#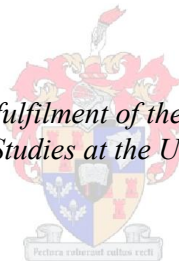 The function and frequency of teachers' code switching in two bilingual primary schools in the Vhembe District of Limpopo Province

by
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The decision by teachers to use a specific language for teaching in a bilingual context is influenced by a number of factors. These may include learners' linguistic background, parental preferences on the use of language for teaching and learning, policy stipulations on language use, as well as learners' cognitive level and their ability to comprehend lessons given in a specific language. Although policy stipulations and parental preference may emphasise the use of one particular language for teaching and learning, research shows that the classroom context and the dilemma teachers face in terms of language comprehension often play a role in the use of more than one language. Teachers often switch codes in a bilingual classroom for different reasons: clarifying subject matter, concept elaboration, encouraging leaners to participate, supporting exploratory talk, ensuring comprehension as well as switching codes as a classroom management strategy. This thesis investigates the frequency and the function of teachers' code switching (CS) in a bilingual classroom context. The study was conducted in Limpopo Province, South Africa, in the Vhembe District Municipality. Two bilingual primary schools under Sibasa Circuit were chosen for study. A series of lessons were observed in the two schools and teachers' interactions with learners in the classroom were recorded and then analysed qualitatively, guided by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model which is used to provide an account for different types of CS. This model is used to account for the motivations for every code choice in any discourse. The results of the study show that CS is a common feature in the two schools. The policy stipulations and parents' preference do not limit teachers' use of CS in such bilingual primary school classrooms.

OPSOMMING

'n Onderwyser se besluit om 'n spesifieke taal vir onderrig in 'n tweetalige konteks te gebruik word deur 'n reeks faktore beïnvloed. Dit sluit die leerders se taalagtergrond, ouers se taalvoorkeur vir onderrig en leer, amptelike skoolbeleid in verband met taalgebruik, sowel as die leerders se kognitiewe vlak en hul vermoë om klasse te verstaan wat in 'n spesifieke taal aangebied word, in. Hoewel skoolbeleid en ouers se taalvoorkeur die gebruik van een spesifieke taal vir onderrig en leer beklemtoon, toon navorsing dat die konteks van die klaskamer en die dilemma wat onderwysers in die gesig staar in terme van taalbegrip, 'n rol speel in die gebruik van meer as een taal. Onderwysers gebruik dikwels twee tale in 'n tweetalige klaskamer, om verskeie redes: verduideliking van lesmateriaal, uitbreiding van konsepte, aanmoediging van die leerders om deel te neem, ondersteuning van ondersoekende gesprekke, versekering van begrip sowel as kodewisseling as 'n strategie vir die bestuur van die klaskamer. Hierdie tesis ondersoek die frekwensie en die funksie van onderwysers se kodewisseling in die konteks van 'n tweetalige klaskamer. Die studie is in die Vhembe Distriksmunisipaliteit van die Limpopo Provinsie, Suid-Afrika, uitgevoer. Twee tweetalige laerskole wat deel uitmaak van die Sibasa-streek is gekies vir die studie. 'n Reeks klasse is waargeneem in die twee skole en die onderwysers se interaksies met die leerders in die klaskamer is opgeneem en daarna kwalitatief ontleed , gegrond op Myers-Scotton (1993) se Gemarkeerdheidsmodel ("Markedness Model") wat gebruik word om 'n verklaring te gee vir die verskillende tipes kodewisseling. Hierdie model is gebruik om 'n verantwoording te bied van die redes vir elke kodekeuse in enige diskoers. Die resultate van die studie toon dat kodewisseling 'n algemene verskynsel in die twee skole is. Die skoolbeleid en ouers se taalvoorkeur beperk nie die onderwysers se gebruik van kodewisseling in sulke tweetalige laerskoolklaskamers nie. Onderwysers gebruik om verskeie redes kodewisseling, insluitend uitbreiding, verduideliking, beklemtoning, en teregwysing as 'n dissiplinêre strategie.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Background

This study explores the extent of code switching and its significance in bilingual primary school classrooms in Limpopo. Code switching (CS) is the term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993:1). In essence this thesis examines the functions of and motivations for CS between teachers and learners in bilingual classrooms, against the background of current language in education policies and practice. The use of a non-mother tongue language for teaching and learning has always been one of the widely debated sociolinguistic issues in South Africa and worldwide. Exploring language use in South African schools, Mesthrie (2002:1) argues that English has been dominant for almost two centuries and, in combination with Afrikaans, has irrevocably changed the linguistic ecology of Southern Africa. In line with the inherent multilingual sphere in South Africa, nine indigenous languages have attained official status in addition to English and Afrikaans: isiNdebele, North Sotho, South Sotho, isiSwati, Xitsonga, Tshivenda and isiZulu (Mesthrie 2002). As a result, South Africa has a diverse linguistic makeup with each of the nine provinces projecting a distinct linguistic profile. For instance, Limpopo province is mainly composed of Northern Sotho, Tsonga and Venda as dominant indigenous languages, with English and Afrikaans as two further official languages. By contrast, the Western Cape is mainly composed of Afrikaans, English and Xhosa as dominant languages of the province. In a nutshell, all provinces in South Africa have a rich and diverse linguistic and cultural profile.

Eastman (1992:1) argues that where people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact in normal everyday conversation, material from many languages may be embedded in a matrix language[1] regularly and unremarkably. Myers-Scotton (1993), in her studies on the social motivations for CS, sees the occurrence of CS as a common feature of many 'stable' bilingual populations. CS is therefore a likely and often an inevitable feature of a bi- or multilingual classroom.

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[1]The matrix language (ML) represents the main language in code switched utterances (Myers-Scotton 1993:4).

In South Africa, many parents wish their children to be in an English immersion classroom in view of its lingua franca[2] status. Mda (1997:366) notes the resistance to the official use of African languages by South Africa's African majority, many of whom contend that their children should be exposed to and immersed in English, which is the dominant language of commerce and politics in South Africa, as early as possible (see also Kamwangamalu 2003a&b, 2007). However, recent research has found that the mother tongue represents the most efficient language through which children develop literacy skills and the ability to cope with the demands of formal schooling (cf. Phiri 2013:48, Webb 2006:39, Le Cordeur 2011:437). This finding is given strong impetus by recent South African policy documents which view multiculturalism and multilingualism as assets and valuable resources in the educational process (Mda 1997:367). The conflict between encouraging multilingualism, on the one hand, and promoting and enforcing the use of English, on the other hand, often results in a disconnect between official policy and classroom practice. Furthermore, the emphasis on the use of English in and outside of the classroom fails to take into account the benefits which the use of multiple languages may have for learning (Moodley 1997).

The use of a particular language for teaching and learning in a multilingual context has long drawn the attention of different interest groups. For example, Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne (2004) explore language policies and practices and the pedagogic implications of language use in Tanzania and South Africa. In Tanzania, the focus was on when and how the two main languages – Kiswahili and English – should be used for teaching and learning (Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne 2004). According to Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne (2004), the first policy which was laid down by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Tanzania only allowed English to be used as medium of instruction for secondary education. It recommended Kiswahili for use as the medium of instruction in pre-primary and primary school, while English could only be taught as a compulsory subject. The Ministry of Education and Culture issued another policy document entitled *Seraya Utamaduni* ("Cultural Policy") two years later. This policy clarified the government's plan to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels, with English taken as a compulsory subject at pre-primary, primary and secondary levels (Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne 2004). The advocates of this view hypothesised

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[2]A lingua franca is a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them; a trade language, international language or contact language (Wardhaugh 1986:55).

that a change to Kiswahili would result in three notable things: eliminating the huge amount of incorrect English to which secondary school students were exposed, enhancing students' understanding of the contents of their subjects, as well as eliminating the false dependence on English medium as a way of teaching/learning English (Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne 2004). Although the government had a documented policy on language use at school, Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne (2004) identify a group of Tanzanian elites, including some parents, who had a different view on language use at school. This group advocated the use of English only as a medium of instruction at all levels.

Conversely, the South African constitution places more emphasis on equity. All eleven of the country's official languages are declared equal. Despite what may be regarded as a very progressive language in education policy, which in principle enables learners or their guardians to choose the language of instruction, English is still mainly used as a medium of instruction from grade 4 onwards (Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne 2004:72). The assumption is that by using English in all content subjects, African language-speaking students will become more proficient in English. The rationale of this assumption, assessed on the basis of classroom realities, is examined in this thesis. It is my contention that the language challenges teachers face in the classroom and the manner in which they interact with learners should provide further impetus on issues regarding language use in a bilingual classroom.

Auerbach (1993:15) questions the rationale used to justify English only in the classroom, dismissing it as neither conclusive nor pedagogically sound. His study on effective instructional practices for linguistically and culturally diverse students identified the effect of incorporating the learners' first language (L1) when learners communicate with each other and the teacher. The results overwhelmingly show that where both English and the learners L1 were used, students showed significant academic progress (Auerbach 1993). Re-examining language use in the classroom, Polio (1994) cautions Auerbach for not being sufficiently explicit when talking about language use. When talking about language use, Polio (1994) contends that we need to be explicit with regard to activity, purpose of using L1 in class. The contention between Auerbach (1993) and Polio (1994) centers around the question when and how often CS occurs in a bilingual classroom. Although Polio maintains a different view, Auerbach cites Piasecka's recommendations for incorporating L1 in a bilingual classroom, maintaining that L1 may be used in an English Second

Language (ESL) classroom for negotiation of syllabus and lesson, record keeping, classroom management, scene setting, language analysis, presentation of rules governing grammar, phonology, morphology and discussion of cross cultural issues, instructions or prompts as well as explanation of errors and assessment of comprehension (Auerbach 1993:21).

The use of English for teaching and learning is still seen as ideal by most parents to prepare learners for global competiveness. Parents with this view often prefer schools which encourage the use of English only for teaching and learning. Such schools often expect teachers and learners to use English in and outside classrooms for all types of interactions. However, teachers in most schools often express concern about students' limited capacity to comprehend lessons conducted in English only. Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne (2004) acknowledge teachers' dilemma when teaching students who are unresponsive in class. One particular teacher confessed that as he insisted on using English throughout, it was like he was teaching 'dead stones' and not students (Holmarsdottir and Brock-Utne 2004). In such cases, it is noted that teachers often use CS either to expand or elaborate a point.

1.2.   The classrooms under investigation

In Sibasa circuit, Vhembe District, in the Limpopo Province, there are two primary schools situated within close proximity but attracting learners from different socio-economic backgrounds. To maintain anonymity, labels are used to identify the schools. The first school, labelled SCH1, falls under quintile 2 - a fee paying school - while the second, labelled SCH2, is a no fee school, categorised as quintile 1. Learners at SCH1 pay a school fee of R450.00 per term, i.e. R1800 per year for each child. On the other hand, learners at SCH2 do not pay school fees at all. In view of this, SCH2 attracts learners from relatively low income groups compared to SCH1. It is therefore assumed that a causal relationship between parents' socio-economic status and school preference exists. Parents from paying schools also tend to be assertive on policy issues where their children are learning.

The role of parents with regards to policy issues is further affected by the level of education the parents have. It is a common practice within the area of study that, parents who are educated and high income earners would prefer English medium schools while low income earners tend to have less interest in policy issues regarding language use, as well as teaching and learning, or at least

less ability to choose a school based on language policy. Kormos, Kiddle, and Csizer (2011:5), as well as Mickelson, Bottia and Southworth (2008:1), share similar sentiments on how parents' demographic compositions and socio-economic status affect school choice for their children.

 The frequency and pattern of CS also varies in view of policy stipulations of the school. In some schools, the use of a language other than English is punishable. It is assumed that learners who use English in and outside the classroom, as well as at home, are less likely to use CS compared to learners who are only exposed to some form of English at school. The teachers' frequency of CS is therefore likely to correlate with the types of learners in the classroom, the policy stipulation of the school and other classroom-specific contextual issues.

From my past experiences as an educator, I have noticed that the frequency of CS may vary according to the type of school, policy stipulation on language use within the school, learners' backgrounds and their linguistic profiles. My assumption would therefore be that teachers' use of language would often be determined by the context they operate in and the type of learners they have in the classroom. This assumption is tested using two distinct schools – SCH1 and SCH2. The two schools differ in terms of learners' linguistic profiles, learners' socio-economic backgrounds and degree of emphasis on language use policy at school. SCH1 has a large percentage of English-Venda bilinguals, followed by Indian and African immigrant learners who mainly use English for classroom and outside classroom interactions. On the other hand, SCH2 is mainly composed of English-Venda bilinguals, with Tshivenda mainly used for interaction outside the classroom.

1.3.   Research questions and aim of the study

The aim of the study is to identify the frequency and specific functions of CS in the two schools located in the Vhembe District of Limpopo Province. With this aim in mind, the following research questions are formulated:

(1)   To what extent do teachers in the primary schools concerned make use of CS in classroom interaction?

(2)   What is the frequency, function and nature of CS in these classrooms?

(3)   Does the frequency of CS differ according to school type? And if so, what are the reasons for such differences?

1.4.   Structure of the thesis

The thesis focuses on the prevalence of CS in two primary schools with distinct linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. Chapter 2 of this thesis provides an overview of the literature on CS, focusing specifically on CS in South Africa and in educational contexts. Chapter 3 explicates the theoretical framework relating to social aspects of CS, namely Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model. Chapter 4 sets out the methodology used to answer the research questions. In chapter 5, the data is presented, discussed and analysed, while Chapter 6 concludes the thesis pointing out the insights gained, the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research on the topic of CS in educational settings.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.   Introduction

This chapter examines the sociolinguistic aspects of CS. Research on CS has provided a large amount of data on the significance, functions and type of CS in various bilingual contexts. Earlier debates on CS focused largely on the significance of CS as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Two contrasting views constitute the essence of the debate. There is the tolerant view of CS, which sees CS as an inevitable and a common phenomenon in a bilingual context. Conversely, the advocates for the exclusive use of a target language (TL) criticise CS for its potential to promote non-standard usage of language. Slabbert and Finlayson (2002:238) associate the latter with a Eurocentric perspective and its prescriptive nature, while the former is associated with an Afro-centric perspective which is steadily asserting itself in contact linguistics.

Research focusing on the nature and function of CS abounds. Myers-Scotton (1993), whose model of CS will be outlined in the next chapter, has written extensively on the socio-psychological uses of CS, depicting it as the use of language characterised by a juxtaposed multiple-language production. Wardhaugh (2006) concurs that it is common for people in a multilingual community to select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also switch from one code to another or mix codes. Wardhaugh (2006:101) notes that CS is often used for group identity, solidarity or even to establish, destroy or move across group boundaries.

There is a great deal of research on the prevalence of CS in various social settings, including the occurrence of CS in non-formal situations as well as CS in classroom situations. This thesis focuses primarily on the use of CS in a bilingual school environment. Nevertheless, an overview is provided of the different types of CS, with the subsequent sections looking at studies done on the uses of CS in the classroom.

2.2.   Types of code switching

Code switching can be characterised from both a social and a grammatical perspective. One of the first sociolinguistic studies of CS, by Blom and Gumperz (1972), identified two basic types of CS, namely metaphorical and situational CS, although this characterisation was later broadened to

include a third type , namely conversational CS. As pointed out in chapter 1, the term CS in this context is used to denote a bilingual communicative strategy consisting of the alternate use of two languages in the same conversation, even within the same utterance/sentence (Hamers and Blanc 2000:266). In this section, a distinction is made between situational and metaphorical CS. Following this, a description of CS as a conversational strategy is given. Finally, a grammatical distinction is made between intra-, inter- and extra-sentential CS, with illustrative examples.

2.2.1. Situational code switching

Situational code switching occurs when the language used changes according to the situations in which the conversants find themselves: they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one (Wardhaugh 1998:103).

Downes (1998:83) introduces the concept 'functional specialization' and the existence of 'domains of language.' This is in line with his contention that varieties have distinct uses and when a speaker chooses a particular code, they can be enacting an intention to redefine the situation in which they are participating. Nilep (2006:8) adopts Blom and Gumperz' (1972) assertion that social events, defined in terms of participants, setting and topic, restrict the selection of linguistic variables. In their Norwegian study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) looked at how teachers used distinct codes - Bokmal and Ranamal. Their findings show that teachers treated lectures versus discussions within a class differently, with lectures delivered in standard Bokmal whilst a shift to the regional Ranamal was used to encourage open debate. It is observed that Ranamal ought to occur where non-local, pan-Norwegian values are most important (Downes 1998).

2.2.2. Metaphorical code switching

Wardhaugh (2006:106) uses the term "metaphorical code switching" to describe a linguistic scenario where a change of topic requires a change in the language used. Furthermore, Wardhaugh (2006:104) maintains that although certain topics may be discussed in either code, the choice of a code adds a distinct flavour to what is said about the topic. An important distinction is made between situational switching, where alternation between varieties redefines a situation, being a change in governing norms, and metaphorical switching, where alternation enriches a situation. Reiterating the same argument, Wardhaugh (2006: 104) affirms that metaphorical code switching

can be used to redefine the situation from formal to informal, official to personal, serious to human and from politeness to solidarity.

2.2.3. Conversational code switching

Defining conversational code switching, linguists explore this feature in different dimensions. Auer (1984) revisits Gumperz' approach of semantic, as opposed to merely functional analyses. Gumperz (1982) proposed that each language of a bilingual speaker has a meaning (potential), just as a lexical entry has a core meaning that can be treated independently. Hence a language may either represent a 'we code', associated with an ethnically specific minority, or a 'they code', for the majority associated with the more formal, stiff and less personal out-group relation. In view of this dimension, a speaker's ability to juxtapose language varieties within a conversational turn in response to the semantic considerations would then be a characteristic feature of Conversational CS.

True conversational CS implies metaphorical switching, rather than situational switching (Paolillo 2011). Elaborating on this argument, Paolillo (2011) uses Myers-Scotton's (1993) illustration of a bank teller and a customer, where the customer switches to Luyia, a language that both the customer and the teller share. People who speak Luyia are known as Abaluyia which is the second largest ethnic group in Kenya. As members of the same clan, those of the same hearth, by switching to Luyia – the 'we code' - the customer covertly appeals to the teller's sense of ethnic loyalty and obligation toward kin (Paolillo 2011).

Similarly, Wardhaugh (2006) states that the code we choose to use on a particular occasion indicates how we wish others to view us. The switch to a different code would then be influenced by the conversational goal intended. Finlayson et al. (1998) identify several aspects relating to the significance of conversational CS in a multilingual setting, namely that a speaker can access different identities and accommodate others, meet someone else half way, establish common ground and show flexibility and openness (Wardhaugh 2006:116).

2.2.4. Intersentential, intrasentential and extra-sentential code switching

Macswan (in Van Dulm 2007:16) uses the term "intersentential code switching" to describe the switching that takes place between sentences where one clause or sentence is in one language and

the next clause or sentence is in the other. Willans (2011) shows how effective intersentential CS is when teachers explain a concept that students are failing to understand. In example 1 below (Willans 2011:29), a student has failed to understand what was meant by cultural features. In response, the teacher, Jessica, switches to Bislama after Nellie had asked in English about the meaning of cultural features. In this case Bislama – which is a national dialect of Melanesian pidgin – is used as an additional resource to English, which students employ to help them complete academic tasks, thus making use of the bilingualism they possess. Bislama, is one of the official languages of Vanuatu spoken by many of the urban ni-Vanuatu. Also known as Bichelamar, it is a creole language which can be basically described as a language with an English vocabulary and an oceanic grammar. More than 95% of words are of English origin; the remainder combines a few dozen words from French, as well as some vocabulary inherited from various languages of Vanuatu.

Example 1

Nellie: What is meant by cultural features?

Jessica: Cultural (.) *oslem ol man oli mekem ating* (.) physical *olsem volkeno*
            "Cultural (.) like manmade I think (.) physical like volcano"

In example 2, Mokgwathi and Webb (2013:115) show how a teacher uses intersentential CS in the form of a complete sentence to probe learners to give more information.

Example 2

Teacher: Why iron, Modi (not learner's real name)? *Kana nna ke rile o ne ompha lebaka la gore ke eng orial!*
"I have already said you must give me a reason why you say so!"

In her study on a socio-cultural approach to CS and code mixing among speakers of isiZulu in Kwazulu-Natal, Ndebele (2012:99) shows how intersentential code switching is used to emphasise a particular point. In the scenario below, a speaker uses both Zulu and English clauses to refer to the same concept.

Example 3

Asiqale la nango kuthi ngi khulume nomengameli wami
"Let us begin here as I am talking to my president"
U-comrade Sidumo okokuqala he remains my comrade, he remains my president
"Comrade Sidumo firstly"

According to Ndebele (2012: 100), in this example, the two expressions used in the statement *nomengameli wami*, ("my president")…*my president*, mean the same thing and are used interchangeably for emphasis.

While intersentential CS occurs between clauses and sentences, intrasentential CS occurs within the clause boundary (Van Dulm 2007:16). Willans (2011: 30), in example 4, shows how intrasentential CS is used, this time for assurance.

Example: 4

Jessica: I'll just write only the answers.
Rosina: Yes
Nellie: Yes *ansa nomo*
        "yes just the answers"

In example 5, a History teacher uses intrasentential CS to explain the content of the lesson.

Example 5

Teacher: *Ee* … that's why *batho ba* road transport advise people to have some points
        "yes …"   "personnel"
        where they may rest, just relax for may be thirty minutes and then continue
        with their journey.

(Mokgwathi and Webb 2013:115)

Similarly, example 6 shows how a teacher uses both intrasentential CS and intersentential CS to deliver the lesson.

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Example 6

Teacher: Alright, Topo (not learner's real name) it could be attacked or destroyed

jaaka eng? Despite this, there was a great disadvantage… disadvantage, sorry,

"like what?"

in being a totem. *Ba ne ba bua nnete*

"They were telling the truth."

(Mokgwathi and Webb 2013:115)

In example 7 below, Willans (2011:28) shows the use of intrasentential CS in a repair function intended to solve a breakdown in communication. In this example, Nellie switches to Bislama to reformulate her original suggestion in English to make it clear.

Example 7

Nellie: it occurs up in the sky?

Rosina:What?

Nellie: *hem I* occurs *antap long skae no*?

"it occurs up in the sky doesn't it?"

2.3.   Significance and prevalence of CS in a bilingual classroom

Switching from one language to the other is a common practice in a bilingual context. CS is therefore a linguistic feature common across the globe. For example, Gulzar (2010) explores the prevalence of CS among teachers in Pakistan and acknowledges how common the practice is in the area. Gulzar (2010:27-28) also discusses other studies of CS in the classroom, such as Merritt et al (1992), who explored the determinants of teachers' CS between English and Swahili and mother tongue in three Kenyan primary schools, and Guthrie (1984), whose comparative study provided results which show the difficulties that monolingual teachers face in teaching students who are at an early stage of development, placing bilingual teachers at an advantage.

Historically, within an educational setting, the perception was that an open view towards CS would lead to an overuse of CS by teachers. In South Africa, attempts were made to prevent language contact. Slabbert and Finlayson (2002:236) highlight the attempt in South Africa to maintain language purity through a strict division of communities into racially ethnic groups. Luckett, a

researcher for the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), however, argues strongly for dual medium language policy and this was reiterated by the ANC position on language use in education (Murray 2002:459). Although the previous educational language policy viewed CS unfavourably, a survey conducted by NEPI showed that a third of teachers interviewed said they use more than one language in a classroom (Murray 2002:439).

Mokgwathi and Webb (2013) explore how Setswana, a language demoted in favour of English as a language of teaching and learning (LoLT) in Botswana, inevitably resurfaces in classrooms when teachers switch codes for pedagogic or didactic reasons. Despite the official position which requires Setswana to be solely a taught subject, its use as an LoLT has not disappeared (Mogwathi and Webb 2013). Similarly, Chimbutane (2013) explores how Changana, one of the 20 indigenous languages demoted in Mozambique in favour of Portuguese, becomes a useful resource when teachers use it together with Portuguese in class to facilitate learning. Although some teachers advocate monolingual instruction, Chimbutane (2013:319) notes teachers' acknowledgment that, in cases where they find that students cannot understand, they switch from Portuguese to Changana to provide context and open children's horizons.

Moodley (2008) looked at the role of CS by IsiZulu native language (NL) junior secondary learners in English first language (EL1) multilingual classrooms in South Africa. In this context, Moodley (2008:709) advocates for the strategic use of CS as it not only fosters multilingualism but also promotes the acquisition of English as a first language. Similarly, Adendorff (1993: 229), in his study on CS among IsiZulu speaking teachers and their learners, expresses the need for teachers to value CS as an interactional resource. In their studies, Nontolwane (1992), Kieswetter (1995), Canagarajah (1996) and Eldridge (1996) also acknowledge the significance of CS as a resource for effective teaching and learning.

2.4.   Functions of CS in a bilingual classroom

The functions of CS in a bilingual classroom are illustrated with examples from Rose and Van Dulm (2006), Adendorff (1993), Moodley (2008), Marawu (1997) and Willans (2011). Firstly, Rose and Van Dulm (2006) identify the role of CS in alleviating a word finding difficulty as illustrated in example 8 below.

In example 8, both the teacher and the learners understood the meaning of the word in the other language, or indeed did so once the teacher had accessed the target word.

Example 8

T: We have so many diseases, I don't know what it is called in English but it is
     '*n ernstige siekte ...*um*...pokke, in Afrikaans* it's *pokke*, which killed half the
     a   serious disease small pox in Afrikaans   small pox
     society many years ago but even today there's still such sickness in the world, like
     what? Who can name one?

<div align="right">(Rose and Dulm 2006:47)</div>

Similarly, example 9 below illustrates the role of CS for the purpose of clarifying meaning. In this example, Nellie switches to Bislama, to clarify an unfamiliar word "hazards".

Example 9

Nellie: What are the three main hazards? Hazards *hem i minm denjeres uh*?
                                           means dangerous doesn't it?

<div align="right">(Willans 2011:29)</div>

In the classroom, CS is not only limited to interactions between teachers and students. Moodley (2007) illustrates how students in a group discussion use CS for elaboration, reiteration and also to claim the floor. Examples 10, 11 and 12 show these functions respectively.

In example 10, Moodley (2007) notes the use of CS for elaboration, when students switch codes to provide connotative qualities of pigs, building up on the character of Old Major - a character in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* - which is depicted as exploitative.

Example 10

L1: Man is the only real enemy. That's the saying. What do you think about that? They
     felt that man was their only real enemy. Andile, you want to say something?
L2: *Ngobe yona iyivila.*
     "because it (the pig) is lazy."

L3: Obviously, *ezukudliwa nje.*

"pigs are for eating." (pupils laugh)

L4: *Iyinuka futhi, ayiphumeli ngaphandle futhi ayigezi.*

"They are filthy, they don't go out and they don't wash."

(Moodley 2007:715)

In example 11, CS is used for reiterative purposes. Learners repeat in Zulu what has already been said in English, in exact or modified form. Moodley (2007) explains the reasons for such reiteration as being to emphasise, ensure understanding of what has been said, as well as to verify and/or build vocabulary.

Example 11

L1: So, what do you understand about this term propaganda?

L3: It's when people spread false information.

L1: *Umuntu asho into* wrong *ngommunye.*

"When people spread wrong information about someone."

L3: You have to take action like now. *Ngengamanje ungati thatha iaction.*

"Like now, you can take action."

L1: But the animals were also at fault. Their fault is that they are wrong themselves.

L3: Even men fight against themselves. *Ja, ngoba nani niyalwa nodwa.*

"Yes, even people fight amongst themselves."

(Moodley 2007: 715-716)

Example 12, taken from Moodley (2007:717-718) shows how students creatively use CS in order to claim the floor during discussions among students.

Example 12

L4: Can I say something? I want to say something.

L3: You see

L4: *Imani ngicele ukubuza? Ngicela ukhuluma ngaledaba ya leAnimal farm*? *Agithi leAnimal farm iginovel*?

"Wait can I say something? Can I talk about this Animal Farm? It is a novel, isn't

15

it a novel?

L3: But sometimes it is true.

L1: But it's based on real life. Come listen to this.

L4: *Khona iphoyinti engifuna ukuye kulona.*

"There is a point I want to get to."

L3: *Anithula. Ngicela ukhuluma kule phoyinti, ngicela ukubekakule phoyinti? Angithi kuthiwa* novel, *inovel? Ungathini kuthiwa lama* animals *ube* lazy. *Futhi ephethwe njenge zingulube*?

"Be quiet. Can I say something on this point/ Can I say something? Isn't Animal Farm a novel, a novel? What would you say if these animals were people, lazy and treated like pigs?"

L2: Like the way it was during apartheid.

L3: No. *Uzobona umasengi qhubeka*. Let's say the pigs were referred to as lazy people.

"You will see when I continue."

As example 12 shows, the switch to Zulu in both instances is effective in that the learner successfully claims a turn at being heard.

Teachers equally switch codes in order to get students' attention, particularly when cautioning a disruptive student or commenting on behaviour. Adendorff (1993) shows how teachers switch codes to get students' attention as a means of exercising classroom management. In example 13, two instances of where a biology teacher switches to Zulu are given. These illustrate a change of tone and the teacher's plea for students' immediate attention.

Example 13

Musani ukuvuka izincwadi zenu
"Do not open your books"

Hhayi bo, Vala wena!
"Close your book over there!"

(Adendorff 1993:14)

16

Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo (2002) looked at language practice involving mathematics, science and English language teachers and learners in a sample of urban and rural primary and secondary schools in South Africa. Teachers who participated acknowledged the significance of CS in a classroom for varied reasons, the most notable being for reformulation and interaction with learners or small groups (Setati et al. 2002). Similarly, in (Willans (2011:25) Liebscher and Dauley consider CS as a resource for effective bilingual communication. It is for this reason that Liebscher and Dulay argue against the depiction of CS as evidence of deficiency in the L2; rather, they take CS as evidence of dual language competency and part of the strategies bilinguals employ. Willans (2011) observes how CS helps teachers in decoding a concept when learners find it hard to understand, using CS for repair as well as for assurance (Willans 2011)

In examples 14, 15 and 16 respectively, CS is used for clarification of meaning, for repair and for assurance (Willans 2011). In these cases Bislama – a national dialect of Melanesian pidgin – is again used as an additional resource to English, which students employ to help them complete academic tasks, thus making use of the bilingualism they possess.

In example 1, repeated here as 14, Nellie could not understand the concept 'cultural features'. In response, Jessica switches to Bislama for the purpose of clarification.

Example 14

Nellie: What is meant by cultural features?

Jessica: Cultural (.) *oslem ol man oli mekem ating* (.) physical *olsem volkeno*

"Cultural (.) like manmade I think (.) physical like volcano"

Willans (2011) states that when CS has a repair function, it is often intended to solve a breakdown in communication. In example 7, repeated here as 15, Nellie switches to Bislama to reformulate her original suggestion to make it clearer.

Example 15

Nellie: it occurs up in the sky?

Rosina: What?

Nellie: *hem I* occurs *antap long skae no*?

"it occurs up in the sky doesn't it?"

Example 4, repeated here as 16, illustrates an interaction where CS serves the role of assurance. Here Nellie repeats in a different code what Jessica has said already, thereby creating an assurance effect.

Example 16

Jessica: I'll just write only the answers.

Rosina: Yes

Nellie: Yes *ansa nomo*

"yes just the answers"

The next chapter provides an explication of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, the theoretical framework that is adopted for this study. In the discussion, particular attention will be given to the factors which enter into the choice of CS in a particular discourse setting, and which form the basis for characterising the CS as marked or unmarked.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.   Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, this study focuses primarily on the motivations for using CS as observed in two primary schools. The theoretical framework offered by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model is used to identify and provide an account for the different types of CS that are employed in the particular school settings.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), there are motivations for every code choice in any discourse. The Markedness Model portrays speakers as rational beings who are able to decide when, how and for what reason a specific code can be used. The model portrays CS as an index of the set of "rights and obligations" (RO) speakers would like to enforce in a conversational setting (Myers Scotton 1993:84). In this context, the RO set is used to denote a construct that stands for a set of social features that determine the motivation for linguistic variation as marked, unmarked or exploratory (Myers Scotton 1993). This may also be used as a principle that guides the communication transaction. An unmarked choice is ideal when the speaker wishes to affirm the unmarked RO set associated with a conventionalised exchange. Conversely, one may show deference in one's code choice to those from whom one desires something (Myers Scotton 1993). As rational beings, speakers then assess the cost and rewards for using a particular code in a specific setting. On the one hand, Myers-Scotton (1993:113) sees the negotiation principle - which directs the speaker to choose the form of conversational contribution symbolising the set of rights and obligations which (s)he wishes to be in force between speaker and addressee for current exchange - as an underlying factor for all code choices. Myers-Scotton (1993:110) identifies the following reasons as equally influential motivational factors speakers consider while engaging in CS: change in addressee, topic, setting and the speaker's intention or goal. On the other hand, Blom and Gumperz, (1972) see situational context as the main consideration for a speaker to employ code switching. As noted in chapter 2, they use the term "situational switching" to explain how the situational context determines code suitability. This is in contrast to Myers Scotton (1993:115) who maintains that the change in codes is speaker motivated, and not driven by situation.

In this chapter, I present and discuss the four categories of CS set out in Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, namely (i) CS as a sequence of unmarked choices, (ii) CS itself being the unmarked choice, (iii) CS as a marked choice, and lastly (iv) CS as an exploratory choice.

3.2.   Code switching as a sequence of unmarked choices

CS as a sequence of unmarked choices is triggered by a change in the situational factors within the course of conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). The relationship between interlocutors determines which code speakers switch to in a conversational setting. Sequential unmarked CS is expected when the unmarked RO set changes (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). Rose and Van Dulm (2006:7) observed sequential unmarked CS when teachers were reprimanding learners. In example 17 the change from one unmarked code to another is seen as corresponding with the change in the content and focus of the teacher's utterances from the topic of work to censure.

Example 17

T   Okay *graad nege nou gaan ons 'n klein stukkie werk.*
                grade nines now go us a little bit work

S   No, please. No, Miss, please.

T   *Kom ons het nog werk om te merk*
          come we have still work to mark

T   Bianca why are you walking around?

S   Miss, I'm just busy with something

T   *Okay nommer twee-en-veertig, en drie-en-veertig.* Open up the books please,
                number   forty two   and forty three
          maak gou oop. Ons het nie tyd gehad om te merk nie. Okay *julle* I am sure we
          make quickly open we have not time had to mark not   you-plural
          are on this page forty two and forty three, yes.

(Rose and Van Dulm 2006:7)

Myers-Scotton (1993:88) also illustrates how a code is linked with an RO set as shown in example 18 below. In this context a guard speaks to a visitor whom he considers to be a Kenyan African. This was an encounter for which the unmarked RO set renders the guard as helpful gate keeper and the visitor as polite enquirer. The guard chooses Swahili as a neutral linguistic variety in this

context. As the conversation continues, the guard acknowledges his shared ethnicity with the visitor hence he switches from Swahili to Luyia, a switch from "unknown to shared" marking ethnic brethren. Interestingly, when a second visitor appears, the guard switches back to Swahili indexing the more neutral set for such encounters (Myers-Scotton 1993:88).

Example 18

Guard. *Unataka Kumwona nani*?

    "Whom do you want to see?"

Visitor. *Ningependa Kumwona* Solomon I-

    "I would like to see Solomon I-."

Guard. *Unamjua kweli? Tunyane* Solomon A- *Nadhani ndio Yule*.

    "Do you really know him? We have Solomon A- I think that's the one you mean"

Visitor. *Yule anayetoka Tiriki – yaani Mluyia*

    "That one who comes from Tiriki – that is, a Luyia person."

Guard. Solomon *menuyu wakhumanya vulahi*?

    "Will Solomon know you?"

Visitor. Yivi *mulole umuvolere ndi Shem L- venyanga khukhulola.*

    "You see him and tell him Shem L- wants to see you"

Guard. *Yikhala yalia ulindi*

    "Sit here and wait"

When another visitor appeared, the guard switched back to Swahili responding to the visitor's question who enquired about Mr K's presence.

Guard. (to the visitor). *Ndio yuko – anafanya saa hii ....*

    "He is doing something right now."

                         (Myers-Scotton 1993:88)

3.3.   CS itself as unmarked choice

Speaking two languages in the same conversation is a common feature among speakers in bilingual communities. It is seen mainly as a way of enriching communication transactions (Myers-Scotton 1993). Myers-Scotton (1993:119) identifies various conditions characteristic of CS as an unmarked choice. Firstly, speakers must be bilingual speakers. Secondly, there should be no

socioeconomic differential between speakers. The third requirement is that interaction should be meant to symbolise the dual group membership that such CS calls up. This type of CS normally occurs in informal interaction involving in-group members. Lastly, speakers must be relatively proficient in either language.

Various reasons are advanced for CS as an unmarked choice. These reasons are described and illustrated with suitable examples in the next four subsections.

3.3.1. CS for instrumental reasons

Rose and Van Dulm (2006:5) illustrate how CS is used to fulfil a humorous function. In example 19, a teacher trying to elicit a positive response from learners while interacting with them outside the context of the actual lesson on a personal level.

> **Example 19**
>
> S *My maag brom*
>
>   my stomach drones
>
> T *Dis my maag grom, nie brom nie*
>
>   it's my stomach grumbles not drone not
>
> S *Ek know, Miss Tylor*.
>
>   T My stomach is past *gromming*, it's now *bromming*
>
>   grumbling   droning
>
> (Rose and Van Dulm 2006:5-6)

Furthermore, Rose and Van Dulm (2006:6) use example 20 to show how CS as an unmarked choice functions to alleviate a word finding difficulty, when a word from the other language is substituted for a momentarily inaccessible word. Once again, both teacher and learners understood the meaning of the word in the other language, or indeed do so once the teacher has accessed the target word (Rose and Van Dulm 2006).

Example 20

T   We have so many diseases, I don't know what it is called in English but it is '*n ernstige siekte ...*um*...pokke, in Afrikaans* it's *pokke*, which killed half the society a serious disease   small pox in Afrikaans   small pox

many years ago but even today there's still such sickness in the world, like what? Who can name one?

(Rose and van Dulm 2006:47)

3.3.2.   Unmarked CS in order to maintain two positively evaluated identities

Example 21 below shows how bilingual learners engage in unmarked CS to fulfil a social function. The learners in question engage in unmarked CS, using single words from Afrikaans while speaking English, on the assumption that they understand one another (Rose and Van Dulm 2006:5)

Example 21

S1 Guess what Tammy and I are eating now at break – pizza slices! Ha, look at your face.
S2 Will you give me *hap*?

                                bite

S3 Yes man, I will give you *hap*?

                            bite

(Rose and Van Dulm 2006:5)

3.3.3.   Unmarked CS to fulfil an expansion function

Rose and Van Dulm (2006:6) use the following example of a teacher who is sufficiently familiar with her learners and their bilingualism to make an unmarked switch to expand on an explanation.

Example 22

S Is *vet ruspers*…um …object?
    fat caterpillars
T No, who's been *vreet*-ing?
                gorging?

23

S The *vet ruspers*

     fat caterpillars

T *Ja*, the subject

  yes

S So what's the object, miss?

T What has been eating, eating what?

S *Plantjies.*

  little plants

T *Plantjies* is your object. Grade nines, for subject you say who is doing the work

  little plants

Who is eating? *Vreet is mos eet né*? So who is eating? The caterpillars, so

       gorge is indeed eat hey?

Caterpillars, that is your subject. *Vet ruspers is jou onderwerp*

      fat caterpillars is your subject

<div align="right">(Rose and Van Dulm 2006:6)</div>

3.3.4. Unmarked CS as an indication of an imperfect command of the target language

Gulzar (2010:33) claims that CS can be necessitated by likely linguistic deficiency in the TL. Crystal (in Gulzar 2010:33) concurs that speakers may switch from one language to another as a way of compensating for their linguistic deficiency. In this regard, Jegede (2010) studied patterns of CS in three Nigerian Primary Schools. In the first school, a teacher started her lesson in the medium of English but, realising that the class was passive and learners were not responding, she switched to Yoruba and this had a dramatic effect on the lesson and her methodology (Jegede 2010:43). Similarly, a teacher in the second school had to switch from Hausa (the main medium of instruction) to English for ease of expression. Jegede (2010) observed the following switches that the teacher made:

Example 23

(When the class was about to start) *Shiga* class

        "Enter class"

(At the beginning of the lesson) *Rubuta* date

"Write today's date"

Lastly, in the third primary school, Jegede (2010:43) observed the linguistic behaviour of a mathematics teacher whose NL was Yoruba, and who seemed to have insufficient skills in and knowledge of the TL, English. Jegede (2010) observed that the mathematics teacher was not able to explain open sentences in English, hence the teacher decided to switch to Yoruba as illustrated example 24.

Example 24

Teacher: Open sentence means a sentence that is …open. That is, *ki aye ti eyan le ko nkan si wa ninu* sentence, *bi* fill-in the gaps *ti a maa nse ni* English. "This means leaving a space { } where one can insert a figure just like fill-in the gaps you do in English."

(Jegede 2010:43)

Jegede (2010:43) maintains that the teacher's silence in the first sentence was due to lack of competence in English. However, she was able to express herself with ease when she switched between English and Yoruba allowing her to impart subject matter to the pupils.

3.4.   CS as a marked choice

Contrary to unmarked choice, where speakers are guided by the expected RO set, CS as a marked choice reflects speakers' position to dis-identify with the expected RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993:131). In making a marked choice, speakers disregard presumptions which are often formulated on the basis of societal norms, rights and obligation; marked choice is therefore a communicative intent that speakers use as a strategy to convey a specific message. Myers-Scotton (1993:132) lists numerous reasons for CS as a marked choice. These include marked choice to express a range of emotions from anger to affection, negotiating outcomes ranging from demonstration of authority or superior educational status to assertion of ethnic identity, negotiating an increasing/decreasing change in the expected social distance between participants, marked choice as an ethnically based exclusion strategy, and marked choice for aesthetic effect. Myers-Scotton (1993) also lists the use of marked choice as an echoic or structural flagging device, and

also as a linguistic tool depicting speakers as entrepreneurs in a conversational transaction (Myers-Scotton 1993).

3.4.1. CS as a marked choice to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection

Moodley and Kamwangamalu (2004:195) use the term "phatic" to explain how CS is used with a variation in tone or pitch of voice to achieve specific effects. Example 25 shows the teacher addressing her class strongly, loudly and assertively to maintain order in a class that had become rowdy

Example 25

T: Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

T: Keep quiet. *Thula! Oyedwa ngesikhathi*

Keep quiet! One at a time!

(Moodley and Kamwangamalu 2004).

Similarly, Rose and Van Dulm (2006:9) show in example 26 how CS occurs when the teacher displays anger in reprimanding learners.

Example 26

T Okay, have you all got one now? Right, if we read from top, it says a very important part of choosing a career is working out what would suit your own interest and abilities. The average person works forty years before retiring. Okay, so the average person goes to school for how many years?

[No answer comes from the learners]

T *Kom nou julle.*

come now you-pl

S Um, twelve.

T Twelve years. Just think, if you hate every minute of twelve years, and think how nice it's going to be to hate forty years, not nice, hey?

3.4.2. Marked choice to negotiate outcomes

Myers-Scotton (1993:107) shows how marked choice is used to negotiate outcomes ranging from demonstration of authority or superior educational status to assertion of ethnic identity.

In example 27, the location chief, while chairing a meeting, responds forcefully in Swahili. The chief intentionally switched to Swahili, although Lwadikho, with some English switching, has been the medium of the meeting. The chief chose Swahili to make it an authoritative argument since he did not want to take the chance of making any mistakes in front of the various members who were more educated than he is, especially the teachers.

> **Example 27**
>
> T (Lwadikho) *Tsi shilinji tsya* local rate *tsyamenya T- yi tsi ligavulwa lyatsyo shilili lihali muno tawe. Mwhana khu tsi* project *tsindala tsinyishi ndendino shivuli* for *vulavi tawe. Genyekhanenga khu-revise ligavula yili.*
> "Money for the 'local rate', which is in T-, wasn't properly shared out to the projects we have so that some have been granted more money than others and this is not good. This committee should have been the one to portion out the money. The whole breakdown should be revised."
>
> Chief (Swahili) *Mimi kamachief. Naweza kuamua na ni lazima mkubaline name, mpende, msipende.*
> "I'm the chief. I can decide and it's necessary that you agree with me, whether you like it or not."
>
> (Myers-Scotton 1993:107).

3.4.3. Marked choice to negotiate a change in the expected social distance

Speakers often choose a code with an implicit communicative intent. For instance, speakers may choose a code to express the preferred social distance in any conversation. Depending on inherent contextual issues, marked CS can therefore be used to either decrease or increase the preferred social distance between interlocutors.

Myers-Scotton (1993:135) uses example 28, depicting a Zimbabwean university student refusing to give a fellow student money, to illustrate this type of CS. The fellow student has already refused

once in their shared mother tongue, the Ndau dialect of Shona, but the first student persists; finally, the speaker switches to English to maintain her preferred distance relation (Myers-Scotton 1993).

Example 28

Student: I said '*Andidi'* I don't want!

3.4.4. Marked choice as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy

Myers-Scotton (1993:135) notes several reasons for marked choice as an ethnical exclusion strategy. This includes attempts by speakers who, being away from their homeland, try to ease the strain associated with urban anonymity by turning to those they can identify with by sharing the same language. Consider in this regard the dialogue presented in Rose and Van Dulm (2006:10) between a visiting student teacher from the United States of America and South African students. The visiting student teacher is an English monolingual speaker, whereas the South African students are English/Afrikaans bilinguals. As an ethnically-based exclusion strategy, the students code switch to Afrikaans, which means that the content of the message can be understood by classmates but not by the teacher.

Example 29

S1   Miss Shannon, have you ever been to Table Mountain?

T   Yes I went yesterday.

S2   Did you enjoy it? I have never been.

T   Really?

S1   Me either, but we live here.

S2   I know, should we go together?

S1   Yes then we can bungi jump off the cable car.

S2   Yes that would be so *kwaai né*?

                          harsh not so?

(Rose and Van Dulm 2006:10)

3.4.5. Marked Choice for its instrumental value

Myers-Scotton (1993:135) observes how marked CS is used for its instrumental value. In this context, speakers are seen as rational beings who are able to weigh the cost and rewards for using either code – the marked or unmarked choice. In contexts where ethnicity is salient, speakers are likely to demonstrate their ethnic affiliation through a marked choice that symbolises and strengthens common ethnic and cultural identity (Myers-Scotton 1993:136).

Amuzu (2012:15) explores how marked CS is used as a strategy for excluding a third party from participating in the conversation. In example 30 below, the first two turns are in Ewe-English CS, which John and Victoria share as their unmarked code and language of solidarity. Victoria initially addresses the caller in this code. But after the caller's response, Victoria switches to Krobo, a language John does not understand. Explaining this transaction, Victoria states that she and her sibling frequently use Krobo in addition to Ewe and English because they learned it when they were growing up in Kpong, a Kropo dominant town in Ghana. Amuzu (2012:15) attributes such CS to two reasons: (i) it marks Victoria's solidarity with her sibling and (ii) it excludes John from the world she shares with her brother, which is characterised by the monolingual use of Krobo.

Example 30[3]

John   *Nye ha me se nya ma* but I couldn't ask him about it

I also heard about that issue

(Victoria's phone rings)

Me no bubu-m be…

I was thinking that

Victoria: (to John) *Me gbona sia*. *Nye* kid brother-*e ma*

I am coming, please. That is my kid brother

(to caller) *Egba kata me* pick *nye* call-*wo o*.

The entire day you did not pick my calls.

Caller (Inaudibly replies)

---

[3] Ewe is given in italics, English in normal font and Krobo is underlined.

Victoria: Eke mini be? De le ke imi lee, poto mi..

He said what time? Tell him that as for me, I am tired

(Amuzu 2012:15)

Similarly, Arthur (1996) observed the instrumental value of marked CS in a classroom interaction in Botswanan Primary Schools. The medium of instruction was English but the teacher used CS between English and Setswana to achieve a specific communicative intent. In this context, Arthur (1996:22) observed the instrumental value of CS being to encourage participation by pupils, expressing solidarity, as well as an attempt by the teacher to mark affection to the learners. Arthur (1996) notes how the switches from English into Setswana are variedly used to encourage participation in class. Firstly, the Setswana term employed in example 31 explicitly expresses solidarity.

Example 31

Buela go godimo tsla ya me
Speak up my friend

(Arthur 1996:22)

Example 32 shows an attempt by another teacher to persuade with affection when encouraging a student who was reluctant to participate or answer the question in class.

Example 32

T: *Leka mma. Re utlwe*
    try madam. We are listening

(Arthur 1996:22)

Arthur (1996) observed a tendency among all teachers to repeatedly use the polite forms of address *mma* and *rra,* which are conventionally in Botswana when addressing adults in either Setswana or English. Arthur (1996:22) sees the central aim of the teachers' CS in the above examples as being to facilitate contributions by learners in English.

3.4.6. Marked choice when the message is the medium

When the message is the medium, marked choice often complements its referential message but with an extended communicative intent (Myers-Scotton 1993:138). Communicative intent of a marked choice when the message is the medium may convey emotions like anger as well as the social distance preferred by a speaker and not necessarily the referential message. Jegede (2012:45) describes how marked choice is used to express anger in a primary school in Nigeria where both English and Yoruba are used. English is an unmarked choice and Yoruba is used as a marked choice. In this context, a primary school teacher is upset by the inability of the pupils to give an answer to a particular question after she had provided the answer three times in the course of the lesson. She expected them to answer without thinking twice (Jegede 2013:45). The example below illustrates how Yoruba - a marked choice - is used to indicate/express the teacher's displeasure.

> **Example 33**
>
> *Eyin o ti e ni* common sense *ni riyin*
> You do not have common sense
> You can't think for yourself, unless *ti aba* think for you
> > > we think for you
>
> > > > (Jegede 2013:45)

3.4.7. Marked choice for aesthetic effect

Marked choice for aesthetic effect normally occurs in a retelling of an incident (Myers-Scotton 1993:139). Amongst other things, using a marked choice for aesthetic reasons demonstrates the creativity on the part of the speaker with an intention of adding artistic effect to the scene. Speakers are seen as entrepreneurs who are innovative in representing the imprint they wish to make for themselves on a conversational exchange (Myer-Scotton 1993).

The excerpt from Sipho Sephamla's poem *A! madoda!* in example 34 is a striking illustration of the use of CS for its aesthetic effect. Barnes (2012:72) identifies the introductory stanza (in English) speaking longingly of an idyllic distant future world when the apartheid era has changed. The mood changes dramatically in the second stanza. The references to African music

(*Izabobonono*, *Zandile* and *Nomvula's dance*), together with a change of rhythm, evoke a time of rejoicing, with singing and dancing, which takes place (prophetically) on that day.

Example 34

When the wild flower begins to grow where houses of parliament stands

when A1 space flights begin to shuttle to ports on outer planets

When our daily cries cease to fall on ears that sever futility

When our patience is no longer cuddled by hurt of a soured life

> we shall be singing *izabonono*

> we shall be shuffling to *Nomvula's* dance

> we shall be wheeling to *Zandile*

A! Madoda! Yini ukusiqhatha kangaka

O! Mighty man! Why are you cheating us like this

Rra mfondini kabawo Bel'elihle

O my brother of my father's clan (the bele clan)

Thol'elide limpondo zine

Great calf with four horns

(Barnes 2012:72)

In this context, Barnes (2012:73) depicts the interplay of the two languages as follows: the Xhosa relates to the personal and cultural effect, while the English sections have a more remote focus. Barnes argues that, had the poem been written in English only, it would have lost much of its impact: lines such as *Rra mfondini kabawo Bel'elihle* and *Thol'elide limpondo zine* are said to be so embedded in Xhosa culture that no English rendering could really do them justice (Barnes 2012:73).

3.5.   CS as an exploratory choice

Myers-Scotton (1993:142-147) identifies several reasons which account for the occurrence of CS as an exploratory choice. Firstly, in situations where speakers are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or which language will help achieve their goal, exploratory CS often occurs spontaneously. Secondly, exploratory choice seems to be the norm when it is not clear

which norms apply, coupled with little knowledge about the social identities of new acquaintances. Thirdly, CS as exploratory choice is often found when the overall societal norms are in a state of flux/instability due to a change in language policy. Finally, if the first code is not reciprocated/shared or communal, speakers often propose the other, hence exploratory CS is seen as a true form of negotiation.

Myers-Scotton (1993:144) uses the example below to illustrate CS as an exploratory choice. In this example, a young man is asking a young woman to dance at a Nairobi hotel. The young man is unsure which language will help him succeed, so he begins with the most neutral choice, Swahili. With little success, the young man proceeds in English which turns out to satisfy the young woman's expectations.

Example 35

He. *Nisaidie na* dance, *tafadhali*.

   Please give me a dance

She. *Nimechoka. Pengine nyimo fuatayo*.

   I'm tired. Maybe the following song.

He. *Hii ndio nyimbo ninayopenda*.

  This is the song which I like.

She. *Nimechoka!*

  I am tirerd!

He. *Tafadhali!*

  Please

She. (Interrupting) Ah, stop bugging me.

He. I am sorry. I didn't mean to bug you, but I can't help if I like this song.

She. Ok, then, in that case, we can dance.

(Myers-Scotton 1993:144)

3.6.   CS as a strategy of neutrality

CS as a strategy of neutrality is employed when a speaker recognises that the use of each of the two languages has its value in terms of costs and rewards (Myer-Scotton 1993:147). In most cases speakers avoid using only one code to avoid committing to a single RO set (Myer-Scotton 1993).

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In their studies conducted in Tembisa, one of the multilingual townships in South Africa, Finlayson, Calteaux and Myer-Scotton (1998) explored the use of CS as a strategy of neutrality by looking at the practical and psychological value of CS. Finlayson et al. (1998:401) attribute the need for CS to two reasons: firstly, the need for accommodative communication and secondly, the psychological value of CS being to ensure that interlocutors do not take advantage of one another by imposing one language. Instead, CS is viewed as leading to a sense of "camaraderie" and unity among residents (Finlayson et al. 1998:401). Neutrality in this context is achieved by CS between English and Sesotho. Example 36 illustrates a typical CS pattern of a Sesotho/English bilingual.

Example 36

Speaker A

Nna, o a bona, ka this thing *ya go kopang ga rona*. I really like it because it brings us closer *Ke gore kaofela batho, o a bona*, It brings unity among us because today that thing *ya gore o le Pedi, o le Pedi, o Mosotho ha e sa le teng tswana le pe* because we now mix the language *gore re khone ho* communicate a o a bona, and this thing is going to help us in a point yah ore like that you are hearing nowadays, we hear people saying *mazulu a lwa le maxhosa* you see those things *di-cause ke yona* that thing *ya go* concentrate-a more specific African languages, *di-cause-a ke ntho eo*.

As for me, you see, about this thing [mixed variety], I totally agree. I really like this thing because it brings us closer togather, it brings unity amongst us, because today there is no longer that thing that you are Pedi, you are Sotho, it is no longer as prevalent as before, because now we mix the language, so that we can communicate, you see, and this will help us in those things that we are hearing today about Zulus fighting with Xhosa. You see those things happen because people concentrate on specific African languages, they cause such things.

(Finlayson et al. 1998:401-402)

A second resident notes that compromise is necessary in order for communication to be successful, hence English, Afrikaans and Zulu are used in example 37:

Example 37[4]

Speaker B

*Oh, **ja**, kusho u kuthi sekhuyi*-language *ivele nje e*-use *wayo la lokhishini, phandle kwalaboabantu ke labo abasakhuluma i*-language *i*-right because mostly *i*-mixed *la emalokhishini **né**?*

Oh, yes, that is the language which is really used in the townships, except for those people who speak a straight language, because for the most, we are mixed here in the township

(Finlayson et al 1998:402)

The exclusive use of English, Sesotho, Zulu or Afrikaans is not ideal in this situation. CS between Sesotho/English and Zulu/English/Afrikaans has accordingly been used as a strategy of neutrality.

3.7.   CS as a deferential strategy

Myers-Scotton (1993) identifies typical circumstances which prompt CS as a deferential strategy. Firstly, there are special circumstances where CS signifies respect to seniority. He (1993:148) provides the example in 38 of a 12-year old Luo boy, who knows English well from his studies. Instead of responding to his father in English, the boy responds in their shared mother tongue – Luo. In this case, the boy realises that his father is angry, hence he feels a need to show respect. Deference in this context is achieved by using the language Luo which indexes an RO set in which his father is acknowledged as superior.

Example 38

Father. Where have you been?
Son. *Onyango nende adlu aora, baba*
   "I've been to the river, father. »

(Myers-Scotton 1993:148)

3.8.   Conclusion

Myers-Scotton (1993) proposes the Markedness Model as a framework for accounting for communication transactions in a bilingual context. In terms of this model, speakers are

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[4] In this example Afrikaans is in bold, Zulu is in italics, and English is in normal font.

characterised as rational beings who choose codes in a specific setting depending on the goal or intention to be achieved. A plausible assumption is that communication transactions in a bilingual classroom between teachers and students, as well as among students themselves, will also be in line with this model. The model is therefore used in the present study for data analysis as it provides a rationale for different types of switches in a bilingual context. In chapter 4, I present the methodology followed in collecting data for the study. A brief outline of the contextual background of the study is also given.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

4.1.   Introduction

The data used in the current study were gathered in classrooms from two primary schools in Limpopo province, within the Sibasa circuit under the Vhembe district. Two educators participated in the study. The first educator was responsible for Natural Sciences (NS) Grade 6 with a total of 70 learners in the class. The second educator was responsible for Social Sciences (SS) Grade 6 with a total of 56 learners in the class. Section 4.2 below provides a brief linguistic profile of the Limpopo province based on current demographic composition, while section 4.3 provides a description of the two schools. Section 4.4 characterises the participants on the basis of the learning areas chosen, gender composition, grade and age. The manner in which data were collected in the classrooms is discussed in section 4.5, while section 4.6 sets out the manner in which the data were analysed.

4.2.   Linguistic profile of Limpopo

Limpopo, the gateway to the rest of Africa, is South Africa's northernmost province, lying within the great curve of the Limpopo River. The province borders the countries of Botswana to the west, Zimbabwe to the north and Mozambique to the east. The province covers an area of 125 755 square kilometres with a population of 5 404 868 (Statistics South Africa 2011). The principal home languages are Sepedi, which is a Sesotho dialect spoken by more than half the population (52.9%), followed by Xitsonga, spoken by 17.5% of the population, and Tshivenda, spoken by 16.7% of the population (Statistics South Africa 2011). Overleaf, Figure 1 summarises the linguistic profile of the province. English and Afrikaans are used as home languages by a relatively small percentage, mainly in the province's economic hubs: Polokwane, the province's capital, and the adjacent small towns Musina and Makhado.

Figure 1. Linguistic profile of the Province
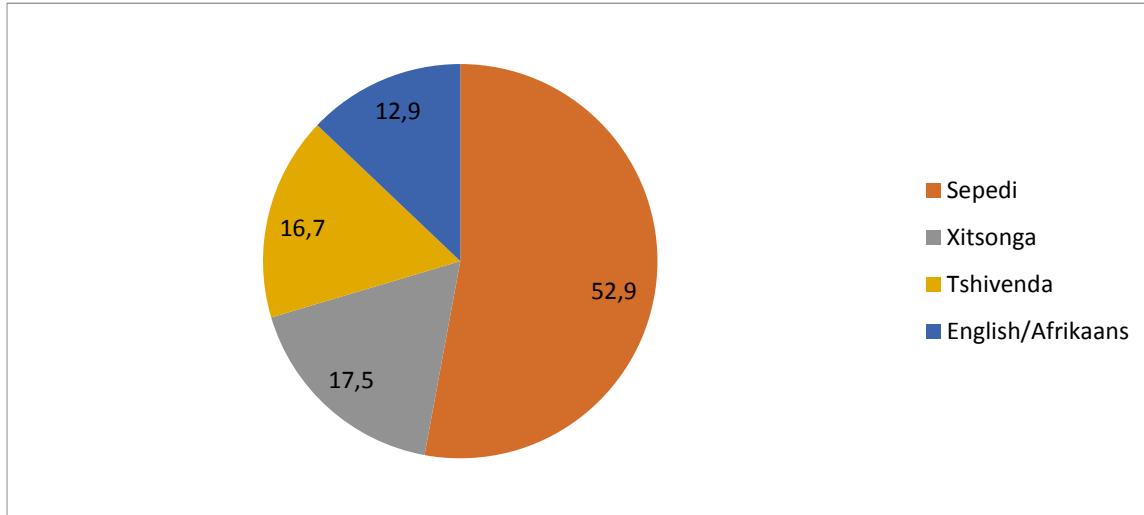
The study was conducted in Vhembe, which is one of the five districts in the province. Vhembe district is composed of four municipalities – Musina, Mutale, Thulamela and Makhado. The seat of Vhembe is Thohoyandou, with Thulamela being the overseeing municipality. The racial composition of the district is 98.2% Black African, 0.15% Coloured, 0.4% Indian/Asian and 1.1% White (Statistics South Africa 2011). The home languages in the district, as shown in Figure 2, are Tshivenda 66.4%, Xitsonga 24.5%, Northern Sotho/Sepedi 1.6%, Afrikaans 1.3% and others constituting 6.2% (Census 2001).

Figure 2. Population % according to language group in Vhembe District
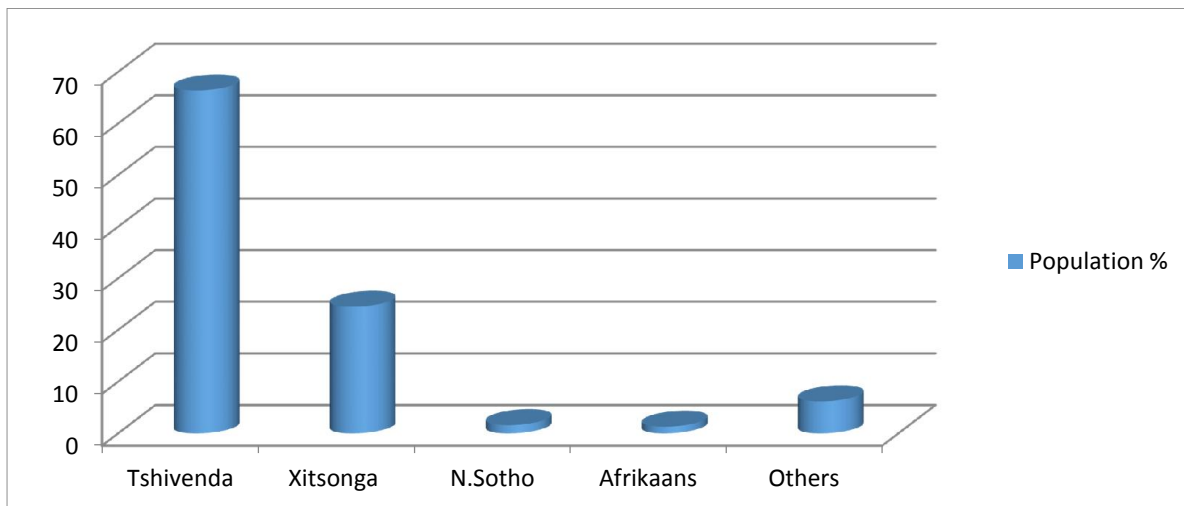
4.3.   Profile of the schools

For the purpose of educational management, Vhembe district has been divided into several school circuits with each circuit comprised of a specific number of primary and secondary schools. The two schools – SCH1 and SCH2 – fall under Sibasa circuit which has a total of 11 secondary schools and 26 primary schools. The use of English as a medium of instruction varies from one school to another. Mother tongue instruction tends to be frequent mainly in rural areas, whereas schools located next to emerging towns mainly use English as a medium of instruction. It is however not the purpose of this study to ascertain the extent and reason for differences in language use in either rural or urban-based schools.

To ensure anonymity and protection of the participating schools, codes were used to represent the schools. The schools will be known as SCH1 and SCH2 respectively. SCH1 is a former Model C school which had a very strict admission policy pre-1994, giving special preference to Whites and Indians; hence English and Afrikaans were used as medium of instruction in the school. Currently, SCH1 exercises a liberal admission policy giving first preference to students in close proximity. Students at SCH1 pay a quarterly fee of R450.00 making it one of the preferred schools by middle income groups in the district. SCH2 is a no-fee public school with a liberal admission policy operating on a first-come first-served basis. As a no-fee school, the school attracts learners from relatively low income groups, with a low percentage of learners who could not gain admission at SCH1 and therefore opted to attend SCH2 as a second choice after SCH1. Both SCH1 and SCH2 are feeders to one of the progressive high schools in the district. Learners from a feeder school gain automatic admission to the nearest high school. It is for this reason that each of the schools, SCH1 and SCH2, has an enrolment figure of over 1200. In view of this, parents choose either SCH1 or SCH2 on the basis of one or a combination of the following reasons: affordability, medium of instruction and the need for automatic admission to the nearest progressive high school.

In terms of racial composition, SCH1 is composed mainly of Blacks, followed by Indians/Asians, learners from other African countries and a very small percentage of Whites. Tshivenda/English bilinguals are usually placed in one class whilst learners whose first language is not Tshivenda are placed in a separate class. The arrangement is solely meant for time table logistics since the second group takes English as their First Language and Afrikaans as the First Additional Language, while the first, dominant, group in the school has English as First Language and Tshivenda as their First

Additional Language. The school has a teaching staff composed mainly of Tshivenda mother tongue speakers, as well as a few English and Shona mother tongue speakers. The preferred medium of instruction in this school is English, as recommended by the school governing body.

The next school involved in the study (SCH2) is composed of Blacks only. Although English is the official medium of instruction, using Tshivenda in class for teaching and learning is not discouraged. Learners also often use their home language – Tshivenda – in and outside the classroom. Educators in this school are mainly Tshivenda/English bilinguals. The majority of learners from this school come from the surrounding villages with relatively low socio-economic status as compared to learners from SCH1. SCH2 parents also have a relatively low educational level compared to parents of SCH1 learners. Figure 3 provides a graphic representation of the educational profile and employment status of parents from both SCH1 and SCH2 respectively.

Figure 3. Parents' educational profile and employment status
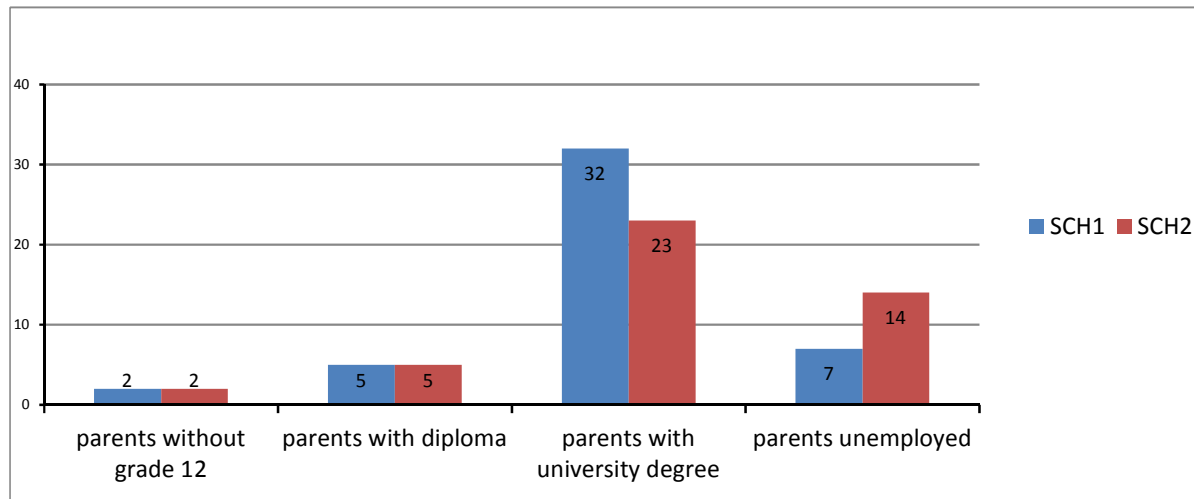
A total of 46 forms/questionnaires were completed by parents at SCH1 while 44 forms were collected from SCH2. The forms required a parent or immediate guardian to provide their highest level of education, employment status, occupation as well as their linguistic background. Briefly, figure 1 summarises the parents' profiles on the basis of their educational qualifications and employment status. The results indicate that both SCH1 and SCH2 had parents/immediate guardians without grade 12. The focus in this context was on parents and or immediate guardians who had regular supervision over and contact with the learner. Secondly, both schools had five parents with diplomas as their main qualification. Diploma in this context refers to a qualification obtainable within 3 years at a college whilst a degree, which carries more weight compared to a

diploma, is offered in universities in the South African context. The figure differs with regard to parents with University degrees and those who were unemployed. SCH1 had a total of 32 out of 46 parents with University degrees, whereas SCH2 had 23 parents out of 44 parents with University degrees. Lastly, SCH1 had seven parents who indicated that they were unemployed, whilst SCH2 had 14 parents who were unemployed.

Although the two schools are based within the same circuit-a technical term used to describe an office where a cluster of schools in the same area falls under for control purpose; it is interesting to note how SCH1 and SCH2 differ in terms of parental profile. Chapter 6 addresses the issue of a possible causal link between parental background and language choice. Data collected were used to determine when and how and for what reason CS occurred. Furthermore, attempts were made to determine whether it is at all possible to attribute frequency and pattern of CS to the socio-economic and educational profile of parents and learners.

The teacher participants in the study were two female educators from SCH1 and SCH2 respectively. A total of 126 learners from both SCH1 and SCH2 were observed. 70 of these learners were from SCH1 and 56 from SCH2. In SCH1, learners were drawn from a Natural Sciences class while a Social Science class was used in SCH2. All the learners from both schools were in grade 6 and they were aged between 10 and 13. SCH1 has a diverse linguistic profile with learners' mother tongues ranging from Tshivenda, Afrikaans, Asian languages to English; however, the class I was allocated for data collection comprised of Tshivenda/English bilinguals. Learners from SCH 2 were mainly Tshivenda/English bilinguals.

4.4. Data collection procedure

The study required adherence to a number of ethical norms, as set out in the approved Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) checklist. Since the study involved minors and was conducted using two public schools, it was necessary to get permission and approval from a number of stakeholders. Firstly, I sought permission from the District Director of the Vhembe district. A letter confirming permission for the study was obtained from the circuit manager who then liaised with the principals about my impending visits. The principals of the two schools also acknowledged receipt of my request for the study in their respective schools. Teachers were also informed in advance in writing that the visits to their classes were solely for research purposes.

None of the participants were told specifically what the study was about as divulging the purpose of the study might have prompted either conscious CS or the deliberate avoidance of CS.

Permission from learners' parents was sought in writing and learners also were asked to accept my request to observe them while interacting with their respective educators. It was necessary to get permission from parents and learners since all of the learners were minors. Both SCH1 and SCH2 are located close to each other within the Vhembe District, hence it was easier to personally hand-deliver letters of request for the study. I provided my contact details for further correspondences to the circuit manager and principals of the two schools. The circuit manager responded within a day confirming permission for the study in the identified schools. The principal at SCH1 responded after a day and made arrangements for me to see the educator concerned the next day. Permission to conduct research at SCH2 was also granted within a week but it took a while before it was possible to start the actual research. I had to wait for teachers to resume classes since educators were on national strike. After three weeks, the principal then contacted me to find out if I was still interested in conducting research at his school. Observations in each school were conducted on three separate days with educators arranging preferred dates and times for observations.

I personally collected data by means of researcher observations and audio recordings of all communicative interactions during formal class time. Data were collected in the classrooms with one educator participating in each school. The actual frequency of the visits to each classroom is reflected in chapter 5. The learning areas were Natural Sciences in SCH1 and Social Science in SCH2. The reason for choosing the two learning areas was mainly the assumption that learners would freely express themselves in view of the content covered in the learning areas. Social Science and Natural Sciences often cover areas or topics that are familiar, hence learners may easily participate and express themselves in class. Interaction between learners and educators was envisaged so that tangible data would be collected in class.

4.5. Data analysis procedures

The data were transcribed orthographically. Both educators involved in the study were English/Tshivenda bilinguals. Being proficient in both English and Tshivenda it was easy for me to transcribe both the Tshivenda and English parts. Data were analysed in terms of markedness and the functions of CS. Myers-Scotton's model of marked and unmarked switches was used to

classify the type of switches observed (see chapter 3). Classification of CS was also done with reference to the functions of CS in a multilingual classroom as identified from the literature on CS in the educational setting (see chapter 2).

The following categories were used to classify CS in terms of markedness:

A. CS as a sequence of unmarked choices

B. CS itself being the unmarked choice

C. CS as a marked choice

    C1. CS bringing unity among marked choices

    C2. The use of marked CS to increase the social distance via authority/anger

    C3. Marked CS as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy

    C4. CS when the message is the medium

    C5. Cs for aesthetic effect

D. CS as an exploratory choice

Based on the literature review in chapter 2, the functions of CS are summarised as follows:

1. CS for academic reasons

    A. CS for translation purpose (Nzwanga 2000, Guthrie in Gulzar 2010, Macaro 2001)

    B. CS to ensure comprehension of procedural instruction (Macaro 2001)

    C. CS to bridge communication gaps and to enhance students' reflection (Nzwanga 2000)

    D. CS for explanation (Nzwanga 2000)

    E. CS to get student attention as a classroom management strategy (Macaro 2001)

    F. CS to promote the socialising role by the teacher and to make learners feel at ease in class (Merrit 1992, Macaro 2001)

G. CS to give reprimands (Macaro 2001)

H. CS to mark the teacher's linguistic insecurity and incompetency

2. CS for social reasons

A. CS for group identity and group expression (Slabbert and Finlayson 2002)

B. CS for individual and group expression (Slabbert and Finlayson 2002)

C. CS as a way of offering contextualization cues (Lehti-Eklund 2012)

D. CS to initiate and complete repair sequences (Lehti-Eklund 2012)

E. CS as a means of enhancing status and social prestige

F. CS to accommodate the addressee (Slabbert and Finlayson 2002)

G. CS to mark the social distance preferred - social distancing (McCormick in Mesthrie 1995)

H. CS as a way to mark authority and restoration of order (McCormick in Mesthrie 1995)

3. CS for classroom management purposes

A. CS to gain learners' attention (Macaro 2001)

B. CS to give general instructions to the learners (Macaro 2001)

4.6.   Conclusion

Chapter 4 focused on the data collection procedure, linguistic profile of the learners, as well as demographic composition of the province where data was collected. The next chapter focuses on the data presentation and analysis.

CHAPTER 5
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1.   Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected for this study, and discusses and analyses the results according to the function of code switches by the teachers, as well as the function of CS itself, in line with Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model as outlined in chapter 3. Section 5.2 discusses switches observed in the classroom context, while section 5.3 discusses the markedness of such switches. The functions of CS are given in the table overleaf, indicating the frequency of occurrence for each function of CS in both SCH1 and SCH2. Data collection was conducted in three separate sessions in all schools with each session lasting for 30 minutes. All in all a total of 90 minutes lessons recordings per school were used for the study. The educators in question used the lessons mainly for teaching with relatively similar allowance for class activities. Section 5.4 provides a comparison of the amount and frequency of English vs. Tshivenda use between the two schools. Data obtained is therefore used for general inferences inter alia extrapolating the relationship between CS frequencies and their context of occurrence.

5.2.   The functions of code switching in the data

The presentation of CS in table 1 follows an order of the function of CS from the most occurring type to the least occurring type. Functions of CS not observed during classroom observation are indicated with a zero. Functions of code switching which did not occur in class include CS showing defiance, CS to increase social distance, CS to bridge communication gap and CS marking teachers' linguistic insecurity as well as CS as an ethnically based exclusion strategy.

The most frequently used function of CS, as reflected in table 1, relates to CS for the purpose of encouraging learners to participate. This type of CS was noted 10 times at SCH1 and 11 times at SCH2. Excerpt 39 serves to illustrate this function.

Table 1. Functions of teachers' code switching

	Functions	Frequency of switches
1	Encouraging learners' participation	21
2	Explaining/translating and clarifying subject matter	16
3	Reasons of solidarity	13
4	Confirming that learners have understood	10
5	Building up learners' understanding of subject matter	9
6	Supporting exploratory talk	6
7	Gaining and keeping learners' attention	5
8	For individual or group cohesion	5
9	Ensuring comprehension of procedural instructions	4
10	Reprimanding to maintain classroom discipline	2
11	Enhancing students' reflection	2
12	Maintaining social relation and distance with learners	1
13	Assisting learners in interpreting subject matter	1
14	Marking identity	1
15	Creating humour	1
16	Mark authority and restoring of order	1
17	Accommodate the addressee	1

18	Showing defiance	0
19	Increasing social distance	0
20	Bridging communication gap	0
21	Marking teachers' linguistic insecurity	0
22	CS as an ethnically based exclusion strategy	0
Total		99

Example 39

T: Think about the following questions. Which learners smelled the spray first?

Ls: The front learners.

T: Only those who are in front. *Vho dzulaho gai*?

Those sited where?

Ls: *Phanda*

In front

T: *Vhare tsini na mini*?

Those closer to what?

T and Ls: *Na* spray

next to a spray

In this example, the SCH1 teacher makes a statement in English and switches to Tshivenda posing a question to students knowing very well that the answer is obvious. Expectedly, the learners respond in Tshivenda and in unison saying *phanda,* meaning "those seated in front". This strategy was used frequently and it helped the teacher in encouraging learners to participate and pay attention throughout the lesson.

The teacher in SCH2 used the same strategy to encourage learners' participation. For instance, using the classroom context, the teacher in example 40 is trying to elaborate on how democracy

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works guided by rules and principles. Switching to Tshivenda is an attempt to contextualise the explanation to ensure learners' participation. As expected, learners responded in affirmation hence the response *Ee*! ("yes").

Example 40

T: *Ri na milayo ya kilasirumu a si zwone?*
       We have rules in the classroom not so?

Ls: *Ee!*
       yes

The second most occurring function of CS was for the purpose of translating, explaining and clarifying the subject matter. Both SCH1 and SCH2 teachers switched codes for this purpose. In Example 41, the teacher in SCH1 wanted learners to develop a mental picture or visualise a complete water cycle.

Example 41

T: Ok, the next arrow will be land and break again to dam, river etc.

T: *Sekele yo pfala*? Cycle *habe ndi tshithu tshine nda ri ndi tshi durowa tsha tou rali.*
       Is the cycle clear? Cycle, remember is something that when I draw looks like this.
       A si zwone kani?
       Not so?
       Zwi amba uri ndi do dovha nda mona, ndi tshi mona, nda mona from the dam
       It means that I will rotate my hand, and rotate,   and rotate
       havha na evaporation, condensation, rain falling*, madi a dovha a vhuyelela gai*?
       that there's   water goes back to where?

Ls: *Kha* dam
       into the dam

In SCH2, the teacher, as shown in example 42, speaks in English and translates the very same statement in Tshivenda. Although the strategy seems time consuming, the teacher wanted all students to understand the content of the lesson. She poses questions and provides answers herself in the vernacular giving further impetus to her first statement.

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Example 42

T: Respect the rights of other people and obey the laws of the country.

       Zwi amba uri ri kha Muvhuso wa democracy*, rine ri fanela u tshila ri tshi khou itani?*

       It means that in a democratic government, we have to live doing what?

       Ri tshi thonifha ra dovha ra tevhdedza mini? Milayo ya shango.

       Respecting and again   we obey what? Laws of the country.

The third most occurring function of CS concerned its use for establishing/expressing solidarity. This was evidenced in both SCH1 and SCH2. Firstly, example 43 from the SCH1 data shows how I was introduced to the learners in Tshivenda. The introduction in Tshivenda made learners realise that the visitor shared the same language with them and furthermore it reduced the anxiety and tension that might have occurred in class.

Example 43

T: *Ri do vha ri tshi khou isa phanda nazwine ra ita nga maduvha. Vho Radzilani hu*

       We will be continuing with what we do like the other days. Mr. Radzilani there

       do vha na zwine vha khou vhona kha rine.

       are things he will observing in us.

T: Okay! We are going to recap on what we were doing yesterday. We can't wait for SCH1A[5] forever! Time is running.

T: Phases of matter. How many phases of matter do we have? Or did we study? All of you!

Ls: Three- Solid, liquid and gas.

Example 44 shows that the teacher in SCH2 understands the plight of students and that they have the right to be taught in the language they understand best. The lesson was about "Right to education". She assures students that she will always make sure that all topics treated in class are clear enough by using their mother tongue where necessary. The learners unanimously agree with the teacher affirming that they expect the teacher to use Tshivenda in class for clarification

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[5] To maintain anonymity, learners' names are replaced by letters, preceded by the code representing the learner's school - SCH1 or SCH2.

purposes. This type of affirmation strengthens solidarity between the teacher and students as they share Tshivenda as their home language.

Example 44

> T: *Nne ndi nga si sokou da hafha nda vhala nga tshikhuwa nda fhedza ndi songo vha*
>   Me, I can't just   come here and read in   English   and finish   and not
>   *talutshedza nga Tshivenda. Vhone vha nga zwipfesesa?*
>   explain   in   Tshivenda. You,   can you   understand that?
>
> Ls: *Hai*
>   No!

Following the previous function, was the use of CS in order to confirm that learners have understood what was taught. In SCH1, the teacher repeatedly wanted to know if learners had understood the lesson content as shown in example 45. The positive response from students give the teacher a positive feedback that she may introduce a new topic since the first one is well captured.

Example 45

> T: Remember Limpopo is not Thohoyandou. Next! Rain is falling where?
> L: To the ground
> T: *Sekele yo pfala naa*? And we call that ground what?
>   Is the cycle clear?
> Ls: Land

Similarly, it was also observed in SCH2 that a similar strategy is used to determine whether learners have understood a particular topic or not. Once learners respond in affirmation, the teacher then proceeds and introduces the next topic in English.

Excerpt 46

> T: Ok, reason for settlement is the reason why people live where they are.
>   *Vho zwi pfa na wee?*
>   Did you understand?

Ls: *Ee*!

        Yes!

The fifth most occurring function of CS was the use of CS for the purpose of building learners' understanding of the subject matter. In SCH1, the educator wanted to make learners understand how impossible it would be to compress solid using bare hands.

Example 47

T: Can we compress solid?

Ls: No

T: *Hu do to u vhavha tshanda ndi tshi khou putedza. Ndi tshi putedza tshanda tshi do vhuya*

        Only your hand will be in pain while trying to press. When I press   my hand will finally

        tsha vhavha so, you cannot compress solid

        be in pain

Similarly, the teacher in example 48 from SCH2 wanted learners to understand that they are now living in a free and democratic country. She used a scenario about learners who were about to undertake a trip to Cape Town. The scenario was meant to help students realise that they are free and won't be restricted to any place while in Cape Town or along the way.

Example 48

T: another example, *ndi ngazwo vhone khamusi, a thi vhanwe vha kho uya* Cape Town?

                        that's why you   may be, is it some of you are going to Cape Town

Ls: *Ee*!

        Yes!

T: *Vha tshiswika hangei, kana hu hanefha dzi ndilani, a vha nga do wana ho*

        When you arrive there,   or else along the way,   you will not find anywhere

        nwalwaho uri whites only. Now we are equal.

        written that

The sixth most frequent use of CS was to support further exploratory talk. Example 49 shows how the teacher at SCH1 asks learners to identify the phases of matter, that is, whether they are solid, gas or liquid.

Example 49

T: Bread? I think it is solid.

Ls: No, it's solid

T: What about Amasi? *Mafhi ala ane ra ita ritshi suka na mugayo. Rala Zwi tshi*
                              That sour milk we often mix with porridge. We eat

        difha, asi zwone?
        being delicious, not so?

Similarly, in example 50 from SCH2 CS was used to support exploratory talk, but in this case it was used in a statement that also marked humour. In this example the teacher wanted learners to explain what equality is. When the learner gave an incorrect answer, she humorously switched codes allowing students to provide possible correct responses and in the process encouraging exploratory talk. The teacher's response is in a question form denoting that she expected a different answer, hence inviting them to explore further for adequate responses.

Example 50

T: Who can explain for me what do we mean by equality. You have the right to
        equality. What do we mean by the right to equality, SCH2A?

L: *Ee, Ee? Ndi lushaka lunwe na lunwe lwo no nga sa Vha zulu*
        It's, it's? It is each an every tribe   like that of the Zulus

T: *Hupfi ndi lushaka lunwe na lunwe?*
        is it referring to each and every tribe?

There were two most occurring functions of CS at seventh position. These included using code switching for individual or group expression, as well as for the purpose of gaining and keeping learners' attention. In an attempt to gain attention, the teacher at SCH1 was demonstrating how gas can be compressible.

Example 51

T: Which phase of water is compressible?

Ls: Gas phase

T: Gas phase. You can compress gas. *Thiri ndori kha vha vhudzedze. Ra phamula ra*
                                    Is it that I said you should blow in? if it explodes

bvisa mini?

it emits what?

Ls: *Muya*

        Air

The same strategy was used at SCH2 as indicated in example 52. Here the teacher poses a rhetoric question and answers it herself.

Example 52

T: In a democratic government, we are all equal: *Zwi amba uri heli ipfi* equality is
                                            It means that this word

everyone has equal right.

Rothe ri vha ri tshi khou fanela u itani? Ri fanela u edana.

All of us are supposed to be doing what. We have to be equal.

An equally frequent occurrence of CS was for individual or group expression. Learners were seen responding in unison to most questions, thereby affirming that they shared the same view with the teacher.

Example 53

T: Okay, Democracy requires both the government and people to follow specific

rules. *Ri na milayo ya kilasirumu asi zwone?*

        We have classroom rules, not so?

Ls*:   Ee!*

        Yes

At eighth position, I noted the use of CS for the purpose of ensuring comprehension for procedural instructions. This was noted at SCH1 when the educator was cautioning a learner who was failing to observe correct instructions. However, the use of CS to ensure comprehension of procedural instruction was not identified at SCH2. Example 54 shows how the teacher's change of code necessitates a need for the student to relook at his answer since it was contrary to what was expected.

Example 54

T: Some are drawing. *Nne a thongo amba zwa u durowa*. I don't know why, we
                              I never spoke about drawing

        need arrows only!

The second last functions of CS observed had to do with CS for the purpose of reprimanding in order to maintain classroom discipline, as well CS to enhance students' reflection. Example 54 and 55 show this respectively.

Example 55

T: *Bvisani tshithu mulomoni. Hu khou tambiwa* and you are not participating.
        Take off the object from your mouth. You are playing

After realising that one of the learners was playful at SCH1, the teacher switched codes in an attempt to capture the immediate attention of the learner. However, this strategy was not observed in SCH2 during the data collection period.

With similar frequency of occurrence at ninth position was the use of CS in order to enhance students' reflection. As shown in example 56, the teacher at SCH1 wanted learners to show a visual depiction of the water cycle in a manner that even a person without background would be able to understand. This strategy was not used at SCH2 during the data collection period.

Example 56

T: If I say draw a water cycle that represents your province, what will you do?
        Remember*, ri kho u vhudza muthu a sa divhi tshithu.*
                              we are telling a person who does not know anything.

Finally I noted several functions of CS that occurred only once for the duration of my observations. These include CS to maintain a social relation or distance with the learners and CS to accommodate the addressee. CS was also used with the intention to create humour, as well as to mark authority and restore order in class.

The CS in example 57 has a dual role. Firstly, it is used to accommodate the addressee and secondly to maintain the good social relation between the teacher and the learner. A learner had to draw a diagram on the board and the teacher wanted to evade intimidation of the learner by fellow classmates. While accommodating the addressee, the teacher was equally maintaining good relations with the learner in question who was trying hard to draw a water cycle on the board.

Example 57

T: Let's wait SH1B is going to try.
       Ni songo vhuya na dzhaiswa nga vhathu vhane vha so kou i i i[6].
       don't ever be rushed/intimidated by people who just say me me me.

The two excerpts below show how CS was used for the purpose of creating humour and also to mark authority and to restore order, respectively. Instead of embarrassing the learner, the educator tactfully repeats exactly what the learner has said. Instead of saying your answer is wrong, the teacher repeats what the learner said, thereby implying that she wanted a different response.

Example 58

T: Who can explain for me what we mean by equality? You have the right of
       equality. What do we mean by the right to equality, SCH2A?
L: *Ee, Ee ndi lushaka lunwe na lunwe lwo no nga sa vha Zulu*
T: *Hupfi ndi lushaka lunwe na lunwe*
       It is said that it is each and every tribe

CS marking authority was observed when the teacher wanted the learner to do what other fellow learners were doing in class. Noting that one of the learners was not doing anything, the teacher switches codes to urge the student to start doing the task as shown in 59:

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[6] A strategy used by learners for attention in class if they want to attempt a question posed by the teacher.

Example 59

T: Let us try to draw what we were saying.
        SCH1C *inwi no dada lune ani divhi uri ni tea thoma gai?* We are drawing a
        are you so confused such that you don't know where to start?
        simple water cycle.

The use of CS with following functions was not found for the duration of my observations in both SCH1 and SCH2: CS marking teacher's linguistic insecurity, CS to show defiance and CS to increase social distance by the teachers.

5.3.   The markedness of code switching

Table 2 below indicates frequency of switches in terms of markedness. CS itself as a sequence of unmarked choices is triggered by a change in the situational factors within the course of conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). In both SCH1 and SH2, both the educators and the students were English/Tshivenda bilinguals. In both schools there were no switches indexing a new unmarked RO set, hence no instances of CS as a sequence of unmarked choice was identified.

Functions	Frequency of switches
A. CS itself being the unmarked choice	80
B. CS as a marked choice to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection	2
C. Marked CS to negotiate expected social distance	2
D. Code switches as a sequence of unmarked choices	1
E. Marked CS as an ethnically based exclusion strategy	0
F. Marked CS for aesthetic effect	0
G. CS as an exploratory choice	0

H. CS as a strategy of neutrality	0
I. CS as a deferential strategy	0
J. Marked CS to negotiate outcome	0

Myers-Scotton (1993:117) maintains that speaking two languages in the same conversation is also a way of following the unmarked choice for speakers in bi/multilingual communities. As shown in table 2, there were a total of 80 instances where CS itself has been the unmarked choice. These types of switches occurred with no change in the audience, subject matter or activity. In the example 60 below, the teacher was teaching a bilingual class where the medium of instruction is English, but the teacher nevertheless switches between English and Tshivenda as a way of supporting exploratory talk.

Example 60

T: Bread, I think it is liquid

Ls: No, It is solid

T: What about Amasi? *Mafhiala ane ra ita ritshi suka na mugayo. Zwi tshi khou difha.*
                    Sour milk, the one we often mix with porridge. And being tasty.

Furthermore, the teacher at SCH2 used both English and Tshivenda for the purpose of explaining and clarifying the subject matter with no change in audience type, topic or activity. In example 61, the teacher repeats the same statement she made in English to ensure clarity.

Example 61

T: Respect the rights of other people and obey the laws of the country.
        Zwi amba u ri ri khamuvhuso wa democracy *ri ne ri fanela u tshila ri tshi khou itani?*
        It means that in this government of democracy we have to live doing what?
        Ri tshi khou thonifha ra do vha
        Being able to respect and again
        ra tevhedza mini, milayo ya shango.
        we follow what? rules of the country.

57

CS as a marked choice was used to indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection. As indicated in table 2, CS for this purpose occurred twice. CS in this instance was used strategically when reprimanding learners with the intention of gaining their attention. Example 62 below shows the teacher switching to Tshivenda, reprimanding a playful student.

Example 62

T: Name the process whereby water changes from ice to liquid. What is the process called? *Bvisani tshithu mulomoni! Hu khou tambiwa.*and you are not participating. Remove an object from your mouth! You are playful

Furthermore, in example 63 the teacher issues a warning to a student who seemed to be unclear of what he had to do while others where almost through with their work.

Example 63

T: SCH1C *inwi no dada lune a ni divhi uri ni tea u thoma gai. Mambiri ni nao.* are you confused that you don't know where to start? You have papers

T: We are drawing a simple water cycle.

However, in order to show affection, the teacher in example 64 switches to Tshivenda to accommodate learners' sense of uneasiness or restlessness. The learner was requested to draw a water cycle on the board and the teacher wanted to accommodate the learner showing appreciation for her bold step.

Example 64

T: Let's wait SCH1B is going to try.
Ni songo vhuya na dzhaiswa nga vhathu vhane vha so kou i i i
Don't ever be rushed by people who just say me me me

Lastly, marked CS to negotiate expected social distance was used twice. Myers-Scotton (1993:133) argues that those who have the luxury to express anger are often those who have authority. It is in this context that marked choice is often used as a way of either increasing or reducing the desired social distance between the speaker and the addressee. Teachers in both SCH1 and SCH2 used their authority for two reasons, namely to express anger and thus maintain the type

of respect and social distance envisaged, and to issue a reprimand for bad behaviour. The next two examples show CS marking an increase in social distance between the teacher and learners.

Example 65

T: Name the process whereby water changes from ice to liquid. What is the process called? *Bvisani tshithu mulomoni! Hu khou tambiwa* and you are not participating. Take out the object from your mouth. You are playful

In the next example, the teacher once more stamps her authority with the intention to maintain the required reasonable distance between the teacher and the learner, with the rebuke serving as a classroom management strategy.

Example 66

T: SCH1C *inwi no dada lune a ni divha uri ni tea u thoma gai?* We are drawing a are you so confused such that you don't know where to start? simple water cycle.

5.4.   The contribution of the study and implications for educational practice

The frequency of CS differed significantly between the two schools. From the data, the total frequency of CS in SCH1 is 24 while the total frequency of CS at SCH2 is 64. CS at SCH2 was mainly for translation and clarification, while CS at SCH1 was mainly to encourage participation and promote exploratory talk. Furthermore, both intersentential CS and intrasentential CS were identified; however, intersentential CS occurred the most in all schools. Both teachers knew the language needs of their learners. Regular clarification provided by the teacher at SCH2 ensured that the content of all the lessons was well comprehended while CS at SCH1 mainly ensured smooth interaction between the teacher and students.

Figure 4. Frequency of CS observed per school
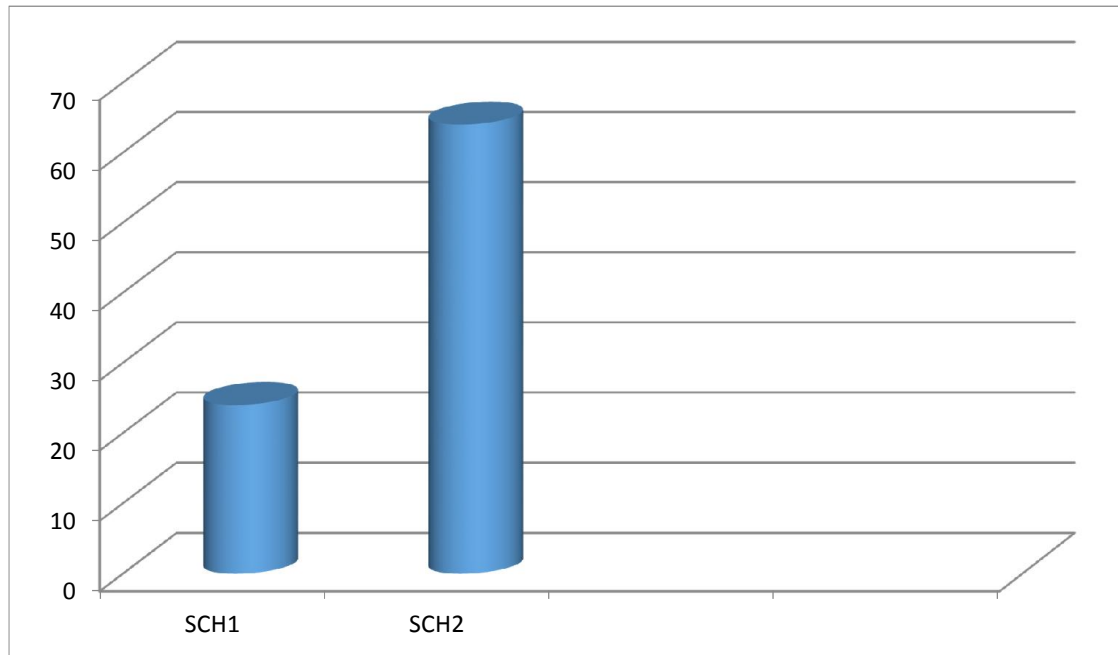
Although English is the recommended medium of instruction in both SCH1 and SCH2, its use varied significantly in the two schools. In a bilingual context, teachers are better positioned to know when and how to use either language for the benefit of learners. These findings should allay the fears that parents have about the use of languages other than English for teaching and learning. CS as evidenced in this study was not a sign of linguistic insecurity on the part of the teacher, but it was mainly employed for clarification of concepts, as an effective tool for classroom management and as a result reinforcing efficient and adequate teacher student relationships.

5.5. Comparison with findings of previous studies

The function of CS in a multilingual classroom continues to be a topical research issue. As noted in chapter 2, various studies of CS in the classroom have been undertaken, including Uys (2010), who looked at the functions of teachers' CS in multilingual high school classrooms in the Siyanda District of the Northern Cape; Chimbutane (2013), who explored CS and teachers' beliefs and practices in Mozambican bilingual education; Mokgwathi and Webb (2013), who looked at the effects of CS in the classrooms of selected senior secondary schools in Botswana; and Chetty and

King (2014) who explored CS and the challenges faced by teachers in multilingual classrooms in the Western Cape region.

Notably, Uys (2010), Chimbutane (2013), Mokgwathi and Webb (2013) and Chetty and King (2014) portray CS as a common practice with significant pedagogic implications. In these studies, certain functions of CS are recurring: explaining and clarifying subject matters, encouraging learners' participation and CS as a classroom management strategy. Uys (2010:44) explores the frequency and functions of CS, noting 30 occurrences of CS used to explain and clarify subject matter; eight occurrences of CS to ensure learners' understanding of subject matter, and eight occurrences of CS to encourage learners' participation. The findings of the present study also show the effectiveness of CS for the purpose of encouraging participation, with 21 such occurrences, 16 occurrences of CS for explaining and clarifying subject matter, as well as CS uses to bring about learners' understanding of subject matter. Similarities between Uys's (2010) findings and those of the current study are noted in the non-occurrence of CS to increase social distance and to show defiance.

 King and Chetty (2014) also note how teachers use CS extensively for content elaboration and for classroom management. Similar assertions as those made in the present study are expressed, as CS is noted for enhancing lesson comprehension and to increase class and group participation (cf. also Chimbutane 2013, Mokgwathi and Webb 2013).

5.6.   Conclusion

The prevalence of CS in a classroom context proves to be a wide-spread sociolinguistic phenomenon. The practice continues to generate attention with special research focus on the nature and structure of CS and its significance in both social and academic contexts. The next chapter concludes the present study with a summary of the main findings, and a discussion of its potential contribution to and implications for educational practice, the limitation of the study and directions for further research.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

6.1.   Summary of the main points

The study examined the uses and functions of CS, with specific reference to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, by teachers at two schools under the Sibasa school circuit, in the Vhembe district of Limpopo Province. The first question in this study inquired to what extent teachers in the identified primary schools make use of CS in classroom interaction. Data collected in the two schools show that CS is a common practice in a classroom context. The second question required the examination of the frequency, function and nature of CS in those classrooms. Data collected show that CS is used mainly for academic reasons, namely, for encouraging learners'participation, clarifying subject matter as well as using CS as a strategy to confirm whether learners have grasped the content.

There is a noticeable difference in the manner and frequency in the use of CS in the two schools observed. The highest occurrence of CS in SCH1 was in its use for the purpose of encouraging learners to participate. No incidence of CS was recorded for the purpose of explaining and clarifying subject matter at SCH1. Conversely, the use of CS to explain and clarify subject matter occurred several times at SCH2. Interestingly, both SCH1 and SCH2 exhibit a relatively similar frequency in the use of CS to encourage learners'participation in class. Both teachers never used CS to show defiance, to bridge communication gaps, to increase social distance or to compensate for linguistic insecurity.

Furthermore, on the basis of the types of CS frequently used in both SCH1 and SCH2, it was noted that both intersentential CS and intrasentential CS were common. Intersentential CS involves switches from one language to the other between sentences while intrasentential CS occurs within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level (Myers-Scotton 1993:4). Both teachers mainly used intersentential CS, while intrasentential CS occurred relatively infrequently in both schools.

6.2.   The contribution of the study and implications for educational practice

The two schools encourage and relatively enforce the use of English for teaching and learning. However, being dominated by learners with Tshivenda as their home language, teachers in the two schools, sharing the same language as the learners, repeatedly use CS for various academic reasons. Teachers understand the linguistic competency of their learners. They are equally well acquainted with the conversational strategies necessary to achieve specific communicative goals. It is for this reason that teachers in both schools use CS not solely for the purpose of clarifying and explaining concepts. CS was used at times for reasons such as reprimanding in order to maintain classroom discipline, creating humour, as well as an attempt to accommodate the addressee through CS. It may not be correct to attribute the incidence of CS to a teacher's linguistic insecurity. Rather, both teachers had their focus on the learners to ensure that the content and concepts they were teaching were fully understood with minimal or no disruptions at all.

The study reveals that CS is an inevitable communicative strategy in a bilingual classroom. Parents expect teachers to use English as a medium of instruction only. The school policies in both SCH1 and SCH2 also cite English as the language for teaching and learning. However, the actual classroom context at times allowed or even compelled teachers to switch from one code to the other. Although learners in both schools could understand English adequately, the study still shows that teachers were not necessarily influenced by their learners' linguistic competency. Instead, CS at times was used as a means to complement an utterance's referential message such as affection or anger. Learners too were equally responsive to each type of switch the teachers made in class. The implication of this study is that there may be a need to reexamine schools' language policy. The main emphasis should be on how language can be used to facilitate learning in the classroom. If CS is one of the facilitative strategies, there is therefore a mismatch between what teachers consider ideal practice and what parents prefer. Parents prefer the use of English as a medium of instruction whilst teachers who are supposed to implement the schools policy, are often better positioned to know how two or more languages can be used creatively for effective teaching and learning.

6.3.   Limitation of the study

The data collection for this study was conducted in only two public schools within the Vhembe district under the Sibasa circuit. There are more schools within the district in which the study would have elicited sufficient and comprehensive data. It would have been interesting to see how prevalent CS is in the remaining schools and also how these schools deal with issues of language and its use in the classroom. In view of this limitation, the study area may not be adequate enough to generalise the findings. However, despite this limitation, the study does provide an indication of the situation in Limpopo which can be compared to findings from other similar studies in other parts of Southern Africa as demonstrated in the penultimate section of chapter 5.

6.4.   Directions for further research on this topic

This study observed the use of CS by teachers in a bilingual classroom context. The study focused on two schools, SCH1 and SCH2. The two schools have distinct learner profiles with SCH1 dominated by learners from a relatively better socio-economic background compared to SCH2. In both schools, CS has been used for different reasons. However, it is interesting to note that certain uses of CS are more dominant or frequent in one school than the other. It would be interesting to establish in future studies whether the socio-economic class of learners determines the teachers' frequency and pattern of CS in class. Such a study could then attempt to establish if teachers code switch less or more on the basis of the socio-economic profile of the learners. If not, it would be worthwhile to establish why certain uses of CS are common and recurrent in one school while in another school such switches are nonexistent or minimal. It would also be worth investigating in future if patterns and frequency of CS would be significantly different in the two schools if the same learning area were used for data collection. The assumption put forward by Mokgwathi and Webb (2013) that CS contributes to learners' inability to develop their confidence in speaking the TL, requires further investigation. Furthermore, it would also be an enriching exercise to establish how teachers perceive CS in a bilingual classroom context where a particular LoLT is prescribed.

Data collected in this study show that lessons were mainly taking a teacher centered approach where knowledge is transmitted mainly from the teacher to the learners. Learners participated mainly when they had to answer questions asked by the teachers. It was in this context where learners at times switched codes either in affirmation with the teachers' suggestive interrogations

or in solidarity with the teachers' remarks. Studies focusing on how students interact in a learner centered approach are necessary since they may provide further insight into language use in a bilingual context.

6.5.   Concluding remarks

Even though relatively modest, the contribution that this study has made is nevertheless important. It is noted that CS does not solely address learners' linguistic limitations; rather, CS is seen as a strategy used mainly for pedagogic reasons. This includes CS for effective classroom management and CS as a strategy to accommodate learners. Accommodating learners' linguistic background in a multilingual context has its own pedagogic advantages which may make teaching and learning a worthwhile experience on the part of both the teachers and learners. Park (2014:50) introduces the term "translanguaging", which is similar to CS in the sense that speakers shuttle between languages in a natural manner. The pedagogic significance of translanguaging include the creation of a social space for multilingual speakers, flexibility following learning experiences across multiple languages, as well as accommodating minoritised languages which may be used for a good cause in a multilingual context. Similar assertions focusing on a holistic approach to multilingual education are highlighted in Canagarajah (2011), Creese (2010), Garcia (2010), Hibbert and Van der Walt (2014), Homberger and Link (2012) and Lewis, Jones and Barker (2012). It is therefore imperative to explore the opportunities and constraints in line with language use in a bilingual context. However, teachers' views and their experiences of classroom interactions may not be ignored if we are to determine the relevance or effectiveness of either a monolingual or bilingual education system in a multilingual context. Suffice to say, unless teachers' views are incorporated on issues relating to language use in the classroom, there will always be a mismatch between parents' preference for language use and what the actual ideal practice in a bilingual classroom context is.

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