

**The functions of teacher code switching in classrooms,
and teachers' perceptions towards this practice:
A case study of siSwati-English interactions
in a semi-urban high school in Eswatini**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to investigate the occurrence and functions of teacher code switching in classrooms, in a semi-urban school in Eswatini and to find out the attitude of the teachers towards this practice. The study was motivated by the observation that code switching is common practice in Eswatini, in general everyday conversations and in classrooms interactions between teachers and learners. This is despite the language- in- education policy which dictates that the medium of instruction from the fifth year of school onwards should be English only. Another motivating factor was the increased rate of failures in the English Language and Literature subjects in Eswatini public schools which calls for strategies and interventions to alleviate the situation. This study specifically investigates whether high school teachers code switch between English and siSwati during English Language and Literature lessons, given that their subject matter is English and that their learners have had English as medium of instruction for many years.

The data comprises classroom observations and semi-structured interviews of English language and literature teachers in one of the national schools in Eswatini. The data was analysed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, with the aim of identifying the functions of teacher code switching and establishing if code switching is an effective teaching strategy for learners to whom English is a second language.

The findings of the study confirm the dilemma faced by teachers due to the language-in-education policy, which conflicts with the practice in the classroom. Teachers resort to code switching to help learners access meaning, although code switching is generally viewed negatively by said teachers. The results of the study further confirm that code switching is a necessary and effective tool in educational contexts; it encourages classroom interaction and aids learners' understanding of difficult concepts.

It is hoped that the results of the study will inform stakeholders in education, especially policy makers about the value and effectiveness of code switching in educational contexts and possibly lead to legitimising code switching or at least embracing it as standard practice in classrooms.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van die studie is om die voorkoms en funksies van onderwyserkodewisseling in klaskamers in 'n semi-stedelike skool in Eswatini te ondersoek en om uit te vind wat die houding van die betrokke onderwysers teenoor hierdie praktyk is. Die studie is gemotiveer deur die waarneming dat kodewisseling 'n algemene praktyk in Eswatini is, oor die algemeen (in alledaagse gesprekke) en in klaskamerinteraksies tussen onderwysers en leerders. Dit is ten spyte van die taal-in-onderwysbeleid wat bepaal dat die onderrigmedium vanaf die vyfde skooljaar slegs Engels moet wees. Nog 'n motiverende faktor was die stygende aantal druipele in die vakke Engelse Taal en Engelse Letterkunde in publieke skole in Eswatini; strategieë en intervensies word benodig is om die situasie aan te spreek. Hierdie studie ondersoek spesifiek of hoërskoolonderwysers kodewissel tussen Engels en siSwati tydens Engelse Taal- en Engelse Literatuurlesse, aangesien hul vak Engels is en hul leerders al vir baie jare Engels as onderrigtaal het.

Die data bestaan uit klaskamerwaarnemings en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met Engelse Taal- en Letterkunde-onderwysers in een van die nasionale skole in Eswatini. Die data is geanaliseer binne die raamwerk van Myers-Scotton se 1993 Gemarkedheidsmodel, met die doel om die funksies van onderwyserkodewisseling te identifiseer en vas te stel of kodewisseling 'n effektiewe onderrigstrategie is vir leerders wat Engels as hul tweede taal het.

Die bevindings van die studie bevestig die dilemma wat onderwysers in die gesig staar as gevolg van die taal-in-onderwysbeleid wat in stryd is met die klaskamerpraktyk. Onderwysers gebruik kodewisseling om leerders te help om begrip te ontwikkel, ten spyte daarvan dat kodewisseling oor die algemeen in 'n negatiewe lig deur genoemde onderwysers beskou word. Die resultate van die studie bevestig verder dat kodewisseling 'n noodsaaklike en effektiewe instrument in opvoedkundige kontekste is; dit moedig klasdeelnemers aan en help leerders om moeilike konsepte te begryp.

Die hoop is dat die bevindings van hierdie studie belanghebbendes in die onderwys (veral beleidsmakers) sal inlig oor die waarde en effektiwiteit van kodewisseling in opvoedkundige kontekste en moontlik sal lei tot die legitimering van kodewisseling of minstens tot die erkenning daarvan as standaardpraktyk in die klaskamer.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The occurrence of code switching between siSwati and English is common practice in Eswatini,¹ in everyday conversations and in classroom interactions between teachers and learners. ‘Code switching’ refers to the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties during the same conversation (Hoffman 1991: 110). Van Dulm (2007) clarifies that the switching may take place between utterances in a single turn or within a single utterance or sentence. This study investigates the functions of code switching of teachers in English Language and Literature classes in a purportedly English-medium school in Eswatini, and the attitudes of these teachers towards this practice. It seeks to establish why English-siSwati bilingual teachers code switch in the English classrooms of English-medium high schools with learners who have had English as their sole medium of instruction since their fifth grade at school.

It has been argued by some scholars that code switching among bilinguals is a sign of linguistic decay (Hoffman 1991: 116). On this view, code switching is considered an indication that a speaker does not have full command of either of the two languages. Other scholars, such as Christofferson (2014), argue that code switching reveals evidence of a high level of linguistic competence. Turning to educational contexts specifically, Kamwangamalu (2010: 130) asserts that code switching is a resource rather than an impediment to learning. If this is the case and if the results of the current study confirm Kamwangamalu’s (2010: 130) assertion, language-in-education policy makers and language educators should be enlightened on the use of code switching as a resource in the classroom so that they can make and implement informed language-in-education policies that take into consideration the realities that take place in second language (L2) classrooms.

¹ The kingdom of Eswatini, formerly known as Swaziland, is a landlocked country in southern Africa, nestled between South Africa and Mozambique, with a population of just over 1.2 million. The country obtained independence from the British in 1968. The name change from Swaziland to Eswatini was announced by King Mswati III during the country’s celebration of 50 years of independence in April 2018.

In a study conducted by Dlamini (2015) in which he discusses teachers' pedagogic choices in relation to the realities of teaching English as a L2 in Eswatini, he makes an observation that there is a serious disjuncture between language teaching approaches advocated by L2 teacher education and teachers' actual classroom practices. He further points out that in order to be effective in their teaching, teachers 'improvise pedagogies' (Dlamini 2015: 63) in which learning can take place, given the constraints confronting them and the learners, and the resources at their disposal. Code switching is one of the strategies teachers employ to enhance learners' understanding of concepts taught.

This study will be conducted within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model. Van Dulm (2007: 14) explains that this model proposes that speakers choose the form of their utterances according to a set of rights and obligations which they wish to use in a particular communicative exchange. They choose their codes based on persona or relationships in place at that time. According to this model, all code choices can be explained according to social motivations, the motivations being linked to the speaker's view of what is socially appropriate. Rose and Van Dulm (2006: 11), in their research paper on the functions of code switching in multilingual South African classrooms, attest to the fact that code switching fulfils several functions, such as clarification, confirmation, and expansion of what had been said, and that it aids teachers and learners in attaining academic goals.

1.2 The context of the study

Eswatini is a bilingual country, with siSwati and English being the official languages, as stated in the Eswatini Education and Training Sector Policy (Ministry of Education and Training 2011). The policy states that siSwati shall be used as a medium of instruction for the first four grades of school after which English shall be the medium of instruction up to Form 5, which is the fifth and last year of high school. In addition to being a medium of instruction, English is a compulsory subject from Grade 1 to Form 5 and also a failing/passing subject. This means that during external examinations in Grade 7, Form 3 and Form 5, a learner should pass English in order to proceed to the next level; failing English equates to failing the school grade. According to the sector policy, siSwati and English are accorded the same status but, in reality, English enjoys a superior status compared to siSwati. Dlamini (2015) affirms that English has a higher status in education, business, politics, the legal system and international communication in Eswatini. This is similar to the situation in neighbouring South Africa, where 11 languages are

accorded official status by the Constitution, but English in post-apartheid South Africa has emerged as the dominant language in the political, business and education sector, despite being spoken as first language (L1) by only 10% of the population (De Klerk 2000; Deumert 2006; Posel and Zeller 2016; Webb 2002). Because of the high status accorded to English in the school system and the community in Eswatini, English language teachers are under pressure to produce good results, lest they be blamed by other subject teachers and parents for having contributed to the high rate of failure in the schools. English language teachers, more than other subject teachers, are forced to create effective strategies to ensure that learners pass the subject they teach, and they tend to employ code switching as a strategy to enhance learners' understanding of new vocabulary or difficult concepts. In a study on classroom code switching in post-colonial contexts, Ferguson (2003) confirms that there is evidence that teachers have evolved pragmatic strategies, such as code switching, for dealing with situations where learners have limited proficiency in the official medium of instruction.

According to the Annual Education Census report on Eswatini (Ministry of Education and Training 2015), there were 619 primary schools in Eswatini and 302 secondary and high schools in 2015. About 90% of the schools are in rural areas, with 254 secondary schools with electricity connections. Approximately 80% of learners are from poor, disadvantaged backgrounds. Learning materials in these learners' schools are only Basic English textbooks, and, as such, learners in these environments have little exposure to English; most of them encounter English only during English lessons in the classroom. So for most learners in Eswatini, especially in rural areas, one could say that English is a foreign language. Dlamini (2015: 69) confirms that in Eswatini, rural children have little exposure to English prior to entering school as daily local communication is in siSwati and daily routines are conducted without written text, neither in siSwati nor in English. In a study by Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo (2010: 129) on language practices in English Language Classrooms in South Africa, they observed that if a language is not spoken in the immediate environment, there are slim chances for the learner to use it in natural communication situations.

The Eswatini Education and Training Sector Policy (2011: 27) is silent on issues of code switching and stipulates that English shall be the medium of instruction from the fifth grade onwards, but it does promote the learning of siSwati in schools as it clearly states that 'as a way of promoting siSwati learning in schools, children shall not be punished for speaking siSwati within and outside schools'. This has elevated the status of siSwati, although it has also

caused controversy among teachers. There is a long history of learners in Eswatini schools being forbidden to speak siSwati on school premises. To date, there are still schools that have strict rules and regulations that forbid learners to speak siSwati while at school. This change of policy towards siSwati has been largely influenced by world organisations such as the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) which advocates for mother tongue instruction, especially in the primary grades. UNESCO (2003: 28) states that mother tongue instruction is essential as it enhances understanding of concepts taught, in that learners are able to express themselves freely in their mother tongue.

The policy has caused controversy among teachers, especially English teachers in Eswatini, in the sense that, although siSwati is being promoted in schools through the policy, the reality is that English remains a passing/failing subject. Some teachers feel that this pro-siSwati policy gives teachers leeway to switch between siSwati and English when conducting lessons, although the official medium of instruction is English only. Most teachers, especially from urban schools, who have a history of producing good results amongst their learners and who are negative towards code switching are of the opinion that the policy will lower the level of English proficiency in their schools. Also in the school where data for this study was collected, some of the teachers, although they evidently code switch during their lessons, stated that code switching should not be encouraged when teaching; it should be kept to a minimum (see section 5.3.1 of Chapter 5). In a study on code switching and learning in bilingual classrooms in a French school in Spain and a French school in Italy, Moore's (2002: 280) findings were that L2 teachers commonly held the view that the use of the L1 in L2 classes should be avoided as much as possible, and they frowned upon the usage of inter- and intra-sentential switching between two languages. She pointed out that although teachers held this view, code switching was prevalent in classrooms, and it played an important role in the learning process. Moore (2002: 288) further asserted that using two languages concurrently may provide effective means through which language and content can be integrated.

An observation by Ferguson (2003: 2) in a study on code switching in post-colonial societies is that code switching 'lacks legitimacy', and as a result it is neglected and marginalised in teacher education. In a study on language practices in schools in Burundi, Ndayipfukamine (1996: 39) observes that contradictions in implemented language-in-educational policies are a result of policy makers not taking stock of classroom realities when they formulate policies. Language policies, therefore, should be aligned with the realities in the classrooms. Although

the Eswatini Education Sector Policy does not refer to code switching explicitly, it could be argued that the policy implicitly argues for, or at least allows for, code switching. Whether or not code switching is allowed for teachers or only for learners should however be made explicit in the policy. The results of the current study on code switching as it occurs in classrooms in Eswatini could inform policy makers on accepting code switching as a teaching strategy.

1.3 The research questions & objectives of the study

The objective of the study is to investigate the functions of teacher code switching in Eswatini classrooms, and teachers' perceptions towards this practice. In fulfilling that objective, the study will answer following questions:

- 1) At what point and how often do the teachers code switch when conducting English Language and Literature lessons in the classrooms?
- 2) What motivates teachers to code switch when they are teaching English, given that the medium of instruction is clearly stipulated in the Education Sector Policy as being English only?
- 3) What are the perceptions of these teachers of code switching?
- 4) In their view, does code switching hold any benefits or disadvantages for learners?

1.4 Motivation for the study

The rate of failure in the subject English Language and Literature in Eswatini schools is alarmingly high. In a survey by UNICEF on Eswatini Education Review (2000-2015), it was reported that the results from Eswatini's National Examinations at the end of the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary cycles indicated many areas of low learner performance, due to learners' limited English vocabulary and low level of English comprehension. This was shown by the percentage of learners who failed their grade due to having failed English Language. According to the report, low performance in other subjects was also a result of learners' inability to understand questions posed in English. This has motivated me to investigate code switching as a possible language strategy which teachers could employ to enhance learners' understanding of concepts. Having been a teacher of both English Language and English Literature in a disadvantaged school in Eswatini for 14 years, I am fully aware of the contradictions between language policies and the practices in the classroom and also of the frustrations experienced by teachers in such situations. Although I endeavoured to remain

objective during especially data collection and data analysis, I hoped from the onset that my research could influence policy makers in recognising code switching as a legitimate and successful teaching strategy and embracing it to such an extent that the Eswatini Education Sector Policy would be revised to encourage code switching.

1.5 Methodology

Data for this study was collected by myself by means of observation and audio recording of English Language and Literature classes for secondary school learners in a semi-urban high school in Eswatini. A total of eight Form 1 to 4 teachers were observed and audio recorded while conducting lessons: five for English Language and three for English Literature. In addition to the eight teachers, three additional teachers were interviewed, although they were not observed conducting lessons. The additional teachers included the head of the English department and the head teacher (principal) of the school, who happens to be an English teacher. Each of the eight teachers was observed and recorded twice, for a least 40 minutes per lesson. The observations for the eight teachers were followed by semi-structured interviews. The first part of the interview questions focused on the teacher's educational information and experience in the teaching profession. This was followed by specific questions which sought to establish whether and why teachers code switch and to obtain their views on this practice. Each interview lasted for 15 to 20 minutes. The recorded data was transcribed and analysed qualitatively, to determine the reasons behind the switching and the attitudes and perceptions of the teachers towards the practice of code switching in class.

The school which served as a study site was selected because of its composition and location. It is located about 12 km from one of the major towns in Eswatini and it is easily accessible from my place of work. It is a government day and boarding school and has the highest enrolment numbers in the country. Each class from Form 1 to 5 has seven streams (i.e., seven classes per grade). The population of learners in this school is balanced, in the sense that there are both learners who belong to middle class families and those who are from financially disadvantaged families, so a large percentage of the type of learners found in Eswatini is represented in the school. The school administration consists of one head teacher, two deputy head teachers, and heads of departments for the different subjects. The English Language and Literature department, which is the focus of this study, consists of eleven teachers and, on average, each teacher teaches six 40-minute periods per week. Of the eleven teachers, nine are

graduates from the University of Eswatini and hold BA degrees, and two hold diplomas from one of the Teacher Training Colleges in Eswatini. Their teaching experience ranges from 7 to 28 years.

1.6 Structure of the study

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter gave an introduction, providing the background to the study and an overview of the educational context in Eswatini. Chapter 2 provides an overview of core literature in the field of code switching which have informed my study. Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework, namely, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. Chapter 4 discusses the methodology in more detail than above and also provides more detail on how the data was collected. Chapter 5 presents the data and its analysis within the chosen theoretical framework. A conclusion, summarising my findings and providing suggestions for future research, is presented in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed for this study includes works of some of the leading researchers in the field of sociolinguistics who have contributed significantly to providing information that explains the phenomenon of code switching, as well as lesser-known work of scholars who conducted research on code switching in African contexts. I have observed that different researchers use ‘code switching’ and other related terms to mean different things. I wish to point out that in the context of this study, ‘code switching’ will be used as an umbrella term to encompass terms such as ‘situational and metaphorical code switching’, ‘code-mixing’ and ‘code alternation’. These terms will be defined in the first part of this chapter.

The second part of this chapter briefly traces the history of code switching as a topic of interest amongst researchers, starting from Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) interactional approach. A literature review of a few selected researchers who built on what Gumperz started is discussed in the second part of this chapter. This chapter will conclude by an overview of selected researchers who discuss code switching in educational contexts.

2.2 Definition of code switching and related terms

This section will look at the definition of ‘code switching’ and related terms which researchers often use to discuss types of code switching. The ones I have selected, which are relevant for this study, include ‘situational and metaphorical code switching’, ‘code mixing’ and ‘code alternation’.

2.2.1 Code switching

There are various definitions of the term code switching. Myers-Scotton (1993: 1) defines ‘code switching’ as the alternate use of two or more languages in the same conversation. According to Garcia (2014), code switching is the going back and forth from one language belonging to one grammatical system to another. Nilep’s (2006: 17) definition of code

switching is a ‘practice of parties in discourse to signal changes in context by using alternate grammatical systems or sub-systems, or codes.’ Taken together, code switching is the practise of using more than one code in a conversation, for example, a teacher using both English and siSwati during her explanation to her class of what a simile is.

2.2.2 Situational and metaphorical code switching

Various researchers also use different terminology related to code switching. Blom and Gumperz (1972), whose study has been very influential in the field of code switching, introduced 'situational and metaphorical switching' to describe motivations for code switching. Myers-Scotton (1993: 52) explains that situational code switching occurs when there is a change in the social situation, such as participants, setting and topic, whereas in metaphorical code switching, the change is influenced by a change in the relationships of the participants and communicative effects. Wardhaugh (2006), however, points out that in situational code switching, it is not the case that the topic changes; it only changes in metaphorical code switching. An example of situational code switching would be a learner discussing the meaning of a poem with her friends in siSwati in class and then, when the teacher walks by the group, the learner asks a clarifying question about an aspect of the poem to the teacher in English.

In clarifying metaphorical code switching, Holmes (1992) asserts that metaphorical code switching involves rapid switching between codes where the reasons for the switch are not clear but the speakers are able to convey meaning and information through the change in codes. An example of metaphorical code switching would be two English-siSwati bilingual learners code switching while discussing a topic for which they have sufficient vocabulary in either language – for instance, the fact that they prefer certain sandwiches to others; they switch to English when they talk about honey and cheese sandwiches but back to siSwati when they talk about butter sandwiches. Here they are using English, their code with higher social status than siSwati in their minds, for honey and cheese sandwiches, and by doing so, they are indicating to each other that these sandwiches are ‘more classy’ than the ordinary sandwiches discussed in siSwati. Wardhaugh (2006: 102) confirms that in metaphorical code switching, the participants change codes to redefine a social situation and they are able to communicate information that exceeds their actual words

2.2.3 Code mixing and code-alternation

‘Code mixing’ is defined by Kieswetter (1995: 1) as ‘the use of morphemes from more than one language variety within the same word.’ Some researchers use ‘code mixing’ and ‘code switching’ interchangeably, whereas others insist that they mean different things. Hoffman (1991: 110) makes a clear distinction between code switching and code mixing, stating that code switching involves changes over phrases or sentence boundaries, including tags and exclamations, whereas code mixing involves changes at lexical level within a sentence. The distinction between code switching and code mixing is further discussed by Kachru (1983) when discussing social motivations of code switching between Indian languages and English. Myers-Scotton (1983: 63) further explains that code switching occurs when there is a change in the function, the participants and the situation while code mixing involves a change in structural features, and this change occurs mostly intrasententially. Kachru’s definition of code switching is similar to situational code switching as discussed by Blom and Gumperz and what Myers-Scotton describes as ‘sequential unmarked choices’.

Ncoko, Osman and Cockcroft (2000: 227) state that code mixing involves mixing affixes, words, phrases and clauses within the same conversation and state that grammatical rules of the languages involved are applied. On this definition, there is thus overlap between code switching and code mixing. Romaine (1989: 187) points out that for code switching to occur, the speaker requires a certain level of competence in the language, whereas code mixing occurs in the early stages of language acquisition. Based on this, code switching is thus associated with high levels of competence in the languages concerned whereas code mixing is associated with a lack of competence in at least one of the languages. Romaine is of the view that code mixing is an indication of language interference. According to Kamwangamalu (2010: 116), one distinction between the two is that code switching occurs intersententially whereas code mixing occurs only intrasententially. Intersentential code switching, according to van Dulm (2007: 16), involves switches between sentences, such that one sentence is in one language and the next clause is in another language. Kieswetter (1995: 14) discusses intrasentential code switching, pointing out that this type of switch requires highly skilled use of the two codes, because the code switched segment needs to conform to the syntactic rules of the languages being used and they should be linked together appropriately. From this brief discussion, it can be seen that code switching is said to occur intersententially or intrasententially, but that code mixing also occurs intrasententially (but not intersententially), and that intrasentential code

switching is viewed as skilful language use whereas code mixing is regarded as occurring due to a lack of language competence. There is however no consensus in the literature on the exact distinction between code mixing and code switching.

Saville-Troike (1989) introduces another perspective to code switching when he makes a distinction between code switching and code alternation. Saville-Troike (1989: 58) asserts that code alternation occurs when a language changes according to domain or any other communicative dictates while code switching applies to change in language within the same conversation. Auer (1995: 116) defines ‘code alternation’ as the use of two or more languages in a conversation. It is worth noting, however, that this is how Hoffman (1991: 110) and Romaine (1989: 1) define ‘code switching’, so the overlap between definitions for various phenomena can again be seen. As already pointed in the introduction of this chapter, this study uses the term ‘code switching’ to refer broadly to the different types of code switching or code mixing that have been defined.

2.2.4 Translanguaging

Another term that is closely related to ‘codeswitching’ is ‘translanguaging’. According to Garcia and Wei (2014:20), the term ‘translanguaging’ originates from Wales and was coined by Welsh educationist Cen Williams to refer to a pedagogical practice where learners are asked to alternate languages for specific purposes, for example, reading in one language and writing in another or listening in one language and writing in another. Although the notion of translanguaging differs from that of codeswitching, the similarity between the two is that both practices are often used by bilingual speakers as a resource strategy for the development of language proficiency in their weaker language. Lewis et al. (2011:645) confirm that in a school environment, translanguaging promotes a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter. Mwinda and van der Walt (2015:102) further assert that translanguaging liberates bilingual learners to demonstrate native-like competency in both languages, helping them to learn the subject content with understanding in either language, rather than to learn only in the dominant language.

Explaining the difference between translanguaging and codeswitching, Garcia and Wei (2014:22) clarify that translanguaging is not just a shift or shuttle between languages; it is a speaker’s construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that

cannot easily be assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire. Translanguaging should therefore not be viewed as a kind of codeswitching although both practices could serve similar functions in multilingual classrooms.

2.3 Research on code switching

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), interest in code switching as a topic of research was stimulated by work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) in a collection of readings on sociolinguistics, among which discussions on social motivations of code switching was explored (Myers-Scotton 1993: 46). Myers-Scotton points out that although other researchers had addressed code switching before Blom and Gumperz's time, those earlier studies only presented it as part of a larger discussion and thus not much attention was paid to it. Earlier studies, according to Myers-Scotton (1993: 47), treated code switching as an 'interference phenomenon' which was interpreted as a sign of inability on the part of the speakers to hold a conversation in the language being targeted at the time. Garcia (2014: 12) supports the view that early scholars of bilingualism viewed code switching as linguistic interference, which she defines as 'deviations from the norm of either language that occur in speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language.' Kieswetter (1995: 1) describes such attitudes towards code switching as 'myths'. Kieswetter further explains that myths associated with code switching included that code switching was a sign of 'linguistic leakage' and that it represented some marker of status as it was believed to be used by people from lower socio-economic groups.

Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study presents code switching as legitimate and a type of skilled performance (Myers-Scotton 1993: 47). Van Dulm (2007: 13) explains that Blom and Gumperz's research suggests that speakers' choices have a pattern and these choices are predictable, based on social features of the local social system. Blom and Gumperz's approach is popular for the distinction it makes between situational and metaphorical code switching (briefly discussed in section 2.2 above). Wardhaugh (2006) explains that situational code switching occurs when the language used changes according to the situation in which the speakers find themselves but without necessarily changing the topic. In metaphorical code switching, the topic changes, thus requiring a change in the language. In another study, Gumperz (1982) discusses several conversational functions of code switching based on three language pairs, these being German and Slovenian, English and Hindi, and Spanish and

English. Van Dulm (2007: 14) summarises Gumperz's list of functions of code switching as 'quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification and personification versus objectification.' Myers-Scotton (1993: 55) has criticised Gumperz's approach by questioning the distinction between situational and metaphorical code switching and claims that significant similarities between the two have not been explored. Despite the criticism, Myers-Scotton (1993) acknowledges that Gumperz's work provided researchers with an improved model of studying code switching, compared to other sociolinguistic models.

Numerous studies followed Blom and Gumperz's work and sought to further explore functions of code switching and how it conveys social significance. Building on the work of Gumperz is that of Kachru (1978), who provides a different perspective on code switching in his analysis of code switching between English and Indian languages. Kachru classifies structural and social motivations of code switching and argues that code mixing and code switching are two different communicative strategies. In accounting for linguistic behaviour and the function of code switching, Fishman (1972: 16) reveals that language choice is influenced by topic and domain and points out that a speaker's choice is determined by social, cultural or psychological situations that exist in a particular speech community. Fishman states that these situations display the different types of relationships that exist in that speech community. Southworth (1980) also discusses Indian bilingualism and the motivations for code switching and suggests that when people codeswitch, the switching style is influenced by the social variables of absolute status, relative status of the speakers involved and social solidarity. Southworth (1980: 139) further concludes that code switching adds value for bilinguals as it allows them the flexibility of expression which monolinguals do not have.

According to Appel and Muysken (1987), social functions of code switching could be referential, directive, expressive, phatic and metalinguistic (Myers-Scotton 1993: 15). Several other researchers, such as Crystal (1987), Gal (1988) and Holmes (1992), discuss motivations for code switching and they all agree that it serves an important social function. Hoffman (1991) provides a broad introduction to bilingualism and highlights features of bilinguals, which include the use of code switching. Hoffman (1991: 115) cites several reasons for code switching among bilinguals, which are contextual, situational and personal in nature. She observes that switching occurs when speakers want to be emphatic about something and for clarification if the speaker wants to be understood. According to Hoffman (1991), code switching is also used for reasons of group identity and solidarity. Hoffman's (1991: 116)

conclusion is that code switching is a positive habit and is a necessary part of social interaction among bilinguals.

According to Wardhaugh (2006: 101), code switching can occur because of an individual's choice or as an identity marker for a group of speakers who have to use more than one language to achieve their pursuits. Wardhaugh (2006: 101) analyses code switching as a 'conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations.' He draws examples from various researchers to illustrate this view. According to Wardhaugh (2006: 117), code switching is a useful social skill.

Several other researchers who have contributed immensely to the literature on the sociolinguistic aspects of code switching are cited by van Dulm in her 2007 dissertation on the grammar of English-Afrikaans code switching. Valdes-Fallis (1976) conducted a study on direct and indirect requests in Spanish-English code switching, further confirming that code switching is an interactional strategy. Heller (1998) further portrays the strategic usage of code switching in managing conversations when discussing Canadian French-English code switching.

The selected literature reviewed in this study so far proves that Gumperz's work influenced other researchers to view the phenomenon of code switching from a positive perspective. Although their approaches and interpretations may differ, the researchers are in agreement that code switching is a powerful linguistic tool which bilinguals and multilinguals utilise to negotiate or change various conversational situations.

Although the researchers cited above are generally of the view that code switching is a useful resource, the issue of whether code switching should be encouraged in multilingual educational contexts, where the language of learning is a L2 for most learners, is a much debated topic. The following section will give an overview of research that has been conducted on code switching in educational contexts.

2.4 Code switching in educational contexts

The role of code switching in multilingual communities has attracted a lot of interest among researchers, especially in educational settings. Simon (2001: 313) points out that interest in research on classroom code switching can be traced to the 1970s and 1980s in the United States, where researchers had to look into the educational needs of linguistic minority groups such as Spanish speakers from Cuba, Mexico and Puerto Rico, who were expected to study in English,(see Martin Jones:1995). Simon (2001: 313) explains that such research was quantitative in nature and concentrated on the effect of code switching in bilingual classroom interactions on children's linguistic development. Following the quantitative phase in classroom code switching, research involved audio recordings and descriptive frameworks where classroom interactions were observed and analysed. Simon (2001) explains that in this approach, researchers investigated how teachers used two languages to fulfil certain tasks, and they placed more value on the communicative functions of code switching in the classrooms. The third phase of research on classroom code switching, according to Qian, Tian and Wang (2009: 720), was ethnographic by nature, as researchers made detailed analyses of teaching and learning environments, taking into account the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants. Ferguson (2003: 34) confirms that early research on classroom code switching focused on the frequency of switches and on listing the functions of individual switches but later changed and concentrated on analysing, in detail, the sequential flow of classroom talk.

Code switching in the classroom is widely used in multilingual educational settings, but it is often frowned upon by educators. Simon (2001: 312) confirms that, for a long time, code switching has been viewed as 'intrusive and detrimental' to developing communicative competence in the L2, thus it was forbidden and had to be avoided by all means. Cook (2001: 407) points out that researchers who put forward such arguments based them on theories such as Contrastive Analysis, which advocate for the elimination of L1 if learners are to succeed in acquiring the L2. Cook believes that such arguments are bound to fail and stresses the importance of integrating L1 in teaching L2. Cook suggests that a step towards achieving this would be to give teachers an 'absolution' for using L1 in L2 classrooms so that they do not feel guilty when they do so. Cook's (2001: 402) view is that 'treating the L1 as a classroom resource, opens up several ways to use it, such as for teachers to convey meaning, explain grammar, and organise the class....the first language can be a useful element in creating authentic L2 users rather than something to be shunned at all costs.' In other words, teaching

methods that embrace code switching as a normal L2 activity should be explored as this would allow the usage of both languages concurrently within the classroom.

Describing the transition of research on code switching in educational contexts, Kamwangamalu (1999: 270) confirms that code switching in academic circles was initially viewed as ‘a random mixture of languages and as linguistic pollution,’ but acknowledges that the perception has changed as researchers have accepted code switching as a linguistic phenomenon among multilingual communities. Recent research on code switching in the education context mostly investigates why bilingual teachers code switch in the classrooms and seek to establish whether this practice is what Kamwangamalu (2010: 116) calls an ‘impediment or a resource to learning.’ These studies are significant in that they bring to the fore possible implications of code switching in education, in view of the fact that in most Southern African countries, the medium of instruction in schools is not the learners’ mother tongue but English. In the remainder of this section, I will briefly look at the literature on code switching in educational contexts in general. The next section will review some literature on code switching in educational contexts in Southern Africa.

In a study conducted by Camilleri (1996) in which language practices in secondary schools in Malta were observed, the findings were that teachers switched between Maltese and English in the different subjects, for various reasons. In a Form 3 Biology lesson, for example, Camilleri (1996: 101) observed that the teacher conducted the lesson predominantly in English but switched to Maltese in order to force a response from students. In other instances, teachers would switch when introducing new topics, and at times when making asides with learners. Camilleri (1996) concludes that teachers generally used code switching ‘as a communicative resource for discourse management purposes.’ A study by Canagarajah (1996) in which code switching by secondary school teachers in Sri Lanka is investigated, revealed the merits of classroom code switching which included ‘classroom management, transmission of subject matter, and the negotiation of values, identities and roles’ (see Ncoko et al., 2010:229).

In a study on classroom code switching in post-colonial contexts, Ferguson (2003) confirms that reviewed studies showed that teachers employ code switching as a strategy to cope with situations in which learners have challenges using the language of instruction. In summing up his findings on the functions of classroom code switching, Ferguson (2003: 4) points out that teachers code switch to access the curriculum, for classroom management and for interpersonal

relations, although official attitudes towards code switching remain negative. Ferguson (2003) concludes by advocating for a change in the attitude of policy makers towards code switching, by engaging with it professionally as it has proved to have pedagogical potential.

In a research study carried out by Ndayipfukamiye (1994) in three Grade 5 classes in Burundi primary schools, patterns of code switching are evident. I am particularly interested in the results of this study, because the language-in-education policy applied is almost similar to that of Eswatini, where using the L2 as medium of instruction is, according to policy, supposed to start in the fifth grade. Ndayipfukamiye (1994: 79) explains that he carried out the research in these classes because the learners in this grade begin to use French as a medium of instruction, which is an L2, after it had been taught as a subject for two years, and as such learners experience acute communication challenges. The results of this research, according to Ndayifukamiye (1994: 83), showed that teachers relied heavily on code switching as a tool for imparting knowledge to the learners and for overcoming the communicative demands they face in having to teach in French. Ndayifukamiye further explains that the teachers' code switching between Kirundi and French benefits the learners in that it alleviates the 'artificiality and remoteness of the classroom events from the learner's experience' (Ndayifukamiye, 1994: 84). Through the use of code switching, the teachers are able to relate to and make relevant connections with the lives of the learners beyond the classroom. The researcher concludes his findings by arguing that code switching is a communicative phenomenon which should be accommodated in policy decisions regarding teaching methods, further suggesting that for the transitional classes (i.e. Grade 5 in this instance), 'dual textbooks' should be considered.

In a case study on code switching and learning in a French school where most of the learners were Spanish L1 speakers, Moore (2002) observed that teachers seemed flexible towards code switching and Moore thus emphasized the need for better comprehension of classroom code switching and its role in the learning process. Moore (2002: 288) further hypothesizes that 'the alternate experience in two languages, manifested and magnified through code-switching, could help reinforce, complexify and refine the formation and elaboration of concepts.' Moore's assertion is that code switching is a communicative resource available to bilinguals and that it should be used profitably.

Discussing the functions of teachers' code switching in ELT classrooms, Sert (2005) asserts that teachers are not always conscious of the functions and outcomes of code switching but

acknowledges that when teachers code switch, they fulfil basic functions which are essential in language learning environments. According to Sert (2005: 2), teachers code switch in the classroom to serve three functions, the first being topic switch. Elaborating on this point, Sert explains that teachers engage in topic switch especially when dealing with difficult grammatical concepts, by making use of learners' previous knowledge to increase their understanding of the new and difficult concepts. The second function of classroom teacher code switching, according to Sert (2005: 3), is to build solidarity and intimate relations with the learners by creating a friendly and supportive language atmosphere in the classroom. According to Sert, teacher code switching also serves a repetitive function, whereby teachers repeat in the L1 instructions given in the L2 in order to clarify meaning. Sert (2005: 4) concludes by pointing out the merits of classroom code switching as a supporting element in relaying information and in social interaction as opposed to being a 'blockage or deficiency in learning a language.'

2.5 Code switching in Southern African educational contexts

In all the former British colonies in Southern Africa, English is the official medium of instruction in schools. The challenges that are faced by teachers due to the use of English in teaching and learning in these countries are generally the same. With most of the countries having attained independence from the 1960s to the 1980s, there has been a gradual change of attitude in some quarters towards the use of English. The fact that most of the English language teachers are no longer L1 speakers of English, code switching by teachers between English and their L1 has become a common phenomenon, although it is not openly acknowledged in all cases. A lot of research has been conducted which investigates the use of code switching in the classrooms and questions the language-in-education policies in multilingual educational settings. The research also seeks to establish whether code switching is an interactional resource which should be legitimised in multilingual classrooms.

Mwinda and van der Walt (2015) conducted a study in a rural primary school in the Okavango region in Namibia, where translanguaging strategies such as code switching and translation were explored with a view to ascertain whether these strategies can develop proficiency in the English language, which is the medium of instruction in the school. English, in this context, is hardly spoken in the rural areas; most learners encounter it only in the classrooms. In Namibia, as Mwinda and van der Walt (2015: 100) points out, there are about thirty languages spoken,

fourteen being national languages, with English being the language of instruction in schools. Mwindi and van der Walt notes that there was evidence of extensive but random and unplanned code switching by teachers in the schools. Mwindi and van der Walt concludes that among other translanguaging strategies, code switching can be encouraged in order to develop proficiency in the weaker language, but that the switches should be planned in order to provide ‘strong scaffolding’ for L2 development.

In a study by Chimbutane (2013) on code switching in L1 and L2 contexts in Mozambican classrooms, language practices and teacher beliefs towards code switching were investigated. Chimbutane (2013: 317) explains that although the Curriculum Reform policy documents in Mozambique officially endorses code switching to scaffold learning in Portuguese classrooms, teachers’ perceptions and attitudes towards its usage vary. Some teachers approve the maximum usage of L1 in L2 contexts. Other teachers believe in total exclusion of the L1 in L2 learning contexts, arguing that the inclusion of the L1 undermines the learning process and denies learners opportunities to explore and develop their own L2 learning strategies. Chimbutane (2013: 323) is of the view that such attitudes from teachers are a result of habits which have been inculcated by ‘the ideological residue of policies of the times when African languages were banned from school.’ Other teachers, however, are of the opinion that code switching should be used minimally, only as a ‘last resort’ to explain difficult concepts, and according to Chimbutane (2013: 319), a majority of bilingual teachers in Mozambique share this view. Based on this study, Chimbutane argues in favour of the use of code switching in multilingual classrooms, and justifies his stand by citing the work of Turnbull and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) who describe code switching as a strategy that can be fully exploited to help learners comprehend the target language better as well as helping them to express and affirm multiple identities.

Kamwangamalu (2010), when discussing multilingualism and code switching in education, brings to the fore the English-only argument, which is normally used to argue against the use of code switching in educational contexts. Kamwangamalu (2010: 130) further points out that the supporters of the English-only argument believe that using L1 in L2 learning contexts ‘impede(s) the development of thinking in English’ and compromises the standards of English. Kamwangamalu, however, argues to the contrary and asserts that the L1 plays a significant role in L2 learning, especially for learners who are not competent in the target language, as it reduces the barriers to the acquisition of the language and speeds up progress in the language

(Kamwangamalu 2010: 130). In conclusion, Kamwangamalu (2010) recommends that educators should be sensitized about the resourcefulness of classroom code switching; this would, in turn, help them reassess their attitude towards the use of the L1 and its impact on L2 learning.

Dawid Uys's (2010) study on the functions of code switching in multilingual and multicultural high school classrooms in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa confirms that teachers not only use code switching for explaining and clarifying difficult concepts to learners but also for maintaining social relationships and classroom control. Uys uses Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model to analyse the functions of code switching and observes that teachers' choices were mostly unmarked, although marked choices were also evident where it served to create social distance between teachers and learners. Uys's conclusion is that code switching is a good educational practice which should be promoted in multilingual classrooms, especially where the medium of instruction is the home language of only a minority of the learners in the school.

In a research paper by Rose and van Dulm (2006) on the functions of code switching between English and Afrikaans in a secondary school in Western Cape Province of South Africa, they confirm that code switching in the classroom helps teachers and learners achieve academic goals. Having analysed the types of code switching in the interactions, using the aforementioned Markedness Model, Rose and van Dulm (2006: 11) claim that in the classrooms they observed, it was evident that code switching served particular functions, which included clarification, confirmation and expansion. Rose and van Dulm concur with other researchers who insist that code switching is a useful communication tool which can benefit teachers and learners and thus should not be regarded as 'detrimental to the academic enterprise or as socially unacceptable' (Rose and van Dulm 2006: 12).

Another study on code switching, between Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, was conducted by Lawrence (1999) in which he investigated motivations for code switching among lecturers and students at a South African teacher training college. In analysing the motivations, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model was used. Lawrence (1999: 265) concludes that code switching is an effective and practical instrument for communication. Ncoko *et al.* (2000) draws similar conclusions in an exploratory study conducted in primary schools in South Africa, in which he investigates motivations for code switching and its implications in the new South Africa after

the declaration of the eleven official languages. The functions of code switching in formal and informal settings were observed. Based on their findings, Ncoko *et al.* (2000: 239) concluded that code switching is a useful teaching strategy that is available to be exploited by the teacher and the learner and should be treated as such. They further advocate for an effective language-in-education policy that recognises code switching as an important resource.

Kieswetter's (1995) thesis on code switching amongst high school learners in Soweto, KaNgwane and Johannesburg points out the different patterns of code switching demonstrated by African high school learners as a result of the social environments within which they interact. Kieswetter's (1995: 6) study further points out the need for education stakeholders to appreciate the dynamic nature of languages, stating that 'the school syllabi, textbooks and teaching materials need to take cognisance of the dynamic nature of languages' (Kieswetter 1995: 8). In other words, language teachers can no longer depend on using set grammatical forms and textbooks according to the dictates of the syllabus, which tends to be narrow. She advocates for code switching as a necessary linguistic tool which enhances the teaching and learning of languages.

Adendorff (1993) investigates the functions of code switching among isiZulu-speaking teachers and their learners and the implications thereof for teacher education. He observed three teachers and their learners, for different subjects, namely Literature, Biology and Geography. Adendorff (1993: 5) concluded that code switching served as a channelling and guidance mechanism for the teachers and students. Adendorff is of the view that teachers need to be aware and be conscientized to the usage of code switching if they are to appreciate and understand its role as an interactional resource.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given a brief overview of code switching and some of the literature that is relevant to its use in educational contexts. The literature review cited above suggests that code switching is a useful resource but it is filled with controversy as teachers are not necessarily at ease when using it in the classroom. This calls upon teacher educators and policy makers to review their attitudes towards code switching in the classroom and probably legitimise its usage. I concur with Simon (2001: 338) in her suggestion that the traditional views of code switching as an undesirable practice in the classroom should change and that

code switching should be treated as one of many pedagogical strategies which teachers and learners can employ to facilitate the learning process. In terms of implementing code switching as a strategy for learning, Castellotti (1997: 410) suggests ‘theorizing and producing formal guidelines to integrate code switching into pedagogical practice in a reasoned, structured and constructive manner.’ On Castellotti’s view, this approach would bring an awareness to teachers in training on the phenomenon of code switching and would force them to demonstrate reflective and analytic skills in responding appropriately to code switching. Such formal guidelines would also liberate teachers from the guilt of using code switching when teaching in their classrooms.

Although the literature reviewed above seems to favour code switching as a teaching strategy, Ssentanda (2014: 48) warns of the dangers that could be posed by overusing it, which includes teachers and learners failing to make the distinction between structure and semantic equivalents of the languages concerned which might result in the usage of incorrect translations. Another interesting observation Ssentanda makes on teacher code switching is that, although code switching is often used as a strategy to make up for learner’s lack of proficiency in the L2, sometimes teachers also switch to ‘compensate for their own lack of proficiency in the L2 when they cannot sustain an explanation in the L2’ (Ssentanda 2014: 48). He argues that this type of code switching could be detrimental to the learners as they would have a poor model in learning the L2. I tend to concur with Ssentanda’s view that code switching in educational contexts should be used, but with caution.

In the next chapter, Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Markedness Model, which is the framework for the present study, will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The present study was conducted within the framework of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. In this model, Myers-Scotton proposes the Markedness approach to explain the social motivations of code switching. This chapter will discuss the Markedness Model in detail.

3.2 Myers-Scotton Markedness Model

Herbert (2001: 227) purports that the Markedness Model is the most prominent model which accounts for code switching and mixing. The model is based on the notion that speakers have marked and unmarked choices available to them, and that these choices vary according to situation. Myers-Scotton (1993) asserts that in multilingual communities, language is associated with certain roles, which she refers to as rights-and-obligations (RO) sets. In other words, when speakers use a particular language, they indicate their understanding of the prevailing situation and their roles within that context. Van Dulm (2007: 14) further explains that the Markedness Model is based on a negotiation principle which entails that speakers chose the form of utterances in accordance with the set of RO which they wish to use in a particular communicative exchange. Myers-Scotton (1993: 115) clarifies that the negotiation principle sees code choices as identity negotiations, further stressing that the Markedness Model is speaker-centred in the sense that the speakers make choices based on enhancing their positions or conveying their own perceptions. Elaborating on Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, Wardhaugh (2006: 110) states that speakers are not always conscious when they choose how they speak but that they are generally aware of how they want to appear to others and how they wish others to behave towards them.

Myers-Scotton (1993: 113) explains that the Markedness Model accounts for all types of code switching and their social motivations as related to one of four related motivations, these being code switching as a sequence of unmarked choices, code switching itself as an unmarked choice, code switching as a marked choice, and code switching as an exploratory choice.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 114), the unmarked choice maxim is applied when the speaker chooses a code according to the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in a conversation when the speaker wants to establish or affirm that RO set. Myers-Scotton (1993: 151) explains that ‘unmarked’ refers to linguistic choices that are expected as a medium of exchange in a conversation, in view of the society’s expectations and the circumstances at the time. This includes the person being addressed, the speaker, the topic and the setting. Sequential and unmarked code switching follow the unmarked choice maxim, although they occur under different circumstances.

The four motivations which account for code switching, according to Myers-Scotton, are discussed below.

3.2.1 Sequential unmarked code switching

This type of code switching occurs when there is a change in situation during a conversation. In sequential code switching, the unmarked RO set changes when the participants or speakers change or a topic changes. This could be likened to Gumperz situational code switching, but Myers-Scotton (1993: 115) highlights that the difference is that in sequential unmarked choices, the change in codes is motivated by the speaker and not just the situation. The speaker makes the choice to switch. Herbert (2001: 228) explains that in sequential unmarked choices, the speaker may switch to accommodate an additional participant in a conversation by using a language understood by all participants. To illustrate sequential code switching, Myers-Scotton (1993: 115) refers to a conversation that took place in an office in Nairobi, between two relatives. In this conversation, one of the speakers is a company executive and is sitting in his office; the other one is visiting the executive as they are relatives. The relatives greet each other in Swahili but they soon switch to English as colleagues of the executive join them. At some point, the executive also addresses his secretary in Swahili, but when giving orders to his subordinates, he switches to English, to assert his authority. The change in codes is influenced by the people being addressed and also by the change in topic. This illustration confirms what Myers-Scotton (1993: 117) says, namely that unmarked choices indicate acceptance of role relationships by the speakers in their communities as well as their social identities.

3.2.2 Code switching itself as an unmarked choice

This type of code switching occurs when a speaker wishes to index two identities (Myers-Scotton 1993: 149). Myers-Scotton states three crucial conditions which have to be met for unmarked code switching to occur. First, the speakers have to be bilingual peers and not strangers. Secondly, the speakers also have to be familiar with the languages used in the switching, although a high level of proficiency is not a prerequisite. Lastly, the interactions in unmarked choices are often informal and involve in-groups. Myers-Scotton (1993) points out that unmarked choice code switching is common in multilingual communities and cites an example of urban Africans in South Africa and elsewhere, who switch between the official language and the indigenous language in a continuous pattern. Herbert (2001: 239) explains that in unmarked code switching, the speaker's choice does not send a distinct meta-message but the switching serves a communicative purpose.

3.2.3 Code switching as a marked choice

Herbert (2001: 232) describes code switching as marked choice where the speakers strategically use a new code in order to superimpose a message in an interaction. Myers-Scotton (1993: 131) explains that in marked code switching, the speaker makes a marked code choice, such as one which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in a conversation, when the speaker wishes to establish a new RO set as unmarked for that particular exchange. Myers-Scotton (1993: 132) adds that speakers engage in the marked choice to negotiate a change in the expected social distance of the participants involved in the interaction, by either increasing or decreasing the distance. One way in which marked code switching is used to increase social distance is to express anger or annoyance or to display authority. To illustrate code switching as a marked choice, Herbert (2001) refers to a conversation involving three Xhosa women, namely a female teacher who goes to the Education offices to lodge a complaint and two female secretaries. Their conversation starts in isiXhosa, which is an unmarked choice in this situation as all participants in the conversation are native speakers of isiXhosa, but the teacher switches to English, to assert her position, when the secretaries refuse to let her see the ministry official without having made an appointment. At that point, the secretaries also respond in English. English is, therefore, a marked choice in this exchange as it is now contrary to the neutral ethnic language which was used when the conversation started.

3.2.4 Code switching as an exploratory choice

Myers-Scotton (1993: 142) explains that code switching as an exploratory choice occurs when speakers are not certain about the expected communicative intent. In these instances, the speakers are usually unclear about which norms are expected, because there could be a lack of knowledge on the social identities of the participants, so they then tend to explore code choices, without knowing which code will eventually fulfil their social goals. Myers-Scotton (1993: 146) cites an example of code switching as an exploratory choice when she refers to an incident of a young man in a hotel in Nairobi, who asks a young woman for a dance. The man is not certain which language to use so he starts off by speaking in Swahili which does not yield positive results. He then addresses the woman in English, to which the woman agrees. In this instance, the negotiation of the RO set in English won the man the dance with the woman.

I recently came across a young man whom I had taught at high school in the early 1990s when I was a teacher of English. We met at a community function of which I was directing the programme. When it was question time, he addressed me in English and I was hesitant to respond in English, considering that most of the community members do not understand English. Seeing my reluctance to respond in English, the young man rephrased the question in siSwati. I assumed that the exploratory choice in this instance could have arisen from the fact that I used to teach this young man English and he may have assumed that I expected him to address me in English – or perhaps he just wanted to create an impression among the community members that he was ‘educated’.

Myers-Scotton (1993: 143) concludes that code switching as an exploratory choice is a true reflection of the negotiation principle, because of the interactive nature of the exchange when the exploratory choice is employed.

3.3 Views on Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model

The Markedness Model, although widely acclaimed for explaining social motivations for code switching, has been criticized by some researchers as being too static to explain social motivations for code switching across languages and cultures (see Kamwangamalu 2010). Kamwangamalu’s argument is that, in some instances, what Myers-Scotton describes as a marked choice does not always entail social distance as she purports; rather, the choice creates

solidarity between the speakers. Citing an episode of code switching in an interaction between a lecturer and a student in a lecture room at the University of Eswatini, Kamwangamalu (2010: 124) uses the Markedness Model to account for the switch, but at the same time, points out the shortcomings of the markedness approach. The cited episode is an example of a marked choice, where a lecturer speaks in English to the students and is negotiating a date for a test, but one of the students suddenly switches from English to siSwati to create distance between the lecturer and the students. Kamwangamalu (2010: 125) argues that although this is clearly an example of a marked choice, it could still qualify to be an unmarked choice as the switch to siSwati could have been intended to create solidarity among the students. This proves that there is not one clear-cut way which can account for code switching as suggested by Myers-Scotton in her markedness approach.

Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994), as cited by Kamwangamalu (2010: 126), also argue against the emphasis of the Markedness Model on negotiation of identities, rights and obligations to explain motivation for code switching. They claim that negotiations of identities is not enough to account for functions of code switching in multilingual societies. Auer (1998) is also among the researchers who challenge Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, arguing that this model places emphasis on socio-pragmatic information on the marked and unmarked character of each language, yet the switch is important regardless of this.

3.4 Conclusion

Although a number of researchers have challenged Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, it still accounts for most instances of code switching and its functions, as will be shown in the data for this study. This will be explained further when the data is analysed in detail in Chapter 5. In the following chapter, the research methodology used to answer the research questions is explained.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the details of the research methodology used in seeking answers to the research questions for this study are unpacked. The chapter begins with an overview of the research design, followed by a detailed description of the research site and the participants. The data collection methods and the instruments used are discussed next, followed by an explanation of how the analysis of the data was executed. Methodological limitations of the study are then outlined as well as the ethical considerations, followed by a concluding section.

4.2 Research design

The study adopted a qualitative approach in order to establish teachers' code switching practices in the classroom, their motivation for doing so and their attitude towards the practice. Citing Polkinghorne (1989), Jansen (2010) explains that one distinctive feature for qualitative research is that it relies on words as opposed to numerical data and that its data analysis is based on meaning rather than on statistical information. Jansen further states that all qualitative research is naturalistic, meaning that it concentrates on natural settings where interaction occurs (Jansen 2010). Mensah (2014), by contrast, explains the purpose of a qualitative approach by citing Henning (2010) who confirms that through qualitative research, the qualities of a phenomenon are explored and not its quantities. When describing the purpose of qualitative research, Holliday (2010: 101) states that qualitative research is not meant 'to prove anything but to generate ideas which are sufficient to make us think again about what is going on in the world.' For this study, various methods of collecting information were used, namely classroom observations, audio recordings and semi-structured interviews.

Naturalistic data was used for this study because it was deemed suitable for the study of code switching; as van Dulm (2007: 77) points out, 'research on code switching traditionally makes use of spontaneously occurring naturalistic data.' The study seeks to ultimately make recommendations on how teacher code switching can be formalised and recognised as a

valuable resource in teaching and learning, and in order to do so, it was deemed necessary to collect naturalistic data on teachers' current classroom practices as regards code switching.

4.3 Research site & participants

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study was conducted in a semi-urban day and boarding high school, situated in the outskirts of one of the industrial towns of Eswatini. The school has an enrolment of approximately 1 500 learners, and each grade from Form 1 to 5 (which is the equivalent of Grade 8 to 12) has seven streams (i.e., seven classes), with a minimum of 40 learners per stream. As stated in Chapter 1, the school administration consists of one head teacher, two deputy head teachers, and heads of departments for the various subjects. Purposive sampling was used in identifying the research site and the participants. According to Nieuwenhuis (2016: 85), participants of a sample are chosen with the aim 'to represent a phenomenon, group, incident, location or type in relation to a key criterion.' Citing the work of Curtis, Gesler, Smith and Washburn (2000), Nieuwenhuis (2016: 85) identifies six criteria for purposive sampling stated below, which informed the sampling for this study:

1. It should be relevant to the conceptual framework and research questions addressed.
2. It should generate a rich source of information on the type of phenomenon being studied.
3. It should enhance transferability of the findings.
4. It should produce credible descriptions/explanations.
5. It should take ethical preconditions into consideration.
6. It should be feasible in terms of money, time and accessibility.

4.3.1 Research site

The site for this study was identified because of what Wellington (2000: 61) describes as a 'convenience sample' as the school is accessible from my work place and the teachers are known to me and are easy to relate with. The fact that the teachers knew and trusted me was deemed important, because two of the data collection methods were classroom observation and interviews, and I wanted the participants to act as natural as possible and to answer as truthfully as possible in order to increase the authenticity of my data. I predicted that teachers whom I know (as opposed to teachers to whom I was a stranger) would believe me when I state that I am conducting research to establish what the current practices and perceptions are, and not to

report to the Ministry of Education those who did not comply with the language-in-education policy. The diverse economic backgrounds of the learners in this school was also an influencing factor in selecting it as a research site. The population of learners in this school is predominantly siSwati L1 speakers with a few Mozambicans who, however, speak and understand the siSwati language, which is typical of most government schools in Swaziland. The ages of the learners ranged from 14 to 18 years.

English is the language of teaching and learning in Eswatini schools (including the study school) from the fifth grade onwards, except during siSwati-as-subject lessons. As in many other schools in Eswatini, learners are expected, as a rule, to speak English at all times when on school premises. The learners in this school come from a mixture of low to middle class socioeconomic backgrounds and are a true representation of a large population of learners in Eswatini public schools. According to the head teacher of the school, about 40% of the learners have their fees paid through the Orphaned and Vulnerable Children (OVC) grant of the government. Some learners, especially those at boarding school, are children of working class parents who are either employed by government or in the private sector or run their own small businesses. The living arrangements of such learners places them at an advantage as their exposure to English is not only limited to school hours, because the requirement to speak only English extends to the boarding school as well. There are also those day learners who come from poor family backgrounds with meagre resources, and their exposure to English is very limited as they most likely encounter English only through the teacher and the textbooks at school.

4.3.2 Participants

The teachers who participated in this study are from the English Language and Literature department. This department has eleven teachers who are all siSwati L1 speakers. Of the eleven teachers, only eight agreed to be observed and interviewed (five females and three males), with a teaching experience ranging from 7 to 28 years. All eight are qualified teachers; six hold degrees from the University of Eswatini and two hold diplomas from one of the Teacher Training Colleges in Eswatini. In this school, diploma holders can only teach in Forms 1 to 3 whereas degreed teachers teach across all the classes up to Form 5. There are three additional teachers who agreed to be interviewed but were not observed. These were the head of the

English department, the head teacher (both males) and one female teacher; all three hold BA degrees. This brings the total number of participants to eleven.

4.4 Data collection methods

As has been indicated in the introduction, a variety of instruments was used to collect data in this study, namely class observation, audio recordings and semi-structured interviews. Each instrument and method will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.4.1 Classroom observation and audio recordings

A key research strategy employed in gathering data for this study was classroom observation. Gebhard and Oprandy (1999: 35) define classroom observation as a ‘non-judgemental description of classroom events that can be analysed and given interpretation’. Seabe (2012), by contrast, defines observation as a systematic process of gathering data which is dependent on the researcher’s ability to collect data through his/her senses without talking with participants.

The classes observed were English Language and Literature classes for Form 1 to 4 learners. As pointed out above, eight teachers were observed. Each teacher was observed twice, each time for approximately 40 minutes. The classroom observations were conducted over a period of three weeks and the number of hours of observation totalled approximately 9 hours. The focus was on the teacher’s code switching practices while teaching, with a view to obtaining answers to Research Question 1 and possibly 2 stated in section 1.3 of Chapter 1.

I used the research questions as a guide and used the traditional pen and paper technique to take comprehensive notes of what I observed (see Appendix A). Nieuwenhuis (2016), in Maree (2016: 90), stresses the importance of recording both verbal and non-verbal behaviour when observing events in a social setting. The proceedings of the lessons were also audio recorded, using a small recording device which was hardly noticeable to the learners. I believe that the device did not cause any form of distraction which could have affected the proceedings of the lessons to a significant extent. The audio recordings were transcribed immediately after conducting each classroom observation, as recommended by Walsh (2011) (see Appendix B

for examples of such transcriptions). The audio recordings were useful in that I was able to compare the field notes with the transcripts, which was a way of verifying my findings.

I assumed a non-participant observation role, as I quietly sat at the back of the class without attracting attention, taking into account Harbon and Shen's (2010: 275) advice that the researcher should always be careful that his presence does not influence what is happening in the classroom. Saville-Troike (1989: 121) refers to this as 'unobtrusive observation', where the researcher is visible to the participants, but observes passively without disrupting the proceedings in the classroom. I also took heed of Maree's (2016: 90) caution that when using observation as a data collecting technique, one should not seek data aggressively but rather observe events as they occur naturally.

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

In addition to the classroom observations and audio recordings, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the eight teachers as a follow up, after the second observation. As already stated in Section 4.3.2 of this chapter, the other three teachers (including the head teacher) were interviewed without being observed, which brings the total number of interviewed teachers to eleven. Ssentanda (2014) states that interviews are employed alongside other research methods in order to enrich and capture reasons and explanations for certain behaviour. The interview questions were in English, but the teachers had the flexibility of responding in either English or SiSwati, and each interview lasted between 15 and 20 minutes. The first part of interview focused on the teacher's educational training background and experience in the teaching profession (see Appendix C). This was followed by specific questions which are core for this study; these questions sought to establish the reasons for teacher code switching and the teachers' attitudes towards the practice. The semi-structured interview method was chosen because of its flexible nature as questions ranged from fixed to being relatively free and open-ended. I was careful not to be sidetracked by aspects which were not relevant to the study, as pointed out by Maree (2016). In order to obtain rich data, I also heeded Nieuwenhuis's (2016) advice on the importance of being attentive to participant responses when conducting interviews so that the researcher can identify emerging lines of enquiry that maybe relevant to the phenomenon being studied.

4.5 Methodological limitations of study

The intentions and focus of my study were communicated to the participants before I collected the data. This was mainly caused by the fact that the teachers had to sign the letters of consent first, which specified the research topic. I had the option to initially under-inform potential participants of the purpose of my study and then later explain to them in detail what I was observing. (I could, for instance, have told potential participants something vague initially, such as that I was studying how English Language and English Literature are taught in Swazi schools nowadays.) For two reasons I opted not to do so. Firstly, I had to obtain permission from the head teacher to conduct the study at the specific school, and it would not have been ethical to withhold the reason for doing the research from the head teacher, as such withholding of information would not have enabled the head teacher to make an informed decision as to whether or not to grant me permission. And with the head teacher knowing the focus of my study, it is unlikely that the focus would not be shared by the head teacher with the participating teachers, as I felt uncomfortable to have the head teacher ‘sworn to secrecy’ as regards his staff. Secondly, as stated above, the teachers at the study school were known to me, and I did not want to jeopardise our relationship of trust by potentially making them feel ‘tricked’ into granting consent for something that they were not informed about. I realised during the classroom observations that this may have caused a limitation to the study as Allwright and Bailey (1991: 71) states that there is a risk involved when the participants know the focus of the research: They might change their behaviour to fit what they think the researcher is interested in. I am not sure if this affected the teachers’ behaviour, but code switching was evident, although it varied with the specific subject matter taught.

Another limitation to the study was the fact that only one school was observed, and in this school all the teachers were L1 speakers of siSwati. It would be interesting to observe how L1 English teachers coped with explaining difficult concepts in the classroom.

The period of observations was also possibly a limiting factor. Although eight classes were observed, it became difficult to draw firm conclusions from observing just one school. As already pointed out, each teacher was observed twice, over a 40-minute period. I tend to concur with Harbon and Shen’s (2010: 280) observation that with classroom observation the challenge is that the data collected ‘portrays snapshots of limited periods of time’ and as such the results drawn can only be indicative rather than being conclusive. More observations spread out over

a longer period of time at different times of the school year could have increased the generalizability of the findings.

4.6 Ethical considerations

When the study was conducted, all ethical considerations were adhered to as prescribed by Stellenbosch University. Permission to conduct the study at the school which served as a research site for this study was sought and granted by the head teacher of the school. The Ministry of Education through the Director's office also granted permission to collect data from the school. The teachers who participated in the research were approached and they volunteered to participate after the objectives of the study were explained. The participants signed informed consent forms after having read and understood what the research entailed. They were also offered the opportunity to ask clarifying questions to the researcher before signing the forms. Nieuwenhuis (2016) stresses the importance of protecting research participants by maintaining anonymity and confidentiality. This was observed as in the data analysis, codenames are used to refer to the teachers and the school, instead of real names. The data collection began only after ethical clearance was granted by the Research Ethics Committee (Humanities) of Stellenbosch University.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the research methodology used in this study. Despite the methodological limitations of the study, authentic data were collected in my opinion, and in the next chapter, this data will be presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data gathered to answer the research questions will be presented and analysed. As previously stated, the purpose of this study is to investigate the functions of teachers' code switching in the classrooms and teachers' perceptions towards this practice. The data will be analysed in line with Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993) which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The first part of the presentation (section 5.2) will focus on the data obtained from classroom observations. The data collected through semi-structured interviews will follow in the section thereafter, and a concluding section will be presented in the final section of this chapter. As stated in the methodology chapter, all data will be analysed qualitatively.

5.2 Data on classroom observations

The purpose of the classroom observations was to establish if English Language and Literature teachers do code switch while teaching their (English) subject matter and, if so, the degree to which they do so and the functions the switches served as they occurred during the classroom observations. I was also interested in the learners' reaction when the switches were made by the teacher, to ascertain the possible effect that the switches have on the learners. As already stated in the previous chapter, a total of eight teachers were observed and audio recorded while conducting 40-minute lessons, and each teacher was observed twice. The classes observed were from Form 1 to Form 4, which is equivalent to Grades 8 to 11 in South Africa. In Form 1, only the English Language class was observed as Literature is not offered at that level. For Forms 2 to 4, the classes observed were for both Language and Literature. On average, each class had about 40 to 45 learners.

The data on classroom observation will be presented under the four types of code switching as outlined in Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. The types of code switching, as discussed in Chapter 3, are sequential unmarked, unmarked, marked and exploratory code switching.

In presenting the data, code names have been used to refer to the teachers and learners in order to protect their identity. In the presentation of transcribed data, siSwati words that were spoken have been italicised whereas translations to English have been bolded. Explanations on setting and other relevant information is written in a smaller font and is bracketed.

5.2.1 Sequential unmarked code switching

As explained in detail in Chapter 3, sequential unmarked code switching occurs when there is a change in situation during a conversation. Herbert (2001: 228) explains that in this type of code switching, ‘the introduction of an additional conversational participant changes the definition of the communicative situation, and the original speakers respond to the new definition by linguistic accommodation.’ An example of sequential code switching recorded in one of the classroom observations will be discussed by considering the following excerpt: An incident of sequential code switching was observed in a Form 4 English Language class. Teacher P, referred to as ‘TP’ in the excerpt, is conducting a lesson on phrasal verbs. He explains to the learners the importance of using phrasal verbs when writing compositions. During the lesson, the teacher is mainly lecturing, and for the first 10 minutes, no code switching is observed. While the lesson is in progress, the teacher is interrupted by a knock on the door. The deputy head teacher of the school, referred to as ‘DHT’, has come to make an announcement. The conversation progresses as follows:

Excerpt 1

DHT: *Ncesi kukuphazamisa T, ngidzinga nje kwenta* a brief announcement
ngendzaba yekushintja kwe time table.

[**Sorry for the disturbance T** (for teacher), **I just need to make** a brief announcement **regarding the change in the** timetable.]

TP: (To the DHT) *Kulungile, bhuti; chubeka*. (Then to the learners) Class, the deputy has an announcement to make.

[(To the DHT) **Its fine, my brother; go ahead**. (Then to the learners) Class, the deputy has an announcement to make.]

DHT: Morning, class. Do you know when the period starts on Wednesday?

L: No. (learners respond in unison)

DHT: It starts at twenty to eight and not ten to eight. Please note that the other days remain unchanged; the only affected day is Wednesday. Is that clear?

L: Yes. (in unison)

DHT: (To the learners) Okay. Good. (To the teacher) *Ngiyabonga, mnetfu.*

[(To the learners) OK. Good. (To the teacher) **Thank you, my brother.**]

TP: (To the DHT, who then leaves the class) *Kute inkinga.* (To the learners) Yes, sorry for that disturbance. I was still explaining the importance of using muscular verbs in trying to achieve exactness and clarity.

[(To the DHT, who then leaves the class) **No problem.** (To the learners) Yes, sorry for that disturbance. I was still explaining the importance of using muscular verbs in trying to achieve exactness and clarity.]

In the above example, the teacher has been conducting the lesson in English, but switches to siSwati when talking to the deputy head teacher who comes to make an announcement to the class. The DHT behaves in a similar way: He speaks siSwati to the teacher, but maintains English when addressing the learners, and again switches to siSwati when thanking the teacher for allowing him to make the announcement. English, in this instance, is the unmarked choice. The sequential marked switches shown are caused by the change in addressee and also because of the change in topic. When addressing the learners, the DHT maintains English to exert authority, to be taken seriously by the learners, and to uphold the school rules of speaking English at all times while on the school premises. But when conversing with his colleague, he switches to siSwati, perhaps to demonstrate familiarity and that they are at the same level. This is confirmation of what Myers-Scotton (1993: 117) says, namely that ‘unmarked choices indicate acceptance by the speakers of the role relationships which persons in their communities with their social identities have with one another.’ I also noticed that when the teachers converse among themselves in the staffroom, they speak siSwati but when a learner walks into the staffroom, they are addressed in English.

Sequential unmarked code switching was again observed in a Form 2 Literature class. Teacher C, referred to as ‘TC’ in this extract, has divided the class into six groups, and each group has been assigned a task to complete. While the teacher is still discussing with one of the groups, an Agriculture teacher walks in and interrupts the class; he has come to collect a storeroom key from one of the learners, who is a class monitor. The conversation progresses as follows:

Excerpt 2

- TC: Tim, Mr Khoza *ucela sikhiya se storeroom saka Agriculture. Sikuphi?*
 [Tim, Mr Khoza **is asking for the storeroom key. Where is it?**]
- L: It's in my locker, Ma'am.
- TC: Run and get it, please, *phangisa*. (learner leaves to get the key)
 [Run and get it, please. **Hurry**. (learner leaves to get the key)]
 (The learner returns quickly and joins his group again.)
- TC: Did you find it?
- L: Yes, Ma'am.
- TC: Is your team ready to present for the class? Your group will go first.

In the above example, the interactions during the group discussion were in English but when the Agriculture teacher comes to ask for the key, teacher TA switches to siSwati when telling the class monitor to go and collect the storeroom key. As soon as the boy returns to class, the teacher switches back to English. The teacher maintains English when it relates to the ongoing lesson but siSwati when talking about a matter that does not concern the lesson. The teacher, in this instance, switches because of the change in topic. English is the unmarked choice during the lesson in the classroom, given the language-in-education policy.

5.2.2 Unmarked code switching

According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 114), sequential unmarked code switching and unmarked code switching occur in different circumstances although the motivations are related. Myers-Scotton (1993: 117) further clarifies that unmarked code switching differs from the other types of code switching in that in unmarked code switching, each switch does not represent a special indexicality, but rather an 'overall pattern which carries the communicative intention.' Myers-Scotton is also of the view that unmarked code switching occurs primarily when speakers are familiar with using both languages as opposed to having high proficiency in the language or due to other social identity factors. The examples of unmarked code switching which are shown in the excerpts below confirm Myers-Scotton's (1993: 117) assertion that unmarked switches are often characterised by speakers engaging in a continuous pattern of languages and mostly using intrasentential switches or sometimes switching within the same word.

5.2.2.1 Unmarked code switching for humour

During the classroom observations, I noted a couple of instances where the unmarked code switches by the teacher fulfilled a humorous function. In Excerpt 3, the teacher (TB) is conducting a 40-minute Literature lesson in Form 2. The text being studied is *The Pearl* by John Steinbeck. The teacher starts by writing the topic for discussion on the board, ‘*What is the possibility of Kino’s dreams becoming a reality?*’ She asks for a volunteer to read from the novel and after each paragraph, she interjects and asks learners (indicated by ‘L’ in the excerpt) questions that would lead to an answer to the question on the board.

Excerpt 3

TB: Now, based on what has been read, do you think it is still going to be possible for Kino to achieve his dreams?

(Learners mumble and don’t seem to have the confidence to answer the teacher’s question.)

TB: (To one specific learner) My son, I can see that you want to try. Speak up.

L1: No, I don’t think Kino achieved his dreams.

TB: You know that in Literature you always have to support your views by making reference to the book. *Usho ngani kutsi ‘NO’? Yini lewungangikhomba yona* from the book to support this view?

[You know that in Literature you always have to support your views by making reference to the book. **So what are you saying ‘no’ for? What can you identify** from the book to support this view?]

L: (Silence, no show of hands)

TB: Let’s take the example of Kino’s dream about marrying Juana in church. Now, in the book we are told that Kino looks at the pearl and sees Juana with a beaten face, crawling through the night. *Sekwentekeni manje ebusweni ba Juana?* What do you think that shows about Kino’s dream?

[Let’s take the example of Kino’s dream about marrying Juana in church. Now, in the book we are told that Kino looks at the pearl and sees Juana with a beaten face, crawling through the night. **What has happened to Juana’s face now?** What do you think that shows about Kino’s dream?]

L2: In the book it says Kino saw Juana crawling from church. I think that means that Kino will get married to Juana but she will be crippled and will be crawling home.

- TB: *Hhayi-ke, yini ungatsi sowutibhalele yakho i Pearl? Ukutsatsaphi manje loko?*
[Now wait a moment! That sounds like you have written your own version of The Pearl. Where does that come from now?]
 (The whole class bursts into laughter, including the teacher.)
- TB: Okay, *asiyikele ke leyo*, let's get back to the question.
[Okay, let's put jokes aside now, let's get back to the question.]

In this excerpt, the learner has given an incorrect response and the teacher decides to joke about it and make light of the situation by switching to siSwati. Everyone in the class catches the joke and the class laughs. But straight after the joke, the teacher re-directs the class by speaking siSwati before switching to English. The same excerpt could be used to illustrate the function of unmarked code switching to restore order. When the teacher calls the class to order, she uses siSwati.

In another example, Teacher E, referred to in Excerpt 4 below as TE, is conducting an English Language lesson in Form 3. The teacher is revising a listening comprehension exercise which the learners had written during the previous lesson. The comprehension passage is entitled *Weather*. The teacher is going through the comprehension answers, explaining to the learners how they should have answered questions.

Excerpt 4

- TE: Morning, class. I have marked your work and would like us to go through the answers. Have you all received your exercise books?
- L: (in unison) Yes, teacher.
- TE: Alright. You generally did well but some of you fail to answer questions correctly just because *abacabangi*. They fail to associate the meaning with the context of the passage. Take for instance Question 5. (Teacher points at a learner) Please read Question 5.
 [Alright. You generally did well but some of you fail to answer questions correctly just because **they don't think**. They fail to associate the meaning with the context of the passage. Take for instance Question 5. (Teacher points at a learner) Please read Question 5.]
- L: (learner reads question) 'Mr X lost directions to his uncle's home because of heavy fork/fog/folk?'

- TE: Yes, there you had to choose the correct word between fork, fog and folk. *Labaningi ibehlulile ke le*. Which is the correct word there? *Ummhh*, anyone who got the answer correct, please read it.
- [Yes, there you had to choose the correct word between fork, fog and folk. **Most of you did not get this one right**. Which is the correct word there? *Ummhh*, Anyone who got the answer correct, please read it.]
- L1: Fog.
- TE: Yes, the correct answer is fog. But most of you *nibhale* fork, *infoologo leyekudla*. *Nibozama phela* to associate meaning with the subject. How can the topic be talking about weather *bese wena wena ukhuluma ngemfologo? Iyaphi infoologo kuma* directions? (class laughs) *Awusacabangi nje kutsi phela* the weather and fork are not related at all. *Ihambelana ngani infoologo ne* weather?
- [Yes, the correct answer is fog. But most of you **wrote** fork, **the fork used for eating**. **You should always try** to associate meaning with the subject. How can the topic be talking about weather and **then you come and talk about a fork? What has a fork got to do with** directions? (class laughs) **It doesn't occur to you that** the weather and fork are not related at all. **How do you relate the weather with fork?**

In the above example, the unmarked code switching by the teacher serves a humorous function although it also serves to clarify the meaning between 'fog' and 'fork.' The teacher makes fun of the association of weather with fork but at the same time illustrates the importance of making meaning in context.

5.2.2.2 Unmarked code switching for expansion and clarity of concepts or instructions

Cole (1998) makes an assertion that a teacher sometimes exploits his/her prior knowledge of the learners' L1 in order to increase their understanding of the L2. I fully concur with Cole's observation as this was evidenced by the classroom exchanges I observed. The two excerpts below are examples of instances of unmarked code switching where the teacher uses the learners' knowledge of siSwati to increase their understanding of English. In Excerpt 5, the teacher (TA) is conducting an English lesson in Form 1 on the topic *Family*. Learners are working in groups of six to discuss meanings of idioms and expressions relating to families. Group 1 has been assigned the expression 'blood is thicker than water' to discuss, and now the group has to share their thoughts with the class.

Excerpt 5

TA: Okay, Group 1, tell us, what does the expression mean? Tell us.

L: (There is a mumble among the group, but no one gives an answer.)

TA: What does that mean? *Umhh...angitsi* we are talking about families?

Kushokutsini loko?

[What does that mean? **Isn't it the case that** we are talking about families?

What does that mean?]

TA: Blood is thicker than water, *mhh*, blood is thicker than water. (Silence.) Think in terms of how you treat or relate with your family members *nawucatsanisa nebantfu nje longabati*.

[Blood is thicker than water, *mhh*, blood is thicker than water. (Silence.) Think in terms of how you treat or relate with your family members **in comparison with just ordinary people.**]

(Still no response from learners.)

TA: Let me make an example; maybe you will see the meaning. If *ungakhandza sisi wakho alwa* with your classmate, *noma umuntfu longamati*, which side would you take? *Leni?*

[Let me make an example; maybe you will see the meaning. **If you find your sister fighting** with your classmate, **or a stranger**, which side would you take? **Why?]**

(After a while learners show relaxed faces and a few put up their hands.)

L1: I would help my sister because she is my relative.

TA: Yes, that's correct. *Ngoba wakini lomuntfu, umcoka kuwe* that's why you will support her. So that is a demonstration of blood being thicker than water, *seniyabonake?*

[Yes, that's correct. **Because that person is your family, she is important to you**, that's why you will support her. So that is a demonstration of blood being thicker than water. **Do you understand now?]**

L: (in unison) Yes.

In the above example, the teacher switches to siSwati in order to make the learners relate to what she is talking about. After several attempts to get responses from the learners, the teacher resorts to siSwati in order to simplify and negotiate meaning, and to encourage them to talk. It would seem that the learners are not confident in their command of English and do not trust

themselves to provide correct answers. In getting the learners to understand meaning, the teacher switches to siSwati. Cases of teachers switching to clarify meaning were the most common in the observations I made.

In the following example, the teacher is conducting a Literature lesson in Form 4. The class is analysing a poem entitled *A passerby*. A volunteer is asked to read the first stanza and after each line, the teacher interjects to ask questions to establish if the learners understand what the poem is about.

Excerpt 6

L1: (Learner reads the first line) ‘I saw them clobbering with fists’.

TC: I saw them doing what? What were they doing? Can anyone tell us what the persona says he saw?

L2: He saw people beating someone.

TC: Okay, yes, they were beating him, but how? Was this just an ordinary beating? *Bebamshaya njani*? What does the word ‘clobbering’ suggest about the manner they were beating him?

[Okay, yes, they were beating him, but how? Was this just an ordinary beating?

How were they beating him? What does the word ‘clobbering’ suggest about the manner they were beating him?]

L3: They were beating him harshly.

TC: Yes, they were bashing him, *bebambhula*, *bamshaya ngetibhakela*, they were beating him severely. *Niyabona mosi*? Read the next line.

[Yes, they were bashing him, **severely, beating him with fists**, they were beating him severely. **Do you get the picture now?** Read the next line.]

L1: (Learner continues reading:) ‘I heard him scream in pain like a victim of slaughter.’

TC: Yes, like a victim of slaughter, what does that suggest? Have you ever slaughtered an animal? A pig, a goat or a chicken? *Tentanjani letilwane natiyowuhlatjwa*? Do they laugh? What do they do?

[Yes, like a victim of slaughter, what does that suggest? Have you ever slaughtered an animal? A pig, a goat or a chicken? **How do these animals behave when they are taken to be slaughtered?** Do they laugh? What do they do?]

L4: They scream.

TC: Yes, they scream in desperation *ngoba tiyabona kutsi tiyowubulawa. Niyakuva loko?*

[Yes, they scream in desperation **because they realise they are going to be killed. Do you understand that?**]

Throughout the lesson on the poem, one learner reads a portion and the teacher stops to explain the meaning of difficult or unfamiliar words and at times to clarify the meaning of phrases, such as ‘like a victim of slaughter’. It appears that the function served by the unmarked code switching in this instance is to clarify difficult concepts. The teacher also wants to confirm that learners have understood the subject matter correctly. He takes advantage of the fact that the learners can understand siSwati. This confirms the Ncoko *et al.* (2000: 233) assertion that in unmarked code switching, the speaker is mainly concerned with communicating a message, knowing that the next person will understand them. Code switching by the teacher in this class seems to be a normal occurrence and the learners seem to expect the teacher to explain in siSwati what they do not understand of the English literature that they are studying in class.

Excerpt 7 is another example of unmarked code switching. Simon (2001: 327) explains that when it comes to classroom interactions, the code choice is influenced by the type of activity or lesson for methodological reasons. In Extracts 5 and 6 above, the unmarked code choices are used to explain problematic concepts and simplify information for the learners. Excerpt 7 is an example of unmarked code to clarify instructions. Teacher TF is revising a form filling activity with a Form 3 class.

Excerpt 7

TF: I would like us to go over the form filling activity that you submitted. How many of you got above 8 in that activity?

L: (Six out of 42 learners put up their hands)

TF: *Niyabona nine niyamangalisana.* Most of you lose points unnecessarily just because you don’t read instructions. *Aseningifundzele* just the first part of the instruction for Question 3.

[**You guys are full of surprises.** Most of you lose points unnecessarily just because you don’t read instructions. **Someone please** read just the first part of the instruction for Question 3.]

- L: (Learner reads instruction) ‘Write a sentence of 10-20 words....’
- TF: *Yebo*, a sentence. *Yini kantsi li* sentence? How is a sentence different from a clause?
- [**Yes**, a sentence. **What is a** sentence? How is a sentence different from a clause?
- L: (silence)
- TF: And the instruction clearly state *kutsi lamagama* should be in the range of 10 to 20. How many people had more than twenty words?
- [And the instruction clearly state **that the words** should be in the range of 10 to 20. How many people had more than twenty words?]
- L: (About half the class put up their hands)
- TF: *Yebantfwabami*, listen here. *Lentfo yema* mistakes *langakadzingeki itasimisa kabi nge* exam. *Sesehlulwa kubala emagama? Kubala nje?* Some of you *babhale bo 30, itsini kani* le instruction? Do you realise *kutsi le* question is so easy but people *bayitfolo* wrong just because they have not read the instruction properly. Sentence, number of words, please *asikunake loko*. I will ask you to do that activity again. Count the number of words and make sure *kutsi* it’s a sentence this time, just like the instruction says.
- [**My children**, listen here. **This habit of making careless** mistakes **will make you fail** the exam. **You are just lazy to count words? Just to count?** Some of you **wrote about 30 words, what does the** instruction **say?** Do you realise **that the** question is so easy but people **get wrong answers** just because they have not read the instruction properly? Sentence, number of words, please **let’s pay attention to that**. I will ask you to do that activity again. Count the number of words and make sure **that** it’s a sentence this time, just like the instruction says.]

In the above excerpt, TF is frustrated that the learners will soon be sitting for the external examination but they still fail to adhere to simple instructions. This is an English Language lesson but to get his point across to the learners, he switches to siSwati to stress the importance of following instructions. Simon (2001: 337) observes that in classroom interactions of this nature, the teacher exercises his freedom to break the imposed code constraints and draws on the linguistic resources available to ensure maximum understanding of tasks.

5.2.3 Marked code switching

Herbert (2001: 230) describes marked code switching as ‘the speaker’s strategic use of code switching in order to superimpose a message on a communicative act.’ Ramsey-Brijball (2004: 149), by contrast, explains that some of the reasons for marked choices are either to increase or decrease social distance or to establish deference or superiority. Myers-Scotton (1993: 132) confirms that speakers engage in marked code switching to display a range of emotions, such as anger or affection, and also to negotiate outcomes that could involve demonstration of power or superior educational status and assertion of ethnic identity.

In Excerpt 7 below, teacher TD employs code switching to increase social distance between herself and the learners. Myers-Scotton (1993: 132) confirms that social distance can be increased through the use of marked code switching to express authority, anger and annoyance. In this example, the teacher is conducting a lesson in a Form 3 English Language class. The theme being discussed is *Discrimination*, and it is based on an extract taken from a literature textbook, *No Longer at Ease* by Chinua Achebe. The teacher introduces the lesson by recapping the previous lesson and asks questions:

Excerpt 8

TD: What is discrimination? Can anyone tell me?

L: (Class mumbles, without being audible.)

TD: I assigned you to come up with types of discrimination that you know, in preparation for this lesson. What did you find? *Enh*? What is to discriminate?

L: (Loud but inaudible noises from the learners continue.)

T: *Hhayi phela, asenime kunhhinhhitelatela, umuntfu akaphakamise sandla* if you have something to say, please. *Asikho esibayeni la siseklasini.*

(Hey, stop mumbling. You have to raise up your hand if you have something to say, please. We are not in a kraal here but in class.)

L1: I know it in siSwati, Ma’am; can I say it in siSwati?

TD: No, no, try to say it in English.

L1: To treat someone in a bad way.

In the above example, the teacher switches to siSwati to call the class to order and to express annoyance at the learners who are mumbling and not giving the correct answers, which she interprets as an indication that they have not done the assignment they had been given. The

other interesting observation that can be made from this example is that the teacher feels she is the only one that has authority to speak in siSwati. When one of the learners requests to give her answer in siSwati, the teacher refuses. When interviewed on this after class, she explained that although she sometimes switches to siSwati to stress certain things, she always discourages the learners to use siSwati in class as they have to practice speaking English in order to become proficient in the language.

The same class was observed again, the following day. TD is continuing with the lesson on *Discrimination* which had been started the previous day. The teacher had assigned the learners to read a passage entitled *Clara, the Osu* in preparation for today's lesson.

Excerpt 9

TD: Morning class. Yesterday we talked about the meaning of discrimination, *nisakhumbula mosi*? And I asked you to read the passage on Clara. Now I want us to talk about discrimination in relation to Clara's story. *Ungayichaza uyitsini le discrimination le la*? What sort of discrimination is it?

[Morning class. Yesterday we talked about the meaning of discrimination, **do you remember**? And I asked you to read the passage on Clara. Now I want us to talk about discrimination in relation to Clara's story. **How would you describe the type of discrimination found here**? What sort of discrimination is it?]

L: (Silence)

TD: *Asikhulumeni phela*, what sort of discrimination is it? Is it gender-based or religious? Who can tell us?

[**Let's talk**, what sort of discrimination is it? Is it gender-based or religious? Who can tell us?]

L: (silence)

TD: *Hhayi bo, sekwentekeni manje? Hawu Asenime kungihlaza bomngami kulesivakashi*. (Teacher laughs a little) Why are you quiet now? *Anifundzi inkinga yenu, anifundzi nje. Kute lofuna ku guessa ke lokungenani?*

[**What's wrong now? Guys stop embarrassing me in front of the visitor**. (Teacher laughs a little) Why are you quiet now? **Your problem is, you don't read, you just don't read. Does anyone want to guess, at least?**]

L: Obi's parents don't want Obi to marry Clara because she is an Osu.

TD: Yes, that's true but what type of discrimination is that? It's religious, isn't it?

In Excerpt 9 above, the teacher is frustrated that the learners are not giving any responses, which she takes as a sign that they have not done the prescribed reading. She switches to siSwati to express her frustration and also to try to get the learners to talk. After the gentle scolding, a few learners seem eager to attempt to answer the question. Again the teacher in this instance use marked code switching to express frustration and annoyance.

5.2.4 Exploratory code switching

According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 149), code switching as an exploratory choice occurs when the unmarked RO is uncertain. In the data collected for this study, there was no evidence of code switching as an exploratory choice. The participants of the study, being the teachers and learners, are familiar with one another (including with one another's linguistic profiles), and the norms that apply are straightforward for all concerned.

5.2.5 Conclusion

The results on the classroom observations indicate that code switching by teachers seems to be a commonplace occurrence, but the degree of switches vary according to the subjects taught. I observed that English Language teachers switched less compared to the Literature teachers. In the Language classes, most teachers made a conscious effort to maintain English when teaching, although teachers at times would explain concepts or difficult words in siSwati, as shown in Excerpt 5. In Literature classes, the switching was more pronounced and frequent. It is worth mentioning that in all the Literature classes I observed, the teachers employed similar teaching strategies: The teacher would appoint a learner to read from the textbook and would often interject to ask questions and explain meanings. In almost all explanations, siSwati would be used to clarify meaning.

The next section will present the findings on the attitudes and perceptions of teachers towards classroom code switching as revealed through the semi-structured interviews.

5.3 Data collected through semi-structured interviews

Nieuwenhuis (2016: 92) defines an interview as a two-way process in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data in order to learn about ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant. The aim of the interviews was, first, to establish the teachers' educational qualifications and their teaching experience (on which I reported in the methodology chapter). The second part of the interviews was aimed at soliciting the teachers' reasons for code switching and their views on their code switching. The last interview questions focused on the teachers' opinions on code switching in relation to the language policies and asked for recommendations on the way forward. I prepared 13 questions to guide the interview (see Appendix C) but since the interview was a follow-up to the second classroom observation, I would sometimes find myself asking questions that are specific to what I had observed during lessons, which sometimes did not feature in the list of questions I had prepared. Nieuwenhuis (2016: 93) advises that a researcher must be attentive to the responses of participants so that new lines of inquiry relevant to the phenomenon can be identified and probed, and I attempted to do so.

5.3.1 Reasons for teacher code switching

As mentioned above, the second part of the interview questions sought answers as to why the teachers codeswitched and whether they thought this practice benefitted the learners. Below are the responses of eight of the eleven teachers who answered the question about the reasons why they code switch. The first six responses are from teachers who were observed in their classrooms while teaching, and the last two are from teachers who were interviewed but not observed. Interviewee codenames consist of the form that the teacher teaches, the subject matter taught, and the teacher's length of teaching experience. For instance, Form4Lit2 would be the code for a Form 4 English Literature teacher who has been teaching for 2 years, whereas Form2Lan9 would be a Form 2 English Language teacher with 9 years of teaching experience. Although the research questions are in English, the teachers were free to respond in either siSwati or English. And because the atmosphere was relaxed and informal when the interviews were conducted, the interactions were a mixture of siSwati and English. The switches are italicised and translations are bolded.

- Form4Lit8: *Mine ngiya codeswitcha* most of the time *kuchaza* sometimes *tintfo leti*-cross cultural. You see, when learners seem lost, *vele ute i-choice* but *kusebentisa* siSwati. *Kantsi futsi* even when they give correct answers *nakhona ngitikhandza sengibachazela ngesiSwati* for the benefit of those who might not have the correct answers.
- [**I code switch most of the time** for purposes of illustrating cross-cultural concepts. You see, when learners seem lost, **you just have no choice** but **to use** siSwati. **And again** even when they give correct answers, **I find myself explaining in** siSwati for the benefit of those who might not have the correct answers.]
- Form1TLan12: *Ahh, ya*, I always try to explain everything in English because *ngiyafuna lokutsi bakhone loku ti- expressa* in English. But when it comes to difficult words, sometimes *ngiwachaza ngesiSwati*. But *ke* I always encourage my students to practice speaking English. *Noma ligama ngingalichaza ngesiSwati*, I always use the English one as well.
- [**Oh, yes**, I always try to explain everything in English because **I want them to learn to express themselves** in English. But when it comes to difficult words, sometimes **I explain them in** siSwati. But **then** I always encourage my students to practice speaking English. **Even when I explain a word in** siSwati, I always use the English one as well.]
- Form3Lit17: When I codeswitch, I get more participation from the students. I can see *nase bacala kusangana sebanema-* doubts, *uyababona nje nase baswitche* off, because they don't understand a particular concept. *Lapho ke ngivele ngichaze ngesiSwati*.
- [When I codeswitch, I get more participation from the students. **I can see when they start showing signs of confusion or doubts** and **I can tell when they have switched** off because they don't understand a particular concept. In such cases, **I immediately switch to** siSwati **right away**.]
- Form2TLit12: *Ya, ngiyazama kukhuluma siNgisi* throughout but *kulukhuni*, especially *laka* Literature. *Labantfwana abafani*, some can understand things easily, *labanye kulukhuni* and you have to make them understand. *Kona*

kufanele ngabe sifundzisa ngale Singisi right through but i-reality lemaklassini, iyabhedza. Asengibekise nje, namuhla when I was talking about a ‘calabash’, labaningi bebangeva kutsi ngikhuluma ngani until ngichaze ingula ngesiSwati, wababona ke kutsi sebayachacheka.

[**Yes, I always try to use English** throughout but **it’s very difficult**, especially **with** Literature. **The learners capabilities are not the same**, some can understand things easily **while for others it’s very difficult** and you have to make them understand. **We know we are supposed to be using English right through but the reality in the classrooms is bad. Let me just make an example about what happened today**, when I was talking about a ‘calabash’. **Most learners did not understand what I was talking about until I used the siSwati word for calabash and you could tell after that that the confusion was gone.**]

Form 1TLan25: I hardly switch, especially in Form 1. I try by all means to stick to English *batowubona labantfwana kutsi kwentiwanjani*, and also to create *le-culture* of speaking English. I think *kuyangisebentela*. It’s true that sometimes I get tempted to use siSwati especially when the students seem lost but *ngi avoida lokufundzisa siNgisi ngesiSwati*, cos if you are not careful, *kuyenteka loko*.

[I hardly switch, especially in Form 1. I try by all means to stick to English **so that the learners can see how it’s done**, and also to create **the** culture of speaking English. I think **it works for me**. It’s true that sometimes I get tempted to use siSwati especially when the students seem lost but **I try to avoid conducting English lessons in** siSwati, because if you are not careful, **that happens.**]

Form3LanT17: For me, code switching in most cases happens automatically, and the learners do not find anything wrong with it, *abetfuki*. It seems natural *lokwentanjalo* and I think *nalabantfwana* kind of expect me to do it for *kubachazela tintfo letilukhuni*. I think *nale-advantage yekutsi bonkhe bayasiva lesi Swati* makes *loku-switcha kube* meaningful.

[For me, code switching in most cases happens automatically, and the learners do not find anything wrong with it, **they don't seem surprised** (when I switch). It seems natural **to do that** and I think **even the learners** kind of expect me to do it **when explaining difficult concepts**. I think **even the advantage that all of them understand** siSwati makes **the switching to be meaningful**.]

Form 4TLan23: Oh yes, I switch often but that depends largely *ekutseni ngifundzisa ngani*. Sometimes you get difficult comprehension passages *letikhuluma ngetintfo leti-abstract kulabantfwana, njengabo ice-skating labangakwati*. In such cases *vele* you have to use all means *lakhona* to make them see the picture. So *mine ngingatsi kulukhuni vele* to avoid using siSwati because of the mixture *yalabantfwana lesinabo*. At times *kubita kutsi uhumushe nema instructions kuze beve*.

[Oh yes, I switch often but that depends largely **on the topic I am teaching about**. Sometimes you get difficult comprehension passages **that talk about abstract concepts such as ice-skating, which is foreign to the learners**. In such cases, **obviously** you have to use all means **available** to make them see the picture. **So, personally, I would say it's very difficult** to avoid using siSwati because of the mixture **of learners we have**. At times **it calls for translating instructions for them to understand**.]

Form5TL13: Yes, I do code switch but only when I see the need. *Ngiyezama* to stick to English to encourage the students to speak English. I am in the committee that promotes the speaking of English in the school so I am always conscious *kutsi ngikhulume siNgisi* all the time to set an example even for the other teachers. I am also always under pressure as English is a passing subject, so *angifuni umkhumbi ucwile ngami*. I switch only because at times when you look at the students, you can see they do not understand what you are saying. So *kuba lukhuni* to continue with a lesson, strictly in English *ubabona kutsi abakeva lutfo* but *kona vele angikukhutsati*.

[Yes, I do code switch but only when I see the need. **I try hard** to stick to English to encourage the students to speak English. I am also in the committee that promotes the speaking of English in the school so I am always conscious **to speak English** all the time to set an example even for the other teachers. I am also always under pressure as English is a passing subject, **so I don't want to be blamed for sinking the ship**. I switch because at times when you look at the students, you can see they do not understand what you are saying. So **it becomes difficult** to continue with a lesson strictly in English **when you can see that the learners do not grasp anything but still I do not encourage it.**]

The findings revealed that most teachers codeswitch to explain difficult concepts and also to ensure that instructions are understood well. In most cases, teachers switch out of frustration. One of the Literature teachers for senior secondary admitted that she switches in almost every explanation and she firmly believes no learning would be achieved if she were to stop switching to siSwati. 'If you insist on English all the time, you do not get any responses and you just feel you are wasting time,' she says. The teachers believe that code switching facilitates and supports learning, and therefore they feel justified to use it. Note however that even amongst the eight colleagues interviewed, there were different levels of comfort about their (necessary) code switching: Whereas some mentioned that they switched often (without indicating whether it bothers them to have to do so), others stated clearly that they deliberately keep the switching to the absolute minimum.

The teachers' responses seem to confirm Cole's (1998) affirmation that a teacher can exploit students' previous L1 learning experience to increase their understanding of L2. Moore (2002: 288) hypothesises that '...the alternate experience in two languages, manifested and magnified through code-switching, could help reinforce, complexify and refine formation and elaboration of new concepts.' I tend to concur with such views based on my classroom observations during English Language and Literature lessons at the study school.

5.3.2 Teachers' attitude towards code switching

Teachers were also asked for their opinions regarding learners' reactions to the teachers switching and if teachers thought the switching was beneficial to the learners. Their opinion on whether they thought code switching should be encouraged was also asked. The teachers had this to say:

Form2TLit12: *Eish, I wouldn't be sure exactly about the students' feelings but I think bayakujabulela labantfwana. Kuyaba- boosta le-confidence, that's why I think it benefits them, especially laba laba-slow. But nje kumcoka still to strike a balance, kungenteki kakhulu. But sometimes I think kuyabalimata in the sense that they sometimes become too relaxed, knowing that you will explain things in siSwati. Kufanele nje thishela ahlale atigadzile.*

[**Wow, I wouldn't be sure exactly about the students' feelings but I think they appreciate it. It boosts their confidence, that's why I think it benefits them, especially the slow ones. But still it's important to strike a balance, it should not be overdone. But sometimes I think it disadvantages them in the sense that they sometimes become too relaxed, knowing that you will explain things in siSwati. The teachers always have to be on their guard.**]

Form3LanT17: *Yes, njengoba ngishito, the kids are not surprised when I switch, ungatsi basuke bakugadzile. But-ke I think it does put them at a disadvantage ngandlela tsite ngoba they then do not make an effort to understand things in English. I think natsi sibothishela we spoil them out of le-pressure yekufuna kucedza the lesson lowusuke uyilungisele. I think nayenteke objectively though, iyabasita.*

[**Yes, as I told you, the kids are not surprised when I switch, it's like they expect me to switch. But then I think it does put them at a disadvantage in some way because they then do not make an effort to understand things in English. I think we, as teachers, we spoil them out of the pressure of wanting to complete the lesson we have prepared for that day. I think when done objectively though, it benefits them.**]

Form4TLan23: Oh, yes. I think the students like it when I switch *ngoba* immediately *ngenta njalo*, I begin to get responses *noma ngabe be bathulile*. I think *kuyabasita kakhulu*. *Kuhlupha nje nase kufanele babhale* because in the exam they have to express themselves in English. But *nje nabasafundza*, I think *kuyabasita kakhulu*. *Nami nje kuyangikhulula* because after *sengichaze ngale-siSwati* what seemed to be complicated for *lomntfwana*, *ngiva ngi-relieved* that they have understood.

[Oh, yes, I think the students like it when I switch **because** immediately **I do that**, I begin to get responses **even when they have been quiet**. I think **that helps a lot**. **The only problem is when they have to write** because in the exam, they have to express themselves in English. But **during the learning**, I think **it benefits them a lot**. **It also gives me relief as teacher** because after **I have explained in siSwati**, what seemed to be complicated for **the learner**, **I feel** relieved that they have understood.]

Form 2Lan7: Most learners show understanding when I switch to siSwati. I think it benefits the learners. A teacher knows what's best for her students, so if it's done to get learners' participation and understanding, it's fine.

Form3TLang20: Personally, *ngeke sengimsole thishela* who switch between siSwati and English although I try very hard to conduct my lessons in English. *Lothishela* knows best what he is dealing with, *uyabati labantfwana labafundzisako*. But *nakhona* it should not be a whole lesson *lefundziswa ngesiSwati*. Teachers should bear it in mind that those are English classes and English should be used by all means. Code switching should be controlled.

[Personally, **I wouldn't blame teachers** who switch between siSwati and English although I try very hard to conduct my lessons in English. **The teacher** knows best what he is dealing with, **he knows the calibre of learners he teaches**. But **even then** it should not be a whole lesson **to be conducted in siSwati**. Teachers should bear it in mind that those are English classes and English should be used by all means. Code switching should be controlled.]

Form5TLan13: I think code switching puts the learners at a slight disadvantage to some extent. *Bo thishela banga switcha nje nakunesidzingo kakhulu* but keep it to a minimum, but students should not be allowed to do it all because there is no room for it when it comes to their written work and the examination.

[I think code switching puts the learners at a slight disadvantage to some extent. **Teachers can switch when it is very necessary** but keep it to a minimum, but students should not be allowed to do it all because there is no room for it when it comes to their written work and the examination.]

From the extracts of the interviews, it is evident that teachers generally perceive code switching as a necessary evil. They acknowledge the importance of conducting lessons in English only while teaching but realise that it is not practical to do so throughout, because using English only would hinder learner access to the content taught. Teachers therefore code switch to enhance learner understanding of concepts, but state that they are careful not to overuse siSwati as they are concerned that learners need to be able to express themselves adequately in English in the written examinations. The Head of department when interviewed pointed out that, as far as he is concerned, code switching is a justifiable approach to maximising learners' understanding of challenging concepts but also maintained that it should be kept minimal. When discussing teachers' code switching practices during classroom instructions for learners with low English proficiency, Ahmad (2009: 49) states that teachers code switch when the level of the English used in the textbook is above the learners' level of understanding and teachers had exhausted all means to adjust to the learners' level. From my observations in the English Language and Literature classrooms, I tend to concur with this view.

5.3.3 Teachers' views on code switching versus official policy

Teachers were asked to give their opinions on the practice of code switching by teachers in classrooms considering the fact that the official medium of instruction is English. The question also sought to find out if the administrators of the school were aware of the practice and if it is ever discussed in the school. The responses I received indicate that teachers acknowledge that teaching has to be conducted in English as per official policy but justify code switching because they feel it is beneficial to the learners. All the teachers in the department confirmed that the

school administration is aware that teachers' code switch during lessons although it has never been formally discussed. Below are the relevant teacher responses:

Form4Lit8: Okay, *kulokwe* policy, *ngingatsi nje*, we are well aware *kutsi kufanele sifundzise ngesiNgisi* as per *le-policy* but the reality in the classroom is a different story. When the inspectors come for inspection, *nabo siyabatjela bulukhuni lesibhekene nabo*, they know. *Kuloku kwebaphatsi*, the head of department is aware and I think *na* head teacher *uyati* but it has never been discussed except in meetings where they ask us to encourage the learners to speak English.

[Okay, **regarding your question about policy, all I can say is that** we are well aware **that we are supposed to teach in English** as per **the** policy but the reality in the classroom is a different story. When the inspectors come for inspection, **we also tell them about our challenges we face**, they know. **Concerning the administrators**, the head of department is aware and I think **even the** head teacher **knows** but it has never been discussed except in meetings where they ask us to encourage the learners to speak English].

Form5TLan13: No, we never talk about policies in our meetings but *nje ngicabanga kutsi* the administrators wouldn't openly encourage us to use code switching in class. I think our biggest challenge *sibothishela besiNgisi ngulenzaba yeSiswati. Akusafani nakucala* where you would reprimand or even punish *bantfwana* for speaking siSwati. These days *ukhuluma* with caution because the siSwati teachers are also up in arms *ngenzaba ye-siSwati, bafuna naso silinganiswe nale siNgisi*. I think *loku kuyabadida nebaphatsi*, they don't know how to handle it.

[No, we never talk about policies in our meetings but **I think the** administrators wouldn't openly encourage us to use code switching in class. I think our biggest challenge **as English teachers is the siSwati issue. It's no longer like how it was a few years ago**, where you would reprimand or even punish **children** for speaking siSwati. These days **you argue** with caution because the siSwati teachers are also up in arms **over** siSwati, **they want it to be given the same status as English**. I think

this also puts the administrators in a dilemma, they don't know how to handle it.

Form 2Lan7: My thinking *kutsi* siSwati and English *asisetjentiswe* to complement each other without compromising standards. It looks like it will take time before *kube ne* policy that addresses these language issues so the best thing *kutsi* for now *umuntfu ente lacabanga kutsi kuyamsebentela ku* situation *yakhe*. So for me using both languages is a justifiable approach. [My thinking **is that** English and siSwati **should be used** to complement each other without compromising standards. It looks like it will take time before **there is a** policy that addresses these language issues so the best thing **would be that** for now **people do what they think work best in their** situations. So for me using both languages is a justifiable approach.]

From the interview extracts above, it is evident that teachers generally acknowledge the English-only language-in-education policy and the contradictions associated with it but they are adamant that code switching is necessary for teaching and learning to take place. However, when asked about how they think code switching should be handled and aligned to policy, they seemed to be in a dilemma. The head teacher, when interviewed, admitted that his office is aware that teachers code switch during lessons and further acknowledged that this matter has never been discussed formally. He personally feels code switching is a bad practice and, as such, teachers should use it only as a last resort. However, even the head teacher was very evasive on how he thinks this should be normalised, i.e., on whether he thinks changes should be made to the country's language-in-education policy and, if so, what the nature and extent of these changes should be.

The teachers' responses reflect that they use code switching as a linguistic resource – some value it as a linguistic resource and others use it because it is a 'necessary evil' – and it would seem a solution would be to formalise the use of siSwati and English concurrently but in a controlled manner. I think this would be possible by adopting Jacobson and Faltis's (1990: 179) New Concurrent approach. This approach allows for the systematic use of code switching during teaching whereby the teacher controls and balances the switching. Citing the work of Faltis (1989), Ferguson (2003: 22) explains that the switching can be controlled by allowing

only intersentential switching, and that all switching should be initiated by the teacher. The switches, according to Faltis (1989: 122), should be ‘in response to a consciously identified cue’, and he identifies sixteen cues which include praise/reprimand, subject matter review, and capturing students’ attention. I will return to this point in the concluding chapter.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the data collected from classroom observations and semi-structured interviews was presented and analysed. The data from classroom observations has revealed teacher code switching in classrooms as a norm and as a necessary tool to enhance learners’ understanding of concepts taught. The behaviour of the learners in the classroom when the switches were made also seemed to suggest that the learners expect the teachers to switch and that learners appreciated it when it is done. The data from semi-structured interviews revealed the teachers’ positive yet cautious attitude towards code switching. Most of the teachers when interviewed confirmed that code switching is beneficial for the learners and is effective in the teaching process. It is important to note that although teachers generally acknowledge that code switching is useful, many of them insist on minimal usage, because they are aware of the fact that their learners will be required to use only English in their written examinations and that English Language and Literature is a pass subject. Regarding the contradiction between policy and practice, teachers seem to be in a dilemma and do not seem to have any tangible solutions or suggestions regarding how code switching and the existing language-in-education policy should be harmonised. In the following chapter, the findings from the data will be summarised and a conclusion will be drawn.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, the data collected from classroom observations and semi-structured interviews was presented and analysed. In this chapter, the findings from the data will be summarised and a conclusion to the study will be drawn in light of the current literature available on the phenomenon under study. Recall that the study was motivated by foreknowledge of code switching between siSwati and English occurring frequently in Eswatini, both in everyday conversations and in classroom interactions between teachers and learners. The study focused on English Language and Literature classrooms in a high school in which the language-in-education policy, like in the rest of the country's schools, dictates that English should be used as the sole medium of instruction. This study investigated whether teachers code switch during English Language and Literature classes, given that their subject matter is English and that their learners have had English both as school subject and as medium of instruction for many years. I wanted to ascertain what the functions of code switching of teachers would be in these English classes and what teachers' attitudes towards this practice are.

6.2 Summary of findings

To a large extent, the findings of this study confirm what has been articulated by other researchers in the field of code switching, namely that code switching is a necessary and effective tool in educational contexts, as it promotes classroom interaction and helps learners to access meaning. The aim of the study was to investigate the occurrence and functions of teacher code switching practices in classrooms and to find out how teachers perceived this behaviour. The study also sought to establish the teachers' views on whether or not code switching (dis)advantages the learners in any way and to solicit their views on language-in-education policy issues.

By drawing conclusions from a selected review of literature on code switching in educational contexts and the findings from classroom observations and semi-structured interviews, the study attests to the fact that code switching in educational settings is a resource for

accomplishing certain communicative acts and suggests that, with appropriate planning and structuring, it can be effectively used in the classroom (see Butzkamm 1998). Skiba (2012) observes that code switching may be perceived as an extension to language for bilingual speakers as it can be used to facilitate language development. The findings of the study also endorse what Qian *et al.* (2009: 727) point out, namely that code switching in the classroom serves multiple methodological and social functions, which are not absolute but are interrelated as they often overlap.

The findings of the study further confirm the dilemma faced by teachers in their use of code switching in the classrooms due to the absence of clear policies regarding this practice. It is worth noting that the current language-in-education policy of the country does not explicitly prohibit the use of code switching, but this prohibition is implied, given that the policy states that siSwati shall be used as a medium of instruction for the first four grades of school after which English shall be the medium of instruction up to Form 5. No mention of transition from siSwati as medium of instruction to English as medium of instruction is made, and it is also not stated that teachers are permitted to support learners' developing English language skills by switching to siSwati where deemed necessary.

In Eswatini schools, just like in most former British colonies, the status accorded to English is high; learners have to pass English in the external examination to proceed to the next level, so in schools the emphasis is to discourage the use of siSwati in favour of English as the official medium of instruction. So although teachers admit to code switching, they also hasten to mention that its usage in class should be limited and that learners should not code switch. King and Chetty (2014: 44) explains that such an attitude towards code switching whereby teachers use code switching with hesitation and guilt emanates from the assumption that 'standard language is a distinct and superior variety' and therefore correctness in this superior language is what the teachers aim for. Teachers could feel that when they switch, the purity in English which they seek to achieve is compromised. King and Chetty (2014: 48) however advocates for a shift away from this attitude and calls for educators to 'recognize the co-construction of content meaning using the available language resources at hand in the classroom.' The study suggests that, as a way forward, educators and other education stakeholders should formulate policies that will appreciate the positive impact of code switching on learners' comprehension of subject material. This would ensure that code switching is used meaningfully and in a controlled, systematic way.

When interviewed, the teachers were in agreement that the usage of code switching should be limited. There is however, no traceable research evidence that limiting code switching in terms of quantity and type of code switching holds pedagogical advantages. However, if the use of code switching is to be allowed but limited in the classroom, a policy will be necessary that would guide teachers on how to achieve this. Obviously, such a policy cannot quantify permissible code switching, as teachers will not be able to keep track of the number of switches they make to siSwati in one lesson. Rather, the policy should limit the conditions under which switching may occur. In this regard, the work of Faltis (1989: 122) could serve as guideline. Recall that Faltis states that code switching should occur ‘in response to a consciously identified cue’, of which he lists several, including praise/reprimand, subject matter review, and capturing students’ attention. Language-in-education policy makers in Eswatini could consider these cues and include an exposition of them into the language-in-education policy of the country. Note that teachers will probably not be able to identify these cues instinctively and that changing the language-in-education policy to allow teacher code switching in response to certain cues will require specific and deliberate teacher training.

6.3 Recommendations

The focus of this present study was on teachers’ code switching practices and their perceptions thereof, and it was a qualitative study. Teachers gave their opinions based on how learners react when they code switch, but there is no evidence to suggest that the switching does indeed contribute to positive performance of the learners. I would recommend an in-depth quantitative study that would involve testing and comparing (i) learners’ performance where code switching has been part of the teaching method to (ii) learners’ performance in English-only classes; this would give concrete results on the effectiveness of code switching as regards learners’ performance. A more in-depth study on the difference in code-switching practices between English language classes and English literature classes would add value. Most studies seem to suggest that code switching would improve learners’ performance, but there is very little that shows that this can be accepted as a fact. A study involving the same subject content taught to some classes in English only and to other classes while making use of siSwati-English code switching would investigate learners’ learning successes as a result of code switching and would further inform and (dis)confirm the merits of teacher code switching in classrooms.

Furthermore, learners' views on teacher code switching, which have not been dealt with in this study, should be sought as this would further reveal the functions of code switching in educational contexts from the learners' perspective and would give a complete picture of the value and effectiveness of classroom code switching. Thus, a further study incorporating learners' perceptions would add value.

The findings of this study are based on data that was collected from one school, which is situated in a semi-urban area, where all the teachers in the school are siSwati L1 speakers. A larger data sample involving urban and private schools and schools in the rural areas would give a balanced view on teachers' code switching practices in their classrooms and could validate the general findings that have been made in this study. Expanding the study to other schools would probably produce different data where there may be no evidence of switching to siSwati at all, especially in the private schools. Collecting data from rural schools where learners are hardly exposed to English could possibly show evidence of translanguaging practices featuring more than code switching. In a study conducted by Mwindi and van der Walt (2015) on translanguaging strategies, the authors point out that if the use of L1 is planned, it plays a role of mediator, providing strong scaffolding that builds a bridge to the development of English.

I believe it would also add value to observe how teachers who are English L1 speakers would cope in a classroom where learners' proficiency of English is limited. In other words, a broad and balanced representation of all the types of schools and teachers found in Eswatini would better inform the education stakeholders on how best to plan and incorporate code switching strategies into classrooms and how these can be systematically controlled (if such control is deemed necessary).

6.4 Conclusion

The literature review outlined in this study and the data collected from classroom observations, audio recordings and the semi-structured interviews informed this study and provided insight into the functions of teacher code switching practices and the teachers' opinions regarding these practices. The data was analysed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and several functions of code switching were identified, which include humour, clarifying meaning, expansion of knowledge, classroom management and exerting authority

and control. As already highlighted above, the data reveals that code switching fulfils multiple functions in the classroom. Teachers perceive code switching as a solution to the problem of learners not always following English-language explanations of subject matter. According to the teachers, using siSwati enhances understanding of difficult concepts and clarifies information for learners, knowing and understanding the communicative needs of their learners. I concur with Sert (2005) that code-switching, when used appropriately, ‘builds a bridge from known to unknown’ and for this reason, should be regarded as an important element in language teaching. It is hoped that this study will inform policy makers so as to recognise the significance and value of code switching in education and ultimately to formulate policies that are aligned with successful pedagogical practices in the classrooms.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Classroom Observation Guide

In the classroom observations, I will take notes using a pen and paper and will also record the classroom interactions. I will use the following questions to guide the observation:

1. How many learners are there in the class?
2. How does the teacher relate with the learners?
3. What is the L1 of the teacher?
4. Does the teacher code switch when s/he teaches?
5. At what point are the switches made?
6. How frequent are the switches?
7. What is the reaction of the learners when the teacher's code switching?
8. What purpose does the switch serve at the time when it is made?
9. Are there any verbal or non-verbal behaviours worth recording?

Appendix B: Data from classroom observations

Transcription 1: Form 1 English Language Class

T: Good morning, boys and girls. Yesterday we looked at diary entries, isn't it? And we wrote a diary, right? Please read the feedback in your exercise books. I will give you ten minutes to do so.

T: Before you submit the next assignment which I will give you, I will expect you to have written the corrections for the diary entries you wrote, okay? Is that clear?

L: Yes teacher.

T: Right, I hope you have all read the feedback *lengiyibhale* on your exercise books. As you can see, I have written comments on your exercise books. *Kunalaba lengifuna kubabona* after class so that we can go over their work. Okay? Make sure you see me if you have that instruction in your book. Some of you have spelling errors. Others have used wrong tenses, and some of you did not follow the correct format of writing a diary entry. They were merely narrating. Okay, let's quickly remind each other on how to write a diary entry.

[Right, I hope you have all read the feedback **I have written** on your exercise books. As you can see, I have written comments on your exercise books. **There are those of you I would like to see** after class so that we can go over their work. Okay? Make sure you see me if you have that instruction in your book. Some of you have spelling errors. Others have used wrong tenses, and some of you did not follow the correct format of writing a diary entry. They were merely narrating. Okay, let's quickly remind each other on how to write a diary entry.]

L: (Silence)

T: What did we say? Anything that comes to mind? What about emotions?

L: (Silence)

T: *Sitsiteni bekunene? Wentani nawubhala i-diary entry?* Is it the same as writing a composition?

[**What did we say, good people? What do you do when you write a diary entry?** Is it the same as writing a composition?]

L: (learners mumble without being audible)

T: We said when you write a diary, you express your innermost feelings, *uyatfulula lolokuvako, angitsi?* You pour out your feelings, your emotions, *angitsi kambe?*

[We said when you write a diary, you express your innermost feelings, **you pour out what you feel, isn't it?** You pour out your feelings, your emotions, **isn't that so?**]

L: (In unison) Yes.

T: You express your feelings like you would to a friend you trust. And *angitsi niyakhumbula i-* diary is a private thing, it's not meant to be read by anyone else so you pour your feelings freely, *angitsi?* Have you ever been sad about anything or excited about something? *Ase ucabange loko* and pretend you were writing those feelings in a diary entry. *Yini leke yakujabulisa kakhulu kulamalanga?* Tell us.

[You express your feelings like you would to a friend you trust. And, **you remember that a** diary is a private thing, it's not meant to be read by anyone else so you pour your feelings freely, **isn't it?** Have you ever been sad about anything or excited about something? **Just think about that** and pretend you were writing those feelings in a diary entry. **What made you happy over the past few days?** Tell us.]

L1: I got new shoes.

T1: Yes, that's great. *Asicale lapho ke*. If you were to write a diary entry, how would you put that in an interesting way? How would you express that feeling of happiness?

[Yes, that's great. **Let's start there then**. If you were to write a diary entry, how would you put that in an interesting way? How would you express that feeling of happiness?]

L2: I would write that I am happy.

T: Okay, *kulungile loko* but *phela kubeke* like a diary entry, *kube ne* suspense, *angitsi?* Something like, 'I have not been this happy in a long time...' Someone will then want to know *kutsi kwentekeni*, what has made you happy. *Niyabona mosi?*

[Okay, **that's fine** but **you need to put it** like **you would in** a diary entry. **There has to be** suspense, **isn't it?** Something like, 'I have not been this happy in a long time...' Someone will then want to know **what it is exactly that happened which** has made you happy. **You understand?**]

Transcript 2: Form 2 English Language Class

T: Eh, read the topic on the board. 'Human Trafficking'. What do you understand about it? What do you think it is? One of the worst problems faced by the world today, *inkinga lenkhulu*, is human trafficking. There are problems of chronic diseases but I human trafficking *ihambembili*. What is it? Who can tell us?

[Eh, read the topic on the board. 'Human Trafficking'. What do you understand about it? What do you think it is? One of the worst problems faced by the world today, **a very serious problem**, is human trafficking. There are problems of chronic diseases but I human trafficking **tops them all**. What is it? Who can tell us?]

L1: When they sell you but you don't want.

T: I like the verb 'sell' *ngoba icishe iye ngakhona*. There is some selling that takes place but that is not clear enough. *Batsatfwa njani labantfu* before *batsengiswe*? Who wants to try?

[I like the verb 'sell' **because it's not far from the answer**. There is some selling that takes place but that is not clear enough. **How do they get hold of the people** before **they are sold**? Who wants to try?]

L: (No response)

T: Okay, *bobani lakini* who do History? Mmh, no one does History here? *Lalelani lapha ke bantfwabami*. There was once a period called Slave Trade. Slave Trade. People, especially, the Europeans would come to Africa and grab people. They would not negotiate, *bebavele bakucukule ngenkhani*. They would take you, sell you to other European powers to work in their fields as slaves. Then you will work there without a trace. *Bakufune bakini bangati kutsi washonaphi*. Slave trade *siphose sifane ke ne* human trafficking because *nakhona* the people are taken against their will. *Sekutsi nje khona* the human traffickers use tricks *ekukutweba* and *wena ungacabangi kutsi bafuna kukweba noma bakugilise tiga*. Sometimes someone just stops the car *atsi ufuna kukunika i-lift*. You get inside the car, next thing the car doesn't stop *nawufika lakufanele wehle khona*. You will find yourself *endzaweni longayati* and they do all sorts of things *ngawe*.

[Okay, **who among you** do History? No one does History here? **Listen here my children**. There was once a period called Slave Trade. Slave Trade. People, especially, the European would come to Africa and grab people. They would not negotiate, **they would just grab you and take you by force**. They would take you, sell you to other European powers to work in their fields as slaves. Then you will work there without a

trace. **Your relatives will look for you but will never know where you disappeared to.** Slave trade is almost similar to human trafficking because **even then** the people are taken against their will. **The only difference with this one is that** the human traffickers use tricks to **lure you** and **you never suspect that they will steal you or harm you.** Sometimes someone just stops the car **and offers to give you a lift.** You get inside the car, next thing the car doesn't stop **when you reach your destination.** You will find yourself in **a strange place** and they do all sorts of things **to you.**]

L: (listening passively without uttering a word)

T: *Niyayibona mosi lentfo lengiyishoko?* In some instances the human traffickers promise people jobs. *Niyenikubone mosi lokwe ma-adverts lokukhuluma* about jobs overseas. *Angitsi* people are desperate for work, they get excited *bagijime baye khona.* They go away and you never hear *kutsi baphelelaphi.* That is how people get trafficked. You see, *laba batiyela bona* hoping they will get jobs, *tintfo tishintje lephambili.* Okay, now that I have given you examples, I want you to read the passage on human trafficking. I will give you 20 minutes to do that, is everything clear? *Kuyevakala mosi?*

[**You understand what I am talking about?** In some instances the human traffickers promise people jobs. **Have you not seen the advertisements** about jobs overseas? **Isn't it** people are desperate for work, they get excited and **run for those opportunities.** They go away and you never hear **of their whereabouts.** That is how people get trafficked. You see, **these go on their own will** hoping they will get jobs, **then everything changes when they get there.** Okay, now that I have given you some examples, I want you to read the passage on human trafficking. I will give you 20 minutes to do that, is everything clear? **Is it understood?**

(Learners turn to the passage on human trafficking and start reading)

T: Has everybody finished reading? Now I would like you to go to your groups. Talk about ways in which people get trafficked and design a poster which will warn people against human trafficking.

Appendix C: Structured Interview questions

1. What is your name? (please choose a pseudonym)
2. When and where did you train to be a teacher?
3. How long have you been teaching high school learners?
4. Have you taught subjects other than English Language and Literature? If so, how long have you been teaching English Language and Literature at this level?
5. English is a “must pass” subject in the school. Does this have any impact on you as a teacher of this subject?
6. How would you rate your learners’ command of the English language?
7. Do you ever switch from English to siSwati when conducting lessons?
8. If you do code switch, how frequently do you do so?
9. If you do code switch, what motivates you to do so?
10. Do you code switch consciously? If so, are there identifiable points during your lessons at which you code switch?
11. How do the learners react when you code switch during a lesson?
12. In your view, does code switching benefit the learners or does it disadvantage them?
13. How do you feel about teachers’ code switching during lessons in view of the fact that lessons are supposed to be conducted in English?
14. Do you think teachers should be encouraged to code switch when teaching?
15. What recommendations, if any, would you make with regards to teachers’ code switching during lessons?
16. The official policy states that you need to teach your lessons in English only, but we know that code switching is prevalent in Swazi high schools. What is your department head’s and head teacher’s opinion on code switching? Are they aware of code switching in this school? Is it ever discussed?

Appendix D: Letter requesting permission from the school

Box 1235
Manzini

27 June 2017

The Principal
[REDACTED] National High School
Box
[REDACTED]

Dear Sir

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR SCHOOL

I humbly request you to kindly grant me permission to conduct research at your school, [REDACTED] National High School. I am a registered student at Stellenbosch University, studying towards a Master's degree in Second Language Studies. My interest is in the use of language by high school teachers of English Language and Literature when conducting lessons. My intention is to investigate the way English is taught in English Language and Literature classrooms, focusing mainly on the strategies that teachers apply to ensure that the learners who are second language speakers of English grasp the concepts taught. The findings will be written up in the form of a thesis.

The research will involve classroom observation, recording teachers' language use during their lessons and interviewing them after the recordings. The teachers will not be forced to take part in the research and even if they chose to withdraw after consenting, they will be free to do so. Any information that will be obtained during the research will be handled in strict confidentiality. Once the data has been collected and analysed and the findings are publicized in the form of a thesis or a journal, the teachers' names and that of the school will not necessarily be identifiable as codes will be used instead of names.

I have identified this school as a site for my research because of its proximity to my work place and also because of the diversity of learners found in this school. The fact that this school is situated in a peri-urban area also makes it appropriate for my study. I believe that the results of the research will help in bringing to the fore the positive effects certain types of language use in language curricula have. This could ultimately influence relevant stakeholders in Education when reviewing language-in-education policies and practices.

Please find attached a proposal, which my supervisor has approved, and a consent letter for the teachers who will agree to participate in the study.

I hope my request will be considered favourably.

Yours sincerely

HLOBSILE STROMVIG

Appendix E: Letter requesting permission from the Ministry of Education Director

Box 1235
Manzini

27 June 2017

The Director
Ministry of Education and Training
Box 39
Mbabane

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT [REDACTED] NATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL

I humbly request you to kindly grant me permission to conduct research at [REDACTED] National High School. I am a registered student at Stellenbosch University, studying towards a Master's degree in Second Language Studies. My interest is in the use of language by high school teachers of English Language and Literature when conducting lessons. My intention is to investigate strategies that teachers of English language and Literature classrooms apply to ensure that the learners who are second language speakers of English grasp the concepts taught. The findings will be written up in the form of a thesis.

The research will involve classroom observation and recording teachers' language use during their lessons and interviewing them after the recordings. I am asking for permission to engage the English Department for this exercise. The teachers will not be forced to take part in the research and even if they chose to withdraw after consenting, they will be free to do so. Any information that will be obtained during the research will be handled in strict confidentiality. Once the data has been collected and analysed and the findings are publicized in the form of a thesis or a journal, the teachers' names and that of the school will not necessarily be identifiable as codes will be used instead of names.

I have identified this school as a site for my research because of its proximity to my work place and also because of the diversity of learners found in this school. The fact that this school is situated in a peri-urban area also makes it appropriate for my study. I believe that the results of the research will help in bringing to the fore, the positive effects certain types of language use in language curricula have. This could ultimately influence relevant stakeholders in Education when reviewing language-in-education policies and practices.

I hope my request will be considered favourably.

Yours sincerely

HLOBSILE STROMVIG

Appendix F: Consent Form



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

The functions of teacher code switching in classrooms and teachers' perceptions of this practice: a case study of siSwati-English interactions in a semi-urban high school in Swaziland

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by **Hlobile Stromvig** who is studying towards a Master's Degree in Second Language Studies at Stellenbosch University in the General Linguistics department. This research is in partial fulfilment for requirements for the degree of MA in Second Language Studies at the University. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your vast experience as a teacher of English in Swaziland and because you are at the core of curriculum implementation. Your contribution will add value to the research in that it will provide an insight to the strategies employed by teachers to enhance the learning of English amongst high school children.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to investigate the way English is taught in English language and literature classrooms in Swaziland.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Allow the researcher to observe your lessons while teaching English Language or English Literature in the classroom and to audio-record your interactions with the learners as you teach. The observation will be conducted twice and each observation will last for about 30 minutes. The audio recordings will be transcribed and you will be allowed to view the transcriptions.
- Allow the researcher to interview you after the second recording. The interview will be held at a time and place convenient to you. The interview will last not more than 30 minutes.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks in your participation in this research. All information obtained from you which relates to this study will be treated in strict confidence.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Taking part in this study will not benefit you directly but it is hoped that the results of this study will bring to the fore the positive effects certain types of language use in language curricula and could ultimately influence relevant education stakeholders to review language in education policies and practices.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary and there is no remuneration for participating in this study, which means you will not receive any payment for participating. Your involvement, however, will assist the researcher in portraying a clearer picture of the role of language use in English language and Literature classrooms, which could ultimately lead to more appropriate policy-making in language education.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will be handled in strict confidence and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of limited access to the data – only the researcher and her supervisor, Dr F Southwood, will have access to the data. Data will be stored safely at the university, on the supervisor's password-protected computer.

The audio recordings will be stored safely and once the data has been analyzed, the recordings will be erased.

When the findings of the study are publicized in the form of a thesis or a journal, your name and your school will not be identifiable to the readers, because codes will be used instead of names. In the data your name will not appear; instead code numbers will be used to identify and differentiate the participants.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences for you of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the researcher, **Hlobile Stromvig** at +268 7625 7778 (Mobile) or +26825184533 (work) or email: stromvigh@macmillan.co.sz. You may also contact the supervisor, Dr Frenette Southwood, at +27 (0)21 8082010 (during office hours) or e-mail: fs@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty and without providing reasons for discontinuing your participation. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché, at +27 (0)21 8084622 (during office hours) or e-mail: mfouche@sun.ac.za.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to me, _____ by **Hlobile Stromvig**, in English. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent to voluntarily participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ and her/his representative _____. He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English and no translator was needed.

Signature of Investigator

Date