my experience...History and isiXhosa share some similarities ((this teacher also teaches isiXhosa to the same class)). There are topics that can be better communicated and discussed in isiXhosa.
10.	In other countries of the world, particularly first world countries, learners are taught in their mother-tongue. Do you think we should do the same in South Africa?	At our school, we had the opportunity to have visitors from England who were also teachers. They lambasted our system. They asked me when we are trying to formulate school language policy, we did it incorrectly. They asked how could we allow this law to disadvantage our learners because English is a third language to our kids. It is time for South Africa to consider offering mother-tongue education.

APPENDIX 4: LEARNERS' VIEWS ON CLASSROOM CS

Research objective: to establish the learners' perspective about the use of code-switching as a learning strategy

This questionnaire is divided into three sections: the first section requires information about yourself; the second section seeks to find out your general knowledge about the use of English and isiXhosa as languages of teaching and learning; and the third section asks questions relating to your attitude towards use of code-switching in classrooms.

Kindly note that the information you give in this questionnaire will be used for academic purposes only, and will be treated as confidential. Please answer all questions honestly and accurately.

Section A: Demographic Information

Please indicate your choice with an X

➤ **Indicate your first language?**

- Afrikaans English isiNdebele isiXhosa isiZulu Sesotho sa Lebowa
 Sesotho Setswana siSwati Tshivenda Xitsonga Other:

➤ **Which other language/s do you also use?**

- Afrikaans English isiNdebele isiXhosa isiZulu seSotho sa Lebowa
Sesotho Setswana siSwati Tshivenda Xitsonga Other:

➤ **How old are you?**

-

➤ **What is your gender?** Female Male

➤ **How would you classify yourself?** African Coloured Indian
White

- Other:

SECTION B:

Answer the following questions by stating whether they are true or false. Please indicate your choice with an X

	True	False	Sustain
English is the only language that can be used for teaching and learning in South Africa.			
isiXhosa can also be used as a language of teaching and learning			
We cannot get jobs if we are taught in isiXhosa.			
I struggle to understand my teacher if she/he speaks English only in class.			
I can do well in my studies if I can be taught in isiXhosa only.			
I do not talk in class because I am afraid of making errors in English.			
I can do well in my studies if I can write examinations in isiXhosa.			
My teacher does not allow us to speak isiXhosa in class.			
Many of our teachers explain difficult words to us in isiXhosa.			
It is important for us to be taught in English so that we can get jobs.			
English is more important than isiXhosa.			
After school we speak isiXhosa at home.			
We speak isiXhosa during class discussions.			
We speak to our teachers in isiXhosa.			

APPENDIX 5: ACCOUNTING LESSON

Ps: yes!

T: The journal that you are used to now, maybe it is the 5th or 6th time that you see this journal on the board. Could you please take out the book that you use to write this...to write the journal. Can you please quickly write down the columns and the headings on the board...2 minutes only.

Ps: yes mam

T: ((teacher talks to a student)) This is a ledger, I'm talking about the CRJ...ubojonga nakulo usecaleni kwakho umntwana ukuba ubhale ntoni, unga weyisti ixesha.

T: This is what I don't like about you guys, always xa ubhalayo start with your heading. Today's date, your heading, then your columns...

T: ((moves around class and stops to talk to one learner)) Nantsi, yekabani le ncwadi? kutheni ungabhali?

T: Ndithe 2 minutes, uyakhuphela awucingi, ukhuphela into ebhalwe ndim...((teacher moves around checking if the learners are writing in the correct book etc))

T: ((teacher stops and talks to a learner)) Uyabhora wena, uyakufunda nini ukubhala kule ncwadi ((shows the learner the book to use)) asiyiyo lena ...iworse nanku umntu ecaleni kwakho ubhala kwindawo eright...wena ubhala kwindawo ewrongo...yessess, yerrr.

T: Stop writing...right class...who can tell me what are credit sales? What are credit sales? Credit sales...we have been dealing with this last week and the beginning of this week. What are credit sales kanene?

P: Kukunika umntu istalk ngetyala, engabhatalanga.

T: Uthi kukunika umntu istalk ngetyala, engabhatalanga...unyanisile nerh

Ps: Yes mam

T: icredit sales happen when you are exchanging igoods nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: ...on credit basis...no money involved...that is credit sales.

T: What do you understand by the term credit, in isiXhosa?

P: Ityala

T: Credit class means ityala ((learners say ityala at the same time with the learners))

- T: What is National Credit Act? National Credit Act? Let us first start with the word Act. What is National Credit Act? Let us start with Act. Ndanditheni ngala mini? What do we mean by Act? National Credit Act, I did explain this.
- P: Ngumthetho
- T: Ngumthetho nerh, inantsika iAct its either ngumthetho okanye yilaw...ixesha elininzi xa simamele ezinantsikeni eTVini sibone phaya kuxoxwa amatyala...nasezifilimini kubekho ijaji...kuthiwe pha according to Act No bani-bani le nto ayimelanga itheni...yenzeke so xa kusithiwa according to that Act kukowutwa lo mthetho.
- T: what do you understand by the NCA? Ngumethetho otheni? NCA
- P: Ngumthetho okhusela icustomers
- T: Khwaza [aloud]
- P: Ngumthetho okhusela icustomers
- T: It is the law that protects consumers...there what ...consumers
- P: Consumers ((uttered at the same time with the teacher))
- T: class on our board we have the cash receipt journal...we have seen that when we buy goods on credit...where do we record these nantsika...those people or those customers? When we sell goods on credit where do we record our debtors, kanene?
- P: in the debtors' journal.
- T: in the debtors' journal...in our debtors' journal. When our debtors are returning the stock, where do we record that? Erh...those people okanye those customers? When our debtors are returning the stalk if the stalk is damaged okanye you have got a complaint...you are not happy or something has happened, where do we record? Heh?
- P: Debtors' allowance journal.
- T; Debtors' allowance journal, so today we are going to see what happens now xa idebtors zethu zibhatala? Sibonile xa idebtors zithenga istakhwe ngetyala. Xa zitheni? Xa zithenga ngetyala ((articulated at the same time with the pupils)).
- P: Zithenga ngetyala
- T: ...when they are buying stalk on credit. And then sabona naxa bebuyisa istalk besithi no esisistalk esi asikho happy siso. Kanene, what is...what is a debtor, Vuyo? What is adebtor?
- P: lityala, mam
- T: No... no... no. I am not talking about debt but debtor. What is a debtor? I am not talking about debt. Idebt lityala. Now I want to know what is a debtor? Ingathi kanti asiyazi nale nto sithetha ngayo.

- P: Ngumntu otyalayo
- T: Ngumntu otyalayo, so ababantu besibanika ezigoods singabanikin kuba sibapha nerh. Besibanika kuba sibathini ngokwesiXhosa...kuba sibakwelitisa...siyaba? Kwelitisa.
- Ps: Kwelitisa ((articulated at the same with the teacher))
- T: so they have to pay back. On the board class nerh, apha now uzakubona une column entsha oqondayo uba le icolumn uyaqala ukuyibona, yeyiphi?
- Ps: Debtors' control
- T: Debtors' control, meaning that column...in that column we are going to record phaya nerh...when our debtors are paying their debt. Uyandiva ke ngoku ...uyaliva elagama lika debt liyavela...nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Phaya kula debtors' control column we are going to record when our debtors, meaning ababantu abatyalayo nerh...
- Ps: Yes!
- T: When our debtors are paying their ntoni? Their debt...so we are going to see how to record inantsika...nantsika...payment of debtors.
- Ps: Yes!
- T: ((issues handouts)) Ndicela udlulise umntu one-one ukuya kutsho kubhuti phaya eback. Nawe dlulisa one-one-one...ha-a sanudlala ((referring to learners who were playing with each other)) ...khawulezisa ndilinde nina. Wonke umntu unayo icopy phambi kwakhe?...wonke umntu unecopy phambi kwakhe class? X-tra copies...they must come back to me please...alright!
- Ps: Yes mam
- T: in fornt of us we have got phaya nerh...unit 6...money received from debtors....meaning now those people who were taking out stalk on credit or ngetyala again okanye they were taking stalk on debt meaning ngetyala again...then now they are going to pay us now. How to record money from debtors? We are now going to read from the first paragraph .
- P: ((reading as instructed))
- T: Ngubani onokhwaza, uyakwazi ukufunda but funa onokhwaza
- P: ((another pupil takes over and reads))
- T: phaya class we are reading about 2 documents. When a debtor pays the business, the business will give the debtor an original receipt and the duplicate receipt will be retained by the business.

- T: Mamelake, ndifuna ujonge apha kum kengoku. Ndifuna sohlule phakathi kwe-original and duplicate receipts. What is the difference between original and duplicate receipts? Xa uye...erh... sense i-example odla ngoyibona kakuhle, xa use impahla e-dry clean okanye use isihlangu sakho shoemaker nerh...into eyenzakayo uye ubhalelwe phaya mos kwi receipt kubuzwe igama lakho, i-address yakho, i-phone no. yakho zonke i-details andithi?...nerh
- P: Yes!
- T: after that kubhalwe yintoni ozoyenza okanye zintoni ezi uzozishiya apha. Emva koko la sisi lowa after egqibile uzosayina...abhale ukuba ukucharger malini. ..akrazule so xa ekrazula uzakunika isiqinisekiso, isiqinisekiso yintoni? Yi-source document. Akugqiba uzakunika i-receipt yakho...wena xa uphuma e-shop uphuma nantoni? Uphuma ne-original receipt...yena kula ncwadi ushiyeka nantoni? Ne-duplicate
- Ps: Duplicate
- T: I original ihambe nawe...iduplicate ishiyeke nabani?
- Ps: nonobusiness
- T: siyevana nerh. Siyawubona umahluko phakathi kwe-original ne-duplicate nerh?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Let's move...in front of us in that example we have the example of JJ Electronics...they sell their goods in cash or on account. Use the information from the journal document of JJ Electronics to prepare the Cash Receipt Journal and then u Vuyo ((astudent)) has already told us where we record our debtors...where do we record our debtors...he told us idebtors zethu we record them in our ntoni? In our debtors' journal.
- Ps: our debtors' journal
- T: the purpose of the debtors' journal is to record all the customers that owe the business ntoni?
- Ps: Money
- T: Andithi mos class?
- Ps: Yes
- T: Idebtors' journal ipurpose yayo is to record all the customers or intone? All the debtors who owe the business money. So now we want to see what happens xa ezidebtors...they are paying us this particular instalment okanye...okanye these payments, OK?
- Ps: infront of us we are given there...erh...journal of JJ Electronics for July 2006. I am not going to read as you can see...and then ...I just want to take B. Ben on the 3rd column. uB. Ben when he was buying istalk on credit, we gave him invoice no301, the date was

the 3rd ...Name of the debtor B. Ben and then we have the amount of sales and the amount yantoni?

T: ye-cost of sales. Between those amounts yeyiphi iamount uB. Ben asi-owa yona? ((teacher is reading from the board and illustrating the different columns in the journal of JJ Electronics))

T: People when I'm reading you must put your pens down ((she says this emphatically to indicate how she hates it)) ...and look where I'm reading from. Uzakuba nehomework ungakwazi ukumuva ekhaya because ububhala wena...right ndiyaphinda kwakhona iquestion yam nerh! From the 2 amounts that are in front of you, we've got inantsika, inantsika transaction phaya yange 3rd, we have iamount of sales, we've got ...yeyiphi iamount uBen ameLe uBen usi-owa yona okanye a-owa uJJ Electronics phaya?

Ps: cost of sales

T: cost of sales, can you please next time raise your hand when you know the answer? Ndisaphinda ndiyabuza, yeyiphi imali uBen as-owa yona ? ((pupil raises her hand)) ewe sisi.

P: cost of sales

T: anyone onenye impendulo...wonke umntu uthi yi-cost of sales. What is the difference between cost of sales and sales? Yintoni umahluko? What is the difference between that amount of cost of sales and sales? ((pointing at the board))

T: what makes imali yecost of sales bigger than le ye-sales?

P: cost of sales mam, yimali ibusiness ethenge ngayo i-goods

T: Niyaqala ukuyiva lento uZola ayithethayo, heh?

Ps: No mam

T: Kutheni inibhida nje namhlanje. Khawuphinde Zola kwakhona. I-cost of sales yintoni?

P: i-cost of sales yimali ibusiness ethenge ngayo.

T: What is a debtor class?

P: ngumntu...

T: Ha-a khanikhumshe ngoku

P: is a person...

T: Otheni?

P: who owes the business money

T: is a person who owes the business money

APPENDIX 6: HISTORY LESSON

- T: those headings ...pha ndifuna ukuqonda ukuba how, when, and why the Second World War (WW2) ...pha ndifuna ukuqonda iWW2 yaqala nini, phi xa kwakutheni ukuze, njani ukuze iphele nerh?...now phambili sinazo eza ikey terms ((to a student)) yiyeke leyo yiGeography...silapha apho sikhoyo ngoku, sisenza iHistory...1. We have what we call the Potsdam declaration or Proclamation issues by Britain to force Japan to surrender...demanding Japan to surrender...to lay down the tools erh the arms sorry. Pha Ok the word *surrender* means bavume ukoyiswa...banikezele...*Demand*...ukunyanzelwa babeke phantsi izixhobo...*Atomic bombs* zezabombs zabo zinobungozi ezanuclear powers...ezabombs zabo zinobungozi ((teacher unpacks in isiXhosa the terms he thinks the learners will not understand))
- Ps: yes teacher
- T: nail elinye igama class *ignoble* ...means not honourable...that is why Japan could not just give up...could not just stop the war. Now let's go back class siyojonga pha...ndifuna ke ngoku nimamele kakuhle kuba nlesson...izobhala iessay apha as soon as you are done with our...ya funeka nibhale iessay now...
- T: class in 1945 Germany had surrendered already by that time ...there were two countries...USA...sathi ke ngoku on the other side we have USSR...USSR kengoku yi-Russia. Now sithi kengoku class these were the two countries that were still standing at the time nerh
- Ps: Yes
- T: the other countries had already given up...now iGermany...Germany ngo 1945... iRussia yayisaqhubeka i-fighteri-Japan. ne-USA nayo isaqhubekela fighting iJapan from the other side. Ne-USSR nayo isaqhubekela fighting Japan.
- T: Now what happened is i-Japan at this time didn't just give up...they did not want to be ignoble...to be defeated just like that...nerh
- P: Yes
- T: they wanted to show their citizens that they were not cowards...they just didn't want to be gnable....at this time Japan was the only country that was prepared to fight the USSA together nene Russia nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: we said class that Russia and USA were part of the allies in the WW2 because at the time they were fighting one enemy...their enemy was Nazi Party in Germany nerh

Ps: now xa sigqitha nayo class...there was this forced down declaration... issued by China, Britain, USA...these countries were demanding that Japan must lay down its arms...surrender...the word surrender class ndifuna ukuligxininisa...babenyanzelisa ukuba mabayeke ukulwa mabeke phantsi iarms zabo...but Japan did not allow such a situation to happen, nerh...

Ps: Yes

T: because we said earlier they were not ignoble...they were not cowards

Ps: Yes

T: now that is why they did not just give up because they believed that they can win the war. Because class remember we said before...sathi...USA earlier announced that they were no longer going to trade with Japan...i-Japan, i-Italy were all totalitarian states...babene common idea. ...before babethengiselana neUSA...baberhweba...ukurhweba is to trade lanto yokuba bathengiselane igoods/into zabo kwamanye amazwe. Nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: USA at the time yayiseyifuna one part of China which was called Hiroshima...that part of China had mineral resources...that's why China did not want to stop fighting...they also believed they could win the war. At the time the USA announced that they were not going to trade with them ((yimani referring to students outside))

T: Japan did not surrender...instead what they did...they sent more soldiers to fight...they continued to fight. The only thing that was left at that time was that the USA had armed itself with atomic bombs...andithi...i-atomic bombs zezibulala kakhulu abantu...zinobungozi that is why zingafunwa. Azifunwa eza atomic bombs ziyoyikwa nangoku elizweni...because why? They are very dangerous. Then that is how we got to....what you call the nuclear age now. Nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: now USA xa sihamba nayo class...used the bombs...atomic bombs... they identified areas in Japan...yiya pha kupage 133...check the area ((instructing a learner to check the area on the map)) Nakasaki is the area where the first atomic bomb was used...it was used by the USA. Nerh

Ps: Yes teacher

T: there are two places they identified, Hiroshima...iHiroshima bayi ayidentifaya because ...they identified it because it had many factories that were producing arms for Japan nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: Second place was Nakasaki. It was identified as having a dock yard that built warships...nayo yayiyi area apho i-arms zase Japan were built. That is why pha sisithi it was a nuclear age. It was the start of nuclear weapons ((he explains the first plane that dropped the bomb)) it was the first plane to drop atomic bombs because they believed that Hiroshima was where many factories that built arms were found...in that city. The second one it was also where they believed Japan manufactured arms pha, nerh

Ps: Yes teacher

T: that is why they had to drop eza bombs pha...because i-Japan did not want to give up. People were prepared to fight with stones because they wanted to defend i-areas zabo...nerh

Ps: Yes teacher

T: Now we said earlier by the time i-USA was using the bombs most areas were also taken back...Japan lost some areas...they were invaded by China...into ebangela ke ngoku i-atomic bombs ngo 1945 bayi yiyuze it was because i-Japan was resisting. It was difficult for them to just let go. They continued to fight because they at the back of their mind, they could still win the war nerh

Ps: Yes teacher

T: but it was not to be the case because i-USA ...they saw ukuba soldiers were dying on both sides...it means there were soldiers dying from the USA side as well as the side of Japan. So USA decided to drop the first atomic bomb in 1945...check phaya encwadini yakho erh...u...u...siyafumana pha ukuba then USA leader...at the time was Roosevelt and in Russia it was Stalin. Both leaders agreed that it was the time to end the war in Japan...they wanted to make sure Japan understood what was at stake...

T: the first bomb...the first bomb that was dropped was called the 'little boy'. Let's look at the effect of this bomb pha kupage 133...nerh

Ps: Yes

T: we have a case study pha kupage 133 in Hiroshima the bomb killed 132000 people on the day it was dropped...this shows you class how dangerous the atomic bomb was...what they called the nuclear bomb, nerh

Ps: Yes

T: by the time it was dropped in Hiroshima...it killed about 80000 people...160 square metres of the city was destroyed...abantu ke ngoku babulawa zezozinto...then people who were killed...the casualties...total number of people who were killed were 145000...nerh

Ps: yes

T: in Nakasa the bomb killed 70000 people on the day it was dropped...the other 40000 died from injuries and radiation...which means they did not see the dangers of the bomb they were using...they dropped the first one and dropped the second one...if you add up these numbers...i-number of people abaswelekayo iya ko-200000 something...then turn to the following page...

T: when did the war come to an end? Let's look at the two terms that are there class...*sovereignty* the top and the only supreme rule. You see class pha i-country xa kuthiwa ine-sovereignty it means yona inegunya lokuzilawula...nerh

Ps: Yes

T: umzekelo i-South Africa ine sovereignty...which means izimele...i-Zimbabwe is a country with its own sovereignty ...we cannot have a case where South Africa can decide what Zimbabwe must do because Zimbabwe izimele andithi?

Ps: yes

T: ne SA..that is what the word sovereignty means...nerh

Ps: yes

T: then the second one is *obliteration*...complete destruction...nothing is left...lento sibone isenzeka e-Japan because most people were killed because the dropping of that bomb was obliteration. Now ...what we must we must understand here is that part of why USA used the bomb...they could see that Russia was taking some parts of Japan and China...nerh

Ps: yes

T: babefuna la area ine-mineral resources...now xa usuka ke ngoku...the next step abasenzayo was to drop that domb just to scare China and other countries who were against USA ...to say to them beware we have these atomic bombs and most of the countries at the time did not have bombs, andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: ok...now the Japanese government at the time...i-cabinet yase Japan at the time...they could see that they were losing the fight as a result some countries were complaining as to why USA dropped atomic bombs in Japan because the people of Japan at the time were showing signs that they wanted to surrender but erh...USA went on and dropped the bombs that is why to some people it was not justifiable why they dropped the bombs ...because abantu bapha were showing uba they are surrendering, andithi?

Ps: yes teacher

T: now what happened is i-cabinet yase Japan met and they announced to the country that they were about to withdraw from the country...but they had some demands...they

demanded that they emperor must not be removed...Japan must be a sovereign state...and the USA on the other side wanted to force i-Japan to surrender unconditionally. They did not expect demands from Japan...but lento yabo...if the demands were met...besithe i-demand sisinyanzeliso so isinyanzeliso sabo samkelwe...ok it was accepted. Of you withdraw we are going to allow you have your emperor...nerh

Ps: yes teacher

T: then erh...after that they went on and signed the treaty...it was on 15 August 1945...that is why in English they say V-day Victory ...i-Japan...after i-japan yasayinayo it was then said...ok ...guys now we are surrendering, we are signing...we are saying war in the Pacific has ended. Nantso ke lanto ibifunwa kuwe ke ngoku class...andizikubuza uvile na cause ndiyayazi ndizobe ndidlala ngexesha lam...

T: now take out your classwork book...activity 3...Discuss the end of the WW2 in the Pacific...classwork book maan ((he is specifically referring to an individual student)) Write today's date 12 May 2016...page 134 Write an essay that outlines the end of the WW2 in the Pacific.

T: here are the events, you must choose...you need a mind map or essay plan. You must have an introduction, body of the essay where you discuss the main points of your essay in different paragraphs. Number of words that you must have here...we need 240 words

P: Yhoo

T: which means you can choose to write this one or that one...right ((pointing at the two essay topics))

T: let's go to the introduction yethu...kwi introduction you choose uzobhala ngantoni pha kwi essay yakho...for example...there were many events that led to the end of the WW2. This essay is intended to discuss these events in detail...this is what you must write as your introduction.

T: events iziganeko ngesiXhosa

P: iziganeko

T: that's what History is about...it's about events. You need to know what happened, when? Why? How? Where? What you need is that introduction yam as it is...lilonke wena phaya uthi zininzi iziganeko ezaqhubekayo ezakhokelela ekubeni iWW2 iphele. Now uthe ke ngoku i-essay yam izakuxoxa banzi ngezizinto....in detail. And then wena you go there and choose what you are going to talk about under each point...finish my introduction and then go...you need to be able to write the essay on your own.

APPENDIX 7: GEOGRAPHY LESSON

- T: I want us to go back to page... your topic pha ithi HDI, Human Development Index...nerh [there says...is that not so]
- P: Yes tisha
- T: Yadelela nerh ((referring to a misbehaving boy with a serious facial expression)) [you are undermining me]
- T: HDI is a new way of development that is looking at the following: 1. life expectancy 2. Educational development 3.per capita
- T: Let's go to la term yelife expectancy. Sijonga iminyaka...kwedini ((referring to a misbehaving boy who was playing with another boy. This is expressed with emphasis and a serious facial expression)) hay maan....sijonga iminyaka abantu abayihlalayo in average in a country nerh... [we look at the years...young boy...no man/stop it]
- T: then lento ngoku if a country is a developing country...you know that life expectancy educational attainment is low...again growth per capita is low. What do you know by the term GNI capita from an EMS point of view?
- P: GNI capita?
- T: Yes, try
- P: capital left ((laughter from some learners))
- T: Anyone? GNI
- P: Capital, capital yimali [capital is money]
- T: Andiva ke [I can't hear that]
- P: Capital
- T: not capital, per capita...hey nina niyadelela maan ((says this to two boys who are playing with each other in class)) [you are undermining me]
- P: Gross national....
- T: Gross national what? Aniyazi lento? [don't you know this] I will talk to your EMS teacher
- Ps: Hay tishala
- T: Gross National Income
- Ps: yes teacher

- T: kule term sijonga how much does a person have...imali yomntu ingakanani if we were to divide the money we have in a country...that is why sithetha ngoku eSA...ndiyathetha apha ((referring to two boys who are talking to each other))...that is why ngoku eSouth Africa we are talking about national income. Kwaziwe ukuba how much a person earns xa sisithi isezantsi as well as how much a person earns xa sisithi iphezulu...andithi. Then if we were dividing that amount, lamali besinayo elizweni, how much will each person get.
- T: class ibalulekile lento. Besithe if a country is a developing country, of course, ilife expectancy yabo will be low...ieducation yabo will be low...iGNI per capita yabo will be also low. Now sithe if a country is a developing country, of course, life expectancy will be low, education attainment will be low, GNI per capita will also be low nerh?
- Ps: yes!
- T: let's go back to HDI. iHDI has three categories. Category No. 1...
- P: Yintoni iHDI?
- T: Ndizakubetha wena, sony..hela! ((referring to a misbehaving boy)) ukhona umntu onokuyicacisa apha iHDI? Bendithethile ngayo andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Class, we said...masiqalele...ndifuna undimamele, mamele kakuhle, ukwenzela uzondiva...if we are looking at the development of a country, we look at the following things: one, we look at life expectancy. Life expectancy yintoni class?
- P: yiminyaka umntu ayiphilayo
- T: yiminyaka umntu ayiphilayo on average...that is what we are saying, andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Sithi kengoku, ndizakuninika umzekelo...if a country is a developing country...is a poor country, andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: ilife expectancy yabantu is also low. If a country is a developed country, a rich nation, life expectancy is high. No. 2 is education attainment. ...in average abantu abafundileyo kulo country bangakanani. How many people have achieved education kulo country? No. 3 Again xa sijoinga idevelopment in a country...sijonga what you call GNI per capita...GNI per capita is the amount ...ndide ndinenzele umzekelo othi ke ngoku that's why South Africa in our days is talking about National Income because income of a country determines development in a country. Sithi ke ngoku idevelopment in a country has 3 categories: category 1. High HDI 2. Medium HDI 3. Low HDI. Unayo lento pha kupage 97.

Class sithe we have got these three categories of human development index...icountry siyazi categoriser...icountry into 3. There are countries esi zicategorise sizibeke kula level ye high index nehigh development index. Sibene country esizibeka kumedium and low HDI. Masigqithe ke class....turn to page 97-98. DIFFERENCE IN DEVELOPMENT. We need to clarify this. Now we used to have the way esizi categoriser icountries, xa sicategorise icountries, siyazohlula. ...hey, hey uyathetha apho nam ndiyathetha ((change in tone, teacher shows dissatisfaction with the learner's misbehaviour)) masiyeni class sonke nindincedise:

- High development index
- Medium development index
- Low development index

((teacher says these together with the learners))

T: Masiphindeni [let's repeat]

1. Ps: High development index
2. Medium development index
3. Low development index

((teacher says this together with the learners))

T: We used to have erh....jonga itopic yakho pha kupage 98. Topic No 4. Uthini pha?

DIFFERENCES AROUND THE WORLD. How did we categorise kuqala iclevelopment?

APPENDIX 8: SECOND ACCOUNTING LESSON

Lesson 1 Accounting (tape 2)

- T: Morning 8bs, morning 8bs...hayibo! [what is it?]
- Ps: Good morning miss, morning miss, molo miss [good morning miss]
- T: sit; stand; sit; stand ...nis'ke nanyaba [you look dull] ((the teacher commands the learners to sit and stand; the class becomes a hype of activity)) don't sit all the time...I can see what you are doing ((referring to a learner who is dodging the instruction))
- T: Hop, hop; hop, hop; hop, hop ((clapping her hands; she raises her voice and claps faster while the learners are trying to hop according to the rhythm)) I did not say jump, I said hop with one leg ((referring to a learner struggling to maintain the rhythm)). Stop, sit down.
- P: ((they comply with the instructions))
- T: yesterday... yesterday it was mother's day
- Ps: Yes Mam
- T: I was expecting a call from you, not even a single one of you called saying, 'happy mother's day mam', why?
- P: We do not have your number mam
- T: Did you ask for my number?
- T: Grade 8s, can you please take out your EMS books...on the board we have the example of...can you please write it down quickly within 5 minutes
- T: which one is your...ndifuna igama....your Accounting journal... Accounting journal...can you please write the transactions on your book...within five minutes...this side grade 8s ((points on the board the side the pupils have to copy))
- T: quick, quick, quick and also take out your lead pencils. We are going to use our pens and lead pencils today
- Ps: ((pupils are writing, there is a buzzing sound in the class as learners interact with each other in isiXhosa))
- T: The time now is quarter past...you must have finished now ((she moves around the class, checking if they are writing well and showing them individually where to write)) transactions at the back please ((she says this to a student who seems not to know where the transactions are)).

- T: What's wrong? Why are you not writing? Oh hay bethunana ((referring to a learner who is not writing, showing concern and frustration)) Come to school as ready as you can. Where is your lead pencil?
- P: Andinayo mam
- T: Yintoni onayo? Unayo impumlo [what do you have? Do you have a nose?] ((there is now silence as the learners are writing. The teacher takes out the attendance register and calls out each learner's name))
- T: OK we have to start now, I will give you a chance again before the bell rings...you must stop writing...thank you...and then now can you page to your Accounting cycle. Can you all class read the Accounting cycle...fundani sibe pha sonkeni [let's all focus there and read] ((the teacher together with the learners read aloud))
- T: What are transactions? ((she repeats the question with emphasis)) yes sisi...
- P: running cost of a business
- T: she is saying it is a daily running cost of a business...OK that is very good...who can try to give us another example of a transaction.
- P: ((answer not audible))
- T: That is her opinion...she is saying it is the daily running cost of a business...that is her opinion
- T: transaction...you have got that word in your notes...in your notes you do have it...transaction.
- P: ((learners busy paging their books looking for the word 'transaction'))
- T: can you find it? You do not have?
- Ps: No mam
- T: No
- T: Class...transaction...nerh...it is the buying and selling of ntoni? Of goods in a business okanye we can say...nerh...transaction is the exchange of goods between the owner of the business and customer...if someone...buys a duster ((picks a duster)) the business will give the customer the duster and the customer will give money to the business owner...so what is happening at time is a transaction...so we can say it is the exchange of goods for money in a business....
- Ps: Yes
- T: And now class we have dealt with transactions.....we are now in the third part...kwintoni...kwijournals. We are going to start with what now...journals. Before we can start the journals, let us read this first. In front of us we have this example ((looks at the board)) Vusi opened a small business at Langa Location...look at the

board...everyone look at the board...sh..sh...sh. Vusi opened a business...washing customers' cars...the business is called what class?

Ps: Vusi Car Wash

T: called what?

Ps: Vusi Car Wash

T: Ok...he started the business in September 2002 and then now we have read this...it follows the transaction...I forgot to write the instructions

T: Now we have to open what we call the receipt journal for this transaction. These 1, 3, 9, these are not numbers but dates. This is what happened in September in Vusi's ntoni? In Vusi's car wash...siyevan nerh?

Ps: Yes

T: on the 1st ((1 September 2002) the owner contributed R4000.00 as what class? Capital contribution.

Ps: capital contribution

T: ...issued receipt what?...receipt 001...okay

Ps: Yes

T: we will come back to the transaction. Let us first write the name of the business...mos ezilokishini we have our small businesses. Uyibona ngantoni yi business le, uqond' uba ubisi lukhona, mawuyothenga ipint yobisi khona... how do you know that there in that corner they are selling groceries or selling magwinyas, intlokos or smileys whatever you call it ((students become relaxed, smiling and laughing at the teacher's use of words like magwinyas and intlokos)) How do you know?

P: ubona ngebhodi

T: Very good...he says you will see a big board...on that big board...what is written on that big board?

P: Vusi's Car Wash

T: on the board they usually write the name of the business, nerh...so this is what is going to happen...nathi apha eclassini, we are going to write all that happened in Vusi's business...but first of all we must start with the ntoni? With the name of the business

Ps: name of the business

T: usually nerh the name of the business you don't usually see it written on the small nantsika...you will see it written in big alphabets...you will see it written in what/

Ps: in big alphabets

- T: when you are writing the name of the business, you are going to use capital letters, sibhale ngamagama atheni...sibhale ngamagama amakhulu...
- Ps: amakhulu
- T: today is our first day to write on these books...our cash sales journals. When you are writing your heading...as I am going to write on the board, we are going to use our double paper like this one ((shows the students)) I did not say go to your full-scrap paper ...go to a new page...don't write on the single page but the double page ((teacher was helping a student who did not know where to write))
- T: on top of that you are going to write the heading...you must erh...ok you must start on one page...cross over to another page..ok...what are you doing ((referring to a student who didn't understand the instruction))...mna ke bethuna ndibhala ebhodini...I am not going to write in the middle...wena you are going to write it in the middle of the two pages...so I am going to start here because this is a board, so wena you write...you are going to write: CASH RECEIPT JOURNAL. Who is the owner kanene?
- Ps: Vusi
- T: Vusi...in which month are we doing this business...
- Ps: September
- T: September ...right nerh
- T: the other thing you must stop...stop writing...I did not say write...you do not write the date...you just write September and the year
- P: 2002
- T: 2002
- T: and then you give the journal what you call a number ...what is the page of this journal CRJ....let's all write...let us please use lead pencils because you are going to make mistakes...this is our first day writing on our journals...please let us use our lead pencils so that we can erase please...((saying this emphatically))
- Ps: ((pupils are busy writing, as they are writing there is a buzz of noise))
- T: ha-a ha-a ha-a...less talk, more work ((controlling the noisy students))
- T: Write there...or there is something you did not write...you don't finish your work wena ((assisting a student))
- T: ((moves around the class, checking how the students are writing)) No one has finished? I'm going to say stop nerh ...stop writing. Please let's do this one...((turns to a student)) where is your book?
- P: At home

T: Why? When I say Accounting, bring everything...every book mhh!! I said you won't know which books I'm going to use...you must bring all your three books.... ((aside to a student)) write your heading. Khawube ubhala ngepen wena mntu ungena lead pencil...kodwa niyandisokolisa yhazi ((showing frustration))

Guys how do you go to an Accounting class without a lead pencil...I do not understand this...I do not understand this really....((aside to a student)) ha-a ha-a ha-a...there he makes a mistakes ((teacher talking to herself)) I said class...8bs...I said you write the heading nerh....the heading write it there on top not on those blocks...you are going to use those blocks for columns...write your heading on top please...

Ps: ((there is a buzz of noise as the students are busy writing))

T: hay 8bs...anizogqiba yhazi...asizobhala necolumn eyi one nislow yhazi...niyathetha...anikho ready...anina lead pencils ...open your book...write...bhala ke ngoku...((aside to a girl who was following the instructions well)) that is it my girl...

T: sharpner! ((teacher asks for a sharpner))...Ohhh!! ((learner doesn't have a sharpner)).

T: if one person has finished, we are going to start now...we can't wait anymore ...right...Okay...okay...can I have your attention again...put the lead pencils down ...lead pencils down. I know I'm ugly...I'm not beautiful...I know that but look at me...right...others have finished...we have written our heading nerh?

Ps: Yes!

T: our journal class has columns...ha-a ((to a learner)) our journal has columns...guys..this is the first column ((attends to a learner)) uyayibona apho iqala khona ifirst column? We are going to start here ((points to the column)) yile xa ubhalayo nawe uzobhala phaya...

T: first column...it is called document number... so the space does not allow us to write the whole name...D.O.C.number... masibhaleni sonke...let us write D.O.C. number...uyabona ke abantu abangekho ready qho xa ndithi makubhalwe kuyathethwa...haybo!!

P: apha miss? ((learner asking where to write))

T: yes, yes...both ((responding to the learner's question))

T: most of us have done our first column...then our next ...sh..sh..sh...((silencing a talking learner)) uzakuthi ke zange undive....our next column ...we are going to write idate...when this did this happen? Date! ((says this to a learner who hasn't written the date)) sh..sh..sh...less talk, more work.

T: if you can just learn to keep quiet singagqiba msinyane...and then now after you have written the date ...next column is a little bit bigger...you see that?

Ps: yes

T: that one is for details...details ((moves around the class, checking the learners))...are we finished class...class are we finished writing details? ((no response)) haybo 8b!!

- Ps: yes mam
- T: are you sure? Okay, then...the next column ((she sees three learners sharing a lead pencil)) Whoo!! Three people with one lead pencil! You are abusing this. After details we have a column called folio...((she spells it for a learner)) FOLIO...because of the space we are going to write the full name FOLIO ((learners are writing)).
- T: are we done?
- L: Yes!
- T: Now...we are going to write a longer word called 'Analysis of Receipt' but the way you are going to write it ...you are only going to write on the top just like me...((she writes on the board)) *Analysis of Receipts*
- T: good...good...this is now is doing well...everybody has his or her own lead pencil and they are writing on the right space...right spelling...but this row...Mr Marawu's row...whoo! ((says Mr Marawu must bring lead pencils because the learners are struggling there))
- T: right...*Analysis of Receipts* ...and then the next column is for bank...bank...bank ((writing on the board))
- T: Next column is for *Current Income...Current income*
- Ps: ((Learners are writing))
- T: right now...here at grade 8 level we will only have those columns...we have ((reads the column all over the again))
- T: and then class if you notice....just look at the left hand side of the last two columns...can you see we have a column like this one ((points at the board)) have you? ...so now we are going to skip all the other columns and go to the last two columns and then you write first *sundry accounts*nantsi ((shows a learner the column for sundry accounts)) here...just there...sundry accounts...
- T: ((teacher moves around the class, assisting students individually)) A sundry account...((aside to another learner)) let me see...your book does not have that column...just take your ruler and draw a line and then write sundry accounts...sundry accounts ((moves around checking students)) correct, correct, correct...that is it...sundry accounts...
- Ps: ((there is a buzz as learners are writing))
- T: Ukhona umntu ofuna one problem? Ongayaziyo ibhalwa phi? Sundry accounts...wonke uyazile?
- Ps: yes!
- T: OK... under sundry accounts you have got your amount, amount under sundry account...the first column is called Amount...then you have got your...again another

- column...folio column...you have two folio columns ((aside to a learner, pointing the column)) then you have this one ...
- Ps: ((learners are writing, there is a buzz in class))
- T: the last one is for details...details ... ((aside to a learner)) details, details ((emphatically))
- P: details ((to himself as he is writing))
- Ps: ((writing details))
- T: ((to a learner)) your heading must be here boy
- T: OK ...let's put our books upside down ...upside down...upside down...ninjena ke kusekho ababhalayo...hey ((to a learner with a high-rise tone)) upside down...upside down
- T: Document number, let us all say....date...details...Folio...Analysis...sundry account...Amount...folio
- Ps: ((Whole class repeating after the teacher))
- T: this group...Nomsa uyangxola ((points at the board and asks different groups to read the topics at the same time))
- T: the whole class
- Ps: ((the whole class reads the topics as the teacher points them on the board))
- T: close your eyes...close your eyes ((with emphasis, looking at a learner))
- Ps: ((some learners are laughing, entertained by this))
- T: masitshoni sonke eyokuqala
- Ps: ((chorus))
- T: ...((aside to a learner)) I said let's close our eyes and you are smiling and your eyes are not closed.
- T: class let's close our eyes...first column
- Ps: ((chorus))
- T: thank you, you must know your columns by heart because in exams you won't be given the columns...OK class ((with a high-rise tone))
- T: in front of us we have the example of a cash receipt journal and each time and everytime you are writing this you must have the name of the company, the journal and the folio...now we are going to start recording in this journal...
- T: Transactions ... what happened on 1st ...can you read it for me Vala? Yifunde ((with emphasis))...fine read...mxm...read for us nantsika ((another learner reads))

- T: remember class I told you that ...sh...sh..((aside to a learner in a low-tone)) what are writing?
- T: Remember class... I told you that the business does not have money...yibuilding moss leya...who brings business...who brings money is the ntoni?
- P: owner
- T: so our first transaction...when someone contributes class it means he brings money to the business...the owner contributed R4000 to the business as capital...what is capital, kanene? What is capital? What is capital?
- P: the money the owner brings
- T; it is the money the owner brings to the business...that the owner starts the business with...now how much are talking about?
- P: R4000.00
- T: R4000.00 so R4000.00 is the capital...we have to now write this in our journal...so the first thing we have to do iswrite here class...it is the document number, after that the business has received money and then we write that money somewhere in a...it's called the receipt...so what receipt have we given to that book...001. ...so you write document number 001 and then idate ithini? Idate September...masibhaleni.
- Ps: (writing)
- T: Okay, erh...under details...ndifun'umanyelwa namhlanje, siyaqala lento namhlanje...andifuni bantu bazakubhuda bathi zange ndiyive...under...we write the name of the person who contributed money to the business. Who contributed money to the business?
- Ps: Vusi
- T: so write Vusi here ((assisting a learner))...who do you write here?
- P: Mavusi
- T: ((to a learner)) no it's not Mavusi its Vusi
- T: Which column is...we are not going to use Folio now, we will use Folio when we are doing igeneral ledger ...so we skip...then we ho to the figures...how much did Vusi put in the business?
- Ps: R4000.00
- T: so we are going to write the amount that Vusi contributed to the business and that is R4000.00...Class 8b I didn't write any R for rands there...so I'm not expecting anyone to write there ...to write R there...so just write 4000.00

T: did the business class receive any money during the ...they only received 4000.00 so now...they only received one amount that is 4000.00...so what we do now, we go to your analysis of receipts and you underline under the amount. After that you copy that amount to the next column ...4000....4000 you copy to the bank column by writing 4000.00...after that you ask yourself, did Vusi wash any car for this month.

Ps: No

T: how did he get this money?

P: he brought it himself

T: he brought it himself...so he hasn't washed any car. ...so he brought this money himself to the business. Therefore, we cannot say 4000.00 is the income of the business as it is not an income. Therefore we are going to skip this column, then go to your sundry account and write 4000.00...and

T: what was the money for?

Ps: capital

T: very good...for capital...then you skip the portfolio column and then you write....capital. any questions class? Everybody is clear about this

Ps: Yes!

T; OK ke have a nice day, thank you.

APPENDIX 9: SECOND HISTORY LESSON

- T: khanihlale phantsi ...niyandilibazisa maan...yiya phakupage 106 POLITICAL STABILITY.....masenzeni into simple namhlanje sogqiba msinyane
- P: ((pupil to another pupil fighting over a desk)) suka
- P: ufike late ((the other learner's response))
- T: Mfowethu suka ufike late, hlala kwenye indawo...zidesika zam ezi, yiclass yam le, akho mntu unedesika apha...hlala phantsi wena xa ufike late ((the teacher resolves the conflict by instructing the learner who arrived late to look for another desk))
- T: Mamelani class yiyani pha kwela gama lithi *ethnic violence* ...elagama libhalwe blue uyalibona...ndifuna sijonge lona ngesiXhosa elagama...bhala nge lead pencil yakho...*izixholo-xholo phakathi kwentlanga* ...uyalibona elagama
- Ps: Yes
- T: izixholo-xholo phakathi kwentlanga page 107 bantu
- Ps: izixholo-xholo
- T: sinawo umzekelo onjeya apha eMzantsi Afrika, apho kwakusilwa amaZulu namaXhosa, nerh
- Ps: Yes
- T: saze satshintsha apha sathi black-on-black violence, andithi
- Ps: Yes
- T: niyancokola, niyathetha andiqondi niyayiva lento ndiyithethayo ((reprimanding two learners who are talking to each other))
- T: sasinawo lo mzekelo apho kwakusilwa amaXhosa namaZulu...pha ngo 1990...kubulalwana abantu abamnyama kusilwa amaXhosa namaZulu
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Yilanto sasithi xa siyibiza yi-ethnic violence...nase Burundi apho kulwa khona abantu abamnyama...nakhona abazintlanga ezahlukeneyo nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Likhona elinye igama endifuna silijonge...*refugees*...niyalibona
- Ps: Yes!
- T: imbacu ngesiXhosa...niyalibona

Ps: Yes!

T: bhala pha ecaleni kwelagama ngelead pencil, imbacu...abantu abasuka kwamanye amazwe bebaleka iviolence emazweni abo...nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: Page 106-107 bantu...kutheni ndizakuthetha into enye okoko ...lamagama siwaxelayo aku page 107 nerh ((He says this after he saw a learner who was on a wrong page))

Ps: Yes!

T: Niyasokolisa maan ...siwagqibile lamagama

Ps: Yes!

T: and then, tyhila pha next pha ku page 108...itenders siyazasi mos, andithi?

Ps: Yes

T: do we need to explain that?

Ps: no

T: yiya kweli lilandelayo...investors abatyali zimali

T: lamagama ndithe wabhaleni niyawabhala?

Ps: Yes!

T: abatyali mali...bhala pha...abantu xa besuka kwamanye amazwe bezotyala imali kwelinye ilizwe...umzekelo xa sithetha ngetourism eSouth Africa, siyijonga ebantwini abamhlophe andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: abantu abamnyama balapha eAfrika asibajongeli ntweni sijonga kuphela abantu abasuka ngaphandle, abelungu...uba umlungu uze eSouth Africa asimthuki, asimfanisi nabantu abamnyama...sifuna abantu abamhlophe sithi zi-investors...abantu abazakufaka imali kwibusiness zabantu balapha ukuze ibusiness zabantu balapha zikhule in return bona bafumana kwintoni? Kwishares, andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: and then elinye igama esizakulisebenzisa kakhulu.....lamagama ngala sizakuwasebenzisa kwezintantsika zimbini....

T: sizibalile zonke ifactors affecting development in Africa...why idevelopment in Africa ingahambi as quickly as it is kumazwe ase Europe

Ps: Yes!

- T: Amazwe aseAfrica siwabiza ideveloping countries while amazwe ase Europe siwabiza ideveloped countries, andithi?
- Ps: yes!
- T: uba sithetha ngala HDI sithetha ngoba iHDI yamazwe is high...iHDI yase Africa is low...so inantsika...abantu baphila two different separate lives, andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: basekhona abantu abancokolayo, abandiphazamisayo ((referring to students who are talking to each other))
- T: Now...jonga keclass...sibale zonke ifactors affecting development in Africa...and then we reached the last one...POLITICAL STABILITY...masithathe xa sithetha ...xa sithetha ngestability sithetha ngantoni? Xa sithi into istable? Injani lonto xa sithi istable?
- P: imile
- T: izinzile nerh
- P: Yes tishala
- T: so jonga class apha...mos sijonga apha specifically ipolitical stability as a factor in development nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: ilantuka class, ipolitical stability of a country affects idevelopment of a country...if icountry ine instability kwipolitics zakhona andithi obviously we expect idevelopment in that country, for example, ababantu sithetha ngabo sithi ziinvestors...nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: i-investors are able to trust a country that has political stability nerh
- PS: Yes!
- T: then if icountry inepolitical stability icountries ezininzi ziyayitruster, therefore abantu sithi zinivestors will want to come to the country to invest their money so that nabo in return azofumana ishares...once ibusiness zikhule it means idevelopment yalo country nayo is growing as well.
- T: and then under ipolitical stability we have the following: internal conflict...sibe ne corruption...now masijongeni pha class, internal conflict...internal conflicts such as civil wars, ethnic violence affect development of a country. Masithathe class a country apha e-Africa e affectekayo iDRC. Do you expect to see i-development e-DRC?
- Ps: No!

T: No because there are internal conflicts andithi...such as ethnic violence. For example now they have been fighting over and over the years...it's been continuing...they have been fighting over the years...lanto besithetha ngayo i-investors they do not have confidence in such a country. They would not want to invest in the business of that country...why? Because the country is not stable politically so abakwazi abantu to invest there because there is always conflict nerh?

Ps: Yes!

T: Now kweza areas zinjalo njengokuba...niyakhumbula bendikhe ndanenzela umzekelo ndathi there are people endibaziyo base DRC who are saying they will never go back to DRC because kukho eza internal wars, andithi? Where is the government? Fighting with rebels...sithi ngabavukeli xa sibabiza andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: infact kwezi countries iqala ibezi...iqala kwi politics. Once a country infact e-Africa...those who are in power are in control of the resources, nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: therefore the ones that are outside...sinamaqela aphikisayo...for example apha e-SA leliphi iqela eliphikisayo?

Ps: EFF, DA

T: yeyiphi ipolitical party ephetheyo ngoku?

Ps: ANC

T: so kwicountry ezise Africa it's unlike in South Africa where people are free to say whatever they want to say...if they want to criticize igovernment they are allowed to do so...they will never fight over that, andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: they will never go to war over that but kwamanye amazwe aseAfrica...it's the other way around...that's why ileaders if niyayi nothisa ileaders zase-Africa in most cases azifuni kusuka ukuba ikhe yaphatha...ileader yalapha ayifuni kuphinda yahlukane nesikhundla...iphathat forever ingasuki...the only way enosuswa ngayo kuba abantu balapho benze iwars..eza civil wars ...once ke ngoku babe involved kweza civil wars obviously erh akho cala lifuna ukwehlulwa...then into elandelayo erh kukuba i-ilantuka i-i-European countries nazo zinayo i-influence ziya pha...they will support a certain faction because they want to benefit once that faction comes to power. Lonto class yenze what we call violence in a country...icountry ingabikho stable and then masigqitheni class siye kunumber 2. Oh kubekho nala nto besithetha ngayo kweza refugees eza refugees sithe ke ngoku zimbacu, andithi?

- Ps: Yes tishala
- T: Ababantu bayahamba baye kwamanye amazwe then kulo mazwe babe zimbacu...erh ke ngoku class ukhona umbuzo ebendikhe ndawubuzwa kwenye i-class at some point ukuba if they are coming from DRC, DRC is up andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: closer to equator if sithetha ngeza countries...kula nto besithetha ngayo izolo apho besithetha ngetropics neclimates apho besisithi izolo itemperature yapha is always hot and is always rainy kweza areas andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: as a result abakwazi ababantu udeveloper...uba involved kwi agriculture because imvula isoloko inetha kakhulu nelanga lisoloko litshisa kakhulu so abakwazi kwenza nto in terms of development, andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Now sithi ke ngoku class abantu basuka far...they could have gone to the countries ezicloser to them but they are not going to those countries...they come to South Africa, ...they come to South Africa, why? Because u-life in South Africa is better than any other African state...even though class benditshilo kuni, I don't want to lie...at the moment South Africa is rated number 3 kwi Africa kwi economy. at the moment the top country is Nigeria
- P: Nigeria
- T: Elandelayo?
- Ps: Egypt
- T: Egypt...eyesithathu South Africa...kwi economy yase Africa iSouth Africa ngu number 3 but still provides better service than any other African country...that's why abantu be prefer to come from as far as DRC bashiye amanye amazwe are closer baze apha but nonetheless abantu abasuka kwamanye amazwe bayokuhlala kwelinye ilizwe we call those people refugees, nerh?
- Ps; Yes!
- T: masigqitheni ke class 2.2 yi corruption...then icorruption is also part of..of..political instability andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: imonies that are supposed to go support i-services ezithile andithi? They end up being mischannelled ziye kwindawo ezingamelanga ziye kuzo, andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: for example class, nanku umzekelo kukhona apho kuthiwa kubhildwa ihouses andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: kweza tenders class...kwitenders ...government kunikwa...kuconsiderishwa black companies...Black Economic Empowerment...kuconsiderishwa zona. Ezicompanies zezabantu abamnyama in most cases, andithi

Ps: Yes!

T: they are building houses for the poor...sometimes bangazigqibi ezohouses andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: Bonke banalamali ngoku ugovernment instead of using the money for what it was meant for had to use other financial resources ukwenza lanto ebeseenzile again...lonto siyibiza ngokuba yo-corruption. One example esinayo kuthwa pha when one is abusing a position to gain access to the resources...lanto besithetha ngayo pha.

Ps: Yes teacher

T: ileaders ezinjalo we call them corrupt because they are manipulating isystem kuba kuthiwa umzekelo mandithathe landawo yam apho ndihlala khona. Phaya kula ndawo yam kukho icala elisuka edolophini liyoma ebhlorhweni, then kubekho icala elisuka ngapha ebhlorhweni kule ndawo yam kanye kanye...indlela iyakugqitha from town to the bridge....kwakhiwa icala libe linye, why? Because abantu bafuna ukutya ezamali so yilento sithi yi-corruption leyo. Nanku omnye umzekelo endinawo...kuthiwa phaya when a police receives money from criminals who avoid being caught....inintsi lonto andithi iyenzeka?

T: people are killing people...the killers are known but if you go to the police and tell the police, the police will tell the skolies that uMr Bani-bani nguye ebezokuxela apha...then that's corruption...it means lo mntu ufumene imali...bafumene imali bona in order to gain uba bnike izikoli i-information andithi?

Ps: Yes

T: Now yi-corruption leyo. Okwesibini xa ipolisa linantsika lithatha imali emntwini in order to give information elopolisa li corrupt, andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: But lonto class siyibona all over...there are many things thina esicinga ukuba azikho corrupt kodwa zicorrupt. But zonke ezizinto class ziyayi-affecta idevelopment at the end...neh?

Ps: Yes!

- T: because we are saying money that was supposed to do certain things would be channeled to wrong things and then in that way i-government will then repay imali that has been paid already...andithi?
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Class ndifuna sigqitheni kulento...turn to page 110...we need to focus on two things there...ziyeke ezinye nerh?
- Ps: Yes
- T: Now we are looking at opportunities for development. Now what are the opportunities that countries can involve them in? Opportunities that would create more chances for their countries to develop. I want us to take two things andifuni zonke ezanto pha: equitable relationships . Then xa sibuyela back to what we call in fair trade....we said mos when we were talking about fair trade...we said that in most cases...the developing countries are suffering because the developed countries always determine the price...nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: for example, if you want to sell a cow today, somebody will say to you ok, I can buy this cow of yours for R2000.00 nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: a cow that can cost R10000.00 athi yena R2000.00....I can buy this cow of yours for R2000.00 take it or leave it...which means the developing countries are suffering because they are not determining the prices instead the buyer is the one determining the price...nerh
- Ps: Yes!
- T: Now lo mntu, lo country iyathini? Iyasokola because xa sithetha nge-development guys i-exports ne-imports zibalulekile...you need to export more in order to gain more because i-foreign currency is always better than local currency...
- Ps: Yes!
- T: idollar umzekelo is better than i-rand i-British pound is better than i-rand...if you are selling to those countries you stand to benefit more...you must sell as much as you can buy...that is fair trade. There are principles that we need to look at nerh...
- Ps: Yes!
- T: there are almost seven principles...nanziya pha: principle of fair trade; opportunities for economic and disadvantaged producers. Xa siyitolika lento class sifuna icace...goes back kulento sigqiba kuyithetha yoba...you are creating opportunity...icountries

zombini...creating an opportunity for the producer to determine the price...in this case icountries zase Africa must determine the price of the goods they want to sell...nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: Ingabi zibig economic countries that are determining what/how much they are going to give you because that way class you will develop...andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: so ezicountries that are economically poor are given the opportunity as producers to determine the price...

T: Number two: fair trade is open to all and those who participate in it are responsible for their actions. Then pha ifair trade class must be open to all...Kungathiwa xa sithetha nge fair trade sithetha ngoba the rich country must benefit more than and the poor country must benefit less...opportunities must be opened to everybody in the country or if you have resources that you can trade with then...it means wena you musthave an opportunity...zifunde zonke class uyotsho ezantsi...

Ps: Yes teacher

T: then masiye kupage 111...Human Development Approach...A human development approach considers or focuses on the need of the people first not the economy...Because in most cases class...countries focus kwi economy leaving behind the citizens of the country. For example, kuzakuthiwa pha eSouth Africa hayi irand inyukile...ieconomy yecountry yenyukile...when you go down to the roots, ebantwini you won't see the difference nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: so this model is looking specifically at the interests of the people first...the economy later. Because if you are not pleasing the people of the country...this is what is happening in countries, in fact South Africa at the moment where you will hear people talking about the economy...economy and forget that the people on the ground must be the ones who are developing the economy of the country. Sifuna i-economy of the country idevelophwe zi-investors at the the day ezi-investors will determine what is going to happen in your country if they are given too much power...Andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: Kanti into esiyithethayo ngoku sithi imfuno zabantu mazize kuqala kulandele i-economy...ezimfuno zabantu zibalulekile kaloku kuba ngabantu abazaku builder i-economy. Umzekelo, sakuthi pha sibona kunyuka idollar kwehle idollar eAmerica izoku affecta irand yase South Africa, Andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: because why? i-investors zinemali elapha, obviously xa ku afektheke ibusiness zabo phaya...ibusiness zabo ezilapha eAfrica will be affected and then at the end of the day ladollar ithobe irand apha sidibane nani senisithi imali ye taxi yenyukile....andithi?

Ps: Yes!

T: imali yetaxi izakwenyuka because why? nababantu funeka bethenge ipetrol...nerh

Ps: Yes!

T: umzekelo sithetha nge oil apha...sathi at the moment i-oil is in demand so icountries ezine oil will benefit cause icountries ekufuneka zithengile will have to take cognizance of their citizens. Class ezanto zimbini ndizigqibile...ndifuna sibuyele ku page 105...factors affecting development...work on your own...refer to the content in this unit and say whether each statement below is true or false ...if false/true give reasons. Activity 5...factors affecting development.

APPENDIX 10: ENGLISH LESSON

1. T: Yesterday I said you must write an essay...**khange nditsho?** [Did I not say so?]
2. Ls: Ubutshilo mam [you said so, mam]
3. T: Now let us ...I need to go through it with you...how you go about writing it...writing a mind map. ...you start there (points at the board). Sh...sh...sh (silences noisy learners).
You are writing about family outing...this is an example...you are writing about family outing...you are supposed to write an essay...when you write an essay what are you supposed to write first...
4. Ls: Mind-map
5. T: Family outing...firstly for sure there will be people under the heading, people. What will we have under people? **Ngubani ifamily yakho?** [Who is your family?]
6. L: mother, father (some learners say this in isiXhosa) **mama, ngutata** [mother, father]
7. T: let's say family and friends...these fall under the umbrella of people.
8. T: Then you get food...under your food ...you have
9. L: (there is a buzz of noise in class as learners give what falls under food)
10. T: Is there a question about this? Then let's go to the venue. What is a venue?
11. L: Place
12. T: Raise up your hand (instructing the learner not to give an answer without raising her hand)...venue? Yes ... (points a learner but no answer comes from the learner)
13. L: it's a place
14. T: Where was this family outing?
15. L: Shopping mall
16. T: Shopping mall....where is this mall?....B. Mall...where there is E. store and store
17. L: Shoprite (learners give more names of shops found in B. Mall).
18. T: Family...who can you include under your family
19. L: Mom
20. T: You must raise-up your hand. Yes?
21. L: Mom, dad
22. T: those are your parents...then your friends
23. L: siblings
24. T: no, I said let's leave it like that...it is fine with parents
25. T: Your friends...you have your friends from school, community...people from church...

26. T: ...that is what we call a mind-map...there are no questions...that's how we write a mind- map...without explanations...without paragraphs. You all understand, neh?
27. L: Yes
28. T: Bhala imind-map encwadini (to a learner) [Write a mind-map in a book] Ubhala imind- map yetopic yakho...ye-essay le uyikhethileyo...le uyayikhuphela for i-notes ((students write a mind map based on a topic they were given, using as an example the one they were all doing in class with the teacher)).
29. T: ((moving around the class)) you do not write sentences kwi mind-map bethuna...you write the key words...okanye ngesiXhosa ubhala ingongoma...kutheni ubhala isivakalisi?
30. T: Uthetha nge family outing...xa uphuma niphuma kowenu nidla ngoyaphi? Nidla ngokuya kwa? Sh...sh...sh
Umzekelo, nantsiya ifamily outing...ngobani abadla ngokubakhona kwifamily...kwimind-map unamagama or unabantu or people...under your people unefamily yakho...ngubani ifamily yakho?
31. Ls: Ngabazali...
32. T: Ngabazali bakho...ubabhala pha ((points at the board)) Awucacisi ubhala only ikey words...people ngababantu besithetha ngabo under ababantu unefamily yakho...nantsiya ((points at the board))
33. L: Yes mam
34. T: Under ifamily yakho ngobani lefamily sithetha ngayo...
35. L: Ngabazali
36. T: Ngabazali bakho...nabaya sibabhalile phaya...under ifamily nezihlobo zakho ifriends also under the branch of family...nazi iparents ...nazi ifriends...sagqitha phaya...siyaphi? Apho siyakhona siya kwindawo le uyakuyo...le uye kuyo...iphi?
37. L: Yi shopping mall
38. T: yishopping mall ...le shopping mall iphi? Ise B-side. Niyayazi iB-side?
39. L: Yes
40. T: Nantsi I B-side ((points at the board)) ...eB-side mall zeziphi indawo othe waya kuzo? E- stores, S-shop...nanziya ((points at the board)).....awaucacisi nto. Uwabhalile amagama endawo...under your venue...your venue is the same as the place.
41. L: Yes
42. T: Siye ekutyeni...unenyama...awutshongo? Uyayazi ichicken, ifish, inyama ebomvu...eyenkomo, eyegusha eyebhokhwe...yinyama leyo
43. L: Yes
44. T: under you food again ...you have fruit...awu-specify-anga whether it's a banana or apple or whatever. Under your drinks you have got juice, you have got your carbonated...that is also a drink and also sweets. Your deserts fall under sweets. Do we all get that? Siyayiva?
45. L: Yes

46. T: Sanubhala isivakalisi...yonke into oyibhalayo under your mind map...sh, sh, sh...if it's people you only write people...your parents...your friends whatsoever...that is under people...so you will not write the name of the people
47. L: Yes
48. T: You have got people. Who is this person? Is it a learner? Is it a what? I don't want to see the name of the person in your book. Is that clear?
49. L: Yes
50. T: ((moves around as the learners are writing their mind-map)).