CHAPTER SEVEN

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The last three chapters were dedicated to the quantitative analysis of the data collected via questionnaires for the teachers and the learners. From the analysis, the participants' views on the role of CS in a teaching and learning situation were brought to the fore. The similarities and differences in their views were also summarized. In the present chapter, the qualitative analysis of the data collected during lesson observations will be presented. In analyzing the data collected, reference will be made to the definition of the concepts central to this study, namely CS and its different forms (intra-sentential, inter-sentential and tag-like / emblematic CS), CM, borrowing, and its associated categories -- borrowing proper and nonce borrowing. (cf. Chapter Two).

7.2 THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA FROM LESSON OBSERVATIONS

A large amount of data was collected. However, it was not practically possible to transcribe all the audio-recorded lessons (197). Instead, a random selection of 20 recorded lessons was made, and then they were transcribed verbatim. This is believed to be a fair representation of the qualitative data as it constitutes 10% of the data. As already alluded to in Chapter Three, for reasons of space, only five transcriptions representing each of the five subjects in the study are included in the study (cf. Addendum C). The rest of the data is available on audio-tapes and can be made available if necessary. It should be noted that, in the random selection of the lessons, the researcher ensured that there was representation in terms of subject, class level, gender of the teacher, and school location (urban or peri-urban). The five transcribed lessons comprise the following:

(a) A biology lesson (Transcription 1): The lesson was taught by a female teacher in an urban school, and the class level was F 4. The lesson topic was *Filtration*.

(b) A home- economics lesson: Fashion and Fabric (Transcription 2): The lesson was taught by a female teacher in a peri-urban school, and the class level was F 4. The lesson topic was *Design Elements and Principles.*

(c) A history lesson (Transcription 3): The lesson was taught by a male teacher in an urban school, and the class level was F 5. The lesson topic was *The colonization of the Cape by the Dutch.*

(d) An English language lesson (transcription 4): The lesson was taught by a male teacher in a peri-urban school; and the class level was F 5. The lesson topic was a comprehension exercise entitled *Man and Animals*. As previously explained in Chapter Three, the language and literature lessons in English are treated in the same way by schools, as in both cases language is the primary target. In that regard, only the transcription of the language lesson in English is included in the addendum.

(e) A Setswana lesson (Transcription 5): The lesson was taught by a male teacher in a peri-urban school, and the class level was F 5. The lesson topic was *Debate*, known in Setswana as *Ngangisano*.

All the transcribed lessons served as focal points in the analysis of the qualitative data. However, reference was also made to the other lessons not transcribed and some examples were drawn from them where necessary. The incidence of CS in the lessons was calculated by using the ratio between the absence of CS, and its presence within the sentence, used as a unit of calculation. The data was then scrutinized to determine whether it fell within the definition of CS as defined by the different scholars (cf. Chapter Two; section 2.2.1), and its role in education was examined.

The lessons were mainly characterized by the teachers' discourse and there were very few learners' discourse. The lessons were teacher-centred; that is, the teacher was the main speaker while the learners were passive participants with the occasional invitations by the teacher to respond to questions. Their responses were brief in the form of either a single word, phrase or a short sentence or even silence. At times the learners responded in a chorus, using short responses such as '**ee**' (*yes*) or **nnyaa** (*no*) followed by **mma** (*madam*) or **rra** (*sir*), depending on the gender of the teacher to

form **ee mma** or **ee rra** or their contracted forms *eemm* or *eerr* respectively (Arthur, 2001). The affirmative response implied that the learners were following what was being said or that they agreed with the teacher; while negation implied disagreement or that they were not following what was being said. Where there were learner responses, they were in most cases, barely audible. Although this was a setback, it did not adversely affect the results of the study because it provided an accurate picture of the language situation in the classroom.

The classroom observations also included a description of what visually transpired in the classroom. Owing to the absence of a video-recorder, what could not be recorded on the audio-tape was recorded in note form. The notes were used later to provide descriptions of the visible occurrences and were included in the transcriptions. These occurrences included gestures or mumblings by any of the participants. Further, as noted by Fasold (1984: 152, in Strydom, 2002: 85), 'observation' refers to the recording of people's activities by the researcher whilst watching them. It enabled the researcher to observe the conduct of the participants, and later to interpret the observations made in relation to the phenomenon being researched, namely CS.

For a more effective analysis of the recorded data, each lesson was divided into three main parts, referred to by Hymes (1974) as "act sequence" -- discourse initiation, development, and discourse closure. This was to better identify at which stage CS occurred during the discourse, or whether it occurred throughout the course of the lesson. This was based on Hymes' mnemonic of SPEAKING (Hymes, 1974), previously explained in Chapter Three (cf. Section 3.6.1 a). The application of this model allowed for the identification of CS as a speech act that occurred in a discourse that took place in a teaching and learning environment, such as the classroom, in order to establish its role within the discourse. Hence the nature and the function of CS within the discourse were important, that is, was its function semantic or pragmatic? The former refers to the educational functions of CS, and the latter to the use of CS for social or psychological reasons, as well as to manage class participation. The nature and the function of CS could be identified from the content of the speech act as well as the speaker's voice or tone. As the classroom was regarded by both the teacher and the learners as a bilingual space (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004), CS largely involved the use of two languages at the same time. The register of the language in which CS

took place was also scrutinized to establish whether it was formal or informal, standard or dialect. Since the classroom is the setting where the speech act takes place, there are certain expected norms or social rules that govern the event and the participants' actions and reactions, usually formal in nature. Therefore, the analysis sought to establish whether the expected norms were met or not.

Consequently, in applying Hymes' model, the following were taken into account: As the data were collected in a formal occasion (lesson), its language is expected to be largely formal. The teachers and the learners are the participants who should perform the role of speaker and listener in turns throughout the speech event. If CS were used in a situation such as this one (a formal learning situation), it was expected to be used to present educational material pertaining to the lesson.

7.3 PRESENTATION FORMAT OF THE ANALYZED DATA IN THE PRESENT CHAPTER

The analyzed data are presented in two main categories, namely analysis of the data from the non-language classes (content classes), and the analysis of the data from the language classes. The former are Biology, Home Economics and History. The latter are language and literature in English as well as Setswana. The reasons for the selection of these subjects in this manner have already been explained in Chapter Three (cf. Section 3.5.2).

The English translations of the CS forms are given in each case. The researcher opted to present the translations of the utterances made instead of using transliteration for easier understanding of the meanings portrayed. For easy identification of the CS forms, the data are presented as follows: In the extracts from the lessons of subjects taught in English, the CS forms that appear in Setswana are in **bold**; and the English translations in *italics*. Conversely, in the extracts from Setswana lessons, the CS forms that appear in English are in **bold**, and the English translations are in *italics*. In all instances, the non-CS utterances are in the (roman) Times New Roman font. In analyzing each lesson, first the words that it contained were counted to determine the amount of CS utterances. Mqadi (1990) used a similar method in investigating CS among students at the University of Zululand.

7.4 CS OCCURRENCE IN CONTENT SUBJECTS

The data from the classroom revealed that CS was used irrespective of the subject taught. This was established through the calculation of the incidence of CS in the lessons (cf. sections 7.4.1–7.4.3 and 7.5.1–7.5.2 below). The data revealed that even though CS was used across the different subjects, it was more prevalent in non-language subjects than in the language subjects. CS occured mainly from English to Setswana during lessons taught in 'English', more especially during Biology, Home Economics (Fashion and Fabric) and History lessons.

The number of CS utterances contained in each of the transcribed lessons for the three content subjects is summarized below. The duration for each transcribed lesson is indicated in brackets (also cf. Addendum C).

7.4.1 Transcription 1: Biology lesson

The lesson was a single period of 40 minutes' duration. In analyzing the transcription of this lesson, the following was observed:

The transcription contained 205 sentences made up of 2 700 words excluding inaudible words; 1 751 were in English, and 949 were in Setswana. The longest sentence within the text contained 44 words; out of which nine were in English while 35 were in Setswana. Consequently, the ratio between the absence of CS and its presence within this sentence was 23: 77.

7.4.2 Transcription 2: Home Economics lesson: Fashion and Fabric (F and F)

The lesson was a single period of 35 minutes' duration. In analyzing the transcription of this lesson, the following was observed:

The transcription contained 211 sentences made up of 3 195 words. Two thousand seven hundred and three (2 703) words were in English, while 495 were in Setswana (17%). There were 198 instances of CS in the text, making up 15% of the text. The longest sentence in the text contained 30 words; out of which 13 (44%) were in

English, and 17 (56%) were in Setswana. Thus the ratio between the absence of CS and its presence within the sentence was 44: 56.

7.4.3 Transcription 3: History lesson

The lesson was a single period of 35 minutes' duration. The transcription contained 194 sentences comprising 2 842 words. Two thousand seven hundred and eighty eight (2 788) of the words were in English, while 54 were in Setswana. CS instances comprised only 10% of the text. The longest sentence contained 33 words, and only 3 (9%) of them were in a form of CS. Therefore, the ratio of CS in the sentence was 9: 91.

In addition, in all the lessons transcribed, the analysis revealed that greetings (at the discourse-initiation stage) were exchanged mainly in Setswana irrespective of which LoLT was used. If the lesson was taught in English, the use of Setswana in this way fulfilled the instrumentalities function (forms and styles of the speech taking place, for example, CS). Hence CS was used pragmatically to establish a relation between the teacher and the class, as illustrated in Extracts 1, 2, and 3 below:

Extract 1: Biology lesson (greetings and lesson introduction)

The lesson was conducted by a female teacher; the level of the class was Form 4 in an urban school. The topic of the lesson was *Filtration*.

Te: **Dumelang**.
   Good morning.

C: **Ee mma**.
  Yes, madam.

Te: **A re tsweleleng bagaetsho**.
   Let's continue (no direct translation)
We were discussing excretion, specifically in relation to the nyphron, **gore**
                                                         that

how does the nyphron perform or what is the function of the nyphron in relation to (…) formation. And remember, I told you that it is very important for you to know the structure of the nyphron. **Re a utwana**?

Do we understand each other?

In the extract above, discourse initiation, which included the exchange of greetings and the discussion of housekeeping matters, were mainly in Setswana. Here CS is used pragmatically to perform a *phatic* function. By using Setswana at the beginning of the lesson taught in "English", the teacher is establishing contact and relation with her class.

During the development stage of the lesson, CS in its different forms was used. The act sequence comprised the use of CS; and the genre was determined by which message the speaker wanted to transmit at each stage. The question **Re a utlwana**? meaning *Do we understand each other*? illustrates the pragmatic use of CS in the management of classroom discourse. These instances, together with its functions will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections (7.6 and 7.7)

Extract 2: Home Economics (F and F): (greetings, housekeeping matters and lesson introduction)

The lesson was conducted by a female teacher; the level of the class was F 4 in a peri-urban school. The topic of the lesson was *Design elements and principles*.

Te: **Dumelang**.
   Good morning.

C: **Ee mma**.
   Yes, madam

Te: **Selang dipampiri le bule le difensetere**.
   Pick up the papers (litter) and open the windows
[LEARNERS START TO PICK UP LITTER ON THE FLOOR AND OPEN WINDOWS.]

Te: **Go siame, nnang ha hatshe**. (   ).
   It is okay, you can sit down.

[TEACHER THEN GIVES OUT HANDOUTS THAT FORM THE BASIS OF THE LESSON OF THE DAY; LEARNERS TALK AMONG THEMSELVES IN SETSWANA BUT WHAT THEY ARE SAYING IS INAUDIBLE.]

Te: **Lothe le nale** *handout*? (   )

   Do you all have …?

C: **Ee mma**.

   Yes, madam.

Te: Okay, now let's begin. Our topic today is "Design Elements and Principles"

   [CLASS LISTENS ATTENTIVELY.]

In the extract above, the discourse initiation, in the form of exchange of greetings and discussion of housekeeping matters, including the opening part of the lesson, was done entirely in Setswana. In addition, borrowing (Kamwangamalu, 2000) was used through the use of the words **dipampiri,** meaning *paper*, and **difensetere,** meaning *windows*. The two words have no original Setswana equivalents and are integrated fully into Setswana vocabulary. (The concept of reading and writing on paper was acquired from the British colonialists, and the housing design with windows was also foreign to Setswana culture). Although the latter has a Setswana equivalent **diokomela-bagwe**, literally translated to mean **those that are used to watch son-in-laws to be** (presumably when they visit discreetly), it is hardly used and, instead, it is the borrowed form (from Afrikaans) that is always used. The Setswana version occurs only in written texts as they are formal in nature.

Extract 3: History (greetings and house-keeping matters)

The lesson was conducted by a male teacher in an urban school; the level of the class was F 5. The topic of the lesson was *The colonization of the Cape by the Dutch*.

Te: **Dumelang**.

   Good day (it was midday)

C: **Ee rra**.

   Yes sir.

Te: *Cleanang blackboard.*

  Clean the blackboard

[A LEARNER VOLUNTEERS TO CLEAN THE CHALKBOARD.]

Te: **Dira ka bonako**.

  Be quick

Te: (   ) How they responded to the Portuguese attempt to colonize their kingdom; moving onto the Portuguese showing interest in the (   ) kingdom which was then under the leadership of Queen Ntsinga. And since they staged some campaigns against the colonization (   ), but in the end, the Portuguese were nevertheless able to colonize Angola. And then you know that Angola was a colony of Portugal. Now we are to look at a different story here which is the colonization of the Cape by the Dutch. To start with, maybe I could have (   ). To start with, from which country are the Dutch?

C: [SILENCE]

In Extract 3 above, discourse initiation (lines 1 and 2) was in the form of greetings exchanged entirely in Setswana, even though the period was for a subject that was taught in English. During the discussion of house-keeping matters, CM and borrowing were used (line 3) in the form of the main clause 'clean**ang** *blackboard*'. The former is made up of the English verb stem –*clean*- + –**ang** (Setswana suffix) which denotes plural. *Blackboard* is an example of borrowing proper (Kamwangamalu, 2000).The word is used in its original form and shows no sign of linguistic adaptation to Setswana because it denotes a concept foreign to Setswana culture. It has also become fully integrated into Setswana vocabulary. Alternatively **bolekeboroto** may be used, which is also an example of borrowing proper but with its origin from both English and Afrikaans (**boleke** meaning *black*, **boroto** from Afrikaans *bord*. As 'school fees', the word *blackboard* is associated with formal schooling that was acquired after the arrival of the Europeans. When the formal part of the lesson began, the teacher switched back to English, but engaged minimal CS during the development stage of the lesson. Discourse closure was in English only. Once the lesson ended, the learners immediately conversed among themselves in either Setswana or Ikalanga.

In all three the excerpts above (Extracts 1, 2, and 3), each teacher initiates the discourse in the form of greetings conducted in Setswana. In response, the learners also use Setswana. Furthermore, in excerpts two and three, each teacher uses Setswana to discuss house-keeping matters before moving onto the formal part of the lesson, which is the introduction. The data, therefore, show that teachers consider the exchange of greetings and the discussion of house-keeping matters as the informal part of the lesson, hence the use of Setswana. CS in this way is used pragmatically to perform a phatic function. In addition, Setswana is used to call the class to order before the formal part of the lesson begins.

Similarly, at discourse closure (cf. Extracts 4 and 5 below), the teachers of Biology and Home Economics respectively switch again to Setswana to wind up the lesson and dismiss the class. Likewise, the teachers used CS here pragmatically to perform a phatic function to build a relation with the learners.

Extract 4: Biology (final stage of the lesson)

Te: **Bele e ledile**?
   Has the bell rung?

C: (in chorus) **Ee mma**.
         Yes, madam.

Te: **Go siame**.
   It is okay. (Implies that the lesson has ended and the learners may leave for the next lesson.)

In the extract above, the teacher CS to Setswana at discourse closure (lines 1 and 3) and also uses borrowing proper in the form of the word **bele** (line 1), meaning *bell* (English). The latter is also a foreign concept derived from the English word *bell*. The learners taking a cue (referred to as the *key*) (Hymes, 1974) from the teacher, also respond in Setswana by using emblematic CS **ee mma** (line 2) semantically, to mark agreement.

Extract 5: Home economics (F and F)

Te: **E chaile**?
   Is it time up?

C: **Ee mma**.
   Yes madam.

Te: **Go siame, retla tswelela** *next time.*
   It is okay, we shall continue .…

In the extract above, the teacher closes the discourse by CS to Setswana (lines 1 and 3). In addition, borrowing is also used in the form of **chaile** with its origin in the Zulu language (later explained in section 7.8 Table 7.4) under the discussion of nonce borrowing. As in Extract 4, the learners in the History class also respond to the teacher's question in Setswana through the pragmatic use of **ee mma** (line 2) to show agreement.

In both cases, CS is used pragmatically to perform a phatic function or to signal an informal text. Therefore, Setswana seems to be the language to use when communicating social matters in the classroom. This signifies that the end of the lesson is also considered to be informal, hence the teachers' use of Setswana. The same strategy is, however, not used by the History teacher who winds up his lesson in English (cf. Transcription 3, Addendum C). In fact, this particular lesson was one of the very few among the lessons of the non-language subjects in which the minimal use of CS occurred.

In each class, the learners switched over to Setswana or Ikalanga as soon as the teacher signalled that the lesson had ended. This indicated that the use of English was viewed by the learners as limited to formal use during the course of the lesson, and that their HLs could take over as soon as the speech act had ended.

Because the teachers were aware that English was the expected language to use when delivering their lessons, they switched over to English at the beginning of the formal

part of the lesson (cf. Extracts 1and 2). However, this practice was short-lived as the teachers switched back to Setswana as the lessons progressed. During the course of the lesson, the content of the lesson was delivered in both English and Setswana. Throughout the lesson, the same style of alternating the use of English and Setswana was maintained as illustrated in Extracts 6 and 7 below:

Extract 6: Biology lesson (development stage)

Te: Yes, **ke tlhalositse hela gore** when the blood gets into the kidneys, and especially
     I explained that

around the gonerius, **e e leng gore** … that is a group of capillaries, we expect the
                    which is

pressure to be a bit high; especially for the filtration of the liquid parts. **Ga ke re**?
                                                                          Isn't it?

C: [SILENCE]

Te: **Ne ka le bolelela sekai sa gore, le gakologelwe gore le wena hela hao lebelela**
the … the hosepipe **ka ha e ntseng ka teng, gore o kgone gore metsi a tswele ko nte**
ale mantsi; *you need to open the tap …*?
I gave you an example that, you should remember that when you look at … how it is made, to be able to pump a lot of water …?

C: **Thatanyana**.
   A bit more.

Te: **Thatanyana, ga ke re**?
   A bit more, isn't it?

C: **Ee**.
   Yes.

In the extract above, both the teacher and the learners are participant, taking turns in the speech event (Hymes, 1974). However, the teacher is the initiator of the discourse and the learners assume the role of the audience. CS is used semantically mainly to deliver the lesson content. The use of CS in this way also signals group identity (Akindele & Letsoela, 2001; Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Flowers (2000, in Moodley, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2000 b; Kieswetter, 1995; Nwoye (1992, in Moodley, 2001; Molosiwa, 2006; Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993a). The teacher uses a language that is common to her and her learners. The identity could either be ethnic or cultural. Within Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1988, in Myers-Scotton, 1993a), the use of CS in this way indicates that it is a sequential unmarked choice. The teacher CS to Setswana as the national language and is therefore understood by the majority of the learners in the class, not because she cannot express herself fluently in English. Here the purpose (ends) (Hymes, 1974) of CS is to get the learners to participate in the lesson and to ensure that learning takes place, as well. However, CS is also a marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, Kamwangamalu, 2000b) in this instance. In a Biology class, there are both citizen and non-citizen learners because it is a compulsory subject. Some of the non-citizen learners understand Setswana and others do not. In this regard, the use of Setswana in this class excludes those learners who may not fully understand Setswana from the linguistic exchange. CS as a marked choice is therefore a "double-edged sword" (Kamwangamalu, 2000). It includes and also excludes. However, the exclusion in this instance seems accidental rather than a deliberate act.

Furthermore, the use of CS to repeat the material already stated through the repetitive use of **thatanyana**, meaning "a bit more'', shows its semantic use to show emphasis (Gumperz & Hymes, 1986; Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997, Gila, 1995; Hoffman (1991, in Tshinki, 2002; Kieswetter, 1995; Ncoko (1998, in Moodley, 2001); Moodley, 2001; Tshinki, 2002). The teacher repeats the word **thatanyana** used already as an answer by the class to emphasize the point already made. Similarly, the use of **Ee** signifies the use of CS to show agreement, as previously explained.

Extract 7: **Home Economics** (F and F) lesson

Te: (   ) So, in design elements … eh … because you know we are also Fashion and Fabric students, we are going to be designing certain articles. Eh … eh … or … you

can design **kana ke** table-cloth or what; it all depends on what you want to design. But
… *or it is a* eh … the design elements eh … for you to start designing, you have to
know these design

elements … because as you design, you sit down … you use your what? You use your
… you use your hands. **Ga ke re**? You cannot just design from the air, you have to
                                Isn't it?
down and use your hand to draw … or design whatever you … you want to design. So,
when you look at the handout … the handout that we have, **ga ke re** everyone has
                                                        (no direct translation here)
a handout; **ga ke re**?
                Isn't?
Te: So, we are going to use this handout for our discussion, mm? (   ). So, the first
statement **ya re** "design is a selection and arrangement of lines … state of both same
                says
colour and shape." So when you design, it means you have to think of the lines.
Ga ke re?
 Isn't it?
Te: So, if this side where it is, **ha o lebelela jaana, ekare (   ) ga ke re**? So these
lines
                                When you look like this,   isn't it?
they will be used for such designs such as maternity dresses, so that they can help to
hide the tummy; **ga ke re**? **Ee**. And also when you look like **ba bua gore** the
                isn't it?   *Yes*.   *They say that*
"impression of femininity", **ha o apere** these … these … eh … curved lines,
                                When you're dressed
 di go dira gore o nne full!
they make you to look
You should look like a real … mm! a real woman, he! **Wa bogologolo**!
                                                        From the olden days!
They want you to look full full **gore o bonale gore o mosadi**. Heh? Yes! This attire
                                so that you look like a real woman.
ya bo … ya bo… gatwe bo mang? **Mm … boo … bo Nightingale … gone hoo**.
of the … of the   What they used to wear, *they're called? Mm … the … the*
Nightingale era … thereabout. They would wear full dresses **ba tsenya** what you call

Inserting

fastening gail **mo teng**.

          inside.

A fastening gail was a petticoat of some sort. And this petticoat **e ne e rokiwa e nna**

                    it was sewn to appear

full full! **Go ne go dirisiwa le** (   ) **ga ke itse a go dirisiwa le diwaere mo teng**

         They were using   *I don't know if they also used wires inside*

jaana. (   ) so that **ha o apara**, as she walks, **heh! Go bo go bonala gore ke mosadi**

somehow   *When you dress up* (exclamation!) *It must be seen that it is a woman*

yo o full because of these curved lines. Heh! … **Gakere le a itse jaaka Baherero** …

who is   (exclamation) (no translation) *you know how the Baherero ...*

let's give an example, yes, the way they dress, **heh! Ha ba tswa kw**a [TOUCHING

                    (exclamation!) *The upper bodice of their dress*

HER UPPER BUST] **go thaete! Ga ke re**? Heh! Then when they get here [TOUCHES

             is tight! Isn't it?

HER WAISTLINE] it flares. **Ga ke re**? **Le tsone di line tse di khevang** (curved lines)

               Isn't it? Even the curved lines

tse. So, they really look like (   ), **heh**? **heh**?

 those   (exclamation)

C: (in chorus) **Ee mma**.

         Yes m'am.

In the extract above, like in Extract 6, the teacher is the active participant who is the main speaker, and the learners are passive participants whose main role is that of audience. Their participation is only in a chorus **ee mma** to signal that they are listening. CS is used mainly to deliver the lesson content. The same explanation provided about the use of CS by the Biology teacher above equally applies here. It is both an unmarked choice and a marked choice. On the one hand, the teacher's use of Setswana does not signal an inability to express herself in English, but to show group identity with her learners (unmarked choice). On the other hand, CS may exclude those learners not proficient in Setswana, few as they may be (marked choice). In addition, to CS, the teacher also makes use of CM and borrowing as follows:

Setswana	English
Bo Nightingale	Nightingale and company
diwaere	wires
go thaete	it is tight
diline di khevang	lines which are curving or curving lines

The use of **bo** Nightingale to refer to Florence Nightingale (the first professional nurse) and her fellow nurses, is unusual in English. Setswana makes use of the prefix **bo-** to indicate the plural form of names. Therefore, **bo** Nightingale is a result of the teacher's use of CM to refer to Ms Nightingale and the nurses of her time. On the contrary, English does not show the plurality of names in this way (by using a prefix). It uses a suffix **–s** such as, for example, the Crwaford<u>s,</u> referring to the Crawford family. In addition, the noun **diwaere** is a borrowed word made up of the Setswana prefix **di-** that denotes the plurality of proper nouns and a borrowed noun **waere,** meaning **wire** (English). Although **diwaere** has a Setswana version, **tshipi e tshesane**, it is the borrowed form that is commonly used and the word has now been assimilated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically (Bokamba, 1988, and Herbert, 1994 in Kieswetter, 1995) from English (the guest language) into Setswana (the host language).

Borrowing has also been used in the phrasal verb **go thaete**, meaning **it is tight**. The preposition **go-** in Setswana precedes verb stems if the subject of the sentence refers to a non- living thing and means **it**; **thaete** is a borrowed form meaning **tight**. Although this phrasal verb is borrowed, it has been assimilated morphologically into Setswana. It is an example of nonce borrowing because its use is not constant in Setswana. The Setswana version **go tshwere thata** or **go gagametse** is commonly used instead. Similarly, the use of **di laene tse di khevang** denotes the application of borrowing. **Di-** is a Setswana prefix as explained above. Here it precedes the noun **laene,** meaning **line** to form a noun in its plural form, **dilaene** (**lines**). This word is an example of borrowing proper because it has been assimilated morphologically, syntactically and lexically into Setswana. It has its Setswana version, **ditselana**, but it is the borrowed form that is commonly used. In addition, **di khevang,** meaning **which are curving** is a relative clause that is an example of nonce borrowing also assimilated morphologically into Setswana. It is much more commonly used than its Setswana

version **tse di matsoketsoke**, so it is also more of an example or a better one of borrowing proper than nonce borrowing.

The two extracts above show that although the LoLT was English, there was heavy use of Setswana during these lessons, mainly to deliver the academic content. In both cases, though the main language of discourse is supposed to be English, it is clear that Setswana is the ML and English is the embedded language consistent with Kamwangamalu's Matrix Language Principle (MLP) (Kamwangamalu, 1999) and Myers-Scottons's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) models. CS patterns show that Setswana syntax remains unchanged but that of English is violated. The inflections used in CM and borrowing explained in the preceding paragraphs are clear indications of the role of Setswana and English in the discourse.

Furthermore, in both extracts, emblematic CS in the form of **ga ke re** has been used pragmatically to establish contact between the teacher and the class. Its use also is a way for the teacher to check if the class understands the lesson material. Because of its frequent use that borders on habit, at times the learners choose to remain silent even if the teacher uses it; or they may respond in the affirmative even if they have not fully comprehended the lesson material. Its use gives the superficial impression that learning is taking place when the reverse may be true. Arthur (2001: 62) also referred to the use of tag switches such as this one as 'a chorus of minimal response'. The teacher also made use of the emblematic CS **kana** (Extract 7, line 3) semantically meaning **or** to denote alternative.

In addition to delivering the lesson content in Setswana, non-educational utterances made during the course of the lesson such as 'asides' or 'admonitions', were also made in Setswana as shown in the extract below:

Extract 8: Biology lesson (example of CS use to make an aside)

Te: **Ke gore gatwe le dirang lebati la lona batho!**
   What is wrong with your door, people! [TEACHER EXPRESSES EXASPERATION]

C: (   )

Te: **Ee, a ko o le tshegetse.**

  Yes, please wedge it.

Here the teacher is commenting about the swinging door that is making a disturbing noise; and she orders one of the learners to support it to stop it from swinging back and forth. The teacher uses CS to convey her personal feelings (she is irritated by the noise of the swinging door) and not to deliver the subject content. CS is used pragmatically to perform a phatic function (Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993a)**.** Both the teacher and the learners are respectively participant and audience.

Similarly, in Extract 9 below, the teacher expresses her frustration and impatience with the class for not responding to her question; and she threatens to take punitive measures against them. As in the paragraph above, the teacher used CS not to deliver the subject content but to display her emotions. The Ends of the discourse (Hymes, 1974) is to get the learners to become active participants in the learning process. Similarly, CS is used pragmatically to perform a phatic function (Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

The outcome of the teachers' threat to punish the learners prompted them to participate (cf. Transcription 1).

Extract 9: Biology lesson (example of CS use to admonish a class)

Te: **Ee, nkarabeng! Ke tsaya dustara ke le kobonya menwana yone e!**

  Yes, answer me! I will take the duster and hit you on the knuckles!

7.5 CS OCCURRENCE IN THE LANGUAGE SUBJECTS

CS also occurred during the lessons of language subjects. However, as expected, its use was minimal compared to its use in non-language subjects. During English (L and L) lessons, CS occurred from English to Setswana. Conversely, during Setswana lessons, CS occurred from Setswana to English.

During the English Language lessons, there was minimal CS use and often Setswana was limited to the exchange of greetings at discourse initiation stage when the lesson began. Thereafter, the main language of communication was English, including at discourse closure. Where there was CS use, it was limited to intra-sentential CS or, if it was inter-sentential, it was to reiterate a point already made, as, will be demonstrated later in the text.

The minimal use of CS during the English Language lessons signified that acquisition of English as a language, and therefore, language development was the primary target. The form of CS most frequently used was emblematic CS in the form of the tag **ga ke re**; which has no direct English translation, but it is used to ensure that the listener is following what is being said; or is in agreement. CS in such an instance is used to perform a pragmatic function. This tag occurs in the speech of Setswana speakers regardless of which language is in use, hence its frequent occurrence during the lessons of the different subjects.

The amount of CS contained in the transcription of each of the lessons of the two language subjects are summarized below:

7.5.1 Transcription 4: English Language lesson

The lesson was a single period of 40 minutes' duration conducted by a male teacher in a peri-urban school. In analyzing the transcription of this lesson, the following were observed:

The transcription contained 110 sentences comprising a total of 1 395 words. These were actual utterances of the teacher and the learners while the parts that were read from the comprehension passage were not transcribed. There were only four instances of CS in the form of single words and / or phrases in the entire transcription. Therefore, there was minimal CS which accounted for only 0.6% of the text. It was not possible to express the amount of CS within a sentence as it was almost non-existent.

7.5.2 Transcription 5: Setswana lesson

The lesson was a single period of 35 minutes' duration conducted by a male teacher in a peri-urban school. The amount of CS contained in this lesson is summarized as follows:

The transcription contained 263 sentences with a total of 2 535 words. Two thousand three hundred and eighty six (2 386) words were in Setswana while 154 were in English. There were 113 instances of CS; which is 6.45% of the text. The longest sentence contained 73 words; with only three switches in the form of borrowing proper and CM. Therefore, only 4% of the words were in the form of switches. Consequently, the ratio of the absence of CS and its presence within the sentence was 96: 4.

In addition, the following extracts illustrate the act sequence (Hymes, 1974) of the English Language lesson and the Setswana lesson. The act sequence also shows the stage at which CS is used in each lesson.

Extract 10: English Language (discourse initiation)

The topic of the lesson was a comprehension exercize entitled *Man and Animals*. The discourse initiation was in the form of greetings, then housekeeping matters and the lesson introduction.

Te: **Dumelang**.
   Good morning.

C: Good morning sir.

Te: Okay, I asked you to read this paper over the weekend and I believe you did. Remember (…..) and I want us to look at the questions particularly the vocabulary section in question number eight, and after that we are going to look at the summary question and identify the summary points. Basically, we are going to identify the summary points after we have looked at the vocabulary exercize. Are you sure we are together?

C: (in chorus) Yes.

In Extract 10 above, at discourse initiation stage, greetings were exchanged in Setswana even though the LoLT was supposed to be English. Like in the other similar instances above (cf. Extracts 1-3), CS is used here to perform a phatic function. The teacher uses it to establish relation with the class. Instead of responding in Setswana, the class uses English. It seemed the unwritten rule was well understood among the learners that communication was in English only because the lesson was the English Language lesson. Then the teacher reverted to English to discuss housekeeping matters such as getting the class's attention in preparation for the lesson delivery (line 3). This signified that the teacher was mindful of the importance of using English for language development purposes. Similarly, when the formal part of the lesson began, its introduction was also presented in English (lines 4-7). English was used semantically to present the lesson material. Thereafter, the discourse was in English only, including the delivery of the lesson content as well as using English for phatic function (line 7):

Te: …Are you sure we are together?

Through the use of the question above, the teacher is checking if the class clearly understands the activity of the day.

The rest of the lesson was conducted in English with minimal CS during the development stage (cf. Extract 11 and 12 below).

Extract 11: English Language lesson (the development stage)

Example of the use of intra- sentential CS and inter-sentential CS

(Lines 36-39)
Te: Alright, (   ) it could be attacked or destroyed **jaaka eng**? Despite this, there was
                                        Like what?
a great disadvantage (…) disadvantage, sorry, in being a totem. **Bane ba bua nnete.**
                                        They were telling the truth.

"Grave" disadvantage. What other words can we … can we … give … that means the same or is the same as the word 'grave'?

In extract 11 above, **jaaka eng?** meaning 'like what', is a form of intra-sentential CS in the form of a question. It is used to complete an English sentence. The teacher used CS in order to probe the learner as a follow-up to the discussion of the comprehension exercize. He is trying to get more information from the learners. CS is used, therefore, to draw information from the learners. By so doing, the teacher is encouraging the learners to participate in the lesson. Here CS use is due to the nature of the topic being discussed (Blom & Gumperz in Gumperz and Hymes, 1986, Eldrigde (1996, in Kamwangamalu, 2000); Gxlishe (1992, in Moodley, 2001); Hoffman (1991, in Tshinki, 2002); Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Tshinki, 2002).

As the topic of the comprehension is based on the Tswana culture, the teacher found it fit to CS to Setswana. **Bane ba bua nnete**, meaning 'they were telling the truth', is an example of inter-sentential CS used to show emphasis (Gumperz & Hymes, 1986; Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Gila, 1995; Hoffman (1991, in Tshinki, 2002); Kieswetter, 1995; Ncoko (1998, in Moodley, 2001; Moodley, 2001; Tshinki, 2002). The teacher CS to Setswana to emphasise a point already made in English. Here CS is used pragmatically to show emphasis. The CS form is in the form of a complete sentence that follows another sentence constructed in English only. In the same lesson, the teacher uses emblematic CS in the form of the tag **ga ke re** as illustrated in Extract 12 below.

Extract 12: English Language lesson (development stage continues)

Example of emblematic CS use

(Lines 81-89)

Te: Aha! … she says were 'introduced'! No, it's not, it's not aaa …, what is that word? … It's not 'displayed' not 'displayed, ha? Did you say the … the circus? … Okay, would you say the circus' acts were 'displayed' in which the strength of animals were ( ) dominated? Aah, it's not the most appropriate word in this case … mmh? You

talked of devised, what did you talk of devising things in … thee … from our … what's this? Science what?

Ln 9*: In the science lessons*

T: Science lessons, **ga ke re**?

        Isn't it?

C: [IN CHORUS] **Ee..**!

        Yes!

In Extract 12 above, **ga ke re** (line 88) is an example of emblematic CS used by the teacher to seek confirmation from the class that they agree with what he is saying or to ensure understanding (Adendorff, 1993). Similarly, **Ee** is also an example of emblematic CS used to confirm that the class is following what the teacher said. Arthur (2001) referred to both forms of CS as 'tag-switches' used by the teacher to prompt the learners to respond to the teacher's monologue in the form of a chorus of minimal responses (Arthur, 2001: 62). In both cases, CS is used to perform a pragmatic function.

In Extracts 11 and 12, English was used mainly by both the teacher and the learners. CS was hardly used. The learners never engaged in CS and only answered in English whenever they were called upon to contribute to the class discourse. Only the teacher had the prerogative to CS to Setswana during the lesson but, even then, the use of CS was minimal. As in the previous extracts, the teacher is the active participant who initiates the discourse; the learners are the audience and only participate at the invitation of the teacher. At discourse closure, when the lesson ended, winding up was done in English only (cf. Extract 13 below).

Extract 13: English Language lesson (discourse closure and housekeeing matters)

(Lines 124-129)

Te: 'Despite'? … heh! … 'Conscious of', 'despite their limitations'? … No. It has got a different meaning altogether, but we can use it in … in that (   ) alternative (   ) of

that part. Mmh? … conscious … conscious, what does that word mean, 'conscious'? … When you are conscious, you are…? The word begins with an 'A'.
[BELL RINGS TO SIGNAL THE END OF THE LESSON.]

Te: Okay, it is time up so we shall finish next time. A … a … a! Don't go yet boys and girls. How many boys are in this class? And how many girls? [LEARNERS REMAIN SEATED AS THE TEACHER COUNTS THE LEARNERS TO CONFIRM THE NUMBER OF THE LEARNERS IN THE CLASS BY GENDER.]

Te: Thank you very much, boys and girls. [LEARNERS LEAVE THE CLASS FOR ANOTHER LESSON.]

Extract 13 above represents the utterances made by the teacher at the end of the lesson. After the bell rang, the teacher wrapped up the lesson by attending to some housekeeping matters before he dismissed the class. This was done in English only and, as in Extract 10 above, no CS was used. This showed that in an English Language lesson, English was clearly understood as the LoLT with the prime objective of assisting learners to acquire proficiency in English. The act sequence showed that the discourse initiation was done in Setswana, then the teacher CS to English and maintained the use of English almost entirely throughout the duration of the lesson, including at discourse-closure stage, except for two instances of CS at the lesson-development stage. The almost exclusive use of English during the English Language lesson was contrary to the practice observed during the lessons of content subjects. In the latter, if a teacher used Setswana in class, the learners, in response, also used Setswana. They seemed to assume that if a teacher addressed them in Setswana, they also had to respond in Setswana.

CS was not confined to the lessons that officially were taught in English only. It was used even during Setswana lessons, be it in grammar or literature lessons. However, its use was minimal. The speech sequence was as follows: At discourse initiation, greetings were always exchanged in Setswana; and the introduction of the lesson was also in Setswana, with occasional use of borrowing (Extract 14 below). During the development stage, minimal CS was used. Instead, the Setswana teachers used more borrowing (nonce borrowing and borrowing proper) as well as CM than CS. The use

of borrowing during Setswana lessons will be illustrated and discussed later in section 7.8. At the end of the lesson, discourse closure was in Setswana only (Extract 15). No CS was used during the two stages as shown in the two extracts below.

<u>Extract 14: Setswana lesson (discourse initiation)</u>

The topic of the lesson was *Debate* (***Ngangisano***)

Te: Dumelang.

  Good day.

C: Dumela morutabana.

  Good day teacher.

Te: Ee, a re bue ka kgang ya **school fees;** la reng ka yone?

  Yes, let's talk about the issue of school fees; what do you say about it?

In Extract 14 above, the discourse initiation is in the form of greetings, followed by the lesson introduction. Due to the nature of the topic that was introduced, borrowing was utilized immediately, signalled by the phrasal noun **school fees**. The teacher chose to use the borrowed expression instead of using a Setswana alternative **lekgetho la sekole** or **tuelo ya sekole** because the borrowed version is used much more commonly than the Setswana version. Although this phrasal noun shows no sign of adaptation to the linguistic system of Setswana, in the view of the researcher it is an example of borrowing proper instead of nonce borrowing (Kamwangamalu, 2000) because of its frequent use in utterances made in Setswana. In addition, the concepts of formal schooling and payment of school fees are foreign in the Setswana culture. Therefore, an original Setswana word for school fees is non-existent, hence the use of the phrasal nouns above. During the development stage, the teacher continually engaged the different forms of borrowing (cf. Transcription 5 in Addendum C). As in the other lessons conducted in English, the teacher is the active participant and initiates the discourse. The learners initially assume the role of the audience; but later are active participants while the teacher assumes the role of the listener (audience). At the end of the lesson, discourse closure was in Setswana only as shown in Extract 15 below.

Extract 15: Setswana lesson (discourse closure)

Te: O ka re nako ya rona e fedile. Go siame.

   I think it is time up. It is okay.

[THE TEACHER PREPARES TO LEAVE THE CLASS WHILE THE LEARNERS
PREPARE FOR THE NEXT LESSON.]

The data thus far has revealed that CS is used in the classroom, irrespective of the nature of the subject, but the extent of use varies according to the nature of the subject. During the lessons of content subjects, CS was used throughout the lesson to communicate formal (educational) and informal (social) matters. However, during the English Language lessons, it was limited to greetings at the initial stage of the lesson and was used minimally for lesson content delivery. On the other hand, during Setswana lessons, CS was not used for discourse initiation and closure; its use was minimal during the development stage of the lesson to communicate both formal and informal issues. It was the use of the different forms of borrowing that was more significant than the use of CS as alluded to earlier and discussed in detail in the subsequent sections. Because the setting (classroom) is formal, the norms (Hymes, 1974) governing the speech act (lesson) and the participants (teacher and learners) and the genre (Hymes, 1974) used were equally formal, hence the use of turn-taking as seen in the extracts of the different lessons. However, the degree of formality is decided by the teacher as the director of the events in the classroom.

7.6 THE FORM (NATURE) OF CS USED IN THE CLASSROOM

Evidence from the classroom shows that the different forms of CS are used in both the content and the language subjects. These are inter-sentential CS, intra-sentential CS and emblematic CS (Kamwangamalu, 2000), already explained in Chapter Two, Section 2.3.1 a-c. The following extracts illustrate the use of each form of CS in both content and language classes:

7.6.1 Content subjects

 (i) Inter-sentential CS

Extracts 16, 17, and 18 illustrate the use of inter-sentential CS during the lessons of content subjects.

Extract 16: Biology lesson

Te: Why iron (name)? **Kana nna ke rile o ne o mpha lebaka la gore ke eng o rialo!**
 … ……………. *said you must give me a reason why you say so*!
Why why why take in a lot of iron? … **E go thusa jang?**
 …………………………………….*How does it help you*?

In Extract 16 above, the speaker (teacher) makes use of inter-sentential CS by switching between sentences. The discourse is initiated in English, followed by alternating sentences of Setswana and English, and finally switching again to Setswana in the last sentence. In each case, she makes use of complete sentences such that the discourse comprises two English and two Setswana sentences. The first instance of CS is person (subject)-related as the teacher addresses the learner directly; the second instance of CS is topic-related as the teacher specifically refers to the subject of discussion. In both cases, inter-sentential CS is used to perform a pragmatic function. In the first instance, the teacher explains to the learner that she expects him to provide a reason for his answer (line 1). In the second instance, CS is used to pose a question to the learner (line 2) to get him to substantiate his point. In both cases, the ends of the speech event are geared towards getting the learners to participate.

Extract 17: Home Economics (F and F) lesson

Te: So, they combine both the vertical and the horizontal lines. So, they … they can therefore, either increase or decrease an illusion of height or slimness. **Ee** depending
 ……………………………………………………………………..... *Yes*
…………………
on the degree of slant. So, let's look at the first picture there … the first picture
[REFERS TO PICTURE IN THE HANDOUT]. **Akere o bona gore e a *slanta*, ga ke re**?
…………………………………… *Isn't that* y*ou see that it is slanting, isn't it*?
 … but it doesn't slant much; so this person on the … on the first picture appears …
appears what? **Eh**?
 ……………*Yes*?

C: (silence)

In the extract above, the speaker initiates the discourse in English before switching to Setswana to utter another sentence; and then switches back to English. In all instances, CS is used to perform a pragmatic function. Emblematic CS (line 2) is used to show agreement. In line 4, inter-sentential CS and emblematic CS are used to respectively provide information and to give assurance. In line 6, emblematic CS is used to prompt a response from the class.

Extract 18: History lesson

Te: Okay, the other problem was that the people who had been living with Jan van Riebeek, whom we shall refer to as the Company servants, were not happy because the conditions in which they lived were bad.
Ke bo mang ba ba nang le dikgomo ko ga bone?
Who (amongst you) have cattle at your home villages?

In Extract 18 above, the teacher CS in line 4. Inter-sentential CS is used pragmatically by way of asking a question. As in Extract 16 above, the ends are to get the learners to participate in the lesson and to respond to the teacher's question.

In all three the extracts above, the speakers (teachers) initiate the discourse in English before switching to Setswana. This shows that the teachers are mindful of the fact that English is the official LoLT even though they also CS to Setswana.

(ii) Intra-sentential CS

The following extracts (6, 19, and 20) illustrate the use of intra-sentential CS during the lessons of content subjects. In each extract, each speaker makes use of intra-sentential CS within the same sentence to complete a sentence initiated in English and then switching to Setswana to complete it. As in inter-sentential CS, the speakers seem to be mindful that Setswana is playing a supporting role while English is the expected LoLT.

Extract 6 (earlier presented in this chapter) (lines 10-13): Biology lesson

Te: Yes, **ke tlhalositse hela gore**/ when the blood gets into the kidney, and especially
     Yes I explained that

around the gonerius, **e e leng gore/** that is a group of capillaries, we expect the pressure
       which is

to be a bit high; specifically for the filtration of the liquid parts. **Ga ke re?**
          Isn't it?

In the extract above, intra-sentential CS is used to perform a semantic function. In lines 1and 2, the teacher explains (semantic function) to the class what takes place during the process of filtration. In line 3, emblematic CS (**ga ke re**) is used pragmatically to seek assurance from the class that they are following the lesson, hence it is performing a phatic function.

Extract 19: Home Economics (F and F)

Te: Straight lines, **ee** … parallel, **e bidiwa go tweng**? … vertical. Then you can have
      which is ...., what is it called?

horizontal lines, you can have … slanted curves, and the like. So we have a variety of lines which we use in … in designing. **Ga ke re**? And also we have … the shapes …
        Isn't it?

we have shapes; any other shape?

C: (silence)

In the extract above, intra-sentential CS is used pragmatically in the form of a main clause **e bidiwa go tweng?** (line 1) to complete discourse initiated in English. As in Extract 18, by using a question, the ends are to get the participation of the learners in the lesson so that the teacher and the learners can continually take turns as speaker(s) and listener(s). Similarly, the emblematic CS **ee…** is used to show agreement (the phatic function) and to seek assurance from the class that they are following the lesson.

Extract 20: History lesson

Te: **Ee**…that's why **batho ba bo** road transport … they advise people to have some
   Yes…that's why people of road transport

eh … points where they may rest, just relax for maybe, thirty minutes and then you continue (pause) with your journey.

In the first line of Extract 20 above, intra-sentential CS **batho ba bo** and emblematic CS **Ee …** are used semantically to respectively provide information to the class and to initiate the discourse in the form of an agreement.

(iii) Emblematic CS

Emblematic CS is the most frequently used form of CS in the form the emblematic tag **ga ke re** (cf. Extract 17, line 4; Extract 19, line 3; and Extract 21 below, lines 3, 5 and 7). Emblematic tags usually appear finally in a discourse, depending on what message the speaker wants to transmit. In all three the extracts cited above, emblematic CS **ga ke re** is used finally in a discourse to perform a phatic function.

Extract 21: Home Economics (F and F) lesson

T: So, we are going to use this handout for our discussion, mm? (   ). So, the first statement **ya re** "design is a selection and arrangement of lines … state of both same colour and shape." So when you design, it means you have to think of the lines. **Gakere**?

C: (some) Yes.

T: Think of the lines, **gakere**?

C: (some) Yes.

T: The lines can either be straight, they can either be… be curves. **Gakere**?

C: (some) Yes.

The examples cited above (cf. Extracts 16-21) demonstrate that the teachers of content subjects make use of all three the forms of CS. Furthermore, it was observed that even though the official LoLT is English, CS use is prevalent during their lessons.

7.6.2 Language subjects

The language teachers also make use of all three the forms of CS during their utterances as previously demonstrated and explained in Extract 11 (intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS) and Extract 12 (emblematic CS) above.

However, during Setswana lessons, only two of the three forms of CS are used. These are intra-sentential CS and inter-sentential CS as illustrated in Extracts 22 and 23 below. Emblematic CS appears in Setswana in the form of **ga ke re** (cf. Addendum C, Transcription 5).

Extract 22: Setswana lesson

Examples of intra-sentential CS

Te: Ee … kana mme e a bereka '**gender issue**', ga ke re? Ha gongwe ka puisanyo re kgona gore ha re bua go hanwa gore bo mme ba ha kae jalo jalo. Nte re re 'bong.' Jaanong ha re lebeletse bong gantsi, batho ba ba neng ba re bana ba seka ba setwa ko morago ke ba lesika la ga **Efa; and there is a reason for that**. Ga ke re?

Translated as:

Te: *Yes … but it does work* '**gender issue**', *isn't it so? … Now when often looking at gender, people who were saying pupils should not be lashed on the backside were the descendants of Eve* **and there is a reason for that**. *Isn't it so*?

Ln 3: Nna ke tseela … ke tseela gore **goromente** o dirile sente hela. Ke raya gore re ntse re tsena hela go sena madi. Jaanong a ba a ntsha … a ntsha … nnetane, … ke bokae? … Ke **five** gakere? A madi a ne re tshwanetse gore re a duele; a re utwela bothoko **so**, o dira sente; haa re re duele … ha a re re duele.

Translated as:

I take it … I take it that **government** *did well. I mean that we were attending school without paying any money. Now he took …he took… how much?... It's* **five** *(   )? The*

money that we were supposed to pay; he felt sorry for us **so***, he is fine; when he says …
says we should pay.*

In the extract above, the teacher uses intra-sentential CS through the use of the phrasal
noun **gender issue** (line 1) and the dependent clause **and there is a reason for that**
(line 4). **Gender** is a technical term now widely used to refer to either male or female.
The two examples of CS are used pragmatically to show prestige (Kieswetter, 1995;
Tshinki, 2002). The teacher CS as he presents the lesson material, but there is no
reason why he cannot use Setswana equivalents of the expressions used since they are
available. **Gender issue** translated to Setswana is **kgang ya bong**. **And there is a
reason for that** translated to Setswana is **lebaka la teng le teng**.

Furthermore, the teacher makes use of borrowing (Kamwangamalu, 2000). For
instance, the nouns **Efa (**Eve**)** and **goromente** exemplify borrowing or what
Kamwangamalu (2000: 89) refers to as borrowing proper. The former is a Biblical
name for the first female on Earth borrowed from English, and it has been adapted and
become accepted as a Setswana version of Eve. The latter (**goromente)** meaning
'government', is also a borrowed word from English that has now been assimilated
phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically into Setswana language.
The concept of government as understood in Western culture did not exist in an
African setting such as in the then Bechuanaland (the country is known now as
Botswana since it attained its independence from Britain in 1966). Therefore, when
the system of a Western government was introduced in Botswana, the concept was
likewise borrowed and the word **goromente** is now widely used even though its
synonym **puso** exists. **Goromente** is used more as a personal noun, whilst **puso** is
used more as an abstract noun.

Borrowing proper is also used in the form of the counting noun **five** (line 5) here used
to refer to value in money. Instead of using its Setswana equivalent, **botlhano**, the
learner used the English version. The use of borrowing in this way is common in
Setswana as already explained in Chapter Two. The same learner makes use of a
transition word, *so* (intra-sentential CS) in line 7. Although this word has its Setswana
equivalent, **ka jalo**, the speaker chose to use the English version, and there was no
objection from the teacher.

Extract 23: Setswana lesson

Example of inter-sentential CS)

Te: **That's very good!** Go nale leina la mmega dikgang.

 …………………! *There is a name for a news reporter.*

 Te: Malatsing a go nale lefoko gatwe 'ke a **sua**'. '**Talk to my lawyer**'. Gape go nale eng?

These days there is a saying that 'I sue.'…………….. Again what else?

In the extract above, CS has been used inter-sententially as alternate sentences are 'formulated' in English and Setswana. The teacher has used CS pragmatically to show his level of education (Gibbons, 1983; Kieswetter, 1995; Moodley, 2001; Tshinki, 2002) and to show prestige (Kieswetter, 1995; Tshinki, 2002). In a Setswana class, the LoLT is Setswana, and all the learners in this class are proficient in Setswana, as explained previously in Chapter Four. Therefore, there is no reason why a teacher should switch to English in a Setswana class as language barrier is not the issue. The teacher CS to English to display that, like his colleagues who teach subjects taught in English, he too can speak English, the prestigious language. In addition, the teacher uses borrowing proper **ke a sua**, meaning, '**I sue**'. The concept of suing is foreign to Setswana culture, hence it does not have a Setswana equivalent. Therefore, the word **sue** has been adapted phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically into Setswana and it is used widely. Its use therefore, is more out of necessity than prestige.

It was noted hat while there was an effort by the majority of the English teachers not to CS and also to discourage the learners from CS to Setswana in class, the same attitude was not observed in almost all the classes of the non-language subjects. For instance, one of the English Language teachers explicitly stated that he does not condone the use of any other language in class besides English (cf. Extract 24 below). Ironically, this was the teacher who, on entering the classroom, greeted the learners in the local language, Ikalanga. By initiating the discourse in the form of greetings by using Ikalanga, his HL, and the HL for the majority of the learners (46%), the teacher used CS pragmatically to establish group (ethnic) identity and to perform a phatic function. The functions of CS in the classroom are discussed under Section 7.7 below.

Extract 24: English Language lesson

Te: I told you that although I am Kalanga, the only language that I understand in academic work is English. So if you are using any other language, you're being unfair to me.

The teacher implied that during the English Language lesson, he did not condone the use of either Setswana or any other local language in class besides English. Therefore, both the teacher and the learners were expected to communicate in English only. The situation was slightly different during Setswana lessons. While some teachers CS or engaged in CM and the different forms of borrowing, they ironically discouraged the learners from doing the same. Evidence of this will be shown later Section 7.7.3 (below) when the functions of CS in a Setswana lesson are discussed.

7.7 FUNCTIONS OF CS IN THE CLASSROOM

The extent of CS use also revealed the functions (already discussed) for which it was used. Observation revealed that during the lessons of content subjects, CS was used mainly to impart knowledge and, to some extent, for social functions such as to obtain cooperation from the learners, to seek their participation, and to encourage turn-taking. During the lessons of the language subjects, CS was also used, although minimal, to impart the content of the subject, but mainly for social functions (such as to seek class cooperation and to encourage class participation in the learning process). Social functions also positively contribute to learning.

Some of the functions of CS during the lessons of content subjects are discussed below.

7.7.1 Content subjects

(i). Educational functions of CS

Extract 6 above illustrates the use of CS by both the teacher and learners in the teaching and learning process. The extract shows a continuation of a lesson initially

presented in English, but as the lesson progresses, the teacher switches to Setswana. Thereafter, the alternate use of the two languages continues throughout the lesson. In CS, the teacher may initiate the discourse in English and close it in Setswana. Because of the teacher's CS to Setswana, the learners understood this to mean that they, too, could respond in Setswana. The teacher did not show any objection. CS was used by the teacher and learners throughout the lesson. The same use of CS is observed in Extract 7 above, as well. Similarly, the extract below also demonstrates the use of CS in teaching and learning:

Extract 25: Home Economics (Fand F)

Te: And then expose those that are good, **Ee! Ke a utlwala sentle**?
                                                    Yes! Am I being understood well?

C: (in chorus) **Ee.**
              Yes.

Te: **Ee**! Let's not … let's not just dress for the sake of it; let's dress knowing that …
   Yes!
gore rona we are fashion and design students. **Re a itse jaaka go aparwa**. (   ) And
that us   *We know how to dress well*.
then we get to the horizontal lines. The horizontal lines … they create a side to side
movement. [DEMONSTRATES WITH HER HEAD AND EYES.] So, the horizontal
(   ) **ga ke re**   (   ) so it means **gore (   ) ga ke re**
    isn't it?   *that*   *isn't it*?
[STILL DEMONSTRATING SIDE TO SIDE MOVEMENT OF EYES.]
go raya gore matlho a gago a tsamaya jaana [IMITATES] side by side. And then **go**
it means that your eyes move like this
raya gore tsone they create what?
it means that

In the extract above, CS is used pragmatically to present the lesson content. In the first line, the CS form **Ke a utlwala sentle?** CS is used pragmatically to perform a phatic function; as well as **Ee** (in the next two lines) and **ga ke re** (in the seventh line). The teacher is checking if the learners are following the progress of the lesson. The CS

forms **go raya gore matlho a gago a tsamaya jaana**, and **go raya gore tsone** (in the eighth and nineth lines respectively) are used pragmatically to explain the content of the lesson. Although the CS form **Re a itse jaaka go aparwa** (line 4) shows the pragmatic use of CS to perform the phatic function (to inspire learners when the teacher says as Fashion and Fabric students they know how to dress well), nonetheless its use is important in that the teacher is giving an analogy that is relevant to the subject of the lesson so as to improve lesson understanding.

The prevalent use of CS during the lessons of content subjects implied that CS was used mainly as a teaching strategy. The teachers employed CS on realizing that the learners did not fully understand the lesson content or did not fully participate in the lesson. It seemed that the primary concern of the teachers of these subjects was to ensure that the learners understand the lesson content. In the view of the researcher, ensuring that the learners attain proficiency in the official language of instruction (LoI) seemed to be of secondary concern. Therefore, the teachers used CS and, by extension, also allowed the learners to do the same.

(ii) Social functions of CS in the classroom

CS was also used to perform a number of social functions within the class, as outlined below:

    a. To exchange greetings at the beginning of the lesson (discourse-initiation stage) as well as closing the lesson (discourse-closure stage), including dismissing the class at the end of the lesson (cf. Extracts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 above).

The use of CS in this way was to establish a relation between the teacher and the learners as explained earlier.

    b. To perform housekeeping matters at the beginning of the lesson (cf. Extract 2, 3 and 13 above).

This was also meant to establish a relation between the teacher and the class.

    c. To encourage class participation (cf. Extract 9).

    d. To check the learners' participation in the lesson (cf. Extract 6 above as well as Extract 26 below).

Extract 26: Home Economics (Fand F)

Te: If I put this colour, what effect will this colour have on …on what I want to design?

Ke a utlwala sentle ga ke re?

Am I well understood?

e.   To amuse the learners (cf. Extract 27, nineth line below):

Extract 27: History lesson

Te: What problems did you encounter on the way?

Ln 8: Hunger.

Te: Hah? … hah?

Ln 8: Hunger.

Te: Hunger? … What about you? (Name) …What about you? … Ha? Or were you just okay from here up to Maun? [ADDRESSING Ln 8 AGAIN.] … Hah? … Any other? What problems did you encounter in the longest journey that you have ever taken?

Ln 9: [MUMBLES] Hunger.

Te: Hah! … Hunger? **Le tshwerwe ke tala le ha go ntse jalo**.

You must be very hungry. [THE TEACHER THINKS THAT LEARNERS CONSTANTLY MENTION HUNGER BECAUSE THEY ARE HUNGRY.] C: [LAUGHTER.]

The use of the CS form **le tshwerwe ke tala le ha go ntse jalo** (line 9) is used to amuse the learners and the outcome intended also is to get them to participate in the lesson when the teacher realized that they were not responding to his question.

f.   CS to display linguistic versatility (Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 2000) (cf. Extract 22 above).

To overcome communication barrier caused by the learners' lack of fluency in English (cf. Extract 28 below).

Extract 28: History Lesson

Te: You're saying they were to establish a fort from which soldiers would defend the settlement at the Cape; … and also for it to be used as a hospital… now, what purpose do you think that the hospital was to serve?

C: [SILENCE]

Te: **Se ne se dirisediwa eng sepatela? Kana** the answer is very obvious! Heh? Yes?
     For w*hat was the hospital used*? *But*
[to Learner 15]

Ln 15: (   ) [MUMBLES]

Te: A … a…. a! Raise your voice!

Ln 15: It was meant to attend to those people sailing to India.

Usually, the teacher initiates the discourse, be it an explanation or a question in English, on recognizing that what he is saying may not be readily understood by the learners, he / she then switches to Setswana, the language that the majority of the learners understand, and repeats the same utterance.

In the extract above, the teacher posed his question in English, but due to lack of participation by the learners, he decided to repeat the same question in Setswana to ensure that the question is well understood. One learner responded to the question in English even though the teacher had repeated the question in Setswana. It appears that the question had been well understood. This form of response was an exception rather than a norm. Often, if the teacher had asked a question in Setswana, the learners would respond in Setswana. However, in this instance, the learner's response was directed at the lesson content and he seemed to have understood that English was the appropriate language of communication during this lesson. From observation, this teacher CS less

compared to the other teachers of the other content subjects. Consequently, the learners also did not CS.

g. CS to show emphasis

The same example in Extract 28 can serve as an example of the use of CS to show emphasis. The teacher CS to Setswana to repeat a question asked initially in English to ensure that it is well understood by the learners.

h. CS as a strategy for neutrality

CS as a strategy for neutrality refers to when the speaker employs two codes at the same time because he / she realizes that the use of each of the two codes has its own value in terms of the costs and rewards that accrue with its use (Myers-Scotton, 1993). That is, there are advantages and disadvantages for using both codes at the same time. The speaker does not want to commit to only one code, but uses any of the two codes whenever it is suitable.

Depending on the usage, CS as a strategy for neutrality can perform both educational and social functions. This form of CS is common in the classroom especially during the lessons of content subjects as illustrated in Extract 29 below.

Extract 29: Home Economics (F and F)

Te: Still **tsone** the rounded lines … **e bua gore** [REFERRING TO HANDOUT] what
    they   *it states that*
will … will happen **ba tlaa bo ba apara tsone di** fastening gayles … **tsone di**
              they will wear those   *they the*
fastening gayles **tseo** and give a complete curve. **Ke gore** they will be gathered **jaana**
            those   *That is*   *like this*
[DEMONSTRATES] and then **kwano go tshwara**.
                it is tight over here.
So that **ha a tsamaya go bo go bona mongwe le mongwe.**
    When she walks everyone can notice.

So, the rounded … eh … [READS FROM HANDOUT]

Te: So, imagine if I'm wearing rounded lines, how will I look like? **Ke tla bo ke nna tlougadi jaanong**.
I would look like a she-elephant.

C: [LAUGHTER.]

In the extract above, the teacher CS back and forth between English and Setswana to exploit the advantages that accrue when using each language to make her explanation clearer. She is aware that if she can commit herself to one code, such as English, some of the learners may not fully understand the lesson. Similarly, by using Setswana only, she may not only be excluding the few learners who did not fully understand Setswana, but she would also be violating the policy of using English as the LoLT in a subject such as this one. The use of CS in this way can also be regarded as a display of the teacher's comfortable use of both languages.

The teacher also makes use of CM when she used the expression *di fastening gayles* (line 2), referring to some dresses with tight-fitting, bodice-like tops worn by women of the Victorian era. This phrasal noun is formed using a Setswana prefix **di-** followed by the English adjective *fastening* to qualify the English noun *gayles.* As explained earlier, English does not indicate plurality by using a prefix, rather the suffix **-s** as in *gayles* marks the plural form. Therefore, it is not only CM that was used, but what Kamwangamalu (2000) refers to as double-plural marking. However, the researcher regards this as *borrowing* (explained earlier in Chapter Two, section 2.3.3). In addition, even though the speech act (the lesson) is formal and, therefore, calling for formal norms, the teacher also makes use of informal norms to raise the learners' interest in the lesson as illustrated in lines 7-8 reproduced below:

Te: So, imagine if I'm wearing rounded lines, how will I look like?
Ke tla bo ke nna tlougadi jaanong.
 I would look like a she-elephant.

7.7.2 Language subjects (English L and L classes)

Although CS was used minimally during the lessons of language subjects, nonetheless, where it was used, it served a number of functions. The following were identified as functions of CS during English L and L lessons:

(i) Educational functions of CS

 a. CS was used for teaching and learning (cf. Extract 11 above)

In Extract 11 above, CS is used to facilitate learning. In line 1, intra-sentential CS (**jaaka eng**) completes a sentence that contains the lesson content. Because CS is used to repeat the material already stated, its use is pragmatic. Similarly, in line 2 inter-sentential CS (**bane ba bua nnete**) is used pragmatically to emphasize the message presented previously in the form of a complete English sentence. The two sentences are used to deliver the content of the lesson. During the lesson, the learners' utterances are limited to brief answers in English, or responses denoting agreement or negation through the use of either 'yes' or 'no' in a chorus. It appears that during the English (L and L) lessons, the rule is well understood that participation on the part of the learners is in English only. Once again, only the teachers have the prerogative to minimally CS or even to employ other forms of speaking such as CM, or any form of borrowing. The same dispensation is not extended to the learners. For instance, in one of the English Language classes, a learner begged his teacher to allow him to relate his story in Setswana instead of in English. According to the learner, he could not relate the story well in English, and as a result its humorous side would be lost. The story was culturally based, so the learner was of the view that he would not use the right English words to relate it well. Regrettably, the learner's request was not granted. The learner therefore had to struggle to relate the story in English.

 a. CS to repeat material already presented to facilitate learning

The extract below presents an example of the use of CS to repeat the lesson material presented initially in English:

Extract 30: Literature in *English*

The lesson was presented by a female teacher in a F 5 class at a peri-urban school. The class was discussing a poem.

Te: It is also a couplet; couplet **ga ke re ke** two

It is two (English)

It has a couplet; two; **di pedi.**

they are two (English)

In the extract above (line 2), the teacher CS to provide the meaning of a *couplet* by repeating what a *couplet* refers to in Setswana. By CS, she is assisting the learners who may not know the meaning of *couplet* to understand. Here CS is used to facilitate understanding that will promote learning.

(ii) Social functions of CS during English L and L

Besides the use of CS to facilitate teaching and learning, it is used also to serve social functions in class. For instance, in Extract 31 below, CS is used humorously. The lesson was for a Form 5 English Language class conducted by a male teacher in an urban school.

    a.   Humorous use of CS:

Extract 31: English Language lesson

Te: I had asked you to finish your work; have you finished?

C: [SILENCE]

Te: Heh? [DEMANDING A RESPONSE FROM THE CLASS]

C: [SOME] We are finished.

Te: Are you finished or have you finished?

  Ha o re 'you are finished' **oraya gore o hedile**.

  When you say   you mean that you are no more (English).

C: [LAUGHTER]

In the extract above, the teacher corrects the grammatically incorrect sentence that the learner uttered; but he corrects it in a humorous way, prompting the rest of the class to burst into laughter.

Because of the limited use of CS during English L and L classes, its functions are also limited. However, the few examples cited above illustrate that minimal CS use served both educational and social functions. The explanation for this situation could be that the teachers of English were required to be exemplary in assisting the learners to acquire a proficiency in English. This included teaching in English and also encouraging their learners to speak English. The use of CS during their classes was viewed as contrary to their mandate.

    a.   CS to exchange greetings

This point already has been explained (cf. Extract 10 above).

7.7.3 Functions of CS in a Setswana class

As alluded to already, CS in the classroom is not only confined to the lessons taught in English. Evidence from the lessons observed also indicated that there was a minimal use of CS during Setswana lessons, that is to say, the teachers often CS from Setswana to English. However, its use occurred during the formal part of the lesson, as was the case during the lessons of the subjects taught in English. None of the teachers observed initiated the discourse in English when exchanging greetings or discussing housekeeping matters with their classes. Similarly, at the end of the lesson, discourse closure, including class dismissal, was in Setswana (cf. Extract 15 above). The use of Setswana at the discourse initiation stage shows that the teacher was identifying with the class, and signalling that they share the same linguistic system (group identity). Furthermore, Setswana is seen as the appropriate language to establish contact with as well as indicate the relation between the teacher and learners. The use of Setswana for discourse closure also reminded the class that Setswana was the main LoLT.

As is the case during the lessons of subjects taught in English, CS during Setswana lessons was used to present the lesson content as well as to perform social functions of educational value as demonstrated below.

(i) *Educational functions of CS during Setswana lessons*

The educational functions of CS during Setswana lessons were mainly to:

  a.   present educational material

CS during Setswana lessons was used to present the content of the lesson as previously demonstrated in Extract 22 above. Similarly, in Extract 32 below, the teacher CS between English and Setswana to present the lesson material.

Extract 32: Setswana lesson

Te: **So**, ke solohela gore mo **debeiting** le a itse **set up** ya teng. E nale melawana …
It's formal mme puisanyo **can be informal**. Ha gongwe le go ntsha **topic** ya teng …
ke ntsha **topic** ke re 'a re ngange'. Jaanong ngangisano yone e **formal**. Go ka twe
'**four** kana yo o buang lantha **five minutes**'. Go nale mmaditsela (chairperson); le
tisetswa sethogo "**paying school fees, discuss**". Ne ke bata le buisanya ka **debate**. A
re a utwana?

Te: So*, I hope you know the set-up in a debate. It has a number of rules … It's formal
but a dialogue / discussion can be informal. Sometimes even suggesting a topic … I
can suggest a topic and say 'let's debate'. Therefore, a debate is formal. It can be
suggested that a speaker may speak for 'four or the first speaker may speak for five
minutes'. There is a Chairperson; you can be given a topic. "…". I wanted you to
speak about a debate. Do you understand?*

C: **Ee**.
   Yes.

Te: **Debate** e nale mo go tweng **rebuttal** … **rebuttal, it gets more points than the
introduction**. **Rebuttal** e tsaya matshwao a mantsi ka gore e supa gore o ne o

reeditse. **It is very important** go reetsa mo **debating**. **That's why in a debate it's very important** gore go nne le **rebuttal**. Go supa gore o ne o reeditse. A re thalogantse?

A debate has what is called rebuttal ... rebuttal, it gets more points than the introduction. Rebuttal is awarded a lot of marks because it shows that you have been listening. It is very important to pay attention during a debate. That is why in a debate it is very important that there should be a rebuttal. It shows that you have been listening. Do you understand?

C: **Ee rra**.
    Yes sir.

Te: **O kare nako ya rona e fedile. Go siame.**
    It seems our time is up. Okay.

In Extract 32 above, the teacher is expected to use Setswana only, but he chooses to CS back and forth between Setswana and English. However, while by doing so he may be of the view that he is promoting lesson comprehension, the researcher is of the view that CS in this instance is more of a barrier than a facilitator to learning. Not all the learners may fully understand the meaning of *rebuttal* unless they are in a debating club. CS here is used pragmatically to explain what the word *rebuttal* entails. In addition, the nature of the topic being discussed also gave rise to the use of CS (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, in Gumperz & Hymes, 1986; Eldridge (1996, in Kamwangamalu, 2000); Gxilishe (1992, in Moodley, 2001); Hoffman (1991, in Tshinki, 2002); Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Tshinki, 2002). Perhaps the English terms were better known than the Setswana ones. Even though *rebuttal* has its Setswana equivalent **kganetso ka mabaka**, the teacher chose to use the English version. In that regard, CS performs a number of social functions in the same extract, as well. These will be discussed below (cf. Section 7.7.3 ii) (to follow). Similarly, other CS forms below were used:

It is formal (lines 1-2), **can be formal** (line 2), **rebuttal, it gets more points than the introduction** (lines 7-8), **it is very important** (line 9), **that's why in debate it is very important** (line 9).

All these dependent and independent clauses can be expressed in Setswana. In addition, the teacher makes use of CM and the different forms of borrowing. These will be discussed in detail in a separate section (cf. Section 7.8) (to follow).

b. CS as a strategy for neutrality

Extract 32 above also serves as an example of the use of CS as a strategy for neutrality. As explained previously, there are costs and rewards of using two languages. Therefore, by CS between the two languages, the teacher is reaping the benefits but at the same time he runs the risk of creating miscommunication in the process.

(ii) The social functions of CS during Setswana lessons

CS also performs a number of social functions in a Setswana class, viz:

a. To reinforce positively good response in the form of a praise to the participant (cf. Extract 33, line 1 below).

Extract 33: Setswana lesson

Te: **That's it!** Re ne re sa reetsane. **That's very good!** A re re ne re sa reetsane.
We were not listening to each other.   *He says we were not listening to each other.*

 Ke kgalemile ga kae?...
How many times did I call you to order?...

Extract 33 above illustrates the social use of CS as a positive reinforcement. The learner gave a correct answer, and in response, the teacher made use of **That's it** and **That's very good** (line 1) as expressions which signify that he was happy with the response that he got**.** The praise is meant to encourage and reward the participatory behaviour of the participant.

b. CS used to show the teacher's level of education / to display linguistic versatility

Because all the learners in a Setswana class understand Setswana fairly well, there is no need for the Setswana teacher to switch to English during the lesson. However, it seemed from the evidence from the classroom that Setswana teachers CS to English, not because the learners could not understand, but perhaps to display their educational level and to display linguistic versatility. By CS to English, the teacher seemed to be reminding the learners that teaching Setswana did not mean that he / she could not speak English. By the same token, the use of English in a Setswana lesson appeared to be more of a demonstration of the teacher's knowledge of the prestigious language, English than to enhance understanding of the lesson content among the learners. Extract 33 above is an example of the use of CS to display the teacher's level of education and his knowledge of English more than to simplify the material for the learners. The teacher is displaying that he can speak English fluently as much as he speaks Setswana fluently. The teacher uses CS to explain the difference between a *debate* and a *public address*. These three concepts -- debate (**ngangisano**), public address (**puiso phatlalatso**), and rebuttal (**kganetso ka mabaka**) -- all have Setswana equivalents which could have been used. Therefore, the issue is not because his learners cannot follow the explanation fully of what 'a debate' involves if it was made in Setswana, but a subtle demonstration that teaching Setswana does not mean that one cannot speak English fluently.

Extract 34 below contains a comment made by one of the Setswana teachers which confirms the view that at times Setswana teachers use English in class, not because it reinforces learning, but because the teacher wants to display his / her level of education as well as his ability to speak the prestigious language.

Extract 34: Setswana lesson

Te: [TEACHER INTERRUPTS] **A re bue ka Setswana. Ke itse sekgowa go go heta**.

>> *Let's speak in Setswana. I know English more than you do.*

.

Ironically, in the same lesson, the same teacher further said:

Te: **He..? Le thola le re chaela mo le re "oaii, mo go ruta Setswana mo!" O kare lona le ruta sekgowa.**
You always scorn us saying, "oaii, (no translation) *this one teaches Setswana!" As if you, you teach English.*

C: [LAUGHTER]

In the first utterance, the teacher orders the learner not to CS to English and instead to use Setswana only because, according to the teacher, there is no need for the learner to use English in a Setswana class as the teacher is more fluent in English than the learner. The second utterance implies that the learners look down upon those teachers who teach Setswana. Therefore, it appears the teacher's use of English during a Setswana class is a demonstration of his fluency in speaking English, like other teachers who teach subjects taught in English. This implies that the Setswana teacher somehow feels inferior in status to his colleagues whose subjects are taught officially in English. Therefore, the teacher feels compelled to constantly remind his learners that he too can speak English by CS during his lessons. What arises from this scenario is that if the teacher of Setswana suffers from an inferiority complex due to the subject he teaches, what effect does it have on the learners' attitude towards his subject? This issue will be revisited in Chapter Eight in the discussion of the study results.

    c.   CS used to show annoyance

In Extract 35 below, the teacher CS to English, the language of authority (Adendorff, 1993; Gila, 1995; Gxilishe (1992, in Moodley, 2001); Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Kembo-Sure & Webb, 2000; Moodley, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Tshinki, 2002) to show her annoyance at the learner who appeared not to be paying attention in class.

Extract 35: Setswana lesson

Te: This is the second time **o sa concentrate mo classing**.
   This is the second time *you are not concentrating in class.*

In the extract above, the teacher was delivering the lesson in Setswana. She then realized that one of the learners was not paying attention. She posed a question to him and when he failed to answer correctly, she then scolded him for not paying attention during the lesson. Instead of using Setswana to express her displeasure at the learner's behaviour, she CS to English (in a raised tone) to initiate the discourse in order to sound authoritative, and then CS back to Setswana in discourse closure. In addition, she uses nonce borrowing and borrowing proper in the form of **concentrate** and **classing** respectively. The first expression is a verb stem and its Setswana version is **reetsa**. Therefore, the verb complement **o sa concentrate** is in the negative and its translation is **o sa reetse** meaning *not listening*. **Classing** is an adverb of place meaning **in the classroom**; and its formation is the English noun **class** + Setswana suffix **-ing.** Therefore, **classing** is a result of borrowing proper. **Class** has a Setswana version **ntlo ya borutelo**. However, it is the borrowed form which is commonly used and the word has come to be grammatically integrated into Setswana although it is restricted to spoken communication which is considered informal. Consequently, instead of using the Setswana versions **o sa reetse** and **mo ntlong ya borutelo**, the teacher chose to use nonce borrowing and borrowing proper respectively to convey the same meaning; that the learner is not paying attention during the lesson.

7.8 USE OF BORROWING AND CM FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

In this section, the use of borrowing (borrowing proper and nonce borrowing) and CM during Setswana lessons are discussed.

7.8.1 Borrowing proper

Borrowing proper (cf. Chapter Two, section 2.3.3) refers to words which have been borrowed from another language assimilated phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically into Setswana and have now come to be accepted as Setswana words. The following are examples of words borrowed from English / Afrikaans and have now been adapted into Setswana such that they are accepted as Setswana words. These words appear in the transcription of a Setswana lesson (cf. Transcription 5 in Addendum C):

Table 7.1: Examples of borrowing proper (English origin)

Borrowing proper	Original word (English / Afrikaans)
Khansele	Council
Goromente	Government
Pase	Pass
Disekerese	Cigarettes
Pherehere	Pepper
Nnoto	Naught
Kopa	Copy
Fila	Feel

The qualitative analysis of the data from lesson observations revealed that during Setswana lessons, there was more use of the different forms of borrowing and CM than CS. At discourse initiation and closure stages, Setswana was used to establish the relation between the teacher and the class and to affirm that it was the LoLT; but CS or borrowing or CM occurred as soon as the formal part of the lesson began. For instance, in Extract 14, line 3, the teacher immediately used a phrasal noun **school fees** which is an example of borrowing proper instead of the Setswana version **lekgetho la sekole** or **tuelo ya sekole**. The English version is widely used and has come to be an accepted term when reference is made to 'tuition fee' in oral communication. Its use cuts across the different educational levels of the speakers. The Setswana version is restricted to written communication.

Smieja (2003: 89) refers to words, such as 'school fees'and other words contained in Table 7.2 below borrowed from one language and used in another language without undergoing any morphological change as 'loan words'. According to Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English (1995: 841), a loanword is a word taken into one language from another. However, the researcher is of the view that because of the regularity in which they are used, these words are more of examples of borrowing proper than of 'loaning'.

The following are also borrowed words (**borrowing proper)** used throughout the Setswana lesson (cf. Transcription 5):

Table 7.2: Examples of borrowing proper used during the Setswana lesson

Numbers or amount in currency	Period	Technology	Other terms
Four hundred and fifty	Half-time	Cell phone	Debate
Seventy	Weekend	Phone	High Court
Five	five minutes		Fish and chips
Four	Term		Bacon
Five hundred Pula			circle
One thousand Pula			Sorry
Six hundred Pula			Very good
Three Pula			

From the examples in the table above, it is evident that the teacher prefers to use the English words in their original form instead of using their Setswana alternatives even though many of them have direct translations in Setswana or even have well-known Setswana equivalents. The English words used are deemed to be more precise and are better known than their Setswana alternatives which are usually phrasal in form and longer. Many of these words refer to numbers, period or duration, and even concepts originally unavailable in Setswana, such as reference to amount in currency (money) and technology (cf. Kamwangamalu, 2000). The exception with units of currency is that, even though they resist adaptation to the borrowing language (in this case Setswana), they have come to be used in a way that they are more of borrowing proper than nonce borrowing. Borrowing is a normal occurrence in situations of language contact. Throughout the rest of the transcription, there was more use of borrowing proper than nonce borrowing or even CS. Borrowing was not unique to this lesson only; other teachers of Setswana also used it as illustrated in Extract 36 below:

Extract 36: Setswana lesson:

The lesson was conducted by a female teacher in a F 5 class in a peri-urban school. She was introducing the topic of the lesson which was **puiso-batho** (public address).

Te: Ke eng puisanyo? Ha gotwe **speech** sa gagwe se ne se le monate; go a bo go tewa jang?
What is **public address**? *When it is said his/her…was good; what is meant by that*?

The teacher chose to use the word **speech** (borrowing proper), which is commonly used in order to assist the learners to understand what **puisanyo** entailed.

Furthermore, as previously explained in Chapter Two, (cf. 2.3.3 and 2.3.4), although Kamwangamalu (1997: 48) talks of double-plural marking or what Herbert, (1994, in Kieswetter, 1995) call re-borrowing, in this study this concept was not used as it was regarded to be the same form of borrowing proper. The words referred to as examples of re-borrowing are in fact, borrowed words which have acquired a prefix that denotes plural in Setswana as illustrated in the sentence below (obtained from the lesson of the teacher referred to in Extract 36 above):

Te: … o tla bo o kwala **dinotes.**

　 … *you will be writing* ***notes***

The noun **dinotes** is made up of Setswana prefix **di-** that denotes plural form and the English noun **notes**; **–s** is an English suffix that denotes plural if affixed to a noun. The word **dinotes** is commonly used in Setswana and has come to be accepted as part of Setswana vocabulary due to a lack of an original Setswana word to refer to the same thing. The reason for this being that note-taking, like reading and writing are concepts synonymous with formal schooling which was acquired after the arrival of the Europeans. Therefore **dinotes** is an example of borrowing proper in plural form consistent with Setswana formation of plurals. The qualitative analysis of the data showed that this form of borrowing is common in Setswana as indicated in the following examples:

Di-classroom: **Di-** (Tswana prefix signifying plural for a noun) +**classroom**

　　　　　　 = diclassroom (classrooms): noun

Topik-ing: **Topik** + Tswana suffix **–ing =** topiking

Laen-eng: **Line** + Tswana suffix **–eng =** laeneng

Class-ing: **Class** + Tswana suffix **–ing** = classing

Tafol-eng: **Tafel** + Tswana suffix **–ing** = tafoleng (Afrikaans)

Debating: **Debate** + Tswana suffix **–ing** = debating

The formation of the examples above involved affixing either a Setswana prefix or suffix to a verb stem or to a borrowed noun (either from English or Afrikaans); and the

resultant new word could be a Setswana verb or noun or an adverb, yet the origin of such a word is still recognizable.

7.8.2 Nonce borrowing

Nonce borrowing was used also during Setswana lessons but not as much as borrowing proper as illustrated in the table below:

Table 7.3: Examples of nonce borrowing

Nouns	Adjectives / Adverb	Other concepts
Order	In circles	Prioritization
Small house	Whether	Communication
Topic, set up	Broad	Facilitation
	Non-stop	Discussion
		Rebuttal

Borrowing was not from English or Afrikaans only; in other instances the teacher used words which can also be considered examples of borrowing proper, but originating from different Bantu languages as shown in Table 7.4 below:

Table 7.4: Examples of borrowed words from other southern African languages

Borrowed words	Meaning	Language of origin	Form of borrowing
Chaela (bad-mouthing)	Talking to / about someone without respect	Zulu	Nonce borrowing / Borrowing proper
Chaisa (knocking-off)		Zulu	Borrowing proper
Ditaba (news)		Sepedi (Northern Sotho)	Nonce borrowing

Chaela is a corrupted version of a word originating from Zulu but have come to be associated with Tsotsitaal. The Zulu word is **chela**, meaning 'to tell'. This word can be an example of either borrowing proper or nonce borrowing depending on who is using it. If it is used by members of a specific group, then it is an example of borrowing proper, but if it is used as a once off occurrence then it is an example of nonce borrowing. Its Setswana version is **bolelela**. **Chaisa** is a Fanakalo word used to mean 'knocking off'. The word was coined by mine workers to describe a concept of knocking off from a shift; it originates from the Zulu language **shaya** meaning "to hit a gong" at the end of the shift. A concept of reporting for work and knocking off at a set time did not exist in the African culture; hence mine workers came up with a word by

borrowing from Zulu to describe this new concept. Because of its frequent use in oral communication, it has come to be accepted as a term meaning 'knocking off' and is an example of borrowing proper. Its Setswana version is **go ya lwapeng** which is rarely used. **Ditaba** is a Sepedi version for 'news' known as **dikgang** in Setswana. It is an example of nonce borrowing because it is rarely used by Setswana speakers.

In all the instances indicated above, borrowing proper and nonce borrowing, and to a limited extent CM, were used during the presentation of the lesson content. Their abundant use not only signifies the supporting role that English plays during Setswana lessons; but also signifies language contact (Kamwangamalu: 2000). In the classroom, because English and Setswana are the main languages used, the instances of CS, CM and the two types of borrowing described above mainly involve these two languages.

As has been demonstrated above and also in Tables 7.1-7.4 above, the majority of the words used were borrowed largely from English and Afrikaans, except for a few borrowed from Bantu languages like Zulu and Pedi. Therefore, the lists in the tables above give credence to the assertion that there was extensive use of the different forms of borrowing, especially borrowing proper and to some extent, nonce borrowing but less of CS. This is evidence of the effect of English (and to some extent, Afrikaans) on Setswana.

7.8.3 CM

CM, already discussed in Chapter Two (cf. Section 2.3.2), was used to a limited extent as illustrated in the example below. The word **Magomora** is not a Setswana word and it is specific to a particular social group, so its meaning would be understood only by those within the said social group or familiar with the variety used by the social group.

*Magomora: **Ma-** (Tswana prefix signifying plural + **Gomora**

*'**Magomora**' refers to people from the Biblical town of Gomorrah, but used here to refer to a self-named social group of youngsters.

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7.9 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the qualitative data have been analyzed based on the concepts discussed in Chapter Two (cf. Section 2.3); namely, CS and its different forms (inter-sentential, intra-sentential and emblematic CS), CM, and the different forms of borrowing (borrowing proper and nonce borrowing). The analysis revealed the extent of the occurrence of CS during the lessons of both the content and the language subjects. The role of CS in a teaching and learning situation, such as the classroom, was investigated - both its educational and social role in the classroom. Furthermore, as expected, it was revealed that CS was more prevalent in the content subjects than in the language subjects; the teachers of English L and L employed CS the least; and that CM or any form of borrowing were almost non-existent in their classes.

In addition, the analysis revealed that the use of borrowing proper and nonce borrowing was prevalent in the classroom, and they have a role to play to fulfil educational as well as social functions which are also of educational value. Their use was more prevalent during Setswana lessons than in the lessons of other subjects.

In the next chapter, the main research questions will be addressed using both the quantitative data (cf. Chapters Four, Five and Six) and qualitative data in the present chapter. The two sets of data will be used to establish whether they are in harmony with each other and therefore complement one another or whether they contradict one another. The answers obtained to the research questions will then be used to answer the main research question; "the role of CS in a teaching and learning situation in selected senior secondary schools in Botswana".