

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ROLE OF
CODESWITCHING IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION IN
TRANSKEI JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I BRUELLA N. GILA declare that this work:

**CODESWITCHING IN TRANSKEI JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS -
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ROLE OF CODESWITCHING IN
CLASSROOM INTERACTION IN TRANSKEI JUNIOR SECONDARY
SCHOOLS.**

is of my own. I have acknowledged all the sources used in this study in the references.

Durban, December 1995.

DEDICATION:

To my son, Inga.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of codeswitching in classroom interactions involving teachers and pupils in Transkei Junior Secondary schools. Codeswitching practices, the alternate use by teachers in these schools of two languages within the same speech event, bear most of the characteristics of bilingual communication. These characteristics include the use of lexical items, phrases and grammatical structure of one language in an utterance that is predominantly in another language. Data gathered from the schools shows that codeswitching is used to perform both academic and social functions in the classroom. As an academic tool, codeswitching functions to clarify, emphasize and to repeat the main points of the lesson, while its social function is to create interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Also, it is used by the teachers to symbolize power relations between them and their pupils.

The analysis also reveals that codeswitching phenomena occur in the following forms: *intersententially* and *intrasententially*. *Intersentential codeswitching* occurs most frequently in the utterances of the teachers. Attitudes towards codeswitching as a classroom practice are also discussed in this thesis. Finally, the implications of classroom codeswitching for educators and teaching are also examined. This study suggests that codeswitching is the inevitable outgrowth of two languages coming into contact.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study has two main objectives : To determine (a) the function and (b) the form of codeswitching in classroom interaction in a sample of Transkeian schools. As regards the first objective, I shall illustrate, through data, how teachers use codeswitching to aid the teaching and learning process, to make sense out of the subject matter in order to be understood by the pupils. To achieve this purpose, teachers make use of pupils' linguistic resources as well as their own.

Concerning the second objective, I show that in the classrooms investigated codeswitching occurs in the form of lexical switching (the insertion of a L-2 lexical item into constructions of L-1) and grammatical switching (embedding of L-2 syntactic strings into a basically L-1 speech event). In addition to the above objectives, this study discusses attitudes towards codeswitching and the implications of this phenomenon for classroom teaching and learning.

1.2 CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

In order to have a better understanding of the central aspects of this study, one first has to understand the context within which codeswitching occurs in Transkei. Transkei is caught between the influences of urban life and rural life. Social identities of its population

are determined by social factors such as the languages one speaks, one's educational background, social status and wealth. Of importance in this discussion is the issue of languages spoken. Transkei has become a cosmopolitan region, and consequently, diverse cultures have unavoidably come into contact. This situation has, therefore, necessitated the need for a commonly shared language for effective communication. English and Xhosa are the languages now used for cross-cultural communication by the different ethnic groups in this region. Schools, among other settings, provide an environment for more cross-cultural communication to occur. It is against this background that codeswitching between English and Xhosa in Transkei is a common phenomenon even in the classroom context. This study will examine the role of English/Xhosa codeswitching in some Transkei Junior Secondary schools.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This work consists of four chapters. Chapter One presents the aim of the study and its organization, literature review and some basic concepts used in the study. Chapter Two deals with data collection procedures, analysis, interpretation and attitudes towards codeswitching. Chapter Three discusses the implications of the study for educators and for classroom teaching. Chapter Four is the conclusion.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

Societal bi/multi-lingualism invariably influences communication within the classroom, the classroom itself being an integral part of the society's socialization process. The

complexity of cross-cultural communication within a multilingual or bilingual community is unconsciously transferred to the classroom thus causing the socialization process in both the school and the community to be intertwined. Bilingualism during classroom teaching needs, therefore, to be viewed as a by-product of this relationship between schools and society. In the light of this assertion, codeswitching as a means of communication in the bi/multilingual classroom seems inevitable.

Classroom codeswitching practice has met with strong opposition by some language purists (e.g. Hatch, 1976), and with acceptance by others (e.g. Martin Jones 1988, Gumperz, 1982). Accounts from a number of sources document a range of arguments pertaining to the use of codeswitching for classroom purposes, some of which are affirmative and some negative. I shall briefly discuss some of these arguments and also show how they have influenced the recognition of codeswitching as a teaching strategy.

In Auerbach (1993) arguments for and against classroom bilingualism, particularly in the United States, are examined. For example, in the United States some educators strongly support the English only policy, which says that only English is acceptable as a medium of communication within the confines of an ESL classroom. In order to implement this policy, teachers are advised to penalise students who resort to using their L1 in an ESL classroom including codeswitching.

Those who support the English only policy argue that the use of pupils' L1 during ESL classes will impede progress in the acquisition of English (e.g. Auerbach 1993:10). Of particular interest here is that motivations for the English only argument in the United

States are the same as in South Africa. Prior to the first democratic general elections in 1994, the language policies of South Africa were discriminatory. Therefore, during the transformation period the democratization of language had to be given top priority. This, consequently, has given rise to the new language policy that accommodates codeswitching. The issue of English only for classroom language teaching is relevant in this study in that it is through it that codeswitching has come to be acknowledged as a topic for research and be recognised as a resource in many countries. It also provides the theoretical framework within which codeswitching can be researched. The question of whether codeswitching should be incorporated in curriculum planning as an officially recognised teaching and learning strategy has been dealt with in current research documents (e.g. the ANC Education Draft Policy Paper 1994) and the New Concurrent Approach by Jacobson (1979 : 119). Both documents acknowledge the need for the use of codeswitching as a teaching and learning strategy necessary in the classroom. Whilst the ANC document advocates for the use of the pupils' L1 and other languages during teaching, the new approach provides guidelines as to how these languages can be used concurrently and effectively by teachers.

Next in this discussion I shall look at some of the literature that seeks firstly to explain the concept of codeswitching and, further, argue for the use of one's native language together with another language, in the classroom.

Codeswitching, the alternate use of two languages in a single utterance, has attracted much attention from far and wide (e.g. Grosjeans 1982, Eastman 1992, Zentella 1981). Within the classroom context, and particularly, ESL classroom teaching, this, as noted

above, has been so particularly because codeswitching is seen by most as a challenge to the frequently asserted English only ideology. Phillipson 1992, quoted in Auerbach (1993:189), says the following in the context of his attack on the use of English only in classroom interaction:

"The ethos of mono-lingualism implies the rejection of the experience of other languages, meaning the exclusion of the child's most intense existential experience".

Researchers who, like Phillipson, advocate for codeswitching have viewed this phenomenon from linguistic, syntactic, social and educational theoretical perspectives. Classroom codeswitching research conducted by Milk 1981,1982 and Guthrie 1984, concentrate specifically on the linguistic aspect of this phenomenon.

Some scholars of codeswitching believe that speakers use language, not only to express social identities or because of other situational factors, but also to exploit the availability of linguistic choices for purposes of conveying intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature, (e.g. Gumperz as quoted in Myers-Scotton 1993:57). Both Hymes and Gumperz regard linguistic choices as not merely choices of content but as discourse strategies and social phenomenon. Hymes further argues that choices are properly explained within a taxonomy providing 'rules of speaking' and he also stresses that linguistic choices are situated meaning (Hymes as quoted in Myers-Scotton 1993:58). These contributions imply that speech repertoires are a function of socio-cultural values and patterns of behaviour of the group.

Other researchers of codeswitching view codeswitching as a verbal strategy which represents the ways in which the linguistic resources available to individuals vary according to the nature of social boundaries in the community (Di Pietro 1977; Gumperz 1982a; Kachru 1977; Heller 1988; Valdes 1981).

A very important view is one that sees social consequences as motivating the choice of linguistic codes by speakers is presented by Myers-Scotton (1992:165). She, however, does not down-play the importance of social membership reflected in the way people speak (Labov 1972), but emphasizes that the actual choice of codes made by speakers is determined by the personae they wish to project, "both to identify themselves as members of certain groups and to negotiate their own position in interpersonal relations" (Myers-Scotton, 1992:165).

For Myers-Scotton, the choice of a certain code rather than the other is motivated by what she terms the principle of negotiation. To use her own words: "All talk is a negotiation of rights and obligations and that different code choices point to specific balances" (Myers-Scotton 1992:166).

In their study on classroom language use, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) concentrate on the form of codeswitching patterns in the data they audio-recorded. The present study, however, aims at investigating not only the form but also the role of codeswitching in classroom interactions of teachers with pupils at Junior secondary level. The study is informed by earlier research on classroom discourse by Milk 1981,1982, Grice 1975, Guthrie 1984, Zentella 1981, which has given prominence to the analysis of classroom

discourse functions. In addition, these studies focus on how teachers and learners get learning and teaching done with two languages in bilingual classrooms, and the way in which language values are transmitted through communicative choices.

Another theoretical influence on this study is the markedness model of codeswitching outlined in Myers-Scotton (1992) where she observes that when speakers engage in codeswitching, it is a negotiation of some type regarding the rights and obligations balance between speaker and addressee. The basic premise of this model is that all linguistic choices are indexical of projected rights and obligations balances in interpersonal relations. Myers-Scotton further differentiates between what she calls marked and unmarked choices of codeswitching. Codeswitching as an unmarked choice is the expected code in a given context. On the other hand a code choice is said to be marked when it is not expected by both interlocutors.

Codeswitching in bi/multilingual settings occurs both as a marked choice and as an unmarked choice depending on the social demands of a particular situation. Peires (1994:19), briefly discusses and illustrates the use of codeswitching as a marked choice to signal educational status and social prestige in social interaction. Developing this point further, Adendorff 1993 in his study of Zulu/English codeswitching concludes that codeswitching as a marked choice in the classroom specifically is used to facilitate interaction and to perform other vital discourse functions beyond the micro-linguistic function. He further asserts that the ability to recognize and interpret a contextual cue used by an interlocutor indicates that participants in the interaction share a common knowledge of the code. In a sense this means that codeswitching is known and expected.

A more detailed discussion of the markedness model and codeswitching is provided in the chapter on functions of codeswitching.

Other recent research findings on Xhosa/English codeswitching (e.g. Gxilishe 1992, Peires 1994) suggest that such codeswitching serves a useful function. Peires (1994:16) argues that codeswitching is a communicative skill exploited by bilinguals who are fluent in both Xhosa and English. Along similar lines, Mugoya (1991) argues that seventy percent of instruction in Umtata area school classrooms is done in English and the remaining thirty percent in Xhosa or codeswitching. Although Gxilishe in his research on Xhosa/English codeswitching does not strictly concern himself with the classroom context, but agrees that codeswitching is a valuable communicative tool.

Adendorff (1993:143) has endorsed some of the observations made by these researchers, namely that codeswitching is a communicative resource used by bilinguals to execute certain speech acts. He further asserts that codeswitching enables teachers and pupils to accomplish various social and educational objectives in the classroom.

Building on the literature reviewed here, in this study, I shall investigate the role of codeswitching in classroom interactions involving teachers and pupils in Transkeian Junior Secondary Schools.

Before I look into this issue, I shall first explain some of the basic concepts that I shall be using in the data analysis, especially in the discussion of the form of codeswitching. These concepts include the following : *intrasentential codeswitching*; *intersentential*

codeswitching; lexical switching and tag switching. Jacobson (1978 : 21) defines *intersentential codeswitching* and *intrasentential codeswitching* as follows : *Intersentential switching* occurs when the speakers (after they have completed an utterance in one language) switch to another language as illustrated in example (a) below.

(a) *INTERSENTENTIAL SWITCHING*

Ababantu balapha baphakamile, they like decent occasions. [these people from this place are aloof, they like decent occasions.]

Babetyebile benemihlaba emininzi, they were called the aristocrats. [They were rich and they had plenty of land.....]

In *intrasentential switching* the syntactic strings (for example, phrases) of one language are embedded into a sentence of another language, as shown in example (b).

(b) *INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCHING*

Mna I prefer *le ya-tonight I-show*. [I prefer tonight's show]

This boy *yakhe* was likeable *kumntu wonke*. [This boy of his was likeable to everybody]

Baker (1980 : 3) emphasises that *intersentential switching* occurs between sentences or at sentence boundaries, whereas *intrasentential switching* is within sentences.

Further, Jacobson (1978) differentiates *lexical switching* from *intrasentential switching*. For Jacobson, *lexical switching* involves the incorporation of lexical items from the speaker's second language into an utterance in his/her mother tongue, as shown in example (c).

(c) *LEXICAL SWITCHING*

Zithini ireasons zakhe? [what are his reasons?]

I-contour lines ndizazela kwa-Geography. [I know about contour lines from Geography]

The last concept, *tag switching*, is illustrated in example (d). Poplack (1980), quoted in Appel and Muysken (1987 : 118), defines *tag switching* as the insertion of a tag in one code into an utterance which is otherwise in the other code. Examples of such tags are 'you know', 'I mean', 'so' etc. This feature is illustrated in example (d).

- (d) T:so *unokothuka xa enokuva kusithwa ilizwe liphelile.* [so he should be shocked to hear that the world has ended.]
so *le mini ke ngoku yayiza kufika.* [so this day was to come.]

CHAPTER 2

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I focus on how I set about finding answers to one of the central questions of this study and on what my analysis revealed, namely, about the role that codeswitching plays in selected Transkeian classrooms. I report on the functions of codeswitching as revealed by my analysis of the lessons taught in these classrooms. I report also on teacher's attitudes towards codeswitching as partially revealed in their responses to the informal questionnaire (see Appendix) used for data collection. Finally, I will speculate on pupil's perception of codeswitching in the classroom.

Data analysis revealed that codeswitching is a resource that serves numerous functions, including : to negotiate meaning through clarification by repetition and reiteration, to serve a referential function, to perform a phatic function, as means of expressing power and as a tool to present unmarked and marked code choices. A more detailed analysis of these functions with data examples will follow later in the discussion.

2.2 DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION PROCEDURES

2.2.1 THE DATA SOURCES

For the purpose of gathering data I have used two junior secondary schools. Both schools are located in areas that are a few kilometres from town. My choice of these particular schools has been motivated by the following factors: first, these schools were easily accessible to me in terms of their location; second, at the time they were the only schools available for data collection as other schools were busy with sports and other activities.

The student population of these schools is drawn from the surrounding semi-rural areas. Most of the pupils have been students in these schools from junior primary level. In both schools Xhosa is a shared mother tongue amongst the teachers and their pupils while English is the prescribed medium of instruction. Codeswitching is used during classroom instruction.

2.2.2 METHODS OF COLLECTION

In collecting data I used a variety of procedures. I audio-recorded classroom interactions of teachers and pupils while the lesson presentation took place. These I transcribed for the purposes of subsequent analysis. Apart from the audio-recordings, I observed (as a non-participant), other classroom factors such as teacher-pupil mannerisms including facial expressions, gestures and responses of the pupils related to codeswitching. In addition, I administered a questionnaire and

informal interviews with teachers after they had listened to the recordings. The idea was to elicit more information which I thought would contribute to the main purpose of this research, that is to find out more about the role of codeswitching in the classroom. My other motive in applying these procedures was to hear from the teachers themselves why they use different codes when presenting lessons, rather than depending much on what I interpret as the reason for classroom codeswitching. I also wanted to observe if there are any recurring patterns of switching, and if there are, what do they signify.

2.2.3 DATA

Initially I had hoped to collect codeswitching data of both participants, that is teachers and pupils. However, it turned out that teachers did most of the talking in the classroom. The only participation of pupils was limited to responses to questions asked by their teachers. As the data will show, most of the utterances presented here are those of the teachers and few of the pupils.

The data itself comprises of two History lessons taught to standard six pupils, a General Science lesson taught to a standard five class, and an English lesson for standard six (see Appendix II, pp 55-68). The variation in the class level is due to the fact that both schools have a low student enrolment. This, therefore, made it impossible for me to observe the same levels, for instance, standard five A and B, standard six A and B as I had initially planned. I have chosen lessons from these subjects because according to my own experience, this is where most of codeswitching occurs. Teachers explain and illustrate points when teaching these

subjects. This, therefore, apparently necessitates a need for another linguistic resource to achieve the aim of the lesson. Also, teachers who teach these subjects depend much on language to explain, interpret and contextualize the content of the lesson.

In the section that follows, I shall discuss and interpret selected interactions relating them to the overall purpose of this study.

2.3 FUNCTIONS OF CODESWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM

2.3.1 CODESWITCHING AS A DEVICE FOR CLARIFICATION AND EMPHASIS

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In most instances teachers used codeswitching to repeat the main points of the lesson. For instance a teacher may say something in English and thereafter repeat it in the pupil's mother tongue for purposes of emphasis. The data shows that at times teachers repeat certain points by switching from one code to the other in order to reiterate statements thus clarifying the main points of the lesson. In this sense, codeswitching is used to re-emphasize a point so as to alert the pupils of its importance. Some teachers revealed to me, through their verbal responses to my questions, that repetition goes hand in hand with codeswitching, sometimes intended and sometimes not. When intended, codeswitching is used to make the lesson more understandable. However, other teachers stated that repetition and codeswitching are habitual. One may repeat oneself unconsciously, the switch of languages is also spontaneous. This is what Jacobson (1978) terms *instantaneous*

switching. Codeswitching as a device for emphasis and clarification is illustrated in the following data taken from (i) a history lesson; and (ii) a general science lesson.

In the data from the history lesson (i) below, the teacher presents a lesson on French Revolution to a class of twenty pupils. Apparently this lesson is being taught for the very first time to the pupils. In explaining, the teacher uses both English and Xhosa alternately, giving examples where necessary and summarizing the core of the lesson content. Codeswitching is used quite often during the explanation process.

Extract (i) :

T: There can be wars or revolts during the revolution or there can be no wars or revolts during the revolution, Do you get what I mean?

Yes! (pupil's responding)

No wars, no marches during the revolution. When it is violent, there are wars. When it is non-violent there are no wars, it just happens smoothly, (then she switches) *Akukho zingxwaba-ngxwaba, 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?

T: (lesson progresses) Then let's come to the causes of the revolution *izizathu ezabangela ukuba kubekho ezangxwaba-ngxwaba zikaRulumente waseFrance*. The king who had unlimited powers had a warrant of arrest and its name was the letter de caché. (she repeats this sentence).

The principle of this letter was that everybody who was the enemy of the king was arrested without trial (this is repeated also) , *umntu wayebanjwa avalelwe kuba etheni? etheni? kuba elutshaba lokumkani*. Do you get what I mean? *niyayiva lento ndiyithethayo?*

[The reasons that caused what? those conflicts of the change of the government of France. A person was because he is? he is? because he is the enemy to the king.]

In Extract (i) above codeswitching is used as part of the translation process from the medium of instruction, English, to the pupil's L1. What motivates this linguistic behaviour can be explained in many ways. One of these is the teacher's assumption that facts are hard to grasp due to the pupils' limited competence in English. Therefore, the teacher chooses to use a more understandable code at this stage, Xhosa, hence she translates English statements into Xhosa.

With the General Science lesson (ii) (see below), the topic 'ENERGY' is taught to a class of fewer pupils and almost all the talking is done by the teacher. Pupils are involved to a certain extent by giving responses to questions asked by their

teachers, a common strategy used by both teachers. As in the history lesson, the teacher uses much of codeswitching during explanation. He also uses codeswitching to provide humour and to rebuke pupils.

Extract (ii) :

T: The forms of energy. *Okokuqala* [firstly] class, where or what is energy?

P: Food! (pupil's response)

T: Emmh yes! we get energy from food but we have a name '*ukutya*' (food), is one of those sources we get energy from but *sithi yintoni okwakutya xa sikubiza?* [what do we call that food?]

T: *NguNontombi yedwa ozakuphendula kule class?*
[Is it Nontombi only who is going to answer in this class?]

T: Okay *ubuzakuthini wena? ubuzakuthetha? thetha ke.*
[what were you going to say you? were you going to talk? talk then.]

Of interest also is the fact that the introductory statements in both Extracts (i) and (ii) are in English followed by an elaboration of facts in English and Xhosa. The underlying implication could be that English is the language that is supposed to be given priority because of its official status and then Xhosa is a code used to help

clarify things that are otherwise not clearly understood. Following Peires 1994, Xhosa is, in a sense, used here as a learning aid.

2.3.2 CODESWITCHING SERVES A REFERENTIAL FUNCTION

Appel & Muysken (1987:118) explain that a referential function involves a lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject. This therefore means that certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. Additionally, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept. Given this situation, all topic-related switching may be thought of as serving the referential function of language.

The data that I am using to illustrate this function of codeswitching is drawn from History Extract (iv), General Science Extract (ii) and Geography lesson Extract (iii) and (v). In most lesson presentations there is a noticeable recurring pattern of this function. Teachers use English to introduce all topic-related statements and phrases and then switch to the 'other code' for elaboration of facts, substantiation and general explanation. In the History lesson Extract (i) this is quite evident. The teacher introduces the topic in English and further expands on it in Xhosa and later in English. With the General Science lesson Extract (ii) this is also the pattern. Concepts that are topical and are important are introduced in English and further explained in Xhosa and then back to English again. Some examples of the

data from the Geography and General Science lesson will illustrate this point further.

Geography lesson, Extract (iii) :

T: We are now looking at the size and shape of Transkei, that is *ubungakanani be Transkei ukuthi i Transkei le ingakanani i-size and position yayo.*

[what is the size and position of Transkei?]

T: Transkei is an example of a developing country, Std 6. The great Kei river forms a boundary or a border which separates Transkei from other countries. When we are talking of a boundary we mean *ke umda*, a boundary.

[we mean then a boundary].

It is clear from the example above that the concepts 'size' and 'position' are topical. The teacher later defines them in Xhosa and then again in English. In the Science Extract (ii) the topic 'ENERGY' is introduced in English and the forms of energy are explained in another code. In the example used below, referential phrases like 'that is' which are followed by an explanation in Xhosa are topical. They serve to introduce and guide the listener to what is to come. These are in English and what is to be discussed is in a mixture of codes. Here is an example:

[continuation of geography lesson (iii)] :

T: That is *ubungakanani be Transkei*.

That is *yi-size yayo*. [its size]

Some teachers, however, use Xhosa to express topical issues and then move on to English to explain in detail. Examples of such cases are found in the History and Geography lessons. In the former lesson almost the whole introduction is done in the pupil's mother tongue whereas in the latter there is variation. I shall consider two extracts from these lessons to show this deviation in the pattern.

Geography lesson, Extract (iv), (v) :

(iv) T: OK, *namhlanje sizakuthetha ngelesson entsha*.

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

Yintoni icolonisation? what is colonisation ?

(v) T: *Kuthwa apha iTranskei* is a broken landscape

[it is said here Transkei.....]

Xa sithetha ngetourists sithetha ngaba-khenkethi.

[when we talk of tourists we talk of tourists].

As illustrated above the pattern observed earlier on is altered here. Topical concepts remain in English though the introductory statements are in the pupil's

mother tongue. What this implies is that English seems to be an appropriate code for certain speech functions, while the pupil's mother tongue, Xhosa, is suitable for expressing topical concepts, for example, 'ENERGY' in the general science lesson.

2.3.3 CODESWITCHING PERFORMS A PHATIC FUNCTION

Most codeswitched utterances are characterized by a change in the pitch of the speaker's voice either higher or lower than before. The pitch can also be high and forceful to express certain emotions such as anger and joy. This variation of pitch coupled with codeswitching is significant in that it enables the speaker to achieve a certain desired effect in his speech, as mentioned earlier on. Also, the meaning of the message conveyed is intensified. On the evidence of this data the change of pitch in codeswitched speeches is used to perform phatic functions like a social function, for example, expressing solidarity. This is consistent with (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1975, quoted in Myers-Scotton, 1992) in their study of Spanish-English codeswitching in the United States. They refer to the phatic function as metaphorical switching. By this it is meant that the language switches relate to particular kinds of topics or subject matters and not a change in social situation.

I discovered in my data that teachers make use of this pitch change in combination with codeswitching in order to carry out numerous speech acts, during their lesson presentation, that have largely a phatic function namely, to reprimand inattentive pupils, to provide humour, to pledge solidarity and to identify with the pupils. In

this respect, codeswitching can be seen as serving a social role in the classroom. Social relationships are created and sustained through the use of a shared code like the mother tongue. Pupils seem to feel comfortable and closer to their teachers when they are addressed in the code they understand. This is substantiated by their response to the teacher's use of their L1 and the tone to mock and also reprimand other pupils. Of significance also here is the fact that pupils recognize the change in tone and the switch and interpret its intention appropriately. I regard codeswitching in this instance as an unmarked choice. I shall consider some data from History (vi); and General Science (vii) lessons to show how codeswitching performs this function.

(vi) T: [History lesson]

In France people were divided into 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 what the question is let alone the answer].

Yes! Songezo [says the teacher rather mockingly, the tone is strong and threatening, she then switches.]

Benditshilo ndathi ulele kwedini.

[I told you that you are asleep little boy]

[This remark is followed by great laughter from the rest of the class, the atmosphere becomes relaxed immediately.]

(vii) T: [General Science lesson]

[the teacher is disturbed by the lack of participation from the class, only one pupil is actively involved]

NguNontombi yedwa ozakuphendula kule class?

[Is it Nontombi only who is going to answer in class?].

[one boy raises his hand in response to the teacher's commanding question]

T: Okay, *ubuzakuthini wena? ubuzakuthetha? thetha ke.*

[what were you going to say? were you going to talk? talk then.]

In both extracts illustrated above codeswitching coupled with the variation of tone in the teacher's utterances adds to the messages either a positive or negative affect (i.e. emotion). The history teacher uses the switch to the pupil's tongue to get his attention and that of the class as a whole. The switch to Xhosa is a source of humour and relaxation, and a means of restoring the interest and attention of the pupils. By contrast, it can be used to threaten or show the seriousness of the situation.

With the general science lesson, codeswitching, again, is used to express emotion of both anger and friendliness. For instance, Xhosa is used to reprimand pupils who do not participate in the lesson. At the same time, however, it is also used to create a friendly atmosphere in the classroom. In other words codeswitching is used strategically to forge relationships with the pupils. This proves effective as the statement by the teacher, “Is it Nontombi only who is going to answer in class?” (Extract (vii)) is followed by a response by one of the pupils. The teacher then lowers her tone and makes her voice softer. The aim is to apparently reduce the tension and create an atmosphere of friendliness with the pupils. In a sense she is using what Brown and Levinson (1978) call the solidarity and politeness strategy to establish solidarity and identify with the pupils.

I think that the use of a commonly shared code during teaching process as a strategy to achieve certain goals such as those mentioned earlier on is important in that the teacher wants her message to be clearly understood by the pupils. Perhaps this may not have been possible if English was used. Once again codeswitching plays an important role, that of helping teachers achieve their desired goals in classroom teaching.

2.3.4 CODESWITCHING AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING POWER

Asymmetrical power relations exist between teachers and the pupils in most classrooms throughout the world (Baynham in Collingham, 1988:122). In observing primary school classroom interaction, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)

found that the dominant pattern was Teacher-Initiation-Pupil Response-Teacher follow up. This ensured that teachers had twice as many turns and that they had both the first and the last word in each exchange. Dinsmore (1985) makes a similar observation concerning classroom interaction in 'communicative EFL' and notes that here, too, the abovementioned pattern prevails. Asymmetrical power relations are apparently also evident in the use of codeswitching. Whereas there are strong constraints on codeswitching by pupils, teachers can move between English and Xhosa at will. The policy of the Transkei Education Department does not authorize the alternate use of both languages, that is the medium of instruction and the pupil's mother tongue by teachers when teaching. However, in practice sanctions are applied only in the case of the pupil. For example, drawing on my own past experience as a student, we were punished for using our mother tongue within the classroom and the entire school premises. Failure to comply with this rule would be seen as a violation of the school rules. Our teachers on the other hand were free to use whatever language in class and among themselves. There were no rules that deterred teachers from codeswitching. There are many interpretations for this state of affairs. My own interpretation of this situation is that teachers, by virtue of the status and position they hold in the classroom, enjoy a more powerful position whereby they manipulate the use of languages to suit their goals in the classroom. One other reason could be that because of their competence and proficiency in several languages, teachers become more powerful in terms of position than their less empowered pupils.

Fairclough (1989) shares this view and further explains that power has to do with the powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of the non-powerful participants to discourse. The constraints apparent in the classroom context are constraints on what Fairclough calls subject positions of teachers to pupils. The language in which contributions are made in class by the pupils are determined by the norms of the school.

On the basis of my own observation during data collection, some pupils use Xhosa in their interactions with the teacher but then quickly change to English or even translate the Xhosa expression they have used into English even before the teacher notices. At times, some pupils would use a Xhosa word, apologise for it, e.g. "sorry teacher" and then continue in English. When this occurs some pupils usually say "*hai*" meaning 'no don't use Xhosa'. That the pupil's other code is prohibited in the classroom is common knowledge in Transkei schools.

In some Transkeian schools rules stipulate that pupils should not use their mother-tongue within the school premises and during classroom teaching. Teachers seem not to be affected by these rules. Teachers make use of the different codes, amongst other reasons, to show authority and, therefore, power, to command respect, and to gain attention through reprimanding as shown in Extract (vi) & (vii) earlier. Also, some teachers ask questions in English and again in the pupil's first language, whereas other teachers use Xhosa solely to ask questions. This pattern has been consistent throughout the presentation of most lessons.

Responding to the question "Why do you ask questions in Xhosa?", most teachers felt that they want to be understood so that pupils can respond. Other teachers claimed that pupils do not understand questions asked in English. Quite remarkably, some pupils respond in English even if the questions are phrased in their mother tongue. This behaviour by pupils is in agreement with my previous claim that their language choices in the classroom are constrained by the rules of the schools. Codeswitching in the classroom is used to emphasize power, authority and status. Teachers may not be consciously aware of this, but this is the implication of what I observed during the interactions.

2.3.5 CODESWITCHING AS A TOOL TO PRESENT UNMARKED AND MARKED CODE CHOICES

The use of the pupil's mother tongue during teaching and learning seems to be a familiar occurrence in some Transkeian schools. Pupils are accustomed to the use of both languages interchangeably by the teachers in the classroom. Codeswitching is, therefore, an unmarked choice in that both participants, that is the teacher and the pupils expect codeswitching to occur in the classroom. In some cases teachers ask questions in Xhosa and get responses in the same code. An example of this case is the history lesson, Extract (xii), where mostly Xhosa was used in class. As noted in Chapter 1, Myers-Scotton (1992:172) and Peires (1994:17)) in their research have discussed the function of codeswitching as unmarked and marked code choices. Myers-Scotton has developed the markedness model concept around this function of codeswitching. Peires has also

observed and explained codeswitching as the unmarked choice in function from her Transkeian data. I shall use some of their data and more to illustrate this function.

HISTORY LESSON : EXTRACT XII

T: [teacher introduces a lesson]

OK. *namhlanje sizakuthetha ngelesson entsha, niyeva?*

[Today we are going to talk about a new lesson, do you hear?]

P: *Siyeva* [we hear]

T: *Ndithini kwedini?* [what do I say little boy?]

P: *Ndicela undicacisele mfundisi.*

[Could you please explain Sir].

EXTRACT FROM [MYERS-SCOTTON 1992 : PAGE 172] :

Passenger(Swahili): *Nataka kwenda posta.* [I want to go to the post office.]

Conductor(Swahili): *Kutoka hapa mpaka posta nauli ni senti hamsini.* [From here to the post office, the fare is 50 cents.]

Passenger gives conductor a shilling from which there should be 50 cents change.

Conductor(Swahili): *Ngojea change yako.* [Wait for your change.] Passenger says nothing until a few minutes have passed and the bus nears the post office where he will get off.

Passenger(Swahili): *Nataka change yangu* [I want my change.]

Conductor(Swahili): *Change utapata, Bwana.* [You'll get your change, mister.]

Passenger(English): I am nearing my destination.

Conductor(English): Do you think I could run away with your change?

EXTRACT FROM [PEIRES 1994 PAGE 17] :

Security guard: *Uyifundela ntoni le ncwadi?* [why do you read this book?]

Customer: *Ndiza kuyithenga.* [I am going to buy it]

Security guard: *Uzakuyithenga, ke uyifundela ntoni?* [You are going to buy it, then why are you reading it?]

Customer: This is a magazine I use and I want to know whether the articles I want are in here. Must I pay for something when I am not sure it is what I want?

- Manager: *Yintoni ingxaki?* [What's the problem?]
- Customer: *BendiPAGE(a) le magazine ndifuna ukubona ukuba inazo ezi article ndizifunayo and this man iyandibamba.* [I was paging through this magazine in order to find out whether the articles I want are in here and this man is grabbing me].
- Manager: OK, OK (to security guard) *mfowethu.* (to customer) It is all right my friend.

In the three extracts above, codeswitching is, variously, to present the unmarked and marked code choices. With the History lesson (Extract (xii)) drawn from my data, codeswitching as the unmarked choice facilitates communication and is used to probe for responses from the pupils in a sense encouraging active participation and involvement. Also, its use provides an opportunity for pupils to express themselves in their own language comfortably and without fear of making mistakes in the other language. Peires, on the other hand, claims that codeswitching in her data is marked and that the switching is intentional. She claims that it serves a social purpose namely that of asserting the speaker's rights and also to emphasize a social point. Added to this, the switching is accommodative in that it involves other speakers besides the interlocutors. Myers-Scotton sees codeswitching as the unmarked code choice in her data that is used for unmarked rights and obligations balance between passenger and conductor. The switch from Swahili to English is of significance here in that it is

a "negotiation that indexes a relationship other than the one symbolised by the choice of Swahili." Myers-Scotton (1992:173).

According to Myers-Scotton, English is a language of authority associated with a certain social class that holds positions of power and prestige in Kenya. In a sense, the switch to English is a sign of authority or status on the part of the speaker. The switch is expected.

Having discussed and illustrated the various functions of codeswitching (e.g. clarification, repetition, emphasis..) as revealed in the data, I shall now examine the form that codeswitching takes in the classroom.

2.4 THE FORM OF CODESWITCHING

My data reveals that teachers engage in many forms of codeswitching while they teach. Some of these forms are what Jacobson (1978:21) terms *intersentential switching* as opposed to *intrasentential switching*. As pointed out earlier, in *intersentential switching*, speakers switch to the other code only after they have completed a sentence in one code while *intrasentential switching* involves the embedding of L-2 syntactic strings into a basically L-1 speech event. These forms of switching can be seen from the following examples :

Intersentential switching

- (xii) English lesson- teacher explains the contents of a poem :

T: *Kuthiwa ke lo mntana ngokuba esiya egoduka.* [He would think of that awful day, the bad day, the judgement day.....]

[It is said that this child as he went home.....]

- (xiii) Geography lesson - teacher explains in English and then switches to Xhosa from time to time :

T: ... and yet also it is very mountainous, Transkei at the same time approximately 70% of it or 75% of this region is very mountainous. *Xa kusithiwa ke iseenty five percent yase Transkei is mountainous kuthethwa ukuthi inantoni? inenduli, inantoni? inenduli* - and yet also only ten percent of this region is flat, is what, is flat.

When it is said that seventy percent of Transkei is mountainous it means what? It means it has what? It has mountain steeps, it has what? Mountain steeps

- (xiv) History lesson - teacher explains the concept of colonisation. He alternates between Xhosa and English/English and Xhosa. This example comes from the introductory part of the lesson :

T : I am going to talk about colonization *Nizakufumana ukuba xa kuthethwa nge colonization kuthethwa ngantoni.*

[You will get to know what is meant by colonization.]

In all the examples provided above, teachers alternate between English/Xhosa utterances without tampering with the syntactic structure of either language used. These switches are systematic and deliberate. Xhosa utterances are used mostly to interpret, to expand on and to facilitate clarity and understanding. Xhosa is also used to probe for response and thus encourage pupil participation. This is mostly evident where questions are phrased in Xhosa. *Intersentential switching* is in line with the idea behind the concurrent approach by Jacobson (1979) which states that both languages used should be given (if possible) equal time during teaching. From the examples given, there is an apparent effort by teachers to try to give both English and Xhosa equal time. The teacher's ability to use both languages alternately and yet efficiently is evidence enough that codeswitching is a sign of language competence on the part of the teacher.

Jacobson (1979), in his discussion of *intrasentential switching*, cites *grammatical switching* as an example. With *grammatical switching*, grammatical strings of another code are used within an utterance in another code. In such instances, one notices that the linguistic structure of the language remains intact despite the mixture. The following examples from the data will illustrate this point :

Grammatical switching

(xv) English lesson :

T: *Andithi sitakela u-s everbini* when we refer to the first person singular?

e.g. Sipo kicks the ball. [We suffix -s to the verb when ...]

(xvi) History lesson :

T: *Niyayiqonda!* a super-powerful country *ezinjengo maRussia, America, Britain, France niyayiqondaA*

[Do you understand - a super-powerful country like Russia ... do you understand?]

(xvii) English lesson :

T: *So lo mntana wayevele abene worry ayicinge lento, wathi ukuyicinga kwakhe in fact kwangoko wa affected*

[So this child used to have worries and, think of this thing, when he heard about this, in fact he became affected]

Another example of *intrasentential switching* which Jacobson distinguishes from *grammatical switching* is *lexical switching*. *Lexical switching* involves the insertion of a L-2 lexical item into constructions of L-1. I shall use the following example for illustration :

Lexical Switching

(xviii) General Science lesson :

T: *Isacacile phofu ukuba siyi fumana phi i energy? Igama liyazitsho energy.*

[Is it still clear where we get energy from?]

T: For instance, if you rub your hands together you feel heat *ubushushu* right? [Heat]

(xix) Geography lesson :

T: *Xa sithetha ngetourists sithetha ngabakhenkethi.* [When we talk of tourists we talk of tourists.]

Ungathi yintoni iclimate xa uyichaza. [How can you explain the climate?]

Idrought le ungathi yintoni yone? [What would you say drought is?]

In Extract (xviii) and (xix) above, nouns from English are used in predominantly Xhosa statements. Poplack (1980) observes that nouns account for the largest portion of lexical codeswitching. They are frequently borrowed during codeswitching because they are relatively free of syntactic constraints. In Extract (xiv), the syntactic strings of the

pupil's mother tongue (Xhosa) are embedded into an English 'verb' as shown in the example.

In instances of *intrasentential codeswitching*, one notices that teachers manage to maintain linguistic harmony between the two mixed codes. The linguistic structure of the codes remains intact. To me this implies a high level of linguistic competence of the teacher and not a random, aimless switching.

2.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODESWITCHING

While bilingualism seems to be an accepted phenomenon in multilingual societies, there is a range of differing attitudes towards codeswitching expressed by many cross culturally. From an educational perspective, scholars have contended that bilingualism is a handicap to the cognitive development of the child, (Jones and Stewart : 1951, MacNamara: 1967) while others dismiss this contention as misleading and groundless. Teachers in Southwest (USA) have also been reported as complaining that their students can speak neither their first nor second language (e.g. Hatch 1976:201, quoted in Kamwangamalu, 1989).

Gumperz (1982), on attitudes towards codeswitching, says that some attitudes characterize codeswitching as an extreme form of mixing attributable to lack of education, bad manners or improper control of two languages. Others see codeswitching as a legitimate form of informal talk. Teachers in South Africa hold a different view. In an English Language Education Trust Language Conference KwaZulu Natal teachers expressed very strong sentiments against the use of codeswitching as a formal teaching strategy. Some of their arguments were: "Our pupils know English, I don't see how learning can be facilitated by using Xhosa, a mother tongue they know so well." "English is the language they are examined in and not their mother tongue." Other reactions were that the use of one's mother tongue during classroom teaching would provide some teachers with an excuse for their linguistic incompetence.

In this study, certain attitudes about codeswitching emerged from the responses of the teachers to my questionnaire (see Appendix p 58) and from the behaviour displayed by the pupils in class. Pupils seemed to accept the fact that teachers, due to their status and knowledge, are free to use both languages without any constraints. No doubt the norms of the schools contribute in sustaining this attitude by prohibiting the pupils from using their mother tongue in the classroom. From my own personal experience and observation, pupils also appear to believe that English is a language of formality, 'business', authority and power. Their mother tongue is regarded as being less formal and more casual, a language used outside formal settings for informal conversations. It is the language by which teachers can entertain and explain things to them.

Teachers on the other hand regard English as a language with an official status and therefore must be given priority in class. This is so in Transkei because of individual school regulations. Xhosa is perceived as a language to assist in explaining issues that are not clear in English. In a sense teachers see Xhosa as an unofficial teaching and learning aid they use in the classroom context.

2.6 SUMMARY

The analysis of classroom data reveals that codeswitching is a resource used by teachers to express a range of functions. These include clarification, translation, repetition for emphasis, reiteration, solidarity and identification, codeswitching for power relations and as marked and unmarked code choices. The analysis also revealed that *grammatical* and *lexical switching* are the dominant types used by most teachers.

Contrary to views commonly held, the analysis showed that teachers, in using codeswitching as an interactional device in the classroom context, display linguistic competence rather than incompetency. Teachers, moreover, use codeswitching to actively involve the pupils. Xhosa seems to be a facilitator where English poses problems for both teachers and pupils. However, in the case of the History lesson, where the teacher presented almost the whole lesson in Xhosa and used only a few English words and phrases here and there, I have difficulty in categorizing the teacher's behaviour as codeswitching. Perhaps this is one such case where codeswitching has been misused as a disguise for the teacher's lack of proficiency in English. I feel this is an issue for further research in classroom codeswitching behaviour.

Some speakers who codeswitch show competence in the syntactic rules of both languages. As has been observed by Gxilishe (1992:96) and other researchers, my data also illustrates that in all the codeswitching instances, English grammar has been internally retained while the surrounding Xhosa grammar remains unaltered. Phrases in Xhosa and English fit into the overall English sentence structure.

This leads naturally to a consideration of the implications of codeswitching for educators and classroom teaching, which is the subject of Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS AND CLASSROOM TEACHING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Having shown that codeswitching is very much in use in the classroom and having identified its forms and functions, I turn to the question of what the implications of codeswitching are for language planners, teacher-trainers and trainees, the curriculum and classroom teaching. What mechanisms can be devised by teachers to make codeswitching a useful verbal strategy? What precautionary measures can be taken to safeguard the use of codeswitching as a teaching tool against possible abuse? In the following discussion I shall consider some possible implications and also discuss what other researchers see as the future of codeswitching in classroom teaching.

What the findings of this study imply for the curriculum planners is that the occurrence of codeswitching in the classroom needs to be acknowledged officially. In other words codeswitching should be recognised and accepted as a sociolinguistic verbal strategy that can be effectively used in teaching and learning situations. Language planners should also consider including codeswitching as one of the aspects of teaching methodology practised in schools by teachers.

A further implication is that teacher trainers should sensitize teacher trainees about the occurrence of this phenomenon and the role it plays in teaching of language and other content subjects, ways of utilizing it productively, effectively and not abusively, to the benefit of pupils and teachers.

Trainers should also find ways and means of how classroom teaching can be enhanced by codeswitching and how its use can be monitored. Codeswitching has to be monitored as one cannot rule out the possibility of its misuse by some teachers and pupils, as pointed out at the English Language Education Trust Conference. Adendorff (1993:153), in discussing the implications of codeswitching for language teacher education in South Africa, introduces the concept of consciousness-raising which echoes the idea of teacher sensitization I have expressed earlier. For Adendorff, consciousness-raising is to be an integral part of a programme meant to sensitize teachers about the role of codeswitching. The programme he proposes includes the following five procedures :

Firstly, the programme should approach codeswitching from a balanced perspective by involving contrastive prescriptive purists' views of language.

Secondly, teacher trainees should be taught to see multi-lingualism and bi/multi-dialectalism as "riches", as "communicative resources" and not as a curse in the South African context.

Thirdly, they should see codeswitching as functional and not as a symptom of ignorance that is a product of inadequate linguistic resources.

Fourthly, teacher trainees should know that languages carry social meaning and reflect value systems and express identity rather than neutral signalling systems.

Lastly, teacher trainees need to recognise that communication power and social power are inseparable.

In what follows I will suggest and discuss the mechanisms which can be employed in implementing the above suggestions.

3.2 THE INCLUSION OF CODESWITCHING IN CURRICULUM PLANNING.

Curriculum planners need to recognise the occurrence of codeswitching as a reality in classroom teaching and further accord it an official status. This also means that codeswitching as a teaching strategy needs to be included in the existing schools' rules. This will, however, require careful research and planning before it can be implemented.

Previously held misconceptions about the use of a learner's mother tongue in classroom instruction should be clarified and the record be put straight. Some of these misconceptions are that some languages are naturally superior to others. Likewise, in South Africa, codeswitching is seen as a sign of linguistic incompetence and, therefore, an embarrassment to the user and that codeswitching is not functional as a teaching and communicative tool but rather evidence for insufficient language proficiency.

Adendorff (1993:153) has a detailed discussion on how these misconceptions can be corrected in his five points of the consciousness-raising programme.

The question of whether codeswitching should be extended to written work as is the case with oral communication, remains a topic for further research. I regard this as the duty of the planners to recommend further research in order to clarify issues of the kind I have just mentioned. It is through the findings of this research that curriculum planners can be able to implement some of the recommendations I have made earlier in this section.

3.3 SENSITIZATION OF TEACHER-TRAINEES

This process involves two stages namely: (i) the sensitization of teacher-trainees about codeswitching; and (ii) the correction of misconceptions. It is the responsibility of the trainers to sensitize teacher-trainees about the occurrence of codeswitching or the alternate use of two or more languages during classroom teaching. Trainers and trainees should be engaged in an examination of the positive and negative aspects of using codeswitching. The mechanisms that can be used may include the following:

Trainers should be encouraged to conduct mini-research studies on the use of codeswitching in the classroom and discover for themselves what the phenomenon entails, what it does and the resulting effect. Teaching practice can be used. Alternatively, teacher trainers should hold debates with trainees on whether or not codeswitching should be used in the classroom. Also, they could conduct a survey to determine the views of the trainees and the views of the members of the society at large on codeswitching.

The data collected from the use of these sources could serve as a basis against which recommendations can be made to the planners and the Department of Education. The trainees involved in the above exercise should first be briefed on the usefulness of the codeswitching phenomenon, its manifestations and its functions in the classroom.

3.3.1 WAYS OF ENHANCING TEACHING THROUGH CODESWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM.

The analysis of data for this research has shown how codeswitching functions as both a reinforcer and a contextualizing device. Meaning is negotiated and re-negotiated through the use of a code other than the medium of instruction. What this means is that teachers should expose trainees to the data and situations where codeswitching serves a pedagogical function. Appropriate situations for collecting data would be visits to schools by teacher trainees during practice teaching. Here they should observe demonstration lessons and if possible, audio-record some of the lessons for future use. They should try to identify any codeswitching that occurs. Trainers should then discuss some of the advantages and disadvantages of codeswitching using the data collected.

Teachers should nevertheless not try to indoctrinate their own belief systems about codeswitching to the trainees, but should allow the trainees time to make their own decisions and draw their own conclusions regarding this phenomenon. The negative effects of codeswitching should also be brought to focus and be discussed exhaustively. Trainers and trainees can devise other methods on how codeswitching can be used effectively in the school context besides the research data that is available at the moment.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this paper two main issues, the form and functions of codeswitching in classroom interaction in Transkei, have been examined. With regard to the first issue, I have argued that classroom codeswitching as reflected by data, is more intersentential and intrasentential. I have also claimed that codeswitching in my data occurs as an unmarked code in the sense that both teachers and pupils are familiar with its use in the classroom. Pupils can recognize the switches when they occur.

In terms of form, the data shows that both *lexical* and grammatical switching are used by teachers. With *lexical switching*, teachers seem to acknowledge that certain topics, because of lack of appropriate lexical items in the mother tongue, need to be addressed in another code.

Regarding the functions performed by codeswitching, I have claimed that codeswitching plays a very significant role in classroom teaching. Data analysis shows that teachers use codeswitching intentionally or unintentionally to perform quite a number of communicative functions such as explaining, clarifying etc. Teachers have reported that not all codeswitching is purposeful; sometimes it is habitual and instantaneous. This behaviour is motivated by the availability of another code and it is a sign of linguistic competence.

I have also discussed attitudes towards codeswitching as revealed in the data. Both teachers and scholars have been reported to express deep concern about the possible legitimisation of this phenomenon as a formal teaching strategy. On the other hand, the responses of some teachers

in the schools imply that they feel comfortable with using codeswitching in the classroom and that there is a need to do so. Pupils on the other hand seem to regard codeswitching as a strategy used by teachers only because of their professional status and power.

The implications of the findings for educators and for classroom teaching have also been discussed. I have suggested that educators should work towards designing a flexible curriculum to accommodate some other emerging teaching strategies like codeswitching. The sensitization of teacher-trainees about the occurrence of codeswitching in the classroom should be uppermost in the teacher training programme. More research on codeswitching should be encouraged at teacher trainee level. I have concluded that codeswitching should be recognised as a phenomenon commonly used by teachers in (and outside) the classroom context.

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APPENDICES

I. QUESTIONNAIRE

I would appreciate your help with regard to this questionnaire. I am trying to collect some information pertaining to teaching strategies and learning behaviour in the classroom. I am going to use this information for purposes of a mini-research I am conducting at the moment. Please be co-operative. Your identity is not important here, but your response is of utmost help.

ATTITUDES

1. What language(s) do you use in class during teaching?

English

Afrikaans

Xhosa

Xhosa and English

Xhosa and Sotho

Sotho

2. Why do you use the language you have chosen?

(I) Is it prescribed in the school?

(ii) Is it your personal preference?

YES	NO

(iii) Was it demanded by the pupils?

(iv) Was it suggested by parents?

3. Do you use more than one language when teaching?

4. If your answer to 3 above is "yes", how often do you use the other language?

5. What is the general feeling of your pupils about language(s) used in class? Have you ever tried to find out?

6. If you use more than one language in class when teaching, can you briefly explain why you do that.

7. What is the usual reaction of your pupils to this?

8. When do you use more than one language during teaching?

9. Do you achieve any specific objectives by using the other language?

10. What are those objectives?

11. How do you use the language? Do you mix the languages or do you use them alternatively?

12. What are the opinions of other staff members about the use of more than one language in class during teaching?

II LESSONS

A. GENERAL SCIENCE LESSON -STD 5

[The topic of the lesson is *ENERGY*. The teacher does most of the talking and the pupils' involvement is limited to responses to questions asked by the teacher. The teacher explains what energy is all about.]

T : The forms of energy. *Okokuqala*, what is energy Std 5?

[A pupil responds and gives the definition of 'energy' then the lesson continues.]

T : Emmh! yes! we get energy from food but we have a certain name, *ukutya* is one of those sources we get energy from but *sithi yintoni okwakutya xa sikubiza?*

[There is silence in class as the pupils are busy thinking about the answer. One student raises her hand.]

T : *NguNontombi yedwa ozakuphendula kule class?*

[Another pupil raises his hand and the lesson progresses.]

T : Okay! *ubuzakuthini wena? ubuzakuthetha? thetha ke isacacile ukuba siyifumana phi ienergy Igama liyazitsho ENERGY.*

[The lesson progresses.]

T : For instance, if you rub your hands together you feel heat, you feel what? heat *Akunjalo na bethuna?*

Again, if you can rub your hair with your ruler you also feel heat so *ngelinye ixesha ufanele ukuba uthathe* matches. So, if you take it and rub it to the box you get heat *kuphuma umlilo*. So, you also get heat energy. *He ke!*

[Lesson continues.]

T : *Singekayi, singekafiki pha kwilight* energy we also get heat energy by plugging electricity from *umbane*. If you plug the kettle to the wall and switch it on, if you switch it on *iyeyathini? Kuye kwahamba umbane neh! washushubeza la manzi size ke ngoku kwi light* energy but *ixesha seliphelile*.

[It's the end of the lesson.]

T : Miss, *ke bendicinga ukuba ndizakupha le 30 minutes qha*.

B. ENGLISH LITERATURE, POEM - STD 7

[The teacher teaches a poem to a handful of pupils. She involves them by asking them to read and then she explains afterwards. There is a lot of codeswitching used.]

T : [Summarising the content of the poem, and also explains.]

You can imagine *nawe umntana ona* nine years *uba angafilisha kanjani xa esiva ilizwe okokuba liyakuphela, andithi uyamqonda uba mncinci lo mntana lo so unokothuka xa enokuva kusithiwa ilizwe ke ngoku liyapheliswa.*

[Teacher continues.]

As you can read *kuthwa apha* the child became frightened, he was afraid *asakuva ukuba ilizwe liyakupheliswa.*

Kuthwa ke lo mntana ngokuba esiya egoduka noba sele elele ebhedini wayevele acinge lo mini imbi he would think of that awful day, the bad day - the judgement day. *Kuba kucacile kaloku okokuba iyakube iyimini yomgwebo leyo* isn't?

So lo mntana wayevele abeneworry ayicinge lento, wathi ukuyicinga kwakhe in fact *kwangoko, wa affected wayiqonda ukuba iyakuba iyimini embi.*

T : *Sihleli phofu?* [Teacher asks from the pupils.] *Andithi?* [Pupils are expected to respond.]

P : Yes! Teacher.

[The lesson has come to an end, pupils are given questions to write and do as homework. There is a sports meeting the same afternoon - classes are suspended for the day.]

C. HISTORY LESSON - STD 6

[Teacher is to teach a lesson on colonization. Xhosa is mostly used during the presentation for purposes of explaining the subject matter, asking questions of the pupils and for other communicative purposes.]

T : I am going to talk about colonization. *Nizekufumana ukuba xa kuthethwa nge-colonisation kuthethwa ngantoni na.*

Colonization, colonization, we are going to talk about icolonization. *Yintoni icolony? sikhe sive umnt 'wase Bhayi esithi ikoloni, yintoni leyo?*

[A pupil attempts to explain in Xhosa what a colony is. The teacher defines colonisation in English as a process and then writes it on the board in English.]

T : Colonisation is a process whereby colonies are set up (pupils read what is on the board as the teacher writes).

Okay, *namhlanje sizakuthetha ngelesson entsha icolonization. Icolony lilizwe elithi ngenxa yemFazwe lithathwe.*

A colony is a country whereby another powerful country rules. Like South Africa was ruled by Britain, another super-powerful country. *Niyayiqonda!* a super-powerful country *ezinjengo maRussia, America, Britain, France niyayiqonda? Amezwe aphambili*

kwezorhwebo, kwezemFundo njalo njalo.

T : Okay, we shall talk about colonization and how it takes place - *yenzeka kanjani* icolonization? When we say this country is colonized, we mean, *sithetha ukuthi* this country is ruled by another country.

Yintoni eyenzekayo elizweni, how colonization takes place *kwenzekani elizweni* eliyi colony (teacher asks a question).

Too many people live there. There must be too many people where? [Pupils respond.]

P : There must be too many people in the ruling country.

T : Good! *Kuzakuthathwa nabantu babo kugcwale kugcwale kulo* colony. There will be overpopulation *yintoni ioverpopulation?* Next! (pupils are expected to respond).

T : *Kukubakho kwabantu abaninzi.* There must be overpopulation in the country. Next? eh! a big country (pupil tries to respond as teacher asks).

T : *Ndithini kwedini?*

P : *Ndicela undicacisele mfundisi.*

T : A big country might want to rule the colony. *Ya! ilizwe elikhulu lizakufuna ukuba abantu balo balamule elalizwe lincinci.* There are two, there are two or more *indlela elithi ilizwe lilawule ngalo elinye ilizwe* namely direct rule system, direct system direct what? or indirect rule system. What? (Pupils respond).

P : Indirect and direct rule system.

T : *Ilizwe lineterms, ilanguage yalo, uyaqonda?* Direct and indirect rule system - *ndizama ukucacisa le nto yerule system.* To rule another country directly, *uyayiva lento ndiyithe thayo.* If a country rules another country direct rule system. *Ndithini ngoku?* [Teacher expects pupils to repeat what he has just said.] *Ilizwe elikhulu lilawula elincinci ngqo* that is what we call what? Direct rule system.

Funeka uwazi umahluko we indirect rule ayisebenzisi bantu bayo. Abantu abamnyama basebenzela abamhlophe kuthiwe sebenze eBritain okanye eFrance mhlaumbi usebenzele uRhulumente omhlophe Uyaqonda! U Rhulumente omhlophe ube coloniza njalo athi xa egqiba asebenzisi abantu abamnyama as oppressors kulo colony. Le ke yi indirect rule system.

T : O! I think *nizibambile ezindlela zokuphatha bendizichaza ukuba idirect rule system isebenza injani na.*

D. GEOGRAPHY LESSON - STD 6

[Teacher teaches a lesson on Transkei. He defines concepts, explains and elaborates on facts. On the other hand, pupils listen and also participate by answering the question asked by the teacher.]

T : Transkei, Transkei is an example of a developing country, an example of a developing country. Transkei is an example of a developing country. When we are talking in terms of a developing country, Std 6, we are talking in terms of a country which is industrialised, a country which has industrialised or a country which is having a poor standard of what? - of living. A developing country is a country which is not industrialised or a country which is having a poor standard of living. And, then also Transkei is an example of a developing country - why? Because the new system which is what? - which is based on what? is based on farming, is based on what? on farming and then, therefore, a developing country is a country which is not industrialised, is not industrialised. For example, which is having what? - a poor standard of living.

When you are talking in terms of what? - of industry, we know that there is a town in this region which is having some industries. Can you give that town which is having some industries, the town? Yes! you in front, Butterworth? Butterworth is having what? - some industries and yet also there is a what? - a town or district which is having some other industries. Can you give that, that town, the town - yes! (Umtata), Umtata. We know that in this region of Transkei there are some industries, where? - which are situated at Umtata and Butterworth.

When we are moving, Transkei is having what? - the border or the boundary. Can you give the border or the boundary. Can you give the border or the boundary which separates Transkei from the other countries? - a border or boundary, which separates Transkei from the other countries? A border or a boundary. Yes! (pointing to a pupil) Yes! the Great Kei River, Great Kei River forms a what? - a boundary or a what? - or a border? When we are talking in terms of a boundary or a border we mean *ke umda* (there is emphasis here).

The Great Kei River is a border or a what? - a boundary of what? - of Transkei because the Great Kei River separates or it divides the what? - the Umtata and the Transkei and what? - and Ciskei. It forms what? - a border or a boundary - Great Kei River, Great Kei River.

And yet, also, when you are moving on, we move on to the size and position, that is *ubungakanani bantoni? be Transkei Nicinga uba iTranskei ingaba ingakanani*. The size and what? - and the position of Transkei. Before we move on to the size and position of Transkei, when did the Transkei gain independence? When did Transkei gain independence? (teacher awaits response - pupil answers).

T : Very good! Koyana, very good! Transkei gained independence in 1976. When did Transkei gain self-government? *Audile!* 1963 gained what? - self-government. *Ja!* and yet also what is very important is that you must, you must know by now the size and position of Transkei, size and position. *Ukuba iTranskei le ingakanani*. Transkei, it is about what? - 400, 4000 40 000 km - that is the position of Transkei, *ubungakanani bayo*.

When we are talking in terms of what? - of the nature *iTranskei le ingaba injani na kuthiwani nge Transkei?* *Kuthiwa* Transkei is a broken landscape, broken landscape.

And yet it is also characterised by what? - by mountain regions. It is characterised by what? - mountain region, mountain region. And yet also this is a, and yet also it is very mountainous, *iTranskei*. At the same time, approximately 70% of it or 75% of this region is mountainous.

Xa kusithiwa ke! 75% yase Transkei is mountainous kuthethwa ukuthi inantoni? inenduli inantoni? inenduli (pupils respond in chorus). And yet also, *yi 10% qha*, 10% of this region is flat - is what? - is flat. And yet also there are what? - the perennial rivers, the perennial river. In this region there are what? - the perennial rivers. What are perennial rivers, Std 6? Just give me the definition of a perennial river *ukuthi yintoni* (pupil responds). [The perennial rivers are rivers that flow throughout the year.]

T : *Ja!* very good! Perennial rivers are rivers that flow throughout the year. Can't you please give me an example of a perennial river, an example of a perennial river? (repeats this).

Yes! (pupil responds) Umzinkhulu River is an example of a river that flows throughout the year. Umthamvuna River is an example of a perennial river. *iBashe* River is an example of a perennial river. Very good Std 6. *Kodwa ke* in this region there are what? - there are perennial rivers. And yet, Transkei is a broken landscape and also it is characterised by a mountain region. What about the climate of this region, Transkei - the climate of this region, the climate? Now let's concentrate on what is called the climate of this region.

What is climate? Hands up! What is climate? Just define climate. *Ungathi yintoni iclimate.* What is climate? *Xa uyichaza*, Std 6, what is climate? (Teacher awaits response).

(Pupils respond)

P : Climate is the state of atmospheric condition.

T : *Ja!* That is very good! Climate is the state of atmospheric condition.

What is weather, weather, weather? Yes!

P : Weather is observed for a short time.

T : *Ja!* *iweather kaloku* it is observed for a what? - for a short time. Okay, Std 6, let's concentrate on what is called what. Climate. Climate of Transkei. Transkei, *kuthwa* it is having what? - two climatic regions. Transkei is having what? - two climatic regions. First of all you must know that in these two climatic regions nearer to the coast, that is *ngokuya usondela, ngokuya usondela phi?*

(Pupils respond)

P : '*Ngaselwandle*' nearer the coast the winter is cold, *ubusika butheni? buyabanda* (pupils respond in chorus). Summers are cooler. The snow is very, very dangerous, *Ikhephu,*

ikhephu liyagcwala kuba kutheni? kuyabanda.

Indawo ezinjengo maDrakensberg Mountains zicovered by snow.

We have mentioned that Transkei is an example of a country which is industrialised, and then also we have mentioned that Umtata and Butterworth are towns with industry. You must concentrate on climate. Name one industry found in Butterworth.

(Pupils respond)

P : Chet, Tramatex, Pep T.

T : Very good!

Beautiful houses with thatched roofs - *abantu abayazi into yokuba indlu yenzelwa iroof ngengca. Zonke ezozinto they attract itourists.*

E. HISTORY LESSON - STD 7

[The teacher teaches a lesson on French Revolution - the nature and the process of revolution are explained.]

T : There can be wars or revolts during the revolution or there can be no wars or revolts during the revolution. Do you get what I mean? (The pupils respond by saying 'yes'). No wars, no marches during the revolution. When it is violent, there are wars. When it is non-violent there are no wars. It just happens smoothly (teacher switches) '*Akukho zingxwaba - ngxwaba, akuliwa*' [there are no conflicts, nobody fights] *kanti ukuba kuyaliwe* it is violent [whereas if there are fights]. (The teacher then switches to English in the following part of the same statement.) *Niyayiva kanti ndiyithethayo?* [Do you hear what I say?] (This is a rhetorical question whereby the teacher doesn't even pay attention to the pupils' response. She then passes on to say something else. The pupils, however, respond in English and say 'YES' meaning 'we understand'. ... the enemy of the king was arrested without trial (this is repeated also) then she switches, '*Umntu wayebanjwa avalelwe kuba etheni? Engenatyala, kuba etheni?*' (She repeats the questioning tag) *kuba elutshaba lokumkani*'. [A person was taken to jail because? because? (teacher expects pupils to answer and complete the utterance) because he is the enemy of the king.] Teacher continues 'under the letter de caché because the king had unlimited powers. Even the court of law, the supermarkets were under the king. Do you get what I mean? (The teacher then repeats this question in L1 *Niyayira lento indiyitetayo* [Do you hear what I say?] The pupils respond in L2 'YES'.

(The lesson continues - social causes of revolution).

T : In France people were divided into classes. We are going to talk about the nobles. Which group do we get under the privileged classes? (The teacher asks the question in English. He points at an inattentive student. She waits for an answer. The student murmurs something, does not know the answer.)

T : YES! Songezo (The tone is threatening - rather mockingly, she then switches). *'Benditshilo ndati ulele'* [I said so. You are sleeping] (There is laughter in the classroom). *'Khawumncede Mpho'* [Help him Mpho!].

Teacher finally answers the question herself.

T : We get nobilities and the clergy under the privileged class (she switches to explain this class). *Abona ababehleli kamnandi, benamalungelo aphezulu* [These were the nobles and the clergy].

T : They were wealthy land owners and they lived in luxury (teacher repeats this). They were not living on their estates, they lived in a palace in Versailles (she switches) *Babehlala ebhotwe* [They lived in the palace].

T : Those were the nobles (teacher then repeats previous statement) they were wealthy land owners (and then switches). *Babetyebile benemihlaba emikhulu, Niyayiva lento ndiyithethayo* [They are wealthy. They owned big land. Do you hear what I say?]

(Teacher repeats herself ...)

The switch is deliberate. It is part of explaining the text. The teacher is putting emphasis on this point. She repeats, she reiterates a point she has mentioned before, both in English and in Xhosa equally. The switch is also a translation of the English expression - the purpose could be to make the pupils understand clearly. Through the lesson the teacher switches. She uses English and Xhosa utterances interchangeably. The Xhosa utterances are a translation of the English expressions.

There are questions to the pupils in between. These are in Xhosa, like *Niyayiva lento ndiyithethayo* [Do you hear what I am saying?] The teacher in a sense is specifying the addressee (pupils in this case) as the recipients of the message. These questions, therefore, are used to draw the attention of the pupils, to check if they are attentive, following. They are also invited to participate in the interaction by responding to questions. Quite remarkably, pupils always respond in English even if they are asked in L1.

III INTERVIEWS

[I interviewed a few randomly selected students of mixed sexes in a quest to find out about their attitude and opinion in general as regards the alternate use of English and Xhosa during teaching in the classroom. The following are some of the questions I posed to them. Their responses have been summarised in the chapter on attitudes.]

1. Do your teachers use other languages besides English when they teach you?
2. What do you think is the reason why they do?
3. I understand that, according to the rules of the schools, you are prohibited from speaking Xhosa (your mother tongue) in the classroom and also in the school surroundings. How do you feel about this?
4. Why do your teachers speak Xhosa when they communicate with you in class or outside the classroom - and yet expect you to respond in English [this question arises from some of the responses they gave to me]? How do you feel about this?
5. Would you recommend that both English and Xhosa be used in class during teaching? Give reasons.
6. Those of you who prefer teachers to use both languages in class when teaching, is there any help in the form of clarity of meaning that you get as a result of codeswitching.