

CODE-SWITCHING AS A TECHNIQUE IN TEACHING
LITERATURE IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL
ESL CLASSROOM

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DECLARATION

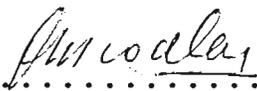
I, Visvaganthie Moodley, declare that this work:

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LITERATURE IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL

ESL CLASSROOM

is my own. I have acknowledged the sources used in this study in the references. This work has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.


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V. MOODLEY

December, 2001

Durban.

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DEDICATION

to

My late father, Venaigam Pachai Govender, who taught me that an educated person without understanding, compassion and tolerance for his/her fellow human beings remains uneducated, and my mother, Kanniamma Govender, for her unconditional love, faith and support throughout my years of study.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on code-switching i.e. the alternate use of two languages within the same speech event, as a technique in teaching literature to Grade 10 ESL learners by bilingual teachers in comparison to English only method by an English monolingual teacher, in two schools in Port Shepstone. This study examines the forms and functions of English-Zulu code-switching by bilingual ESL teachers. Using the experimental approach, it also investigates whether there are any significant differences in scholastic achievement as measured by tests of literary works between the control group which is taught through the medium of English and the experimental group which is taught through the medium of CS. This study also examines the attitudes of monolingual and bilingual educators and bilingual learners toward CS, particularly in the domain of the school.

Through an analysis of data obtained from questionnaires, interviews, lesson recordings and tests, this research reveals that even though CS does not appear to significantly contribute to scholastic achievement, it fulfills a variety of pedagogical functions. CS therefore claims a firm position in the classroom. As such, I argue that CS should not necessarily be perceived as interlanguage but as a form of linguistic code in its own right. I also demonstrate that contrary to a wealth of studies (e.g. Nyowe 1992; Gibb 1998) that show that English monolingual

speakers, as well as those who employ CS in their linguistic repertoire, stigmatise the use of CS, the majority of participants of this research perceive CS as a code that is both inevitable and a valuable learning resource.

Finally, I explore the implications of this research for principals, teachers and governing body members. I suggest that there is a need for these role players to engage in consciousness raising as the ANC Language Policy Document clearly accords CS an official status and more importantly, CS is a reality in the classroom. In addition, I examine the implications of CS for ESL teachers and teaching, particularly in the teaching of literature. I suggest that by employing CS in the teaching of literature teachers help learners to better interact with and interpret the literary text, and also promote communicative competence among the learners. Lastly, I explore the implications of CS for methodology. I conclude that the strategic use of CS effectively enhances English L2 acquisition.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

R	researcher/ interviewer
T	teacher/ interviewee
P	pupil
L	learner
<u>UNDERLINE</u>	Emphasis on a word
/	interruption
}	overlapping talk
.....	short pause
-----	long pause
N>R	no response from pupils
<i>italics</i>	actual words from text

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

With all the overtures of a segregated South Africa, prior to the demise of apartheid in 1994, bilingualism was officially understood in terms of only English and Afrikaans. 1994 witnessed a linguistic transformation - unveiling a pluralistic, multiethnic, multilingual society. South Africa is now recognized as a truly multilingual country, heralding eleven official languages. Nine African languages, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, siSwati, xiTsonga, seTswana, tshiVenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu were added to the two already existing official languages, English and Afrikaans. Yet English continues to reign at the helm of political, social, economic and educational arenas as it is still perceived as the language of opportunity and power.

In the educational arena, parents, pupils and many teachers urge that English be the medium of instruction, replacing Zulu as a medium of instruction in all the (ex) Department of Education and Training (DET) Zulu community schools (Msimang 1992). This is probably so because all of the other languages, although given official status, do not have any “economic cachet both locally and internationally” (Kamwangamalu 1998:120). Hence, today, English is the official medium of instruction for a large part of the population, many of whom have a different native language, and as such English is of central importance to the whole learning process (Pfaff 1997).

Previously educationally and linguistically disadvantaged persons, as a result of South Africa's apartheid regime, perceived English as the golden gate of opportunity which was reserved for a select few. English however, is no longer the language for only the elite or a select group - it is

a language for every individual albeit laced with ones mother tongue. The Language-in-Education Policy Document in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, clearly documents that:

“In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognizes that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages.”

Hence the department adopts the position that bilingualism, i.e. the home language of the learner and an additional language - English, in KZN - is a normal orientation of the learning process. Previously, English language users maintained that the use of the learner's mother-tongue had no place in the English classroom. The reason for this is perhaps, as Elridge (1996:303) suggests, that teachers believed that maximizing the amount of time spent in using the target language would improve second language proficiency. However there is empirical evidence to show that restricting the use of ones mother-tongue does not necessarily improve second language learning (Elridge 1996:303). It is therefore the duty, the moral obligation, of every educator, to ensure that s/he provides the opportunity and means for every learner to acquire English as a second language (L2) with the ultimate goal of acquiring competency that resembles first language proficiency.

This research will show that one of the avenues to acquiring second language proficiency is through the use of code-switching, the alternate use of two (or more) languages in a given speech situation (Valdes-Fallis 1978; McClure 1981; Myers-Scotton 1993). The pivotal role of the use of two or more languages in this first decade of a democratic South Africa is clearly evident in the country's official national anthem which incorporates five languages, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Afrikaans and English. For the purposes of this research the two languages involved are Zulu

(learners' first language) and English (learners' second language). The issue of how we treat language alternation in the classroom is of critical methodological importance no matter what area of language learning - speaking, reading, listening or writing - is emphasised. Thus Byrnes (1991:356) notes that, "the ultimate instructional goal is always to allow learners to be fully functional in the language, or, at least, not to bar them from becoming fully functional should the need arise."

This research focuses more specifically on the use of language alternation or code-switching (CS) - English and Zulu - as a technique in teaching English literature in the English second language (henceforth ESL) classroom. In this introductory chapter, I present an overview of code-switching by providing a background, definition, and types. I then distinguish code-switching from code-mixing and borrowing as the use of these terms is unclear. I also look at who actually engages in CS behaviour, whether CS is an unconscious or calculated phenomenon, and the domains of code-switching. Thereafter, I outline the aims, rationale and domain of my own study. I also present an overview of the methodology I employ to gather my data. Finally, I present the structural framework of this thesis.

1.2 CODE-SWITCHING: BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION

1.2.1 BACKGROUND:

Code-switching (henceforth, CS), the phenomenon which occurs widely in bilingual communities (such as Port Shepstone in KwaZulu Natal, the region in which this research is based) and which is increasingly evident in public and social life in South Africa (Adendorff 1993:3) presumably existed in the seventeenth century (Bickerton 1981). Franceshini (1998:66) contends that code-

switching is not a historical language in the sense that it is passed on from generation to generation but rather a kind of interlanguage in that it is produced anew in each sociocultural situation. Richards, Platt and Platt (1992:186) define interlanguage as the type of language produced by L2 learners who are in the process of learning a language. However, whether CS can in fact be perceived as an interlanguage or not, is an issue I return to in chapter 3.

The phenomenon of CS was previously perceived as a random process, an interference or performance error by incompetent bilinguals (Duran 1994:4; Goyvaerts 1995:171). However, since the early 1970's this phenomenon has come to be recognized as a rule-governed form of behaviour despite the fact that there is little agreement on the precise nature of the rules involved (Poplack 1980:585). Investigators now agree that CS is a highly purposeful activity (Elridge 1996:303), a conduit for important social information ranging from reflecting role relationships between speakers to conveying feelings of solidarity, intimacy and so on, and as a personal rhetorical device which is used to add colour to speech and emphasize a given statement (Duran 1994:4; Valdes 1981:96). I shall be looking at the functions of CS in greater detail in the next chapter. What follows is a definition of CS provided by some experts in the field.

1.2.2 CODE-SWITCHING DEFINED:

Code-switching is in its most general sense, the alternating use of two or more linguistic varieties (languages, dialects of the same language, registers of the same language) at the word, phrase or clause, or sentence level in the course of a discourse (Valdes-Fallis 1978:95; Poplack 1980:583; Bokamba 1988:24; Hoffmann 1991:110; Kamwangamalu 1992:173). Classic studies of language contact (e.g. Weinreich 1953) considered CS as a corrupt linguistic behaviour, that is, CS was not

perceived as a characteristic feature of the linguistic behaviour of an ideal bilingual. Weinreich (1953:73) characterized the ideal bilingual as an individual who “switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence.” The following examples which are drawn from the text ‘The Suit’ by Can Temba (one of the literary texts studied by pupil-participants of this research) and recordings of lessons on ‘The Suit’ (appendix 4b), illustrate the various points at which CS may occur in a context:

I. At the word level:

“Some of the younger women shrieked delightedly to the driver, ‘**Fuduga!** . . . Stir the pot!’ as he swung his steering-wheel this way and that.” [Page 26, *The Suit*, Can Themba]

II. At the clause or phrase level:

He trusted his wife, **ngenhliziyoyakheyonke**, with all of his heart.[..... with all of his heart].

III. At the sentence level:

Wayemnika isidlo sasek’seni embhedeni. Which of you boys will do that hey? [He gave her breakfast in bed].

IV. At a discourse level:

Matilda’s lover jumped out through the window, **wajomba ngetasitela bantwana**, in his underpants. Imagine that eh! **Ngaphandle kwezingubo zakhe.** He left his suit behind [.....through the window boys and girls, without his clothes]

Myers-Scotton (1992:101) states that CS is “the selection of forms by bilinguals/multilinguals from an embedded language in utterances framed by a matrix language during the same conversation.”

The matrix language is that language which assumes the dominant role (Kamwangamalu 1994:74), and is otherwise referred to as the ‘host’ language and the embedded language is the ‘guest’

language (Barnes 1993:269). In this study, the matrix language is English, the medium of instruction, and the embedded language is Zulu, the learners' native language. Blommaert (1992:57) adds that "the appearance of elements from another language in the flow of speech of one language is both linguistically and sociolinguistically consistent." Linguistically, the result of CS is a successive stretch of speech without a break in phonemic systems (Haugen 1956, in Valdes-Fallis 1978:65). The switching of two languages simultaneously or interchangeably implies some degree of competence in the two languages even if bilingual fluency is not yet stable (Duran 1994:3). Four types of CS have been identified, an account of which follows.

1.2.3 TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING:

The four types of CS that have been identified and that I shall be using in the data analysis, especially in the discussion of the form of CS, are (a) intersentential code-switching; (b) intrasentential code-switching; (c) lexical code-switching; and (d) tag switching.

(a) INTERSENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING:

Intersentential CS involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary (Jacobson 1978:21; Baker 1980:3; Romaine 1989:122; Nyowe 1992:365). An example of CS at the clause level is given by Poplack (1980) in her title to an article of Spanish-English speech in Puerto Rico:

Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English **y termino en espanol** [... and finish it in Spanish];

and an example of CS at the sentence boundary is:

He wakes up early in the morning to begin the job. **Uma ulima awuvuki emini ilanga selishisa akwenziwa njalo.** [If you are a farmer you don't wake up late when the sun is hot, you don't do that] [appendix 4d].

(b) **INTRASENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING:**

In *intrasentential CS* the syntactic strings, such as phrases, of one language are embedded into a sentence of another language i.e. switching occurs within a sentence (Jacobson 1978:21; Baker 1980:3; Nwoye 1993:369). Poplack (1980:605) states that for a speaker to produce intrasentential switches, s/he must know enough about the grammar of each language and the way they interact, to avoid ungrammatical sentences. The following utterance by an interviewee of this research serves as an example of intrasentential switching:

I mean **ashone ngatha nangapha uzomenza** so **ukuthi alende la ebengathandi ukuthi awele khona** because there are forces in between him and a parachute-e. [I mean, he will go this way and that way. He won't land where he wishes because you know the forces in between him and a parachute][sample appendix 2c,T10].

(c) **LEXICAL SWITCHING:**

Lexical switching involves the incorporation of lexical items from the speaker's second language into an utterance in his/her mother tongue (Jacobson 1978). This is illustrated in the Zulu- English switch below:

Then, **leforce e- attracta umuntu** to the ground, **iforce of gravity**. [Then, the force which attracts him to the ground is the force of gravity][sample appendix 2c,T10].

Moreover, all three types of CS may be found within one and the same discourse (Romaine 1989:123). An example of all three types of CS is evident in the following discourse drawn from the lesson on the poem "Promise", by Gwala:

Why? **Kodwa-ke uma sibuyela eqinisweni umasesihleba babefanele ukuba bangaphindi bahlangane bahlukene njenge North ne-South** get it? [When we speak the truth, they were not supposed to meet because they differ at the north and the south, get it?] The other one is living in the north and the other is living south. They don't meet at all so it is

impossible that they will one day meet [unclear] iSouth ne North akuhlangani angibasoli.
[The south and the north never meet, I don't blame them][appendix 4c].

(d) TAG SWITCHING:

Poplack (1980:589) and Nwoye (1993:369) define *tag switching* as the insertion of a tag in one code into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other code. These researchers also note that tag-like switches include interjections, fillers, tags and idiomatic expressions, all of which can be produced in the second language with only minimal knowledge of the grammar of that language. As such, they may be easily inserted at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactical rules (Appel and Muysken 1987:118; Romaine 1989:122). Examples of such tags are 'OK', 'right', 'now then', 'so', 'I mean' etc. The following examples of tag switches are drawn from recordings of lessons:

- I. So, mina ubugentleman akekho nangelinye ilanga umuntu oye angibize ngani? [Even on a single day no one has ever called me what?] [appendix 4a].
- II. Akujwayelekile kobantu ukuthi indoda igeze izitshe, **okay**? [It is unusual in our culture that a man washes the dishes, cleans, okay?] [appendix 4b].

Having presented the four basic types of CS, I now distinguish between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing as they are terms which I use in my discussion of forms of CS; and, as a number of researchers observe, the distinction between these terms is thought to be unclear (Gxilishe 1992:93; Nwoye 1993:366).

1.2.4 UNTANGLING TERMINOLOGY: CODE-SWITCHING, CODE-MIXING AND BORROWING:

Even though Poplack and her associates (1980) maintain that CS and borrowing are sharply distinct phenomena, others such as Myers-Scotton (1993) suggest that these two phenomena be analyzed as ends of a continuum (Pfaff 1997:344). More generally however, CS has often been used interchangeably with code-mixing (CM) and borrowing. In fact, Nwoye (1992:365) and Myers-Scotton (1993:1) state that CM is so closely linked with CS that it is often used by authors synonymously, for example, Kamwangamalu (1992). Clarification of these concepts is therefore necessary even though Eastman (1992:1) says, “the efforts to distinguish clearly the three are doomed.”

(a) CODE-MIXING:

Whereas CS is the ability to switch from one code to the other, determined by the function, situation and participants, CM entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another (Kachru 1978:108). CM is the deliberate mixing of various linguistic units such as affixes, words, phrases and clauses from two (or more) languages within the same sentence, in the course of a single utterance, without an associated change in topic (Wardhaugh 1992:106; Bokamba 1988:24). CM is thought to be different from CS in that while CS is intersentential, i.e. switching that occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, CM is intrasentential, i.e. switching that occurs within a single sentence or even within a word (Bokamba 1988:24; Kamwangamalu 1992:173; Nwoye 1992:365,369). Mixing is perceived as going beyond switching such that there is greater integration of the two varieties than is normally the case in switching (Kachru 1978:108; Gibbons 1979:114-5). The following utterance is an example of CM at both the sentence and word levels:

Omunye arike omunye engakafiki omunye arike Monday omunye ngelinye ilanga [One will come before the other one arrives, the one comes on Monday the other on another day.] They will never meet, I told you, because **ngoba omunye uyiNorth omunye uyiSouth**. [The other one is north and the other one is south][appendix 4c].

This brings us to the next distinction, viz. between CM and borrowing.

(b) BORROWING:

Borrowing (also called a loan word) is an instance where a word or “short, frozen, idiomatic phrases” (Gumperz 1982:66) from one language becomes accepted as a normal part of the lexicon of another language (Hoffmann 1991:102; Nwoye 1993:366; Barnes 1993:269). In the most generic sense of the word, *borrowing* entails integration phonologically, morphologically and syntactically, of a linguistic item from one language into another (Kamwangamalu 1994:71; Brice 2001:2). In distinguishing CS from borrowing, Alvarez (1979:19) asserts that in CS, a bilingual introduces a completely unintegrated word or words from one language into another, host, language. Once a word or phrase is used habitually and becomes integrated and accepted in the host language, then it can be regarded as borrowing, and not a code-switch. Borrowing occurs in order to fill a lexical gap or extend meaning where a word or phrase in the original language will not serve. This is unlike code-mixing which does not fill gaps (Kachru 1978:109-10; Gumperz 1982:66; Bokamba 1988:25). Examples of borrowing that have become accepted by the South African Zulu speakers are:

‘iphone’, ‘ishirt’, iskirt, ‘ibank’, iforce etc.

Kamwangamalu (1992:175; 1993:71) points out that unlike code-switching and code-mixing which

occur in the speech of bilingual speakers only, borrowing may occur in the speech of monolingual and bilingual speakers alike. According to Hoffmann (1991:103), the motivation for the use of a borrowed item from one language to another is twofold, viz. (i) It could be a negative kind, in that it could be caused by laziness, fatigue or some form of emotional stress which makes the bilingual speaker forget the correct term, and (ii) a speaker may consciously choose an item from the other language because s/he considers it more appropriate or more precise.

Because there still exists some disagreement in the literature as to what constitutes a “true” instance of CS, for the purpose of this study, I adopt Poplack’s (1981:170) definition of code-switching: Code-switching is ‘a switch according to degree of adaptation to the other language.’ Hence, I treat instances of both code-mixing and borrowing, mindful of the distinctions discussed above, as elements of code-switching.

In addition to the above literature on CS, I examine three other relevant issues which are significant to my study. These are : (i) Who engages in CS behaviour? (ii) Is CS an unconscious or calculated phenomenon? and (iii) What are the domains of CS?

1.2.5 WHO ENGAGES IN CODE-SWITCHING BEHAVIOUR?

Various researchers (e.g. Loveday 1982) maintain that those who engage in this “frequent and natural form of speech behaviour” (Nwoye 1992:366) are those who have the resources to do so i.e. bilinguals or multilinguals. According to Loveday (1982:10), code-switchers are not only those who are efficient in two language worlds, but also those who may be non-fluent L2 speakers. Indeed, Loveday notes, they are the “more typical, if not ideal, representatives of bilinguals”. This

definition aptly describes the learner participants of my study, i.e. they are not fluent bilinguals as they are still in the process of acquiring English as a second language more proficiently. Most of teacher participants of the study however, may be considered fluent English-Zulu bilinguals. CS, as I have noted, is not a random, unstructured linguistic code. It is, as Kamwangamalu (1994:74) notes, “first and foremost a context-bound phenomenon”. As such bilingual speakers never engage in CS unless they are satisfied - unconsciously (*or not*) (my addition) - that the situational context is appropriate for them to resort to CS; and that their use of this strategy does not violate the norms of language. In other words, bilinguals would engage in CS only with those with whom they wish to identify, and most importantly, with whom they share the same linguistic repertoire, the same norms for language use, and the same (positive) attitudes towards CS (Kamwangamalu 1994:74).

1.2.6 IS CS AN UNCONSCIOUS OR CALCULATED PHENOMENON?

CS is thought to be mostly an unconscious, spontaneous strategy (Adendorff 1993:4; Nwoye 1992:366; Wardhaugh 1992:109) and users might not even be aware of their CS behaviour until it is brought to their attention (Heller 1988:7). For instance, in a study of Afrikaans-English CS in Cape Town, McCormick (1995:200) has shown that CS seemed to be largely unconscious. She provides the following example of how people, at a formal meeting where English is considered the appropriate code, unconsciously switch to Afrikaans in a debate:

- A I want proposals. I don't want suggestions anymore.
 J *Dis nie 'n suggestion nie!* [It's not a suggestion]
 C I don't want any rank imperialism!
 J *Wat sê hulle van tien rand, dan bied ons more or less?*
 [What do you say about ten rand, then we offer more or less]
 H *Vyfrand.* [Five rand]
 A Mr H - prop-uh, suggested ten rand.

However, under other circumstances CS can be a conscious, calculated and pragmatic strategy for achieving specific discourse objectives, although such conscious acts are often not premeditated. For example, Adendorff (1993:3) cites instances where politicians Nelson Mandela and Margaret Thatcher greeted their audiences (at separate meetings) in Afrikaans before switching to English. Undoubtedly, this was carefully calculated to create an effect on the audience in some way or the other. The issue and relevance of CS to this study, as being either unconscious or calculated are discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

1.2.7 WHAT ARE THE DOMAINS OF CS?

Fishman (1965) defines 'domain' as a "cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules (to account for language choices) in bilingual communities" (cited in Milroy and Muysken 1995:5-6). According to Kamwangamalu (1999:258), the phrase 'domain of CS', refers to the social context in which CS occurs, such as the workplace, the home, school and playground. In each domain, Romaine (1989:31) notes that there may be pressures of various kinds e.g. economic, administrative, cultural, political, religious, and so on, which influence the bilingual speaker towards use of a specific code. For the purposes of my research, the domain in which CS is observed is the school, and the predominant pressure that influences the participants (i.e. the educators and learners) is educational. Because, according to the school's language policy English is the sole medium of instruction, and because the learner participants are non-fluent speakers of English, the L2, the codes learners choose to speak are both English and Zulu.

1.3 AIMS:

The aim of this study is to investigate whether CS, if employed as a technique in the teaching of

English literature, could facilitate understanding of literary texts and promote scholastic achievement. I investigate whether learners' understanding and interpretation of literary texts would be enhanced if teachers of Zulu-English learners make a conscious decision, at the beginning of a lesson, to employ English-Zulu CS to fulfill various social and pedagogical functions such as, explanation, clarification, emphasis, reinforcement, elaboration, elicitation of learner-responses, and for phatic/metaphorical reasons. In addition, this research investigates whether ESL learners who are exposed to CS in the classroom, show superior performance in tests of literary works compared to learners who are taught through the medium of English only.

The broad problems and issues that are investigated in this study are:

- (a) Whether CS in the classroom can effectively enhance learning and scholastic achievement.
- (b) Whether a learner's native language can be effectively employed to promote ESL.
- (c) Whether CS affects the degree and nature of learner-learner and learner-teacher interaction.
- (d) Whether this study contributes to the on-going question of "Does bilingual education work?"

I also search for answers to the following questions:

- (a) What are the specific functions of CS by learners and teachers?
- (b) Does CS facilitate the learning process and if so, how?
- (c) Does CS in the teaching of literature facilitate interpretation of meaning, enhance appreciation of intrinsic literary value and offer insights into 'life-lessons' via the texts?
- (d) Does CS promote scholastic achievement as measured by tests of literary works?
- (e) What are the attitudes of learners and teachers towards CS ?

This research will not be examining the issue of the structure of CS.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR STUDY:

Literature comprises approximately 25% of the ESL syllabus. One of the factors that contributes to a lack of excellence in overall performance in English as a subject, is learners' unsatisfactory performance in the literature paper. This is evident in the 1999 report on matric ESL Paper 3 (literature) results. According to this report, the unsatisfactory performance of learners could be attributed to the fact that they were unable to "offer comment on the meaning of the text, appreciate its intrinsic literary value and show insight into 'life-lessons' as taught via the text." 'Life-lessons' in the context of the literature classroom refer to the social and moral values learned for day to day living. Although CS is expected to be incorporated in curriculum planning as an officially recognized teaching and learning strategy (evident in the report of the ANC Education and Training Policy Conference :1994) many principals and educators insist that English be used as the sole medium of communication. From a pedagogic perspective, while some scholars such as Epstein (1977) contend that there is no evidence for the educational effectiveness of bilingualism as a form of instruction, others such as Auerbach (1993), Garrett et al. (1994) and Martin-Jones (1995) argue otherwise. Indeed, there is a wealth of studies which, in disputing the claims held by English-only proponents, attest to the efficacy of using learners' native language (NL) in ESL acquisition. Various researchers have shown that learners' NL promotes L2 acquisition (e.g. Cummins 1981; Swain 1983); fulfills pedagogical functions and has socio-psychological benefits (e.g. Atkinson 1987; Kharma and Hajjaj 1989; Shamash 1999; Schinke-Llano 1991; Auerbach 1993; Schweers 1999); facilitates teaching and influences learner behaviour (e.g. Collingham 1988; Piasecka 1988; Kharma and Hajjaj 1989; Schweers 1999); and serves as a communicative strategy in the English classroom (e.g. Sticchi-Damiani 1985; Kharma and Hajjaj 1989; Martin 1996; Schweers 1999). It is my view that prohibiting the learners' NL within the context of ESL

instruction inhibits meaningful insight of literary works, results in poor scholastic performance among learners and impedes second language acquisition (SLA) itself.

Thus far, there appears to be a paucity of research on CS in the classroom in South Africa, and to my knowledge, no research has been conducted in the area of CS in the teaching of literature at the secondary school, even though literature has been given the same weighting as grammar in English as a subject. However, some research such as that of Adendorff (1993), Gila (1995) and Marawu (1997) provide meaningful insight into CS as a communicative and learning resource in the South African classroom. Peires (1994) and Kieswetter (1995) have also made significant contributions to the impact of CS in the educational arena even though their studies were not based on classroom interaction. Peires (1994) examines CS as an aid to L2 learning and Kieswetter (1995) looks at CS by students at a few South African schools. In addition, Auerbach (1993) alerts us to the need for a re-examination of the “English-only” policy in the classroom in light of pedagogical effectiveness.

This study is an extension of the research conducted by Adendorff (1993), Gila (1995) and Marawu (1997) in that it will show that CS can be employed as a technique in facilitating understanding of literary works and in promoting scholastic achievement. It will also be contributing to the debate on the “English-only” policy. This study will be examining the possibility of adopting CS as a technique in classroom teaching, as well as motivating a change in attitude among educators towards CS.

1.5 DOMAIN OF STUDY:

Kamwangamalu (1992), as I have noted, writes that the domains for CS refers to the social setting in which bilingual speakers carry out their daily activities. Although Jacobson (1978:178) suggests that CS is used exclusively in informal situations, Kamwangamalu (1992:178) notes that there is “strong evidence that the use of CS is not limited to casual encounters only.” This research supports Kamwangamalu’s assertion in that the domain of this study is indeed a formal one. The domain of this study is an educational one - classrooms at secondary schools.

1.6 DATA AND METHODOLOGY:

I have used the experimental approach to conduct this study and have adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods in gathering the data. The data is based on tape-recordings of lessons, interviews, questionnaires and test results. I return to this topic of methods in data collection in chapter 3 of this thesis.

1.6.1 SETTING AND SUBJECTS:

Two classes of Grade 10 learners at two schools, in close proximity to each other in the Sayidi district, in the Port Shepstone region, were selected. These schools were chosen because the learners in both schools are Zulu speakers who study English as a second language. In addition, both schools were ideal for my study in that the teacher of English in the one school is a native speaker of the language (English); and the teacher of English in the other school is a native speaker of Zulu. Using the experimental approach, one class, that which is taught by the native speaker of English, through the medium of English only, is the control group. The other class, taught by the

native speaker of Zulu who was asked to deliberately make use of English-Zulu CS in his/her classroom in which the matrix language is English, is the experimental group.

1.6.2 SUBJECT CONTENT:

The subject content comprises two short stories and three poems. The two short stories are “*The Suit*” by Can Themba and “*Kid Playboy*” by Casey Motsisi from “*To Kill A Man’s Pride and other Stories from Southern Africa*”, edited by Norman Hodge. The poems are “*Promise!*” by Mafika Pascal Gwala, “*Follower*” by Seamus Heaney and “*Out, Out-*” by Robert Frost. The lessons were taught and recorded over a period of approximately seven weeks. Learners wrote a total of three tests: one short story and two of the three poems studies. The test was set by the researcher after discussion with both the educator participants. The questions set were designed to reveal learners’ ability to, for example, follow a sequence of events; read for meaning; display an understanding of characters, themes, messages, writer’s intention, appreciation of diction and literary devices; and demonstrate an ability to make judgements. Pupils’ test scripts were marked by a “neutral teacher” i.e. one who is neither an active participant of this research nor the researcher herself.

1.6.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS:

Questionnaires, prepared in English for both learner and teacher participants of both schools; interviews, conducted in English with a sample of learners and teacher participants of both schools; tape-recordings of lessons of the five literary works in both the control and experimental groups; and test scripts form the basis of my data and analysis. An analysis and discussion of questionnaires

and interviews are presented in chapter 3. Tape-recordings, which were done by the teacher-participants themselves, were transcribed and translated. A professional was employed to translate and transcribe the recorded text from Zulu into English. The translated text was then verified for accuracy by the subjects who participated in this study. I examine the actual lessons for both the control and experimental groups to see how each teacher fulfills her objective(s) and I then make comparisons thereof. Finally, I apply the *t-test* to scores obtained by pupils in their tests to determine if there is any significant difference between the control and experimental groups of this study. An analysis and interpretation of the data are presented in chapter 3.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY:

The issues reported on in this study are covered in 4 chapters. In *chapter one*, thus far, I have presented the topic of my study; placed this study in context; provided a definition of code-switching together with a brief overview and types of CS and distinguished between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing, concepts that are of relevance to this study. I have also outlined the aim of my study, presented some broad issues and questions that will be explored in this thesis; noted the domain of this study; and provided a brief overview of the setting and participants, the subject content and data collection and analysis.

In *Chapter two* I present a review of pertinent literature to this study. Firstly, I outline the theoretical frameworks in code-switching and pedagogy that form the basis of this study. More specifically, I present Gumperz's (1982) *Interactional Model*, Myers-Scotton's (1993) *Markedness Model*, Kamwangamalu's (1998) proposal of the '*code-in-between*' and Gordon

Well's (1982) *Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning*. Secondly, I provide greater insight into the CS phenomenon by discussing the role and functions of CS in the educational context. Thirdly, I present the different attitudes of people towards English and towards CS.

In *Chapter three* I discuss the methods I use in gathering my data and present an analysis of questionnaires, interviews, lesson recordings and tests. I also present a detailed discussion of my findings. The discussion focuses on the status of English and English-Zulu CS at the schools of this research; the attitudes of educators towards CS; the value of CS in the literature ESL classroom; and the effect of CS on scholastic achievement. Finally, I present a discussion of lesson recordings in terms of the four theoretical frameworks that form the basis of this study.

In the last chapter, *Chapter four*, I summarize the findings, discuss their implications for pedagogy and delineate some limitations of this study. Following chapter 4, are the bibliography and appendices. The latter comprises questionnaires for educators and learners; samples of transcriptions of interviews with educators and learners; samples of lesson recordings and complete lesson recordings of "Kid Playboy", "The Suit", "Promise", "Follower" and "Out, out-", of the control group and experimental group respectively; test questions; and finally the pupils' raw scores of tests, all of which are presented sequentially.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter, I focus on the review of literature that is pertinent to my research topic. As the thrust of my topic concerns both code-switching and pedagogy, I present a review on both these aspects while focusing on the former. Firstly, I discuss the theoretical frameworks in code-switching and pedagogy upon which this research is constructed. Secondly, I present the more pertinent roles and functions of code-switching in the educational arena. Thirdly, I discuss attitudes toward code-switching.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS IN CODE-SWITCHING AND PEDAGOGY:

The principal theories upon which this research is constructed are: (2.1.1) Gumperz's (1982) 'Interactional Model'; (2.1.2) Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'markedness model'; (2.1.3) Kamwangamalu's (1998) proposal of the 'code-in-between'; and (2.1.4) Gordon Wells' (1982) 'reciprocal interaction model of learning'.

2.1.1 GUMPERZ'S (1982) INTERACTIONAL MODEL:

Gumperz's 'Interactional Model' is based on the premise that communication is a social activity that occurs between two individuals who are able to listen to what the other has said, interpret what is said within the particular context, and respond appropriately to it (Gumperz 1982). According to Gumperz (1982:1), only when a move elicits a response does communication take

place. There are a number of features that characterize this model. Those that are of relevance to my own research are: (a) Linguistic choices are dynamic events; (b) code choices comprise a contextualizing cue; (c) there are no assumptions about sharedness of rules or evaluative norms; and (d) the choice of a linguistic code is mostly an unconscious one (Gumperz 1982:1-8,61). I discuss each of these characteristics and show their significance to this study.

(a) Linguistic choices are dynamic events:

In Gumperz's 'Interactional Model', interpretation of a speaker's utterance does not exist in isolation, but is an ongoing process of interpretation in conversation. It is language use in context that enables an addressee to interpret particular contextualizing cues (a concept I discuss in (b) below), react to others and pursue their communicative ends. Just as grammatical knowledge enables the speaker to distinguish potentially meaningful sentences from non-sentences, knowledge of the social values associated with certain activities and social relationships implied in a message is necessary to interpret a particular context (Gumperz 1982:4-5; Gumperz and Herasimchuk 1975:81). Gumperz and Herasimchuk (1975:81) provide the following three examples:

1. They are holding a meeting to discuss the issue.
2. They are getting together to talk it over.
3. They're sittin' down to rap about it.

Each of these utterances can be used to describe the same event, and is thus, in a sense, referentially equivalent. However, their social implications are different. The first example is a structured situation implying specific role functions of the parties involved. Example 2 is unmarked with respect to these characteristics and the phrase "talk it over" implies a casual conversation. Example 3 is unstructured and the speaker is unconfined by what can be said and to whom. These

examples demonstrate how, within the interactional model, linguistic choices are dynamic events and communication is not merely the ability to produce grammatically correct sentences. Thus, in my own study, one needs to have a knowledge of the social values associated with the relationship that exists between teacher and pupils and pupils and pupils to better understand their interaction.

Gumperz also maintains that 'true' communication occurs when interlocutors are able to create a conversation, elicit a response from the addressee, and sustain a conversation. To be able to do this interlocutors require shared background knowledge, which is usually not overtly verbalized, and abilities which transcend creating syntactically accurate sentences (Gumperz 1982:1,36; Stubbs 1983:5). For meaningful communication to occur members of the dyad need to be able to make inferences about the content of the interaction and what is expected of each other, i.e. the speaker and the hearer. How successful a communicative act is depends on the hearer's ability to correctly perceive the illocutionary force of an utterance. The illocutionary force of an utterance to her/his communicative intent i.e. what s/he intends to do, such as stating, questioning, promising and complaining (Wardhaugh 1992:285). This tenet is of significance to my study as pupils' verbal and written responses need not necessarily be grammatically accurate for the illocutionary force of the message to be understood. Hence, in the marking of test scripts, as I shall show in chapter 3, pupils' responses are evaluated for meaning rather than grammatical accuracy.

In addition, for successful communication to occur, there is need for both interlocutors to share some common background which enables inferencing to take place (Gumperz 1982:1). As an illustration, consider the following exchange between teacher and pupil:

T: Did you fetch the register?

P: Mrs Mtudi is not in.

T: Okay. Try again later.

This is a typical routine encounter in the domain of the school. When speaker T, the teacher, enquires of the hearer, speaker P, the pupil, if s/he had fetched the register, the expected response is either “yes” / “no” / “here it is” and the like. However, P’s response is, “Mrs Mtudi is not in”. On the surface, this response hardly constitutes the expected response. However, because both the teacher and pupil share the same schemata or background knowledge concerning the register, the teacher is able to make appropriate inferences and is therefore able to correctly perceive P’s underlying meaning. The intended meaning of P’s utterance could be, for example, “Mrs Mtudi has not yet arrived at school, so the office where the register is kept is locked.” P’s response or message is understood and accepted within the context. As there are no overt linguistic cues, one can assume that both teacher and pupil rely on a shared understanding that the interaction takes place at school and on their expectations of what normally goes on in classrooms. This principle of the interactional model has direct relevance to this study as participants can only understand and draw conclusions about events and characters of literary texts studied by having some background and contextual knowledge of the texts. I shall expand on this by providing examples in my discussion in the next chapter.

(b) Code choices comprise a contextualizing cue:

Gumperz’s notion of ‘contextualizing cue’ refers to the strategic activities, such as choice of code, dialect, style, prosodic phenomena, conversational openings and closings and so on, of speakers in varying their communicative behaviour within a socially agreed matrix of conventions. These

features help speakers signal and listeners interpret the communicative intent of the speaker by looking at how each utterance relates to what precedes or follows the given utterance, and so giving additional meaning to what is said and done in a conversation (Gumperz 1982:131-2; Adendorff 1993:5; Auer 1995:162).

Gumperz (1982:132) explains that although contextualizing cues carry information, meanings are conveyed as part of the interactive process. Unlike words that can be discussed outside the context (e.g. using a dictionary for denotational meanings), meanings of contextualizing cues are implicit. This means that people who are not part of the conversation will probably not recognize the contextualizing cues which are employed in it. Hence, when a listener does not react to a cue or is unaware of its function, interpretations may differ and misunderstanding may occur. However, when participants understand and notice relevant cues, interpretative processes tend to go unnoticed (Gumperz 1982:132; Adendorff 1993:6).

The issue of contextualizing cues is of relevance to this study as bilingual participants choose code-switching from their linguistic repertoire as a contextualizing cue to signal information on communicative intent. They choose to use code-switching probably because they think they would be most effective in conveying exactly what and how they want to say something, and be accurately interpreted by their listeners. Thus, for example, in the context of this study, bilingual teachers might choose to say something in Zulu, not because they do not have the vocabulary to do so in English, but because they believe that using Zulu would be more effective in driving a point home. In chapter 3 of this thesis, I discuss, with examples, how bilingual teachers and learners use CS to fulfill various social and pedagogical functions which are interpreted within the context of literature teaching in the ESL classroom.

(c) There are no assumptions about sharedness of rules or evaluative norms:

The value of the interactional approach to the diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the peoples of South Africa, and more pertinently to the population of this study, lies in the principle that this approach makes no assumptions about sharedness of rules or evaluative norms. People might speak the same language but show significant differences in background knowledge. They must, however, overcome or take account of the communicative symbols which signal these differences to sustain meaningful conversation. They must be able to negotiate meaning to sustain interaction and have their goals and motives understood (Gumperz 1982:6). This principle is of significance to my study as the teacher of the control group and her charges both share the same language, English, but come from different social and cultural backgrounds. In addition, as the teacher is a monolingual, the use of CS by her pupils in class results in a lack of understanding on the part of the teacher. As the discussion in chapter 3 will show, the teacher attempts at negotiating meaning to sustain conversation between them or simply makes a marked choice to find a common footing between herself and her pupils.

(d) The choice of a linguistic code is mostly an unconscious one:

Gumperz (1982:61) notes that although CS is perceived as “highly salient, participants immersed in the interaction itself are quite unaware which code is used any one time.” The main concern of speakers is with the communicative effect of what they are saying. Gumperz says that selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. The social norms which govern language use here form part of the underlying knowledge which speakers use to convey meaning. This view of CS within the Interactional Model is of significance to this study as the data obtained from questionnaires and interviews show CS for the vast majority of my subjects is an unconscious choice. I shall however, discuss this in chapter 3.

To conclude, Gumperz's (1982) 'Interactional Model', as discussed thus far, is of relevance to this study as the participants - the bilingual teachers and learners - share a common linguistic background (Zulu and English) that makes CS possible. By looking at CS as a discourse mode or a communicative option which is available to the Zulu-English bilingual participants within the classroom, I shall demonstrate how switching serves an expressive function and has pragmatic meaning. Also, in the case of the control group where the teacher and learners probably do not share a common socio-cultural background, I will discuss how they would still be able to negotiate interpretations of exchanges. In addition, as I have already mentioned, Gumperz's (1982) 'Interactional Model' posits that meaningful interaction between interlocutors transcends grammatical competence. This is also of particular relevance to this investigation as learner responses, both verbal and written, should be evaluated for the message conveyed rather than for the form employed. I shall also, in chapter 3, by examining excerpts from recordings of lessons and learners' test scripts, present a discussion based on this theoretical framework.

2.1.2 MYERS-SCOTTON'S (1993) MARKEDNESS MODEL:

The function of the "Markedness Model", as its proponent, Myers-Scotton, points out, is to explain the social motivation of code-switching. The aim of the model is to account for the socio-psychological motivations of speakers when they engage in CS. It claims to have universal, predictive validity for all bilingual and multilingual communities. Although her own studies have focused on CS, particularly in the African context, Myers-Scotton explicitly wants her theory to be applicable for all phenomena of linguistic choices beyond CS (Wei 1998:158).

The 'Markedness Model' proposes that (i) speakers have a sense of markedness regarding

available linguistic codes for any interaction, and (ii) speakers actually choose their codes on the basis of the specific role or relationship they want to establish with the interlocutor. As an instance, my own study shows that for bilingual educators and learners, CS is their choice of linguistic interaction in the classroom with other bilinguals but not with their monolingual peers. This is to say that in the control group, learners do not use CS when speaking with their monolingual, English-speaking teachers but speak to each other using CS; and in the experimental group where both learners and teachers are bilinguals, CS is the chosen code of interaction.

Such a linguistic code may be expected or normal i.e. unmarked, or unexpected or abnormal i.e. marked. This markedness has a normative basis within a speech community and speakers are aware of the consequences of making unmarked or marked choices. This is so because all linguistic choices, including code-switching, are indices of projected rights and obligations (RO) balances that exist between participants of a conversational exchange. These RO sets are derived from whatever situational features are salient for the community for that speech event, such as the status of the participants, the topic and the setting (Myers-Scotton 1992:167; 1993:84; Goyvaerts 1995:175; Kamwangamalu 1997:285). In some ways, Myers-Scotton's model is similar to Gumperz's distinction of situational and metaphorical switching. In Gumperz's model meaning is generated by situational switching, becomes associated with two codes, and is then used in those cases of language alternation that cannot be interpreted situationally i.e. metaphorical switching. In the markedness theory, meaning is the accumulation of the associations between linguistic varieties and conventionalized conversational exchanges (Auer 1995:159; Wei 1998:159).

The markedness model predicts a realization of three types of negotiations, namely, (a) code-switching as an unmarked choice; (b) code-switching as a marked choice; and (c) code-switching

as an exploratory choice. A discussion of each of these follows.

(a) Code-switching as an unmarked choice:

Unmarked choices refer to code-switching that is both normal and expected by the participants, based on the RO set derived from whatever situational factors are salient for the community for that interaction (Myers-Scotton 1992:175; 1993:84; Peires 1994:15). In all communities, the use of a particular code becomes identified as one of the unmarked indices of RO balances. According to Myers-Scotton (1992:169) this could mean that : (i) given all the codes that exist in a speech community, the most frequently occurring code will be isolated as the unmarked index of a specific interaction type; and (ii) when speakers use an unmarked code it signifies that they accept the RO balance for which that code is unmarked and they trust that their communicative intentions are, in general, received as intended. However, although code choices are generally unmarked for a given RO set, the same choices are not necessarily equally unmarked for all participants; this depends on their social identities (Myers-Scotton 1992:169).

Speakers in bi/multilingual communities may follow the unmarked choice maxim by speaking two languages in the same conversation, and even switch within the sentence and even within the same word (Myers-Scotton 1993:117). More recently however, a switch within the same word (e.g. siyafona, we are phoning) is no longer regarded as an instance of CS, rather it is thought to be a case of integrated borrowing (Kamwangamalu 1999:259,260). The following conversation that occurs between English-Zulu bilinguals i.e. the teacher and pupil of the experimental group of this study, serves as a point of illustration of CS as the unmarked choice:

So, wase ezichaza-ke ukuthi ungubani, hayi bo ngingubani kanje njenge editor ke wase ehleka kancane, wasemfaka eroomini lapho kukhona khona umshado. Okay. [So, he told

him who he was, the editor, whereupon he smiles and ushers him into the room] [appendix 4a].

In this example, mixing codes have become part of the unmarked choice of RO set for these speakers.

Unmarked choices can also be used by Zulu-speaking pupils and teachers when referring to, for example, certain scientific terminology (particularly in subjects such as Biology, Physical Science, Maths. and Computer Studies) that have no Zulu equivalents, or for which such equivalents would be rather cumbersome. The following utterance is an example provided by an interviewee of this research, a science teacher, of how the use of specific English words are incorporated into Zulu:

Then *leforce e attracter umuntu to the ground, iforce of gravity*. [Then the force which is attracted to the ground is called the force of gravity] [sample appendix 2a,T10].

The use of CS as an unmarked choice is of particular relevance to my study. Firstly, CS is the unmarked choice for bilingual educators and learners both in the community in general (as the data from questionnaires and interviews show) and in the domain of the school, and more especially in the classroom itself (as the data from questionnaires and interviews as well as lesson recordings reveal). Secondly, using English only with English monolingual teachers has also become the unmarked choice for bilingual learners. Because the unmarked choice indexes an expected interpersonal relationship, and as such is not unusual or surprising in any way, it is the 'safer' choice and speakers will generally make this choice.

(b) Code-switching as a marked choice:

Marked choices refer to a "deviation from the expected or unmarked choice" (Myers-Scotton

1992:172). It is a deliberate action on the part of the speaker who, for one reason or other, disidentifies himself with, or goes against the expected, unmarked RO set. The conversation takes place in a relatively conventionalized interaction, for which the unmarked RO set between the participants is clear, but, one of the speakers, instead of continuing with the unmarked choice, chooses a different path i.e. the marked choice maxim, and in so doing calls for a new unmarked RO set.

Researchers have demonstrated that speakers engage in marked choices to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection, and to negotiate outcomes ranging from demonstrations of authority or of superior educational status to assertions of ethnic identity, and even excluding others (Myers-Scotton 1993:132). The effect in all cases is to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing it or decreasing it (Myers-Scotton 1993:132). Usually a marked choice to negotiate a change in the social distance by decreasing what is used to display shared ethnic identity or to establish solidarity. Another reason for CS as a marked choice is the use of repetition, whereby content is repeated by switching to another language. In such a case, in addition to emphasising something, the purpose may also be to convey some kind of social meaning intended by the speaker (Myers-Scotton 1992:175). A marked choice then, derives its meaning from two sources viz. (i) it is a negotiation against the unmarked RO set, and (ii) the marked choice is a call for another RO set in its place (Myers-Scotton 1993:131). According to Peires (1994:19) reasons for the marked choice can be understood if one is familiar with the social context. Consider the following exchanges as examples of marked choices within the Markedness Model:

- I. P1: Uboleke incwadi yami yePoetry book.
 [You borrowed my poetry book yesterday].
 P2: Yebo, ngisayisebenzisa.
 [Yes, I am still using it].
 P1: Kufanele ngifundele itest on Friday.
 [I have to learn for my test on Friday].
 P2: Ngizokunikeza kusasa.
 [I'll give it to you tomorrow].
 P1: Uthembise ukuyibuyisa namuhla. [You promised to return it today]. **I want my book today.**
I am going to tell the teacher if you don't give it to me now!
- II. P1: *LE* [This one]. We are having a Biology class on Saturday.
 P2: On Saturday?! **Ngiya kobuka ibhayosikobho!** [We are going to the movies!]

In example I, the pupil who has lent his book uses the marked choice by resorting to English, to assert his authority by threatening to inform the teacher and by displaying his anger. In example II, a pupil expresses her emotional disapproval in Zulu as she feels the emotional connotations are stronger in Zulu. Peires (1994:19) however, notes that the code-switching is likely to be unconscious on the part of the speakers and reveals “the social nuances the speakers have learnt to manipulate through the use of code-switching” .

CS as a marked choice is also of relevance to this study in that my data reveals: (i) that certain monolinguals feel excluded from certain CS conversations (suggesting that bilinguals' choice of code in the presence of English monolinguals might be a marked one); (ii) that bilingual learners and teachers resort to either Zulu or English to increase or decrease the social distance between them; (iii) that CS as a marked choice is used to express some form of emotion. A detailed discussion, with examples, will follow in chapter 3.

(c) **Code-switching as an exploratory choice:**

Code-switching as an exploratory choice occurs when there is no apparent unmarked choice and speakers are in an uncertain situation or there is a clash of norms. Here, speakers negotiate one code first as a medium for the exchange and, depending upon the outcome of the negotiation, they may negotiate another code until they are satisfied that they have reached the balance of roles and obligations required for that particular conversational exchange (Myers-Scotton 1992:176; Kamwangamalu 1997:285). In cases where speakers do not know what norms apply and therefore do not know what the RO balance for themselves and other participants would be (Myers-Scotton 1993:143) speakers engage in an exploratory choice. As a point of illustration, Kamwangamalu (1998:289) provides the following example of how, at the University of Natal, a security guard (SG) asks a lecturer (L) in Zulu to give a lady a ride:

- SG **Uyangakuphi Mnumzane. Ungangisiza uphe losisi u-lift uya e-King Edwards Hospital.**
 [Which way are you going, Sir? Can you please give this lady a lift. She is going to King Edwards Hospital].
- L Sorry, I don't understand.
- SG Oh, I'm sorry, Sir. I was saying can you please give this lady a lift. She is going to King Edwards Hospital.
- L I'm sorry. I'm not going that way. I'm going to Windmere.

Speakers also engage in an exploratory choice when the overall norms of the society are in a state of flux. This is the case, for example, when there is a change in language policies. This was apparent in South Africa in 1994 with the birth of the additional nine official languages. It is only through the process of negotiation, by testing the responses of addressees, that code-choices are made. Myers-Scotton (1992) states that when such situations occur, the speaker may use CS to propose first one code and then another, before deciding which is received more favourably by the

addressee. CS as an exploratory choice, however, is of no relevance to my study as participants are familiar with each other and know the linguistic repertoire and expectations of their conversational partners.

To conclude, Myers Scotton's 'Markedness Model', within which CS can be seen as a means to encode both power and solidarity, a means to negotiate either greater or less social distance than is normative in a given situation, is of relevance to this study for a number of reasons, as I have noted in the foregoing literature. The participants in this research probably share norms for such features as status of participants, topic (aspect of the lesson) and setting (the classroom). In terms of the 'Markedness Model', teacher and learner code-choices would fall within the markedness continuum of unmarked and marked choices as both teacher and pupils would engage in negotiation of meaning to achieve certain goals. This is to say that even though CS is largely an unconscious phenomenon (Gumperz 1982; Adendorff 1993; Peires 1994) bilingual participants resort to CS to fulfill specific social and pedagogical functions such as achieving solidarity, emphasising ideas, explaining vocabulary and concepts and so on, evidence of which appears in chapter 3.

2.1.3 KAMWANGAMALU'S (1998) 'CODE-IN-BETWEEN':

Gumperz (1982) distinguishes between "we-code" and "they-code" within the linguistic repertoire of a community. Generally speaking, the tendency is for the minority language to be regarded as the "we-codes" and the majority language as the "they-codes" (Gumperz 1982:66). "We-code" typically signifies in-group, informal, personalized activities reflecting speaker involvement - it is the language of the home and family bonds. In contrast, "they-code" is usually associated with out-

group, less-personal and more formal relations indicating objectification or speaker distance - the language of socio-economic advancement (Gumperz 1982:66,83,95; Romaine 1989:165; Kamwangamalu 1998:277). As an example, in his study of the “we-code” - “they-code” dichotomy in an Indian context of Hindi-English CS, Gumperz (1982:92) demonstrates that whereas a shift to “we-code” (Hindi) is perceived as signifying more of a personal appeal, a shift to “they-code” (English) is more suggestive of a warning or mild threat.

In the South African context, however, the “we-they-code” dichotomy is not so straightforward. The “we-code” would refer to language of a specific group of people. Thus, for example, in my own study, in Gumperz’s view, for English-Zulu bilinguals in the domain of the school, and more especially the classroom, “we-code” would be Zulu and “they-code” would be English, their L2. However, the opposite holds true for English speaking monolinguals, in the same domain for whom “we-code” and “they-code” would be English and Zulu respectively. Thus, for example, in Gumperz’s view the use of “we-code” in the experimental group of my study, serves to fulfill a variety of social and pedagogical functions. To quote just one example, in the lesson ‘Kid Playboy’ (appendix 4a), one pupil stated: “She can **qoma** you” [She can fall in love with you]. By switching to his mother tongue, the pupil, probably, though unconsciously, meant to achieve solidarity with his classmates and bring relief to an otherwise serious discussion of the story.

However, in view of the complexity of the South African situation, with its adoption of eleven official languages, and other, approximately fourteen spoken languages, Kamwangamalu (1998:277, 278, 280) argues that the “we-code” versus “they-code” dichotomy is inadequate in describing the linguistic scenario in South Africa. Many South Africans are not just bilingual but multilingual. As an attestation of the linguistic repertoire of many South Africans, Kamwangamalu

cites the following account, which appears in Mesthrie (1995), of a 23 year old Johannesburg student:

My father's home language was Swati, and my mother's home language was Tswana. But I grew up in a Zulu-speaking area; we used mainly Zulu and Swati at home. But from my mother's side I also learned Tswana well. In my high school I came into contact with lots of Sotho and Tswana students, so I can speak these two languages well. And of course I know English and Afrikaans. With my friends I also use Tsotsitaal.

My own research also shows that for the majority of the subjects for whom Zulu is their mother tongue, they are familiar, to some degree or the other, with Afrikaans and English. In addition, as the data obtained from questionnaires and interviews reveal, there are others who can also speak Xhosa and/or other unspecified African languages. In view of this linguistic complexity, Kamwangamalu (1998) proposes a third dimension, namely, the "code-in-between", that is, a perceptibly neutral code. As such, whereas previously South African Africans perceived English as a "they-code" during the period of British colonization of South Africa, and then as a "we-code" when Afrikaans emerged as a language of oppression and English was seen as the language of upliftment, in the current democratic South Africa, according to Kamwangamalu, English is perceived as the "code-in-between".

In the post-apartheid era, South Africa does not accord English any special rights or advantages over the other ten official languages. Kamwangamalu points out that, in fact, in section 3(2). the constitution stipulates that:

"any person may communicate in writing and orally with a government department in any official language ..."

and that:

“any attempt by the government to act in any linguistic manner or ... to allow any language/languages to dominate others would be unconstitutional...”

Yet, when one looks at the various events in the political and economic arenas, English is the language that is exclusively used. Undisputedly, English enjoys a special, covert status in South Africa. Kamwangamalu argues that as the participants of the various political events come from various ethnic groups in South Africa, yet conduct discussions exclusively in English, the use of English cannot be described in terms of Gumperz’s “we-code” vs “they-code” dichotomy. This is so because English is not being used for the purpose of communicating with outsiders or for the purpose of in-group, informal activities. Hence, the proposed term “code-in-between” is a more appropriate description of language in use in the given context. Similarly, in my own study, more particularly, the control group, where English is almost the exclusive code in teacher-pupil interaction, English *cannot* be perceived as either “we-code” or “they-code”. The purpose of using English in the literature ESL classroom is neither to communicate with strangers nor for personalized activities, but to fulfill more formal, pedagogical functions. Therefore, within the context of English monolingual teacher and bilingual learners in the classroom, “code-in-between” is a more appropriate description of the use of English.

In the context of my study, English is not the only code used by the participants. On the school grounds, staff room and classrooms, and more pointedly, the experimental group of this study, bilingual participants use Zulu-English CS as well. Indeed, as I discuss later in this thesis, CS for the bilingual teachers and learners is a norm in the classroom. According to Kamwangamalu, for those who engage in CS behaviour, CS is a “we-code” and is therefore, in terms of Myers Scotton’s ‘Markedness Model’ (discussed in the preceding section, 2.1.2, of this part of the

literature), an unmarked choice in the sense that it is mostly used for in-group interactions. On the other hand, for non-codeswitchers, CS is a “they-code”. Additionally, CS can be perceived as a “code-in-between” in the sense that it is used as a neutral strategy and thus enables the speaker to achieve certain goals that might not be attainable through the use of only one language (Kamwangamalu 1998:287).

Finally, whether a language qualifies as “we-code”, “they-code” or “code-in-between” is mainly dependent on the context of the situation and the type of social goals one wishes to achieve in a given speech situation (Kamwangamalu 1998:278). This theoretical framework is pertinent to this research as it is concerned with perceiving English, not as a “they-code” or “we-code”, but a neutral code that enables speakers to achieve specific goals, as is the case in the control group of this study. In addition, it is relevant in that among English monolinguals and non-codeswitchers, CS might be perceived as a “they-code”; by codeswitchers who do not wish their English monolinguals to know what they are talking about, as a “we-code”; and by codeswitchers in the experimental classroom, as a “code-in-between”. I shall, however, return to this discussion, in chapter 3.

2.1.4 GORDON WELLS’ (1982) ‘RECIPROCAL INTERACTION MODEL OF LEARNING.’

Over recent years much attention has been given to learner-learner interaction in the classroom to facilitate learning (e.g. Long and Porter 1985; Canale 1992; Brown 1994). There has been a cry for a shift from the traditional transmission approach where the teacher is seen as a transmitter of information and the learner the passive receptor to one where the teacher is a facilitator and the learner an active participant in the learning process. Gordon Wells’ (1982) ‘Reciprocal Interaction

Model of Learning' is proposed as a more appropriate alternative to the dominant transmission model of pedagogy.

Wells' theory is based on the premise that children do not only learn a language, but that they learn through language. Hence, Wells stresses language as a resource and thus emphasises the interactional context in which language is learned. Much of Wells' work is based on studies of children's acquisition of first language in the home through spontaneous and relatively unstructured interaction with parents and other members of the family. However, he maintains that the kind of spontaneous interaction that occurs thus can occur in the classroom for both first and second language speakers if the apt environment is created in the classroom (Wells 1985:23,35; Wells 1998). Thus, Wells' model of learning has relevance to this study which involves ESL learners and for whom code-switching can be perceived as a resource.

The principles of the Reciprocal Interactional Approach that are of relevance to my study are: (a) A focus on function rather than form; (b) Learning through collaboration and negotiation of meaning; and (c) Making optimal use of learners' NL in the classroom (Wells 1981, 1988, 1999; Wells 1985; Measures et al. 1997; Canale 1992). A discussion of each of these principles and their significance to this study follows.

(a) A focus on function rather than form:

Like Gumperz (1982), (see section 2.1.1), Wells emphasises the need to recognize language not merely as a system of syntax, but also pragmatically i.e. the uses to which it is put. The Reciprocal Interactional Approach focuses on the need for learners to focus on the meaning that is being communicated and the use of language for a variety of functions in the acquisition of a second

language rather than the construction of grammatically correct sentences. Wells argues that when learners interact with each other through language, the production of grammatically well formed sentences is not an end in itself, but a means to communicating information; establishing relationships with others and to engage them in joint activities (Wells 1985:22; Cummins 1984:224; 1989:24). This tenet is of significance to this study as (as also noted in the discussion of Gumperz's 'Interactional Model') the communicative intent of pupils is of greater value than the syntax employed to convey their meaning. As an instance, consider the following interactions between teacher and pupil in the lessons 'The Suit' and 'Kid Playboy' of the control and experimental groups respectively:

I. LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [CONTROL GROUP, sample appendix 3b]:

T If you were Philemon, what would you do?

P Yes, you see that man there, I want to punch him.

II. LESSON ON "KID PLAYBOY" [EXPERIMENTAL GROUP, appendix 4a]:

T So, what can you say here? Charity?

P We heard that Motsitsi have waited for the wedding to come because the wedding will start on Saturday till on Sunday then he waited that will continue on the Dube house. He wear his top hat and tails made ready to go to Dube. His trousers was not enough iron pressed then the one who stand on the door giving the visitors cards....

In both these examples, although pupils' responses are not grammatically accurate, the message is coherent and can be easily understood.

(b) Learning through collaboration and negotiation of meaning:

According to Wells (1985:23), because language is concerned with communication of meaning, it is essentially collaborative in nature. He maintains that peer-reinforced language development is one of the strongest motivators for language development. Collaborative activity in the classroom “has the potential to provide for multiple zones of proximal development”, and through group discussion, to create opportunities for the distribution of ideas, present multiple points of view, and expertise within the group (Measures et al. 1997:21; Wells 1999:2). In this way, Wells maintains, that the responsibility for the construction of knowledge is shared among all participants. It is through the “interanimation of voices” that new meanings are constructed. For example, in recordings of children in interaction, Wiles (1985:87) shows that when children are given opportunities for interaction with each other, they display an impressive linguistic range and support each other by suggesting ‘right’ words and modelling whole sentences for their peers. Wells (1985) notes that one of the most enriching experiences of all for children is the open-ended exploratory talk that arises from reading of stories. Several investigators (e.g. Spack 1985; Duff and Maley 1990; Stern 1991) have noted the language that occurs in this context is much more complex, both semantically and syntactically.

In addition, Wiles (1985:88) states that collaborative, small-group learning is of great benefit to the L2 learner but it needs to be structured and nurtured by the teacher. As progress in language development can only be made by allowing children to experience a wide range of interactions in which meaning and behaviour can be negotiated, it is imperative for teachers to create the conditions for interactions in which meaning can be negotiated. This tenet of the Reciprocal Interactional Model is of special significance to this study as the very nature of literature allows for an exploration of ideas. On this note, Duff and Maley (1990:6) point out:

“The fact that literary texts are, by their very essence, open to multiple interpretation means that only rarely will two readers’ understanding of or reaction to a given text be identical. This ready-made opinion gap between one individual’s interpretation and another’s can be bridged by genuine interaction.”

(c) Making optimal use of learners’ NL in the classroom:

Within Wells’ (1982) theoretical framework, the learners’ NL skills are important (Canale 1992:285). Canale suggests that optimal use must be made of those communication skills that the learner has developed through the use of his NL and which are common to communicative skills required in the L2.

To conclude, Wells’ ‘Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning’ which postulates that learning is promoted through exploring meanings in the context of interaction with significant others as well as through writing, is of significance to this research for the reasons discussed above. In addition, it is significant because, firstly, this research investigates whether CS affects learners’ interaction with each other and with the teacher and how these interactions facilitate learning; and secondly, learners’ scholastic performance is measured from scores attained in written tests.

In the next section I present the pertinent literature on the functions of CS in the educational arena.

2.2 FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

This section reviews the literature on the functions of CS. It is divided into three parts. The first part presents a brief overview on the rationale for CS and examines the reason postulated for motivations for CS. The second part, as a foreground to the discussion of CS in the educational arena, presents a brief discussion of conversational code-switching and mentions some functions of CS in the social context as the school is viewed as a microcosm of society at large. The third part focuses on the role and functions of CS in the educational context.

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION:

In the early twentieth century, Espinosa (1917) claimed that there was no rationale for CS, and that CS was just a random mixture of the languages available to a bilingual speaker. Lance (1975) supported this view, maintaining that bilinguals engage in CS because there are no restrictions as to what they can or cannot mix in their speech (Kamwangamalu 1999:257). More recently, however, several studies of CS have convincingly demonstrated that, contrary to the claims made by Espinosa (1917) and Lance (1975), CS is not random; rather, the alternation of two (or more) languages is a structured mechanism (Jacobson 1998:1) and its occurrence is governed by a number of factors, both linguistic and extralinguistic (Kamwangamalu 1999:257). The linguistic and extralinguistic factors which are of relevance to this study are the attitudes of Zulu-English bilinguals toward English and English-Zulu CS and the participants in the speech situation, the topic or goal of the interaction, and the setting respectively. Taking these factors into account, it is now commonly agreed that, far from being an “undesirable, indecent form of behaviour”, CS is highly functional (e.g. Adendorff 1993:4; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994). Kamwangamalu (1992:175; 1998:286), Blommaert (1992) and Duran (1994:4) add that CS can be perceived as

linguistic capital and can be used by bilingual speakers not as an end in itself but can serve quite a range of functions in bilingual interactions.

Although various reasons have been postulated for the motivations for CS, Baker (1980) suggests that one of the more salient is lexical gaps. Three types of lexical gaps have been identified, namely, gaps in denotation, gaps in connotation and gaps in register. In *gaps in denotation*, lexical gaps may exist in either the lexicon of a language or the lexicon of the speaker (Huerta 1978:47). In either case the speaker has to fill these gaps with words from the other language (McCormick 1995:202). In *gaps in connotation*, Huerta (1978:101) points out that terms in two languages which are apparently equivalent may not have the same connotations. Thus the speaker will resort to a term from the other language to convey his/her intended meaning. Finally, in *gaps in register* while a speaker may have access to a dictionary equivalent of a term it may have a different register to the one the speaker wishes to convey.

2.2.2 CONVERSATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING:

Conversational CS, according to Gumperz (1982:59), is a term which refers to “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.” Most frequently the switch takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses the L2 either to reiterate his/her message or to reply to someone else’s statement. Consider the following examples extracted from the lesson on ‘The Suit’ (appendix 4b) by one of the teacher- participants of this study:

(a) Teacher:to ill treat somebody, to ill treat him.

Ukumhlukumeza [Ill treat him].

(b) Teacher: Right *masinyane uthi nje kancane ukuthi lendaba ikhuluma ngani?*

[Quickly tell us what is the story about?]

Pupil: The story is about a woman who cheated on her husband and is having an affair.

In discussing conversational CS, Gumperz (1982); Hoffmann (1991), McClure (1981) and McCormick (1995), among others, present a range of functions. CS is such a dynamic phenomenon and its functions so vast and various that I do not pretend to present an exhaustive range of it. Rather, my aim is to examine the more common purposes that CS might serve in KZN, and more particularly in Port Shepstone where this research takes place. Some of the more relevant functions to this study include CS as quotation i.e. for reported speech (e.g. Martin-Jones 1995; Ncoko 1998); CS as addressee specification and accommodation i.e. switching to another code to accommodate a new speaker (e.g. Goyvaerts 1995; Finlayson and Slabbert 1997); CS as reiterative i.e. repetition of a message in the other code (e.g. Gila 1995; Ncoko 1998); CS for elaboration (e.g. McClure 1981); CS as a device to express solidarity (e.g. Nwoye 1992; Flowers 2000); and CS for closure (e.g. Blommaert 1992; Nwoye 1992; Martin-Jones 1994). Various researchers (e.g. Merritt et al. 1992; Peires 1994; Martin-Jones 1994) have also shown that CS in the educational field fulfills certain functions, both social and pedagogical. I shall present a discussion of these functions below. However, I must reiterate that these functions are by no means an exhaustive account. I examine those which I consider to be more applicable to my study.

2.2.3 THE FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING IN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS:

Although much attention has been devoted to the role and functions of CS in informal, social contexts, more recently, research has examined the significance of CS in the domain of the school

(e.g. Merritt et al.1992; Adendorff 1993; Elridge 1996). In this part of the chapter I examine closely the predominant functions of CS in the school situation, particularly in the classroom. I draw mostly from Merritt et al.'s (1992) study of CS in Kenyan primary school classrooms; Adendorff's (1993) study of CS in the classroom of four different situations (namely, a teacher of English, a Biology teacher, a Geography teacher and a school principal) in a KZN school; Gila's (1995) study of CS in the classroom in Transkei junior secondary schools; Elridge's (1996) study of CS in a Turkish secondary school; Ncoko's (1998) study of CS among junior primary pupils in multiracial schools; and Ndayipfukamiye's (1998) study of Kirundi-French CS in primary classrooms in Burundi, situated in a hinterland of Africa.

The functions that I shall be discussing are: (i) CS as a communicative resource; (ii) CS for explanation purposes and for introduction of new subject matter; (iii) CS as a referential function; (iv) CS as reiterative; (v) CS to influence learner behaviour; (vi) CS as a phatic function; (vii) CS as an emblem for group solidarity; (viii) CS as a metalinguistic function; and (ix) CS as a poetic function. The reader must however bear in mind that these functions, cannot be clearly distinguished from the role and functions of CS in social contexts in general and that in fact there may be overlaps.

2.2.3.1 CODE-SWITCHING AS A COMMUNICATIVE RESOURCE:

Various studies have shown that CS and CM serve as a valuable communicative resource even though English is the dominant language of learning and instruction in the educational domain. In discussing CS as a communicative resource, I draw on the studies of Adendorff (1993), Ndayipfukamiye (1998) and Anne-Marie de Mejia (1998). In his study of three high school

teachers with their pupils in a KZN high school, Adendorff (1993) demonstrates that CS is a communicative resource which allows teachers and pupils to accomplish many educational and social objectives. He shows that switching from English to Zulu allows teachers and pupils to interpret academic goals, intentions, and social relations and in so doing gives additional meaning to what is said and done in a conversation (Adendorff 1993:5). As an example, he observes that while the teacher of English was teaching the poem “*Death be not proud*” by John Donne to his matric class, he switched from English to Zulu without adding any new information to that which was already said in English:

Therefore death would not have killed him. Therefore one would be asleep and dreaming. When we are asleep we dream and *yonke* into *oyiphuphayo* is recorded [...all that we dream about is recorded in our minds] (Adendorff 1993:9).

This, according to Adendorff (1993: 11) was communicatively significant because the switches constitute a meta-message of some kind. Similarly, by drawing on data obtained from recorded lessons of the short stories and poems, I shall later demonstrate how the teacher concerned switches from English to Zulu without adding any new information.

In his study of Grade 5 pupils in Burundi during French lessons, Ndayipfukamiye (1998) also shows that switching from French (the medium of instruction) to Kirundi (pupils’ mother tongue) fulfills a communicative function. Some of the communicative functions are explaining vocabulary items, doing an aside to comment on pupils’ behaviour, checking understanding and evaluating a response. The following illustrates how the teacher resorts to CS to elicit the meaning of a French word from the pupils:

Teacher: *Brouter n ukuvuga iki?* [What does to graze mean?]

Pupil: *Kurisha* [to graze].

Teacher: *Kurisha. Donc il ya des animaux qui broutent.*

[To graze. Thus there are animals that graze].

In this example, by employing CS in his/her question i.e. *Brouter n ukuvuga iki?* [What does to graze mean?], the teacher is able to elicit an appropriate response from a pupil.

Similarly, in her study of English-Spanish bilingual storytelling in early immersion classroom contexts in Columbia, de Mejia (1998:9) demonstrates that CS may be seen as a vital communicative resource to learners and teachers who share proficiency in learners' L1. By engaging in CS, teachers are able to encourage and successfully engage pupils in the ongoing interaction and ensure comprehensible input. In doing so, teachers acknowledge learners' right to participate in the storytelling event and promote understanding among pupils as to what is happening in the story. Through the skillful and flexible use of CS, these pupils have appropriate access to their L1 in the process of learning another language. The use of CS also helps maximize learning opportunities in the classroom. Likewise, this study will show how the teacher subjects who switch to Zulu, the learners' L1, encourage pupils to meaningfully interact with a literary text.

2.2.3.2 CODE-SWITCHING FOR EXPLANATION PURPOSES AND FOR INTRODUCTION OF NEW SUBJECT MATTER:

The literature shows that CS can also be used for explanation purposes and for introduction of new subject matter. Although there are various studies which draw attention to these particular functions of CS in the classroom, I shall make reference to the studies of only Merritt et al. (1992), Adendorff (1993), and Ndayipfukamiye (1998). In their study of bilingual English-Swahili

Kenyans, Merritt et al. (1992:109-117) reveal how teachers of different schools use CS with their pupils. They show that teachers who use CS are successful in teaching their pupils of the codes and their significance i.e. whether they are expected to direct their attention to content or to management (Merritt et al. 1992:109). The following serves as an illustration of how a science teacher in their study uses CS to either instruct or redirect the attention of his Grade 3 pupils as the lesson progresses:

Teacher: *Siweka maji mingi* [Don't put a lot of water]. Just so the soil is wet.
(Merritt et al. 1992:115).

In this example the teacher uses the NL to instruct his/her pupil and then switches to English to emphasise how much water is required.

Adendorff (1993) also observes that in his study of teachers with their pupils in a KZN high school, the Geography teacher switches to Zulu to draw attention to important content information and to exercise classroom management. Both these functions are illustrated in (a) and (b) respectively, below:

- (a) Today we are going to revise the work that we did yesterday. Yesterday we looked at the formation of flood plains, *ukuthi akheke kanjani* [how the flood plains are formed].
- (b) *Musani ukuvula izincwadi zenu* [Do not open your books].
Hhayi bo, vala wena [Close your book over there!] (Adendorff 1993:13,14).

In the first example, the teacher uses CS i.e. *ukuthi akheke kanjani* [how the flood plains are formed], to repeat what s/he had just said in English i.e. formation of flood plains and in so doing

draws learners' attention to content information. In the second example, the teacher uses CS to influence learner behaviour and in so doing maintains some control in the classroom.

Similarly, in his study of Burundi classrooms, Ndayipfukamiye (1998:86) shows that switching to Kirundi facilitated pupils' understanding of new materials that teachers were presenting in the maths and biology lessons. Ndayipfukamiye maintains that had the teacher not resorted to CS in the classroom, some concepts and procedures would not have been understood. Likewise, a Biology teacher interviewee of this study stated the need to resort to the learners' L1 to explain certain terms. She said:

Like the digestive system, you speak about the liver. Right. You show them the diagram, maybe they don't know, they have not seen something slaughtered and then you just tell them liver means *isibindi*, so its easy for them to understand, but if you first say liver, they have no clue what a liver is (sample appendix 2c,T11).

In this example, the teacher uses the Zulu term "*isibindi*" to ensure that her pupil knows which part of the body is being spoken about.

Through an analysis of lesson recordings of literature lessons in the classroom, this study will also show how the teacher of the experimental group resorts to CS for explanation purposes and for the introduction of new material. I shall now examine yet another pertinent function of CS in the classroom, namely, CS as a referential function.

2.2.3.3 CODE-SWITCHING AS A REFERENTIAL FUNCTION:

In addition to using CS for explanation purposes CS can also serve a referential function because

it often involves a lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject (Appel and Muysken 1987:118; Gxilishe 1992:94; Goyvaerts 1995:174; Elridge 1996). On the same note, Weinreich (1953) observes that switching occurs more frequently in situations in which the designative quality of the vocabulary in a particular language is inadequate to name new things, persons and personal experiences. It therefore follows that certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. Weinreich (1953:58) also notes that some affective words tend to lose their expressive force in a given language. Hence the speaker switches to the 'other' language to convey his intended meaning more effectively. Likewise, Gxilishe (1992:94) asserts that a specific word from one language may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept. This function is evident in the lesson of 'The Suit' in this study. Consider how the teacher who employs CS during this lesson uses a specific word from the lexicon of learners' L1 to impress upon his pupils who a person who cheats other people is:

In such cases we can see people who misbehave or cheat other people *tsotsis* (appendix 4b).

Appel and Muysken (1987) add that speakers who resort to this type of switching are thought to be conscious of their switches. They show that when their subjects were asked for reasons for their use of CS they tend to say that it is because they do not know the word for it in the other language, or because the language chosen is more fit for talking about a given subject (Appel and Muysken 1987:118). The following example provided by Gila (1995:20) serves as a point of illustration:

T: OK. *Namhlanje sizakuthetha ngelesson entsha.*

[Today we are going to talk about a new lesson].

Yintoni icolonization? What is colonization?

In this example, because there is no Zulu equivalent for “colonization”, the word is used within this context.

2.2.3.4 CODE-SWITCHING AS REITERATIVE:

Yet another frequently used function of CS in the educational context is CS as reiterative. Gumperz (1982:78) states: “Frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form.” Within the social context CS as reiterative is often meant to resolve ambiguity or clarify a potential or apparent lack of understanding (McClure 1981:82; Gumperz 1982:78; McCormick 1995:202), reinforce, emphasise, or amplify the message that has already been transmitted in one code but may not have been understood (Gumperz 1982:75; McClure and McClure 1988:38; Ncoko 1998:42). Within the educational domain CS fulfills the same function (e.g. Hatch 1976; Adendorff 1993; Gila 1995; Elridge 1996). While Hatch (1976:209) and Elridge (1996:305) provide apt examples of how teachers in their studies use CS as reiterative, I shall discuss the evidence provided by Adendorff (1993) and Gila (1995) as these studies relate more closely to my own study.

In his study of English-Zulu CS in a KZN high school, Adendorff shows that the teacher of English and the principal did not add any new information to what was said already. Consider the following example of how the principal made use of CS for reiterative purposes:

You cannot start doing anything without being psychologically and spiritually prepared to work. *Kufanele umqondo wakho uwunikele futhi usemukele isikhathi se-examination*. Your mind should be psychologically prepared to accept the examination]. *I-examination yisikhathi sokuthandaza* [The examination period is a time for which we must pray]. When you do this you will become collected (Adendorff 1993:16).

In this example the principal uses CS as means of reiterating his message and thereby clarify and reinforce his message.

Further support is provided by Gila (1995) who observes that the teachers in her study of CS at a junior secondary school in Transkei, repeated information for emphasis and clarification. She provides the following example from a history lesson:

No wars, no marches during the revolution. When it is violent, there are wars. When it is nonviolent there are no wars, it just happens smoothly. *Akukho zingxwaba, akuliwa, kanti ukuba kuyaliwa*, it is violent. *Niyayiva lento ndiyithethayo?* [There are no conflicts, no fights, whereas if there are fights Do you hear what I say?] (Gila 1995:15).

In this example also, no new information is provided. The teacher uses CS for the purposes of clarification and emphasis.

Numerous examples of CS for this purpose can also be cited in the lessons of the teachers who resort to CS behaviour in the literature classroom of this study. I shall, however, discuss this in chapter 3.

2.2.3.5 CODE-SWITCHING FOR INFLUENCING LEARNER BEHAVIOUR:

In addition to the functions discussed above, research shows that teachers resort to switching to influence learners' behaviour (e.g. Merritt et al. 1992; Adendorff 1993; Gila 1995; Ndayipfukamiye 1998). As an instance, Merritt et al. (1992:110) note that when teachers employ CS on a one to one basis, such as addressing a pupil privately in his/her NL, they hope to evoke a specific desired behaviour from the pupil. I shall provide examples from the studies of Adendorff (1993), Gila (1995) and Ndayipfukamiye (1998) to illustrate this point.

- (a) Very good *Sigqemezana, uyasebenzake silwane. Sigqemezana* [person with a small head but a big brain, you are really working very well] (Adendorff 1993:14).
- (b) Yes! Songezo (the tone is strong, mocking and threatening). *Benditshilo ndathi ulele kwedini.* [I told you that you are asleep little boy] (Gila 1995:21).
- (c) *Kura urutoke mu kanwa* [Take your finger out of your mouth] (Ndayipfukamiye 1998:88).

In all of these examples the teachers hope to elicit some specific pupil behaviour. In (a) it is to encourage the pupil in his work; in (b) it is to alert the pupil to the lesson; and in (c) it is to discipline the pupil. In addition, Adendorff (1993:11) notes that by asking provocative questions in Zulu, the teacher of English also succeeds in engaging even the most passive pupil to become involved in the activity. My study will also show how the teacher who employs CS in the literature classroom switches to influence pupil behaviour. For example, I shall demonstrate how the teacher having asked a question in English without successfully eliciting a response from pupils resorts to a switch with success. In addition to using CS to influence pupil behaviour, teachers also use CS as a phatic function, as discussed below.

2.2.3.6 CODE-SWITCHING AS A PHATIC FUNCTION:

Various researchers in the educational domain (e.g. Appel and Muysken 1987:119; Adendorff 1993; Gila 1995; Goyvaerts 1995:174; Gxilishe 1992:94) demonstrate how CS serves a phatic function. CS as a phatic function refers to a change in tone of the conversation or a change in pitch of the speaker's voice either higher or lower than before. As an instance, Gila (1995:21) points out that the pitch can also be high and forceful to express certain emotions such as anger or joy. She also notes that the variation of pitch coupled with CS is significant in that it not only enables

the speaker to achieve specific desired effects, but also intensifies the message conveyed.

In her study of CS in a classroom in Transkei, Gila (1995:21) shows that teachers make use of pitch change in combination with CS to carry out various speech acts, such as, reprimanding inattentive pupils, providing humour, pledging solidarity and identifying with pupils. In this respect, Gila notes that CS can be seen as serving a social role in the classroom. She provides the following example as a phatic function of CS in a History lesson:

T: In France people are divided into two classes. We are going to talk about the nobles. Which group do we get under the privileged class?

[Teacher points at an inattentive pupil who is asleep, the pupil mumbles something, he does not know the question].

Yes! Songezo [the tone is strong, mocking and threatening]. *Benditshilo ndathi ulele kwedini.*

[I told you that you are asleep little boy.]

In this example, the teacher's use of CS coupled with a change in tone serves to express his displeasure at the pupil's inattentiveness and the seriousness of the situation. Similarly, Adendorff (1993:13-14) shows that the Geography teacher in his study, spoke more loudly when he switched to Zulu, which Adendorff interprets as a marked choice employed to assert his authority. The teacher also praised a pupil by switching to Zulu coupled with raised volume:

Very good *Sigqemezana, uyasebenzake silwane. Sigqemezana* [person with a small head but a big brain] you are really working very well.

In this example, in addition to encouraging the pupil, the teacher strives to signal solidarity with his pupil.

2.2.3.7 CODE-SWITCHING AS AN EMBLEM FOR GROUP SOLIDARITY:

Teachers have also been observed to engage in CS to achieve solidarity with their pupils (e.g. Hatch 1976; Adendorff 1993; Elridge 1996:306; Ncoko 1998). Switches in this category function as in-group identity markers or tags which are emphasised (Elridge 1996:306; Hatch 1976:209). As an example, Hatch (1976:210) notes that in English-Japanese CS teachers used CS to display affection, good-humoured teasing and swearing. Similarly, Adendorff (1993) observes that by “over-exaggerating, teasing and generally indulging in tension-relieving (and relationship building) banter” with his pupils, the Biology teacher in his study was expressing solidarity with them. He also notes that as Zulu is the language of the pupils, it is accessible to everyone in the classroom thereby becoming a code of “teacher-pupil unity” (Adendorff 1993:11-12).

However, Marilyn Martin-Jones (1995:98) asserts that whilst the languages used in a bilingual classroom are bound to be associated with different cultural values, it is too simplistic to claim that whenever a bilingual teacher who has the same kind of background as the learners switches into a shared code, s/he is invariably expressing solidarity with the learners. CS is employed in more subtle and diverse ways in bilingual classroom communication. Teachers and learners employ CS “to demarcate different types of discourse, to negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meanings on the spur of the moment”. While in many instances, there is no doubt that the teachers who employ CS in my study do so to achieve solidarity with their pupils, I shall, in chapter 3, provide evidence that supports the view adopted by Marilyn Martin-Jones.

2.2.3.8 CODE-SWITCHING AS A METALINGUISTIC FUNCTION:

The literature also shows how CS fulfills a metalinguistic function. CS as a metalinguistic function

comes into play when it is used to comment directly or indirectly on the languages involved. As an instance, Merritt et al. (1995:110) note that CS is more effective in cases where teachers point out differences between the two languages used in the classroom than those who ignore them, as the former behaviour helped to avoid confusion. In addition, Elridge's (1996:306) study of Turkish-English CS among 11-13 year old high school children, shows that learners perceive that while tasks themselves should be performed in the target language, comment, evaluation and talk about the task may occur in the mother tongue. For example:

Pupil 1: Where did Gary go?

Pupil 2: *Ben sorucagim* [I will ask]. Where did Gary go?

In this example, Pupil 2 uses his/her mother tongue to talk about the task s/he is about to perform. Finally, I shall briefly examine how CS serves a poetic function in the classroom.

2.2.3.9 CODE-SWITCHING AS A POETIC FUNCTION:

In discussing the poetic function of CS, Appel and Muysken (1987:120) draw attention to how the use of puns, jokes and so on in bilingual language can be said to serve this function. In his study of Kirundi-English CS, Ndayipfukamiye (1998:89) demonstrates how teachers switched to Kirundi when they wanted to crack a joke:

T. *il y a combien des incisives? Hein? Montrez ou se trouvent les incisives. Hein? Tetina ngo n aha* (the class laughs). *Ou se trouvent les incisives?* [How many incisives do we have? Hmm? Show the incisives. Hmm? Where are the incisives? Hmm?] Tetina says that they are here. Where are the incisives?

In the above example the teacher jokingly makes an aside i.e *Tetina ngo n aha* [Tetina says that they are here] that negatively evaluates the contribution made by a pupil. Similarly, in my study I will show how the teacher of the experimental group employs CS as a poetic function.

2.2.4 CONCLUSION:

From the above literature on the functions of CS, it is clear that bilinguals employ their languages efficiently and effectively by expressing their feelings, ideas, knowledge etc. by choosing their codes as desired, be it consciously or not. It is, however, as Auer (1995:99) points out, "...impossible to compile a comprehensive inventory of the functions of CS. The number of possible functions is infinite." It is also clear that CS plays a pertinent role in the educational domain and therefore has implications for all teachers. This is of particular significance when one considers that CS is the norm in the school community of English L2 learners in KZN. As such McCormick (1995:203) asserts: "In a community where it is the norm, speakers are able to draw on a bigger linguistic pool than they would if they and their interlocutors were monodialectal or monolingual."

In spite of the various studies that demonstrate the social and pedagogical values of CS in the classroom, attitudes toward CS vary. In the following section of the literature review I examine attitudes toward English and toward CS.

2.3 ATTITUDES TOWARD CODE-SWITCHING

In this section of the literature, I examine the issue of attitudes from two perspectives: (i) the attitude of monolinguals and bilinguals towards English, the learners' second language, and (ii) the attitude of monolinguals and bilinguals towards CS. Firstly, however, I present a brief overview of the concept 'attitude' and some of the difficulties experienced by linguists in objectively assessing people's attitudes toward languages.

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION:

The concept 'attitude' is an arbitrary one which involves an emotional element and as such is rather subjective. According to Cluver (2000), the term 'language attitudes' refers to a consciously held belief system about a specific language or to an orientation (positive or negative) towards a specific language. When different speakers of different languages come into contact they attempt to create some sort of image or stereotype of members of the other speech community (Cluver 2000:79).

In order to measure language attitudes, three main methods are generally employed: content analysis of documents of various kinds; questionnaires and interviews; and experiments with the match guise technique (Hyrkstedt et al. 1998:1). My own study uses questionnaires in a survey in which educators and learners provided responses to a number of questions, as well as interviews to assess their attitudes toward English and Zulu-English CS. Clearly, eliciting people's attitudes and opinions towards language use would not be without difficulties. Romaine (1989:289) and Gumperz (1982:62) outline some of the difficulties that linguists experience in assessing this arbitrary concept: (i) the concept 'attitude' itself is a subjective issue and cannot be easily

translated to an objective unit of measure; (ii) there are difficulties in interpreting self-reported data on bilingual usage; (iii) difficulties that bilinguals experience in remembering which language was used in a particular speech event as selection of one or the other language is mostly automatic and not readily subject to conscious recall; and (iv) the subjects might not have the vocabulary or terms with which they can evaluate speech. This is to say that speakers' reports might not be accurate or effective in reflecting attitudes. As an example, in his study of students at Vista, Sebokeng, Sarinjieve (1999:133) observes that students appear to give answers that they think they should. When asked if they spoke English outside the classroom they responded with a unanimous 'yes', yet his observation shows otherwise. Hence, Romaine (1989:37) notes that we need to be careful not to confuse peoples's claims about their behaviour with their actual behaviour. As such, the reader needs to bear this in mind when provided with a discussion of attitudes that emanate from my own study.

Before continuing with a discussion of attitudes towards English and CS, I briefly examine attitudes towards bilingualism, as CS, is a by-product of bilingualism (Kamwangamalu 1989:325). Fishman (1978:42) says that 'modern' man experiences great difficulty in conceiving bilingualism positively. The overwhelming majority of references to this phenomenon are in terms of 'poverty' or 'disharmony' or 'disadvantage'. Weinreich (1953) for example, uses the term 'bilingualism' interchangeably with 'linguistic interference' and Myers-Scotton (1988:308) notes that some people use it as a euphemism for 'linguistically handicapped'. Although some scholars contend that bilingualism is a handicap to the cognitive growth of the child, others deem this view to be misleading and groundless (Kamwangamalu 1989:326). Similar contentions have also been made about CS. As I have noted in the introductory chapter of this thesis (1.2.2), the ultimate denial of

CS is evident in Weinreich's (1953:73) statement: "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence." In addition, Weinreich (1953:73,74) notes that CS is perceived as some kind of 'deviant' behaviour. Evidence from current research hardly deviates from this view. Hoffmann (1991:109), for example, states that in spite of research which shows that "CS is potentially the most creative aspect of bilingual speech" it is also considered by some as a sign of linguistic decay i.e. evidence that bilinguals are not capable of acquiring two languages properly or keeping them apart. My own study, however, provides conflicting views; while the majority of the educator respondents and interviewees claim that they recognize the value of CS in the classroom, when asked which language they would opt for if they were free to implement a language policy for the school, they said that it would be English. However, I shall discuss this in detail in chapter 3. A discussion of the general attitudes of people towards English follows.

2.3.2 THE ATTITUDE OF MONOLINGUALS AND BILINGUALS TOWARDS ENGLISH:

English has acquired international status for 50 years and appears to be unprecedented in several ways: by the increasing number of users of the language; by its depth of penetration into societies; and by its range of functions (Hasman 2000:5). Presently, one out of five of the world's population speaks some variety of English and it is estimated that by 2010 the number of speakers of English as a second language or foreign language will exceed the number of native speakers of English (Hasman 2000:2). Fishman (1982:15) had, however, foreseen the spread of English almost two decades ago - he stated: "Not only is English spreading, but it is being spread by non-English

mother tongue interests.” This information points directly at the positive attitudes people have toward English, more particularly for its instrumental value (e.g. Poplack 1987:93,95).

The high value that is ascribed to English is clearly evident in Romaine’s (1989:292-3) comments on an encounter in a small village school in the upper Markham valley of Papua New Guinea. She discusses the status that is awarded to English in comparison to the local languages: In one of the classrooms a notice relating to language (among other forms of behaviour) was categorized under the headings, ‘good’, ‘bad’ and ‘worst’. To speak English was considered ‘good’; to speak pidgin was ‘bad’ and to speak *tok ples* (the local language) was ‘worst’. All the schools that Romaine visited had signs reminding them that English was the language of the classrooms. While the schools that are involved in my study do not adopt such drastic measures concerning Zulu, it is clear that for the majority of the respondents, both educators and learners of the study, English is the preferred medium of instruction.

In addition to having differing attitudes toward different languages, people also have differing attitudes towards particular varieties of English. For example, Gibb (1998:1), in a comparative study of attitudes towards varieties of English held by professionals and tertiary level students in Korea, shows that some of the subjects perceived American English to be more prestigious than other varieties of English. Adendorff (1992:52) suggests that people look down upon other people’s English as a way of emphasising the status of their own variety.

In certain communities the use of English in a mother tongue discourse is viewed favourably, as is the case in India. As an instance, in his study of code-mixing in India, Kachru (1978:113)

observes that when a multilingual speaker employs code-mixing with English, it is a marker of modernization, socio-economic position, and membership in an elite group. It is used in those contexts where one would like to demonstrate authority, power and identity with the establishment. Evidence for this attitude is found in various social contexts, in parents' language preference for their children, and in choice of preferred language in colleges. It appears that in India, the more educated a person is the more s/he tends to mix elements from English.

Studies in Africa also reveal that English enjoys a prestigious status. For example, in his investigation of English in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia, Schmied (1995:6) demonstrates that there is greater support for English than against it. Some of the most significant reasons among Zambians for favouring English are for job acquisition purposes; and among Kenyans and Zambians, English is perceived as a 'link language' i.e. using English helps to avoid tribal differences. The Tanzanians perceive English as 'a superior language system'. Other arguments in favour of English in these African countries include the educational equality argument i.e. using English as a medium of education means equal chances for all children in the future because "English is the basis for further education"; the complex concepts argument i.e. that complex concepts can be explained more easily in English; and the international technological argument i.e. that English is necessary to "keep science and learning in touch with world-wide developments." In contrast, some negative attitudes toward English are also evident. Some of these include English being an impersonal language; a sign of neglecting national identity; making Africans European-minded (Schmied 1995:6); inappropriate for lying, joking, cursing, bargaining and unmediated prayer (Fishman 1982:19).

In South Africa itself, according to a report by the Omnichek division of Research Surveys (1994), of the majority of the 2125 African men and women interviewees, English is the preferred language for all public notices and communications from the government. Kamwangamalu (1998:280) notes that because of its role and its international status, English is the only language in which the majority of South African parents want their children educated. It is considered to be the language of education, government and administration, international communication, diplomacy, science and technology, and as language of power, prestige and status. This perception of English is clearly portrayed in Slabbert's (1994:4-7) study of attitudes of South Africans towards English. She shows that most South Africans hold English on a pedestal and associate it with being educated. Similarly Martin (1997:134) states that the black middle class who have academic ambitions for their children see proficiency in English as being important. My own study reveals similar attitudes. My study shows that many parents of learners interviewed want their children to learn English, and learners themselves perceive English as *the* language that will open doors for them. For example, one interviewee says that he wants to learn all his subjects through the medium of English as : "It (English) is spoken in the whole world" [sample appendix 2d, L11]. Similarly, another interviewee says: "Everywhere you go you must know English" [sample appendix 2d, L5].

In spite of the multilingual situation in South Africa and the officialdom of 11 languages, the 9 other languages (see page 1) that have been added to English and Afrikaans are not languages of higher education in our country. English is clearly the official medium of most tertiary education and virtually all public services. Major newspapers are published in English and there is considerable exposure to English on the television. The status of English in South Africa is

encapsulated by Sarinjieve (1999:129) who states: “English is still perceived as the panacea to solve all perceived language problems and the means by which to achieve all the goals of everyday living.” In his study of students from Vista, Sebokeng, aimed at investigating why in spite of the high failure rate students choose to learn in English, Sarinjieve shows that they see English as important for the future and the achievement of goals. This is confirmed by Polenis (1984, in Sarinjieve 1999:133) who distinguishes between the mother tongue and the spoken and written forms of English both at work and school. He states that English enjoys greater status than the home language and could be viewed as the language for ‘higher’ and ‘special occasions’. Cluver (2000:81) however, notes that speakers who are educated in a dominant language (e.g. English) often overemphasise what they see as the positive aspects of that language while downgrading many aspects of their own culture and language. In view of the high esteem awarded to English by both native and non-native speakers of English, it is of no surprise that researchers such as Heller (1988), Nwoye (1992) and Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) show that many people have negative attitudes towards CS. The literature on attitudes towards CS is discussed below.

2.3.3 THE ATTITUDE OF MONOLINGUALS AND BILINGUALS TOWARDS CS:

CS is not valued by everyone. Whereas the use of only one language is considered normal, CS is seen as something to be explained (Heller 1988:1). Despite the fact that CS is employed “in some degree in the repertoires of most bilingual people in most bilingual communities” (Romaine 1989:2), there are those who feel that languages should be kept strictly demarcated in the classroom (Elridge 1996:303). The co-occurrence of English with another language is frequently viewed as ‘sub-standard’ language behaviour and teachers seldom feel at ease with this

phenomenon in their classrooms (Norrish 1997:2). Various reasons have been given for this attitude. In the case of monolinguals, the concern is that they are often unable to determine why the switching is taking place (Elridge 1996:303). Also, educators fear that CS might be an indication that a speaker is less than fully competent in either of the two languages involved (Faltis 1989:118). Those who advise against CS argue that the child “becomes confused, or his intelligence affected in some way or his speech impaired (by stuttering) and above all that he may end up not speaking any language properly” (Hoffmann 1991:94). Gibbons (1994:6) suggests that such attitudes occur because CS does not sound conventional, because people do not understand the role CS plays in natural development and usage, and because we have little control over this phenomenon, we tend to see them as aberrations.

However, it is not only monolinguals who hold negative attitudes toward CS. Bilinguals also differ among themselves in their attitude to CS, both their own and other people’s. Some have a relaxed disposition towards it, others consider CS to be a linguistic impurity or a sign of laziness and therefore try to avoid it or correct themselves when they realize they have engaged in CS behaviour. The latter group are also likely to signal intolerance towards their bilingual interlocutors’ CS (Hoffmann 1991:113). The notion that CS is some form of deviant behaviour can be so powerful that even those who use CS can be unaware about their behaviour and vigorously deny doing so (Gibbons 1994:6; Nwoye 1992:366; Wardhaugh 1992:109; Kamwangamalu 1989:326; Hatch 1976:201). In addition, Heller (1988:7) notes that some bilinguals even consider this type of talking as “not real language”.

Gumperz (1982:62-3) reports a range of differing attitudes to CS cross-culturally. Some

characterize it as an extreme form of mixing attributable to lack of education, bad manners, or improper control of two languages. Others see it as a legitimate form of informal talk. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1993:47) points out that those who do not recognize the systematicity of CS, or the fact that CS serves a variety of functions, may be negatively judgmental about this phenomenon. They regard CS as sloppy use of language, as a corruption of the mother tongues and an indication of the language deficiency of the speaker.

Furthermore, Gumperz (1982:63) notes that when political ideology changes, attitudes towards CS may change too. For example, in California and elsewhere in the South West *pocho* or *calo* served as a pejorative term for the Spanish of local Chicanos. But with the awakening of ethnic consciousness and the growing pride in local folk traditions, the use of these languages become symbolic for Chicano ethnic values and are frequently used in the modern Chicano poetry and prose. Similarly, in a study of attitudes towards languages among Tanzanians, Blommaert (1992:59) shows that Tanzanians displayed a negative attitude towards English during their pre-independence days because they associated English with colonialism and dominance. However, after Tanzania gained its independence, the younger generation of Tanzania perceive English as modern and non-conforming. A comparison of this scenario can perhaps be made with the role of Afrikaans among African pupils in South Africa. During the apartheid era when Afrikaans was forced upon African students, they actively resisted it. However, currently, there seems to be a somewhat passive acceptance of Afrikaans as a second language in spite of the inclusion of the nine African languages in the education curriculum. One can of course argue that the students do not have much say in the choice of the language being offered at schools. It is, however, not within the scope of this study to elaborate on this issue.

The conflict between opinions and practice of English and CS in the classroom is evident in a study by Auerbach (1993). In an attempt to investigate the extent to which such tenets of the English only policy, such as 'English is best taught monolingually' underlie attitudes among ESL educators in the United States, Auerbach (1993) conducted a brief survey at a TESOL conference. In response to the question: "Do you believe that ESL students should be allowed to use their L1 in the ESL classroom?" 20% of the respondents gave an unqualified yes, 30% gave an unqualified no, and the remaining 50% said sometimes. Auerbach concluded that despite the fact that 80% of the educators allowed the use of the L1 at times, the English-only maxim is so strong that they didn't trust their own practice. They assigned a negative value to 'lapses' into the L1, seeing them as failures or as a cause for guilt (Auerbach 1993:14).

The phenomenon of CS has not only met with resistance in the educational arena, but has even been disapproved of or, in certain cases, proscribed by school or education department rules (Peires 1994:15). For example, in a study of Zulu-English bilingual children in South Africa, Martin (1997:134) reports that the children said that they were not allowed to speak Zulu in class, although many admitted to speaking it on the playground. This is also evident in my own study. For example, one interviewee makes reference to how in an English medium school in which he had formerly taught, when non-native speakers of English were first introduced to the school, teachers demanded that all conversations be held in English and learners were reprimanded if they did otherwise [sample appendix 2c,T4). Yet, in practice, research conducted by ELTIC (cited in Peires 1994:16) shows that teachers in African schools have a positive attitude towards using two or more languages in class: 63% state that they would like to use more than one language in class in order to help pupils and about 33% actually do so. My study also reveals that teachers who

have the linguistic facility to employ CS do so, to fulfill a variety of pedagogical and social functions (see chapter 3). In addition, some English monolinguals of my study said that they would employ CS if they could speak their pupils' NL.

In other instances, teachers and researchers in English as a second language have been concerned with minimizing CS in the classroom. Willis (1981:xiv), for instance, suggests that: "If the students start speaking in their own language without your permission it generally means that something is wrong with the lesson." Similarly, Adendorff (1993:4) reports that when Zulu-English teachers were questioned about the prevalence of CS and the purposes behind it in predominantly "Black" classrooms, their responses imply that CS is "an indecent, forbidden form of behaviour." Adendorff notes that it seems as if CS is something teachers are ashamed to admit to. Similarly, one interviewee in my study stated that he never uses any Zulu in his classroom, but uses CS "sometimes" (presumably outside the classroom) but thinks that this behaviour is "bad" and gives cause for embarrassment [sample appendix 2c,T2).

People, however, differ in their attitudes toward CS. As an instance, in their study of CS in an urban township of SA, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) found that opinions differ among respondents about the desirability of CS. One thing however, was clear i.e. they saw CS, as an effort to accommodate their listener, as a form of "destruction, dilution or simplification of the pure language" (Finlayson and Slabbert 1997:405). Similarly, Kamwangamalu (1989:326) notes that some people consider CS as "corrupt" and "impure". Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:406) show that the high regard that speakers have for the 'pure' languages is demonstrated by the fact that respondents would unconsciously switch towards the standard variety in reaction to a speaker

using a pure variety on a tape recording. Likewise, Agheyisi (1977:97) shows that code-mixing with English in Nigeria is considered “corrupt, adulterated, bastardized and impure” linguistic behaviour. In my own study, one interviewee, while admitting that there are benefits to using the learners’ NL at times, stated that she would “like to keep English pure” as it is “becoming degenerated”. Interestingly, she also states that CS is “inevitable” in South Africa [sample appendix 2c,T5].

Even though CS serves important communicative and cognitive functions, Duran (1994:5) states that in a number of communities, some social stigma is attached to CS by both in- and- out groups. As an example, she cites Gibbons’ (1983) study of Cantonese and English in Hong Kong. Gibbons shows that Chinese speakers use English to create an impression of status and westernization, and Cantonese to create an impression of humility and solidarity. However, the use of a mix of Cantonese and English is considered “ill-mannered, show-off, ignorant, not good looking, aggressive, and proud” from the Cantonese point of view. Similarly, in my own study one learner interviewee stated that when with friends at a social gathering he uses Zulu because if he used English his friends would say : “You are proud now” [sample appendix 2d, L6].

2.3.4 CONCLUSION:

The above literature on attitudes toward English and CS behaviour clearly indicates that people have differing attitudes toward the different languages and variations of languages. In addition, different communities differ in their attitudes towards language and its variations. Hence, Becker (1988:160) points out that one should not transfer findings from one bilingual context to another, particularly when there are differences in status and power from one setting to another. In

addition, one needs to bear in mind that attitudes do not necessarily remain constant over time.

The literature on attitudes to language also shows that attitudes may be intentionally influenced by spreading negative connotations about a particular language such as “it does not give access to higher education” or “it is not capable of expressing higher thoughts”. Such negative attitudes may stigmatize a language i.e. the process in which negative attitudes toward a particular language are developed. The stigmatization process may be very explicit as in a proscribed language where the use of the language is banned or discouraged.

In view of the foregoing discussion and more especially with current research findings, one has to carefully consider whether there is any justification for the stigma associated with CS which has prevailed in the educational system. In his study of Spanish-English CS, Becker (1988:19) shows that linguistic borrowing is not “corruption” of a language but “an inevitable, natural process which happens in any contact situation and that language itself should not be regarded as a symbol of status but as a means of communication”. In addition, he maintains that the real nature of CS should be recognized as a natural striving by bilinguals for the fullest communication possible by using the entire range of expressive devices available in the linguistic repertoire. Blommaert (1992:57) too, declares that CS should be recognized not as an imperfect speech but rather as speech that is both linguistically and sociolinguistically consistent.

Thus far I have presented the literature review on the theoretical frameworks that form the basis of this study; the functions of CS in the educational arena and attitudes toward English and CS.

In the next chapter, I present the data obtained from questionnaires, interviews, recordings of lessons and tests written by pupils of this study and an analysis thereof.

CHAPTER 3

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter I focus on how I set about gathering information in an effort to find answers to the central questions of this study as outlined in chapter one. Firstly, I discuss the approach I employed in accumulating my information. Secondly, I present the domain and participants of the study i.e. the data sources. Thirdly, I present an analysis of data gathered through (i) questionnaires of both educators and learners; (ii) interviews with both educators and learners; (iii) recordings of lessons and the functions of CS in the Grade 10 ESL literature classroom; and (iv) tests on the literary texts studied by the learner participants of this study.

3.2 THE EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH USING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY:

Helmstadter (1970:91) states that the experimental approaches are considered to be prototypes of the scientific method of problem solving. They have been described as procedures for gaining knowledge by collecting new or fresh observations under controlled conditions. As such, this study adopts one avenue of this design: I use a control group and an experimental group. The control group is that which is taught by a native speaker of English through the medium of English only. The experimental group is that which is taught by a native speaker of Zulu who is asked to deliberately make use of English-Zulu CS in his/her classroom in which the matrix language is English. What English-Zulu CS means is that the teacher makes alternating use of both English, the official medium of instruction, and Zulu, the native language of the learner, to fulfill his/her

objectives of the lesson.

Hitchcock (1995:44) defines qualitative research methodology as “the systematic attempt to generate and use non-quantitative techniques....which will facilitate understanding....of everyday socio-cultural contexts of educational processes and institutions.” With qualitative research one is able to acquire ideas, views, opinions and attitudes through questionnaires, interviews and recordings. As ideas entail values, and values involve assumptions of right and wrong, good and bad, qualitative research involves ethical issues. The researcher therefore has the responsibility of behaving with professional integrity. As a moral agent with views, opinions, values and attitudes, I do not reveal names of the schools that participated in this study, nor are the identities of the participants revealed. Instead, arbitrary labels such as Mrs C, Mrs E, Mr E, T1, T2, T3 etc. (the teacher-interviewees) and L1, L2, L3 etc. (the pupils) are used. In this study the teacher of the control group (hereafter, Group C) is referred to as Mrs C and the two teachers of the experimental group (hereafter, Group E) are referred to as Mrs E and Mr E. This does not necessarily mean that Mrs C and Mr E are indeed female and male respectively. I choose to use different genders to avoid any confusion that might arise when the respective pronouns are used in discussion.

This study also makes use of quantitative methodology which, according to Seliger and Shohamy (1989:115), refers to defining truth in terms of objective reality such as obtaining group scores. I use statistics obtained from written tests to draw comparisons between the control and experimental groups, and to draw possible conclusions as to whether or not CS facilitates or enhances performance in the ESL literature classroom.

3.3 DATA SOURCES:

Two secondary schools in close proximity to each other in the Sayidi district, in the region of Port Shepstone, were selected. This choice was determined by the following factors:

- (a) The school comprised predominantly Zulu speakers who were being taught English as a second language.
- (b) One of the teachers of English had to be teaching through the medium of English only, while the other had to be a Zulu-English bilingual who would employ code-switching in the classroom.
- (c) The schools were easily accessible to me.
- (d) The demographics of learner population of both schools were not significantly different.
- (e) The teachers agree on the study of the same literary works.
- (f) The principal, teachers and learners were willing participants in the research.

3.4 METHODS OF COLLECTION:

I employed the following methods in collecting the data: questionnaires, interviews, recording of lessons and tests on the literary works studied.

3.4.1 QUESTIONNAIRES:

Two questionnaires were designed; one for educators of each of the two schools and the other for the Grade 10 learner-participants (see appendix 1). The questionnaires were distributed to members of staff and learner participants of both schools. The learners answered the questionnaire under the supervision of the teachers. The questionnaires for educators were aimed at gathering information on language use and teaching technique in the classroom, as well as determining attitudes towards CS in the classroom. Questionnaires for learners were aimed at gathering

information of language use in and outside the classroom, as well as eliciting the possible reasons for CS by learners. Questionnaires for both educators and learners comprised both closed and open questions. In the closed questions the informant was required to provide the answer that is appropriate to him/her, and in the open questions the informant was required to formulate answers. A total of 29 educators of 11 different subjects offered at the schools, and 94 grade 10 learners responded to the questionnaires. Of the educators, 3 are English monolinguals, 1 is an Afrikaans first language speaker, and the remaining 25 are either Zulu, Xhosa or Swazi first language speakers.

3.4.2 INTERVIEWS:

I used a semi-structured interview rather than the structured interview. I chose this form of interview as it is the much more flexible version of the structured interview. Also, the structured approach, as stated by Altrichter et al. (1993:102), tends to take the interviewer's attention from the interviewee and the dynamics of communication. In addition, using the semi-structured interview I was able to focus on key questions while at the same time probe and expand the respondent's responses. The interviews, on a one to one basis with educators, were geared at eliciting the perceptions, thoughts, attitudes and opinions of educators towards CS in the classroom. A total of 12 educators, including a principal, deputy principal, heads of departments and teachers of various subjects were interviewed. I used both pair and individual interviews with the learners. After conducting a pair interview, I chose to continue with individual interviews as I found that with the former, one interviewee tended to be more dominant than the other. Prior to the actual interviews with both educators and learners I informed each interviewee that his/her feelings, views and opinions were of importance and "counts" for me, the interviewer, and that

the interview was going to be recorded. I also assured them that their identity would not be revealed and that I would use pseudonyms. After the interviews, the recordings were transcribed (see sample appendices 2c and 2d for sections of the transcriptions).

3.4.3 RECORDING OF LESSONS:

The four literary texts that were agreed upon by the teachers of Group C and Group E, were 2 short stories, *The Suit* by Can Themba and *Kid Playboy* by Casey Motsisi, and 3 poems, *Follower* by Seamus Heaney, *Promise* by Mafika Pascal and *Out, Out-* by Robert Frost. The teachers, Mrs C and Mr E of Group C and Group E respectively, were each given a tape-recorder and cassettes to record their lessons on tape. The teachers were advised to place the tape-recorder strategically in the classroom to maximise the capturing of the lessons. The teachers were asked to record complete teaching sessions. The lessons were taught over a period of five and seven weeks in Group C and Group E respectively. The reason for the latter is that their first teacher was “unavailable” to continue with the lessons after having begun the programme, and a replacement teacher continued the programme. The purpose of the recordings was to investigate the use of CS (or not) by educators and learners in the literature ESL classroom, the functions of CS in the ESL literature classroom, and to draw a comparison between the control and experimental groups to see how each of the educators fulfilled his/her activities. A professional Zulu-English translator was asked to transcribe and translate the recordings of Group E lessons. The transcriptions were then given to the teacher of this group, Mr E, for verification for accuracy (see sample appendix 3 and appendix 4 for transcription of lessons of both Group C and Group E respectively).

3.4.4 TESTING:

A total of 3 tests, one short story and two poems, were given to both Group C and Group E learners. The tests were set by me in consultation with the teacher participants. The purpose of the tests, as I have noted in chapter one, was to unveil learners' ability to, for example, follow a sequence of events; read for meaning; display an understanding of character, themes, writer's intention, appreciation of diction and literary devices; and an ability to pass judgement. The tests were then marked by a 'neutral teacher'. The results of the tests were used for promotional purposes by the teachers (see appendix 5 for the test questions).

3.5 ANALYSIS:

According to Hitchcock and Hughes (1995:295) analysis refers to "the ways in which the researcher moves from a description of what is the case to an explanation of why what is the case is the case." Analysis involves discovering and deriving patterns in the data, looking for general orientations in the data, deciphering what the data is about, and drawing possible conclusions from them. In this part of the study I present an analysis of questionnaires, interviews and tests.

3.5.1 ANALYSIS OF DATA OBTAINED FROM QUESTIONNAIRES:

3.5.1.1 QUESTIONNAIRES FOR EDUCATORS [APPENDIX 1a]:

Questions 1 to 5 were aimed at obtaining some background information of the teacher. The question numbers in presenting the data are exactly as the numbers of the actual questionnaire. Statistics for responses to each question are reflected in the form of a percentage of the population of 29 respondents. The respondents include English monolingual speakers, Afrikaans-English, Zulu-English, Xhosa-English, and Swazi-English bilingual speakers. I first present the data and thereafter a discussion of the data.

Q 1. Age:

Age	< 20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	40+
%	0	17.24	31	13.8	21	17.24

Q 2. Gender:

Gender	MALE	FEMALE
%	31	69

Q 3. What is your home language?

Home Language	Eng.	Afrik.	Zulu	Xhosa	Tamil	Hindi	Other
%	10.34	3.45	65.5	13.79	0	0	3.45

Q 4. What is your status at school?

Status at school	Principal/ Act.Princ.	Dep.Princ./ Act. D.P.	H.O.D./ Act. H.O.D.	Teacher Permanent	Teacher Temporary
%	0	0	20.69	58.62	20.69

Q 5. What is your total number of years of teaching experience as at January 2000 (including broken service)?

Teaching Experience	1 year	2-5 years	6-10 years	11-19 years	20 > years	spoils
%	13.79	17.24	27.59	24.14	6.89	10.34

Q 6. What subject do you teach for the most number of periods?

Eng.	Zulu	Afr	Math	Phy. Sc.	Bio.	Gen. Sc	Hist.	Acc.	Bus. Eco.	Other
17.24	20.69	13.79	10.34	6.89	17.24	3.45	3.45	20.69	13.79	3.45

Q 7. What is your medium of instruction?

Medium of Instruction	Zulu only	English only	Afrik only	Eng & Zulu	Afrik & Zulu	Afrik & Eng.	Other please specify
%	34.48	13.79	3.35	68.97	7	10.35	0

Q 8. Reasons for the use of medium of instruction (above):

	YES	NO
It is prescribed	38%	17.24%
It is my personal preference	65.52%	13.79%
It is the learners' preference	51.72%	7%
It was the parents' choice/ suggestion	3.45%	27.59%

Q 9. If you use more than one language in the classroom:

9.1 which language do you use most of the time in a given lesson?

9.2 which is the other language?

23 Teachers responded to this question:

	English	Zulu	Afrik
9.1 Language most used in the CS classroom	73.91 %	4.35 %	13.04 %
9.2 Other languages used	17.39 %	69.57 %	4.35 %

Q 10. How often do you use the other language indicated in Q9.2 above?

Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
13.04%	73.91%	26.09%	4.35%

Q 11. As far as you know, what is the medium of instruction preferred by your pupils in the subject you teach?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu
0	13.79	10.35	3.45	65.52	7

Q 12. What is the medium of instruction preferred by parents in the subject you teach?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu
48.28	10.35	6.9	6.9	24.14	0

(Questions 13 and 14 are open ended questions)

Q 15. What is the reaction/ feelings of your pupils when you switch from one language to another?

Reaction/ feeling of pupils when teachers switch from one language to another	YES	NO
They are surprised	3.45%	41.4%
They laugh	6.9%	34.48%
They feel insulted	3.45%	34.48%
They relate to you better	58.62%	
They better understand what you are teaching	69%	
They respond in the language you switched to	37.93%	17.24%
They ignore your switch to the other language.	13.79%	31.03%

Q 16.1 When your pupils engage in pair or group work, do you ask them to use a particular language?

YES	NO
62.07%	37.93%

Q 16.2 If your answer to 16.1 is “YES”, what language do you ask them to use? Why?

Eng	Afrik	Zulu
77.78%	11.11%	11.11%

Q 17. When your pupils engage in pair or group work which language(s) do they use?

Don't know	Eng only	Zulu only	Afrik only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu	Other specify
0%	0%	10.34%	0%	82.76%	6.9%	0

Q 18. When pupils engage in casual conversation in the classroom, which language do they use?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu	Other specify
0%	0%	41.38%	0%	58.62%	0%	0%

Q 19. If and when pupils switch from one language to the other, how do you react?

Reaction of teachers	YES	NO
I shout at them		51.72%
I remind them that they must speak only in English	34.48%	27.59%
I pretend that I did not hear them		44.83%
It's 'okay' with me, but I do not encourage it	62.07%	13.79%
It's 'okay' with me, and I encourage it	10.34%	41.38%
I do not approve but tolerate it	51.72%	10.34%

Q 20. What language do you use with your colleagues?

Language used with colleagues:	English only	Zulu only	Eng & Zulu	Other specify
During staff and subject committee meetings?	31.03%		68.97%	0
In the staff room?	17.24%	17.24%	65.52%	0

Data obtained from questionnaires for educators reveals that neither age, gender, status at school nor teaching experience influences language use in school. The two important determinants of language use in the classroom are educators' native or home language and the subject(s) being taught. Hence, where significant, I present a discussion of comparative analysis of data of English and Afrikaans L1 respondents and Zulu-English bilingual respondents to see if there is any significant difference between them in attitudes towards CS. Thereafter, I present a discussion of an analysis of data of the total number of respondents.

Those whose NL is either English or Afrikaans (a total of 13.79% of the respondents) used English and Afrikaans-English respectively, as the medium of instruction. These respondents indicate that the choice of code in the classroom is a result of personal preference. Although these respondents indicate this, one has to bear in mind that these are persons who, unlike their English-Zulu bilingual colleagues, do not have the linguistic repertoire that enables them to use English-Zulu CS in their classrooms. As such, one can conclude that they do not truly have a choice in the code used. Their Zulu-bilingual counterparts, on the other hand, indicate that they choose English-Zulu CS as the medium of instruction: of the 25 bilingual respondents, 76% indicate that their medium of instruction is both English and Zulu. 12% teach through the medium of Zulu only as the subject taught is the Zulu language; 12% use English only; and 8% use both English and Afrikaans. The majority of bilingual respondents use CS in the staff room and even during committee meetings irrespective of the presence of the English monolinguals.

In response to the question whether they ask pupils to use a particular language during pair or group work, 75%, i.e. the English L1 speakers, indicate that they do not and 25%, i.e. the Afrikaans L1 speaker, indicates that she does. The reason that the latter gives for asking pupils

to use Afrikaans during pair or group work is that Afrikaans is the language being taught and pupils “have to speak the language to learn it.” The English L1 teachers who do not ask pupils to speak in a particular language feel that pupils should be allowed to use the language of their choice but that the report back to the class must be in English. In the case of the teacher of the control group, this comment is verified by recordings of her lessons and that of pupils’ group work. It is evident that pupils use both English and Zulu in their group work but report back in English (see sample appendix 3a). All English/ Afrikaans L1 respondents also indicate that pupils actually use both English and Zulu during group activity. Of the English-Zulu bilinguals who were asked whether they ask their pupils to use a particular language during group work, 68% said that they do, and 32% said that they do not. Of those who want their pupils to use a particular language, 82.35% indicate that they want their pupils to use English, 11.76% want them to use Zulu, and 5.89, Afrikaans.

When asked how they, i.e. English/Afrikaans L1 speakers, reacted towards CS by pupils in their classrooms, 75% gave qualifying responses to the use of CS e.g. they do not approve but tolerate its use; they remind pupils to speak in English; and that it was okay with them but they did not encourage it. 25%, on the other hand, said it was okay with them and encouraged the use of CS in class. When Zulu-English bilinguals were asked the same question, data shows that like the English/ Afrikaans L1 speakers, the majority, i.e. 92%, gave qualifying responses towards the use of CS by pupils in their classrooms. Only 8% indicate that they encourage pupils’ use of CS.

When asked what was the medium of instruction preferred by pupils, my data shows that the majority of the total number of respondents i.e. 65.52%, indicate that it is both English and Zulu. Although teachers might believe this, the real situation is somewhat different. The ANC

Education and Training Policy Conference gives the right to the individual to use the language(s) of his/her choice in the development of his/her linguistic skills:

“Pursuing a multilingual policy on language in education will involve ensuring the right of the individual to develop the linguistic skills, *in the language or languages of his/her choice*, which are necessary for full participation in national, provincial and local life.”

In addition, the report from the Centre for Education Policy Development (1994) is even more specific on the use of the native language in the classroom:

“Code-switching during group discussions, workshops, practicals, seminars and lectures should be acknowledged as a normal feature of teaching and learning”

However, the reality is that very often teachers are asked to teach in English and pupils are not empowered to make a decision in the language policy of the school. In addition, although the majority of teachers believe that pupils would prefer to use CS in the classroom, the data obtained from interviews with pupils show otherwise; the majority of pupil-interviewees indicate that their language choice is English. I return to this issue in the next section of this chapter i.e. analysis of data obtained from interviews with learners. When asked what the language preference of parents was, the majority of the total number of respondents indicate that they do not know.

When asked if they (i.e. the total number of respondents) request their pupils to speak in a particular language when they engage in pair or group work, 62.07% indicate that they do and 37.93% indicate otherwise. Of those who do ask pupils to use a particular language, 11.11% state that the language they want their pupils to use is Afrikaans, 11.11% state that it is Zulu, and the vast majority, 77,78%, state they want their pupils to speak in English. The reason for teachers’

desire for pupils to use Afrikaans, and Zulu in the classroom is that it is the subject or language being taught and that the best way to learn a language is to speak it. One of the reasons given for the need for pupils to speak Zulu in the Zulu language classroom is that “Zulu is their (i.e. pupils’) language and they have to be proud of using it and not neglect it.” Teachers who either insist, recommend or encourage their pupils to speak in English during pair or group work provided the following reasons for doing so:

- (a) English is the official medium of instruction and pupils must therefore use it.
- (b) Pupils will learn the language only if they use it.
- (c) By using the language, pupils will know how to construct sentences correctly.
- (d) When English is used, pupils are forced to focus on the lesson.
- (e) Speaking in English in groups prepares learners to communicate with others in multiracial schools and understand what’s going on at meetings “where you get Whites and Indians who only understand English”.
- (f) Textbooks are written in English and pupils should get used to this.
- (g) English is the “most important language (which is) used outside the school (and) tertiary institutes.”
- (h) English is the language “most used by others, not Zulu.”

In spite of the educators’ insistence that learners use a particular language during group discussion, 79.31% of the total number of respondents indicate that pupils resort to English-Zulu CS in the classroom. 62.07% report that when pupils use CS during their lessons, it is ‘okay’ with them but do not encourage it; 51.72% state that they do not approve but tolerate it; 34.48% remind pupils that they should speak in English; and 10.34% state that it is ‘okay’ with them and encourage it.

Another major factor that influenced language choice in the classroom is the subject(s) being taught. Those Zulu/ Xhosa/ Swazi-English bilinguals who do not use CS in the classroom are teachers of languages, namely, English, Afrikaans and Zulu. The teachers of English, Afrikaans and Zulu use these languages as media of instruction and expect their pupils to speak only English, Afrikaans and Zulu respectively, during the lessons. Bilingual teachers of all other subjects use CS in their classrooms. The majority of these bilinguals indicate that the choice of code in the classroom is a matter of personal preference. 73.91% indicate that the resort to CS occurs “sometimes” as opposed to the others who say that they use CS “rarely”, “often” or “very often”.

The reasons provided by those who resort to CS in the classroom include the following:

- (a) Pupils better understand what’s being taught.
- (b) For explanation purposes (e.g. concepts and vocabulary).
- (c) For emphasis.
- (d) To draw attention to important points.
- (e) For demonstration purposes.
- (f) For classroom management i.e. learners pay more attention when the teacher can speak the language learners are familiar with.
- (g) To clarify what has already been said in English.
- (h) Learners are more responsive when teachers speak pupils’ NL.
- (i) For reinforcement.
- (j) For remedial work.
- (k) For the acquisition of new knowledge.
- (l) To facilitate pupils’ ability to relate to what’s happening around them.
- (m) To create interest among pupils.
- (n) To create a relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.
- (o) To create a lively atmosphere in the classroom.
- (p) To elicit pupil responses where the English equivalent fails to do so.

- (q) To ensure that the original message is not distorted.
- (r) When the teacher him/herself has 'forgotten' the English word or does not have the vocabulary.

Of these the reasons most frequently mentioned by teachers were CS for explanation purposes and to enhance understanding of what is being said. In addition, in response to question 15, "What is the reaction/ feelings of your pupils when you switch from one language to another?" 69% of all respondents indicated that when they engaged in CS, learners better understood what was being taught and 58.62% showed that learners are better able to relate to them.

INTERPRETATION:

Although Hoffmann (1991:94) states that it is usually monolinguals themselves who argue against CS, the English monolinguals of my sample of respondents, do not fit this description. On the contrary, although they do not actively encourage CS, they do not prohibit its use in the classroom. They maintain that they do not ask pupils to use any specific language in the classroom as pupils themselves must use the language they want to, to interact with their peers. However, they stipulate that report back to the class as a whole must be done in English. In addition, although many researchers such as Heller (1988) and Nyowe (1992) state that many bilinguals deny using CS behaviour, my sample reveals otherwise. Most bilingual respondents of this study are aware that they use CS and admit that they do so. Unlike the English monolinguals of this study however, the majority of the bilingual respondents want their pupils to use English during group work, stressing the importance of English academically and socially. This is the picture even though teachers themselves resort to CS behaviour in the classroom mostly because of 'personal

preference' and because they believe that it is the preference of their pupils. In addition, the bilingual respondents use CS to fulfill a variety of social and pedagogical functions, demonstrating their recognition of the value of CS in the classroom. The apparent contradiction between their use of CS and the recognition of the values of CS, and the desire for their pupils to use English only, suggests that even though CS is a normal feature in the educational domain, it is not something they feel proud about. This is also evident from the fact that only a very small minority of bilingual respondents actively encourage CS in their classrooms.

3.5.1.2 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEARNERS [APPENDIX 1b]:

Questions 1 to 5 were aimed at obtaining some background information on the pupil. Statistics of responses to each question are reflected in the form of percentages of the population of 39 and 55 Grade 10 learners of the control and experimental groups respectively, of the two schools that participated in this study. I present an analysis of responses by the control group subjects and experimental group subjects one below the other. I first present the data and thereafter a discussion of the data.

Key: C - Control group results
E - Experimental group results

Q 1. Age

	AGE	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	>20
C	%	2.56	2.56	17.95	20.51	23.08	12.82	5.13	15.38
E	%	1.89	5.67	20.75	22.64	24.53	7.55	5.66	11.32

NB. There were 2 "spoils" to this question in E.

Q 2. Where do you live ?

	Residential Area	Murchison	Bhobhoyi	Other-specify
C	%	33.33	33.33	33.33
E	%	90.57	7.55	1.89

N.B. There were 2 "spoils" to this question in E .

Q 3. How do you travel to school?

		walk	bicycle	car	taxi	bus
C	%	66.67	0	12.82	15.39	5.13
E	%	89.09	0	7.27	3.64	0

Q 4. Whom do you live with?

		Mother only	Father only	Mother and Father	Grand-parents	Relative	Friends
C	%	25.64	2.56	51.28	15.38	5.13	0
E	%	30.91	1.81	49.09	10.91	7.27	0

Q 5. What is your home language?

	Home Lang.	Eng.	Zulu	Xhosa	Other
C	%	0	97.44	2.56	0
E	%	0	96.36	3.64	0

Q 6. Do your teachers ask you to speak a particular language at school?

	YES	NO
C	15.38%	84.62%
E	100	0

Q 7. What language do you use when speaking to the following people?

Language used by learners with the following persons		English only	Zulu only	Eng & Zulu	Other specify
Parents/ Guardians	C		87.18	12.82	
	E		83.64	15.55	
Grandparents (leave blank if they are deceased)	C		66.67	10.26	
	E		72.73	5.45	3.64
Relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins etc.)	C		53.85	48.72	2.56
	E	10.91	49.09	25.45	3.64
Friends outside school (eg. at home, while walking to school, at a party)	C		46.15	48.72	
	E	9.09	21.82	38.18	
Friends outside the classroom, at school	C	2.56	56.41	30.77	
	E	16.36	40	30.91	
Friends in the classroom (eg. during pair and group work or just talking with each other)	C	3.7	28.21	58.97	
	E	45.45	9.09	40	
Teachers outside the classroom	C	12.82	17.95	69.23	
	E	41.82	25.45	20	
Teachers in the classroom	C	61.82		30.9	
	E	10.26	2.56	84.62	

Q 8. How often do you switch/change from one language to another?

		NEVER	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	MOST OF THE TIME
C	%	0	0	87.18	10.26		2.56
E	%	0	5.88	62.75	11.76	5.88	13.73

NB. There were 4 “spoils” to this question in E.

The ages of the learners were determined as it could have been a variable that could have had an effect on language performance as well as performance on tests. The average age of the learners of Group C was 18 years and 1 month and the average age of learners of Group E was 17 years and 9 months, a difference of 4 months. The majority of the pupils of Group E live in Murchison while the pupils of Group C indicated an equal distribution between Murchison, Bhoibhoi and “other”. Murchison and Bhoibhoi are in close proximity to both the schools involved in this study. As such the social status of pupils from both schools can be thought to be relatively the same. This is further supported by information provided concerning parents’ occupation. With the exception of an isolated few who indicated that their parents were professionals, viz. 3 teachers, 3 nurses and 1 doctor, the rest were factory hands, drivers, housewives, domestic workers, miners and so on. The significance of this data is that as pupils of the two schools of this study come from similar socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds, these factors would not contribute to any differences that might exist in their language preferences at school and academic performance. The majority of the total population of pupils indicated that they walked to school. The mode of travelling was ascertained to place the pupils in the context of their linguistic circle and the language(s) they spoke with their travelling companions. 48.72% of Group C and 38.18% of Group E who responded to this question indicated that they engaged in Zulu-English code-switching with their friends outside the school. The home language of the large majority of the total population of learners is Zulu.

There was a significant difference in responses between Group C and Group E to the question: “Do your teachers ask you to speak a particular language at school?” 100% of learners of Group E and 15.38% of Group C i.e. 64.89% of the total number of subjects, maintain that their teachers

ask them to speak a particular language at school. In all cases, learners indicate that the language teachers ask them to speak in, is English, except in the Afrikaans and Zulu classes. Those who indicate that their teachers ask them to speak a particular language suggest the following reasons why their teachers did so:

- (a) It is the most important language in South Africa / in the world.
- (b) Only by practicing English will one be able to learn the language.
- (c) It is the only common language in South Africa; one will be able to communicate with people from different cultures and races in South Africa.
- (d) To communicate with people in different countries.
- (e) “All of us are from different places. We must understand each other - English makes that possible.”
- (f) “Without English you can go nowhere”/ “It is the language that gets everybody together.”
- (g) “It is important especially for the Black people - you cannot get a job without English”/ “You can’t work in an office without English.”
- (h) “To communicate with others who can’t speak Zulu.”
- (i) “So that you don’t get embarrassed when you speak with others.”

The data obtained from question 7, i.e. “What language do you use when speaking to the following people?” show that while the majority of the learners speak in Zulu to their parents and grandparents, only a small minority engage in CS with them. The pupils indicate that they use CS with their friends more commonly, particularly in the classroom. There is a significant difference between group C and Group E with regard to the use of English only: the majority of Group C (i.e. 61.82%) claim that they use English only with their teachers while the majority of Group E (i.e. 84.62%) indicate that they use English-Zulu with their teachers. An overview of the data gathered from this question clearly reveals that CS by learners is the norm in the classroom.

Although I have no evidence for some of the claims made below (e.g. CS improves ones English), the learners who engage in CS provide the following reasons for their use of CS:

- (a) Speaking with friends during group work.
- (b) Speaking to teachers who do not understand Zulu/ speaking with friends who can only speak English or who can't speak Zulu well.
- (c) To improve ones English.
- (d) To communicate with pupils from other schools.
- (e) To communicate with others from other cultures.
- (f) When they "can't answer a question in English"/ "can't express answers in English".
- (g) When they don't know a particular word in English.
- (h) When they don't know a word in either language then they substitute a word from the other language.

3.5.2 ANALYSIS OF DATA OBTAINED FROM INTERVIEWS:

In addition to gathering data through questionnaires I interviewed both educators and learners from the schools of this study. I first present an analysis and interpretation of interviews with educators. This will be followed by an analysis and interpretation of interviews with learners.

3.5.2.1 INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS:

The purpose of the interviews with educators was to determine their attitudes toward language policy at school, their language use in the classroom, and their attitude toward CS in general and in the classroom. A total number of 12 educators of both the schools of this study were interviewed. This sample was determined by the following criteria: (i) that interviewees included both English monolingual and bilingual speakers; (ii) that interviewees included members of management (i.e. a principal, deputy principal, heads of departments) and teachers of languages as well as a few other subjects.; and (iii) that interviewees were willing to be interviewed and have

the interview recorded. My reason for the first two criteria is that I wanted to see if there was any difference in perceptions and attitudes between monolingual and bilingual speakers, and management staff and level one teachers towards CS.

The interviewees of the two schools include 1 principal, 1 deputy principal, 3 heads of department, 4 language teachers (inclusive of English, Afrikaans and Zulu) and 3 other teachers. Of these 12 interviewees, 3 (i.e. 25%) are native speakers of English, 1 (i.e. 8.33%) is a native speaker of Xhosa and the remaining 8 (i.e. 66.67%) are native speakers of Zulu. I first informed each interviewee that the interview would be recorded, that there were no 'right' and 'wrong' answers, that they should respond as honestly as possible, and that their participation in this study was of importance to the research. I also assured them that their identity would not be revealed even though for my purpose of organization and control their names would be recorded on tape. Hence, I use labels T1, T2, T3 etc. to refer to the interviewees in my discussion and omit their names in the transcripts.

Using the semi-structured approach, the rationale for which I have explained earlier in this chapter, I focused on the following questions or areas of questions:

- I. Status at school, subjects and grades being taught.
- II. What is the language policy at school? How do you feel about this?
- III. Do you prescribe or recommend a specific language to be used in the classroom?
- IV. Do you switch from one language to another while teaching?
- V. Are you conscious or unconscious when you change from one language to the other?
- VI. What do you feel about switching from one language to another?

- VII. What is your reaction to your learners who switch from one language to another in the classroom?
- VIII. Do you think CS can be used as an aid in teaching?
- IX. If you were free to implement a language policy, what would it be? Why?

While these questions form the core questions of the interview, not all questions could be asked directly. Hence, inferences from responses have to be made. I use these questions to analyze the data. I present a summary of data obtained in figure 1 and an accompanying key in the following page. I then elaborate on the data and present an interpretation of my findings.

ANALYSIS:

In response to the question, “What is the language policy of this school?” 75% of the interviewees state that it is English, 8.3% state that it is both English and Zulu, and 16.7% state that there is no language policy. Of the 16.7%, 8.3% qualified their response by saying that although there is no language policy the “emphasis is on Zulu”. 100% of the interviewees state that they recommend a specific language viz. English, to be used in the classroom, except where Afrikaans and Zulu are taught as subjects, the language recommended is English. In the Afrikaans and Zulu classrooms the teachers recommend the use of Afrikaans and English, and Zulu and English respectively.

In response to the question, “Do you use CS in the classroom?” 100% of bilingual interviewees state that they do and 100% of the monolingual interviewees state that they do not use CS because they could not. They add that they would resort to CS behaviour as well if they could speak Zulu in addition to English. In determining whether bilingual interviewees were conscious or unconscious of their CS behaviour, 83.3% of those who responded to this question said that they

	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12
STATUS	P	DP	HOD	HOD	HOD	HOD	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1
NL	Z	Z	E	E	E	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z
II	None.	E	E	None	E	E	E	E	ZE	E	E	E
III	✓ E		✓ ZE	✓ E	✓ E	✓ E						
IV	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
V	Unc.	Unc.	N/A	N/A	N/A		Unc	Unc	Unc	Con		
VI	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
VII	✓	×	?	✓	?	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	×
VIII			✓	✓		×		×	✓	✓	✓	✓
IX	E	E	E	ZE	E	E	E	E	ZE	E	ZE	E

KEY:

T :Teacher
 P :Principal
 DP :Deputy Principal
 HOD :Head of Department
 L1 :Level one teacher
 NL :Native language
 Z :Zulu
 E :English
 A :Afrikaans

✓ :Yes/ Positive
 × :No/ Negative
 Con :Conscious
 Unc :Unconscious
 ? :qualified response
 N/A :not applicable
 Blanks: Interviewees have not been asked the question directly

Figure 1: Summary of data obtained from interviews with teachers

are mostly unconscious of their language alternation, and 16.7% say that they are aware when they switch from one language to another.

In response to the question concerning interviewees' feelings or attitudes towards CS, I present a summary in terms of firstly, bilinguals, and then monolinguals. Of the bilinguals, all of whom employ CS to some extent or the other in their classrooms, 66.7% gave positive responses. Their reasons for their favourable attitude towards CS include:

- (a) English is not the mother tongue and it is therefore difficult to teach in English only.
- (b) CS fulfills various pedagogical and social functions such as explaining to enhance understanding; to explain vocabulary; to understand content; to provide emphasis; to provide instructions; to ensure accurate reception of information; and to promote multiculturalism.

22.2% felt that even though they employ CS in their classrooms, accept its use and recognize the pedagogical functions that CS fulfills, they do not encourage its use. One interviewee gave an indirect response when asked what her attitude towards CS was: "I always encourage them to speak in English". Her argument is that examination papers are written in English: "No, because the paper is going to come out in English. So if I use only Zulu they will have problems in questions and understanding instructions. So English is better" [sample appendix 2a,T6]. Another interviewee said: "I don't like it (i.e. CS)... more especially when we are talking English when they're switching to Zulu we don't like it, we discourage it..... I don't feel good (about CS) because they must practice what they preach. If they say that the kids must not switch from English to Zulu they must not do the same" [sample appendix 2a,T8]. The remaining interviewee (11.1%) states that he does not resort to Zulu in the classroom but later in the interview states that

he uses Zulu as well at assembly. He uses both English and Afrikaans in the teaching of Afrikaans, but not Zulu. The interviewee appeared to have ambivalent feelings about CS. Having said that he does mix up both English and Zulu “sometimes”, he adds “sometimes its good because it (English) is not our language” ... and “Sometimes it’s bad because we are supposed to promote English” [sample appendix 2a,T2]. The interviewee also says that he feels embarrassed about switching from one language to the other.

Of the English monolingual interviewees, 100% provided a qualified positive response towards the phenomenon of CS. All felt that they themselves would use their learners’ NL if they could speak it. For example, one interviewee said: “I feel that it would be to my benefit if I could go occasionally into Zulu to assist them” [sample appendix 2a,T5]. However, their positive view of CS in the classroom was governed by one basic qualification i.e. Zulu should not be the language used most often in the classroom. There were also reservations about the use of CS by others in general. For example, one interviewee said: “I don’t have a problem with (CS) (it’s) when teachers start talking in English but then switch to Zulu then I don’t understand. Then I feel like you know they’re discussing certain issues, like they don’t want me to know about” [sample appendix 2a,T3].

With regards to the question on feelings or attitude towards CS by learners in their classrooms, I once again present an analysis in terms of bilinguals and English monolinguals. Of the bilinguals who themselves employ CS in their classrooms, 55.6% view CS by their pupils in the classroom favourably, whereas the remaining 44.4% look upon it unfavourably. Some of the motivations for CS by learners in the classroom, provided by educators include:

- (a) Pupils might know the answers to questions posed to them but lack the linguistic facility to express their answers in English. These pupils should be allowed to express themselves in their NL [sample appendix 2a,T7 ; T10].
- (b) The main aim in a lesson is that pupils understand one another and are able to communicate with each other [sample appendix 2a,T9].
- (c) As Zulu is the learners' first language, it is necessary to explain difficult English vocabulary in Zulu [sample appendix 2a,T9].
- (d) It provides some feedback to teachers on whether pupils have really understood a question being asked. [sample appendix 2a,T1].

Of those in favour of CS behaviour, not all do so unreservedly. For example, one interviewee says that although she accepts CS by her pupils, she does not encourage it. Instead, she encourages the pupils to speak in English because “the language is taught in English and examined in English, not in Zulu, so they must be using English” [sample appendix 2a,T12]. Of the interviewees who are not in favour of switching from English to Zulu by learners, one states that he doesn't encourage pupils to speak Zulu in the classroom. He would prefer his pupils to switch to English in the Afrikaans classroom rather than switch to Zulu. The reasons he gives are that if there is “too much Zulu (pupils) lose their vocabulary” and that if Zulu is used, once something is said in English, pupils will anticipate a Zulu translation, and so lose most of their vocabulary : “Because they will listen to Zulu ... you know, more especially, when you teach the literature, when you are going to say it in English, they will wait until you say it in Zulu. They won't listen to that English part, they will wait until you say it in Zulu, so they will lose most of their vocabulary” [sample appendix 2a,T8]. Another interviewee gave an indirect response to the question: “I always encourage them to speak English” and states that she “tolerates” pupils' use of CS in the classroom [sample appendix 2a, T6]. Yet another interviewee who looks upon CS by pupils with disfavour says that

he feels ashamed by this form of linguistic behaviour and at times overlooks its use by his pupils [sample appendix 2a, T2].

Of those who responded to the question, “Do you think CS can be used as an aid in teaching you subject?” 75% state that it could be used and the remaining 25% say that it could not. Finally, when asked what language policy they would like to put in place at schools, 75% state that it would be English and the other 25% say that it would be both English and Zulu. Some of the reasons given for favouring English include:

- (a) English is a universal language whereas Zulu is used only in South Africa.
- (b) English is an official language and most people can speak English, not Zulu.
- (c) It is the medium of communication. Interviews and examinations are conducted in English.
- (d) The textbooks are written in English, not in Zulu.

Those who do not specify that English only should be implemented as a language policy at school feel that:

- (a) The language that the learner feels that s/he can use with success should be implemented as the language policy.
- (b) The language that best suits the learners should be implemented.
- (c) That both English and Zulu should be implemented to promote understanding of whatever’s being taught.

INTERPRETATION OF DATA:

The data obtained from the question on the language policy of the schools of this study indicate that educators are not truly aware of the language policy established for the schools but instead provide what they *think* it is. The varying responses of “English”, “English and Zulu” and “no

language policy” are indicative that the issue of language policy has not been expounded and collaboratively established at the schools. If indeed English is the language policy of the schools, as the majority of the interviewees indicate, in view of the data obtained on CS in the domain of the schools in this study (i.e. CS between English and Zulu is the norm in the classroom), it would suggest that insufficient consideration has been given to the linguistic needs of the learners.

The data obtained from the questions concerning the use of learners’ NL in the classroom clearly indicate that it is the norm for educators who have the linguistic repertoire to do so to alternate between English and Zulu. Bilingual educators educate in CS even though the vast majority of them indicate that they recommend that English be used in the classroom and that they would like to see English as the established language policy of the school. The apparent conflict between the actual practice of CS by educators in the classroom and the choice of English as the ideal language conveys an underlying negation of CS even though, as an analysis of the data reveals, teachers fully recognize the values of employing CS in the classroom. In chapter 2, in the discussion of attitudes towards English, I showed how English is perceived as a language of power, prestige and status. The following comments of interviewees support this view: “everywhere, wherever they go, they communicate in English”, “English is the language used by all countries throughout the world”, “English is universal”, “when you go to interviews it is held in English”, and “books are written in English”. Also, of particular significance and interest is that one educator, in the teaching of Afrikaans, employs Afrikaans-English CS and not Afrikaans-Zulu CS (the reader must bear in mind that English is the learners’ L2 and Zulu, the L1). This further supports the view that English is the preferred language compared to Zulu. In addition, when one examines these comments, there appears to be some kind of external pressure exerted upon people to acquire

English. Hence the perception by the majority of bilinguals that English should be *the* language of the school.

The data also reveals that the majority of interviewees perceive CS positively, recognizing both social and pedagogical values of CS in the classroom by both teachers themselves as well as learners. It is interesting to note that while 66.7% of educator interviewees look upon their own CS behaviour in a favourable light, 55.5% perceive CS favourably when employed by their pupils. This suggests that some educators have differing perceptions of CS i.e. a positive one for themselves and a negative one for others. This is further borne out by one interviewee who, when asked: “What about adults who switch from Zulu to English and back? What do you feel about that?” said: “I don’t feel good because they must practice what they preach. If they say that the kids must not switch from English to Zulu they must not do the same” [sample appendix 2a, T8]. In addition, although most educators have positive perceptions of CS, they do not actively encourage their pupils to employ CS, but rather encourage them to use English. Once again, it is evident that English is awarded priority and prestige.

In determining whether there is a difference in attitude toward English and CS between bilinguals and English monolinguals, the data shows that there is no significant difference. Firstly, 100% of English monolingual interviewees state that they would resort to CS behaviour in their classrooms if they could speak their pupils’ NL, thus recognizing the value of learners’ NL in the classroom. Secondly, even though 66.7 % indicate that English should be encouraged as the language policy of the school, it is not without attaching value to learners’ NL. For example, one interviewee states: “Well I know that some schools insist on English even on the playgrounds but I think this

is too harsh”[sample appendix 2a,T5]. Perhaps, what can be deduced from my sample, for the schools in which the study was conducted, is that when monolinguals themselves are actively engaged in teaching only ESL pupils, they recognize the benefits (and perhaps even the necessity) in being able to employ learners’ NL to fulfill pedagogical functions. Hence, in this study, there is no significant difference in attitudes between monolingual and the majority of bilinguals towards CS. Both groups also concur that CS is beneficial to the learner as long as Zulu is not overused in the classroom. This supports the stance adopted by Auerbach (1993), Kharma and Hajjaj (1989) and Atkinson (1987) viz. that prolonged use of the mother tongue or over-dependence on it, so that the language most used in the classroom is not English, can hinder the fluency of ESL and even demotivate the using of it.

The data also supports Adendorff’s (1993) observation that mostly, CS is an unconscious form of linguistic behaviour. This study shows that for the vast majority of educator interviewees, CS is an ‘automatic’ phenomenon. However, I would like to suggest that in view of the fact that the educators provide possible reasons for their use of CS, indicating how CS fulfills social and pedagogical functions, together with the fact that monolinguals express a desire to be able to employ CS in the classroom, underlying the unconscious use of CS is a further substratum of consciousness, a subterfuge awareness as it were, that CS at times is an act of overt deliberation. It would seem that one has so perfected the art of switching from one code to another, that it has become ‘automatic’ but not without underlying reasons.

3.5.2.2 INTERVIEWS WITH LEARNERS:

The purpose of the interviews with the learners, as with the educators, was to determine their language use in and outside the classroom, and their attitude toward CS in general and in the classroom. A total number of 14 learners of the Grade 10 classes of both the schools of this study were interviewed (see sample appendix 2d for transcriptions). At first I interviewed pairs, as I thought that learners would feel more comfortable with the support of a peer as they were being interviewed by a stranger. However, after this interview, I abandoned the pair interview in favour of individual interviews as I found that one pupil was more dominating than the other and that the second pupil would only respond if a question was directed at her. This denied me an opportunity of acquiring a fuller response from the more reserved pupil than I could have otherwise have obtained had she been interviewed individually. Hence, I continued my interviews on a one to one basis. I first tried to make each interviewee feel at ease by talking to them informally about mundane matters. I then informed them that the interview was going to be recorded; that there was no 'right' or 'wrong' answers; that they should respond as honestly as possible; and that their participation in this study was of importance to the research.

As I had done with the educator interviewees, I assured the learners that even though their names were being recorded on tape, their identity would not be revealed. Hence, I use labels L1, L2, L3 etc. when referring to them and have omitted the details of names, age, mode of transport, residential area and so on (which were asked to ease them into the interview and have no bearing on the outcome of the analysis) in the actual transcript.

Using the semi-structured approach once again, I focused on the following questions:

- I. What is your home language?
- II. Do you speak English at home?
- III. What language(s) do you speak with your friends?
- IV. Do you switch your language in the classroom?
- V. Is the switch 'automatic' or are you aware that you are switching from one language to another?
- VI. Do your teachers switch between languages in your classroom?
- VII. What language do your parents prefer you to learn your subjects in?
- VIII. What language do you prefer to learn your subjects in?
- IX. How do others feel when you switch from one language to the other?
- X. How do you feel about people who switch from one language to the other?

While these questions form the core questions of the interview, not all questions were asked directly and as such inferences have to be drawn from interviewees' responses. I use these questions to analyse. I present a summary of data obtained in figure 2 in the following page and thereafter an elaboration of this, followed by an interpretation of my findings.

ANALYSIS:

The data reveals that 93% of learner interviewees are Zulu NL speakers and 7% are Xhosa NL speakers. Of those who were asked whether they spoke any English at home at all and from whose responses inferences can be safely made, 63.6% indicate that they did and 36.7% state that only Zulu was spoken at home. Some of the reasons for using English at home are that the parents like English and wish their children to learn English; to speak with younger siblings so that they can learn to speak English; because learners "like" speaking English; and because learners want to practice their English.

100% of the interviewees indicate that they use both English and Zulu with their friends both in

	L1A	L1B	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8	L9	L10	L11	L12	L13
I	Z	X	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z
II				✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
III	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZE	ZS/ZE
IV	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
V	A-	A-	A	A	A	A		A-	C	A	A		A	
VI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
VII			E	E	E	E			E	E	E	E	E	E
VIII	E	E	ZE	ZE	E	E	ZE	ZE	E	E	E	E	E	E
IX	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		×	✓	✓					
X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓					
XI														

Figure 2 : Summary of data obtained from interviews with learners

KEY:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| I - XI | : Questions as given above |
| Z | : Zulu |
| E | : English |
| X | : Xhosa |
| IX | : Yes/ Positive |
| × | : Negative |
| A | : Automatic |
| B- | : Sometimes conscious but otherwise automatic |
| C | : Conscious |
| Blank | : Question has not been answered |

and out of school. This is to say that CS is a norm for the given sample of pupils. However, 14.3% of these learners, both of whom come from Izingolweni, a rural area some distance away from school, show that while they do employ Zulu-English CS with their friends at school they do not do so with their friends in their residential area. For example, one pupil states: “We speak Zulu because you speak English they say you are proud now and they do not understand what you say so you speak Zulu” [sample appendix 2d, L6]. One of the interviewees who employs CS in conversations with his friends states that the choice whether to switch to English or Zulu depends on the topic, who the addressee is, and because at times it is easier to use an English word. Other reasons include the need to practice the language; to discuss certain issues; to explain something to a friend; and to accommodate English-speaking friends. Of those who were asked whether their switch from one language to the other was an ‘automatic’ or ‘deliberate’ one, 9.1% state that the switch is a deliberate one; 63.6% state that the switching is ‘automatic’, and 27.3% state that sometimes the switch is a deliberate one while for the most part it is ‘automatic’.

When asked whether their teachers switch from one language to the other in class, 100% of the interviewees state that they do. Some pupils specify that all their teachers switch languages except those who can speak only English. When asked what language is preferred by their parents, 100% who responded to this question state that it is English. When asked what language they would prefer the medium of instruction to be, 71.4% state that it is English and the remaining 28.6% state that it is both English and Zulu. The reasons proffered for the choice of English include:

- (a) To be able to communicate with ‘Whites’.
- (b) To be able to communicate with all cultures.
- (c) When they go to other English medium schools they would be able to communicate.
- (d) English is used at colleges.

- (e) Interviews for jobs are held in English and if you know English it is easier to get a job/ you cannot get a job if you don't know English.
- (f) English is spoken everywhere.
- (g) To better ones future one needs to know English.
- (h) English is the most important language.

When asked about how others and they themselves feel about code-switching, all except one of the interviewees who were asked this question responded affirmatively. They state that they felt “fine” and “good” about CS.

INTERPRETATION OF DATA:

The above data clearly reveals that for bilingual pupils at the schools of this study, CS between English and Zulu is the norm. Like their teachers, although they recognize the need to use their NL in the classroom, they prefer to learn all their subjects through the medium of English. Parents too, who might themselves not speak English, want their children to learn English. Educators, learners and parents alike share a common view about English - it is the gateway to a better life. In fact, it appears that if one does not know English, one would get nowhere in this world. There seems to be such an urgent force to learn English that it has filtered into the homes of Zulu speakers and channelled down to younger children so they too would be better prepared for a world dominated by a need to be able to speak English.

An analysis of recordings of interviews with learners also shows that one of the salient reasons for switching languages is to accommodate the listener. For example, L6 speaks in Zulu to a select group without switching to English so that he does not offend them and to prevent them from thinking that he is “proud” because they do not understand English; L7 uses Zulu among small

children because they do not understand English although she likes speaking in English; and L10 says; "Some of my friends do not understand English, some understand English, so I use both of them together." Pupils also recognize the value of CS or use of their NL in the classroom, particularly for explanation purposes.

3.5.2.3 CONCLUSION:

An analysis of interviews with educators and learners of the two schools of this study clearly indicates that CS is a norm in the classroom. In addition, both educators and learners recognize the need that switching to Zulu, the learners' NL, fulfills. It would appear that CS outside the school, is an acceptable form of informal talk and that CS in the domain of the classroom is an acceptable form of formal talk. In addition, unlike research such as that of Gibbons (1994), Nwoye (1992), and Heller (1988) which demonstrates the negative attitudes of people towards CS, my study shows that the majority of subjects perceive CS favourably, as it serves important pedagogical functions. It should be noted that only one subject denied switching to Zulu in the classroom. He felt ashamed of switching to Zulu, but felt that it was quite in order to switch to English in teaching yet another language, Afrikaans. This seems to imply that in the Afrikaans classroom while switching to English is acceptable, switching to Zulu is a linguistic behaviour to be frowned upon. This attitude is probably because the use of colonial languages is still perceived as superior languages while the use of African languages is stigmatized.

Despite the favourable attitude towards CS generally, there appears to be a desire to minimize CS and maximize the use of English in the classroom. English, undoubtedly, is the language that educators encourage and that which learners wish to acquire proficiently. This study therefore

supports Auerbach's (1993) conclusions that despite the fact that CS is permitted in the classroom, the desire to speak English is very intense. Hence, as I have commented earlier (page 101) there appears to be a conflict between the actual practice of CS by educators in the classroom and the choice of English as the ideal language, thus conveying an underlying negation of CS. It would appear that even though CS fulfills social and pedagogical functions, CS is perceived merely as a stepping stone to the acquisition of English. Does this therefore mean that educators perceive CS as an interlanguage i.e. a type of language used by L2 learners who are in the process of learning a target language? Furthermore, contrary to Hoffmann's (1991) belief that it is often monolinguals who argue against CS, the monolingual subjects of my study are clearly in favour of CS. However, they too perceive English as the language of opportunity and as one subject said, although she would employ CS in the classroom, she perceives CS as a corruption of pure English, and adds that in a country such as ours, this is inevitable. "I would like to keep English pure but I do find that in certain ways English is becoming degenerated. I think that in South Africa that's inevitable but..... people are going to switch from one language to the other" [sample appendix 2c, T5].

Albeit, CS is perceived positively by the majority of the subjects and as an analysis of lessons by the teacher using English-Zulu CS in the classroom will show, learners' NL has an established place in the ESL English literature classroom.

3.5.3 FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM:

3.5.3.1 INTRODUCTION:

In this section of the chapter, firstly I examine the different forms that CS takes in the ESL literature classroom; and secondly, and more importantly, I focus on the various functions that CS fulfills in the teaching of short stories and poems by the bilingual teachers of the experimental group. It needs to be noted that the experimental group was taught by two teachers. The first teacher whom I label Mrs E, using CS, taught the story 'Kid Playboy' before leaving due to circumstances that may not be discussed in this thesis. Another teacher, whom I shall label Mr E., continued with the lessons i.e. the story 'The Suit' and the poems 'Promise', 'Follower' and 'Out, Out-'. In discussing the forms and functions of CS, I examine evidence from lessons of the experimental group where the teachers were asked to use both English and Zulu. In addition, when discussing the forms, I draw on evidence from group work conducted in the control group where the teacher used only English in her lessons, but pupils engage in CS behaviour in their discussion.

3.5.3.2 FORMS OF CODE-SWITCHING

The data reveals that the teachers of the experimental group as well as the learners involved in the group work of the control group, engage in various forms of CS behaviour in their teaching and discussing, respectively. These forms, as I have discussed in Chapter One, are (a) intersentential switching, (b) intrasentential switching, (c) lexical switching, and (d) tag switching. I shall however, before presenting examples from my data, provide a brief definition of each of these forms of CS. I will draw, where possible, from each of the five literary texts i.e. the two short stories, 'Kid Playboy' and 'The Suit', and the three poems, 'Promise', 'Follower' and 'Out, out-'. I also draw on the discussion held during group work. I present the extracts first and discuss them

thereafter. I also present a brief overview to each literary text when I discuss each lesson.

(a) INTERSENTENTIAL SWITCHING:

Intersentential CS occurs between sentences i.e. the speaker switches to the other code only after completing a sentence in one code (Jacobson 1978:21; Baker 1980:3).

EXTRACT I: LESSON ON ‘KID PLAYBOY’ [APPENDIX 4a]

[The teacher explains the promise that Kid Playboy makes to the girls and the emptiness of his promises.]

Here he was telling her that he will make fire under the ocean for her just so that she will swim in winter. **Ngesikhathi kubanda yena abe ebhukuda nangumlilo laphayana, into engeke izeyenzeke nangelinye ilanga.** [When she swims the fire will be there, something that will never happen].

EXTRACT II: LESSON ON ‘THE SUIT’ [APPENDIX 4b]

[The teacher wishes to examine the event that leads to Matilda’s suicide.]

What was the last straw for Matilda? The whole thing? **Wayengasakwazi ukubekezela yini imbangela?** [What was the reason that made her unable to tolerate this anymore?]

EXTRACT III: LESSON ON ‘PROMISE’ [APPENDIX 4c]

[In discussing life in the locations, the teacher shares his personal experience.]

I couldn’t even move eh. I couldn’t even move. **Ngiyakwazi loko-ke mina!** [I experienced that!].
I couldn’t even move.

EXTRACT IV: LESSON ON 'FOLLOWER' [APPENDIX 4d]

[The teachers explains that it is a child who should follow the adult, not vice versa.]

Once this thing happens it means something wrong is going on. **Ngamanye amazwi ayikho ingane engahola umuntu omdala** [In other words a child cannot lead an adult].

EXTRACT V: LESSON ON 'OUT, OUT-' [APPENDIX 4e]

[The teacher explains how the boy lost his arm].

The hand was already cut off by the saw, not by the doctor, by the saw. **Libukhali lelisahha lakhona niwabhasobhe** [This saw is very sharp you must watch it].

EXTRACT VI: GROUP WORK DISCUSSION [SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]

[Pupils discuss the issue of whether Kid Playboy's ex-girlfriend should have attended his wedding or not].

Angayemshadweni? [Not gone to the wedding?] She went there to give his baby!

Each of the above examples of intersentential switch is a clear indication that the switch occurs at the end of a sentence or sentence boundary. The speakers in each example make alternate use of English and Zulu without interfering with the syntactic structure of either language used. In extract I, the teacher switches to Zulu to explain his preceding English statement and to make a critical comment on Kid Playboy's promises, thus drawing learners' attention to the emptiness of his promises. In II, the switch to Zulu serves to elaborate on the teacher's preceding questions which are in English, in an effort to elicit responses from his pupils. In III, the teacher stresses his personal experience: "**Ngiyakwazi loko-ke mina** [I experienced that]" and in so doing probably wishes to gain the admiration of his pupils. In IV, the teacher switches to Zulu to elaborate on his preceding sentence. In V, the teacher uses Zulu to draw the attention of his pupils to the danger

of the saw. Finally, in extract VI, unlike the preceding examples, the pupil switches from Zulu to English and not from English to Zulu as the teachers have done. This is so because the data shows that the language most used by teachers in each of the lessons is English, but within the group session, pupils use mostly Zulu to converse with each other. In this example, the pupil uses Zulu to express her shock at her peer's idea that the ex-girlfriend should not have attended the wedding, and then switches to English to assert her point of view, which she evidently feels very strongly about.

(b) INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCHING:

Intrasentential CS involves the embedding of syntactic strings of one code into the sentence of another code (Jacobson 1978:21; Baker 1980:3).

EXTRACT VII: LESSON ON 'KID PLAYBOY' [APPENDIX 4a]

Okay, what happens to the narrator here since **eh lo owayememezela ethi akulethwe amapresents wathi ladies and gentlemen kuqala so yona inarrator ubugentleman ayizange ibubone kuyona**. [The one who was calling them to come forward addressed them as ladies and gentlemen so the narrator did not associate himself with that].

EXTRACT VIII: LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [APPENDIX 4b]

You know in the location **abelungu bayazi ukuthi abantu baphuza umqombothi emalokishini buningi** [The whites know that people drink African beer in the locations, therefore African beer is plenty in the locations].

EXTRACT IX: LESSON ON 'PROMISE' [APPENDIX 4c]

I think of going home and studying my work at the same time you have work to get on **imiqondo iyaphambana** [ideas clash] there's a problem.

EXTRACT X: LESSON ON 'FOLLOWER' [APPENDIX 4d]

A farmer usually wakes early in the morning **kusapholile ngoba uma sekushisa** [when it is cool because when it is hot] you become tired, is it?

EXTRACT XI: LESSON ON 'OUT, OUT-' [APPENDIX 4e]

The reason was no blood, no blood **inhliziyo isishaya kancane** [The heart was beating slowly].

EXTRACT XII: GROUP WORK DISCUSSION [SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]

Kodwa akumele abe **responsible for** lomntwana [But he shouldn't have to be responsible for that baby].

In each of these examples of intrasentential switching, the switch by the teachers involves the embedding of Zulu. However, in extract XII, the switch by the pupil involves the embedding of English. In both instances however, i.e. by both the teachers and the pupil, one notices that the switch between codes is a harmonious blending of both languages so that the linguistic structure of the codes remains intact. This suggests that code-switching at the intrasentential level is not some random, aimless phenomenon, but rather that it marks the high level of linguistic competence of bilinguals.

(c) LEXICAL SWITCHING:

Lexical switching which is an example of intrasentential switching involves the incorporation of lexical items from one code to the other (Jacobson 1978).

EXTRACT XIII: LESSON ON 'KID PLAYBOY' [APPENDIX 4a]

Yase ibona ukuthi yona iseceleni akukho **present** engayiyisa ngoba kuthiweni?
[I don't have a present to give, what must I say?]

EXTRACT XIV: LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [APPENDIX 4b]

In such cases we can call people who misbehave or cheat other people **tsotsis** [hooligans].

EXTRACT XV: LESSON ON 'PROMISE' [APPENDIX 4c]

Babengakwazi ukuya eMlazi, yini eyenza bangahlangani e **Indian Market**? [They could go to Umlazi, why couldn't they meet at the Indian Market?]

EXTRACT XVI: LESSON ON 'FOLLOWER' [APPENDIX 4d]

Uma ubaba enazo izinkomo ziyeke zibe u-**six** [When a man has cows he has about six of them].

EXTRACT XVII: GROUP WORK DISCUSSION [SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]

Ay 'i **present** ye ngane? [A baby for a present?]

In each of the examples provided of lexical switching, the switch is to a single item or word of another language within a single sentence. In the cited examples, the items are “present”, “tsotsis”, “Indian Market” and “six”. It is noted that the first three items are nouns and the last item is a numerical adjective. This supports Poplack's (1980) observation that nouns account for the largest portion of lexical switches. They are frequently borrowed during CS because they are relatively free of syntactic constraints. As a point of interest, in extract XIV, when the teacher incorporates the lexical item “tsotsis”, he probably does so as its near English equivalent “hooligan” does not convey the weight of meaning that “tsotsis” does. As such, its use is more appropriate than “hooligan”. Once again this suggests to me that this is just one more example of how CS may not be perceived as a random phenomenon; bilinguals are aware of the impact of their choice of codes.

(d) TAG SWITCHING:

Tag switching refers to the insertion of a tag in one code into an utterance of another code (Poplack 1980).

EXTRACT XVIII: LESSON ON 'KID PLAYBOY' [APPENDIX 4a]

So mina ubugtleman akekho nangelinye ilanga umuntu oye angibize ngani? [So, even on a single day no one has ever called me what?]

EXTRACT XIX: LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [APPENDIX 4b]

Right. Akesibheke indawo [Let us look at this place].

EXTRACT XX: LESSON ON 'PROMISE' [APPENDIX 4c]

Kodwa-ke uma sibuyela eqinisweni umasesihleba babefanele ukuba bangaphindi bahlangane bahlukene njenge North ne-South **get it?** [When we speak the truth, they were not suppose to meet because they differ as the North and the South].

EXTRACT XXI: LESSON ON 'FOLLOWER' [APPENDIX 4d]

Right. Kukhona izintambo ezingena la [There are rows that go here].

EXTRACT XXII: LESSON ON 'OUT, OUT-' [APPENDIX 4e]

Izandla ziyagezana, [people must help each other] **you see?**

EXTRACT XXIII : GROUP WORK DISCUSSION [SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]

Listen, listen, listen ngikutshela wena, angith'unentombi wena? Lezintombi zakho awe kukuthi uyazithanda zonke. [... you have a girlfriend right? You can't tell me you love all your girlfriends].

Although Poplack (1980:589) notes that tag switches can occur anywhere in the sentence, my data reveals that it is common practice for bilinguals to insert a tag either at the beginning or end of a sentence, as illustrated above. In extracts XVIII, XIV, XXI and XXIII the use of the tags "so", "right", 'right' and "listen" respectively, serve to prepare the hearer for what is about to be

spoken, and in extracts XX and XXII, the tags “get it” and “you see”, respectively, draw the attention of the hearer to what has already been said. Like the other forms of CS, the insertion of a tag within a sentence does not tamper with the syntactical structure of the sentence. In addition, these various forms of CS serve to fulfill a variety of social and pedagogical functions, a discussion of which follows.

3.5.3.3 FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING:

In this section, I closely examine the use of CS by the teachers of the experimental group and present the functions that these switches serve. I examine each story as a separate unit as each has been taught by a different teacher. I then examine the three poems collectively. I shall provide only a brief definition of each function as a detailed definition and literature on each of the functions of CS has already been dealt with in Chapter 2. It is also not my intention to comment on *every* example of CS used by the participants - I will, instead, present the more salient or obvious examples that illustrate the various functions. I provide a background to each of the literary texts when I discuss each lesson.

A. LESSON ON ‘KID PLAYBOY’ [APPENDIX 4a]:

‘Kid Playboy’ deals with a philandering young man whose wedding is being covered by a reporter, the narrator of the story. The story focuses on Kid playboy (who is responsible for the suicide of the narrator’s ex-girlfriend) and the wedding present he receives (i.e. his baby from an ex-girlfriend) while the marriage ceremony is being conducted. The teacher Mrs E., begins her lesson briskly by greeting her pupils in English. She first establishes the meaning of the concept “playboy” and then discusses the setting of the scene. Once the actual story is set in motion however, i.e.

when the narrator goes to the wedding, the teacher switches between English and Zulu. Thereafter she maintains a CS behaviour to the end of the lesson. A discussion of the various functions that CS serves within the context of this lesson follows.

(a) CS as reiterative:

This function of “bilingual echoing” (Gibbons 1987:80) is a repetition of an utterance, either literally or in modified form, in another code from that which has been used. An example of CS used for reiterative purposes is:

EXTRACT XXIV:

There was a guy who met him, who was ushering people, so to “usher” means to show, **wamtshengisa ukuthi kufanele aye-ngala** [He showed him where to go].

In this example, although the Zulu utterance is not an exact repetition of what has already been said in English, the teacher does not contribute any new information. In this case she uses repetition for vocabulary building.

(b) CS for explanation purposes:

CS may be used to explain an idea, concept, or content information. For example:

EXTRACT XXV:

As he was promising so many promises. Here he was telling her that he will make fire under the ocean for her just so that she will swim in winter. **Ngesikhathi kubanda yena abe ebhukuda nangumlilo laphayana, into engeke izeyenzeke nangelinye ilanga. Kusho ukuthi washeshe wakholwa.** It’s always the case **mantombazane njalo noma engasashongo ukuthi uzokwakhela umlilo ngaphansi ... noma nje ethe ngizokuthengela ... Intoni manje eniyithanda kakhulu?** [When she swims the fire will be there, something that will never happen. It means that she quickly

believed him. It's always the case girls, even if he didn't say he will make fire for you, if he will buy you... What is it you like very much at present?]

and

EXTRACT XXVI:

Let us see what Playboy does.[Reads]. "*All of a suddenout of the house.*" **Wabaleka waphuma washaya wachitha watshengisa ini manje ubuqili ngoba vele ubekwenze loku nje ngoba eliqili kakade ebe ebona ihlazo** okay. [Kid Playboy ran away, this showed that he was a cunning person].

In the first of these extracts, the teacher switches to Zulu to explain the promise that Kid Playboy had made and then goes on to comment critically on this promise i.e. his promise is empty ("something that will never happen"). In addition, in this instance, she uses Zulu to teach life values, showing how girls can be deceived by gifts that are bought for them. In asking "**Intoni manje eniyithanda kakhulu?**" [What is it you like very much at present] the girls in class are invited to consider their own relationships, now and the future, and are so warned against becoming victims of persons such as Kid Playboy.

In the second example, the teacher switches to Zulu, this time to explain content matter i.e. an extract that she has read to the class. In addition, she uses Zulu in this instance to draw pupils' attention to Kid Playboy's character, an important skill in the teaching of literature.

(c) CS to provide content information or new information:

CS can be used to provide information that is given in the text as well as providing additional information to enhance pupils' understanding of the text and build on pupils' knowledge. Consider the following example:

EXTRACT XXVII:

It means that his trousers were not too well pressed. He **wasebona kufanele aye etendeni, ayobhuquza laphaya etendeni. Lakugcwele khona utshani, akugcwele khona nezidakwa, notshwala besizulu, nezinkamba.** [He thought that he was suppose to be amongst those in a tent. It's where there are drunkards and African beer].

In this extract, the teacher switches to Zulu to, firstly, provide content information i.e. the reporter should be amongst those in the tent (due to his “unpressed trousers”); and secondly, provides new information i.e. the quality of people who would be put into the tent and the kind of activities that would take place therein. In so doing, the pupils would now be able to differentiate between the guests who are housed in the hall where the actual wedding takes place and the guests who are put into the tent.

(d) CS for elaboration:

CS can be used to expand on or embellish what has already been said in one code. For example:

EXTRACT XXVIII:

She did that because Kid Playboy went to another girl, **wamala, hhayi nokuthi wamala wavele wambaleka-nje** [He broke up with her. He ran away from her.] He didn't go to her for a month. **Wazihambela wathola enye intombazane** [He got another girl].

In this instance, the teacher uses CS to elaborate on Kid Playboy's behaviour and attitude toward the girl spoken about. No new information is provided, but in switching to Zulu the teacher builds on Kid Playboy's character. Also, it serves to ensure that pupils acquire a better understanding of his character.

(e) **CS for classroom management and influencing learner behaviour:**

CS is often used by teachers for management control as well as to elicit specific behavioural responses from pupils. These two aspects are closely linked as getting a pupil to behave in a desirable way often helps in managing the class (e.g. in terms of discipline). Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT XXIX:

[The class makes a noise]

Okay, okay, **asiqhubekeni** [..... let's continue].

EXTRACT XXX:

Keep quite. **Thula. Oyedwa ngesikhathi.** [Keep quiet, keep quiet, one at a time].

EXTRACT XXXI:

T The pop of the child is **ubani**? [Who is it?]

P The father of the child.

T **Nayi ipresent enginayo igama lami ngingubani?** [Here is my present, my name is...?]

P **NginguMaisie** [I am Maisie].

T **Wathi le present ekabani?** [She said who's present was that?]

P **Eka Kid Playboy** [It was for Kid Playboy].

In extracts XXIX and XXX, the teacher switches to Zulu to maintain classroom discipline. In the third extract, XXXI, she employs intrasentential CS to ask a series of questions to effectively elicit responses from her pupils.

(f) **CS as an emblem for group solidarity:**

As I have noted in chapter 2, teachers have been observed to achieve solidarity with their pupils by switching to their NL. However, one needs to take heed that, as Marilyn Martin-Jones

(1995:98) notes, every instance of CS does not necessarily mean that the teacher wishes to seek solidarity with his/her pupils. Examine the following example:

EXTRACT XXXII:

There was the word that was written in the invitation **he**¹, there is a word there **he**, a gold lettered...

The switch in this example functions as an in-group identity marker or tag. Earlier, I stated that the teacher began her lesson in English. However, throughout her discussion in English, numerous instances of the use of “**he**” is evident. To me, this suggests that even though her lesson, at that stage, was in English only, she made use of “**he**” to achieve solidarity with her pupils.

(g) CS as a directive function:

As a directive, CS directly involves the addressee. For example:

EXTRACT XXXIII:

So love is blind, **yabo mantombazane** [look girls], never, ever like somebody in such a way that you will kill yourself.

In this instance, the teacher switches to Zulu to address a specific group in her class, viz. the girls. In so doing, the teacher uses CS to serve as an inclusive directive function. Once she has secured the attention of her addressees, she offers a piece of advice, thus teaching them a value for life - a pertinent aspect of literature teaching.

(h) CS as a phatic function:

As I have stated in Chapter 2, CS may be accompanied by a variation in tone or pitch of voice, to

¹ ‘He’ is a sound in Zulu. It’s nearest equivalent in English is ‘eh’

achieve specific effects. Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT XXXIV:

Keep quiet. **Thula! Oyedwa ngesikhathi** [Keep quiet. One at a time].

EXTRACT XXXV:

[Teacher reads] "*After every burst.....the grass green.*" **Ngizobathengela ummeli uzobathengisa kahle ukuthi mina nginjani** [I will have a lawyer that will show them who I am].

In the first extract, the teacher addresses her class strongly, loudly and assertively to maintain order in class as the class has become very rowdy. In addition, by emphatically stating "One at a time" she asserts her authority and achieves her desired effect. In the second extract, CS performs a phatic function for a different reason. By switching directly to Zulu after reading an extract, accompanied by a loud, angry voice of the character, the bride, the teacher effectively displays the bride's indignation at being humiliated. The tone employed effectively conveys the bride's feelings.

Most, if not all, of the above functions of CS are also evident in the teaching of the story 'The Suit', as follows.

B. LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [APPENDIX 4b]:

Those who are familiar with the story 'The Suit' would know that the thrust of the story is the unusual punishment a cuckolded husband, Philemon, metes to his wife, Matilda: she is to treat the suit of her lover as a guest in their home. This punishment leads to her eventual suicide. The teacher, Mr E, begins his lesson by greeting the class in English but almost immediately employs CS to establish rapport with his class. Like Mrs E., he uses CS to fulfill a variety of functions, both social and pedagogical, as follows.

(a) CS as reiterative:

In this lesson on 'The Suit' the teacher makes use of CS as reiterative for various reasons as can be seen in the following:

EXTRACT XXXVI:

Meaning of hesitancy? **Ukungabaza?** [To hesitate?]

EXTRACT XXXVII:

Now this thing has been happening for three months. Three months. **Izinyanga ezinthathu.** [Three months].

EXTRACT XXXVIII:

T Why?

P **Wezwela** [She felt the pain].

T **Wezwela** [She felt the pain]. Did she feel that this was real?

In the first example, the teacher produces the Zulu equivalent of "hesitate" without adding any new information, to clarify his question. In other words, as he wanted his pupils to explain what is understood by "hesitancy", by producing the Zulu equivalent "**Ukungabaza**" he ensures that they understand the vocabulary before attempting an answer. In the second example, once again, "three months" is repeated in Zulu. However, the function served in this instance, is to emphasize the period that Matilda, Philemon's wife, was conducting an illicit relationship. In the third instance, CS as reiterative serves a different purpose; by repeating his pupil's answer "**Wezwela**" [she felt the pain], he fulfills two functions, both social and pedagogical. Firstly, by repeating the pupil's answer, the teacher acknowledges the pupil's NL, displaying that it has value in the classroom. At the same time, the teacher also achieves solidarity with the pupil. Thus he fulfills a social function. Secondly, the repetition serves as an affirmation of the pupil's answer, thus reinforcing the

answer. In this way, the teacher fulfills a pedagogical function.

(b) CS for explanation purposes:

Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT XXXIX:

In fact, there is in fact, a disgrace you see. **Lento ayenzayo yokuthi afeedane ne suit iyodwa nje iyihlazo kanti ngale kewsuit** [The act of serving the suit is a disgrace, behind the suit ...].

EXTRACT XL:

As I said this is the last straw. **Ihlazo ukuthi utholakale ne suit endlini yakhe ihlazo** [It is a disgrace to be found with the suit in the house].

In both these examples, the teacher switches to Zulu to explain the reasons for the disgrace i.e. in the first example, the act of serving the suit itself is a disgrace and, “behind the suit” as he goes on to suggest thereafter, is the disgrace of adultery. In the second example, according to the teacher, having the suit in the house is a disgrace.

(c) Introducing new subject matter:

CS may also be used to introduce new subject matter and in so doing increase pupils’ background knowledge. Consider the following example:

EXTRACT XLI:

What is said here? This gentleman, Philemon, goes to the beer hall, “**Kwa maye maye**”. What is this “**Kwa maye maye**”? Let me tell you the whole thing about that word “**maye maye**”. You know in the location **abelungu bayazi ukuthi abantu baphuza umqombothi emalokishini buningi** [the whites know that people drink African beer in the locations, therefore African beer is plenty in

the locations.] So, if you're now, if you're now in the location you go to such places where they sell Zulu beer. This comes from this thing "**maye maye**".

In this example, the teacher introduces new information about a beer hall and the behaviour of the inebriated, thus contributing to pupils' background knowledge. In so doing, pupils should be better able to understand Philemon's drunken state when he returns home to find his wife dead.

(d) CS for elaboration:

EXTRACT XLII:

He (Maphikela) had no proof that this thing was happening. He was afraid of the reaction, **umuntu uma umtshela into engemnandi** [if you tell someone bad news], is it? He would kill himself or he would kill Matilda.

In this instance, the teacher resorts to CS to expand on Maphikela's fear of what Philemon's reaction would be if he told him the "bad news" i.e. that Matilda was having an affair.

(e) CS serves a referential function:

CS serves a referential function when there is a lack of facility in the one language. For example:

EXTRACT XLIII:

In such cases we can see people who misbehave or cheat other people, **tsotsis** [hooligans].

EXTRACT XLIV:

This gentleman, Philemon, goes to the beer hall, "**Kwa maye maye**". What is this "**Kwa maye maye**"? Let me tell you the whole thing about that word "**maye maye**".

In the first example, although the word "hooligan" has been provided as a possible translation of

“**tsotsis**” it is not semantically appropriate. In English, to label an adultress, “hooligan” would be inappropriate. The word “**tsotsis**” however, in the given context, is. Similarly, in the second example, there is no appropriate equivalent to “**maye, maye**” as this is the cry of a drunk. As such, in both these cases, CS serves a referential function.

(f) CS for classroom management and influencing learner behaviour:

Like Mrs E., the teacher of this lesson makes use of CS for classroom management and influencing learner behaviour. Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT XLV:

T Who can tell me? What is this story about?

P [no response]

T Alright. What’s going on?

P [no response]

T Right, **qasinyane uthi nje kancane ukuthi lendaba ikhuluma ngani?** [quickly tell us what the story is about.] Yes?

P The story is about a woman who cheated on her husband and is having an affair.

EXTRACT XLVI:

What happened? What was the last straw for Matilda? The whole thing? **Wayengasakwazi ukubekezela yini imbangela?** [What was the reason that made her unable to tolerate this any more?]

In the first extract, when the teacher does not receive responses to his questions which are framed in English, he resorts to CS to successfully elicit a response from a pupil. In addition, the first word in the switch, “**qasinyane**” [quickly], spurs pupils into attempting a response. In the second extract, in addition to elaborating on his preceding question by providing clues to the answer, the switch to Zulu is meant to evoke a response from his pupils.

(g) CS as an emblem for group solidarity:

At the outset of the lesson, the first switch to Zulu indicates the teacher's desire to achieve solidarity and maintain a good rapport with his pupils. Consider the following example in which the teacher fulfills a social function by switching to Zulu:

EXTRACT XLVII:

T Good morning 10A.

P [Chorus response] Good morning Sir.

T How are you this morning?

P [chorus response] Fine. How are you?

T I'm fine. **Mina ngsaphila.** [I'm well].

In the following example, the teacher also achieves solidarity with his pupils by drawing on their shared cultural values:

EXTRACT XLVIII:

Lapha emasikweni ethu thina bantu abamnyama ukugeza izitsha, ukupheka, ukuwasha amanabukeni [In our African culture a man does not wash dishes, cook or wash nappies...]. Right. Right. All these things, cooking, washing, cleaning But now we see men do all these things.

(h) CS as a directive function:

The following example illustrates how the teacher makes use of CS to direct pupils' attention to a new idea (Marabastad) and so introduces new content information:

EXTRACT XLIX:

Philemon went out for work early in the morning and she has to stay whole day. Okay? Right? Let us look at this place. **Akesibheke indawo** [Let us look at this place] Marabastad. You know Marabastad?

(i) CS for quotation:

As mentioned in Chapter 2, CS for quotation involves an alternation of language when making a direct quotation. Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT L:

Let me tell you the whole thing about that word “**maye maye**”.

In imitating the cry “**maye, maye**” the teachers makes use of a quotation.

EXTRACT LI:

So as he was in the bus he was thinking “**Ngizomenzenjani? Ngizomthini?**” [...What must I do? What must I say?]

In this example, the teacher presents Philemon’s actual thoughts as he ponders on how he should react to the knowledge that his wife is having an affair.

(j) CS as a phatic function:

In the lesson on ‘The Suit’ one of the salient features during CS by the teacher is that the switch to Zulu is generally accompanied by a louder voice and a higher tone. In addition, generally, the first word in the switch of a string of words is markedly louder. The following excerpts show that switching by the teacher fulfills a phatic function:

EXTRACT LII:

Akesibheke indawo [Let us look at this place].

EXTRACT LIII:

What you say **umshaye ngomanda ngaphakathi** [He has been bewitched].

In the first example, the teacher uses a louder voice to direct the attention of his pupils to a

specific place. In the second example, the teacher raises his voice when he says “**ngaphakathi**” [bewitched] to give it emphasis as he continues to elaborate on this idea.

C. LESSONS ON ‘PROMISE’, ‘FOLLOWER’ AND ‘OUT, OUT-’ [APPENDICES 4c,d,& e, respectively]:

In this part of the discussion, I highlight those examples of CS which fulfill social and pedagogical functions. As I have already stated, it is not my intention to cite every possible example, and I therefore draw on those examples which I consider illustrate the functions of CS effectively. To better understand my comments on each example, I very briefly mention what the main idea of each poem is. The poem ‘Promise’ concerns the breaking of the promise between lovers - whose fault it is however, is left to speculation; ‘Follower’ concerns the cyclic nature of man i.e. when the father is young and fit, his son is the follower, but with old age, the father becomes the follower; and ‘Out, Out-’ deals with a young boy who loses, first, his arm, and then his life while sawing wood at work. Examples of CS cited from these poems follow:

(a) CS as reiterative:

EXTRACT LIV: [PROMISE]

Promise. **Izethembiso** [Promise]. The Promise. **Zethembiso** [Promise].

EXTRACT LV: [FOLLOWER]

Although he was a nuisance sometimes, he was loved. He was still young. **Nakuba esemcane ubanga isicefe ubusy uyasebenza iloku ibanga isicefe** [Although he was a small child he was a nuisance when his father was busy working].

EXTRACT LVI: [OUT, OUT-]

He said please sister, please sister tell the doctor not to amputate my, or cut off, my hand. It is so painful no? **Kwakubhulungu kakhulu** [It is so painful].

EXTRACT LVII: [OUT, OUT-]

....that's what we call personification. It is a figure of speech. **Ukwenzasamuntu** [Personification].

EXTRACT LVIII: [OUT, OUT-]

The boy was now unconscious eh? **Waquleka** [He was unconscious].

In the first extract, CS is used to emphasise the title of the poem and to prepare the reader for a discussion of the main idea of the poem. In the second extract, the teacher repeats the characteristics of the child, with some modification viz. “when the father was busy working”. In the third example, reiteration is used to emphasise the pain that is experienced by the boy. In the fourth and fifth examples, the word “personification” and “unconscious” are reiterated simply to provide vocabulary and to ensure that pupils know what the selected items are.

(b) CS for explanation purposes:

CS for explanation purposes can be observed in the following extracts:

EXTRACT LIX: [PROMISE]

Promise. **Kufikani?** [What do you think?] No one? **Bekufanele sihlangane ngo 10 eSayidi isethembiso** [If you were supposed to meet someone at ten in Port Shepstone, that is a promise].

EXTRACT LX: [FOLLOWER]

The furrow is the row **umsele owenzeka ngesikhathi ulima** [rows that are formed when you plough] (Teacher draws on board).

In the first extract, when the teacher does not receive a response to his question “**Kufikani**” [What do you think?], he resorts to CS to explain the concept “promise” by providing an example. In the second extract, he switches to Zulu while drawing on the board to provide an explanation for “rows” and so ensures that pupils understand its meaning.

(c) CS for providing content information:

The teacher often makes use of CS to provide content information to his pupils. The following is a clear illustration of how the teacher switches to Zulu to do so:

EXTRACT LXI: [PROMISE]

T **Yena uyakhuphuka angithi mina ...** [He is going to the north, I]

P **Uyehla** [To the south].

T **Why?**

Kodwa-ke uma sibuyela eqinisweni umasesihleba babefanele ukuba bangaphindi bahlangane bahlukene njenge North ne-South get it? [When we speak the truth, they were not suppose to meet because they differ at the north and the south, get it?]

EXTRACT LXII: [FOLLOWER]

[Teacher draws cows on board. Pupils laugh at his drawings]. Right, er... the follower. **Uma ubaba enazo izinkomo ziyeke zibe u-six** [When a man has cows he has about six of them].

In the first example, the teacher provides a possible reason for the breaking of the promise between the lovers thus adding to the information given in the text. Similarly, in the second example, the teacher provides additional information to that which is already given thereby increasing pupils' background knowledge.

(d) CS for elaboration:

CS for elaboration is used on numerous occasions by the teacher in the poetry lessons. I shall however draw on four examples which illustrate how CS for elaboration serves to clarify meaning and emphasise important life skills.

EXTRACT LXIII: [PROMISE]

You say time was not specified. The day also not specified. The day and time was not specified. This could be true. **Omunye arike omunye engakafiki omunye arike Monday omunye ngelinye ilanga** [One will come before the other one arrives, the one comes on Monday the other on another day].

EXTRACT LXIV: [PROMISE]

- T. There are so many promises made by people but these are not kept. These are not fulfilled. See that?
- P. Yes.
- T. **Siyazenza izethembiso kodwa asizifezi** [We make promises but we don't keep them].

EXTRACT LXV: [FOLLOWER]

He wakes up early in the morning to begin the job. **Uma ulima awuvuki emini ilanga selishisa akwenziwa njalo** [If you are a farmer you don't wake up late when the sun is hot, you don't do that].

EXTRACT LXVI: [OUT, OUT-]

The hand was already cut off by the saw, not by the doctor, by the saw. **Libukhali lelisahha lakhona niwabhasobhe** [This saw is very sharp, you must watch it].

In the first example, the teacher switches to Zulu to elaborate on a reason, provided by a pupil, why the lovers did not meet as promised. In so doing, the teacher clarifies how misunderstanding of times and days could result in the breaking of the promise. In the second example, the teacher elaborates on the issue of promises made by people. This is to say, that CS fulfills an important function in this context i.e. imparting of life values to pupils. In this instance, it appears to me that CS for elaboration not only fulfills an educational function but a social function as well. In the third example, the teacher switches to Zulu to elaborate on the time of day that a farmer has to arise to begin his day's work. In the fourth example, the teacher expands on the quality of the saw i.e. its sharpness, drawing attention to how dangerous it was. Hence the disaster.

(e) CS for classroom management and influencing learner behaviour:

The following examples illustrate how the teacher employs CS for both classroom management and influencing learner behaviour.

EXTRACT LXVII: [PROMISE]

He was afraid. And someone doesn't keep the promise. They do not meet at the Indian market. [Unclear]. You go there. **Babengakwazi ukuya eMlazi, yini eyenza bangahlangani e Indian Market?** [They couldn't go to uMlazi, why didn't they meet at the Indian Market?] Eh? Yes?

EXTRACT LXVIII: [PROMISE]

T What is a promise? **Kodwa-ke ukwenza isethembiso esingasigcini. Ngicela kuvele oyedwa othi mina ngiyasigcina isethembiso** [We make promises we don't keep. I would like to see one person who who says 'I keep my promise'].

P Yes, I keep.

EXTRACT LXIX: [PROMISE]

T and keep our promises. **Akesimelapho** [Let us end there].

In the first extract, the teacher switches to Zulu to elicit a response from his pupils as well as to facilitate pupils' higher order thinking i.e. they are encouraged to consider other options if the one venue was unsuitable. In the second extract, the teacher engages learners actively in the lessons by asking them to consider their own value system concerning promises, once again fulfilling an important life skill in literature teaching. In the third extract, the teacher uses CS to indicate his desire to bring the lesson to an end.

(f) CS serves a referential function:

The use CS for referential purposes can be mostly observed in the teaching of "Promise" as is evident below:

EXTRACT LXX: [PROMISE]

Ninayo iCompass?

EXTRACT LXXI: [PROMISE]

iSouth ne North akuhlangani angibasoli [The south and the north never meet, I don't blame them].

EXTRACT LXXII: [PROMISE]

Babengakwazi ukuya eMlazi, yini eyenza bangahlangani e **Indian Market**. [They couldn't go to uMlazi, why didn't they meet at the Indian Market?] Eh? Yes?

In the first two examples, the use of the technical terms, "Compass", "North" and "South", have become terms that appear to be naturally incorporated into the Zulu language. The reason for the use of "Indian Market" in the third example, is that it refers to a name of a place.

(f) CS as an emblem for group solidarity:

The following examples indicate CS by the teacher to achieve solidarity with his pupils:

EXTRACT LXXIII: [PROMISE]

They don't meet at all so it is impossible that they will one day meet [unclear]. iSouth ne North akuhlangani, angibasoli [The south and the north never meet, I don't blame them].

EXTRACT LXIV: [PROMISE]

Because the people, boys, one day, Ngoba abafana babengangazi bangikhuthuza [Just because the boys didn't know me]. Because they didn't know me, they didn't know me, they robbed me eh? Bangibamba inkunzi bangibamba [They pick-pocketed me]. I couldn't even move eh. I couldn't even move. Ngiyakwazi loko-ke mina. [I experienced that]. I couldn't even move.

In the first of the above examples, the teacher achieves solidarity with his pupils by making a

personal comment in Zulu. In the second example, he switches to Zulu to relate an incident that he had personally experienced in the locations. In so doing, he achieves solidarity with his pupils. The switch also probably serves as a strategy to win the learners' admiration for the teacher who has endured the pick-pocketing incident. In addition, by using CS the teacher probably wishes to achieve credibility as one who understands the way of life in the location and as one who understands the plight of the lovers in the poem.

(g) CS serves a poetic function:

The teacher also uses CS to serve a poetic function as can be observed in the following examples:

EXTRACT LXXV: [PROMISE]

It was this dizziness in the locations. **Kubamnyama** It becomes dark].

EXTRACT LXXVI: [OUT, OUT-]

The reason was no blood, no blood. **Inhliziyo isishaya kancane** [The heart was beating slowly].

EXTRACT LXXVII: [OUT, OUT-]

He said please sister, please sister tell the doctor not to amputate my, or cut off, my hand. It is so painful no? **Kwakubhlungu kakhulu**. [It is so painful]. People, people, **Ngaphandle kwesandla noma esisodwa nje, noma ucikicane uba nenkinga** isn't?. [without a hand, without one hand or without one finger you are at a disadvantage, isn't?]

In the first example, the teacher switches to Zulu to create an ominous atmosphere. In the second example, the switch to Zulu serves a poetic function in that an atmosphere of impending doom is created. Similarly, by switching to Zulu in the third example, in addition to emphasising the pain the boy suffers, the teacher succeeds in creating an atmosphere of pain. Furthermore, the switch serves to evoke a graphic picture of being a cripple, thus inculcating empathetic values - an

important life skill that is prevalent in the teaching of literature.

(h) CS for quotation:

EXTRACT LXXVIII: [FOLLOWER]

Even the Bible says “**Ukuze uhlakaniphe, kufanele uzifundise ukulalela kuqala.**”[To grow wise you must first learn to listen].

In this extract the teacher quotes directly from the bible to reinforce his message.

(i) CS as interjections:

EXTRACT: LXIX [FOLLOWER]

Hayi, use your imagination.

EXTRACT LXXX : [FOLLOWER]

Uyabona, the father must always be in front, the parent, listen, the parent must always be in front.

In the first example, the teacher uses the Zulu, “**hayi**” as an element of surprise and to encourage pupils to use their imaginations; and in the next example, “**uyabona**” is simply used as a sentence filler.

(j) CS to display one’s knowledge:

CS may be used to display or show off one’s linguistic versatility as is illustrated in the following example:

EXTRACT LXXXI: [FOLLOWER]

We have here what you say is a clicking sound. **Yini amaclick** sound [What are the click sounds in] “**oNgwaqabathwa**” click sound. There are clicks in African languages ... Some of the clicks **Abanye abasakwazi ukuwabiza uma bethi uyangiqala bathi uyangicala** [Other people they

don't know how to pronounce these words]. [Teacher produces various click sounds and pupils try to produce them]. Those are clicks done by the Bushmen. Bushmen. Short. They were using the click sound **amagama anjengo** [words like] **-nc,nq nx...** [Teacher provides an example of a sentence that contains the click sounds]. All these are click sounds eh? **Amaqala aqala ukweqa umgaqo.....**

In this extract, the teacher 'shows off' with his ability to create the click sounds of the Bushmen, and which pupils find difficult to produce. This extract also serves to create a tension-free atmosphere in the classroom, thereby creating greater solidarity between the teacher and the pupils.

(k) CS for use of proverbs in another language:

CS can be used to employ specific proverbs from another language. Consider the switch to the following proverb:

EXTRACT LXXXII : [FOLLOWER]

If one day, mind you, if one day the tail wags the dog, then **as ons se de poppe sal dans!** [as we say, the dolls will dance i.e. there will be chaos].

(l) CS as a phatic function:

As with the lesson on 'The Suit', the teacher tends to speak a little louder when he resorts to Zulu. Consider the following examples:

EXTRACT LXXXIII: [PROMISE]

It was this dizziness in the locations. **Kubamnyama** [It becomes dark].

EXTRACT LXXXIV: [OUT, OUT-]

If you don't wake up, you won't get anything. **Kuvukwa ekuseni.**[You wake up early.]

EXTRACT LXXXV:

He was unconscious **kona ngempela** [really].

In the first example, the teacher speaks dramatically, lengthening the word so to speak, to create a dark mood. In the second and third examples, the switch to Zulu is accompanied by a louder volume to emphasise the preceding message.

3.5.3.4 CONCLUSION:

In this section of the chapter, I have presented the four forms of CS and numerous examples of CS as used in the classroom. I have shown, through a discussion of each example, the various functions that CS serves in the classroom. My data and discussion reveal that CS serves both social and pedagogical functions. The more notable social functions include establishing solidarity with pupils through the use of identity markers, fulfilling social graces by using pupils' NL, by drawing on shared cultural background, by expressing personal comments in Zulu, by relating personal experiences in Zulu, and by repeating pupils' responses in their L1, in Zulu.

However, the use of CS for pedagogical reasons is far more prominent in the classroom. Some of the more frequently used educational functions include: (a) reiterating for emphasis, for vocabulary building, and reinforcement; (b) explaining actions, ideas, concepts, characterization and themes; (c) providing content information; (d) influencing pupil response; (e) for elaborating to ensure understanding, to clarify ideas, to build on learners' background schemata, and to

inculcate moral values; and (f) CS for phatic reasons. Less frequent functions include CS as referential; CS as quotation; use of proverbs; addressee specification and CS for poetic reasons.

Thus, we can certainly conclude that: (a) Firstly, the use of the learners' NL holds an undisputed place in the ESL literature classroom, and (b) secondly, CS, as pointed out by Peires (1994) and Goyvaerts and Zambele (1992), among many others, can facilitate learning in the classroom. Finally, in what is to follow, I present the data and analysis of tests that pupils of both the control and experimental groups wrote, to investigate whether CS promotes scholastic achievement.

3.5.4 TEST ANALYSIS

3.5.4.1 INTRODUCTION:

In Chapter one, in providing the rationale for this study, I noted the concern that teachers express over the results achieved in English, more particularly, performance in the literature paper, at the matric level. Hence, one of the questions to which I have been searching for answers is whether CS promotes scholastic achievement as measured by tests of literary works.

It needs to be noted that although the class component of each group is 49 and 57, for the control and experimental groups respectively, I use the scores of only those pupils who wrote all three tests. This constituted 35 pupils in the control group and 55 in the experimental group. In view of the difference of 20 pupils between the groups, I use the scores of the alphabetically first 35 pupils of the experimental group to prevent any distortion of results that might emanate from a large difference in samples. The scores of the remaining 20 pupils of the experimental group are recorded in appendix 6.

In providing the data of the test results, I first present the raw scores in table form, figure 3. Secondly, I provide a comparative analysis in terms of symbol distribution for each test as well as the total marks. Thirdly, I present in graph format the means between the groups per test and total performance.

3.5.4.2 RAW SCORES:

KEY TO FIGURE 3 [in the following page]:

T1	: The Suit
T2	: Promise
T3	: Follower
MAX.	: Maximum Mark
Tot	: Total
M %	: Mean percentage

	CONTROL GROUP				EXPERIMENTAL GROUP			
	T 1	T 2	T 3	TOT	T 1	T 2	T 3	TOT
MAX.	20	10	15	45	20	10	15	45
P1	1	6	6	20	2	4	2	8
P2	9	10	2	21	11	8	5	24
P3	8	9	9	26	14	6	12	32
P4	13	10	13	36	16	4	6	26
P5	12	6	8	26	8	4	4	16
P6	16	6	3	25	17	8	12	37
P7	11	8	9	28	7	6	6	19
P8	10	8	11	29	7	7	6	20
P9	15	8	9	32	7	6	11	24
P10	12	9	12	33	14	4	10	28
P11	8	8	6	22	7	2	4	13
P12	9	2	7	18	15	7	5	27
P13	10	6	13	29	3	8	5	16
P14	14	9	13	36	12	4	10	26
P15	15	7	8	30	10	4	9	23
P16	13	10	13	36	7	2	3	12
P17	14	9	13	36	16	4	8	28
P18	13	3	6	22	10	6	7	23
P19	14	6	7	27	15	6	12	33
P20	8	2	3	13	6	2	6	14
P21	11	6	6	23	15	3	5	23
P22	10	2	10	22	17	4	15	36
P23	16	9	4	29	5	1	2	8
P24	14	5	11	30	13	3	4	20
P25	10	2	6	18	11	6	4	21
P26	7	7	3	17	14	4	6	24
P27	7	7	6	20	5	1	2	8
P28	11	10	13	34	14	2	9	25
P29	6	3	0	9	11	2	5	18
P30	15	9	7	31	14	6	15	35
P31	19	6	12	37	9	9	2	20
P32	12	0	12	24	15	6	5	26
P33	15	6	12	33	15	8	10	33
P34	15	5	7	27	17	6	9	32
P35	6	5	0	11	15	4	10	29
TOT	399	224	280	910	394	167	246	789
MEAN	11.4	6.4	8	26	11.3	4.8	7	23.83
M %	57	64	53	58	56.5	48	47	50

Figure 3

3.5.4.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

(a) Comparative analysis of test scores :

(ii) TEST 1: THE SUIT

%	80-100	70-79	60-69	50-59	40-49	34-39	25-33	< 25
Gr C	2	9	6	7	5	4		1
Gr E	7	10	3	5	3	4	1	4

(ii) TEST 2: PROMISE

%	80-100	70-79	60-69	50-59	40-49	34-39	25-33	< 25
Gr C	14	3	8	3			2	5
Gr E	5	2	9		10			9

(iii) TEST 3: FOLLOWER

%	80-100	70-79	60-69	50-59	40-49	34-39	25-33	< 25
Gr C	10	3	3	2	10		1	6
Gr E	5	5	3	2	5	6	4	5

(iv) TOTALS

%	80-100	70-79	60-69	50-59	40-49	34-39	25-33	< 25
Gr C	5	4	9	5	8	1	1	2
Gr E	2	4	4	10	6	3	2	3

(b) Comparison of means :

KEY TO FIGURE 4:

T1, T2, T3 : as for figure 3

C : Control Group

E : Experimental group T1, T2, T3

Hence, for e.g. T1C refers to test 1 (The Suit) of Group C, T2E refers to test 2 (Promise) of Group E, and so on.

TESTS	T1C	T1E	T2C	T2E	T3C	T3E	TOT C	TOTE
%	57	56.5	64	48	53	47	58	50

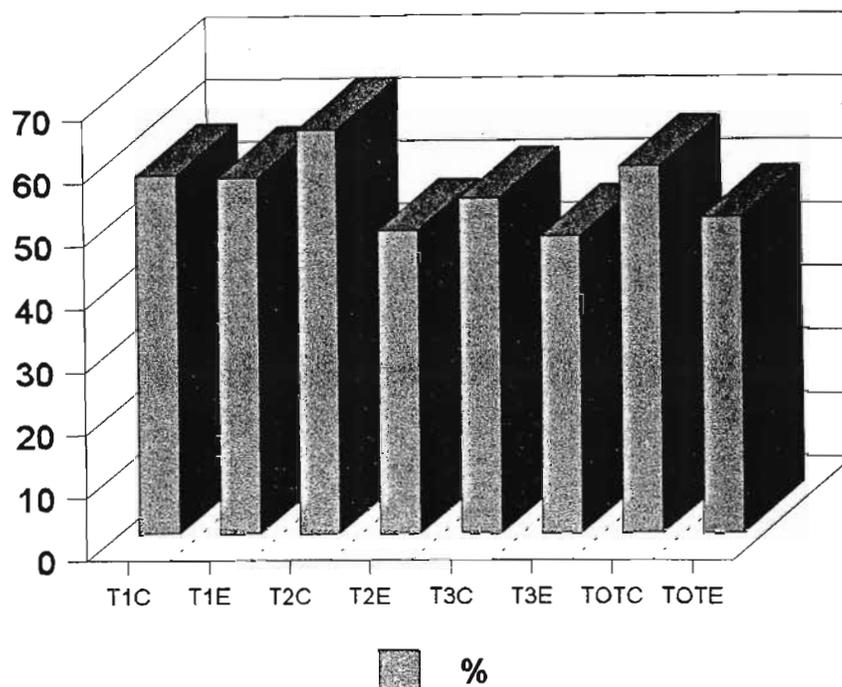


FIGURE 4

Once I had plotted the raw scores, I determined the mean of the total of the three tests for each of the groups, computed the standard deviation [SD], and used the t-test (which assesses whether the means of the two groups are statistically different from the other), to examine whether there are differences in the achievement for the two groups. The t-value was obtained using a programme available on the Internet. The results are as follows:

T-Test for Two Independent Samples				
LABEL	N	MEAN	S.D.	S.E
Control Group	35	26.0000	5.1000	0.8746
Exp. Group	35	23.0000	4.5000	0.7717

F-test for equality of variance :	F = 1.2844 (34,34) df, p< F :0.4693	
T for equal variances :	2.6095	p< T 0.0111
T for unequal variance :	2.6095	p< T 0.0112

My results reveal that the T-value is not large enough to be significant. This is to say, that the difference between the means for the two groups is not significantly different. I therefore accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the two groups of this study.

3.5.4.4 INTERPRETATION OF DATA:

I interpret the data obtained by drawing comparisons between the two groups in terms of each of the tests and then the final total. Before I do this however, the promotion requirements need to be pointed out so that the category of performance of the pupils is understood. The promotion requirements for ESL are:

- 34% > : pass
- 25% - 33% : converted pass
- 25% < : fail

In terms of evaluation, for the purposes of my discussion I look at 80%> as excellent, 70% >, very good, and 60%>, good, and at the other extreme, 25%<, very weak. It also needs to be noted that the teacher who marked the scripts, marked for ideas and pupils were not penalized for poor sentence construction.

(a) THE SUIT:

The comparative analysis of 'The Suit' shows that an equal number of pupils, constituting 51%, of each group scored 60% and above. This is to say that the performance of just over

half of the class in each group is good. On the lower end of the scale however, there is a difference of 8.6% failure between Group C and Group E, with the greater percentage of failures in Group E. Normally one would expect that the class where CS is used would perform better than the control group. I will however, return to this issue in chapter 4. A close examination of answers of those who performed poorly in Group E reveal a lack of understanding of plot and main ideas, inability to draw inferences concerning character, and inability to pass judgement. In addition, these pupils appear to lack the ability to construct coherent sentences. For example, in response to question 4, "Do you think that Philemon really loved Matilda? Explain your answer fully", one pupil responded:

Philemon really loved Matilda because any time him check the her do not her check him."

In response to question 5, "If you were Matilda at this point of the story, what would be your feelings for Philemon? Explain your answer", another pupil resorted to using Zulu in his answer:

I am feeling so bad; Sometimes we keep the lobolo to introduces how love your wife after she feeling so bad."

It is interesting to note that the second pupil needed to resort to using his NL in an effort to express himself. This would suggest the need for the use the learners' NL in the classroom. There is a need for teachers to discuss vocabulary, providing English equivalents for Zulu words, so pupils have the necessary English vocabulary accessible to them. After all, as some interviewees point out, papers are set in English and pupils are expected to write in English. An examination of the means of both groups however, shows no difference. Hence, one can conclude that there is no difference in performance between the control and experimental groups of this study, on the test 'The Suit'.

(b) PROMISE:

An examination of the comparative analysis of the test on “Promise”, shows that while 71% of pupils of Group C achieved 60% and above, 46% of those in Group E achieved this result. The most striking difference in this category is the performance in the 80% category. While 40% of Group C achieved 80% and above, only 14% of Group E did so. There were also more failures in Group E than Group C; 14% failed in group C and 26% failed in group E. In addition, an examination of means for this test between the groups shows a difference of 16%. Group C displayed superior performance to Group E on measurement of raw scores. Once again, as I have indicated, one would normally expect the class that employs CS to perform better than the class which is taught through the medium of English only. The poor performance of Group E may be attributed to, among other reasons, their lack of basic understanding of the poem and inability to interpret vocabulary in context. This, however, does not mean that CS does not facilitate learning in the literature classroom. On the contrary, for pupils who are really struggling with the language, there is a greater need for a deliberate switch to their NL, as proposed by Jacobson in his “Concurrent Theory”, which I shall briefly explain in the next chapter.

(c) FOLLOWER:

An examination of results of the test on “Follower” also reveals that pupils of Group C show a higher performance than Group E. The comparative analysis reveals that 46% of Group C scored 60% and above, and 37% of Group scored 60% and above. However, on the lower scale there is only 3% difference between the two groups, favouring Group C. As with ‘Promise’, Group C demonstrates a higher mean, 53%, compared to Group E, which has a mean of 47%. Once again, pupils’ poor performance may be attributed to their lack of understanding of the main idea of the poem and poor interpretation of vocabulary in context.

(d) TOTAL SCORES:

An examination of the comparative analysis for overall performance between the groups reveals that pupils of group C achieved higher in the 60% and above category; 51% of Group C achieved 60% and above, and 31% in Group E achieved this. There is however, only a 3% difference in scores of failures between the groups - Group E had the greater percentage of failures. However, on using the t-test, and determining the t-values, as I have noted, there is no significant difference between the means of each group, and the null hypothesis will therefore have to be accepted. Thus, I conclude that for the given groups under study, the use of CS in the classroom does not necessarily promote scholastic achievement compared to the use of English only.

3.5.4.5 CONCLUSION:

Although my results, using the t-test, show that there is no significant difference between the control group, in which only English was used in the teaching, and the experimental group, in which teachers used CS, an examination of the functions of CS in the classroom, discussed prior to this section, must be given serious consideration. Our concern as teachers is not just to ensure that competent pupils maintain their high standards; it is ensure that weaker pupils are upgraded. These children definitely need the use of the NL in the classroom to grasp the intricacies of literature, otherwise they are at a complete loss in the classroom which has a rippling effect on such aspects as motivation and discipline. This is to say that if the pupil fails to understand what is being taught in English only, not only will the value of the literary text be lost on him/her, but s/he will fail. As educational psychologists have pointed out, failure thwarts pupils' self-esteem and social, emotional and mental growth.

To conclude, I reiterate that there is a need for use of learners' NL in the classroom, more

particularly for those pupils who are performing poorly in literary tests. By making deliberate switches at strategic points in a lesson, in addition to the already mostly unconscious switches by teachers as observed in the lessons in Group E, teachers would be able to help build learners' English vocabulary and enhance understanding of literary texts. A discussion of CS in the classrooms of this study, in terms of Gumperz's (1982) 'Interactional Model', Myers Scotton's (1993) 'Markedness Model', Kamwangamalu's (1998) proposal of the 'Code-in-Between', and Well's (1982) 'Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning', follows.

3.6 CODE-SWITCHING IN TERMS OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF THIS STUDY:

3.6.1 INTRODUCTION:

Earlier, in chapter 2, 2.1, I presented an overview of the four theoretical frameworks that form the basis of my study viz. Gumperz's (1982) 'Interactional Model', Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'Markedness Model', Kamwangamalu's proposal of 'Code-in-Between', and Wells' (1982) 'Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning'. In this final section of this chapter, I discuss data gathered from questionnaires, interviews and lesson recordings in terms of these principle theories. It needs to be noted that as there are some common underlying principles of Gumperz's 'Interactional Model' and Wells' 'Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning', there will be a few overlaps in the examples I draw on as points of illustration. A discussion of data based on the four theoretical frameworks follows.

3.6.2 GUMPERZ'S (1982) INTERACTIONAL MODEL:

In presenting the literature review, chapter 2, 2.1.1, I discussed some of the more salient principles that underlie this framework. One of these principles that I have noted, is that for "true"

conversation to occur i.e. when a speaker is able to elicit a response from his/her addressee and sustain a conversation, interlocutors require shared background knowledge which enables inferences to take place (Gumperz 1982:1). This is evident in the following exchange between teacher and pupil drawn from recordings of lessons:

I. EXTRACT FROM LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3b]:

T: He took the suit to the dry cleaners. Why?

P1: To clean it.

T: He thinks the visitor needs

P1: an outing}.

P2: a walk}.

In this example, because of shared, background knowledge concerning the general purpose of the dry cleaners (i.e. to clean clothing), P1 is able to correctly state that "he" (Philemon) was taking the suit to get it cleaned. More significantly however, because of schemata acquired from the text, P1 and P2 accurately interpret the illocutionary force of the teacher's question and respond with what might be an unusual answer to one who is unfamiliar with the story: "(He took the suit for) an outing/a walk," which was indeed Philemon's intention!

Another principle of Gumperz's model is that a speaker's utterance does not have to be grammatically accurate for the communicative intent to be meaningfully interpreted. Consider the following verbal and written responses of pupils evident in lesson recordings and test scripts respectively:

II. EXTRACT ON LESSON ON 'KID PLAYBOY' [EXPERIMENTAL GROUP: APPENDIX 4a]:

- T Yes. Er... what can you tell me? What do you understand on this paragraph? Just a little bit. Something that you understand. Even if it is one sentence.
- P Mositsi received a card to the editor - that card has a, a card invites him at a wedding, that wedding takes place at Alexandra cherrie.

III. RESPONSES FROM TEST SCRIPTS: 'THE SUIT'

(i)

- P1 2.3 Would you say that Matilda's lover/ boyfriend was a brave man? Give a reason for your answer. 2

No Because He was ran away from him with a vest and underwear down the street of wich he shade of him Philemon.

- P2 2.3 Would you say that Matilda's lover/ boyfriend was a brave man? Give a reason for your answer. 2

No. Because he run away when he saw Philemon came back to his house.

(ii)

QUESTION 4

- P1 Do you think that Philemon really loved Matilda? Explain your answer fully. 3

Yes I can thought so Because he tried to by his levelled to discover that with his way I refer to his punishment that punishment is not a punishment of person like Matilda you see by that thing He still take her as his wife what he have to do he have to kill her or take away from him.

P2

QUESTION 4

Do you think that Philemon really loved Matilda? Explain your answer fully.

3

Yes. Because if Philemon does not love her he was going to kill her because of doing wrong thing in his house. He was going to brone their marriage.

In extract II, although there are some grammatical errors, particularly in the use of prepositions, the pupil displays an understanding of the event described in the paragraph that has been read, and thus his/her communicative intent is correctly perceived by the teacher. Similarly, in each of the written responses to test questions in III, although they are grammatically inaccurate and some words are spelt incorrectly, much of the meaning is coherent and responses have been evaluated accordingly i.e. for their content message, and pupils have not been penalized for their grammatical errors.

Yet another important principle of Gumperz's theory, as I have also discussed in chapter 2, 2.2.1, is that code choices comprise a contextualizing cue. In terms of the Interactional Model, CS may be perceived as a contextualizing cue which helps speakers to signal and listeners to interpret communicative intent of speakers within a given situation or context (Gumperz 1982:131-2). I have shown, in the preceding section of this chapter, 3.4.3, how bilingual teachers and learners employ CS to convey their messages in an effective manner, fulfilling both social and pedagogical goals. Because participants - who change roles as both speakers and listeners - share a common linguistic repertoire i.e. the ability to speak both English and Zulu, they are able to signal and interpret the communicative intent of each other. CS as a contextualizing cue in the context of this

study may therefore be perceived as a language resource that enables social and pedagogical functions to be fulfilled. However, Gumperz also points out that people who are not part of the conversation will probably not recognize the contextualizing cues which are employed in it and therefore not react to the cue, which might result in misunderstanding. Such is the case among some English monolingual participants of this study as can be seen in the following excerpts:

IV. EXTRACT FROM INTERVIEW WITH EDUCATORS:

- (i) (In response to the question, “How do you feel about people in general who switch from one language to another?”)
- T I don’t have a problem with that. The only time I have a problem is that at a staff meeting, and when teachers start talking in English but then switch to Zulu then I don’t understand. Then I feel like you know they’re discussing certain issues, like they don’t want me to know what it is about so I tell them to please switch back to English because we started talking in English, let’s continue in English [sample appendix 2a,T3].
- (ii) (In response to the question, “How do you feel about switching from one language to the other by pupils where they switch from English and then to Zulu and back?”)
- T I don’t have a problem with that but when it becomes a problem is that when I don’t understand the Zulu. If I can understand what they are saying I don’t have a problem with it. But sometimes it becomes annoying where they switch from English to Zulu and I don’t understand it. It can hold up the whole lesson [sample appendix 2a,T3]

V. EXTRACT FROM LESSON ON ‘OUT, OUT-’ [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3e]

- (i) Ps (Pupils speak in Zulu. Pupils laugh).
T What’s going on there?
- (ii) (Some pupils speak in Zulu while the lesson is carrying on).
T You two back there, I’m tired of your comments please stop that now!

In example IV, both (i) and (ii), it is evident that CS as a contextualizing cue is outside the

linguistic repertoire of the interviewee. In (i), the interviewee perceives bilinguals' choice of CS in his presence as a strategy to exclude him from conversations, and in (ii), he is annoyed as he does not know what is being said in the classroom, thus inhibiting the flow of the lesson. In example V, the monolingual teacher also feels excluded and tries to manage the situation by reprimanding the pupils. Hence, it is clear that non-bilinguals who are not participants of a conversation will probably fail to recognize contextual cues employed in CS behaviour.

This brings me to the next principle, viz. that there are no assumptions about sharedness of rules and that speakers must be able to negotiate meaning in order to sustain conversation (Gumperz 1982:6). The following examples extracted from interviews and recordings of lessons serve as points of illustration:

VI. EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS:

T I feel that it would be to my benefit if occasionally I could go into Zulu to assist them, but you can work through it you know, while speaking only English (sample appendix 1a, T5).

VII. LESSON ON KID PLAYBOY [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]:

T Yes, it's the lump that you feel in your throat and in men it sticks out more than in women, right? And when.... [Pupil makes a clicking sound]. Sorry, is that a Zulu word for it?

[Pupil laughs]. What do you call it in Zulu?

P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]

T I'm not even going to try.

P Aibo. [Pupils laugh].

P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]

T Oh no! That one's too much for me. Anyway, it begins to move up and down, okay.

In example VI, the teacher makes a metalinguistic comment on the ability to negotiate meaning using English only as she does not share pupils' NL. In VII, the meaning of "adam's apple" is

negotiated by means of non-verbal cues as well as explanation. This indicates that even where there is no sharedness of rules, in this instance, Zulu, meaning can be negotiated.

Finally, Gumperz's (1982:61) observation that choice of a linguistic code is an unconscious one is a principle that finds support in this study. As I have discussed in this chapter, 3.5, in my discussion of data gathered from questionnaires and interviews, CS is mostly an unconscious phenomenon for my subjects. In addition, the various instances of CS, discussed in section 3.3, forms and functions of CS, are not necessarily deliberately calculated but rather spontaneous ones. It also appears that the frequent use of CS by bilingual participants in the educational domain is a normal feature and therefore, for the vast majority of instances, an unmarked choice. A discussion of this observation, based on Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, follows.

3.6.3 CODE-SWITCHING AS A TOOL TO PRESENT UNMARKED AND MARKED CHOICES:

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, as I have discussed in chapter 2. 2.2, predicts a realization of three types of negotiation viz. CS as an unmarked choice, CS as a marked choice and CS as an exploratory choice. To recapitulate, the most salient feature of the markedness model is that, as an unmarked medium of communication, each variant is associated with a RO set. The use of unmarked choice yields reciprocal identification in terms of participants' RO sets; if the choice is marked it will be interpreted as dis-identification with the RO balance. The addressee will therefore interpret the speaker's negotiation of an RO set accordingly. In this view, CS can be seen as a means to encode both power and solidarity. According to Goyvaerts and Zembele (1992:73), the direct outcome of this theory is that it forces one to assign immense importance to the speaker

rather than the addressee. After this succinct review of this theory, I now present data that illustrate CS as unmarked and marked choices. I do not look at CS as an exploratory choice as there is no evidence of such choices in my study. This is probably because participants know each other well, and the choices most often made are therefore unmarked.

(a) CS as unmarked choices:

The data, obtained from recordings of lessons, in which both bilingual teachers and pupils engaged in CS, undisputedly indicate that the use of the learners' NL, Zulu, is a familiar feature in the classrooms in this study. Participants' familiarity with the interchangeable use of English and Zulu is a clear indication that CS is an unmarked choice for both bilingual teachers and pupils i.e. CS, particularly in the experimental group, is expected to occur. In the case of the control group, although pupils do not use CS with their monolingual teacher, CS occurs between pupils when speaking to each other during the lessons and more particularly when engaged in group work. While most instances of CS during lessons might be described as unmarked choices, I present and discuss two examples, as follows:

VIII. LESSON ON 'KID PLAYBOY' [EXPERIMENTAL GROUP, APPENDIX 4a]:

- T The pop of the child is **ubani**? [Who is it?]
 P The father of the child.
 T **Nayi ipresent enginayo igama lami ngingubani**? [Here is my present, my name is...?]
 P **NginguMaisie** [I am Maisie].
 T **Wathi le present ekabani**? [She said who's present was that?]
 P **Eka Kid Playboy** [It was for Kid Playboy].
 T **Nobani nomkakhe** [And his wife]. What were you going to do if you were Kid Playboy? What were you going to do if you were the groom here?

IX. LESSON ON 'THE SUIT'[EXPERIMENTAL GROUP, APPENDIX 4b]:

- T Good morning 10A.
- P [Chorus response] Good morning Sir.
- T How are you this morning?
- P [chorus response] Fine. How are you?
- T I'm fine. **Mina ngisaphila** [I'm well]. Right. We're going to do the story "The Suit".
I want you to tell me something about the story. What is the story about?
- P > R
- T Who can tell me? What is this story about?
- P > R
- T Alright. What's going on?
- P > R
- T Right, **Masinyane ake uchaze kancane ukuthi lendaba ikhuluma ngani?** [quickly tell us what the story is about] Yes?

In excerpt VIII, CS as an unmarked choice is used to elicit responses from learners thus encouraging active participation and involvement in the lesson. It also provides an opportunity for learners to express themselves in their NL comfortably and confidently without anxiety of making mistakes in English. The teacher's own acceptance of learners' NL is seen in her feedback to the learner's response; she also engages in CS behaviour. Thus, in this instance, CS serves to facilitate communication between teacher and pupil as well as to decrease distance between them i.e. to encode solidarity.

Excerpt IX, is also an example of CS as an unmarked or expected choice, and as I have discussed in this chapter, 3.3, the forms and functions of CS, in this instance CS may be perceived as a solidarity promoting feature. Also, as in example VIII, the question posed in Zulu, serves as a probing device to elicit learner response and thereby facilitate communication.

(a) CS as a marked choice:

Marked choices as I have noted in chapter 2, 2.1.2, are often made to indicate some kind of emotion and/or to negotiate some specific outcome. By examining the comment made by the interviewee in example VI (i) in this section, one can infer that bilinguals' use of CS in the presence of monolinguals is a marked choice, perhaps, as the interviewee believes, to exclude monolinguals from a particular conversation. Also consider the following examples of CS as marked choices which are extracted from pupil-pupil interaction during group work:

X. EXTRACT FROM GROUP WORK [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a]:

- (i) P1 He should not have made Maisie pregnant in the first place. For making Maisie pregnant he must pay for it.
 P2 Ja you can say -
 P3 **Uyenzile ihomework yakho?** [Did you do your homework?]
 P2 I don't know. I'm still doing it.
- (ii) P2 **Ene ilentengisho 'yukuthi makukhoninta funkuyisho akazame esinye iskhathi ayi manje** [That's what I'm saying, if you have something to say, we'll discuss it some other time not now].
 P1 **Sizame esinye iskhathi 'uma ungasayidingi lengane sewushadile. Ikho kufanele aqale alungise izinkinga zakle. Kusho ukuthi noma angashada angabi nankinga nengane.** [Try another time when you don't want this baby when you're married. That's why he should solve his problem first. That means even if he does get married he will have no problem with the baby]. Are we done?

In example X (i), P3 makes a marked choice when he chooses to speak in Zulu, calling for a new RO set. This is probably to narrow the distance between himself and P2, so that, as is evident as the discourse unfolds, P2 would tell him the story of 'Kid Playboy' as he (P3) had not done his homework i.e. read the story. P2 however ignores P3's negotiation for a change in code to Zulu,

thereby re-negotiating the distance between them i.e. increasing the distance between them, as he is reluctant to tell him the story. In addition, by responding negatively to P3's call for a new RO set, P2 is inadvertently displaying his authority or superiority as he knows the story. P1, in example (ii) also makes a marked choice by switching to English to bring an end to the discussion as she disagrees and is annoyed with her listeners' points of view. In so doing, she asserts her authority and increases the distance between them.

3.6.4 KAMWANGAMALU'S PROPOSAL OF 'CODE-IN-BETWEEN':

In chapter 2, 2.3, I discussed Kamwangamalu's (1998) proposal of the 'code-in-between' as a more appropriate description of the linguistic behaviour of the South African context, than Gumperz's (1982) "we-code" vs "they-code" dichotomy. However, as I have also noted, Kamwangamalu (1998:278) concludes that whether a language qualifies as "we-code", "they-code" or "code-in-between" is dependent on the context of the situation and the type of social goals one wishes to achieve in a given speech situation. In the context of my study, I comment on the use of Zulu, English and English-Zulu CS in terms of Kamwangamalu's proposal.

Firstly, Zulu for both bilingual educators and learners, might be perceived as the "we-code" that is employed to achieve solidarity between bilingual teachers and pupils, and pupils and pupils. This is demonstrated in example IX :

P [chorus response] Fine. How are you?

T I'm fine. **Mina ngisaphila.** [I'm well],

when the teacher chooses to fulfill a social act in Zulu. The use of Zulu as "we-code" is even more prominent when used in the presence of English monolinguals which might function to exclude the latter. Indeed, the comment made by the English monolingual interviewee (example IV), bears

this out well. In addition, Zulu as a “we-code” is also evident in the lessons of the control group. Recordings of lessons in the control group illustrate how the teacher feels excluded from comments made by the pupils, and as a result of not understanding what they are saying, she chooses to either (i) ignore it, (ii) attempt to be a part of it (see example vii) or (iii) when the class is disrupted, reprimand the pupils (see example V (i) and (ii)).

Secondly, in the context of my study, English might be perceived, not as a “we-code” or “they-code”, but rather as a “code-in-between” that enables both teachers and pupils to fulfill various social and pedagogical goals. This is particularly so with the control group where the teacher uses only English to teach her pupils. English might be perceived as the “code-in-between” because English is a common language between teacher and pupils who are familiar with each other. English as the “code-in-between” is an appropriate description of not only the interaction between English monolingual teacher and bilingual pupils but also bilingual teacher and pupils, and pupil-pupil interactions. This is because using English in the ESL literature classroom is neither to communicate with strangers nor is it for personalized activities, rather it is to fulfill more formal, pedagogical as well as social functions.

Thirdly, in the context of my study, the choice of CS presents a more complex role in that it might be perceived as a triadic code: as a “they-code” to English monolinguals, as a “we-code” to English-Zulu bilinguals when in the presence of English monolinguals, and as “code-in-between” by code-switchers when their English monolingual counterparts are not present. In this study, “code-in-between” is a particularly appropriate description of CS that occurs by the experimental group and by pupils of the control group when engaged in group work.

To conclude, my study supports Kamwangamalu's view that in lieu of the complex situation in South Africa, and indeed, the situation in the educational domain, one needs to examine the context of the situation in order to determine which code i.e. "we-code", "they-code" or "code-in-between", best qualifies the linguistic choice. My study clearly shows that no longer can English be perceived as the "we-code" by English first language speakers and the "they-code" for English second language speakers - English has become an integral part of all teachers and pupils irrespective of the variety spoke. Hence, "code-in-between" is a more appropriate description of English in the domain of the school, and no doubt, in other formal and even informal domains as well. In addition, this study shows that whether a language qualifies as "we-code", "they-code" or "code-in-between" is dependent not only on the type of social goals one wishes to achieve (Kamwangamalu 1998:278) in a given speech situation, but also on the type of pedagogical goals one wishes to achieve. This is evident in my discussion of the pedagogical functions of CS such as for explanation, clarification, emphasis, reinforcement, providing content information etc.

3.6.5 GORDON WELLS' 'RECIPROCAL INTERACTION MODEL OF LEARNING':

As I have also discussed in chapter 2, 2.4, the thrust of Wells' Reciprocal Interaction Model of Learning is that learners learn a language best and acquire knowledge through the actual use of language when they engage in meaningful interaction with adults (in my context, teachers) and their peers. To recapitulate, the essential principles that underlie this theory are that the communicative intent of the speaker is of greater importance than the grammatical construction of sentences; that teachers should be facilitators of knowledge and that they should provide ample opportunity for learners for collaboration and negotiation; and that optimal use of learners' NL

should be made in the classroom (Wells 1981; 1998; 1999; Wells 1985; Measures & Wells 1997).

What follows is a discussion of my data gathered from recordings of lessons, in terms of each of these principles.

Firstly, the tenet that Wells' model focuses on function rather than form is also one of the principles that underlie Gumperz's Interactional Model. Hence, the reader is referred to the discussion of this principle in this section of the chapter, 3.6.2, examples II and III. I would however, like to add that one cannot completely ignore grammatical structure altogether; there are times when the choice of vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax might distort the illocutionary force of the reader. Consider the following examples where the teacher corrects pupils' pronunciation and choice of vocabulary:

X1. LESSON ON 'THE SUIT' [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3b]:

P (reads) "Only once, he got oneexcruating?"

T (corrects pronunciation)...excruating.

X11 LESSON ON 'OUT, OUT-' [CONTROL GROUP, SAMPLE APPENDIX 3e]:

(i) T Why do you think he laughs at such a serious accident?

P He was shocked. He couldn't hear the pain.

T Yes, he was shocked. You don't hear pain, you

P feel

T Yes, you feel pain. He's shocked and for that moment he doesn't feel the pain or realize what's happened. Yes?

(ii) T Yes. He doesn't realize how bad the accident is.

P He was soft.

T Not soft, shocked.

P He was shocked.

In examples XI and XII (i), the mispronunciation and incorrect use of verb respectively, do not distort the meaning of the utterances. Hence, even though the teacher corrects pupils' pronunciation and use of verb, the intended meaning of each of their utterances is accurately perceived. However, in example XII (ii), the pupil uses a completely different word "soft" instead of "shocked" to describe the boy's reaction to the injury. Although the teacher understood the pupil's intended meaning because of shared knowledge of the poem, in other contexts such an utterance could lead to misunderstanding. In addition, if the word "soft" was provided as a written response, it would not be accepted. Hence, while the focus should be on function rather than form, grammar cannot be ignored altogether where it is likely to cause distortion of communicative intent.

In investigating whether teachers are facilitators or transmitters of knowledge and whether they provide opportunity for learners for collaboration and negotiation, my data reveals that for the most part, especially in the experimental group, teachers are transmitters of knowledge. In the experimental group the teacher does almost all of the talking and transmitting of information. This is also true, to a lesser extent, in the control group as well. However in the control group, the teacher does provide opportunities for collaboration and negotiation of meaning by asking provocative questions and organizing small group activity. In so doing she was able to fulfill both pedagogical and socio-emotional goals, which Wells' (1998) maintains are essential for the well being of the 'whole' person. Pedagogically, pupils, in small groups, were given opportunities to create summaries, recreate events of the literary text studied, discuss characterization, present multiple points of view and distribute ideas. This is facilitated through literary texts which Wells (1985) considers to be an excellent source of collaborative activities. Socio-emotionally, by responding to provocative questions (see sample appendix 3a), through interaction with each

other, pupils are able to negotiate social, moral and emotional issues such as responsibility of parenthood, responsibility in relationships, taking responsibility for one's actions, considering the well being of others in relationships and so on. In so doing, through a discussion of book characters, learners' own social and moral values are being shaped and they grow in maturity to become better citizens of their country.

Finally, the principle that focuses on the use of learners' NL in the classroom has been discussed extensively in this chapter, 3.5.3 (forms and functions of CS in the classroom) and will therefore not be discussed again at this point. To conclude, my data shows that whether pupils are given opportunity for collaborative work is dependent on the teacher. The teaching of literature fosters such activity and should therefore be exploited. The danger of group work however is that, as evident in the recording of one group session (sample appendix 3a), pupils speak almost entirely in the NL so that very little practice of English takes place.

3.6.6 CONCLUSION:

To summarize, the data obtained from recordings of lessons reveal that for conversations to be accurately interpreted and sustained, it is necessary for speech participants to have some shared schemata concerning the topic being discussed. This schema could be shared linguistic knowledge, world knowledge or knowledge acquired from the literary text being studied. In cases where schema are not shared, then participants negotiate meaning to sustain a meaningful conversation. Data also shows that for a speaker's communicative intent to be accurately perceived, his/her utterance need not be grammatically accurate, so long as the syntactic structure does not distort the intended meaning. In addition, CS which might be either marked or unmarked, may be perceived as a contextualizing cue, which helps in signalling and interpreting the communicative

intent of a speaker. Furthermore, the use of CS in the classroom by bilingual participants may be perceived as a “code-in-between”. Moreover, if pupils are given opportunities to collaborate and negotiate meaning with each other, they will be better able to learn the language through using it. Finally, the analysis of classroom data reveals that CS is a resource used by bilingual teachers to convey a range of, especially, pedagogical functions. The conclusions on and implications of the data gathered at school, as well as some limitations of this study, follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of this research was to investigate whether code-switching can be used effectively as a technique in teaching literature in the ESL classroom at the secondary school level. I also set out to provide probable answers to some questions regarding the status and function of learners' native language in the classroom. Hence, the general focus of this thesis has been on the nature and function of English-Zulu CS by the bilingual teachers and learners of the experimental group of this research. However, I do not pretend to provide profound answers or make overgeneralizations from one modest study. Instead, I merely comment on the issues that underlie this research based on my findings, discuss the pedagogical implications of my findings, point out the limitations of my study and make suggestions for future work.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS:

In this section of this concluding chapter, I present my views based on the findings as well as on the broad problems and issues that were investigated in this study. I present my conclusions on whether CS in the classroom can effectively enhance learning and scholastic achievement; whether learners' NL can be effectively employed to promote ESL; whether CS affects the degree of learner-teacher and learner-learner interaction; and finally, whether code-switching, in the domain of the schools of my study, works or not.

4.2.1 Can CS in the classroom effectively enhance learning and scholastic achievement?

Luthuli (1985:14) states that “language is the lifeline of every educational endeavour.” He goes on to say that a learner is a product of relevant and meaning communication, and that education finds expression through the medium of a language. The findings of this study indicate that the language that is of relevance and meaning to the learner participants of this study is English-Zulu CS. It is my perception that CS is not simply an ‘interlanguage’ which Selinker (1972) views as an adaptive strategy by speakers who try to speak the target language because they have little proficiency in it. My findings show that English-Zulu bilingual educator participants of this study are proficient English speakers who were able to converse with me using English only. Yet these educators also code-switched naturally with other bilinguals, both colleagues and learners at the school. In addition, Mr E, one of the teachers of the experimental group, is a proficient speaker of English who has obtained his majors in English and holds a post graduate degree in education, which for the purposes of emphasis, I add, were papers written through the medium of English. Mr E also employed CS strategically with his pupils in the literature classroom. Can one then truly say that the use of CS by these educators is as a result of a lack of proficiency, as Mr Selinker deems? To me, this means that CS may not be perceived as an interlanguage, but a type of code that finds natural expression among the bilingual peoples in Port Shepstone, the region in which my study is based. I see CS as a code in its own right that, and as Luthuli notes, finds meaningful expression.

My findings show that CS is a natural phenomenon that occurs mostly spontaneously among English-Zulu bilingual educators and learners in the domain of the school. By fulfilling various

specific functions, such as CS for reiteration, explanation, elaboration, influencing learner behaviour, providing content and/or new information, solidarity, and for directive and phatic purposes, as discussed extensively in the preceding chapter, teachers were able to enhance pupils' learning. By the strategic use of learners' NL, by means of intersentential and intrasentential CS, the teachers of the experimental group were able to:

- (a) enhance learners' vocabulary;
- (b) enable learners to grasp difficult ideas and concepts;
- (c) provide meaningful and significant extra or new information thus enhancing learners' overall knowledge;
- (d) ensure understanding of plot, characters and themes of literary texts studied;
- (e) exhort learners to think critically and creatively (which is one of major aims in the study of literature e.g. Reid 1982).
- (f) incite learners to make value judgements.

My findings demonstrate that the use of learners' NL, by use of CS behaviour, promotes learning. Through the use of CS pupils are better able to understand the literary texts studied and are therefore better able to respond to test questions. In addition to enhancing learning, my findings reveal that CS during literature lessons serves to fulfill emotional, social and moral values. The use of CS helps promote learners' acquisition of moral awareness and a sense of values, and acquire empathetic understanding of others and themselves, which are also aims of literature teaching (e.g. Reid 1982). In so doing, learners are better equipped to deal with life's emotional and moral challenges, and are helped to become worthy persons. Hence, CS contributes to not only learning for academic success but also to learning for life at large.

4.2.2 Can learners' NL be effectively employed to promote ESL?

Milk (1993:93) describes ESL as “a second language approach in which the goals, teaching methods and techniques, and assessments of students' progress are all based on, and oriented toward development of that student's English proficiency.” My study also shows that by employing learners' NL in the form of intersentential and intrasentential CS, ESL is promoted. As I have demonstrated in chapter 3, 3.5.3, by resorting to the use of learners' mother tongue, teachers discuss vocabulary and phrases thus enhancing vocabulary in English. In addition, when teachers use CS for reiterative purposes, repeating in Zulu what has been said in English or vice versa, pupils acquire the grammatical rules of speaking and writing in English. However, as Canale and Swain (1979:4-6) and Canale (1992:6-11) note, the notion of communicative competence includes not only grammatical competence (i.e. the implicit and explicit knowledge of the rules of grammar) but also sociolinguistic competence (i.e. the extent to which utterances are produced and understood appropriately in different sociolinguistic contexts depending on contextual factors such as status of participants, purposes of the interaction, and norms and conventions of interaction); discourse competence (i.e. the ability to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres such as oral and written narrative, argumentative essay, letter to the editor etc.); and strategic competence (i.e. the ability to make use of verbal and non-verbal strategies to compensate for breakdowns in communication or to enhance the effectiveness of communication). Literature teaching is an excellent resource for the acquisition of grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competences. Using CS in the teaching of literature becomes a powerful technique in promoting ESL.

My study clearly demonstrates that learners' NL has a legitimate and irreplaceable position in the

teaching of literature irrespective of the proficiency levels of either teacher and the learner. To deprive the learner of his/her mother tongue in the classroom is to deprive him/her of the opportunity of acquiring his/her L2 proficiently. If indeed education is “a mirror unto a people’s social being” (Ngugi wa Thiongo 1986:223) and that literature is, among other things, an exploration of the self through characters, the language one employs, including CS, is inextricably woven in unfolding of values inherent in literature teaching. To deny a learner the opportunity to use his/her NL in the classroom is a negation of him/herself as a social being and more importantly as a unique, emerging individual.

4.2.3 To what degree does CS affect learner-teacher and learner-learner interaction?

My study shows that when teachers use CS they are better able to elicit responses from pupils, and better able to elicit responses that go beyond monosyllabic responses than when they use English only. Specific examples have been discussed in chapter 3 in the discussion of CS for classroom management and influencing learner behaviour. This however, does not mean that when teachers ask questions they must always resort to using learners’ mother tongue or using CS behaviour. Doing so will, in fact, impede the learning process and scholastic achievement as pupils will become dependent on teachers’ use of the NL. They will know that the teacher is going to use their mother tongue and learn not to attend to the English version of a question. Also, if the teacher makes frequent use of the mother tongue or CS, learners will become unfamiliar with questioning techniques they meet in tests and examinations. Instead, the strategic use of CS, i.e. by using learners’ NL only when it is evident that pupils fail to respond to a question that is posed in English only or using learners’ NL as a springboard for sustained and animated discussion, will

be beneficial.

As the lessons of both the experimental and control groups were chiefly teacher dominated there was no evidence of how the use of CS affected the degree of learner-learner interaction in the classroom. However, in the control group, as I have already noted, the teacher gave opportunities after each lesson for pupils to respond to questions in small group work. Evidence obtained from the recording of one such group activity reveals that the use of CS by learners within the group facilitates learner-learner interaction. The kind of animated talking that went on among the pupils serves as a contrast to the limited learner participation when the teacher was teaching. It is clear that using the mother tongue allow pupils to express their thoughts and opinions without anxiety and with confidence. They feel secure in the knowledge that they are able to communicate exactly what they think and feel without fear of making mistakes should they use English only. However, the danger lies in overusing the mother tongue.

Atkinson (1987:246), as I noted earlier, draws attention to some of the dangers of overuse of the NL in the ESL classroom. Of relevance to this research, is not overuse of learners' NL by the teacher but by learners themselves when they engaged in group work. My research shows that learners use mostly English to interact with their teachers but mostly their mother tongue to interact with each other. The dominant language during group work was Zulu. It appears that speaking with each other in the NL is a matter of course, even when they are quite capable of expressing themselves in English. This observation is evident in the fact that the report back after group discussion was done in English. In my view, such overuse of the mother tongue in the ESL classroom defeats the purpose of effective CS and cheats learners of practicing their English. My

findings therefore supports Atkinson's (1987) view that CS can be effective as long as the matrix language is English.

4.2.4 Does code-switching in the classroom work?

In this thesis, I treat CS as a code in its own right that serves to fulfill a variety of social and pedagogical functions. My research shows that additive bilingualism i.e the means by which competence in a second language is acquired while the first language is maintained (Lockett 1993:20), as evident in the use of learners' NL in the experimental group, fulfills a variety of pedagogical functions (as discussed in chapter 3). The role of additive bilingualism, this is to say that the L2 should not be learnt at the expense of the L1, is in keeping with the ANC Draft (1993:15) policy for education:

The state will adopt a twin-pronged approach to the question of language for education in the new South Africa, i.e. access to English will be broadened whilst South African languages other than English and Afrikaans are developed for wider use in the whole range of educational contexts.

However, whether this policy is indeed being adhered to at schools is questionable.

Faltis (1989:117) notes that there are two ways in organizing language use in the bilingual classroom: One, is to organize language use in such a way that a strict separation of the two languages on the basis of time of subject matter is maintained. The other is to allow for both languages to be used concurrently. The latter, of course, is what my study advocates. I am also in agreement with Grosjean (1985) who argues that although students in bilingual programs need to have access to some separate language input if they are to be able to adopt a monolingual speech mode in either of the two languages when circumstances demand, they also need to be

helped to see the relationship between their language and the possibilities for communicating appropriately in a bilingual speech mode, including CS, with other bilinguals. The community of learners of this study, as I have already noted, is a CS community, and it is therefore essential that pupils are exposed to this form of learning, in preparation for the real sociolinguistic situation and not what purists might perceive to be real.

Using a concurrent approach is in keeping with the long tradition of using more than one language as medium of instruction in schools. Heugh (1993) notes that in many schools Afrikaans and English were used in the same classroom. My research shows that in the Afrikaans L2 classroom, teachers use both Afrikaans and English in teaching Afrikaans. My research also shows that English-Zulu CS is a norm in the ESL classroom as well as in content subject classrooms. The use of CS appears to be so compelling that even in the control group where the teacher uses only English in her teaching, pupils switch to their mother tongue even though this is not expected of them. It seems to me that there must be some sort of instinctive need to use CS even though pupils might be able use the L2 competently, if not proficiently. To me, this suggests that other than fulfilling pedagogical functions, CS must fulfill some important psychological functions: to be recognized as a person with ones own sense of identity or one who has valuable information to contribute to a lesson which an "English only" policy negates; to provide the learner with confidence to say what s/he feels and thinks in her/his NL without fear of being ridiculed by more proficient peers, if she fails to express her/himself adequately in the L2; and to achieve solidarity with his/her NL peers so that conflicting views (as evident in the group activity) is not perceived as a personal attack.

Finally, I support Elridge's (1996) view that decreasing the mother tongue in the classroom does not automatically increase the quality and quantity of the L2 used. A comparative study of lesson recordings between the control and experimental groups does not show any significant difference between the amount of talk in English. As I have noted in chapter 2, it is the type of question that teachers ask that determines pupil response. Subtractive bilingualism will only serve to impede the language process and ESL acquisition itself. To conclude, in providing a succinct response to the question, "Does CS in the classroom work?" my study shows that in the domain of the schools of my research, CS does work as long as the matrix language is English. To think otherwise is a sterile notion bred on views of purists who fear the 'degeneration' of 'pure' English and who fail to see that ultimately the goal of language, any language, irrespective of its degree of 'purity', is to effectively communicate what one wants to communicate.

4.3 IMPLICATIONS:

Thus far I have shown that CS is a norm in the classrooms of my study, I have identified its forms and functions, and concluded that for effective ESL teaching additive bilingualism should be perceived as a valuable learning tool. I now turn to what the implications of my findings are for principals, teachers and school governing bodies; ESL literature teachers; and for methodology.

4.3.1 Implications for principals, teachers and school governing bodies:

In 1995, in her discussion of the implications for CS for curriculum planning, Gila (1995:42) states:

"Curriculum planners need to recognize the occurrence of CS as a reality in classroom teaching and further accord it an official status."

Since then, as I have noted in my introduction to chapter one, the Language-in-Education Policy document in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, has accorded CS official status:

“In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognizes that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages.”

In addition, the report from the Centre for Education Policy Development (1994) (see chapter 2, 2.2) specifically states that CS during group discussions, workshops, practicals, seminars and lectures should be acknowledged as a normal feature of teaching and learning. To me, this is a clear indication that CS has been accorded official status. The question that therefore arises is: Is the policy of inclusion of CS in teaching and learning being implemented by the schools? If not, why not? My research findings lead me to suggest that principals, teachers and the school governing bodies are either ignorant of the language policy, are pretending ignorance, or simply choose to ignore it. The implications for these role players are twofold: (a) for the role players to become, as Adendorff (1993) suggests, engaged in consciousness raising; and (b) to initiate a change in attitudes among role players towards CS.

If principals, teachers and governing bodies are indeed ignorant of the language policy act, then there is urgent need for the language policy act to be brought to their attention. Language superintendents and other language policy authorities in the educational domain should as a matter of urgency, ensure that every school has a language policy committee in place. The task of this committee would be, among other things, to familiarize themselves and others at school, including learners and parents, with gazetted language policies. Previously held misconceptions about the

use of learners' NL in classroom instruction should be clarified. It should be clearly pointed out that, for example, the use of CS involving the two previous official languages, English and Afrikaans, was and is still accepted as a norm where Afrikaans is taught as a second language, and is used without embarrassment. Why, then, should CS involving English and any other South African language be perceived otherwise? CS should be recognized as a teaching strategy as "language teaching is inextricably tied to language policy" (Savignon 1991:265) and needs to be included in the schools' language policy. This calls for a change in attitudes towards CS.

In view of the socio-psychological reality in Port Shepstone society, CS is the widespread expression of bilingualism and therefore ESL acquisition by means of CS should occupy an important place in the curriculum. This goal gets further importance when we consider the emphasis on teaching language that is relevant and real for learners - CS occurs in both the school and Port Shepstone society at large. Principals, teachers and governing bodies need to be made aware of these issues and thus initiate a change in attitude towards CS. Attitudes, however, are bred and nurtured over a long period of time and are therefore not easily altered, but they *can be altered*, with informed knowledge, understanding and time.

Adendorff (1993:17-19) offers detailed suggestions on how teachers and teacher-trainees can become sensitive to the sociolinguistic scenario of a given community. Of relevance to this study is that teachers need to be aware of the various lects of English, such as Indian English and Black English, and recognize that each of these codes has a function (Adendorff 1993:18). Teachers and learners must be sensitized to the fact that bilingualism and multilingualism is a communicative rich resource and should be recognized and valued as such. Teachers and learners should be

encouraged to exploit their linguistic repertoire to the fullest as they work together to achieve pedagogical goals. Teachers should also be disabused of “deficit notions such as CS is dysfunctional” (Adendorff 1993:19) or that CS is a result of “language incompetence” as maintained by Kgomoewana et al.(1993:13).

4.3.2 Implications for ESL teachers and teaching:

The role of CS in the classroom also has specific implications for ESL teachers. Teachers across the curriculum, and even more pertinently, teachers of English as a second language, need to experience a change in mind set regarding perceptions of CS in the classroom. Now, more than ever before, with the hype and urgency that teachers and learners have in pursuing English, teachers of English as a second language should realize that switching between codes is not a degenerative form of a language but a code that can be used effectively in the acquisition of the target language. Teachers of English should be made aware of how CS can be used to, for example, build on vocabulary; teach grammatical structure; ensure learners understand difficult concepts and content information; and so on. It also needs to be stressed that in the language classroom, this does not mean that everything that is said in English must be repeated in Zulu and vice versa. Teachers also need to be informed of the dangers of overuse of the mother tongue by both themselves and their pupils.

The findings of this study have even more specific implications for the teacher of literature. Many literary texts of various genres, both imported and local, have evidence of the use of CS by characters. Both the short stories, ‘The Suit’ and ‘Kid Playboy’ are examples of texts that contain examples of the use of different lects and CS. Teachers should draw attention to how CS is used

to provide information about setting and character, enhance meaning of the text, and more importantly, how CS is used as an effective communicative device. When learners see CS in use by poets and authors, they will see that CS is not something to be embarrassed about, but a code that can be used effectively. For pupils to feel this way, it is necessary that teachers themselves feel this way. On this note, Edward (1982:30), observes that teachers - like other members of the population - do maintain stereotyped and often negative views of certain language varieties and their speakers. Hence, teachers are in a position to hinder learners' success by imposing their negative perceptions upon their learners. On the opposite side of the coin, alert and sensitized teachers have the power to help learners overcome stereotype notions and misconceptions.

The teacher of literature is also at an added advantage in that s/he can use the text in such a way that it helps learners to increase their communicative competence. By this I mean that the teacher can exploit opportunities presented in literary texts to help learners acquire linguistic and contextual competence. Linguistic competence can be developed by, for example, meeting vocabulary in context; when learners encounter unfamiliar words they make use of contextual clues to comprehend their meaning; they see how sentences are constructed and so on. Sociolinguistically, pupils, for example, learn how to perform appropriate speech acts such as greeting, inviting, thanking, refusing etc. in the target language. This again illustrates that literature coupled with CS is a powerful resource for ESL acquisition. It follows that teachers themselves have to be empowered if they are to empower their learners.

4.3.3 Implications for methodology:

Having discussed the implications of CS in the classroom and for teaching, I go on to present implications of CS for methodology viz. the issue of cultural methodology, CS during group work, peer group teaching, and Jacobson's (1981) new concurrent approach.

In conjunction with the various issues I have discussed concerning CS, CS in the classroom also raises the issue of a culturally relevant methodology. Since (as I have noted) CS is the widespread expression of bilingualism in Port Shepstone, it is both relevant and important in the classroom. CS should therefore occupy a crucial place in the curriculum.

CS also has implications for group work in the classroom. While teachers can supervise and control learner talk in a one-to-one interaction in the classroom, this is not so easily done during group work, especially in large classes. Teachers should encourage learners to use their mother tongue if they wish to or find the need to, but they must be informed that they are not to do so extensively. Hence, group work activities must be closely monitored so that pupils' talk is not mainly in the mother tongue. Pupils must also be encouraged to assist one another in framing ideas initially conjured in the mother tongue into English equivalents, so that, as far as possible, the report back is given in English. In this way ESL is promoted and pupils better prepare themselves for answering test and examination questions which are posed in English and to which pupils are expected to respond in English.

In classes where the teacher is an English monolingual, teachers can obtain the assistance of more

proficient students of English, who by resorting to CS with their peers, would help them along. Kamwangamalu and Virasamy (1999), for example, show that peer-tutoring which occurs towards the end of a lesson, intended to summarize a lesson, ensures that less proficient learners acquire complete rather than partial understanding of what was discussed. Where pupils are unclear about what is being taught and are uncertain about how to frame a question in English, a more proficient pupil can help him phrase his/her question. Once again, pupils must be encouraged to use English as far as possible and be warned of the dangers of overusing the mother tongue.

Finally, I look at Jacobson's (1981) new concurrent approach (NCA) as a possible way of enhancing effective CS in the classroom. Jacobson's NCA is a scheme for helping teachers modify their own patterns for the most effective use of concurrent approaches in the classroom. In this approach, clear guidelines on when the use of learners' mother tongue is appropriate, are given. Jacobson (1981:19) identifies 16 cues, under the broad categories of classroom strategies, curriculum, language development and interpersonal relationships for initiating switches to the other language (the mother tongue). According to Ovando and Collier (1985:85), this approach pushes teachers to avoid direct translation and to develop natural flow from one language to the other at appropriate times without repetition. If such an approach is incorporated in curriculum planning, teachers, and more specifically, teacher trainees, will see that CS can be used creatively and effectively in the classroom. However, as the NCA presupposes CS as a conscious strategy, and my research shows that CS is mostly an unconscious phenomenon, there is need for greater research in this field before it can be considered in curriculum planning. At the very least, however, teachers and teacher trainees, can be made aware of the possibilities of employing the NCA in the classroom.

4.4 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS:

As I have already stated, my study is a modest one based on a relatively small sample. Hence, my findings are directly relevant to the two schools where the study was conducted. In addition, certain unaccounted for factors could have influenced my findings of which the reader needs to be aware. Firstly, in regard to the questionnaires, one cannot be too sure that respondents answered 'honestly' as they were requested to, or whether they unconsciously provided what they anticipated to be 'correct' or 'appropriate' responses. In regard to the interviews and lesson recordings, one needs to consider the issue of the 'observer's paradox' (Labov 1972). Labov (1972:209) states:

“The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.”

The presence of the tape recorder during interviews and classroom lessons would have, to some degree, affected the responses of the speakers. For example, interviewees would have been more careful on how they framed their responses, the choice of words and so on, than they would otherwise have done, had they been asked the same questions without their knowledge that they were being interviewed or that the interview was being recorded. Similarly, the teachers who recorded their lessons would have been more wary and their speech patterns would also have been affected to some degree. While this would not have significant impact on my findings, one should nevertheless bear this in mind.

The most significant limitation of my study concerns the test results of pupils. Although pupils came from the same socio-economic and linguistic background, as verified by the questionnaires

for learners, other variables could have contributed to my findings that there is no significant difference in performance between the two groups under study. Some of these variables include: the continuity in teaching in the experimental group in which CS was employed was disrupted when teacher one, Mrs E, left and a replacement teacher, Mr E, continued with the lessons; differing qualifications, teaching experience and proficiency levels of the TL might have influenced learner performance; interpretations of literary texts may vary in some degree which in turn influences learners' interpretation of the text and as the marker was a neutral person, this variation might not have been accounted for; pupils' themselves have varying linguistic potentials, cognitive abilities and learning styles which affect their performance; and finally, for a more conclusive finding, learners' scholastic performance needs to be determined by a longitudinal study. Finally, my findings lead me to make the following suggestions: Firstly, there is need for a longitudinal study to investigate whether CS enhances scholastic performance. Secondly, in view of the influx of ESL speakers in English first language classrooms, there is need for the investigation of the role of the NL of ESL speakers in multilingual English L1 classrooms.

4.5 CONCLUSION:

To conclude, I have, in this thesis, shown that CS is a natural phenomenon in the educational domain of this study. I have shown the value of CS in ESL classrooms facilitated by teachers who share learners' linguistic repertoire as well as in those classrooms which are managed by English monolingual teachers. I have also demonstrated that there appears to be a shift in attitudes towards CS, from negative to positive ones, though the majority of educators express their desire for English as medium of instruction. In addition, I have shown that there appears to be no significant difference in scholastic achievement between those who are taught through the medium of English

only and those who are taught by employing CS. Furthermore, I have shown that bilingual education, through the use of a concurrent technique is of benefit to the schools of my study and has implications for the various stake holders of pedagogy. I have also noted the limitations of this study and suggested the need for longitudinal studies in the field of CS at schools and the need for studies on CS in multilingual English first language classrooms in which many ESL learners are seated. Finally, educators and curriculum planners need to recognize that CS is quite common in Port Shepstone, and no doubt in the province of KwaZulu Natal itself and promises to be the common way in which bilingualism is expressed in this context. This is because even if the learners' mother tongue is proscribed at schools, learners will make use of it naturally.

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APPENDIX 1 : QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX 1a : QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCATORS

WHERE ALTERNATIVES ARE GIVEN PLEASE MARK WITH A '✓' IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN.

1. AGE:

< 20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	40+

2. GENDER:

MALE	FEMALE

3. What is your home language?

Eng.	Afrik.	Zulu	Xhosa	Tamil	Hindi	Other please specify

4. What is your status at school?

Principal/ Act. Princ.	Dep. Princ/ Act. Dep.Princ.	H.O.D./ Act H.O.D.	Teacher Permanent	Teacher Temporary

5. What is your total number of years of teaching experience as at January 2000 (including broken service)?

Years

6. What SUBJECT do you teach for the most number of periods?

Eng.	Zulu	Afr	Math	Phy. Sc	Bio	Gen. Sc	Hist.	Geog	Acc	Bus. Eco	Other Specify

7. What is your medium of instruction?

Zulu only	English only	Afrik only	Eng & Zulu	Afrik & Zulu	Afrik & Eng.	Other please specify

8. I use the language (s) in question 7 above because:

	YES	NO
8.1 It is prescribed		
8.2 It is my personal preference		
8.3 It is the learners' preference		
8.4 It was the parents' choice/ suggestion		

If you use ONLY ONE LANGUAGE in the classroom, do not answer questions 9, 10, 13 and 14. Please answer all the other questions.

9. If you use **more than one language** in the classroom:

- 9.1 Which language do you use most of the time in a given lesson?
- 9.2 Which is the other language?

10. How often do you use the other language?
What is your home language?

Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often

11. What is the medium of instruction preferred by your pupils in the subject that you teach?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu

12. What is the medium of instruction preferred by **parents** in the subject that you teach?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu

13. When do you use more than one language in the classroom?

.....

.....

.....

.....

14. Why do you choose to switch from one language to another in the classroom?

.....

.....

.....

.....

15. What is your reaction/ feeling of your pupils when you switch from one language to another?

	YES	NO
15.1 They are surprised		
15.2 They laugh		
15.3 They feel insulted		
15.4 They relate to you better		
15.5 They better understand what you are teaching		
15.6 They respond in the language you switched to		
15.7 They ignore your switch to the other language.		

16.1 When your pupils engage in pair or group work, do you ask them to use a particular language?

YES	NO

16.2 If your answer to 16.1 is "YES", what language do you ask them to use? WHY?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

17. When your pupils engage in pair or group work, which language (s) do they use?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu	Other specify

18. When pupils engage in casual conversation in the classroom, which language(s) do they use?

Don't know	English only	Zulu only	Afrik. only	Eng. & Zulu	Afrik. & Zulu	Other specify

19. When pupils switch from one language to another, how do you react?

	YES	NO
19.1 I shout at them		
19.2 I remind them that they must speak only in English		
19.3 I pretend that I did not hear them		
19.4 It's 'okay' with me, but I do not encourage it		
19.5 It's 'okay' with me, and I encourage it		
19.6 I do not approve but tolerate it		

20. What language do you use with your colleagues:

	Eng. only	Zulu only	Eng & Zulu	Other specify
20.1 During staff and subject committee meetings?				
20.2 In the staff room?				

APPENDIX 1b :QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEARNERS

WHERE ALTERNATIVES ARE GIVEN PLEASE MARK WITH A '✓' IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN.

1. AGE: YEARSMONTHS

2. Where do you live?

MURCHISON	BHOBHOYI	OTHER-specify

3. How do travel to school?

walk	bicycle	car	taxi	bus

4. Whom do you live with?

Mother only	Father only	mother and father	grand-parent (s)	relatives	Friends

5.1 What is your mother's occupation?

5.2 What is your father's occupation?

6. What is your home language?

Eng.	Zulu	Xhosa	Other please specify

7.1 Do your teachers ask you to speak a particular language at school?

YES	NO

7.2 If your answer to 7.1 is 'YES', what language do your teachers ask you to speak at school? WHY?

.....

8. What language do you use when speaking to the following people? Please tick (✓) in the appropriate box.

	English only	Zulu only	Eng & Zulu	Other specify
8.1 Parents/ Guardians				
8.2 Grandparents (leave blank if they are deceased)				
8.3 Relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins etc.)				
8.4 Friends outside school (eg. at home, while walking to school, at a party)				
8.5 Friends outside the classroom, at school				
8.6 Friends in the classroom (eg. during pair and group work or just talking with each other)				
8.7 Teachers outside the classroom				
8.8 Teachers in the classroom				

9. How often do you switch from one language to another?

NEVER	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	MOST OF THE TIME

10. Can you suggest when and/or why you switch from one language to the other? (You may give examples if you wish).

.....

APPENDIX 2 : INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX 2 a : INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR EDUCATORS

1. Status at school, subjects and grades being taught.
2. What is the language policy at school? How do you feel about this?
3. Do you prescribe or recommend a specific language to be used in the classroom?
4. Do you switch from one language to another while teaching?
5. Are you conscious or unconscious when you change from one language to the other?

6. What do you feel about switching from one language to another?
7. What is your reaction to your learners who switch from one language to another in the classroom?
8. Do you think CS can be used as an aid in teaching?
9. If you were free to implement a language policy, what would it be? Why?

APPENDIX 2 b : INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR LEARNERS

1. What is your home language?
2. Do you speak English at home?
3. What language(s) do you speak with your friends?
4. Do you switch languages in the classroom?
5. Is the switch 'automatic' or are you aware that you are switching from one language to another?
6. Do your teachers switch languages in your classroom?
7. What language do your parents prefer you to learn your subjects in?
8. What language do you prefer to learn your subjects in?
9. How do others feel when you switch from one language to the other?

APPENDIX 2c : Sample transcriptions of interviews with educators

T1

- R How do you feel about people using two languages at the same time, when they speak English and then Zulu and then go back to English?
- T To me that is not a problem because that is encouraging learners to understand content which is an essential part of it. If they don't understand it in English, it means you can explain some terms with them in Zulu.
- R Do you find that in your class, the English class, that when you ask a question in English they respond in Zulu?
- T I don't know. I don't want to recommend that. I recommend that they use English.
- R If they respond in Zulu, how do you react to that?
- T To me? Only if maybe the question is difficult I want to understand, to see that they understand the question so I can allow them to use Zulu.

T2

- R What languages do you get to speaking in the classroom?
- T I'm speaking Afrikaans and ask pupils to speak Afrikaans also.
- R So you end up -
- T and I just put
- R English...
- T few words for English.
- R And Zulu as well?
- T No, I don't use Zulu.

- R Any Zulu at all?
 T No. Afrikaans and English sometimes, not always.
 R Now, if you were not teaching Afrikaans and say that you were teaching any other subject, what language would you prescribe in the classroom?
 T English.....
- R. What do you feel about people who do that? What is your opinion?
 T Sometimes its good because it's not our language
 R Mm hmm?
 T Sometimes it's bad because we are supposed to promote English
 R And what do think about if you heard somebody else switch from English to Zulu and back to English all the time what do you think about that person?
 T I feel embarrassed cause... he or she is supposed to struggle to speak that language English. As an official language ... is suppose to be practiced by all the people.....
- R Now if learners in your classroom switch from English to Zulu how do you feel about it?
 T (No response)
 R When they mix their languages in the classroom?
 T Hey, I can say how can I put it sometimes I feel ashamed or sometimes I overlook it because the child is trying to speak.
 R Do you ever shout at them?
 T No no no I talk to them politely.
 R Mm Hmm?
 T Ja
 R And you remind them to/
 T to try and speak in English
 R Now if you were free to implement any lang policy at this school what would you do?
 T I can recommend English.

T3

- R Can you speak Zulu at all?
 T A little. I can understand a bit and speak broken Zulu but I can speak.
 R Now you did say that your pupils use Zulu as well in your classes. Now, how do you feel about people in general who switch from one language to another?
 T I don't have a problem with that. The only time I have a problem is that at a staff meeting, and when teachers start talking in English but then switch to Zulu then I don't understand. Then I feel like you know they're discussing certain issues, like they don't want me to know what it is about so tell them to please switch back to English because we started talking in English, let's continue in English. I understand a bit of Zulu but there are a lot of things I don't understand....
 R How do you feel about switching from one language to the other by bilinguals where they switch from English and then to Zulu and back?

T I don't have a problem with that but when it becomes a problem is that when I don't understand the Zulu. If I can understand what they are saying I don't have a problem with it. But sometimes it becomes annoying where they switch from English to Zulu and I don't understand it. It can hold up the whole lesson.

T4

R Right. How do you feel about your pupils using Zulu in your classroom?

T Er... I just want to go a little back because I want to put myself clearly in the picture here.

R Okay.

T Er ... we are from formally just an English speaking school. When Blacks were first introduced at our schools we demanded that they have all conversations in English.

R Mm mm?

T And we had, in those days reprimanded them but now I realize that it's important that they also understand - or communicate in their language.

R Now, why do you think this is important?

T They understand the content better. Unfortunately their level of development in English at this stage is not at the level that normal English speaking persons are at. I must say it is right down. So the problem, it seems, at the lower levels, English itself is not given enough attention but more emphasis is placed in their language.

T5

R Okay. Do you prescribe or recommend any specific language to be used in your classroom?

T When they answer me I require them to speak English, but in discussions if they want to take a question, discuss it in Zulu and then translate their answers into English, I'm happy with that.

R Do you think that only English should be taught in teaching - because you teach not only English but -

T History and Geography. Er .. I feel that it would be to my benefit if occasionally I could go into Zulu to assist them, but you can work through it, you know, with speaking only English.

R How do you feel when they switch from one language to the other?

T What exactly do you mean by that?

R Okay. When they, your pupils, okay, when they speak in English then move onto Zulu and then back to English... so that it comes across as a mixed language.

T Er, I would like to keep English - being an English teacher I would like to keep English pure English but I do find that in certain ways English is becoming degenerated. I think that in South Africa that's inevitable but that er... people are going to switch from one language to the other.

R Now, in your classrooms when pupils switch say for example, in group work - do they switch?

T Yes they do.

R Okay, what is your reaction to that?

T Well I allow them to. If I want them to express an opinion. those children are Zulu speakers and they feel comfortable speaking Zulu so if they can er... speak in Zulu and then put it into English it might benefit them in the long run and make them comfortable with expressing their opinion and

in the long run they will be speaking to me in English.

R Okay, during assembly, what language is used at assembly?

T largely in English. Though they sing in Zulu obviously sometimes in Zulu sometimes in English. Messages are given in English unless Mr N, like, feels like emphasizing a point, then he'd switch to Zulu.

R Okay if you were free to implement any language policy at this school what would it be?

T Well I know that some schools insist on English even on the playgrounds but I think this is too harsh er but I do feel that English should be encouraged more.

T6

R Do you prescribe the language in your classroom when you teach Accounting? —

Do you tell the children what language to speak or do you recommend a language for them to speak?

T I recommend that they speak English but sometimes they do speak their vernacular.

R Do they switch from English to Zulu?

T Yes.

R And how do you feel about this?

T I always encourage them to speak English.....

R And if they just speak to each other, in English and Zulu, instead of only English, do you tolerate or do you shout at them?---Or do you tell them to try and speak in English?

T I tolerate it.

R Do you think you can actually use Zulu as an aid to teach English and promoting your subject? Do you think you could use Zulu to help the child ... like you said you could use Zulu to explain sometimes...

T No, because the paper is going to come out in English. So if I use only Zulu they will have problems in questions and understanding instructions. So English is better.

T7

R So there are times that you use Zulu explanations?

T [Teacher nods in affirmation].

R Now, in your English classroom, do you recommend a particular language to be used in that class?

T English mostly.

R Do you use only English to teach English?

T I use only English to teach English but if ever I ask a question but maybe the child knows the answer but cannot express it in English, I do allow that he gives me the answer in Zulu, then the whole class help him to put it in English. I do not correct it but the whole class will help him to put it in English.

R Now what do you feel about switching from one language to the other, using the same language simultaneously?

T I think its okay in our schools, they use Zulu in their homes so its difficult for them to, especially

in the lower classes, to easily understand the English. Sometimes you need a little bit of Zulu. You need to switch from English to Zulu and go back to English.

T 8

- R What do you think about people who switch from English to Zulu and back to English?
 ---- What is your opinion of such people?
- T I don't like it. ...more especially when we are talking English when they they're switching to Zulu we don't like it, we discourage it.
- R With the students?
- T Yes because most of the time they use Zulu at home so, they must practice English in the school premises.
- R What about adults who switch from Zulu to English and back? What do you feel about that?
- T I don't feel good because they must practice what they preach. If they say that the kids must not switch from English to Zulu they must not do the same.
- R Okay, at assembly what language is used?
- T English but sometimes Zulu.
- R And er, if learners switch from English to Zulu, as you said they do, how do you react?
- T Mm .. when more especially when I'm teaching Afrikaans, I don't encourage them to use Zulu but rather they can say that in English not really in Zulu.
- R Okay, and in your Zulu classroom?
- T No, they are free to use Zulu.
- R ... and English?
- T Yes.
- R And do you believe, do you think that you can use Zulu to teach English?
- T No, I don't think so. Because they will listen to Zulu... you know, more especially, when you teach the literature, when you are going to say it in English, they will wait until you explain it in Zulu. They won't listen to that English part, they will wait until you say it in Zulu so they will lose most of their vocabulary.
- R Okay. Now if you were free to prescribe a language policy at this school, what would it be?
- T English.
- R Why do you think English is so important?
- T It is the medium of communication. When they go for interviews they don't use Zulu, they use English/ And even when they are writing exams, exams are not explained in Zulu, everything is explained in English. So it must be English ...The problem is when you explain something in English they won't listen to that English part, they will wait until you explain it in Zulu because they know that Mam is still going to explain that in Zulu. Meanwhile you are trying to build their vocabulary they won't listen... and then they end up not knowing how to communicate. That's the problem. While we like to teach in English and Zulu, so they can understand, but that kills them, that kills them. Because everything must be done in English.

T9

- R Why do you think people switch from one language to another?
- T It's because we are living in a multilingual country. We are mixed with different people speaking different language, so that we can communicate and have a knowledge of a modern language. So it's okay to switch.
- R And when you switch from one language to another, is this done consciously or does it come naturally?
- T Naturally.
- R In your classroom, when your learners switch from one language to another, how do you react?
- T [Laughter]. Okay, er... I tell them that they should try and speak the language I am teaching but I don't discourage them if they use the other language. Only if they can understand one another that is the main aim, so that they are able to communicate.
- R Tell me, do you believe that you could use Zulu to help a person learn English?
- T Yes, I think so.
- R How is that? Explain why and give me examples if you can.
- T As I've already mentioned earlier on, we as Blacks, most of us speak Zulu as a first language. Sometimes it becomes difficult for the person learning in Zulu to, to... understand those big words in English. That is why we feel that Zulu must come in that way.
- R Now, if you were free to implement a language at this school, what language would you implement?
- T [No answer].
- R What would you do?
- T I think any language could be used, the language that the learner feels that he could use with success.

T10

- R What is the language policy at this school ... as far as you know?
- T We must speak English.
- R And how do you feel about this?
- T Well, it's okay, er..., but I think the pupils do not relate to this, but we must use English and Zulu but mostly English.
- R Do you prescribe or recommend any specific language in your General Science class?
- T Not really, but we use English. We use English but when I ask the pupils they sometimes answer me in Zulu.
- R Why do you think they answer you in Zulu?
- T Maybe they don't know how to put it in English. They ask if they can put it in Zulu and I allow them to put in Zulu.
- R Okay, and do you think that only English should be used in teaching?
- T Er... no ---
- R Why do you say no?
- T Because I think, I think English is okay, but in the fact that you must explain and must give a child a er...er... correct information or maybe I will say, for child to understand because they sometimes,

they do not understand , in other words - I'm not saying they don't understand English. They do understand it but there are those words they need Zulu to know the English meaning.....

R If you want to use the Zulu terms ...

T Okay (*laugh*) Alright. Okay. It means *Uma umuntu ehlike ebhanoyini* so because *knomoya* in between *lowomoya a uzomfosa ukuthi ashone eceleni*. I mean *ashone ngatha nangapha uzomenza so ukuthi alende la ebengathandi ukuthi awele knona* because there are forces in between him and a parachuter. Then *leforce e attracter umuntu* to the ground, *iforce of gravity/ [If a person jumps off an aircraft, so because there is wind that forces him to go sideways, I mean, he will go this way and that way. He won't land where he wishes because you know the forces in between him and a parachuter. Then the force which attracts him to the ground is the force of gravity]*.

T11

R So you would see switching to Zulu as an aid in your teaching - in the classroom?

T It is an aid in teaching since it is not their mother tongue.

R Now if you were free to implement a language policy at this school what would it be?

(No answer)

Would it be English only, English and Zulu, or Zulu only?

T I would prefer that the medium of instruction should be English but sometimes Zulu could be used if you feel that students feel difficulty. Its not that they don't understand the whole language. They do understand but there are concepts that they need their own language.

R Can you give me an example from perhaps Maths or Biology ... where you find it necessary to use Zulu?

T Like in the digestive system, you speak about the liver. Right. You show them the diagram, maybe they don't know, they have not seen something slaughtered and then you just tell them liver means *isibindi*, so its easy for them to understand, but if you say liver, they have no clue what a liver is.

T12

R Okay, and in your classroom, while you are teaching, do you find that your children switch from English to Zulu and back again?

T Yes.

R And how do you react when this happens?

T I just listen to them but I don't encourage them. I always encourage them to speak in English because the language is taught in English and examined in English, not in Zulu, so they must be using English.

R Can you give me some examples of when you use Zulu to teach Physical Science or General Science?

T More especially in General Science, it is so difficult, they even ask you to explain in Zulu so they can understand you better.

R So, do you explain?

- T Ja, if the case is like that er.. myself, I have a problem. I'm not a Zulu, I'm Xhosa speaking, so they don't understand Xhosa also. SO I only use Zulu when they ask me to use Zulu otherwise I don't use Zulu.
- R But if you could speak Zulu would you use it more often?
- T No, not more often because the language is English. Notes are written in English, its examined in English, so there's no Zulu.
- R Do you think that Zulu can be used to help teach English.
- T Zulu? To help to teach English? Yes, in English, they have to use Zulu, because they have to explain meanings of some words in Zulu and when we teach in our language, we don't experience difficulty.
- R If you were free to implement a language policy at this school at this school, what language policy would you implement?
- T English.

APPENDIX 2d : Sample transcriptions of interviews with learners

L1 [PAIR INTERVIEWS]

- R And what language do you use (when talking with your friends)?
- P1 Sometimes we speak Zulu and sometimes we even include English.....
- R Okay, if you had a choice in the language you had to learn in, what would it be?
- P1 English.
- P2 English.
- R. Okay, one last question. Why are you so interested in English?
- P1 I have to learn English so that I will be able to communicate with the Whites.
- R [To P2] And you?
- P2 I prefer English because I want to do it on the higher grade.

L2

- R What language do your parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P English.
- R Why do you think this is so?
- P Because she want to - they want to - if I speak English, she like children to speak to other English persons because they not know Zulu.
- R Okay, what language do your teachers use mostly in the class?
- P English.
- R Do they prescribe any particular language in the classroom?
- P Yes, but they (inaudible).
- R Do your teachers switch from one language to another?

- P Yes. But most of the subjects they teach in English.
- R Okay, through which language would you prefer to learn all your subjects?
- P [no response]
- R Would you prefer English, Zulu or both English and Zulu?
- P Both.

L3

- R Do you make a deliberate choice to change from one language to another or does it come automatically?
- P Yes, it comes automatically.
- R Okay. er when you change from one language to another, how do your friends feel about it?
- P They feel okay.
- R How do you feel about it?
- P Fine.
- R What language do your parents prefer you to use at school?
- P Er they prefer English.
- R Why do you think this is so?
- P Because if I go to Port Shepstone I get the white people and I speak to them in English.

L4

- P Er Zulu is my mother tongue and English is my second language.
- R Mm mm?
- P And if you go to places like the college they use English not Zulu.
- R Now when you make a switch from Zulu to English or English to Zulu is it deliberate or does it come automatically?
- P It comes automatically.
- R Okay, now when you switch from one language to another how do the others feel about this?
- P They feel good and I feel good.
- R And you feel good yourself. Okay. What language do you parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P My mother prefers me to use English.
- R Why do you think this is so?
- P Because when I go to other schools like Mar ...Mar...
- R Marburg?
- P Marburg, they use English they don't use Zulu.

L5

- R Why do you think you use both English and Zulu when speaking with your friends?
- P It just comes. We talk and talk and then the English just comes. You want to force something you want your friend he must listen.
- R And at home? What language do you use at home?

- P I'm using Zulu. And English also with my small sister.
- R And why do you speak English with your sister?
- P She must learn English. Today everybody speaks English.
- R Mm Mm?
- P And my teacher says practice makes perfect.
- R What language do your parents prefer you to learn in?
- P English.
- R Why do they prefer English.
- P Because that is the language when you communicate with other cultures. Say you are going to another school. When you go to Marburg School, there they only speak English.
- R Yes?
- P And for jobs. You go for interviews it's in English. Everywhere you go you must know English.
- R Okay. What about in your classroom? Do your teachers use only English?

L6

- R When you are with your friends then, say you are at a party, what language do you use?
- P With my friends?
- R Mm mm.
- P Ja , we speak Zulu because you speak English they say you are proud now and they do not understand what you say so you speak Zulu .
- R And with your friends in school?
- P We speak both.
- R Tell me, what language would you prefer to learn all your subjects in?
- P English and Zulu.

L7

- R Do you ever find yourself using English and Zulu in the same conversation?
- P Yes.
- R Okay, why do you think you do this ?
- P It's because sometimes I can only speak English and when I'm at home there are small children and they don't understand when I'm speaking English .
- R When you are with your friends , now do you ever mix up your two languages ?
- P When I'm with my friends? Yes.
- R Why do you do this?
- P It's because I like English and in my school it is not compulsory to use English so I just use both of them.

L8

- R What language do you use to speak with your friends outside school for example , when you are travelling , when you're playing, or at a party?
- P Both English and Zulu.
- R Why do you use both English and Zulu?

- P Because I want to understand English, because I want to practice it.
- R Mmm. So are you aware, are you conscious when you use English and switch to Zulu?
- P Yes!
- R Okay , er , now when you change from one language to the other , when you mix English and Zulu, how do the others feel about this?
- P Okay because they like it.
- R And how do you feel about switching languages?
- P I feel happy because I like English . I think practice makes perfect .
- R Okay , what language do your parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P English .
- R Why do you think this is so?
- P Because at home I speak Zulu and at school I must speak English.
- P Why are you so interested in speaking English?
- P Because I want to know it very well.
- R Why , for what reason?
- P When I'm looking for a job, they will interview me in English and if I not know English they will not communicate with us.

L9

- R I see, okay . Now when you change from one language to the other is this change deliberate or is it automatic, on your part?
- P Oh this comes automatic.
- R Er, what language do your parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P They prefer me to learn in English.
- R Why do you think this is so?
- P Because we communicate with other people in English.
- R Okay what language do your teachers use mostly in the class?
- P English and Zulu.
- R Why do you think they from English to Zulu?
- P Because some of the words we do not know and they, they are to . . .
- R To explain?
- P To explain to us in Zulu.
- R Okay. What language do you prefer to learn your subjects through?
- P Pardon?
- R Okay. What language do you prefer to learn your subjects through?
- P English.
- R Why?
- P Because when we communicate with the white people we use to speak English.

L10

- R Okay. Do you ever find yourself speak English and Zulu , you know together ? At the same time?

- P Yes.
- R Why do you think you do this?
- R Some of my friends do not understand English , some understand English , so I use both of them together because I like to speak with them in English because my mother taught me that English is the subject that make the people communicate easy to the white people.
- R Yes?
- P It is the subject that make the people communicate.
- R Okay. When you change from one language to the other is this deliberate or is it automatic? What do you think?
- P No, it is automatic.
- R Okay. What language do your parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P They prefer me to learn in English.
- R Why?
- P If I'm going to work I .. I .. I think can't apply work in Zulu because the firms they the white people .. most of the firms there are white people ... now they ... I can't apply in Zulu I have to speak English.

L11

- R So do you think you would learn better if your teachers spoke only in English or by using Zulu as well.
- P Both.
- R Alright. Through what medium would you prefer to learn all your subjects?
- P English. It must be English.
- R Mmm. So why do you think English is so important?
- P You want to get a job. You can't get a job anywhere if you don't know English. It is spoken in the whole world.

L12

- R What language do your parents prefer you to learn at school?
- P English.
- R Why do you think they prefer you to use English?
- P Because they told me that English is the language for all the tribes.
- R How do you mean?
- P English is for the whites and the blacks and the people of the other countries.
- R Okay. And what do your teachers use mostly in the classroom?
- P English and Zulu because we have Zulu teachers and we have English teachers. The English teachers don't know how to speak Zulu so they speak English. Then the Zulu teachers always speak Zulu.
- R Okay. Do you find that they switch from one language to the other in their teaching?
- P Yes.
- R Why do you think they do this?

- P I think it's very important because sometimes we don't understand the words, terms in English so they switch to the other language.
- R Okay. Now what language would you prefer to learn all your subjects?
- P I think it's English because we have one language school Zulu but the all languages is English, if the teacher is using.

L13

- R Okay. Do you ever find yourself using English and Zulu in the same conversation at school?
- P Yes.
- R Why do you think you do this?
- P Because English is the medium of . . .
- R Instruction?
- P Yes.
- R Okay.
- P Ja, if you don't know English, then you're like nothing in the world.
- R What language do your parents prefer you to learn?
- P English.....
- R Through what medium would you prefer to learn?
- P English.
- R Why?
- P So I can pass my exams .
- R Now you say your English teachers use Zulu as well. Why do you think they do this?
- P For us to understand English.
- R Do you find this helpful ?
- P Yes.
- R Now do you think you would be better if your teachers spoke only in English or used both English and Zulu?
- P Only English.

APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RECORDINGS OF LESSONS IN CONTROL GROUP

SAMPLE APPENDIX 3a : KID PLAYBOY

- T Right. He left her for someone else and she committed suicide. Okay, could we have someone else to read please?
 [Pupil reads] "*Kid Playboy's eyes meet mine sweetest thing I ever did see.*"
 Okay, so the groom turns coal black and his adam's apple starts moving up and down. What is an adam's apple?
- P It's this thing..
- T Yes, it's the lump that you feel in your throat and in men it sticks out more than in women, right? And when.... [Pupil makes a clicking sound]. Sorry, is that a Zulu word for it?
 [Pupil laughs]. What do you call it in Zulu?
- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]
- T I'm not even going to try.
- P Aibo. [Pupils laugh].
- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]
- T Oh no! That one's too much for me. Anyway, it begins to move up and down, okay. And he realizes that Kid Playboy is , is what?.....
- P He's scared.....
- T Okay, "immoral" means someone who doesn't care what is right and wrong.
 [Pupils can be heard speaking in Zulu in the background].
 Er... "caring" I think you know. Reginald, sit down please! "Caring" I think you know.
 Yes. Okay, "constant". Constant... faithful to one person alright, "convincing" - Can anyone guess or does anyone know what that word means? ... Yes?
- P Make someone do something.
- T Make someone do something. Yes, in this case make someone believe what you are saying. [Pupils speak in Zulu but it is unclear]. Make someone believe what you say. "Unfaithful" - I think you know. "Generous" Do you know?
- P Yes }
 No }
- T Yes?
- P Someone who's kind.
- T Someone who's kind and giving. Someone who gives freely. [Pupils speak Zulu in the background].
 Okay, and we will see here another question. What do you think is the message of the story? ...In other words what do you learn from the story? ----- What is the writer trying to teach or to say? I'm going to give you five minutes to think about that. Mm I want you to think which four of these words best describe the character of Kid Playboy and also think about this question. Talk to your friend about it.

[Teacher resumes lesson after group discussion].

- T Okay, can somebody give me their list of words. Let someone tell us which four words they think best describes Kid Playboy's character.
- P The first one.
- T What is the word?
- P Immoral.
- T Immoral. yes, immoral. Another one, yes? What do you think?
- P Unfaithful.
- T Yes, unfaithful, yes. Let's put rings around these ones... who's yawning like that? You must sleep at night ... unfaithful... yes. Another one?.....
- T Before we go over that there are certain things in the story we need to talk about. It's always good to talk about the things that come out of a story. Gives us an opportunity to talk. So we are going to have another quick discussion. So we are going to get into groups.
[Teacher organizes class into groups and writes the questions for discussion on the board. She records the discussion of one group].

[The teacher reads out the questions that she has put up on the board]:

1. Was Maisie right to stop the wedding? Was she right to put the baby down as a present and stop the wedding?
2. Do you think Kid Playboy was a coward?
3. Should Kid Playboy have married Maisie?
4. Should Kid Playboy pay for the child, his school fees, clothes etc. as the child grows up?
Okay, you'll answer yes or no and give a reason for your answer.

TRANSCRIPTION OF RECORDING OF GROUP DISCUSSION:

- P1 He should not have made Maisie pregnant in the first place. For making Maisie pregnant he must pay for it.
- P2 Ja you can say -
- P3 **Uyenzile ihomework yakho?** [Did you do your homework?]
- P2 I don't know. I'm still doing it.
- P1 Do you think Kid Playboy was a coward?
- P4 I don't know. I didn't read the story.
- P2 Yes, he was. He ran away from the wedding.
- P3 Yes he ran away from the wedding.
- P4 Who was Kid Playboy?
- P1 He was the groom. Le one le eshada 'angithi ubalekelumshado wayo Kwafika leyatheken 'leya isimlethel 'ingane. Yamis 'umshado ke lethekeni yabeki 'ngane laph'ealtani . Yabes 'iyavaya manje isona story leso [The one's that getting married right running away from his wedding. That girl came to him with a baby. This girl stopped the wedding and she put the baby on the altar. Then she left. Now that's the story].

- P4 **Kwaufanele amshade lomntwana?** [Was this guy supposed to marry her?]
- P1 **Wamkhulrlisa!** [He amde her pregnant!] **Ungalala kanjani nentombazane ungayithandi uthu 'mesunengane bese uyayidumpa ingan'yakho** [How can you sleep with a girl you don't love and dump your baby when it is born?]
- P4 Listen, listen, listen **ngikutshela wena, angith'unentombi wena? Lezintombi zakho ave kuwukuthi uyazithanda zonke.** [... you have a girlfriend right? You can't tell me you love all your girlfriends].
- P2 **Kodwa akumele abe responsible for lomntwana** [But he shouldn't have to be responsible for that baby].
- P3 **Bekumele angayi kwasemshadweni afik amisumshado** [She should not have gone to the wedding and stop the wedding].
- P1 **Angayemshadweni?** [Not gone to the wedding?] She went there to give his baby!
- P2 **Angith 'umshado wama ngenxa yakhe!** [The wedding stopped because of her!]
- P3 **Kushukuthi yena wabon 'umuntu 'ofunuthando awayengevefuna umshado** [So he just saw a person looking for love and didn't want marriage].
- P1 **Wayewiwise, wayewiwise** [He was destroying it].
- P2 **Awucabange kahle wena Sbu, uhlangane nomuntu' umtshelukuth' uyamthanda bese akunika ipresent yengane musuyoshada akukonukuwisa loko?** [Think about this Sbu, you meet a girl, tell her you love her and stuff, and she gives you a baby for a present! Isn't she ruining the marriage?]
- P4 **Ay 'ipresent ingane?** [A baby for a present?]
- P2 **Ya. Wawuzothini kuwuwena?** [Yes, what would you have done?]
- P1 **Phela mina, wawuzoma phela** [Well I ... well I... then it would have stopped....]
- P2 **Wawuzothini wena? }** [What would you have done?]
- P3 **Wawuzothini wena? }** [What would you have done?]
- P2 **Wawuzojabula ukuba sashada thina, he? Wawungeke ujabule kodwa manj' uyathandukuthi kwenzeke** [Would you have liked it if we got married? You wouldn't have but you want this to happen].
- P1 **Ayi ukuthi ngiyathanda ...** [Not that I like this...]
- P2 **Ngibuzukuthi makuthiwa sishada sobabili kufike umuntu azobekingane** [I'm asking you what you would do if we were getting married and a person came and left a baby]
- P4 **Ngingakujabulela** [I would have been happy with that].
- P2 **Ene ilentengisho 'yukuthi makukhoninta funkuyisho akazame esinye iskhathi ayi manje** [That's what I'm saying, if you have something to say, we'll discuss it some other time not now].
- P1 **Sizame esinye iskhathi 'uma ungasayidingi lengane sewushadile. Ikho kufanele aqale alungise izinkinga zakle. Kusho ukuthi noma angashada angabi nankinga nengane.** [Try another time when you don't want this baby when you're married. That's why he should solve his problem first. That means even if he does get married he will have no problem with the baby]. Are we done? [End of discussion.]

[Teacher resumes lesson].

- T Okay! Shhhh.... Okay, let's see if we can get some answers. We seem to have ended our discussion. Let's have a look at the first question. Was Maisie right or have stopped the wedding? What did you two do?
- P Yes, but we don't have a reason.
- T You don't have a reason? Alright, but think. Yes. Alright can somebody else suggest a reason why?
----- Yes?
- P Because he left her with a child and he went to marry someone else, he didn't marry her.

SAMPLE APPENDIX 3b : THE SUIT

- T Usually the bus makes him feel full of life, but now it makes him sick. But he controls himself and gets off the bus. [Reads]. "*The calm he achieved the suit.*"
- T Okay, what is happening in this passage? He enters the house and what does he see?
- P A man.
- T A man? Where?
- P In his bed with his wife.
- T In his bed with his wife. What does he do? [Pupils laugh] If you were Philemon what would you do?
- P Yes, you see that man there, I want to punch him.
- T Right. You feel you want to go straight to him and punch him.
- P Yes.
- T What does Philemon do? What does it say here ... he affected ... he pretended not to see
- P Why?}
- Whaaa}...
- Why?}
- T He pretended not to see.
- P Why?
- T And he goes to the wardrobe. Right? [Pupils laugh] And what does the man do?
- P He runs away.
- T He opens the window and Philemon sees him
running down the street}
- P running down the street.}
- T He's clad only in his vest and underpants. [Pupils laugh]. Clad meaning? [Pupils laugh].
Clad meaning ... dressed.
- P Ooooh....
- T So he doesn't do what you'd expect him to do, what you would do as well. He doesn't punch this man. He pretends not to see him, and then looks at the suit. Let's see what he does now?
[Reads] "*Philemon lifted it gingerly waited for her.*"
- T Who is this visitor? He says I see we have a visitor. Who is the visitor?
- P It's the man.
- T Is it the man?
- P Yes the suit.....

[Pupil reads] *"Only once, he got one excruciating"*

T [Teacher corrects pronunciation] Excruciating.

Pupil continues reading: "...heinousness of her crime..... incident."

T Okay, let's just stop there. What does Philemon decide to do? Yes?

P [unclear]

T He took the suit to the dry cleaners. Why?

P To clean it.

T To clean it. Why? What are they going to do? They're going to take it for a walk. He thinks that their visitor needs

P an outing.}

P a walk.}

T So they go for a walk. People who see them... it says three of them. Who are the three of them?

P Philemon, Matilda and the suit.....

P [Some pupils talk in Zulu but it is unclear]

T She has committed suicide. What are we going to do now? You're going to divide into groups okay, and I'm going to give you some questions on the board and I want you in your groups to discuss the questions. And then we will have a report back. So while I write the questions on the board, will you move around?

Right. You've formed yourselves into groups. How many groups have you got? 1,2,3, 4, are you a group there? 5, 6, 7, 8. Okay, these are your questions shhhhh..... so let's go through the, make sure you understand. Question number one. Why do you think Matilda was unfaithful to Philemon? What reasons did she have for doing that? Secondly. Do you think the way Philemon punished Matilda was cruel? Was it harsh or not? Er.. If you think it was harsh, if you think it was not the right way, how would you have punished your wife if she committed adultery? Let us just explain that ... Mmmm... Adultery, you know what that means?

P Yes.

No.

T No? Committing adultery. Can someone explain.

P Yes.

T Yes. Who was it. Don't be shy. Yes?

P When you're committed to one person and you have another boyfriend.

T Right. When you marry someone and you don't commit to that person, you go and sleep with someone else, you are committing adultery.

P [Pupils speak in Zulu but it is unclear]

T Why do you think Matilda committed adultery? What were her reasons?

Who do you think was the most to blame for the suicide? Was it Matilda or was Philemon also to blame?

P Both.....

T Okay, you discuss that in your groups. I'll give you a chance to report back later.

SAMPLE APPENDIX 3c: PROMISE

- T Who hasn't kept the promise? What is the other reason why they have not met? Can you think of another reason?
- P Where they come from.
- T Where they come from. Yes, that's the township. What other reasons? Sometimes, do boyfriends and girlfriends not keep promises to each other?
- P Maybe there's some problem at home.
- T Maybe she has found another boyfriend. What do you think he is feeling in that last line? How they have made a promise I don't know ... when you have been in a situation when you have made a promise.
- P He's not sure, he's not sure.
- T He's not sure and he's trying to think of excuses but what ideas?
- P He knows what's wrong.
- T He knows what's wrong?
- P He doesn't know who's the one.
- T Maybe he doesn't know who's the one. What do you think he's feeling inside, if it's a promise?
- P He's feeling guilty.
- T He's feeling guilty. The girl is gone. What do you think he might be feeling? Angry? Jealous? Yes?
- P Thinking about his life.
- T He's think about his life yes. I'm going to give you some worksheets to work on and see if we can (unclear) [Pupils given time to discuss answers in groups].
Right, what do you think is the answer to number one: "Why do you think the first line is in inverted comas"?
- P They are spoken by a person who speaks it.

SAMPLE APPENDIX 3d : FOLLOWER

- T The wing and the sock refer to the steel blade of the plough . That steel part of the plough that cuts the earth. The wing and the sock are part of the blade of the plough. *The sod rolled over without breaking now the sod.... what is it?*
- P Sword.
- T No, not sword, sod. Now a sod, actually a big lump of earth. It's a big lump of earth. *The sod rolled back without breaking* it falls back without breaking into pieces. So the sod rolls back without breaking. So we can say that he is a good ploughman. Because he can churn the soil out of the furrow without breaking the soil up into small pieces. *And the headrig with a single pluck....* Now you know the horses, the cattle or whatever you are using have reins attached to a sort of harness.
- P With those things that cover the eyes?
- T Yes, what are those things that cover the eyes called? There are called blinkers.
- P Oh, blinkers.
- T And the headrigs are those straps that you mentioned on the face of the horse and who can turn

the horse with just one pull of the rein.... when you go down to the edge of the field and you have to turn right then you look up and you turn.....

P There's a person who pulls the rope.

T There's a person who pulls the reins and he controls the horse. And this man is good at his job because he can turn the horse without pulling the reins, *a single pluck*, just one pull of the reins. *His eye narrowed and angled at the ground.* Now this man, as he goes he watches the ground. Why? Why does he watch the ground?

P For it to be straight.

T For it to be straight. Yes, he wants the furrow straight. Because he's good at his job and he wants his land to be exact.... Okay. *I*. Now he's talking about himself as a little child, *stumbled*... he fell. ... to walk falling over. He is small, as he walks on the rough land of the field he keeps tripping over and falling. *I stumbled*. I fell, I tripped in his *hobnailed way*. 'Hobnailed' refers to his big boots. Hobnailed boots are big farm boots. With nails underneath so that he doesn't slip. Okay, he wears big boots so he doesn't slip in the land. *I stumbled in his hobnailed wake*. The son went after him. this again refers to the boat. We're going back to the boat now. You know when you see a boat sailing on the sea ... what do you see behind it?

P A furrow.

T Yes, like a furrow. Waves come up behind the boat and here's a little boy that walks in the furrow behind his dad. These waves you see behind the boat is all the boat's weight. So he walks in the furrow behind his dad, and sometimes he falls down. *Sometimes he rode me on his back* He rode me on his back he carries me (draws on board) so there you can see the little boy on his back. And as his father steps, the word they use there is 'plod', as he steps the little boy goes up and down on his back. Rising and dipping. Every time his father steps he goes up and down. Rising and dipping. *I want to grow up and plough*. What did he want to do?

P He wanted to plough.

T He wanted to be like his father. He had an expert mind. *He closed one eye*. He closed one eye to see if that furrow was straight. *Stiffen my arm..* but he couldn't. *All I ever did was follow*. Why couldn't he be a ploughman?

P He's too young.

T He follows. *I was a nuisance, tripping, falling, Yapping always*. This yapping/

P This was trouble.

SAMPLE APPENDIX 3e : OUT, OUT-

T Who was tired?

P The boy.

T The boy was tired, yes. He had a long day, he had been working, and he was tired. And he wanted to relax. But think some more. Why did the poet wish that they had called it a day?

P To please him.

T To please the boy, maybe, yes. Another reason?

P He was hungry.

T The poet was hungry?

- P No, the boy.
- T The boy was hungry. Yes. Tell me, what would have happened if they stopped work half an hour early?
- P The boy wouldn't have cut his hand.
- T Yes, the boy wouldn't have cut his hand if they had stopped half an hour earlier. So this is why the poet wishes that they had stopped half an hour early. And then this terrible accident would not have happened. right. The boy is tired and hungry and wants to stop work, but the poet wants him to stop half an hour early so that this terrible accident would not have to take place. [Pupils speak in Zulu in background]. Shh... Okay, if they had stopped work half an hour earlier, the accident would not have taken place. That is number 5 and b. Looking at question number
- P 6.
- T "What do you think was the cause of the accident?" yes, Musi?
- P Er, the boy could not concentrate on what he is doing because he was hungry.
- T Okay. yes. There is one cause. the boy couldn't concentrate on what he was doing because he was tired and hungry.
- P The boy was tired and he was er..... changed when his sister came to call him.
- T Yes, you are quite right. But the word is not "changed", the word you are looking for is "distracted". Yes, the boy was tired and distracted because his sister came to call him for supper. So, it's probably both, together. He's tired and distracted.
- P [Speaks in Zulu. Pupils laugh].
- T What is going on there? ----- You know the meaning of the word "distracted"
- P No.
- T Who says no? Can someone explain?
- P Yes, I will explain.
- T Okay Musi, explain.
- P (unclear)
- T Musi is a good one to explain because he's always distracting everyone in class. (Pupils laugh)
To be distracted is to lose one's concentration, to be disturbed.... So the boy was tired and was distracted when he was called for supper. the boy's first reaction is to laugh. Why do you think he laughs at such a serious accident?
- P He was shocked. He couldn't hear the pain.
- T Yes, he was shocked. You don't hear pain, you
- P feel
- T Yes, you feel pain. He's shocked and for that moment he doesn't feel the pain or realize what's happened. Yes?
- P He doesn't realize how bad the accident is.
- T Yes. He doesn't realize how bad the accident is.
- P He was soft.
- T Not soft, shocked.
- P He was shocked.

APPENDIX 4: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RECORDINGS OF LESSONS IN EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

APPENDIX 4a : KID PLAYBOY

- T Okay. Good morning standard 8A!
- Ps Good morning madam.
- T Alright. Our lesson that is in front of you is a short story taken from a book which is a short story also, its title is "To Kill a Man's Pride". So the story that you are going to deal with er about is Kid Playboy. What do you understand by the word 'kid'? Let us first analyse the topic of the story. What do you understand by the word 'kid'? Yes Zwane?
- P Small child.
- T 'Kid' is a small child, a kid. We use to call him or her a kid. Okay. What is playboy? Who can tell me? Playboy? You are used to this word 'playboy'. Yes? he Sifiso?
- P Is a boy who like to play.
- T To play with what? Is a boy who likes to play with what?
- P With girls.
- T Yes he with girls. A boy who is having this girlfriend, tomorrow that one, he is forgetting about this one, he is moving to that one you understand? That boy play with girls his name is Kid Playboy. It means that it might happen that you are going to find out that maybe he was playing with the girls, but we do not know but we are going to find that in the story. Okay you - 1,2,3,4,5 - please just read for me paragraph 1 and please read with understanding because I'm going to ask the questions of what you understand . First paragraph. *Every time ...*
- Ps [The group of 5 learners read] "*Every time Alexandra Cherrie.*"
- T Yes. Er... what can you tell me? What do you understand on this paragraph? Just a little bit. Something that you understand. Even if it is one sentence.
- P Mositsi received a card to the editor - that card has a, a card invites him at a wedding, that wedding takes place at Alexandra cherrie.
- T He, at Alexandra, that is a place, one of the townships near Gauteng okay, and Dube is also a place found in Gauteng, which is one of the townships in Gauteng. This one is invited to a wedding that is going to take place at Alexandra and this wedding was for Kid Mabothobotho. Do you understand? Now let us hear paragraph 2. *On Saturday ...* Another group read - you, you you, you come closer and read paragraph 2. *On Saturday.....*
- Ps [The group reads] "*On Saturday.....happy township.*"
- T Who can tell me? What do you understand in this paragraph? Anything that you understand? Yes Nonkanyiso?
- P There was a wedding on Saturday.
- T That was the word that was written in the invitation he, there is a word there, he a gold lettered, this invitation was written in gold lettered words, which is the words, and we all know invitation cards how are they written. Here is one of the invitation cards for you. You can see the words that are used in it gold. The words that are used in it are gold. Here also they are talking *of the bright boys*. What do you understand *of the bright boys?* *bright boys?*
- P Bright boys are boys who usually use guns and knives in the townships.
- T Ja, it's the boys who are using guns and knives in the townships. Meana that the boys who are rough, who get their way by violence, who get what they want by violence, they are bright

- boys. So now this one was afraid of going there because of these boys, so he decided to go to the wedding on Sunday. Let us look at paragraph 3. 1,2,3,4,5 okay. read paragraph 3 for us.
- Ps [Group reads] "*On Sundayespecially-*"
- T Mm okay. Although they didn't finish up here it says [reads] "*and I see that.....Aunt Peggy waiting.*"
- T So what can you say here?
- P >R
- T Gloria what do you understand?
- P >R
- T Charity?
- P We heard that Motsitsi have waited for the wedding to come because the wedding will start on Saturday till on Sunday then he waited that will continue on the Dube house. He wear his top hat and tails made ready to go to Dube. His trousers was not enough iron pressed then the one who stand on the door giving the visitors cards....
- T Okay. So this one now was ready to go to the wedding as he was wearing the top hat and tail to make ready to go to Dube. What do you understand by tails?
- P >R
- T I mean the morning coat. What do you understand by the morning coat? Why is it called the morning coat?
- P Because on morning it might happen that it is cold.
- T Okay. Let us say that. Okay. His eyes were not usual so the he was having usual eyes. That was showing the sign that he was at the shebeen so the boys know that if you're drunk, your eyes, become red **he**.
- Ps Yes.
- T Ja .Why? Because you were drunk. Even in the morning if you have been drinking the previous night so that is why you need not to drink because as they are becoming red even your mind it is disturbed. You will never understand what is really said in the class, because this is drugging you. As you are drinking you are becoming drunk, you will be used to this thing until you forget your studies. Okay? Not only the boys even the girls there are those girls who like to drink.
- Ps [Shouting] Yes , yes, yes / no, no/ yes.
- T [laughs]. Okay. Let me read now, let me read now because I want us to be fast. [Reads] "*I get to Dubeinto the room.*" So here this one was er... he didn't have difficulty in finding the place where the wedding was, so he saw half-dozen cars, half a dozen cars which were beribboned convertible, meaning that those cars were having balloons. What else?
- Ps Ribbons
- T Ja, ribbons use to call them Ribbon **nokunye , nokunye amabhalunda eh** [etc. etc. balloons]
- P Good looking, of different colours
- T You tell yourself you know that when you see such a car that car is carrying people, those cars are going to the wedding, so he saw the cars and then he told himself this is the place I'm going to. Okay? There was a guy who met him, who was ushering people, so to 'usher' means to show, **wamshengisa ukuthi kufanele aye-ngala** .[He showed him where to go] I don't know **hlambe wayebuka ngendlela yokugqoka ukuthi ugqoke kanjani ngoba yena**

- wamtshengisa ini? Masenibheka kahle itende , abahlala etendeni izicukuthwane he . Ngoba phela wambona, khumbula phela lana ethi “*This one looked at his not too well-pressed trouser*” ? [...Perhaps he noticed the way he was dressed. If you can think, what type of people stay in a tent during functions? Do you remember in the story when he said.....] It means that his trousers were not too well pressed. He wasebona kufanele aye etendeni, ayobhuquza laphaya etendeni. Lakugcwele khona utshani, akugcwele khona nezidakwa, notshwala besizulu, nezinkamba. [He saw that he must stay in the tent where there were low class people like drunkards and where there is African beer.]
- P Lakuhlala khona abangaboni [It's where there blind people stay][Pupils laugh].
- T So wase ezichaza-ke ukuthi ungubani , hayi bo ngingubani kanje njenge- editor ke wase ehleka kancane ,wasemfaka eroomini lapho kukhona khona umshado.[He told him who he was, the editor, whereupon he smiles and ushers him into the room] Okay. Let's continue. [Reads]. “*This girl in winter.*”
- Ps Shame / Oh my/ shame, shame.
- T Can that be possible?
- Ps No.
- T Okay. What are they trying to tell us? Yes Khaya?
- P Kushukuthi-ke lentombazane eshadayo wayeyithanda esikhathini esingaphambili kusho ukuthi unovalo ukuthi kungenzeka esikhathini esizyo babe nezinkinga ngoba uyamazi ukuthi uyingozi. [It means that the girl who is getting married was once in love with the narrator, so the narrator is scared that they will have problems because he knows what kind of a person is Kid Playboy.]
- T Uyidanger [pupils laugh]. What do you say?
- P Kid play-boy take a girl, a girlfriend of Motsitsi saw him on the wedding, then he didn't marry that girl he pretend as he loved her.
- T As he was promising so many promises to her he. Here he was telling her that he will make fire under the ocean for her just so that she will swim in winter. Ngesikhathi kubanda yena abe ebhukuda nangumlilo laphayana, into engeke izeyenzeke nangelinye ilanga. Kusho ukuthi washeshe wakholwa. It's always the case mantombazane njalo noma engasashongo ukuthi uzokwakhela umlilo ngaphansi noma nje ethe ngizokuthengela ... Intoni manje eniyithanda kakhulu? [When she swims the fire will be there, something that will never happen. It means she quickly believed him. It's always the case, girls even if he didn't say he will make fire for you, if he will buy you..... What is it that you like very much at present?
- Ps [Make noise mentioning all the things that are in style]
- T Keep quiet. Thula! Oyedwa ngesikhathi.[Keep quiet! One at a time] This girl is talking about the expensive jean , it means if there is a guy who can buy an expensive jeans for this girl.
- P She can qoma you. [She can fall in love with you]
- T She can fall in love with you. [Pupils laugh].
- T Okay. So Kid Playboy was like that . This one started to be angry, to become angry when he saw him because he knew this one, that he took from him the only girlfriend he had ever had. So he was very angry. [Reads] “*And like commit suicide.*” So after a while what happened to this girl? To this girl for the narrator now. Who went to Kid Playboy? What happened thereafter? Yes Faith?
- P She killed herself

- T Yes she committed suicide. So to commit suicide you kill yourself.
- P Why?
- T She did that because Kid Playboy went to another girl, **wamala, hhayi nokuthi wamala wavele wambaleka-nje**. [He broke up with her. He ran away from her] He didn't go to her for a Month. **Wazihambela wathola enye intombazane**. [He got another girl]. He got another girl then he fell in love with that one so he left this one, so this one **ukuthanda umuntu-ke wasebona ukuthi umhlaba uzothini and amabhanoyi nazozonke izinto angithembise zona angisezukuzithola** [She was afraid to face the world since she loved him, she thought about all the promises that ha had promised her] then she decided to commit suicide. So love is blind **yabo mantombazane** [look girls] never ever like somebody in such a way that you may kill yourself. Do you understand? Let us continue. [Reads]
 "Kid Playboy's eyes..... jaded nerves" .
- T Okay, okay. What happens to Kidplayboy after seeing that there is a narrator from whom he took the girlfriend, his girlfriend? Yes Charity?
- P He was scared.
- T Yes he was so scared but after a while, yes? What do you want to say? What do you want to say eh Melika?
- P **UKidplayboy wasaba kwabasengathi kukhona isipoki wazulazula engesenandawo yokuhlala uyayibona leyonto [unclear]**. [The class laugh]. [Kid Playboy was afraid as if he saw a ghost].
- T Later on he saw that it was not he who scared him. There was somebody who was sitting next to the narrator. Who was that?
- P There was a girl and a baby.
- T There was a girl who was carrying a baby. So, before we continue, what do you think about that girl? What do you think, it may happen that what you think is it's not in the story. What cause Kid Playboy to be so scared if he saw that girl? Yes Nonkanyiso?
- P **Ngicabanga madam ukuthi uKidplayboy wathandana nelentombazane. Ngaphambili kwaze bafika esikhathini sokuthi bathola ingane bahlukana**. [I think Kidplayboy was once in love with this girl and they got a child but they broke up afterwards.]
- T Because **uyiplayboy phela kwake kwathandanwa. Akesizwe-ke ukuthi isho kanjalo yini incwadi yethu**. [Because he is a playboy, let us find out whether the book is saying so.] Yes let us see whether we are going to be told such a thing. [Reads]. "*I turn around I ever did see.*" Okay. This girl was carrying a baby and that is why this one was panicking .The narrator is calling her a 'Satanic soul' , meaning what? What does it mean by a Satanis soul? Mean what?
- P Evil.
- T Yes a soul of an evil person , who is evil here? It is...?
- P Kid Playboy.
- T So, **wazibonela intombazane yasemakhaya**. [He saw a homegirl] Coming from an ordinary home.
- P **Inezihluzi, igcobisa uvaselina** [With big leg-muscles and uses vaseline].
- T Not that **unezihluzi** [with leg-muscles]. [The class shouts **egcoba uvaselina** [that uses vaseline] **kanti kugcotshwani? Uqonde ukuthi yayingatheni yayinganasimanga. Kukhona ukuthi yayingatheni, kwakuyintombazanenze eyayiphakathi nendawo**. [The class makes noise.]

Okay, okay, **asiqhubekeni**. [He meant that it was just an ordinary girl Okay. okay, let's continue]. [Reads] "I'm stilldown again." So what does the voice say? What does the voice say in this paragraph?

P **Bayamukelwa**. [They are welcomed.]

T Ja. What does the voice say Mmeli?

P **Kukhulunywa ngokuthi u..... Kuthiwa akulethwe amapresents**. [They were told to bring their presents forward.]

T He was saying that all those who have presents for the bridal couple must come and bring the presents to the 'Mabhalane' or the MC of the wedding. Okay. [Reads]. "*I thought ignore him.*" Okay. What happens to the narrator here? Since er... **lo owayememezela ethi akulethwe amapresents wathi ladies and gentlemen kuqala so yona inarrator ubugentleman ayizange ibubone kuyona**. Do you understand? **Yase ibona ukuthi yona iseceleni akukho present engayiyisa ngoba kuthiweni?** [The one who was calling them to come forward addressed them as ladies and gentlemen so the narrator did not associate himself with that. I don't have a present to give, what must I say?]

P Ladies and gentlemen.

T So **mina ubugentleman akekho nangelinye ilanga umuntu oye angibize ngani?** [Even on a single day no one has ever called me what?]

P Ngegentlemen. [A gentlemen]

T [Reads]. "*A few folk.....march out.*" **Kwabanzima-ke la kwakukhona abangawaphethe amapresent Ababona. Ukuthi kungcono bakhokhe irent kunukuba bangathengela uKid Playboy. Basebevele bephuma ngamunye ngamunye, labaya ababeyisa amapresent babewujenga beshona lapho beyise amapresent, abhale phansi umabhalane ukuthi iphuma kubani, ohlalakuphi.** [Some of those folks who didn't have presents thought it was important to pay their rent rather than to buy presents for the couple, they all went out one by one. Those who had presents they took them to the MC so that he will recprd them. Do you understand? Okay. What happens thereafter? [Reads].

"*After sometime.....pop of the child.*" The pop of the child is **ubani?** [Who is it?]

P The father of the child.

T **Nayi ipresent enginayo igama lami ngingubani?** [Here is my present, my name is...?]

P **NginguMaisie**. [I am Maisie]

T **Wathi le present ekabani?** [She said who's present was that?]

P **Eka Kid Playboy**. [It was for Kid Playboy.]

T **Nobani nomkakhe** [And his wife]. What were you going to do if you were Kid Playboy? What were you going to do if you were the groom here?

P I was going to take the child and I'm going to satisfy my wife.

T You're going to take the child and continue with your wife?

T Yes and continue with my wife.

T You girls, what were you going to do?

P If I were the mother of the child I will stop the wedding.

T I am sure this is one of the ways to stop the wedding. Okay, if you were the groom now, what were you going to do? What were you going to do if you were the groom, **umakoti** [the bride]? Yes Charity?

P I am going to ask my husband why he didn't tell me before that he is got a child.

- T Hey! Was there time for that? Let us see what Playboy does. [Reads]. "*All of a suddenout of the house.*" **Wabaleka waphuma washaya wachitha watshengisa ini manje ubuqili ngoba vele ubekwenze loku nje ngoba eliqili kakade ebe ebona ihlazo** okay. [Kid Playboy ran away, this showed that he was a cunning person. The bad things he did, he did because he was a cunning person.] [Reads] "*....and the bridelate ones.*" **Esho ethuka esho wonke amagama nawabangasekho bakuboka Kid Playboy esho lo osengumakoti-ke manje uyakhala phela ngaphansi kwengubo yakhe enhle bandla yomshado, yabukhuni lendaba** okay. [The bride was crying and swearing in her beautiful bridal dress. This was a hard time for her.]
- Ps **Awu** [They express amazement.]
- T [Reads] "*After every burst.....the grass green.*" **Ngizobathengela ummeli uzobatshengisa kahle ukuthi mina nginjani** [I will have a lawyer that will show them who am I], how he must behave that is what it meant by makes the grass green. **Ngizobatshengisa kahle.** [I will show them] [Reads]. "*Up to today nobody ever hears a word about Kid Playboy. but Mr Rumour*" Who is Mr Rumour? "*goes around Territory.*"

APPENDIX 4b : THE SUIT

[Pupils have been asked to prepare for this story by reading it.]

- T Good morning 10A.
- P [Chorus response] Good morning Sir.
- T How are you this morning?
- P [chorus response] Fine. How are you.
- T I'm fine. **Mina ngisaphila.** [I'm well]. Right. We're going to do the story "The Suit". I want you you to tell me something about the story. What is the story about?
- P > R
- T Who can tell me? What is this story about?
- P > R
- T Alright. What's going on?
- P > R
- T Right, **Masinyane ake uchaze kancane ukuthi lendaba ikhuluma ngani?** [quickly tell us what the story is about.] Yes?
- P The story is about a woman who cheated on her husband and is having an affair.
- T What is the name of the lady?
- P Matilda.
- T Yes?
- P Matilda.
- T Matilda. Where is this happening? **Uma ucabanga yini engabe ibangela ukuthi uMatilda aziphathe kanje?** [What has caused her to behave like this?] What is the cause? Why does she behave like this?
- P > R
- T What's wrong? Matilda is treated like a queen isn't?
- P Yes.

- T **Kodwa manje indlela enza ngayo ithanda ukuba nenkingana yini. Lento esikhuluma ngayo into eyenzekayo, angithi iyenzeka?** [But the way she behaves is problematic. These things do happen, don't they?]
- P [Many pupils same simultaneously, in Zulu]
- T What is the cause? **Yini imbangela engenza ukuthi umuntu wesifazane aziphathe kanje? Ingabe yini inkinga yakhe? Inbange yini inkinga yakhe?** [What can cause a woman to behave like this? What is her problem?]
- P **Wayedlala isizungu** [He was drunk]. [Pupils laugh].
- T She was feeling lonely She was feeling lonely [unclear].. The gentleman was gone..... Philemon went out for work early in the morning and she has to stay whole day. Okay? Right? Let us look at this place. **Akesibheke indawo.** [Let us look at this place.] Marabastad. Do you know Marabastad?
- P No.
- T Er.... Marabastad is right in Pretoria. If he is near the railway station, there are taxis going through Marabastad. Matilda, she knew **indawo efane nasemkhukhwini** [it's a place like shacks.]
- P [Pupils laugh]
- T So, I think this place is right in Pretoria and there are different people, there are different people who live in this place so we can expect that such things do happen. And as it is said here, there was a different culture that was getting into the lives of the different people. It is common **izinto uma zishintsha nezitayela ziyashintsha** [when things change, fashions also change]. **Akujwayelekile kobantu ukuthi indoda igeze izitshe**, okay? [It is unusual in our culture that a man washes the dishes, cleans...] Right. In such cases thank you, thank you in such cases we can see people who misbehave or cheat other people, **tsotsis** [hooligans]. Right here it says: "*Matilda too appreciated her husband's kindness, and only put her foot down when he offered to wash up also.*" Philemon was always treating the lady Matilda. He used to wake up in the morning and prepare breakfast for her but the thing the thing that is most interesting here [Reads] "*(She) appreciated, appreciated her husband's kindness, and only put her foot down when he offered to wash (the dishes).*" Because he has already made the food, gave her food every time in the morning. But now, why not the dishes? Why is she not making, why is he not allowed to wash the dishes?
- P [unclear chorus responses]
- T Yes?
- P **Lo nkosikasi wayekhohlakele eneshende** [This woman was naughty, she had a secret lover.] [Pupils laugh]
- T Right. This is another idea. that this lady would not allow him to wash the dishes because because here was the window and he could easily see the gentleman who is visiting - the owner of the suit, waiting for the time when I don't know. But what about our customs? What about our culture? You have different cultures in South Africa but this thing is not in our tradition to find a man washing the dishes? Cook meals and all such things? **Wayemnika isidlo sasek'seni embhedeni** [He gave her breakfast in bed] Which of you boys will do that eh? **Into ejwayelekileyo?** [Is it a common thing?]
- P No, no..

- T **Lapha emasikweni ethu thina bantu abamnyama ukugeza izitsha, ukupheka, ukuwasha amanabukeni** [In our African culture a man does not wash dishes, cook or wash nappies...]. Right. Right. All these things, cooking, washing, cleaning But now we see men do all these things. What might have caused all these things? What we see now in our Black culture that is prevalent in our society?
- P **Umanda** [by muti]
- T What you say **umshaye ngomanda ngaphakathi** [He has been bewitched.] Do you believe that a man is doing whatever is said by a woman? ... Like to tame a bull? These things, washing, cooking, women are used to, not men. Not in our culture although these things are changing now. Nowadays (unclear) you know that men and women have equal say, having same status, having same status. What is done by women is supposed to be done by men. This is what is said now according to the eyes of the law. Right. Mm. Right now, Philemon was not knowing that the wife was cheating him. He trusted his wife, **ngenhiziyo yakhe yonke** [with all of his heart], with all of his heart But he was told by somebody. Who was that somebody?
- P A friend.
- T A friend. Name of friend? Who was he?
- P Maphikela.
- T Yes, it was Maphikela. Right. Let's look here. [Reads] "*Maphikela was standingmaybe alone.*" See that? Meaning of 'hesitancy'? **Ukungabaza**. [To hesitate]. To doubt something. He was doubtful. There is something he wants to say but it is not easy to tell Philemon. Why is this so difficult to tell him eh? What is happening? Why do you think it is so difficult? **Uma umuntu enenkinga kufanele umtshela, yini angabaze?** [If a person has a problem you must tell him, why does he hesitate?] Right. [Pupils laugh]. Right. Probably because why he was simply telling him the truth. I saw that that that and that. Why is he not telling the truth? **Yini angabaze?** [Why does he hesitate?] Right. Now this thing has been happening for three months. Three months. **Izinyanga ezinthathu**. [For three months]. It was not easy. It wasn't so easy because he had to tell him - because he had no proof. He had no proof that this thing is happening eh? He had no proof this thing is happening. He was afraid of the reaction, **umuntu uma umtshela into engemnandi** [if you tell someone bad news] is it? He would kill himself or he would kill Matilda. This thing must be..... He had to take a decision which he knew would not have a bad end. If he decides to tell him he must know that he will not be (unclear). At the same time the life of Matilda must be taken into consideration. That's why now it is so difficult. Right now, as the bus was going on [Reads] "*The bus ride..... suffocating despair*" What is the meaning of 'torturous'? What is the meaning of 'torturous'?
- P Torturous.
- T What is the meaning of 'torturous'? It says here the bus ride was so torturous to him. To ill treat somebody. To ill treat him. **Ukumhlukumeza**. [Ill treat him]. There are so many words you are using in English but they don't mean the same thing. To abuse somebody doesn't mean the same thing eh? It depends on the context er....If there's a problem, it must be solved. If there's a problem, if there's a problem there must be a solution in the end, is it? Every problem must be solved by the person involved.
- P [speaks in Zulu but it is unclear].
- T So as he was in the bus he was thinking, "**Ngizomenzenjani? Ngizomthini?**" [What must I do? What must I say?"] What was the solution?

- P Divorce.
- T Divorce? That's a solution. Right? If you didn't have a solution what was his solution then? If he had a solution, what was his solution? Yes? Yes?
- P To look after the suit.
- T Yes, but the suit was not a real visitor. Remember, Matilda's lover jumped out through the window, **wajomba ngetasitela bantwana**, in his underpants. Imagine that eh! **Ngaphandle kwezingubozakhe**. He left his suit behind. [Rememberwindow, through the window boys and girls, without his clothes.....]. The suit was to be given food, was to be taken out for a walk, the suit was also to be among guests if there was a need [Teacher speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]. That was a solution? It says here "there was a solution". It says here "Matilda had to be punished". She had to suffer right? Did Matilda think that she is being punished?
- P Yes.
- T Why?
- P **Wezwela**. [She felt the pain]
- T **Wezwela**. [She felt the pain]. Did she feel that this is real?
- P No.
- T Why you say 'no'? Yes? Why you say 'no'?
- P **Ekuqaleni wayengaboni kodwa kwagcina sekuzwela**. [Initially she didn't see but later she felt it.]
- T Right. Initially, in the beginning, she didn't feel that this was a punishment. She was not beaten. Usually when a person annoys you you are maybe you beat him. **Uma umshaya** [you beat him]. But here, she must treat the suit as a man. Wherever or when ever we leave, and mind you, if it does disappear, he says
- P "I'll kill you."}
- T "I'll kill you."}
- Matilda could now, no longer tolerate this. And then what happens in the end of the story? What is the last straw? What was the last straw? What was the solution that Philemon decided was now no longer a solution (unclear) by Matilda. What happened? What was the last straw for Matilda? The whole thing? **Wayengasakwazi ukubekezela yini imbangela?** [What was the reason that made her unable to tolerate this any more?]
- P > R
- T What happened? What incident took place? **Kukhona isehlakalo esenzeka ngaphambi kokuba azibulale**. [There is an incident that took place before she committed suicide.]
- P There was a party and then er.....
- T At that time Matilda had joined the cultural club is it?
- P And then he told Matilda don't forget the suit. He wanted the suit.
- T Yes. When the guests were there he said you must go and get the suit. What was the response that night of Matilda?
- P She must introduce the suit to the guests.
- T **Uyabona lento yenzeka kanje, ufika umuntu kuwena athi** (unclear) [This thing happened like this, a person comes to you and says.....] She realized that the situation was becoming unbearable now. Something was going to happen if she doesn't go fetch the suit. She gets it, isn't? She gets it, right? Matilda was, as she was mixing with the guests, she must feed the suit. They are now thinking what's wrong?

- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear].
- T Philemon is not part and parcel of the suit is it? The only person who is responsible for the suit is Matilda. So she must treat the visitor. It is not Philemon's visitor but Matilda's visitor. **Uma izinto zihambe kahle okwami okwakho okwami** [When things go well mine is yours and yours is mine] in community of property. What is it? What was the response from Matilda? What was the response? Yes? The truth is she was ashamed. She is not speaking the truth. Speak the truth and shame the devil. She is not speaking the truth. So now, why is she doing that? She was deceiving her guests. Why is she deceiving her guests? **Akubukeki kahle** [It does not look well.]
- P [Unclear chorus response]
- T **Yini angakhulumi iqiniso na?** [Why does she lie?] She is to blame eh? She is to blame. In fact, there is in fact, a disgrace you see. **Lento ayenzayo yokuthi afeedane ne suit iyodwa nje iyihlazo kanti ngale kwesuit** (unclear). [The act of serving the suit is a disgrace, behind the suit...].
- P Yes, yes.
- T You go deep structure now. You go down, down, down, down. You don't see the suit, but you look at, or see her feed the suit, you see only the action. But there is some hidden answer. But what is it? **Mina angazi angithi.** [I don't know]. We are only guessing, just guessing. But the suit is hiding something. What is it? Why are you afraid? You are afraid of saying to your friend ... it is better you feed the suit just to cover what is behind the whole thing. She is blind to the truth. **Engabe inkinga iyaxazululwa.** [The problem will have to be solved.] She is lying. As I said this is the last straw. **Ihlazo ukuthi utholakale ne suit endlini yakhe ihlazo.** [It is a disgrace to be found with a suit in the house.] What is said here? This gentleman, Philemon, goes to the beer hall, "**Kwa maye maye**". What is this "**Kwa maye maye**"? Let me tell you the whole thing about that word "**maye maye**". You know in the location **abelungu bayazi ukuthi abantu baphuza umqombothi emalokishini utshulala buningi** [the whites know that people drink African beer in the locations, therefore African beer is plenty in the locations.] So, if you're now, if you're now in the location you go to such places where they sell Zulu beer. This comes from this thing "**maye maye**" This comes from a cry, in fact until he is drunk **abese eyakhala-ke** [he then cries] "**maye maye**" [imitates the cry a few times]. So this is how you get this here **bengisathi-ke** [I was saying]. When Philemon arrives, comes back from the beer hall, there's something he saw and he becomes totally sober at the sight of what he saw. He was drunk but now at the sight of what he saw he became sober.
- P Sober.
- T **Baphela nya utshwala baphela finish** [He became sober]. What was it that made him become sober? What was it? **Yini eyabangela ukuthi buphele nya utshwala?** [What made him sober?]
- P Matilda is dead.
- T The woman, his better half, his right hand side, his better half Matilda, was already late. She was lying on the bed **kwasangokunye** [**] He became sober **kwasa ngokunye noma ayedakwe kanjani** [He saw things in a different way although he was drunk]. He realized how painful the solution was. This solution now, he says, Philemon says..... but this solution now leads to something - which is death. Is the solution like this? Was his intention for his wife to do this? Was his intention for his wife to commit suicide? This was not his intention eh? But his intention was to punish Matilda to make her feel that he has done something terrible. Are there any questions?

APPENDIX 4c : PROMISE

- T This is a short poem. My question is why is it so short? Promise. Promise. You see the topic here? “Promise!” and an exclamation mark. Promise. Promise. What do you say about the title “Promise”? **Izethembiso** [Promises]. The promise. Promise. **Isethembiso**. [A promise]. Promise. **Kufikani**. [What do you think?] No one? **Bekufanele sihlangane ngo 10 eSayidi isethembiso**. [If you were supposed to meet someone at ten in Port Shepstone, that is a promise.] This is usually, this may be said by somebody by somebody who has lost, lost what?
- P His mind.
- T Eh?
- P His mind.
- T It is not nice to make a promise and not keep it eh?
- P Yes.
- T There are so many promises made by people but these are not kept. These are not fulfilled. See that?
- P Yes.
- T **Siyazenza izethembiso kodwa asizifezi**. [We make promises but we don’t keep them.] And he says Promises must be kept. [Reads poem]. Right. “Indian market.” Where ? [unclear]
- P Durban.
- T Eh?
- P Durban.
- T People they say here “Indian market.” Right. [Pupils begin speaking]. Okay, okay, okay [to get their attention]. Indian market. They say here. Right now! [To keep them quiet once again]. Do you think that there is still this place? Do people still call the place the Indian market?
- P No.
- T Do you think that this place is still there?
- P No.
- T Eh? I mean in these days. I don’t know why it is called the “Indian market”. Maybe in those days people who were selling there most of the time were Indians.
- P Yes.
- T But now ... she said if we can’t meet in the market, “*She said way back in Cato Manor.*” She was going to
- P Cato Manor.
- T Also ... where is Cato Manor?
- P Durban.
- T Durban. “*She said way back in Cato Manor. Haven’t seen her since.*” Haven’t met her since. **Angiphindanga ngimbone kusukela ngalolosuku kodwa yena utheni?** [I never saw him since that day but he had said?]
- P Indian Market.
- T Right. [Reads]. “*She, pushed KwaMashu.*” [Writes on board]. Here’s Umlazi and here is KwaMashu. She looks ...
- P Yes.
- T Right. She looks at the city from the south, okay. She looks, people, look here, she looks at the city from?
- P The south.

- T The south. From the south eh? **Ninayo iCompass** [Do you have a compass?] “*I descend upon it from the north*”. I descend – descend? Opposite of descend? Opposite of descend is?
- P Ascend.
- T Ascend?
- P Yes.
- T **Yena uyakhuphuka angithi mina ..** [He is going to the north, I]
- P **Uyehla.** [to the south]
- T Why? **Kodwa-ke uma sibuyela eqinisweni umasesihleba babefanele ukuba bangaphindi bahlangane bahlukene njenge North ne-South** get it? [When we speak the truth, they were not suppose to meet because they differ at the north and the south, get it?] The other one is living in the north and the other is living south. They don’t meet at all so it is impossible that they will one day meet [unclear] **iSouth ne North akuhlangani angibasoli.** [The south and the north never meet, I don’t blame them.] Right. “*Looks like townships.*” It is this dizziness – dizziness – people, what is dizziness? [no response]. When a person is dizzy means he can’t stand on his own. A person cannot make decisions which he can stick to because he’s dizzy. It was this dizziness in the locations. **Kubamnyama.** Meaning people living in location did not care about other human beings, they were engulfed by darkness, see? [It became dark....., see?] You don’t know us. They might ill treat us. We must be cautious. Understand?
- P Yes.
- T Because we are unknown, we are unknown. The same thing is happening in the locations eh? [unclear]. Because the people, boys, one day, **Ngoba abafana babengangazi bangikhuthuza** [Just because the boys didn’t know me]. Because they didn’t know me, they didn’t know me, they robbed me eh? **Bangibamba inkunzi bangibamba.** [They pick-pocketed me]. I couldn’t even move eh. I couldn’t even move. **Ngiyakwazi loko-ke mina.** [I experienced that.] I couldn’t even move. [to a pupil] **Vele nenze njalo.** [Yes, you do so]. So I couldn’t even move an inch. And in my pocket there was money ... then within a second it was out! I was rich and now I was...
- P Poor!
- T [unclear] You see they took everything – all my cents. All. **Uyabona.** [Do you see?] So **into eyenzekayo.** [That usually happens]. So this gentleman, this gentleman could not see this lady because he was afraid of going to Umlazi eh?
- P yes sir.
- T He was afraid. And someone doesn’t keep the promise. They do not meet at the Indian market because he was afraid to go there. You go there. **Babengakwazi ukuya eMlazi, yini eyenza bangahlangani e Indian Market.** Eh? Yes. [They couldn’t go to uMlazi, why didn’t they meet at the Indian Market?]
- P They didn’t know the time.
- T Okay, okay. We have an answer now. You say time was not specified. The day also not specified. The day and time was not specified. This could be true. **Omunye afike omunye engakafiki omunye afike Monday omunye ngelinye ilanga** [One will come before the other one arrives, the one comes on Monday the other on another day.] They will never meet, I told you, because **Ngoba omunye uyiNorth omunye uyiSouth.** [The other one is north and the other one is south.] Well look here, people of different, people who are different, can make proper decisions **Abantu abahlukene.... mina ngiziphethe ngenye indlela iNyakatho**

- neNingizimu really imiqondo yethu ayifaniu.**[Different people I behave differently from other people, it is the north and the south, people's ideas differ.]
- P Yes.
- T Zulu.[unclear] I see the problem now, you see. Zulu[unclear]. [Pupils laugh].
- P I think of going home and studying my work at the same time you have work to get on **imiqondo iyaphambana** [ideas clash] there's a problem..
- T **Mina ngiqoka ibhulukwe wena ugqoke isiketi** [I were a trouser and you were a skirt]
[Pupils laugh].
- P **Uya-emfuleni** [He goes to the river ...]
- T There's a clash of ideas here. We are not of the same kind. We don't think the same thing. There's a clash of ideas so these people cannot meet. Whatever happens they will not meet because they are different, different. **Izethembiso.** [Promises]. What is it, a promise? **Kodwa-ke ukwenza isethembiso ungasigeini. Ngicela kuvele oyedwa othi mina ngiyasigcina isethembiso.** [We make promises we don't keep. I would like to see one person who who says 'I keep my promise'.]
- P Yes, I keep.
- T Only one person from you. How many of you can say "I keep promises?"
- P No one.
- T No one?
- P Yes.
- T Why? We must learn to be faithful
- P Yes.
- T and keep our promises. Akesimelapho. [Let us end there]. **Uma ngihlala eNyakathu wena uhlala eNingizimu, ngeke sifane ngoba sihlala ezindaweni ezingafani. Ngakho-ke nemiqondo yethu ngeki ifane** [You live in the north and I live in the south so our ideas are different.] You live in the north and I live in the south so our ideas are different. [Pupils laugh].

APPENDIX 4 d : FOLLOWER

- T Who can tell me the meaning of the word "Follower"? What does this word mean? The title of the poem speaks of it. The title of the poem – we get the meaning. What is the meaning of this? [no response]. What is follower eh? Yes? **Isihloko senkondlo** [The title of the poem.] Who is a 'Follower'? **Ukulandela abantu noma wena uyalandelwa.** [If you follow a person or you are followed.]
- P Yes.
- T You are a follower because you are being followed. You cannot be a follower if you're not following. This poem is about a follower. Right. You look at this poem. What is really going on in this poem? The follower must be somebody who is following the leader, see? Somebody must lead, somebody must follow.
- P Yes.
- T [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear] Er.. lets look at the poem. [Reads poem]. Literal meaning of this poem "The Follower" by Seamus Heaney. **Umlandeli, abantu abaningi babukela izenzo zomholi** [A follower, most people copy their leader's actions] and when you are small, when you're still little, you're going to follow the example set by your elders, example set by

your leaders, examples set by your teachers, your priests. They are leading but you are following. Now I would like to say to you **Lo ulandela bani yena.** [this one is following who?]

P The boy is following the father.

T Who is he following?

P [chorus answering] His father.

T Is he following his brother?

P His father.

T His father?

P Yes.

T What is the father doing?

P He's ploughing.

T [Draws cow on board] [Pupils laugh at his drawing].

P Right. [Speaks in Zulu but is unclear] Right. Er... the follower. **Uma ubaba enazo izinkomo zizeke zibe u-6.** [When a man has cows he has about six of them]. [Draws man on board] Here is the man here right? Here is the man here. [Pupils laugh]. The follower must be here [pointing to drawing]. He must be following. **Usemcane.** [He is still young]. Following. He is following while the father is busy ploughing eh? [Continues to draw stick figures of father being followed by son].

P **Izimbali ezimbi kanje.** [Such bad bad flowers] [Pupils laugh].

T Right. He's busy ploughing. He's ploughing. Here's the gentleman. The young man is following all the actions. The young man wants to see how all is being done. He realizes that his father has strong muscles is it? He wakes up early in the morning to begin the job. **Uma ulima awuvuki emini ilanga selishisa akwenziwa njalo.** [If you are a farmer you don't wake up late when the sun is hot, you don't do that.]

P Yes.

T A farmer usually wakes early in the morning **kusapholile ngoba uma sekushisa** [when it is cool because when it is hot] you become tired, is it? The early bird catches the worm. The early bird catches the worm. If you don't wake up you won't get anything. **Kuvukwa ekuseni.** [You wake up early.] "*My father worked with a horse-plough.*" **Lana-ke yini le akuzona izinkomo izinkomo ziba u-6.** [In this case it is not cows, cows are grouped in six]. This is a horse-plough. Zulus work with a split-chain, with cows, right. This is [draws man ploughing on board] the plough eh? I'm going to change the whole thing now [referring to drawing on board] **Niyawazi amahhashi?** [Do you know horses?] [continues to draw]. Right. [Pupils laugh]. Right. Right. **Kukhona izitambu ezingena la** [There are mealies that go here]. This gentleman must do the job eh? **Uma usuhamba umsebenzi,** [when the work continues], a person must be trained for this **ngeke ulisukele ihhashi uthi uyalibopha liyokukhahlela** [You cannot tie a horse it will kick you]. Right. This man is busy ploughing. That child is following him and he has wishes. The father is doing this thing and the child is following, watching whatever he is doing. **Siyezwana?** [Do you understand?]

P Yes sir.

T Whatever the father, people be very careful, whatever the father is doing is doing is taken into consideration by the child. He notices each and every move. **Siyezwana ibukhuni lento.** [Do you understand this is difficult]. Let's say if you are a child or just imagine you have your own kid, small kid eh? **Hhayi** use your imagination.. Imagine that. Whatever you do, even the way

you talk, the way you move, the way you become angry you see, all the moves you are taking is noticed by the young ones. Because he is learning something, right or wrong. Right? "*His shoulders globed like a full sail strung.*" His shoulders are moving up [demonstrates by moving his shoulders] this side and that side see? Right. "*full-sail strung*" eh? Moving this way and that way. "*Between the shafts and the furrow.*" You know shafts? Shafts of the [unclear] and the shafts and the furrow. The furrow is the row **umsele owenzeka ngesikhathi ulima** [rows that are formed when you plough]. [Draws furrows on the board, one straight and one crooked]. "*The horses strained at his clicking tongue.*" We have here what you say is a clicking sound. **Yini amaclick** sound [What are the click sounds in] "**oNgwaqabathwa**" click sound. There are clicks in African languages ... Some of the clicks **Abanye abasakwazi ukuwabiza uma bethi uyangiqala bathi uyangicala**. [Other people they don't know how to pronounce these words] [Teacher produces various click sounds and pupils try to produce them.]. Those are clicks done by the Bushmen. Bushmen. Short. They were using the click sound **amagama anjengo** [words like] **-nc,nq nx...** [Teacher provides an example of a sentence that contains the click sounds]. All these are click sounds eh? **Amaqala aqala ukweqa umgaqo.....** and also sound that are [unclear] While this man was still ploughing to give energy to the horse, to give energy to the horse the man was uttering the click sounds and then the horse gave energy. "*An expert*" Expert, what do you call this? You are expert at this thing. Expert? Yes? [no response]. Expert? Expert. Not 'expect'. [Writes 'expert' and 'expect' on board]. Expect and expert. Expect is something else. I expect you to do something. An expert is somebody who **owuchwepheshe ungoti** [expert]. Right. [Going up to a pupil who is busy talking to his neighbour] I think you must (unclear) [Pupils laugh]. Right. This man was an expert in ploughing eh? "*He would set exactly.*" This man who is the expert **Umuntu oyingweti ekwenzeni into**. [A person who is an expert at doing something]. When an expert is doing something there must be signs or skills you are having so you can be called an expert. You must be skillful in whatever you are doing **Uchwepheshe** [an expert], right? This man was also an expert at ploughing. **Wayekwazi ukuthi akale kahle imigqa yakhe ibe straight ingayi ngala nangala. Bangabi amagagasi.**[He knew how to make straight lines. [They were not like waves].]. This was his trade. "*I stumbled plod.*" Although this child was stumbling, falling, he was to be taken care of. Although he was a nuisance sometimes, he was loved. He was still young. **Nakuba esemcane ubanga isicefe ubusy uyasebenza iloku ibanga isicefe**. [Although he was a small child he was a nuisance when his father was busy working] - because he is working is it? He is working (unclear). But you can learn something important from this. The main point now "*I wanted to grow up*" I wanted to grow up "*and plough.*" Same thing. "*To close one eye*" Close one eye [demonstrates] and "*All I ever did the farm.*" I want to do something oneday as my father. Also I want to be an expert. This is the main thing Zulu See? The dog, the dog wags its tail [writes this on the board]. The dog wags each and everytime the tail must be wagged by the dog. But when he grows old – then the problem is now if the tail wags the dog **Uyabona** [You see] the father must always be in front, the parent, listen, the parent must always be in front. Understand? Each and everyone. Whether you like it or not. You are the child, you are not the parent. You must follow his or her instructions. That's why we say the dog must wag its tail. You see. If one day, mind you, if one day the tail wags the dog, then **as ons se de poppe sal dans** ! [The dolls will start dancing i.e. things go wrong] Understand?

- P Yes.
- T Once this thing happens it means something wrong is going on. **Ngamanye amazwi ayikho ingane engahola umuntu omdala** [In other words a child cannot lead an adult].
- P Yes sir.
- T **Kuphela-ke uma iseyingane.** [Only if he is still a child.]
- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]
- T **Niyezwa njalo.** [Do you understand?]
- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]
- T **Yini-ke ?** [Why?]. Why? [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear] Why, why, why, why, why? You won't do this, do that [pointing to writings on the board]. It's something like this eh? Because people don't want to listen. A person who listens will always do the right thing. **ngoba uma utshelwa uyezwa...** [Because when you are told you listen] Even the Bible says "**Ukuze uhlakaniphe, kufanele uzifundise ukulalela kuqala.**" [To grow wise you must first learn to listen]. "*I was a nuisance Not go away.*" **Lindela isikhathi sakho** [You must wait for your time]. Your turn will come when you will be the leader. When you lead you set examples because we take turns, we take turns **ngoba emhlabeni** [in this world]. We take turns. You work and move out. You work and move out. You see this is what's happening. I wonder if you can look at this thing and look at the figurative meaning of the whole thing. The literal meaning is that the child is following, must follow. But the deep structure of the whole thing, look at it, people, look at the whole thing. This is in fact a warning. You understand?
- P Yes.
- T This is in fact a warning. That we must lead as others. My suggestion is, we, as others, must lead with examples. And those examples we are showing must be copied by our followers. **Siyezwana [Do you understand?]** When you're not up you're down. Even if you're up you're going down. Even if we are up we are going down. **Ungahamba ngamabhanoyi kodwa uzobuya uze laphansi uyo sifika sikhona** [You can fly high in aeroplanes but you are going to come back to us down here]. You must set examples. These examples must be straight like lines [points to the straight furrow on board]. It must resemble straight lines, not crooked lines. When the lines we must follow and the examples we set are straight and to the point, but **kodwa abantu bakopisha izinto ezimbi** . [People imitate bad things]. People like these things, even these [draws different lines on board] people even like wrong things. People like evil things **Asazi ukuthi kwenzekani kukuwena ukukhetha umdala uyakubona okuright.** [It's up to you to choose what is right]. I think this is the main aim of the author here who writes the poem. I don't think he writes the poem for fun. He wants to show us that from whatever is done, said, by the old people we must be respectful. We must learn from their ways.

APPENDIX 4 e :OUT, OUT-

- T The poem we are going to do is written by Robert Frost. The title is "*Out, Out...*". First of all we are going to read the poem. [Teacher reads the poem]. This is what is said in this poem "Out, out." Right. There are these two words, two words "out out". Out, out. There is something that is coming out first and then there is the second, there is something that is also coming out. I will discuss sentence by sentence. [Reads] "*The buzz-saw snarled and rattled in the yard*" means that someone was doing what?

- P Cutting.
- T Yes? Yes?
- P He was busy chopping the tree.
- T He was not actually chopping but he was cutting sticks of wood. You know previously people would use sticks of wood er ... for making fire. Remember those old stoves? Old stoves with holes isn't?
- P Yes.
- T So people used to cut short sticks of wood which will fit in these holes. Thereafter they pour in the coal. That thing now is the noise made by the saw and made dust as it comes out, comes in and out *"and dropped stove-length sticks of wood sweet scented stuff when the breeze drew across it."* It was a smell isn't it? It was the smell coming out and *"And from there Vermont."* I think the name of the place and the saw snarled in the background, snarled is the noise the saw is making, snarled. What noise is this one? Who can try or take a guess [pupils make snarling noises]. The saw kept on snarling and rattling, snarling and rattling. This was happening continuously, continuously, or, or *"as it ran light"* as the saw was getting deeper and deeper the load was coming light and light and light and light. *"or had to bear a load. And nothing happened: day was all but done."* If a person works, it means he's done something. *"Call it a day."* Call it a day. *"I wish they might have said."* This now, suggestion by the author *"I wish they might have said.....from work."* I wish they would tell the boy, you've done your work for today okay. You can call it a day. Just stop. Stop it. You've worked. **Sewusebenze kanzima ,sekwenele , sewusebenzile ndodakazi, asibekele ikusasa.**
[You have worked very hard, it is enough now , you have worked my girl let us leave it for tomorrow] Parents do say that these words are praising words. He or she is praising you for the good deed you've done. To praise the boy for the work he had done. *"His sister stood beside them in her apron."* Apron? Apron? What is this? [no response] Apron? Yes? They say **iphinifan gesizulu** [Apron, in Zulu].
- P Apron is a dress it is worn by women when they are cooking
- T Yes, it's a half dress eh? Used by ladies at a hotel so that they don't get dirty. *"His sister stood beside him"* His sister stood beside him, his sister stood beside him in her apron to tell them "Supper". *"At the wordgiven the hand"*. See that? When the boy, maybe er... this saw knew the meaning of the word supper. Why do you say so? We assume that. This is an assumption. We suspect, we think that maybe the saw knew the meaning of the word, the word "supper". Why do you say so? Why do you say so? This is what we call personification isn't it? If something that neither can speak, nor moves does something, does something, that's what we call personification. It is a figure of speech. **ukwenzasamuntu.** [personification] Right eh? What did it do? As if the saw knew what the word supper meant it did something? What was it? What was it? Yes? It seemed to jump onto the boy's hand causing damage how was it? Was it a small, was it a big damage?
- P Small.
- T Was it a small damage?
- P Big damage.

- T Why would you say it was a terrible, it was so terrible?
- P Because that boy lost his hand.
- T The boy lost his hand you see. It is frightening eh? Another reason the boy screamed out ... the hand was out. As a result he was pleading something the doctor must not do. What was it? [no response]. He was pleading for the doctor must not do something. What was that?
- P [unclear]
- T Yes?
- P He was pleading for the doctor not to take his hand.
- T He said please sister, please sister tell the doctor not to amputate my, or cut off, my hand. It is so painful no? **Kwakubuhlungu kakhulu**. [It is so painful]. People, people, **ngaphandle kwesandla noma esisodwa nje , noma ucikicane uba nenkinga** isn't?. [without a hand, without one hand or without one finger you are at a disadvantage, isn't?]
- P Mmm....
- T **Izandla ziyagezana** you see? [People must help each other you see?] It ... the left hand is being assisted by the right hand to do something. But if one of them is missing it means that the person is losing in fact. The boy lost now the hand. That is now the first "out". It means that the hand was now out, see? Nobody could help. Even the doctor could not help the boy. The hand was out. The hand was out. This is now the first "out" we learn about. Now the second out. Where do we get the meaning of the second out? "*The boy's first outcry was a rueful one*" He had given the hand, as supper is it?
- P Yes.
- T The boy heard the word "supper" and the boy gave the saw the hand. It looks as if, see?
- P Yes.
- T As if he gave out the hand. "*However it was, neither refused the meeting.*" There was a meeting between two parties. Which are those two parties? [no response]. Who are involved in this meeting? "*However it was, neither refused the meeting.*" In other words, the meeting was between ... who and who? Who are the two parties involved here **Kwakungumhlango wani lona**? [What was the meeting for?]
- P [unclear]
- T Who are the two parties.
- P The saw and the boy.
- T The saw and the boy. I mean, the boy's hand is it? They had a meeting. The saw is busy and having its own supper. But the hand could not bear it and the boy also could not bear seeing his hand going off or cut off. Just think ... "*Half in appeal from spilling.*" He saw everything that is happening. He was realizing, seeing, that his hand was gone. "*As he swung child at heart.*" **Wenze njengondoda**. [You have done like a man] If a young man does the thing by old people. "*Since he was old enough spoiled.*" Everything was now spoiled. This was not good now is it? What was spoiling everything? What was spoiling everything? [no response]. You can tell us what was spoiling everything now. The whole life was spoiled. There was now a black spot on a white piece of paper. What was spoiling everything? What was spoiling this thing now?

- P The saw.
- T Yes?
- P The saw.
- T The saw was now spoiling everything because it did what it was not supposed to do. Cutting the boy's hand. "*Don't let them cut Sister!*" He was pleading that his hand not be cut off. "*But the hand was already gone.*" It was useless. The hand was already cut off by the saw, not by the doctor, by the saw. **Libukhali lelisahha lakhona niwabhasobhe.** [This saw is very sharp you must watch it.]
- P [Speaks in Zulu but it is unclear]
- T Right. Er... Mmm but the hand was gone already. "*The doctor dark of ether.*" The boy was now unconscious eh? **Waquleka.** [He was unconscious.] He was unconscious **kona ngempela** [Really] What made him unconscious do you think? [no response]. What have made the boy to be unconscious?
- P [inaudible]
- T Yes?
- P [Inaudible]
- T Pardon?
- P He saw his hand being cut off.
- T The very fact that he saw his hand being cut off. What else? What else might have caused that? [no response] Yes?
- P He had lost a lot of blood.
- T Yes, he was bleeding, bleeding. If a person bleeds too much... he faints, he collapses. Right? "*He laytook fright.*" *He was lying down there.* Who was this watcher? Who might have been the watcher?
- P Sister.
- T Maybe it was his sister. Is it?
- P Yes.
- T Mmmm "*No one believed*" He was, he or she was frightened. What was making her be so frightened? What was really frightening the nurse here? [no response]. What was really frightening the nurse? **Yini eyayisimthusa** . [What was making him scared] Yes?
- P **Ukuquleka.** [To be unconscious]
- T **Omunye angathini?** [What do the others say?]
- P **Inhliziyo yayisishaya kancane** [The heartbeat is becoming slow]
- T Right. The heartbeat, the beating of the heart was becoming...
- P Slow }
- T slower and slower} The reason was no blood, no blood **inhliziyo isishaya kancane.**[The heart was beating slowly] Once a person, once the heart beats slowly, slowly, there's something gone wrong there. "*No-one believed,*" no one believed that this thing was really happening is it? "*They listened at his heart*" **Uzwani** [What does he feel?]
- P **Inhliziyo** [The heart]
- T "*They listened nothing!*" What happened? What happened?

- P The boy died.
 T The boy
 P Died because of the hand
 T Er... "*and that ended their affairs.*" They could keep on crying but they went on with their affairs. And that is the end of everything.

APPENDIX 5 : TEST QUESTIONS

N.B. The following include only the questions. The question papers that were given to pupils included spaces for answers, a 12p font and 1.5 line space were used.

APPENDIX 5a : THE SUIT

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. The following extract is from "The Suit" by Can Themba.
Read the passage carefully and answer the questions that follow.
2. Answer your questions on the question paper.
3. Where alternatives (choices) are given, please RING the letter that you choose.
4. Please write neatly and legibly (clearly).

- 1 A swooshing noise of violent retreat and the clap of his bedroom window stopped him. He came from behind the wardrobe door and looked out from the open window. A man clad only in vest and underpants was running down the street. Slowly, he turned round and contemplated the suit.
- 5 Philemon lifted it gingerly under his arm and looked at the stark horror in Matilda's eyes. She was now sitting up in bed. Her mouth twitched, but her throat raised no words. 'Ha,' he said, 'I see we have a visitor,' indicating the blue suit. 'We really must show some of our hospitality. But first, I must phone my boss that I can't come to work today ... mmmm- er, my wife's not well. Be back in a moment, then we can make arrangements.' He took the suit along.
- 9 When he returned he found Matilda weeping on the bed. He dropped the suit beside her, pulled up the chair, turned it round so that its back came in front of him, sat down, brought down his chin onto his folded arms before him, and waited for her. After a while the convulsions of her shoulders ceased. She saw a smug man with an odd smile and meaningless inscrutability in his eyes. He spoke to her with very little noticeable emotion; if anything, with a flutter of humour. 'We have a visitor, Tilly.' His mouth curved ever so slightly. 'I'd like him to be treated with the greatest of consideration. He will eat every meal with us and share all we have. Since we have no spare room, he'd better sleep in here. But the point is, Tilly, that you will meticulously look after him. If he vanishes or anything else happens to him ...' A shaft of evil shot from his eye... 'Matilda, I'll kill you.'
- 13
- 17

QUESTIONS:**QUESTION 1**

- 1.1 What was the relationship between Philemon and Matilda?
 A. Philemon was Matilda's cook.
 B. Philemon was Matilda's boyfriend.
 C. They were husband and wife.
- 1.2 Why did Philemon return home early ?
 A. A friend told him that his wife was seeing somebody else.
 B. His wife was sick.
 C. He had to go to the post office.
- 1.3 Whom does the blue suit [Line 7] belong to?
 A. Maphikile
 B. Philemon
 C. Matilda's lover/ boyfriend.
- 1.4 Whom does the 'visitor' [Line 15] refer to?
 A. Maphikile
 B. Matilda's lover/ boyfriend
 C. The suit (4x1) 4
- 1.5 How was Matilda punished for betraying/ deceiving Philemon? 3

QUESTION 2

- 2.1 Why was Matilda weeping [Line 10]?
 A. She was frightened of Philemon.
 B. Her boyfriend ran away.
 C. Philemon beat her.
- 2.2 What happened to Matilda in the end?
 A. Philemon killed her.
 B. She killed herself.
 C. The boyfriend killed her. (2x1) 2
- 2.3 Would you say that Matilda's lover/ boyfriend was a brave man? Give a reason for your answer. 2

QUESTION 3

The following events of the story are not in correct order. You need to rearrange them so that they are in the order in which the story occurs. Please write down only the letters in the correct sequence of the story, one below the each other, in the space provided.

- A. Philemon was shocked and went home to see for himself.
- B. This punishment really humiliates her.
- C. Philemon makes Matilda treat the suit as a visitor.
- D. Philemon made breakfast for wife every morning.
- E. One morning, on his way to work, his friend told him that his wife was seeing another man.
- F. When he arrives home, he sees that it is the truth. Matilda's lover jumps out through the window leaving his suit behind. 3

QUESTION 4

Do you think that Philemon really loved Matilda? Explain your answer fully. 3

QUESTION 5

"She saw a smug man with an odd smile and meaningless inscrutability in his eyes. He spoke to her with very little noticeable emotion; if anything, with a flutter of humour"
[Lines 15 - 17]

If you were Matilda and were looking at Philemon at this point of the story, what would be your feelings for Philemon? Explain your answer. 3

[20]

APPENDIX 5b: PROMISE***Promise!*** by Gwala

- 'At least we can meet in the Indian market,'
She said way back in Cato Manor.
3 Haven't met her since.
She, pushed into Umlazi
Me, pushed into She looks at the city from the south KwaMashu.
6 She looks at the city from the south
I descend upon it from the north.
Looks like we've been both lost in the grey dizziness
9 Of out townships
that we can't meet
OR - who hasn't kept the promise?

1. What promise did the poet and his girlfriend make to each other? 2
- 2.1 Where does the girl live now? 1
- 2.2 Where does the poet live now? 1
3. “She looks at the city from the south” [Line 6]
Which city does the poet refer to in these lines? 2
- 3.1 The word “pushed” [Line 5] shows that:
A. They wanted to part
B. They agreed to separate for a time
C. They were forced to part
D. They will meet again soon. 2
- 3.2 What reason does the poet suggest for the promise not being kept? 2
- [10]

APPENDIX 5 c : FOLLOWER

Follower by Seamus Heany

My father worked with a horse plough,
His shoulders globed like a full sail strung
Between the shafts and the furrow.
The horses strained at his clicking tongue.

An expert. He would set the wing
And fit the bright steel- pointed sock.
The sod rolled over without breaking.
And the headrig, with a single pluck

Of reins, the sweating team turned round
And back into the land. His eye
Narrowed and angled at the ground,
Mapping the furrow exactly.

I stumbled in his hob- nailed wake,
Fell sometimes on the polished sod;
Sometimes he rode me on his back
Dipping and rising to his plod.

I want to grow up and plough,
To close one eye, stiffen my arm.
All I ever did was follow
In his broad shadow round the farm.

I was a nuisance, tripping, falling,
 Yapping always. But today
 It is my father who keeps stumbling
 Behind me, and will not go away.

1. In the words : “ Like a full sail strung” [Line 2] the father is compared to :
 - A. a ship in the wind
 - B. a white cloud
 - C. a wind blown sheet
 - D. a horse. 1

2. We know that the father is very good at his work because:
 - A. The horses are sweating
 - B. He is wearing farm boots
 - C. He is kind to his son
 - D. He can turn the soil over without breaking it. 2

3. The father angled his eye at the ground [Lines 10-11] because:
 - A. his eyes were hurting in the dust
 - B. he was tired
 - C. he wanted the furrow to be exactly straight
 - D. the ground was very bumpy and uneven. 2

4. How does the father make the horses pull hard? 2

5. The father picks up the little boy and rides him on his back. What does this tell us about the father? 2

6. Although the little boy want to be like his father he does not succeed, he is always stumbling and falling. Explain why this happens. 2

7. “ It is my father who keeps stumbling / Behind me, and will not go away” [Lines 23-24]
 These lines refer to a time many years later.
 Explain what has happened to:
 - 7.1 the son: 2
 - 7.2 the father 2

APPENDIX 6 : RAW SCORES OF LEARNERS' OF EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

Pupil	The Suit	Promise	Follower	TOTAL
	20	10	15	45
P1	2	4	2	8
P2	11	8	5	24
P3	14	6	12	32
P4	16	4	6	26
P5	8	4	4	16
P6	17	8	12	37
P7	7	6	6	19
P8	7	7	6	20
P9	7	6	11	24
P10	14	4	10	28
P11	7	2	4	13
P12	15	7	5	27
P13	3	8	5	16
P14	12	4	10	26
P15	10	4	9	23
P16	7	2	3	12
P17	16	4	8	28
P18	10	6	7	23
P19	15	6	12	33
P20	6	2	6	14
P21	15	3	5	23
P22	17	4	15	36
P23	5	1	2	8
P24	13	3	4	20
P27	5	1	2	8
P28	14	2	9	25
P29	11	2	5	18
P30	14	6	15	35

Pupil	The Suit	Promise	Follower	TOTAL
	20	10	15	45
P31	9	9	2	20
P32	15	6	5	26
P33	15	8	10	33
P34	17	6	9	32
P35	15	4	10	29
P36	8	5	4	17
P37	14	5	6	25
P38	18	4	15	37
P39	14	8	9	31
P40	16	9	3	28
P41	15	5	6	26
P42	17	4	4	25
P43	17	5	10	32
P44	13	8	13	34
P45	6	4	6	16
P46	11	5	4	20
P47	11	2	2	15
P48	14	4	6	24
P49	9	1	3	13
P50	17	5	6	28
P51	8	6	10	24
P52	7	6	4	17
P53	10	4	9	23
P54	6	2	5	13
P55	7	0	4	11