

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES
IN BOTSWANA PRIMARY SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY OF 3
SCHOOLS

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This is a multiple case study of language practices in relation to the language-in-education policy of Botswana. The impetus for this study came after realising a decline in the academic achievement of learners as they move to higher levels of education. Taking into cognisance other factors like socio-economic background and marginalised communities, this study intended to investigate language practices at 3 primary schools at Standard 1, Standard 4 and Standard 7. Cases were selected from 3 various schools in different districts that present the language situation in Botswana. School A was in Kgalagadi district where the dominant spoken language is Shekgalagarhi, a minority language of Botswana. School B was in Southern district where the dominant spoken language is Setswana, the national language of Botswana and School C was in Gaborone city, the capital city of Botswana, where languages of Botswana come into contact and parents mainly use English to communicate with their children at home.

Observation of language practices at these schools was the primary technique of data collection. The researcher also used questionnaires and focus group discussions for authentication. It was realised that whereas the language-in-education policy of Botswana is monoglossic, as it separates languages into separate functions, language practices in the three primary schools were transglossic, as they involved the use of different language varieties in the classroom. However, the researcher discovered that there was limited translanguaging that limited learner creativity and participation in class. The language practices revealed compliance and non-compliance of some schools to the national language-in-education policy. The researcher found language teaching to be one of the factors that limited content acquisition in content subject lessons.

Realising the irrelevance of the policy to the linguistic needs of learners, this study proposes guidelines on the implementation of a multilingual micro policy that considers both the strong and the weak versions of translanguaging. This will open ways for translanguaging henceforth, active participation and enhanced performance for all Batswana. It also proposes the study of 3 languages: a minority language of Botswana, Setswana and English as compulsory subjects to embrace multilingualism and for the development of indigenous languages.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, Dumelang Tselayakhumo declare that this thesis is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. This work has not been submitted previously in its entirety, or in any part, at any other higher education institution for degree purposes.

.....

Signature

Dumelang Tselayakhumo

.....

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family.

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I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Pamela Maseko and Professor Dion Nkomo for their patience and their support as they guided me through this journey until the end.

My family also played a very significant role in the completion of this thesis. If it were not for them this would not have been possible.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABEP	Adult Basic Educational Programme
BEC	Botswana Examinations Council
BGCSE	Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
BLC	Botswana Languages Council
BNLP	Botswana National Literacy Programme
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CM	Code mixing
CS	Codeswitching
CT	Concurrent Transition
CUP	Common Underlying Proficiency
ECC&E	Early Childhood Care and Education
ELL	English Language Learners

IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics
JCE	Junior Certificate Examination
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
L3	Third Language
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
MoESD	Ministry of Education and Skills Development
NDCP	National Day Care Centre Policy
NLSC	National Setswana Language Council
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
RNPE	Revised National Policy on Education
RTM	Representation Theory of Mind
SAE	Standard Average European
SLA	Second language Acquisition
SNLC	Setswana National Language Committee

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

This research study investigates language practices in Botswana primary schools in relation to the academic performance of learners that show a significant decline as they progress to higher levels of learning in basic education. Taking into cognisance some other factors that may contribute to poor academic performance, it seeks to establish the consequences of a language policy that separates languages and elevates a foreign language that only the minority speak as their first language. Hence, the study seeks to investigate how the policy shapes the language practices and how the practices affect pedagogy. The first section of this chapter exposes the contextual background to the study by elaborating on the education system of Botswana, the language situation of Botswana and the language policy of the country. Thereafter, it states the problem that this research study is addressing and later on, it presents the objectives of the study before commenting on the limitations. Finally, it will outline what each chapter entails.

1.2 Contextual Background

1.2.1 Education System of Botswana

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with a population of about 2 038 228 (Republic of Botswana 2011). The country gained independence in 1996 after being colonised by the British who brought formal education to Botswana through traditional chieftainship and missionaries. Botswana schools can be broadly categorised into three sections by ownership: government, government aided and private schools. Government schools are solely managed by the government of Botswana whereas government aided schools are mostly mission schools supported by the government. Individuals or companies run private schools. The Ministry of Education and Skills Development (MoESD) was reorganised and divided into two ministries in 2016. This was done to lessen the burden of administration and coordination in the education system of Botswana and it yielded i) Ministry of Basic Education that focuses on pre-primary, primary and secondary education and ii) Ministry of Tertiary Education, Research, Science and Technology that has a mandate to make Botswana a knowledge based economy and to coordinate research.

Private institutions and non-governmental organisations mainly offered pre-school education in Botswana but in 2013, there was a pilot for inclusion under the department of basic education and the roll out was in 2014. To date the ministry of Basic Education has implemented it in 471 government schools and by 2020, it hopes to have implemented it in all the 755 government schools. The primary school age population is 304,000 (17%) with student teacher ratio of 25

at primary schools and the primary school gross enrolment ratio is 108% as stated by Brock (2013).

After the reception class level at pre-primary, learners proceed to Standard 1, which is the first year of primary education. At Standard 4, learners write attainment tests set by Botswana Examination Council (BEC). These tests are set on Mathematics, Setswana and English subjects and they do not really determine progression to Standard 5 but if the learner has failed to attain the pass mark, the school consults the parents and after their consent that is only when the child may repeat Standard 4. One must note that the grading system of the attainment tests is not standardised as BEC only sets the tests for administration, marking and grading by schools. Standard 7 is the final year of primary education where learners write the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) that is set, administered, marked, and graded by BEC. The examinations are mainly based on objective questions except for agriculture which is based on structured questions and they are just for diagnosis as they do not determine progression to junior secondary level where learners begin with the first year also known as Form 1.

After duration of 3 years, learners sit for Junior Certificate Examinations (JCE), which are also set, administered, marked and graded by BEC. JCE is selective as it determines progression to Form 4. Government senior secondary schools do not admit learners who do not reach the set pass mark but they may go for vocational training or repeat Form 3 in private institutions. Students who manage to progress to Form 4 write the Botswanan General Certificate of Secondary Education (BGCSE) towards the end of their second year at senior secondary when they are in Form 5. This examination is also selective for government scholarship as it is the final one in basic education. Learners who manage to score 36 points in their top six subjects the government can sponsor them to progress to tertiary education and those who achieve less may fund their tertiary education, go for vocational training or repeat form 5.

Secondary education is compulsory even though the system is full of attrition because of the necessity of subsistence farming where parents expect learners to help at the lands and at the cattle post (Ness and Lin 2015). The authors state that the country has an enrolment rate of 82.6% for primary schools and 61.1% of secondary education. The University of Botswana is the largest tertiary institution in the country. It leads in the areas of education, humanities, business and engineering and it has been noticed that “Unlike teacher training in neighbouring countries, teacher training in Botswana has shown signs of improving teachers’ content

knowledge and pedagogical skills that are necessary for accommodating children whose native languages vary in the same classroom” (Ness and Lin 2015:290).

There is a literacy rate of 81% in Botswana as stated by Brock (2013) and the country is attempting to increase access and promote lifelong learning and innovation. Brock (2013) also revealed that in 2010 Botswana and Swaziland fared better than other countries in Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (SACMEQ III) with mean scores of 534.6 and 594.4 in reading; in Mathematics their mean scores were 520.5 and 540.8 respectively. According to the primary school syllabi of Botswana, learner centred pedagogy is to be practiced in the delivery of content. As defined by Cullen, Harris and Hill (2012), learner centred pedagogy means putting into use some practices that involve active learner participation in learning. This type of pedagogy emphasises sharing of tasks and power between the teachers and their learners.

Education in Botswana is not entirely free. There is a cost-sharing programme whereby learners may pay development fees. However, failure to pay such fees cannot deny the learner their right to education as the Botswana government strives for equity, access, and retention of learners in the system (see Tabulawa and Pansiri 2013).

1.2.2 Language Situation in Botswana

Different authors like Molosiwa (2005) have shown that there are over 25 languages in Botswana. Batibo (2005) have also shown that there are about 28 languages in Botswana but of recent the number of languages in Botswana are said to be about 31 (see Simons and Fennig 2017). Most of the languages spoken along the border are languages neighbouring countries also speak. About 80% of the population speak Setswana as their first language and they refer to it as a majority language (Batibo 2003). Other languages with a fewer number of speakers are referred to as minority languages.

1.2.3 National Language Policy, Planning and Practices in Botswana

According to Nyati-Ramahobo (2000), the constitution of Botswana is silent on language policy although it clearly states that competency in English would be a prerequisite if someone wants to join the House of Chiefs or the National assembly. The country does not have a comprehensible language policy and so they derive it from the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE) and the tourist guide documents as stated by Batibo and Smieja (2006). Therefore, this implies the presence of a covert language policy that compels scholars to rely

on other policies and documents that have statements of language functions. After that, one must take into account social practices because absence of a policy document does not imply absence of policy (Bamgbose 1991, 2003). Only English and Setswana have functions in the education system and the national media. Speakers of minority languages have no option but to shift to Setswana and English as mediums of instruction for national unity. The introduction of French as a subject occurred in 2000; 37 junior secondary schools and 9 senior secondary schools offer French. This shows the high status of powerful languages in Botswana. Batibo and Smieja (2006) also show that parents encourage their children to speak English, which results in progressive language shift.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Batswana did not refer to themselves as Batswana but the European colonists used the name Bechuana and later called the land Bechuanaland (Mooko 2006). The term Batswana can mean all Botswana nationals including those who speak minority languages as their first languages and it can mean Setswana speakers. Boikhutso and Jotia (2013) in their study that investigated common wisdom that claims Botswana is a homogenous country found out that every group in different districts is unique and therefore Botswana as a democratic country should accommodate them in various policies including the language-in-education policy. They state that “ Botswana’s language-in -education policy continues not only to marginalise but also negatively impact on the school performance of ethnic minorities” Boikhutso and Jotia (2013:812). The Khoisan were the earliest inhabitants followed by the Kalanga from Zimbabwe. A majority of people in some areas speak other languages in Botswana like Ikalanga and Sekgalagadi (Batibo 2005). There are no exact figures of the population of different ethnic groups of Botswana. This according to Mooko (2006) is deliberate because of the census policy adopted in Botswana to maintain peace and stability of Botswana as a nation.

Setswana was the first indigenous language developed into a written language in Botswana. The 1820s saw the writing of Setswana Grammar and the Bible and this influenced the first language policy to adopt Setswana, as Batibo (2005) shows that it was readily available. Before the arrival of the missionaries in Botswana, education was traditional and imparted by the parents and relatives to children. This was done orally through folktales, proverbs, idioms, music, and poetry (see Adekanmbi and Modise 2000). When the children became young adults, they went into initiation schools that taught them to be responsible men and women. The initiation schools taught the young men and women the norms and customs of the society as stated by Stone and Molyneux (2003). This was education and it was in a language that was

dominant in that particular region. Language speakers were language planners as there was no interference between languages and therefore no major linguistic problems or conflicts. It is important to note that these oral traditions remain the source of history for Batswana.

According to Chebanne and Mathangwane (2009), the missionaries brought a new religion to Africa that resulted in the transformation of Africans, including changing Batswana from their old way of life to embrace the new cultures. Chebanne and Mathangwane (2009) continue to point out that the missionaries showed no interest in African languages for about 200 years after their arrival. David Livingstone was one of the missionaries who settled around Kuruman mission. He lived there for about ten years and he mastered the Setswana language. His son in law, Robert Moffatt, came later and decided to use Setswana for evangelism. As stated by Chebanne and Mathangwane (2009), while developing Setswana, the missionaries left out other Botswana ethnic groups and languages. This marked the beginning of a biased language policy contrary to the multilingual nature of the community at that time. Setswana was widely spoken and the missionaries' aim was to spread the word of God to many people. To achieve their goal Setswana was the only language to choose.

Missionaries used the Setlhaping dialect to translate the Bible into Setswana until around 1857 as stated by Chebanne and Mathangwane (2009). The publication of religious materials in Setswana paved the way for literacy and education in Botswana. Winstanley (1965) points out that material for the first elections in 1965 were prepared in five languages, which were Ikalanga, English, Setswana, Afrikaans and Otjiherero. The situation changed after independence as Botswana became bilingual for national unity. As pointed out by Mooko (2006), those in power during independence had intentions to build a united nation of Botswana through Setswana as a national language, thus the introduction of the process of assimilation in Botswana. However, this model has been criticised as it just values unity without diversity and views diversity as a threat:

In terms of cultural difference, the One-Nation Consensus was assimilationist, favouring homogeneity, fostered through one official and one recognised language, respectively English and Tswana. Building one state was building one nation – the Tswana nation. The One-Nation Consensus – ‘We are all Tswana’ – was backed by the assimilationist policy of the ruling party. ‘Tswanification’, or Tswanalisation, to use the local terms for this majoritarian project of cultural nationalism, left virtually no space in the public sphere for

the country's many nonTswana cultures, unless recast in a Tswana image.
(Werbner 2002:676).

Not all accepted the 'Tswanification' as demonstrated by some groups that are against the language-in-education policy of Botswana. According to Good (1993), the current national policy of Botswana marginalises the minority groups. One such group is that of the San people. According to Mokibelo (2015a), the language-in-education practices directly affect the San to the extent that they end up dropping out of school. This applies to the rest of the minority groups of Botswana for whom the language policy of Botswana does not cater. Batibo (2006) has shown that the current language policy has affected Batswana and other languages of Botswana "in that the promotion of English and Setswana, without the proportionate promotion of minority languages, has given rise to a disproportionate language relationship" (Batibo 2006:26). Botswana promotes democracy and is a multi-party state that encourages citizens to participate in national development. Nevertheless, not every Motswana participates as some minority groups are side lined through the marginalisation of their minority languages. This results in language shift like among the Wayeyi and eventually language death like some Khoisan languages as pointed out by Mooko (2006). Botswana, like other African countries, has a trifocal linguistic situation. This according to Batibo (2009) means Botswana has three linguistic levels, which are:

- i) the ex-colonial language that is usually the official language ii) a lingua franca or national language or languages and iii) minority languages.

There is language shift and in most cases the "process of language shift involved is marked bilingualism situation and the eventual abandonment of the minority languages by their speakers in favour of the dominant languages" (Batibo (2005:90). The extensive use of majority languages makes African societies appear bilingual because most minority languages are endangered and marginalised. In the case of Botswana, English is the ex-colonial language that is the official language, Setswana is a lingua franca or the national language and at the lowest level, there are minority languages like Khoisan languages, Shiyeyi and Ikalanga.

Setswana, the national language of Botswana, is made up of eight dialects which according to Nyati-Ramahobo (2008) are Sengwaketse, Sekgatla, Sekwena, Serolong, Sengwato, Setawana, Selete and Setlokwa. According to Mpho (1989), the Tswana dialects on their own would be

minority languages if considered individually. This therefore means a group of different ethnic groups speaks Setswana as their first language. The symbolic use of Setswana is to symbolise unity to unite Batswana as a nation. The language-in-education policy of Botswana reflects the status of the languages of Botswana.

1.2.4 Language-in-Education Policy and Planning

At the macro level, formal language planning in Botswana began in 1979. The Setswana National Language Committee (SNLC) was established at this time in order to revise the 1937 orthography that was developed in South Africa. It was mainly Setlhaping dialect as stated by Nyati-Ramahobo (2000). This contributed significantly to the development of the corpus of Setswana and therefore Setswana became useful in the education system of Botswana. The committee produced the 1981 standard Setswana orthography that the majority population of Botswana rejected stating their dissatisfaction about it and calling for its revision. This led to the formation of the National Setswana Language Council (NLSC) in 1986 to review the 1981 Setswana standard orthography. Another key role-player in language planning in Botswana has been the education sector.

When Botswana gained independence in 1966, English was the main language of education, with Setswana used as a medium of learning and teaching only from Standard 1 to 3, the first 3 grades of schooling. In 1977, the first president of Botswana Sir Seretse Khama appointed a commission, the National Commission on Education (NCE 1) whose broad mandate was to assess the education system and make some recommendations for improvement. The Commission realised that the system was based on European models and one of its recommendations was Setswana to be used as a language of teaching and learning from Standard 1 up to 4. Then in 1992, the second president of Botswana Sir Ketumile Masire appointed the second NCE to reassess the education system and make some recommendations, as there had been cultural, economic and political changes in Botswana.

The NCE II formulated the Revised National Policy in Education (RNPE) published in 1994, which reduced the period of Setswana as a language of learning and teaching to only 1 year. English was assigned more functions than Setswana and it is visible in the education system and in the future, it is highly likely to be used in Education from standard 1. It is indeed one of the 'big killer languages' (Skutnubb-Kangas 2000:46) and in the future it is likely to replace Setswana as a medium of instruction from preschool onwards. However, Setswana is also a threat to minority languages. It is the national language of Botswana and is a compulsory

subject throughout basic education. This is visible in the RNPE where recommendations that intended to promote minority languages of Botswana were deferred as it was stated that Setswana was already there. The following are the accepted recommendations that assign some functions to English and Setswana in the education system of Botswana. The acceptance and amendment of these recommendations show that only English and Setswana to some extent will remain in the education system of Botswana.

REC.18 d) Setswana should be taught as a compulsory subject for citizens of Botswana throughout the primary school system. In- service training programs should commence immediately to improve the teaching of Setswana as a subject.

REC.26 [para 4.9.21] With regard to private primary schools, the Commission recommends that:

d) private Setswana Medium Schools should be registered and supported where there is a need.

REC. 46 [para. 5.10.37] In order to improve the teaching and status of Setswana, the commission recommends that:

b) job opportunities other than teaching should be created for those who have specialised in the study of Setswana at tertiary level, e.g. in the media professions as translators, court interpreters, and parliamentary translators. With some guidance students at school level would then take their study of languages more seriously, recognising opportunities for development in the language.

Amended to read:

REC.46 [para 5.10.37] In order to improve the teaching and status of Setswana,

b) Information about job opportunities other than teaching, e.g. in the media professions and as translators, court interpreters, and parliamentary translators, should be more extensively disseminated. With some guidance students at level would then take their study of the language more seriously, recognising opportunities for development in the language.

The latter was amended as there are opportunities and the students need to be informed about them. Clearly, a lot of effort goes into integrating the minority language speakers into Setswana by assimilation as the minority languages do not appear anywhere.

The following recommendations were deferred and nationalism was stated as the reason:

REC. 12 [para 3.9.5] with respect to the language of instruction, the commission recommends that:

a) Children in pre-primary schools should be taught in the language dominant in the area where the school is located. English and Setswana should be introduced gradually.

b) Private pre-primary schools may adopt the above language policy or may use either of the official languages as the medium of instruction.

Reasons for Non –Acceptance:

The need for this recommendation falls away as a result of non-acceptance of Recommendation 7. Furthermore, the proposed policy on the language of instruction is contrary to national language policy.

REC.18 [para.4.7.31] With respect to the teaching of languages in primary school, the Commission recommends that:

e) Where parents request that other local languages be taught to their children, the school should make arrangements to teach them as a co-curricular activity.

Reasons for Non-acceptance: The recommendation may result in *undue pressure* [my own italics] on schools to offer the various languages spoken in Botswana, whereas the schools may lack the capacity to do so and the education system would not be able to support such a development. Further, it is contrary to national language policy.

From the given reasons in the formulation of the language-in-education policy, mother-tongue education was viewed as ‘undue pressure’ meaning that inclusion of minority languages in the education system of Botswana would be unnecessary in schools because Setswana already would be there for nationalism. Nationalism can mean “a language and symbolism of the nation” (Owen-Smith 2010:5). The deferment of recommendations was because minority languages promote ethnicity and therefore they counter nationalism. Nationalism in this context seems to leave out multilingualism and multiculturalism and it works well with assimilation. This results in conflicts between minority language speakers and majority speakers as indicated by Batibo (2005). These conflicts exist in Botswana as groups of minority tribes have been formed to advocate for the rights of their people.

The RNPE proposed the renaming of the NLSC to be Botswana Languages Council (BLC) and to formulate a comprehensive language policy that is inclusive of the country's different languages. Following the implementation of this recommendation, the BLC began its work in 1997 but its existence ended that same year as stated by Nyathi-Ramahobo (2000). As illustrated above, there has been no formal language planning beyond the education sector in Botswana.

1.2.5 Vision 2016

Vision 2016 was a national project that recognised language in education in Botswana as its first pillar of an informed and educated nation. A presidential task group was formed in 1996; this group commenced its work in 1997 as it consulted different institutions and individuals on the long-term aspirations of Botswana. The Vision therefore outlined the challenges that Botswana might face before 2016 and it offered some strategies to counteract these challenges. Vision 2016 was necessary in the globalisation era, as it would help Botswana focus on safeguarding the vitality of its diverse cultures. This vision was also to help guide policy making in the future. An example of these policies was the Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (ECC&E) to be discussed later on in this chapter. Vision 2016 was based on the five national principles: Development, Democracy, Unity, Self-Reliance and *Botho* (mutual respect, responsibility and accountability). These principles promote social harmony or *kagisano*, which the Vision was based on, by setting the aims of national development. The aims were rapid economic growth, sustained development, social justice and economic independence. The vision acknowledged the diversity of languages in Botswana and it intended to strengthen and project their variety for every Motswana to have access. The diversity of languages in Botswana brought in the concept of access. According to Janks (2000), access, diversity, domination and design are interdependent orientations that help in the understanding of the relationship between power and language. Therefore based on Janks (2000), the implementation or non-implementation of some of Vision 2016 says a lot about power and language in Botswana.

This Vision was for every Motswana and it emphasised that every Motswana was to own it and take the responsibility to act for its realisation. The first pillar was of 'an Educated and Informed Nation'. This pillar had a goal of ensuring that no Motswana was disadvantaged in education by their mother tongue, which was different from the two official languages, which are English and Setswana. According to the Vision:

The education system will recognise, support and strengthen Botswana's wealth of different languages and cultural traditions. There will be no disadvantage suffered by any Motswana in the education system as a result of a mother tongue that is different from the country's two official languages" (Government of Botswana 2011: 5).

This on the surface seemed to promote mother-tongue education when in actual fact it was promoting multilingual education as the strategy of achieving this pillar stated that "The nation's languages must be taught to a high standard at all levels" (Government of Botswana 2011:15). This was not a genuine promotion of mother-tongue-education or of multilingualism since it is already 2017 and there has not been any implementation of neither multilingual education nor mother-tongue education in Botswana. According to this pillar all the languages of Botswana were to be taught in schools as a way of enriching Botswana's cultural diversity through education (Government of Botswana 2011: 29). Teaching these languages as subjects would not allow for unlimited access but would continue to disadvantage minority language speakers. Setswana speaking students were not advantaged, as the Vision emphasised the implementation of the RNPE, which supports using English from Standard 2 and studying Setswana (mother tongue of the majority) as a subject. The aim of the first pillar of an educated nation viewed language as a resource and as a right but the strategy to realisation of this goal viewed language as a problem in the multilingual Botswana.

Another Pillar of 'a Moral and Tolerant Nation' commented on exclusion by ethnic origin, that no one would be disadvantaged because of the ethnic group that they were from as Botswana would be a tolerant nation by 2016. This goal echoed well with the goal of inclusion in education despite the diverse linguistic backgrounds. The last pillar concluded the Vision by recognising the diversity of Botswana languages and cultures as it pointed out the harnessing of all of the diversity by 2016. According to the Vision, Botswana would be an integrated nation that stands united in harmony despite the diversity of cultures that are in the country.

Looking back one can notice that there is higher school enrolment now than in 1980. According to Batibo (2005), even though the enrolment is high, the language used as a medium of instruction could limit access. This may lead to poor performance and high school dropouts of minority languages speaking children. According to the challenges for Vision 2016 as stated in the Vision, there was a high rate of school dropouts in small settlements and rural areas. Language might be a determinant of these challenges in the accomplishment of Vision 2016. However, it is already 2017 and still there is no mother-tongue education in Botswana. The Vision acknowledged the challenge of unequal recognition of languages in Botswana, as it did not only affect education but also media. There is the national television, national newspaper

and radio stations that are free to access but available only in English and Setswana. By 2016 according to Vision 2016, all the ethnic groups of Botswana would be in harmony recognising the diversity and uniting them as a nation.

It is important to note that the special emphasis that Vision 2016 put on the implementation of RNPE annulled all the promising goals of embracing multilingualism in the education system of Botswana. The RNPE only recognises English in education as a medium of learning and teaching, and Setswana to a lesser extent is used as a language of learning and teaching for only one year, and then to be studied as a subject. After evaluation of the Vision 2016, Botswana formulated Vision 2036.

1.2.6 Vision 2036

In alignment with Africa's Agenda 2063, a presidential task team consulted Botswana in July 2015 to note how they would like to see Botswana in 20 years. This was a vital step in the formulation of Botswana's Vision 2036. Out of their findings, the team compiled a vision 2036 document that encompasses the goals of Botswana under the four pillars: sustainable development, human and social development, sustainable environment and government peace and security. The compilation of Vision 2036 was based on the mixed results of Vision 2016, as it builds on the national values of Botswana and in the global development context. In this Vision, more emphasis is on the prosperity of Botswana through dynamic transformation, high productivity and innovation. The second pillar of human and social development states that "Botswana will be a moral, tolerant and inclusive society that provides opportunities for all" (Government of Botswana 2016: 18). This pillar highlights active participation for all Botswana regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background. It continues to state, "People should be capacitated to have a voice in decisions that affect their lives. Our people will enjoy equal access to information, markets, services, political, social and physical spaces" (Government of Botswana 2016: 19).

On education, the Vision does not refer to mother-tongue education, multilingualism in education nor language in education. Vision 2036 mainly emphasises "...quality education that is outcome based with an emphasis on technical and vocational skills as well as academic competence (education with production)" (Government of Botswana 2016:20). The role of language in the envisaged attainment of quality education is not at all considered. In relation to governance, peace and security, the fourth pillar of Vision 2036 promotes decentralisation

or the bottom up approach for active participation of Botswana. Since Vision 2036 aims to achieve positive results with its implementation, a National Transformation Strategy (NTS), Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) system, Communications and Change Management System, together with Institutional Delivery Mechanism, will monitor the success of the Vision. In 2001, the Early Childhood Care and Education policy was published and was another document that has a language-in-education policy encapsulated in it.

1.2.7 Early Childhood and Care and Education Policy (ECC&E)

The Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (ECC&E) 2001 was compiled as an urgent recommendation from the RNPE. The ECC&E intends to develop Botswana's human resources from a young age in line with the National Programme of Action for Children of Botswana (NPA/CB) 1993-2003. It also hopes to protect and nurture children by coming up with internationally recognised interventions to recognise the rights of children in Botswana. The RNPE could not address some of the issues on early childhood education in Botswana and so it recommended the Ministry of Education to coordinate the early childhood care and education policy, which addresses some constraints in early childhood education and is for children of ages 0-6 years. Early childhood specialists and professionals from social welfare were also involved. Ness and Lin (2015) state that in Botswana ECCE lacks funds and this limits its effectiveness. However, as aforementioned preschool roll out, every government owned primary school may have implemented it by 2020.

After the completion of primary education, learners should be competent in both English and Setswana; they must be able to see the connections between Science, Technology and Mathematics and they should be able to recognise social needs in their communities. The principal document that the ECC&E is based on is the National Day Care Centre Policy (NDCP) 1980, which raised issues like policy and programme content, standards and regulations, teacher training and remuneration. Curriculum was another issue raised about the policy and programme, as there was no teaching-learning framework for children in the 1980 policy. Primary school curricula influenced teaching-learning curricula as operators designed their own frameworks. One of the objectives of the ECC&E is to promote full cognitive, physical, social and emotional growth and stimulation of children. At the level of services, the policy intends to come up with an environmentally based curriculum that will address the needs of children.

The ECC&E policy emphasises that the citizens would be primary participants in offering the services as their culture and experiences would influence learning and thinking in the early childhood care and education services. This policy is a guide to preparing children of preschool age for primary school even though there is incongruence between the ECC&E and RNPE on issues of language in education. This policy recognises the importance of indigenous materials from the environment of a child as effective for educational stimulation. These materials include play toys and literature. The production of these materials can be a form of corpus planning and opportunity planning for the African languages of Botswana. This policy calls for the mobilisation of communities in the production of such material and recommends the Ministry of Education to promote this production of learning material. The principles that guided the formulation of the ECC&E are pre reading, pre writing, art and crafts, pre counting, children's rights, basic life skills, cultural knowledge and environmental and science exploration.

The ECC&E is not clear like the RNPE on language use in education. It only states that the dominant language within the child's environment must be used flexibly in the introduction of lessons so that learners may understand better. The policy does not mention which language to use after the introduction of lessons in vernacular. The Early Childhood Care and Education policy (ECC&E) 2001 and the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE) 1994 were formulated to guide the education system of Botswana from preschool to senior secondary respectively.

According to an interviewee at the Ministry of Education and Skills Development, the ministry has a challenge of timeworn breakthrough to Setswana material but all government primary schools in Botswana have a program called Breakthrough to Setswana. This program introduces literacy in Setswana at Standard 1. In areas where there are challenges of language, like in minority language speaking villages, there are reception classes where learners are taught pre-learning activities with a lot of pictures and shapes. There is pre-reading, pre-Maths and pre-writing. The interviewee emphasised that teacher aides are hired to assist learners in communication where the teacher cannot speak the learners' first language.

We also have the Botswana National Literacy Programme (BNLP) also known as the Adult Basic Educational Programme (ABEP), which mainly focuses on adult education, non-formal education and out of school education. These three policies are centralised and used throughout the whole country.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

As shown by Oakley (2004), other factors can have an effect on the academic performance of learners. Therefore, this research study intends to uncover how language practices through the influence of the language-in-education policy may be contributing to the declining performance of Botswana learners. As aforementioned, English is the official language of Botswana. A minority population of less than 0.5% speak English as their first language (Batibo 2003). Batibo (2003) also shows that about 80% of the population speaks Setswana, the national language, as their first language. Minority languages of Botswana are not included in the language-in-education policy but these languages are used to facilitate learning in minority language speaking districts. The number of years of learning in Setswana was reduced to Standard 1 only, and from Standard 2 English is used as a language of learning and teaching. In fact, Botswana wanted English to be the language of learning and teaching from Standard 1 but Setswana was allocated the lowest level of primary education for the symbolical reason of national unity (RNPE 1994).

The language-in-education policy of Botswana was never formally evaluated to check if indeed it contributes to delivering quality education to Botswana, as it was the main aim of the policy. However, some previous studies are critical of this language-in-education policy as it promotes the dominance of English over indigenous languages (Batibo 2005, Arthur 2001, Kasule and Mapolelo 2005). Other authors have shown that this language policy negatively affects the participation of learners in the classroom (Arthur 1996, Mokibelo 2010). Recently, Bagwasi (2017) critiqued the policy from a translanguaging perspective. However, the policy has not changed and the academic performance of Botswana continues to decline as they move to higher levels of education as shown below in English, Setswana and Science:

Table 1. Pass Rate of Learners who sat for their English, Setswana and Mathematics PSLE in 2009. Source: Botswana Examinations Council website (<http://www.bec.co.bw>) accessed on 29th August 2017.

Learners who began Standard 1 in 2003	2009 (PSLE)/Grade 7	2012 (JCE)/Grade 10	2014 (BGCSE)/Grade 12
English	52.8	35.6	17.07
Setswana	86.5	30.9	29.9
Mathematics	70.6	33.3	22.64

It must be noted that the above three subjects are assessed through objective questions of multiple choice and for Setswana and English there is an additional paper of Compositions for each of the language subjects. Since content becomes more abstract as learners move to higher levels of education, the question that remains after analysing these results is *how do language practices at primary school level contribute to the declining academic performance of learners in the summative assessments?* Therefore, this research study addresses the problem of declining academic performance of learners while using a language-in-education policy that holds a monoglossic ideology to multilingualism by separating the roles of English and Setswana in the system and excluding minority language speakers. This situation calls for thorough investigation and analysis by using different individual multilingualism models as Batswana learners can be referred to as emergent multilinguals based on Garcia (2009). The current language- in-education policy so far seems irrelevant, as it does not address the reality on the ground and after establishing the language practices this research study will investigate their impact on pedagogy and assess if they show compliance to policy.

Literature shows how language relates to thought in conceptualisation as theorists (like Whorf and Sapir 1921) assert that one thinks in their own language. Other theorists like Fodor (1985) and Pinker (1994) hold a view that humans think in mental representations that are later translated into language or our natural language when we speak. Even though they have different views, all of these scholars show a very close relationship between thought and language. If English as a foreign language continues to be favoured and recommended for use in the classroom for the construction of knowledge by learners who bring to school their home languages and the learners' performance continues to decline, this may negatively impact the socio-economic development of the country due to lack of qualified human resources.

Therefore, it is important to study language practices and their influence on pedagogy.

Cummins' interdependence theory of language shows that using the learners' second language for learning and teaching, as early as Standard 2, can have adverse effect on their academic performance at higher levels when content becomes more abstract. According to Cummins (1981), languages that the learner acquires are interdependent. He describes this using the interdependency hypothesis (Chapter 2 will elaborate on this). This hypothesis posits that language proficiency is transferable from one language to the other and there is no need to try to replace one language with the other. Furthermore, Cummins (2000) emphasises the need for prolonged duration of using the learners' first language for learning and teaching. Arthur (1996) and Mokibelo (2010) have shown silence or codeswitching mark Botswana schools because of a language-in-education that is irrelevant to the real situation in schools. The recent translanguaging theory of individual multilingualism has a different view towards codeswitching as it supports the use of the learners' linguistic repertoire as a whole so that there may be fluid communication in the classroom. This can be beneficial in the academic performance of learners, as it does not suppress any language in the acquisition and creation of knowledge (Garcia 2009, Garcia and Kleyn 2016, Garcia and Wei 2014, Garcia and Otheguy 2016, MacSwan 2017). This approach to multilingualism accommodates emergent multilinguals in the education system.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The main purpose of this study was to establish language practices and their probable impact on the learning and teaching of learners in the selected primary schools in Botswana. In this investigation, the study also sought to:

1. Establish the language practices for teaching and learning in the classroom at primary school level.
2. Assess the compliance of schools to the language-in-education policy of Botswana.
3. Investigate the extent to which language practices impact pedagogy.
4. Critically analyse the language-in-education policy of Botswana.

1.5 Research Questions

This study sought to achieve the stated objectives by answering the following main research question: How do language practices impact learning and teaching in the selected primary schools in Botswana? This main question has the following sub-questions which are aligned to the specific objectives of the study:

1. What are the language practices that characterise teaching and learning in the classroom at the observed primary schools?
2. How do the schools comply with the language-in-education policy of Botswana?
3. To what extent do the language practices impact pedagogy?
4. What are the key issues in relation to the language-in-education policy of Botswana?

1.6 Scope of the Study

Language-in-education policy is a broad topic with numerous areas that could be studied. However, I decided to specifically investigate how the language-in-education influences language practices at the selected schools mainly because the policy was formulated in 1994 and was never reviewed. Therefore considering globalisation and language contact I considered it necessary to study the language-in-education policy together with language practices and how these possibly impact learning and teaching at primary school level. This was made a multiple case study so as to investigate the phenomenon thoroughly through observation, questionnaires and focus group discussions. Multiple cases were chosen to cover majority and minority language speaking regions of Botswana.

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study tried to select cases from different districts that represent Botswana's territorial multilingualism. School A was chosen from a minority-language-speaking district and School B from a majority language-speaking district that speaks Setswana. However, even though School C was selected from a city where many languages come into contact, this study could have selected another School from the city to investigate language practices at a lower income earning location. Standard 1 classes were used as one of the participating classes as it was the first grade of primary education in Botswana but since pre-school education is still being rolled out it was not included. Standard 1 classes were therefore chosen for uniformity as School B and C did have pre-school education.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

Language Policy: The way language is used in the society. This may be due to formal decisions that are usually stated or it can mean the way language variations are used in the society (Johnson 2013).

Language Planning: active response toward solving a language problem (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008).

Language Practice: the active use of language or languages in the speech community. Some authors have shown some similarities between language practices and language policy (Johnson 2013).

Translanguaging: putting into use the speakers' whole system of language without restraining features of any code (Garcia and Kleyn 2016).

1.9 The outline of chapters

This is a summary of the chapters in this thesis.

Chapter 1 begins with a synopsis of this thesis. It discusses the contextual background and deliberates on the problem, the goals and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 has two sections: the literature review and the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology, research methods and methods of data analysis that were used to collect and analyse data gathered for this study.

Chapter 4 presents data that collected for this study. It gives a report of what the findings in a narrative form.

Chapter 5 discusses the results of the data presented in Chapter 4 through content analysis.

Chapter 6 ends the thesis with conclusion and recommendations.

1.10 Summary

This chapter sought to contextualise the study. It gives the background on which language-in-the education system of Botswana operates by considering the sociolinguistic profile, national language policy, the language-in education policy and the development of Setswana. Against this background, a statement of the problem is made, research objectives and questions are presented, while the scope of the study and its limitations are outlined. Finally, it provides a summary of all the chapters of this thesis. The following chapter reviews relevant literature on language policy and practice in Botswana and globally.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Introduction

First, this chapter discusses available literature on language practices and academic performance of learners. It starts by deliberating on constructivism, as it is what the curricula of primary education in Botswana is based on. After that, it elaborates on the language of learning and teaching, how it may contribute to the academic performance of learners. Since intellectualisation of African languages is a necessity in language-in-education programmes, this study also explores intellectualisation and describes the various programmes of language in education. After that, it considers the ideal duration of education in ones' first language and extensively discusses language-in-education policy and practice in Botswana.

The second section of this chapter is the theoretical framework on which this study was developed. It starts by studying the relationship between language and conceptualisation since this study is based on Cummins (2000)'s postulation that concepts become more abstract as we move to higher levels of education and so a well-developed Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) is needed by the learner to perform well. After that, the study mainly focuses on language-in-education planning which is based on the individual bilingualism models and theories. It starts by discussing the interdependence theory then it elaborates on codeswitching. Finally, it explores the emerging theory of translanguaging that is highly controversial but realistic on how fluid communication can be achieved in the classroom.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Constructivism

Literature on constructivism was considered as the education system of Botswana (according to their Mathematics and Science curriculum) employs constructivism. Constructivists believe that there is no shared reality but reality is a result of the process of constructivism. In relation to this, Duffy and Jonassen (2013) state that instructional designers base lesson content on the experience and the knowledge that the learners have when they develop instruction. They remind the learner what they have experienced and what they have seen in regards to the lesson at hand. Duffy and Jonassen (2013) also state that previous experience shapes instructional strategies as the models that are derived from the experiences of the learners reflect the instructional methods and behavioural activities. They also show "an underlying conceptualisation of what it means to learn, to understand and to instruct" (Duffy and Jonassen 2013:1). Constructivism therefore claims that we impose meaning on the world and structure it through our experiences. We structure it in many ways by attaching different meanings for

different perspectives and concepts. According to Duffy and Jonassen (2013), there is no correct meaning. In constructivism, meaning is based on and indexed by experience as pointed out by Brown, Collins and Duguid (1989). The meaning of an idea is partly made up by an experience with an idea and the environment, which the idea comes from. Therefore, that experience is useful in understanding learning. The experience of concepts in school and real world experiences are different and different authors have shown that the differences contribute to inability to transfer them from school education to real world situations. That is why constructivism emphasises using cognitive experiences in activities that are authentic as stated by Duffy and Jonassen (2013). The intention of instruction is therefore to develop the skills of the learners so that they may be able to construct and reconstruct the plans, which are procedures, rules, and principles taught to learners. However, the authors emphasise that instruction in constructivism does not transmit plans to the learners but it helps in the development of skills to construct plans as they respond to what is needed and what they can do to address the need.

Asserting to Duffy and Jonassen notion, Glasersfeld (1995) states that constructivism encourages learners' conceptual constructing. They state that education is politically motivated as it empowers learners to think independently and it is passed on to the coming generations. Glasersfeld (1995) views constructivism as operating in three premises and according to him, it also sees knowledge as instructional and therefore learners must be convinced about the best ways of thinking or acting. Most of the teachers are against constructivism in Mathematics and Science lessons as observed by the author. The author asserts that they think constructivism annuls the objective truth of these subjects but he is convinced that constructivism will make learners more enthusiastic as he states "However, I am convinced that, in general, students will be more motivated to learn something, if they can see why it will be useful to know it." Glasersfeld (1995:177). Commenting on radical constructivism, Glasersfeld (1995) points out that radical constructivism believes that there is never only one right way and therefore it could not recommend only one teaching method. He also highlights the importance of language in learning and points out that even though other causes may contribute to learners' failure language also plays a role in the achievement of learners.

Even though language does not convey knowledge, it can limit the learners' conceptual construction. Glaserfeld (2006) explains this by showing that ideas and knowledge are not converged to people through language because in the acquisition of language, language means associating words with experiences. Therefore, since people have differing experiences they

attach their own subjective meanings to other peoples' meanings to end up with intersubjective meanings, which can be changed to fit in specific contexts for compatibility. Based on the aforementioned elaboration on the subjectivity of language, Glaserfeld (2006) believes knowledge cannot be passed through language as if it a tangible object but it can be abstracted from one's own experience. This may be relevant to language practices as the learners' expression of their prior and present experiences is through languages.

Glaserfeld (2006) also states that difficulty in teaching using a language is minimised by bearing in mind that the words that are used have some links to the prior experiences of learners. This would then compel the teachers to test the learners' interpretations for compatible responses. The author observed, "When children enter school, they must learn new uses of language. This is not immediately obvious to them, nor are teachers always aware of the fact that the educational rituals of the particular discipline they are teaching differ from those of ordinary communication" (1995:182). However, in communities that do not use the LoLT as their first language, children do not only learn new uses of language but they also learn a new language. The teacher therefore has two tasks of teaching a new language and while using it, learners have to learn new uses of language but teaching involves making learners feel at home by making the lesson enjoyable. It will therefore be important to observe the language practices of young learners in Botswana who speak minority languages as their first language. According to Young (2014), in France most teachers do not receive sufficient training on how to handle multilingualism in their classes. This was discovered in the study that was carried out to investigate the attitude of teachers towards the plurilingualism of their learners and through observation of language practices and attitudes. The results showed that learners who do not speak LoLT as their first language rely on their teachers for support, which may be mostly in language so that language acquisition may be enhanced; Young (2014) claims that teachers have an impact on language planning in schools.

However, some researchers (Sweller 2003, Richard Sweller and Clark 2006) believe that minimal teacher input can be ineffective in learning. They discovered this after analysing failure of constructivist discovery, problem based and experiential teaching. They did this basing their argument on the cognitive structure of long-term memory. However, this does not in any way diverge from the constructivist point of view that knowledge is constructed from experience, that of the past, or of the present.

Language is a common resource (between the learners and the teacher) that learners bring from home to school when they begin school at Standard 1. This study will take into consideration language practices in constructivism and the extent to which they affect pedagogy in the learning and teaching of Mathematics and Science lessons in different districts at primary school levels across the aforementioned Standards. It will also explore how the language-in-education policy and practices build on to the learners' linguistic repertoire to allow them to create knowledge themselves.

2.2.2 Language in Education

Because language is an essential element in education, without language practices learning and teaching cannot take place in the classroom. The issue of which language to use for learning and teaching has always been contentious and political in many countries around the world. However, regardless of how convincing the arguments may be, the most convincing reason for language-in-education policy is the one that considers the relationship between language and cognition. The interdependence hypothesis of languages supports mother-tongue education for enhanced academic performance of learners (see Theoretical Framework in the same chapter). This hypothesis also supports bilingualism or multilingualism and therefore justifies prolonged mother-tongue education. Larochelle, Bernard and Garrison (1998) state that when children are acquiring their first language they modify the meaning of words to be compatible with that of the people they interact with, which results in what Glaserfeld (2006) calls the intersubjectivity of language. Larochelle et al. (1998) assert that to orient learners must be a starting point since they are not empty vessels. School beginners have experiences, they have lived and therefore they can interpret the teacher's communication based on their previous experiences. It is therefore necessary for the teachers to know their learners' conceptual networks even though it is difficult to get into their heads.

Larochelle et al. (1998) continue to state that the relationship between learning in the classroom and the role of language for understanding Mathematics must be studied. Participation in Science lessons is important as it shows there is a shared language that learners can use to participate with in sharing knowledge. When learners are not to use the linguistic resources that they already have to learn, it results in symbolic violence, which can cause learners to devalue their linguistic resources (see Bourdieu 1991). Based on this assertion, one may conclude that the language-in-education policy of Botswana endorses symbolic violence, as minority language speaking learners are not given a chance to use the languages that they bring to school. Even those who speak Setswana as their first language they are only given one year to use their

first language for learning and teaching as shown in the previous chapter. Therefore, this necessitates the study of language practices to have an account of what really goes on in the schools.

As seen through constructivism, people learn by engaging prior understandings and background knowledge. They also learn by integrating factual knowledge with conceptual frameworks while being supported to participate actively in the learning process (see Bransford et al. 2000). This means that it is important to revitalise prior knowledge in the learning process for learning to be accomplished, as postulated by the constructivist theory. There is therefore a need for additive bilingualism to enhance the linguistic, cognitive and academic growth of the child as stated by Cummins:

The most consistent findings among research studies are that bilinguals show more developed awareness of language (metalinguistic abilities) and that they have advantages in learning additional languages. The term additive bilingualism refers to the form of bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language. This pattern of findings suggest that the proficiency attained by bilingual students in their two languages may exert important influences on their academic and intellectual development (Cummins 2000:37)

Maintaining the first language helps in communication at home and it does not only increase the linguistic capability of the society, but it also enhances the performance of the individual learners (see Cummins 2000). Therefore, the education system should be concerned about building on this potential in the classroom and using language to empower learners from minority language speaking groups. Doing this entails using the transformative or intercultural approach which Cummins (2000) says is based on principles of equality of race and culture and therefore it is democratic and allows full participation. Cummins continues to point out that this orientation gives the students a chance to have critical literacy where they will be able to see the 'priorities of the society' (2000:46). Hence, this study intends to investigate how language in the education system is planned in a country that has democracy as its one of its five national principles as shown in Chapter 1.

The opposite of the transformative or intercultural approach is the exclusionary or assimilationist orientation that was practised in most countries before the 1960s. In policy, some countries like Botswana still use this approach. Its objective was either to assimilate minority groups or to exclude them from the mainstream and both assimilation and exclusion

can make the minority groups “invisible and inaudible” Cummins (2000:45). The result of this approach is resistant or academically disabled students who will prefer to drop out of school due to low performance. According to Cummins (2000), education tends to reproduce power relations in the society and the following are some structures that show this; submersion programs for bilingual students that actively suppress their first language and cultural identity, exclusion of culturally diverse children and streaming practices that place minority groups in lower level tracks. These structures limit the learner’s interaction at school and in the case of the minority language speakers; this amounts to exclusion in a country where a significant percentage of learners only use their first language at Standard 1. This necessitates observation of language practices to study how much Batswana learners are constricted in their interactions with the teacher.

There are two types of interaction, the macro- interactions and the micro interactions. Macrointeractions are the relationships found between majority and minority communities and they influence the education system (see Cummins 2000). As stated by Cummins (2000), discrimination and academic failure seem inseparable as minority groups who face discrimination fail academically in most cases. He continues to point out that micro-interaction occurs when the educators, communities and students meet. These interactions rely on the education system with the role of educators. These form a space of knowledge acquisition and negotiation of identity and therefore, they determine the student’s success or failure academically. Furthermore, these interactions are not neutral and they can promote coercive relations of power or collaborative relations of power, which have an impact on the academic performance of the school as pointed out by Cummins (2000). Schools with collaborative relations of power produce students who are confident in instruction because they know that they can be heard and respected in the classroom, “school amplifies rather than silences their power of self-expression” Cummins (2000:44). Multilingual African countries like Botswana need such schools to empower the children who speak minority languages.

Cummins highlights the need to maintain the first language by stating that learning in the first language can have cognitive benefits for minority language speaking learners (Cummins (1979). He gives an example of Nigeria carrying out a six-year primary school project where Nigerian students were taught in Yoruba, their first language for the first six years of their schooling. These learners had a higher academic performance than those taught in their mother tongue for first three years only (Cummins 1979). This raises some questions on the credibility of the submersion or immersion programs, which Cummins say the difference is that in the

immersion program all children with no competence in the school language start the program and receive rewards for using that language. However, in submersion programs, children with no competence in the school language mix with children who are competent in the school language and it is usually their first language. Since Botswana adopted the assimilation policy as aforementioned in chapter 1, it is not quite clear if in practice there is immersion or submersion of Batswana learners. In the submersion program when children do not perform well, it is viewed as a sign of limited ability academically or intellectually. Cummins (1979) also points out children in submersion programs are often frustrated as they cannot communicate with the teacher but in the immersion program, the teacher knows the child's language and culture and therefore can meet the needs of his or her pupils.

Setati (2005), in an analysis of a Mathematics lesson from a multilingual primary school in South Africa, found out that English functions as the language of authority, of Mathematics and assessment. Therefore, this study will also analyse language practices in Mathematics lessons to see the extent to which they influence pedagogy. In multilingual settings, the interaction between language and Mathematics is very complex. Setati, Adler, Reed and Bapoo (2002) realised the challenges of learning and teaching while the BICS is developing and abruptly switching the language of instruction before the CALP develops (the two terms will be elaborated in the theoretical framework). This they claim can affect the performance of learners.

2.2.3 Language of Learning and Teaching and academic Performance of Learners

Language alone is not the reason for enhanced or poor academic performance of learners since performance also relies on other factors like socio economic status, historical disadvantage and the quality of school management. However, many scholars posit that language-in-education policy plays a significant role in the performance of students (see Cummins 2000, Howie 2003, Brock Utne 2007, Alexander 1992). Some argue that mother-tongue education is the best even though English has enjoyed the perception of the language of upward mobility. According to Cummins (2014), English language learners, students from low socioeconomic status (SES) background and those from socially marginalised communities usually experience low academic achievement in the United States. He also states that these three factors do overlap even though they are different. According to Cummins (2014), teaching academic language across the curriculum in the presence of access to print and literacy would enhance the learners' achievement. He also mentions building on the learners' prior experience and affirming identity

of the learners as other important factors that can play a role in enhancing academic achievement of learners from socially marginalised communities. He goes on to state that the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in the United States has recognised the importance of academic language in learner performance as it emphasises teaching language in all subjects across the curriculum. Cummins (2014) states that the Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) *figure 1* provides tools for developing academic achievement as it puts more emphasis on empowerment for transformative pedagogy.

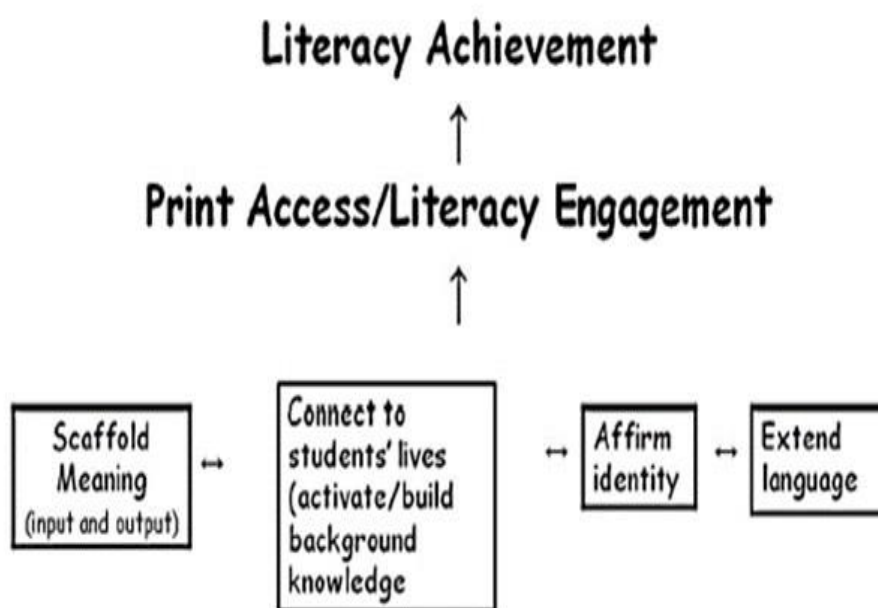


Figure 1. Systematic Functional Linguistics. Source Cummins (2014).

Cummins (2014) clarifies that underachievement of SES learners is not only caused by poor academic language proficiency but also because of symbolic and material violence by dominant groups. He explains this by pointing out that when printed material is in the language that the learner is not familiar with they are likely not to engage actively with it. Here, Cummins (2014) describes literacy engagement as reading and writing which he claims can be enhanced by using graphs or visual organisers and using L1 for clarification of content. In relation to constructivism, Cummins (2014) claims that text must connect to the learners' life to activate prior knowledge encoded to their L1 and it must also affirm learners' identities. He also points out that the students' linguistic competence is spread across the curriculum and critical pedagogy can develop students' critical literacy. If educational interactions continue to devalue

the identity of learners, Cummins et al. (2015) point out that the interventions are likely to change. He says that identity texts open up instruction for learner participation and dual language texts can be used for affirmation of identity as identity affirming texts are likely to encourage literacy engagement. Therefore, learners can use creative writing to express their identity, project or recreate it. Cummins et al. (2015) list effective elements for education for English language learners as scaffolding meaning, activating learners' background knowledge and explicit instruction of academic language. They state that learners engage with literacy when they can understand content, when they can connect content to their lives, when identity is affirmed and when academic language is explicitly developed across the curriculum.

Bilingual literacies can be used to affirm bilingual learners' identities as Haneda (2014) shows that English language in schools where English is used as a language of learning and teaching learners face a task of simultaneously learning a language while using it for learning. She points out that learners need to be proficient in academic language for academic achievement. To promote the use of academic language in class there must be collaborative activities, the learners' lived experiences must be honoured and different semiotic tools must be used for meaning making. These include vernacular and academic registers as they help learners to transform and "act on the world" (Haneda 2014: 130). According to Owen-Smith (2010), most pupils taught in a second language do not usually perform satisfactorily because they lack the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency in the language-of-learning and teaching. That is why fewer students who have African languages as their first language make it to university with passes in Mathematics and Science (see Owen-Smith 2010). Owen-Smith (2010) observes that students from rural schools do perform much better in these subjects because home languages are used alongside English at their schools. Surveys have shown that South African students perform poorly in Mathematics and science and generally, they performed lower than most participating countries (see Taylor and Coetzee 2013).

Some parents can go to the extent of suppressing their home languages even at home where they are supposed to be vital and vibrant. This becomes problematic when children try to communicate with some members of the extended family and when there is a gap, the children will question their identity and therefore undermining their self-esteem and confidence. This, Owen-Smith (2010) says can lead to 'academic disadvantage' where the child performs poorly at school. It is worth noting that Owen-Smith (2010) points out that the task team only emphasises the teaching of English and leaves out the improvement of teaching of home languages. She asserts that home languages are important; they are the foundation on which

the second language develops. As Owen- Smith (2010) points out, the multi-/bilingualism approach in the class mostly uses peer interaction. Here, learners are encouraged to use their home languages alongside the common language with peers who use the same language in discussions. The teacher uses the common language to introduce the lesson and to sum up the learning points. There are no extra teachers required and it can be used in large classes. At primary school, this model requires every child to have a language friend who will support in using the home language orally. At secondary school, the bilingual learner chooses how to use their languages effectively. To carry this out significantly would require the use parallel language texts to reinforce each other systematically.

Even though multilingualism seems costly, proper investigation needs to take place before declaring it as expensive because it has been proven viable and it is not as expensive as some think it is. As Owen- Smith (2010) points out, to make the mother-tongue education work better there must be teachers in classrooms who are able to use the best instructional materials and methodologies. This will ensure social cohesion rather than division and the language challenge will be met with minimal flaws, as the LoLT will not disadvantage anyone in the education system. In South Africa, African languages seem to be gaining support from relevant authorities (see Barkhuize and Gough 1996). They point out that the main components of language-in-education policy are factors considered when teaching a language as a subject and principles that guide choosing the medium of instruction. There is support for the bilingual language-of learning-policy as it promotes bilingualism. As stated by Taylor and Coetzee (2013), in education planning in Africa it is important to consider second language acquisition as it has become important in education. They point out South Africa as one of the African countries with a dilemma of second language acquisition in schools. About 23% speak English and Afrikaans as their first languages and these languages are developed for use in secondary school examinations.

Given the status of English as a global language, most South Africans prefer to use and learn English in comparison to Afrikaans. The proficiency of English influences better chances in life and the labour market. Taylor and Coetzee (2013) continue to state that there are questions about when and how the introduction of English to learners should take place and when the transition to English should occur. There is the immersion model that encourages straight for English education and the early exit model that happens after about three years of education. The late exit transition happens after six to eight years of education. When compared to other schools internationally, Taylor and Coetzee (2013) state that South African learners'

performance is poor in the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) 2006/2011 and the TIMSS 1995, 1999, 2003, 2011. However, they clarified the point that the impact of language in this is not clear as language usually correlates with socio-economic status and other factors as shown by Cummins (2014).

Webb (2010) points out that for learning to take place in Science education, cognitive development in both the first and the second language must be taken seriously by codeswitching (CS) where possible or by allowing the learners to first put their answers in their first language and translating it into the language of instruction. CS increases the participation, inclusion and understanding of learning. Webb and Webb (2008) draw on a pilot study conducted in the Eastern Cape where teachers were to introduce discussion in multilingual mathematics classes. The teachers were to do exploratory talk to develop mathematical reasoning so that meaningful discussions could take place. The study was undertaken in the Eastern Cape where IsiXhosa is dominantly spoken but the LoLT is English according to the school policies. However, English is rarely spoken around these learners' environment. The data has shown that CS has a positive effect in the Mathematics lesson and teachers used it in the classroom.

Brock –Utne (2007) made an observed that African learners freely express themselves in their first languages. She noticed that when using a second language for learning and teaching, only a few learners succeeded. This was from the research project of Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA). In this study, learners' performance was found to be moderate when codeswitching was used, it was worse when they were taught in English and was better when taught in their first language. The difference between the learners' performance was great when taught in English and the conclusion was that English favours a few students who have exposure to it at home. Howie (2003) also found out that in South Africa the language of learning and teaching is one of the factors that have an effect on the academic performance of learners as those with higher proficiency in English scored higher marks.

Data from Turkish University was used to determine the effect of the language of learning and teaching and it was found out that using one's second language for learning in the classroom negatively affects their performance (see Civan and Coksun 2016). This effect was higher in the first year of tertiary education; Yip and Tsang (2003) in Hong Kong observed the same effect. They found that learning science in English has a negative effect on the achievement of learners. As pointed out by Reddy (2006), learners from homes that do not speak the language

of assessment or the LoLT have a lower academic performance in Mathematics and Science. Some socio-economic factors, teaching methods and the cognitive demand in the classroom also have an effect on the performance of learners and therefore any relationship between LoLT and academic performance must be investigated (see Reddy 2006).

Since the main concern about using African languages in education has been that African languages are not developed, Owen-Smith (2010) emphasises Bamgbose's (2000) point that using them in education would help develop their corpus but if they are not used, they will remain stagnant. She suggests that the work that has been carried out at the University of Limpopo to develop the first Bilingual Degree course in South Africa (English and Sesotho sa Leboa) should continue in South African university language departments to promote bilingual education. This means intellectualisation of African languages will prepare them for use across all levels of education and in different domains.

2.2.4 Intellectualisation

As defined by Sibayan (1999), an intellectualised language is a language that can be used as a language of learning and teaching from preschool to tertiary education. Alexander (2007) points out that intellectualisation works well in the promotion of mother-tongue education from preschool to tertiary and universities can contribute significantly to intellectualisation of African languages through translation. Therefore, register for formal education is usually considered in intellectualisation, as a rich corpus of literature characterises an intellectualised language. Gonzalez (2002) shows that all languages can be intellectualised and she states that there are different levels of intellectualisation that can be realised by asking the following questions: is the language used for learning and teaching and at which level is it used: lower, mid or upper? In what subjects is it used? How is it used in abstract terms? Sibayan (1999)'s definition of intellectualisation is expanded by Liddicoat (2002) who states that intellectualisation means developing "new linguistic resources for discussing and disseminating conceptual material at high levels of abstraction" Liddicoat (2002:1). The latter definition does not only focus on language and education but it includes all linguistic resources in all domains. Madiba and Finlayson (2002) view intellectualisation as language planning that requires allocation of resources. They state that intellectualisation of African languages is ongoing in South Africa and they claim that the constitutional framework of a country plays a role in language planning because the process needs a committed national language policy.

Like Alexander (2007) and Gonzalez (2002), Madiba (2010) considers translation as a necessity in the process of intellectualisation.

In their article on terminology development, Ramani, Kekana, Modiba and Joseph (2007) view language as a resource (see Ruiz 1984) and they make a case for the use of African languages for learning and teaching at higher institutes of learning after implementing a dual-medium Bachelor of Arts degree using English and Sesotho sa Leboa at University of Limpopo. This project showed that corpus development of a language does not have to come first as language can develop while in use in the classroom. They found out that the learners and the facilitators could both participate in the terminology development of African languages while taught in the same languages. Therefore, Ramani et al. (2007) recommend the use of African languages for learning and teaching just as they are because the development of terminology can occur while they are in use.

2.2.5 Programmes of language in education

Language is the basic resource in construction of knowledge about the world even if language practices around the world are becoming complex. It is therefore very useful in the classroom and it must be planned. The language of learning and teaching at primary schools is very vital in function of education production and therefore it is imperative for an effective education system to undertake language planning. Many countries retained language of their former colonisers as the language of learning and teaching. In these countries, the first language receives minimal support and national unity is supported above regional unity. Developing countries choose to use other languages for learning and teaching because their languages are not well developed. However, the best way to teach children has been showed to be through their first language so that they may understand what the teacher is saying and therefore succeed academically (see Cummins 2000).

Unfortunately, many language-in-education programs do not use the learners' first language and so there is no time for the development of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency in both languages education (see Trudell and Young 2016). As stated by Gutierrez, Lopez and Tejeda (1999), contexts of learning are hybrid, as they are multivoiced and polycontextual.

Therefore, conflicts and tension cannot be avoided in learning since "...in many classroom communities, teachers may not recognise nor have the training necessary to see diversity and difference and the resulting hybridity as resources for creating new spaces." Gutierrez et al. (1999: 288). Hybridity therefore is proposed as a useful perspective for understanding learning

events. The authors view hybridity as a way of appreciating diversity in schools as they found out that in the classroom there are official and unofficial spaces of learning and these are made up with oppositional discourses and practices. They are transformative and mutually constitutive. These tensions go against normal practices and bring about the emergence of hybrid activities. However, the authors found out that some classrooms do not accommodate this and others appreciate them for development. According to Gutierrez et al. (1999: 289), these are 'third spaces' that bridge school and home. Since some languages of Botswana are not included in the language policy, third spaces in Botswana education system may or may not exist therefore it is important to observe language practices. Hybrid language patterns involve the use of local knowledge, narrative and personal experiences by using the linguistic repertoire of learners as a resource. Here, no language is privileged and the learners' languages are used in collaboration since using hybrid language practices is important in promoting learning.

Children must be introduced to education in their L1 so that the development of their language may be encouraged for cognitive development and for facilitation of L2 and L3. Multilingual and bilingual acquisition can happen simultaneously, formally, successfully or just naturally. Additive bilingualism happens when L1 is valued and L2 acquisition does not substitute it. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism occurs when a second language replaces the L1. This can have a negative cognitive effect but additive bilingualism can have a positive impact.

The following are language programs that have been used in schools around the world.

2.2.5.1 Submersion and Immersion

Submersion programmes expose learners to an additional language without placing any value to their L1 in learning. In this program, also known as 'sink or swim' teaching and learning is only done in the second language throughout. Skutnabb-Kangas in Garcia and Baker (1995) points out in a submersion programme learners do not have a choice and their first language is therefore threatened, as this programme is a subtractive programme. She points out that by 1995 submersion programmes were common in some countries like Sweden and were used to educate minorities and migrants in the United Kingdom. This usually results in the dominance of majority languages and poor academic performance of learners in this programme. According to Baker and Jones (1998), language-in-education programmes like submersion and transitional are sometimes referred to as bilingual education programmes mainly because they contain bilingual learners but this is not appropriate, as their main intention is not to foster

bilingualism. Skutnabb-Kangas in Garcia and Baker (1995) concurs with Baker and Jones (1998) and points out transitional programmes are submersion programmes. The submersion programme is not effective as it negatively affects the learners' reading skills and therefore does not help the cognitive development of the learner. According Baker and Jones (1998), this is the weakest type of bilingual education as it promotes subtractive bilingualism. It is whereby children are immediately taught through the majority language. The aim of this bilingual education is for the learner to use majority language in the classroom. Here most of the children fail because they are faced with two tasks of learning the language while using it for learning. This results in many learners failing to achieve their potential. They also have low self-esteem and low self-confidence, as they feel alienated.

The immersion programme derives from some Canadian bilingual education programmes. It is an additive bilingual education programme. This means that it adds a second language to the learner while maintaining their first and using it as a resource in the education system. It is noticeable in Canada where there are English and French immersion schools. As indicated by Baker and Jones (1998), it began in Montreal in 1965 to foster bilingualism in Kindergarten class without lowering their academic performance or their attitudes. There is early immersion, delayed immersion and late immersion. In the review of immersion education in Canada, Cummins and Swain (2014) found that learners in early immersion programmes performed like others in the English as a language of learning classes. It was realised that the objectives of the immersion programme were achieved in Canada as learners also showed a positive attitude towards this programme. Cummins and Swain (2014) emphasise that the language of assessment in the immersion programme has to be considered and initial literacy is best introduced in one language. In their analysis, the two authors found that learners in the immersion programme take up to six or seven years to be able to show average grades of performance in the second language.

2.2.5.2 Some mother-tongue instruction

This is often practiced to conform to policy. The child is only given limited exposure to mother tongue and quickly they switch to the second language. Teachers can informally do this to explain some concepts to learners in their mother tongue. Even though this practice may enjoy some public support, the disadvantages are that it has some negative impacts on the development of both the child's first language and the second language. The main aim of this model is to quickly switch to the official or foreign language as a medium of instruction (see

Ouane and Glanz 2011). This model is prevalent in African countries that inherited them from colonisation. In more mother-tongue instruction, the learner uses their mother tongue as a language of teaching and learning for a significant period at primary school. They are introduced to their second language orally at Grade 1 and it is gradually increased until they can use it as a medium of instruction. This is an effective program if used under good conditions. It encourages parental involvement and it can prevent language shift.

2.2.5.3 Three tier instruction

This is a program where the child begins with their mother tongue, then they are taught in a lingua franca and finally they use the language of wider communication as a medium of instruction. As pointed out by Ouane and Glanz (2011), this involves using a regional language of wider communication and an international language of wider communication. However, this program may be expensive and ineffective when the lingua franca is not well developed or when it is not valued. Bilingual education can be defined in different ways. Originally, it meant using two languages for learning and teaching. It also includes learning two languages. However, nowadays it is defined differently like in the United States where it can mean using mother tongue as a medium of instruction followed by using the second language for the remaining time (see Ouane and Glanz 2011).

Dutcher and Tucker (1996) point out that the child's first language is not only important in learning but is also important in the acquisition of the child's second language as the child takes twelve years to fully develop their first language. This therefore means six years before school and six years in school (used as a medium of instruction) is ideal for the development of the learner's first language. According to Dutcher (1996: 36), "the first language is essential for the initial teaching of reading, and for comprehension of subject matter. It is necessary foundation for the cognitive development upon which acquisition of the second language is based." This therefore emphasises Cummins interdependence hypothesis of languages as elaborated earlier.

However, most of the countries in Africa prefer the subtractive language education model, which takes out the child's first language as medium of learning and teaching (see Heugh 2011). Anglophone countries now mostly prefer early exit or no mother-tongue education at all. However, because the children come to school with a language that they use at home, the expectation is that this language can be further developed for use in formal education for literacy. Another expectation is the enhancement of the learners' thinking skills through

classroom activities. Also, literacy development and language learning is expected to take place in every lesson across the curriculum. Heugh (2011:119) states that, “As the curriculum becomes progressively challenging through the school system, so too do the literacy and linguistic requirements. Students need to continue to develop their literacy and language expertise...” She continues to point out that however, in Africa learners are expected to do this in their second language learnt at school.

Heugh concurs with the theory of prolonged learning in the learner’s first language as the child needs about six to eight years of learning their second language as a subject before it can be used for learning and teaching (see Heugh 2011). The author asserts one cannot expect a child to learn a language and use it for learning at the same time. If this is done hurriedly, the child will perform poorly in content subjects and they will not learn the second language well enough; research in Africa shows that children can learn a second language well and excel in other subjects. This can happen under the following types of bilingual or multilingual programs: mother-tongue education throughout primary and secondary education, additive bilingual education where mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction for six to eight years, and very late transition to second language, for example, on the ninth year of education.

Using the mother tongue for learning and teaching reflects the multilingual nature of Africa and it does not reject the study of other languages. Using it throughout schooling has a positive impact on the learning of a second language and therefore it is important to base the language policy on the society’s vision (see Ouane and Glanz 2011).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) points out that using a second language for learning and teaching can reduce the diversity of language and culture in the planet as education systems tend to be monolingual and in most cases using foreign languages, which seem sufficient, desirable and irreplaceable. This is not because there is lack of knowledge about the importance of preservation of languages by assigning them some functions, but it is because of power relations in our communities. As Skutnabb-Kangas points out “Ignorance about language (s) is not the main reason for the killing of languages, though power relations, including structural forces, are. Formal education is, together with mass media a main killer of languages.” Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:29).

The above literature shows that there are three types of language-in-education programmes being immersion, submersion and maintenance programmes. Immersion programmes promote

additive bilingualism, submersion programs promote subtractive bilingualism and maintenance programmes promote maintenance of the first language while the child is acquiring L2.

However, in multilingual settings the above-mentioned programs are not easy to maintain as learners use their full linguistic repertoire at school and this leads to CS and CM.

2.2.6 Ideal Duration of Learning and teaching in the learner's first language

Different scholars agree that learners must have at least 5 years of mother-tongue education for their cognitive development (see Cummins 1984 and Baker 1996). They posit that education is very important in the construction of value that is in language and therefore it is best in mother tongue. As espoused by Baker (1996), using one's first language in the learning process provides contextualisation of the knowledge that has been acquired within the pre-existing knowledge. Therefore, using mother tongue in the acquisition of knowledge allows the pupils to be able to produce knowledge in the learning process. This is emphasised by Cummins et al (2005) who point out that active learning takes place when students can identify with texts or instruction.

According to threshold theory, introducing a child's second language as a medium of learning and teaching too early in education, (before at least 5 years) can lead to low CALP (see Cummins 2000). CALP enables students to perform more cognitively in demanding tasks like problem solving, abstract thinking and context learning in content subjects. However, when the learner's second language is used for learning and teaching before their Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) in the first language is ready, this can lead to poor performance in general and learners can have low proficiency in both languages (Cummins (1979a). The CUP is the basis of development for both languages therefore, it cannot be realised through mother-tongue education. Because Batswana learners according to policy are only expected to use Setswana for learning and teaching at Standard 1, it will be challenging to transfer the CALP they have in Setswana to the second language, which in the case of Botswana, is English.

As indicated by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), government that cares about empowerment for every citizen puts in place policies that do not exclude any group of citizens within its country. The language policy of the language-in-education policy that it develops should not only favour certain people because this shows intolerance of diversity and can lead to what Skutnabb-Kangas call 'linguistic genocide' (2000: x). Skutnabb-Kangas points out that linguistic genocide is the killing of languages and schools do it every day. She has observed that this

occurs through forcing children to move from one group, indigenous or minority to the dominant group. This, she continues to point out is done through forced cultural and linguistic assimilation. This force comes in different forms and an example can be through the language-in-education policy. This policy is able to assimilate forcefully because education is a necessity nowadays and parents will have no option but to register their children at local schools even if they do not provide mother-tongue education.

According to Dutcher, "Cognitive development contributes to language development" Dutcher (1996:2). This means that the duration in first language as a language of learning and teaching has an impact on the thinking skills of a learner in the classroom and on the development of their second language. However, more exposure to the second language does not improve learning in the second language as some may think (see Dutcher 1996). Dutcher continues to point out that in Haitian schools, it was realised that the learners' mother tongue had no negative impact on the second language learning and there must be well-trained teachers. In Nigeria, a multilingual country in Africa with more than 400 languages, the six-year primary project which Cummins makes some reference to was undertaken and it was found out that six years of mother-tongue education did not lead to poorer performance than other students in traditional classes, in fact they performed better. They also found that the six-year mothertongue education project also benefited the learners socially. This therefore showed that an indigenous African Language can be used as a medium of instruction and using mother tongue can facilitate cognitive development on which second language development depends. They also found that fewer programs teach the language of wider communication to learners who use a different language from the one of wider communication.

As indicated by Thomas and Collier (2002), for learners to succeed, about six years in language in education is needed for development of cognitive academic proficiency in the language to be used later. This suggests that the introduction of English as the medium of instruction as early as Standard 1 in Botswana is too soon to facilitate any cognitive development. The home languages of the learners must be used and maybe English should be first introduced as a subject and its use be delayed until the learners have developed reasonable mastery in it for six years. Socio-culturally supportive environments should be promoted and effective material and methods of instruction must be implemented for bilingual education to benefit the learners. Some schools have tried a pedagogical method of integrating content and language teaching to enhance the acquisition of academic language.

2.2.7 Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Coyle (1999) calls for the development of curricular to match the dynamic perspectives of learners and their environments for competency and confidence in communication. According to Dalton-Puffer (2007), content teachers are concerned about teaching a second language on content subjects because language teaching may slow down coverage of the subject matter. Using a language of learning and teaching that learners are not proficient in can reduce the complexity of the subject matter learnt or taught. This shows that the concern is more on depth and coverage. Therefore, if simplified academic language were to be used in content subjects in favour of minority language speakers this would affect the quality of education delivered to them. Dalton-Puffer (2007) points out that CLIL programmes may be content driven or language driven. The main aim of CLIL is to improve learners' proficiency in the target language, to develop their communication skills and to create awareness of L1 and L2 and to introduce a target language.

According to Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010), the European Network of Administrators and Practitioners adopted CLIL around 1995. It means learning a language in a non-language subject where both language and the subject matter have a function to play. They also highlight that CLIL is dynamic and flexible. It also provides value added education for learners as it involves subject teachers and language teachers working together to really integrate content and language learning. CLIL does not place preference on neither language nor content subjects. It brings change to the way language subject lessons have been taught traditionally. They also point out that CLIL allows learners to use language in different contexts and it is good for learners' comprehension skills. They state that "CLIL involves learning to use language appropriately while using language to learn effectively" Coyle et al. (2010:9). CLIL use the 4Cs framework that integrates Communication, Content, Cognition and Culture in the middle as shown in *figure 2*.

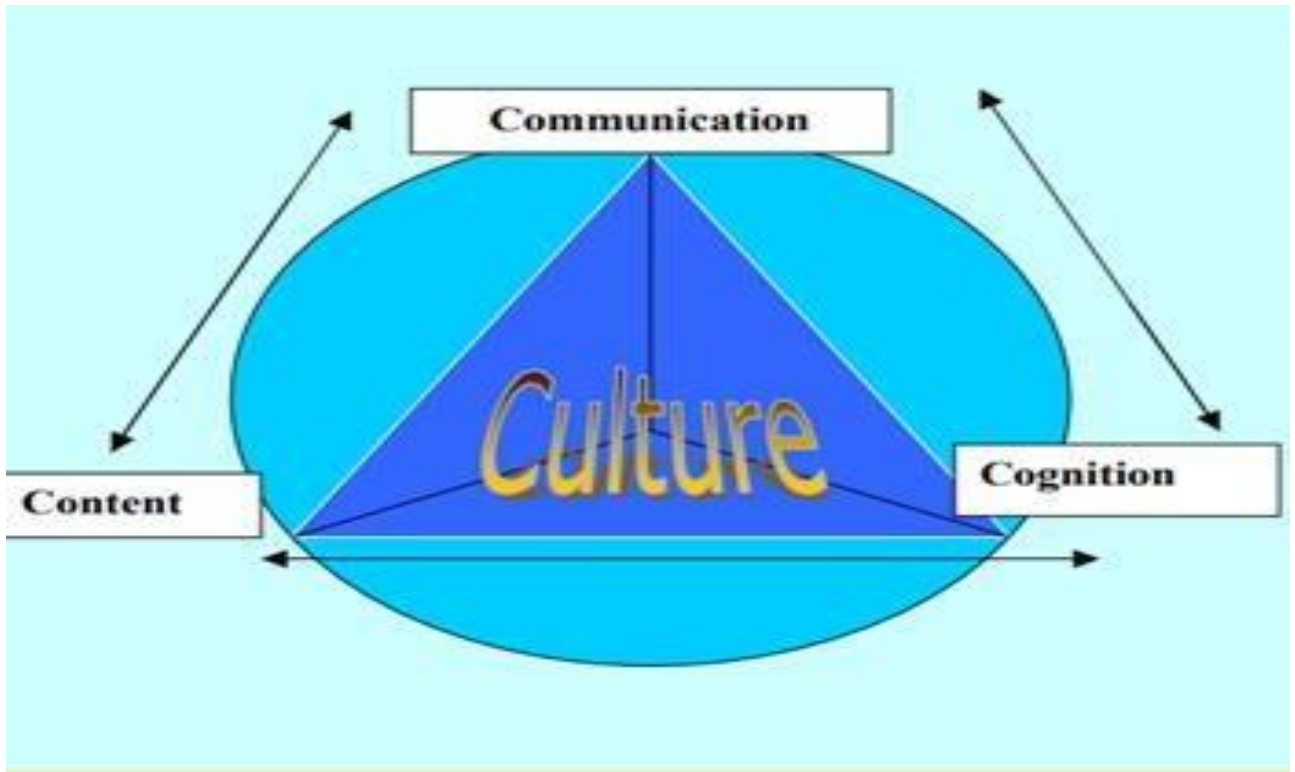


Figure 2. 4Cs Framework. Source Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010).

2.2.8 Language of Teaching and Learning in Botswana

Scholars like Batibo (2006), Nyati-Ramahobo (1999) and Maruatona (2002) have written about language-in-education policies that the RNPE and BNLP policies encapsulate. The ECCE language-in-education policy recommends using flexibly the dominant language in the child's environment for introduction of some concepts. It does not state the use of other languages, despite this, English medium pre-schools are mushrooming in Botswana and the Botswana government has already rolled out preschool in the ministry of basic education. It has begun to register some children for pre-school and so it will be important to study the practice on the ground and see which medium learning is facilitated in and if it will be advantageous for the academic achievement of children. As it will be shown later, most of the scholars have critiqued the language-in-education policy of Botswana by showing how it excludes the minorities but they have not included the ECCE in their criticism.

Botswana learners who are required to switch quickly to using a second language as a medium of instruction may have a poor Cognitive Academic Proficiency (CALP) or it may disrupt their acquisition and they may lose interest on what the school teaches (see Ball 2010). It is therefore advisable to note that English for minority language speakers is a third language and Setswana is their second. This means that there is an abrupt switch from their first language to Setswana

and another abrupt switch from Setswana to English as a medium of instruction in less than 3 years of education including preschool education. In Botswana the 'too early exit' education for minority language speaking children or bilingual education for those who have Setswana as their mother tongue, have been going on for long despite the UNESCO recommendations and much criticism of lack of mother-tongue education.

According to the ECCE, there should be flexible use of a language dominant in the child's area in the introduction of concepts. The RNPE recommends the use of Setswana only at standard 1, then English takes over as a medium of instruction from standard 2. At first, the BNLP only allowed the use of Setswana and English as mediums of instruction but in 2010 after changing its focus to institutionalise the out of school and non-formal education, the policy allowed the use of minority languages in non-formal education.

Botswana's education policy marginalises the minority languages of Botswana. It is important to note that as aforementioned, the RNPE informs the language policy of Botswana therefore Botswana does not have a comprehensive language policy and formal language planning at the macro level. In relation to this, Bamgbose (2000) posits that inferred language policy has some implications on all citizens. Those who are included have access to political and economic power because of education. He continues to point out that one of reasons for excluding indigenous African languages in the language-in-education policy is that African languages are not developed. In Botswana, there must be other reasons because Adeyemi (2008) makes it clear that six indigenous African languages of Botswana are developed and are ready for use as mediums of instruction at lower primary but not even one is used. Additionally, harmonisation could be also be used to group intelligible minority languages of Botswana for development as this will be cheaper than developing them individually (see Batibo 2005).

Formal language planning at the macro level ended in 1997 after an unapproved report of the BLC. This was after the RNPE ordered the then National Setswana Language Council (NSLC) to change its name to Botswana Languages Council (BLC) as per a recommendation from the RNPE as it was realised that Botswana was multilingual. However, the only thing we know about the report is that the BLC submitted it and it was not approved, but its contents are not disclosed (see Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). The media mainly favours English and Setswana to a lesser extent. Nyati-Ramahobo has observed that since independence there is no data on ethnic or linguistic composition of the country on the national census. However, looking at the ECCE and the ABEP, one can conclude that these two policies show an assimilation tolerance model

as it prescribes some language but provides room for other languages without any commitment to them.

Batibo (2006) points out only two languages out of 28 that the language policy recognises therefore marginalising the minority languages. Maruatona (2002) echoes the same sentiments and Nyati-Ramahobo (2000) points out that there is no language in the constitution; the language policies are vague and full of avoidance, no linguistic data on the census. In addition, lack of political will in embracing multilingualism shows that indeed Botswana views diversity as a problem (see Ruiz Orientations in language Planning 1984 and Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). If Botswana viewed language as a right or a resource, the language-in-education policy could have at least included some minority languages. However, only English and Setswana are visible in the language policy. This therefore means the minority language-speaking children are implicitly excluded in Botswana classrooms through language as their first language, which they acquired naturally, as their mother tongue is not recommended for use by the RNPE. According to Kamwangamalu (2004), a language-in-education policy should not ignore the relevance of language as an element with some benefit to individuals and the relevance of language as an element that defines economic processes.

In Botswana, at the fact finding and planning stage the NSLC found that educators value what is valued by society and less emphasis is placed on Setswana. The education system of Botswana values economic and social mobility over cultural identity. They also found that Setswana must be able to generate income for its citizens for the NSLC to value it. Therefore, English was valued for upward social mobility over Setswana, which was valued for cultural identity. As a final point, cultural identity was not seen as a strong reason to be the basis for teaching a subject or using a language for teaching and learning because economic value must be attached to a subject or language (see Nyati-Ramahobo 1991). This is because opportunity planning is not done for languages of Botswana in the education system and therefore these languages remain passive and English and other world languages like French and Chinese continue to be assigned some functions in the education system of Botswana as they are taught as subjects. As espoused by Kamwangamalu (2002), mother-tongue education has to be treated as a marketing problem for it to appeal to the intended community. The challenge that Botswana is facing is that no price can be attached to a language that is not visible in the language policy as that means it has no function in the public sphere. This therefore means indigenous African languages including Setswana are not of any tangible value to Botswana and therefore Botswana are not interested in them.

Setswana and English, which are the languages used as mediums of instruction, are not even comprehensible to some pupils and therefore they cannot facilitate learning. For example, Setswana is foreign to most of the minority languages speaking children and English is a foreign language for use by Batswana from the second year of primary education. This leads to low academic performance, high school dropouts and low self-confidence of minority languages speaking pupils (see Batibo 2006 and Bamgbose 2000). Even though the language-in-education policy in the RNPE “sought” to improve the Primary School Leaving Examination results at standard 7 by increasing the years of English as a medium of instruction from standard 2, it also coincidentally reflects political power (see Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). None of the ruling elites is from a minority language community and all the recommendations that intended to make visible the minority languages were deferred in the RNPE. This therefore shows a biased language-in-education policy that only benefits a few and to a lesser extent Batswana who speak Setswana as their first language as Setswana is only to be used at standard 1 as a medium of instruction.

A language policy that shows intolerance of diversity leads to ‘linguistic genocide’ (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Different scholars have shown that language policy statements are not usually a result of planning and planning does not always result in a policy (see Hornberger 1994 and Fettes 1997). Indeed, this is true in Botswana as the language-in-education policy is just a written statement that is not relevant to the realities of language in Botswana. In schools in different districts, teachers and students informally plan their own medium of communication in class to facilitate learning. Codemixing and minority languages can be used but crises arise when a teacher who speaks Setswana as their first language is posted to a school in a district where a minority language is dominant as such classrooms will be marked by silence (see Mokibelo 2014 and Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). Indeed, a decentralised language-in-education policy that embraces multilingualism would save the minority language speaking pupils as it will allow different districts to address language problems that they encounter; Maruatona (2001) suggested this from an Adult Education perspective. Nyati-Ramahobo (1999) recommends a mother-tongue education decentralised model. The implementation of a decentralised policy would correct the mismatch between policy and practice on the ground by addressing the needs of exclusive minority groups, heterogeneous communities with Setswana as the dominant language, heterogeneous communities with a minority language as the dominant language and Setswana speaking groups.

Some pedagogical theories favour the use of first language for instruction until the learners have attained academic proficiency. Cummins theory as stated before encourages using a child's first language as medium of instruction for a considerable number of years before switching to another language for a child to cognitively benefit. Brock Utne (2007) states that mother-tongue based education should be prolonged as learners understand well when taught in their first language. Therefore, a policy that uses dominant languages flexibly for 2 years then Setswana for 1 year and English at standard 2 is likely to produce poor performing students according to this theory. This is what different scholars have not explicitly studied in relation to language-in-education theory.

There is generally no mother-tongue education in the language-in-education policy of Botswana. However, practically the reality on the ground necessitates mother-tongue education and therefore the children's first language can facilitate teaching and learning (see NyatiRamahobo 2000, Mokibelo 2014 and Batibo 2000). From 1977 to 1993, policy recommended the use of Setswana as a medium of instruction from standard 1 to 4 and because PSLE students were performing poorly academically, the RNPE reduced and limited the use of Setswana as a medium of instruction to standard 1 in the education system. Actually, Batswana wanted the whole education system to use English from standard 1 for improved PSLE results but Setswana was only given 1 year for nationalism as a symbolically unifying language of the nation of Botswana as stated in the RNPE (see Nkosana 2011). Even if Botswana used the 1977 policy still there would be no mother-tongue education policy in Botswana as the other 26 languages of Botswana do not appear anywhere in the policy.

As stated earlier, a model for implementation of mother-tongue education was recommended (see Nyati Ramahobo 1997) but no efforts were made to implement it because Botswana views diversity of languages as a problem and therefore there is hope that the dominantly English language-in-education policy would enhance the learners' performance. This is because of the assimilationist policy for nation building that Botswana used after its independence in 1966. Nyati-Ramahobo (1999), recommends a mother-tongue education model that has four programmes to cater for minority and majority language speakers. According to NyatiRamahobo (1999), mother-tongue education should be strictly upheld from standard 1 up to Standard 4 and the policy should allow the learners to use Setswana as a medium of learning and to study 2 other subjects using English as a medium of learning from Standard 5. The author states that this model would allow the parents to participate in their children's education; it would enhance national unity and link home and school for better academic performance.

However, it is already 2016 and there is no sign of mother-tongue education in Botswana as the policy continues to exclude the minority language-speaking children. This problem of language exclusion has relates to the way language policies are formulated (see Bamgbose 2000). This therefore questions the adequacy of language planning practices in Botswana that do not minimise exclusion.

Arthur (2001), like Mokibelo (2014), argues that the realities of language in the classroom must be considered in educational language planning and implementation. Arthur (1996) made an observation that even though there is strong support of English as a language of learning and teaching in Botswana, it is only teachers who codeswitch but students are not allowed to do this. However, this study was conducted in a standard 6 class when the RNPE (1994) was not yet implemented therefore this means the learners were in their second year of using English as a language of learning. Now because it has been 23 years after the implementation of the RNPE things might be different since English is to be used as a language of learning and teaching from standard 2 therefore another study on the language of learning and teaching in practice would be necessary in Botswana primary schools.

Arthur (2001) rightfully cautions against confusing demand with practical or communicative needs. Mokibelo (2015b), who in her study examined language planning at the micro level in rural primary schools, where minority languages were dominant observed the communicative needs of language in the classrooms at primary level. She found out that to address learners' communicative needs in education the schools use cooks, teacher aides and other learners to help by translation. However, none of these people had received any training in translating for educational purposes and therefore the gap that is influenced by the policy, which mostly promotes English and Setswana to a lesser extent remains open. Consequently, this affects the achievement of learners (see Jotia and Pansiri 2013). The PSLE results from 2004-2011 are poor and schools in non-Setswana speaking areas' performance is worse than those who speak Setswana as their primary language as pointed out by Pansiri (2008) who found out that this is caused by the fact that most teachers in remote areas do not speak the mother tongue of learners.

Kasule and Mapolelo (2005) in their study conducted in Botswana state that a language of instruction in Mathematics class can have an impact on the academic achievement of learners. They admit English is vital in learning Mathematics but an effective teacher has some strategies that they employ in class to reach the goal of teaching and these are different from an individual

level to school level. The learners' home language and the language of assessment are in conflict as learners bring into class the language that they speak at home but assessments are set in a second language. This puts the teacher in a dilemma because learners who do not speak the teacher's mother tongue are disadvantaged academically. The authors felt it was gratifying that the approach to multilingualism is changing because of the Vision 2016. However, it is already 2016 but there has been no implementation towards the goal of having mother-tongue education in Botswana. They also found that the difference between learners' first language and LoLT is a significant factor in the performance of learners but at school, CS is often used as a strategy of teaching in Botswana (see Kasule and Mapolelo 2005, Arthur 1996, Mkwathi and Webb 2013). According to Barwell et al (2007), CS can allow the learners and teachers to react when discussing concepts even if CS has been stigmatised as it suggests incompetency in English (see Kamwangamalu 2000).

Arthur's (1996) study investigated the interaction of learners and teachers in standard 6 classes in Botswana. This was when English was used as a LoLT from standard 4. The study focused more on CS that was participant related. This kind of CS was used to encourage students to participate "however, it emerges as a ground rule of discourse in these classrooms that pupils answering teachers were not free to switch from English, the officially approved classroom language to Setswana" (Arthur 1996:17). This, Arthur relates to the question and answer performances that were commonly used in the lessons that were observed. CS can be used socially in the classroom to make a close relationship between the learner and the teacher. Pedagogically, CS does not have a detrimental effect on the lesson and so, it cannot slow down the pace of the lesson. It enhances the learner's understanding of the lesson. It also encourages participation through collaboration. CS develops the corpus of language through borrowing. However, it hinders learner participation if the lesson is taught in English as they only wait to take part when Setswana is used. It has a negative impact on the confidence of learners when communicating in English. It does not have any impact or roles to play in written communication as it is used orally.

Arthur refers to the roles of teachers and learners as staged whereby learners are performers and teachers are directors and co-actors, and they can use Setswana at 'backstage' (1996:18). Her study was conducted in a minority language speaking area and in an area where the national language is dominantly spoken. Another study will need to be conducted in an area where the minority language is dominantly spoken. In one of the transcripts, Arthur found that it was clear that the hierarchical values of languages of Botswana were explicitly shown to students.

Only in 1 class did the teacher and the learners share a mother tongue; teachers codeswitched to meet the needs of their learners. However, the learners were not allowed to codeswitch. Even though they felt compelled by policy to use English exclusively, most teachers did not admit CS was part of the classroom. Arthur found out that teachers used discourse related switching to encourage learners, to praise them, or to move to another stage of the lesson. Arthur also found that the teachers used participant related switching as a facilitating strategy. Tag questions were used to elicit chorus responses. Some Setswana expressions were used to symbolise solidarity like “*ke reeditse tsala yame*” (my friend, I’m listening). Since learners were not allowed to CS they could not speak in Setswana after the teacher’s invitation to use the language. Teachers used CS as a Hetero-Facilitative Strategy where literal translations were used and new information was not added. It was used as facilitative repetition. In her data, only learners used CS from English to Setswana. Batswana learners were not free to use their mother tongue in the classroom for participation. In addition, in the classrooms, talk was distributed asymmetrically as the teacher engaged with the students who were not proficient in English.

In the rural areas of Botswana, English is foreign as it is only transmitted through school. Mokgwathi and Webb (2013) undertook a study conducted at four senior schools in Botswana where observation and questionnaires were used to collect data. It was found that CS is used in the classrooms as Setswana is dominantly spoken and learners are not proficient in English. The study only focused on communication with no access to written work. Therefore, it could not assess the effects of CS on learners’ performance. It focused on History, Biology, Home Economics and English. The participation of learners was minimal. The results cannot be generalised as the study focused on 4 schools in one region.

Kasule and Mapolelo (2005) found that teaching Mathematics at primary school level using a second language is a challenge since there are monolingual, bilingual and multilingual classrooms. They point out that language problems are underestimated and this results in codeswitching because learners are encouraged to use English even though some young people face a challenge of using a different mother tongue from their teachers. They also state, “Conversely, each learners mother tongue is the key to the world and a means of alleviating the abstract nature of classroom learning events” (Kasule and Mapolelo 2005:602). Like Maruatona (2001), they suggest decentralisation to address the language problem in schools. However, Bagwasi (2017) points out that language practices in Botswana have significantly changed over the years because of developments but language planning in the country does not address the issue of multilingualism as it continues to separate languages. She points out that

though this policy allows for the use of Setswana, it is monolingual and her article calls for translanguaging to be for pedagogy in Botswana schools. However, according to MacSwan (2017) as the next section of the same chapter will elaborate, translanguaging is just an ideology if taken from Garcia's unitary model. It is not possible if it does not support codeswitching and so advocating for just translanguaging is ideological, just like advocating for monolingualism in a multilingual country like Botswana.

However, Makalela (2014)'s study has shown that translanguaging can be effective as this was shown by Nguni students learning Sepedi. Makalela (2015) also demonstrates that in South Africa, most of the learners come from multilingual backgrounds and they can speak about four languages. He highlighted that these learners defy the notion of mother tongue as they can use all these languages flexibly. These learners have the potential to change monolingual classrooms. Makalela (2015)'s study has shown that translanguaging has both social and cognitive advantages and that the fluidity of language use in translanguaging is culturally and linguistically transformative. Using the *ubuntu* translanguaging model Makalela (2015) shows the necessity of practicing translanguaging for epistemic access as multilingual behaviour is natural in this era. He argues that the *ubuntu* translanguaging model shows *ubuntu* as it recognises the interdependence of languages. Based on this view, *Botho* or mutual respect, responsibility and accountability are also one of the five national principles of Botswana as highlighted in Chapter 1/Vision 2016 and so it will be important to see if in language practices some translanguaging practices occur as a sign of *ubuntu/botho* in the education system of Botswana.

Even though the approach to education in Botswana has changed dramatically over the past years, language remains a problem that the education system of Botswana does not address. It is easy to notice how the government, the ministry of education, teachers and even students have embraced inclusive education from primary school to tertiary. Classrooms are becoming more inclusive and there is the use of more resources to include every Motswana regardless of their differences. However, the education system of Botswana takes the exclusion of minority language speaking children as a norm because of assimilation and appearing to 'fit in'. This means that at standard 1 teachers in areas where dominant languages are not Setswana are faced with 2 tasks of educating the children (in Setswana according to policy for only that year) and teaching them Setswana at the same time. It has been observed that the most affected are the Khoe learners whom English is their fourth or fifth language but they are expected to use

English proficiently from standard 2 as a language of teaching and learning. From primary school to junior secondary school, the Khoe learners have reading problems in English and they perform very poorly in examinations as compared to other learners who speak Setswana, the national language of Botswana, as their mother tongue (see Mokibelo 2010). At standard 2 pupils will have to switch to English as their medium of instruction and this according to Cummins (1986), will have a negative impact on the comprehension of pupils, their acquisition of basic literacy skills and their motivation and cognition will be negatively affected.

Although the article mentions Botswana as one of the countries that favoured the use of African languages in teaching (see Bamgbose 2004), currently the opposite is happening. When Botswana gained independence in 1966, English was the main language of education, with Setswana as a medium of learning and teaching only from Standard 1 to 3. The National Commission on Education 1977 (NCE I) as highlighted before then increased the duration of Setswana as a language of learning and teaching from Standard 1 up to 4. In 1992 as mentioned earlier, NCE II formulated the Revised National Policy in Education (RNPE) in 1994, which reduced the years of Setswana as a language of learning and teaching to only 1. The following chart illustrates this.

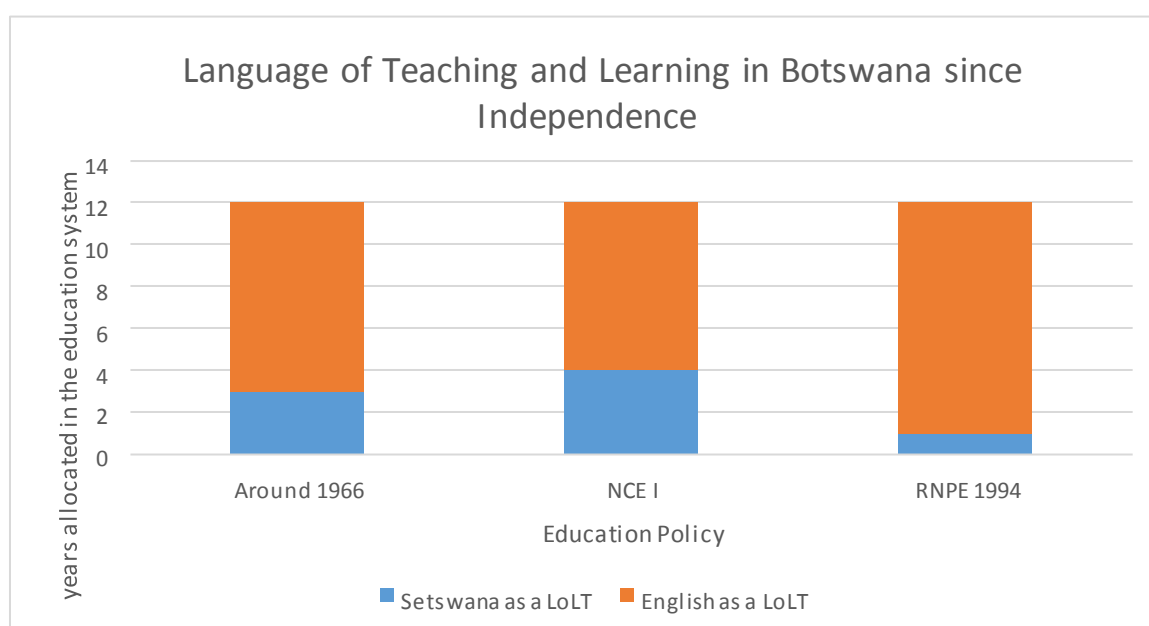


Figure 3 Language of Teaching and Learning in Botswana since Independence (as recommended by policy)

Teachers are aware that when a language like English is a medium of instruction, there will be code mixing and switching (see Mokibelo 2014a and Bamgbose 2004). In a study conducted at senior secondary schools in North Eastern Botswana, it was found that code switching

between English and Setswana was more prevalent in content subjects like Biology and Home Economics than in English and History. They used code switching to explain some concepts. This strategy relied more on borrowing as some terms have no equivalence in vernacular. However, the use of Setswana in History lessons was for greetings and explaining procedures. Only the teacher had the liberty to use Setswana but the learners responded in English (see Chimbganda and Mokgwathi 2012). The authors recommend the revision of the language-in-education policy to allow codeswitching in the classroom. However, they point out that their study is not sufficient, as it does not correlate codeswitching to the student's performance even though this is important to measure the benefits of codeswitching.

Scholars have shown that most Batswana think the current language-in-education policy does not have any problem even if it mostly favours English. They do not think about the negativities that accompany lack of mother-tongue education like poor education performance as they claim indigenous language do not pay (see Nyati Ramahobo 1991). Studies also show that some minority language speakers prefer English or Setswana as a medium of instruction and not their first languages (see Lukusa in Batibo 2000 and Arthur 1997). This makes the promotion of mother-tongue education in Botswana difficult because already they have negative attitudes towards indigenous African languages and most households prefer using English. Even though mother-tongue education is important in education, the government of Botswana has not done anything to implement mother-tongue education. Instead, the government continues emphasising national unity with Setswana as a language of learning and teaching only Standard 1. However, teachers are not even proficient in English and this can have a negative impact on the learning in English in the classroom (see Maimela and Monyatsi 2016).

Botswana and Malawi are multilingual British colonies that gained independence in 1966 and 1964 respectively, their language-in-education policies differ in that the language policy of Botswana recommends using English as a medium of instruction from standard 2 but in Malawi Chichewa is used from standard 1-4 (see Kamwendo and Mooko 2006). Both countries however, do not have a comprehensive language policy. The constitution of Malawi forbids discrimination in terms of culture or language but the constitution of Botswana is silent on language (see Nyati-Ramahobo 2000 and Kamwendo and Mooko 2006). In their article, Kamwendo and Mooko (2006) show how the two countries have responded to the African Union (AU) call to recognise indigenous languages in domains like education, government and mass media. What they have found is English dominates in both countries. They have noticed that there has never been a full nationwide language survey in Malawi but Botswana has had

sociolinguistic surveys even though the census does not capture the data. However, one would expect Botswana to be more informed to address language planning as a language problem solving activity in every domain but the opposite is happening as indigenous languages even Setswana are marginalised in the education system.

Botswana and Malawi have Visions 2016 and 2020 respectively. Even though Botswana's vision 2016 anticipated an education system that does not disadvantage anyone because of a different mother from English or Setswana, Malawi's vision 2020 is silent on language and the authors assume it may be because language is already on the constitution. However, Vision 2016 was not only a vision but also a challenge to the government as by the time of writing this thesis, it was already 2017 as shown in Chapter 1 but nothing is in place for mother-tongue education.

From Kamwendo and Mooko's account, it is evident that Botswana has some facts about the linguistic composition of the country because of sociolinguistic surveys. However, these facts are only useful to linguists, as they have not had any impact in influencing policy. The surveys, also known as 'fact finding' are a vital step in language planning as they are useful in implementation as well as in evaluation of language planning and policy (see Cooper 1989, Rubin 1977, Haugen 1966, Tollefson 1981). If we take, for example the 1994 publication of the RNPE, which continues to be used until now, it has received much criticism from linguists and educators, as it does not address the language situation on the ground in various schools in different districts in Botswana. This policy on education has an objective to improve learning for everyone in the country. However, this objective is not reached because of some emotional and political arguments that distort academic objectivity (see Tollefson 1981).

According to scholars, some of the reasons against mother-tongue education in Botswana include the following: most of the minority languages are not developed, only about 20% of Botswana speak the 26 languages as their mother tongue and so this means fewer speakers per language. It therefore seems costly to prepare learning material in 26 languages compared to the only two that are in use. However, priority must be given to the academic objective-What does the education program intend to produce? For this objectivity to be realised, the children's primary language has to be considered as a key element in unleashing the child's potential in the first years of primary education as this can promote the success for minority language speaking students (see Cummins 1981a,b & c). This therefore means choosing English or Setswana academically favours only a part of the population and marginalises the minority

language speakers which is not the objective of education in Botswana. Most of the minority languages are developed and used in neighbouring countries for learning and those that are not fully developed can develop while in use, and harmonisation of closely related languages can cut the costs, as done in Zimbabwe (see Nyati-Ramahobo 2005 and Batibo 2005).

The negative attitudes of Botswana towards indigenous languages are due to a lack of awareness. Most Botswana including teachers prefer using English as a medium of instruction (see Arthur 1997 and Nkosana 2011) because they do not know the cognitive benefits of mother-tongue education. Every parent wants their children to succeed at school and mother-tongue education has been proven to contribute to that, therefore lack of awareness can be attributed to the negative attitudes that Botswana have towards their languages. Cummins (1981c) has shown that English is associated with educational achievement but he dismisses this claim, which influenced the language-in-education policy that the RNPE encapsulates. English, as mentioned before, is to be used as a medium of instruction from standard 2 because it was realised that students performed poorly in their PSLE examination when English was used as a medium of instruction from standard 4. As mentioned earlier, policy recommends increasing the duration of English as a medium of instruction to increase the pass rate at PSLE. Most parents had an influence on this as they view English as a language that symbolises one's educational achievement. This therefore causes Botswana to have negative attitudes towards mother-tongue education as those who can afford private schools register their children at English medium schools but Botswana in general prefer using English at home so that their children can acquire it as early as they possibly can (see Nkosana 2011 and Nyati-Ramahobo 2000).

Some scholars like Batibo (2006), Nyati-Ramahobo (2000), Maruatona (2002), Mokibelo (2014) acknowledge Botswana's urgent need for mother-tongue education. Batibo (2006) points out that Setswana was chosen to be used in education as this was taken from the colonists who viewed the pre-dominance of the Setswana tribe and thought Botswana was monolingual whereas in fact Botswana is multilingual with 28 languages- 13 of these languages are Bantu, 13 Khoisan and 2 Indo European origin. He rightfully points out that no systematic studies have been carried out to determine how proficient the children are in Setswana before they begin standard 1 and that however, it can be assumed that their levels of proficiency differ according to their exposure to Setswana in their homes. This therefore means competence in Setswana among the 26 minority groups in Botswana differs according to their geographical location.

This reality on the ground (see Mokibelo 2014b) necessitates as soon as possible mother-tongue education in Botswana as Batibo (2006) has also shown that the minority language-speaking children have low academic performance, lack of proper cognitive development, lower self esteem and high school dropouts. This indeed calls for a decentralised policy to address the language need for every district.

Nyati-Ramahobo (2000) points out that although Setswana is also under threat, it continues to marginalise other indigenous languages in the education system of Botswana. She also points out that Setswana is only visible in the education system because it assimilates minority language speakers in a society that views diversity as a problem. According to Nyati-Ramahobo, it is high time Botswana recognised the advantages of mother-tongue-education. If the language-in-education policies were decentralised, every district could be having a policy that addresses its needs in the facilitation of learning and teaching. This therefore means the findings of some sociolinguistic surveys in Botswana would serve well in the formulation of language-in-education policies that support mother-tongue education.

However, Nkosana (2011) holds a different view from them. Even though he acknowledges the need for mother-tongue education in Botswana, he suggests going back to the policy that combines mother tongue (Setswana as a medium of instruction) education at lower primary levels and English as a medium of instruction from upper primary. He points out that mother-tongue education from after primary school would further marginalise the minority language speakers. He continues to postulate that the teaching of local languages as subjects in order to embrace multilingualism. According to Nkosana (2011), the former language-in-education policy was mother-tongue education. However, this policy was not mother-tongue education as Setswana is only mother tongue to some Batswana. Setswana as a medium of instruction is not mother-tongue education to Batswana as it excludes minority languages.

One important point to note is that Nkosana posits that mother-tongue education should be limited to the first few years of primary education lest its use to exclude/marginalise. However, if the advantages of mother-tongue education are acknowledged and can be seen in the first years of primary education on Batswana pupils who speak Setswana as their first language, mother-tongue education then can be extended to cover everyone in the education system from pre-school to tertiary (see Alexander 2003). Nkosana's assertion is related to what he calls 'resistance of English' and it is therefore necessary to point out that mother-tongue education does not in any way prevent the learning of English and other languages as subjects, in fact it

emphasises the importance of learning other languages while using one's first language to facilitate in the learning process. This echoes well with Alexander (1991) that the intention is actually to build the nation by promoting and developing indigenous languages and it does not mean reducing the status of English but it means equalising the status of African languages with that of English. Mother-tongue education in Botswana will in fact lead to the development of indigenous languages of Botswana.

Scholars refer to Vision 2016's pillar of 'an educated nation' that intends to include every learner by using mother-tongue education. Kamwendo and Mooko (2006) acknowledge the relevance of vision 2016 to the language needs of Botswana since the constitution of the country is silent on language issues. As outlined earlier, the scholars are wondering if mother-tongue education would be possible by 2016 since the publication of the article was 8 years before 2016 but nothing was in place for mother-tongue education then. Nyati-Ramahobo (2000) also points out that recognising that Botswana is multilingual in Vision 2016 is good as it recognises pluralism as a necessity for nation building. However, she also points out that the challenge is lack of political will to show commitment to embracing multilingualism in policy.

Vision 2016 recognised multiculturalism. However, it was not a policy but just a dream as it was not binding to the government. There is no commitment to mother-tongue education in Botswana. However, there was hope that vision 2016 would serve well to guide policies even if it was not binding (see Chebanne 2010). Adeyemi (2008) held the same view as she pointed out that Vision 2016 recognised all the languages of Botswana and this shows how Botswana intended to recognise multilingualism. She points out that the question that arises from this is whether the prevailing system satisfies the needs of all. The obvious answer to this is 'no' as only English and Setswana to a lesser extent has recognition in the education system of Botswana. In her conclusion, Adeyemi (2008) recommends Nyati-Ramahobo's decentralised model to achieving mother-tongue education by 2016 in Botswana.

All the above-mentioned scholars see Vision 2016 as an effort to recognise the minority languages of Botswana, which is good. However, recognition in a-written vision is never recognition until implementation. The formulation of the vision began in 1996 after the formulation of a presidential task group. This group commenced its work in 1997 as it consulted different institutions and individuals on the long-term aspirations of Botswana. The vision therefore also outlines the challenges that Botswana might meet before 2016 and it has some strategies to counteract these challenges. The vision 2016 was necessary in the globalisation

era as it could help Botswana focus on safeguarding the vitality of its diverse cultures. Kamwendo (2013) et al. cite the then minister of Education, Nkate, as saying his ministry is finding the issue of mother-tongue education problematic. This therefore concludes Batswana's attitudes towards mother-tongue education- they view it as problematic. Nkate said this was according to a study on the implications of mother-tongue education by studying the demographics of each of the languages in Botswana and their state of development.

As aforementioned, English has the largest share in the language-in-education policy of Botswana followed by Setswana, which is to be used only at standard 1. Even though there is a difference between policy and practice (see Mokibelo 2014, Adeyemi 2008, Arthur 1997), textbooks are written in English from standard 2 with some written in both languages from Standard 1. This also marks the hegemony of the language in education. Only Setswana textbooks are in Setswana, and when the students get to standard 4, they write an Attainment exam, which is also set in English except for Setswana. In addition, English medium preschools are mushrooming around the country and English is becoming dominant in most households (see Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). The hegemony of English in Botswana has had some impact on the attitudes of Batswana. This is because in -this era of globalisation, English is almost everywhere in Botswana and therefore talking of mother -tongue education, Batswana will feel mother tongue education would be to exclude and marginalise them.

It is worth noting again that ideally Batswana wanted English as a medium of instruction throughout basic and tertiary education but the first year of primary education was to be in Setswana as a national language in order to unite Batswana. According to the reason for the deferment of the recommendation that intended to include other indigenous languages of Botswana, Setswana became visible for nationalism. However, policy remains a written statement as practice acts contrary due to the language realities on the ground in various schools (see Mokibelo 2014a). If the teacher is proficient in the student's first language, they (the teachers) will use that particular language but if the teacher is not the classrooms will be silent most of the times. This shows that language planning can take place at the micro level in classrooms (see Haugen 1966). It would also be important to look at the language of texts for preschool education. This is because the ECCE states that the "ministry of education should promote the production of indigenous educational materials for use by children, that is, literature and playing toys." (Republic of Botswana 2001:15).

This echoes well with Cummins (2000) transformative/intercultural approach based on principles of equality of race and culture and therefore it is democratic and allows full participation. This orientation gives the students a chance to have critical literacy. Young's (2014) study found out that language planning in different schools is different from the national education language policies. They also found out that knowing the linguistic history of a setting, the learners' needs and the sociolinguistic situation is vital in language planning for schools. As Young points out "We cannot move towards plurilingualism, inclusive education without fully understanding the obstacles which are preventing its implementation" (Young 2014:168). Teachers therefore need to have language awareness in order to support plurilingualism. They need to understand multiple identities, translanguaging and plurilingualism to prepare their learners in this multilingual world. Lack of understanding of these phenomena limits equality and inclusion in the classroom. It was also realised that critical language components must be included in the initial teacher training.

Crystal (1998) dismisses a fear that a global language (even though he opposes the statement that says English is a global language) will cause the death of other languages. However, most scholars (Batibo 1997, Nyati-Ramahobo 2000 and Mooko 2002) show that English hegemony leads to language shift and death in Botswana. This echoes well with Skutnabb Kangas (2000) assertion that English as one of the "big killer languages" can kill languages in formal education. The hegemony of English is not only prevalent in the education system of Botswana. Many scholars like Batibo 2006, Nyati-Ramahobo 2000 and Kamwendo and Mooko 2006 agree that it is dominant in the media and in the forms and documents of different government domains. Despite the hegemony of English and marginalisation of indigenous languages, Botswana continues to progress well towards development. As declared by most scholars, it has the fastest growing economy in Africa. This is contradictory to Bamgbose's (2014) assertion that the language factor is the missing link in the fulfilment of the development goals. Despite Botswana's approach to development plans, without any reference to language, the country continues to develop very well and it is among the 10 African countries to have attained Medium Human Development as their highest rank (see Bamgbose 2014, Nyati-Ramahobo 2000, Good 1993). In Botswana as mentioned earlier, there is no comprehensive language policy and formal language planning has long come to a halt. This therefore might be the right time to pay attention to the 'unplanned' language policy and planning that happens at the micro level (see Baldauf Jr 1994) as it might be the one driving the development of the country.

Literature on language practice in Botswana is mainly on language use in the education system. The above studies were on single Standards individually without linking them or without investigating language practices as learners move to higher levels. However, Cummins, Dutcher and Heugh have shown that primary education is the foundation of learners' education where language issues need serious addressing by considering the language initially used to start the child's education and the time of exit from using their home language as a medium of teaching and learning. This therefore means using a theoretical framework that links language to practice and its potential use for meaningful participation. It will be important to study language practices at primary school at the entrance level, midway and at the exit level to see how language is really used in primary education and to study its effect on learning, participation and performance of Botswana learners.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Language and Conceptualisation

Humans use language to express themselves. They can do this internally or externally. In order to express their thoughts to the teacher and to their peers in the classroom, learners do the same. They learn by making connections at a mental level and at a social level in the classroom. They make connections between concepts by associating ideas and by having an experience of the relationship between objects and actions. Socially, they make these connections in their communication with their peers and their teachers during lessons. Boroditsky (2001) states that one's first language influences how they think about abstract domains. This is because the internal representation of language allows humans to be able to speak and understand language. Asserting to this, Bruner (1990) states that the cultural system of interpretation allows others and ourselves understanding using the language of the system and its discourse modes. In addition, Harre and Gillet (1994) hold a view that many psychological phenomena are features or properties of private or public discourse. In the public, it is behaviour and becomes thought as a private discourse. Concurring with them, Cummins (2000) states that low levels of BICS in English mean the learners have no framework where they can develop their CALP in reading, writing, and oral speech and Boroditsky (2011), who echoes the statement that thought is influenced by language, affirms this.

Different authors hold different views about the relationship between language and conceptualisation. As this section will show, earlier authors claimed that people think in the language that they speak but lately some authors have shown that we think in mental representations that are converted to the language that we speak. Fodor (1985) states mental

representation relates to propositional attitudes; the latter is usually found around belief or desire, which can also be referred to as common sense. Common sense requires belief or desire to support conditional clauses that are contrary to facts. Fodor (1985) states that according to common sense there is “mental causation, and those mental causes are subsumed by counterfactual-supporting generalisations of which the practiced syllogism is perhaps the paradigm” (Fodor 1985:77). The author observed that most people think propositional attitudes cause other propositional attitudes. From the common sense perspective of mental genealogy, desires cause thoughts and thoughts can cause desires. Thoughts cause other thoughts to end up with beliefs. Commenting on common sense, Fodor (1985) also asserts that common sense views desires and beliefs as semantically valuable as they have satisfaction conditions or they are relational states. He states that Representational Theory of Mind (RTM) seeks to explain propositional attitudes and semantical properties they must have. One can have many propositional attitudes, desiring and believing makes organisms and propositions different. In the production of natural language, Fodor states that a sentence goes with sub-sentential components and so sentences link to different arrangements of sub-sentential constituents. Therefore, the constituent structure of a sentence determines semantics. Fodor also states that for a theory to explain the presence of content that is not arbitrary in thoughts that relate causally, there must be mental representations that are made up of syntactic and semantic properties. Mental symbols here are necessary because symbols have syntax. RTM therefore views mental processes as transformations that are from mental representations. According to Fodor (1985), in mental processes the manipulation of symbols occurs. This includes altering strings by creating new ones for use by other mechanisms. Mental processes involve manipulating symbols following some rules.

Sapir (1921) holds a different view and argues that in language, some elements of experience are assigned sounds that are voluntarily articulated and conventional. Therefore, for words to denote experiences and relations, the world must be simplified and generalised so that we can be able to communicate. The way language can flow does not indicate thought according to Sapir. In life, as stated by Sapir (1921) we are mainly concerned with concrete particularities and relations and less concerned with concepts. The psychic value, intensity or inner meaning of language varies mainly according to the development of the mind but the outward language is constant. Sapir states that “From the point of view of language thought may be defined as the highest latent or potential content of speech, the content that is obtained by interpreting each of the elements in the flow of language as possessed of its very fullest conceptual value.”

Sapir (1921:13). Language and thought do not strictly share a common boundary, according to Sapir as cited in Whorf (1956); we think the way we do because of our language habits. The latter influence our choice of interpretation. Sapir saw the relationship between language, psychology and culture and he reached a conclusion that language can be viewed as the outward form of thought. Without speech, thought would not be conceivable as thinking or reasoning without language is impossible (see Sapir 1921). Most people think they cannot differentiate thought from imagery but we cannot have thought without speech just as mathematical reasoning that cannot be practiced without the lever of mathematical symbolism as stated by Sapir (1921). Language is different from its symbolism as motor or visual symbolism replaces the latter. Talking to oneself and thinking aloud employs the use of language. According to Sapir, written word comes in as an element that corresponds to spoken word or sound in the primary system. Written words are therefore secondary and spoken forms are primary. Language moulds thought and so, according to Sapir, voluntary communication apart from normal speech is transferred from linguistic symbolism involving intermediary of linguistic symbolism. Therefore, Sapir asserts we cannot think without language.

Whorf (1956) concurs with Sapir's point of view that the linguistic systems in our minds shape our experience in the world through ideas and concepts. He states, "We tend to think in our own language in order to examine exotic language" (Whorf 1956:138). In the case of Standard Average European (SAE) languages, which are English, French and German and Hopi, SAE and Hopi have different linguistic situations. The 'preparing' activities of Hopi entail their linguistic thought by emphasising persistence and repetition. Whorf (1956) also states that the linguistically determined thought engages the conscious reactions to assign them some characters and it collaborates with their ideals and cultural idols. Gesturing as we talk shows that language handles non-spatial references "by metaphors of imaginary space". For example, the word 'grasping' which we are likely to use gestures when talking about the idea of grasping and not a concrete object. Culture and language develop simultaneously in the same context under the same conditions of influence. Therefore, innovations and inventions slowly affect language just like culture according to Whorf (1956). Time and matter as concepts have different forms by experience to people; the languages in which they were developed influence them. There are connections between linguistic patterns and cultural norms because every language or dialect uses some points of view and some organised resistances of different points of view. Laws of pattern that he cannot control, controls a person's thoughts; these patterns are of the system of their own language. This therefore means peoples' thinking is in their own

language, as the author states, “every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained forms and categories by which their personality not only communicates, but also analyses nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness.” Whorf (1956: 252).

One’s social life is the source of their higher mental functioning (see Vygotsky 1978). The scientific conceptual knowledge at first appears between participants inter psychologically and within the child intra psychologically:

That world is a symbolic world in the sense that it consists of conceptually organised, rule bound belief systems about what exists, about how to get goals, about what it is to be valued. There is no way, none in which human being could master that world without the aid and the assistance of others for, in fact, the world is others (Bruner 1985:32).

Cummins (2000) emphasises this by stating that in a communication that is context-embedded, one can negotiate meaning, for example, by giving feedback. Some situational and interpersonal cues can support meaning. Whereas communication that is context reduced relies mainly on getting meaning from linguistic cues and interpreting the message relies on the level of proficiency in the language. The classroom therefore requires context-reduced communication. As students move to higher grades language becomes cognitively demanding and differs more from conversations outside the classroom. An effective program that develops CALP is one that produces creative learners who can take action on social issues that affect them. Instruction in bilingual programmes should pay attention to cognition by challenging learners to use high-order thinking abilities. As stated by Cummins (2000), academic content should intertwine with the language of learning and teaching for learners to acquire terms used in these subjects. Teachers must give students a chance to develop critical language awareness by comparing their languages so that they may have a chance to do investigations about their languages.

As quoted in Vygotskiĭ (2012), Vygotsky was interested in language development and its relation to thought. Language and speech in Vygotsky’s psychological system are psychological tools, which undergo cultural development. He has shown that “thought and speech have different roots” (Vygotskiĭ et al. 2012: xlv) and they only come together at the same point after they jointly develop on reciprocal influence. According to Vygotsky, there is a difference between the roots of thought and the roots of speech. Commenting on the speech

of a child he states, “ A child’s development knows pre intellectual speech as well as nonverbal thought; only with the establishment of interfunctional systemic unit does thought become verbal, and speech become intellectual” (Vygotskiĭ et al. 2012: xlvii). He clearly distinguished between word meaning and sense. The latter is what is aroused in mind by the word. Sense is fluid and dynamic as it has different zones of unequal stability. However, he makes it clear that meaning is the most precise and stable zone of sense.

Commenting on the internalised language and the external language Chomsky (1986) refers to internalised language as I-language. According to Chomsky (1986), I-language is an element in someone who knows the language that is the speaker acquires and uses in conversations.

Knowing a language therefore is the speaker’s property; Chomsky (1986) states that for the speaker to know a language or to be able to use it, their brain has to be in a certain state as state. Agreeing with Whorf (1956)’s assertion that we use the language that we speak to examine another language, Chomsky (1956) states that a speaker of a language has to have that language in order to learn the second one. However, in relation to conceptualisation, Chomsky (1986) states that mental representations are abstract and they are not related in any way to the natural language that we speak. The language faculty according to Chomsky “is a computational system that is rich and narrowly constrained, structured and rigid in its essential operations, nothing at all like a complex of dispositions or a system of habits and analogies” (Chomsky 1986: 43). According to Chomsky, E-language is externalised language, which is viewed without the properties of a language speaker’s brain. It is determined by I-language. According to this scholar, E-language is not real, it is artificial, and the concept of I-language is very close to common sense and therefore shifting from E-language to I-language is a shift to realism as it studies a real object and not an artificial construct. Proponents of translanguaging theory, Garcia and Otheguy, base their claims on the I-languages and not on the E-language.

In relation to conceptualisation, on the language of thought, Levinson (1997) categorises scholars into A-theorists and B-theorists. The A-theorists insist there is no need to differentiate between semantics and conceptual representation but the B-theorists insist on a distinction between the two representations. Representation of meaning or thought has always been a complex issue to different scholars with different views. Some scholars (like Langacker 1987) may take it that conceptual representation is universal as everyone is born with it. However, this is challenging considering semantic diversity, as there are many languages of thought. Lexically, languages have some gaps and semantically they have some missing fields. Levinson views semantic representation as a subset of conceptual representation and so they can be

different. Even though semantic representation and conceptual representation are distinct, they are similar types of representation. According to Levison, "Inner, private representation cannot be totally independent from social, public ones" (Levison 1997:28). He argues that our innermost conceptualization of experience is shaped by the concepts, which are specific to a language that we may need to express them in later on; this is echoed by Madiba (2010) who states that using second language for teaching and learning has an impact on conceptualisation as well as academic achievement. Pederson and Nuyts (1997) assert that language is used for acquisition and to store linguistic communication. Humans therefore need language of external expression as language and thought are closely related. As aforementioned, Pinker (1995) states that internal language is important, as it is the language of thought, which comes before language that is spoken. The spoken language relies mainly on the language of inner speech therefore for the acquisition of grammar there must be conceptualisation of ideas. However, this shows that thought and language work together even though Pinker differs with Levinson's assertion.

According to Davidson (1997), language of thought comes before spoken language and that is why it can be difficult to express what one thinks. The author asserts that the world is seen through language that helps us to think about the world the way we do. He also highlights the point that what constitutes a scheme is not clear as information has a content intended for some objects, situations and events that our languages could describe. Unintelligibility occurs when translation is impossible. He continues to state that our language can show our interests but it cannot express what is orthogonal to the interests. He later on highlights that there are classes that we do not have assigned terms for and if it is distortion it is not because of language. Language is a reflection of our history and our native interests because individuals inherit the category in language that evolved culturally and therefore language does not distort but allows coping in the world that language is part of (see Davidson 1997). He also asserts that language does not distort truth and it has "nothing to do with the truth of the matter" (Davidson 1997:17). The author continues to state that through prediction we can deceive ourselves but language does not give a distorted truth about the world and it is not opaque, as it does not hide anything real from us, it is a reflection of our interests and needs. Language therefore allows us to come into direct contact with our environment like our ears and eyes, it is not intermediary like media or screens. Davidson (1997) continues to state that internal language is innate and genetically programmed; it is the language of thought, which emerges from inheritance and comes before any language thus is not learned.

This means that in thought ideas are related just as the words are connected in universal grammar. The author cautions against referring sensations to reasons for beliefs because they do not have any epistemic support as reasons have to be conceptually intended to what they are for. He observed that the relationship between stimulus and the resulting thought is not simple because an individual may only utter the word when they see the object it refers to but this does not mean there is distinction between thought with propositional content and concept. Davidson (1997) realised that when someone responds to the other person about something, it creates a triangular interaction and as the two creatures interact, they provide a framework where language can evolve. In agreeing with him, Pinker in (Davidson 1997) asserts one's first language can explain our thoughts, in Mathematics and Science terms and concepts for better understanding. Pinker highlights that the problem mainly lies in sentence construction and not the meaning.

Pinker (1995) holds the view that language is not the same thing as thought because what we say can be different from what we wanted to since we can lack words to convey a thought. Because thought does not depend on words, we can coin new words, language can be translated and a child can learn new language. According to Pinker (1995), science has not proven that language shapes the way the speaker thinks. In support of the notion of mentalese, Pinker states that it "is a distinct piece of the biological makeup of our brains" (Pinker 1995: 18). The author continues to clarify the point that even though words are palpable than thoughts and there is less desire to equate thought with language, he states that most people like Samuel Taylor have insisted that they think in mental images and not in words and physical scientists believe that thoughts are geometrical. A lot of experiments have proven the idea that thinking visually only uses mental graphics but not language and as pointed out by Pinker (1995) philosophers in the first half of the 20th century declared that no sense can be made of the claim that numbers, images or relations of kinship could be in the brain without words. The author states that Alan Turing, the Mathematician and philosopher made mental representation to be scientifically acceptable as he came up with the Turing machine that could participate in reasoning and could solve problems using symbolic representation. The internal symbolic representation was a kind of mentalese and this machine shows how a human mind thinks in mentalese. To reason is to use information deduced from old information as the brain first works through representation which is an object that can be seen physically (see Pinker 1995). The arrangement of parts corresponds to some ideas or facts and for reasoning to occur, there is need for a processor. Pinker (1995) gives out an example of "Socrates isa man. Every man is mortal. Socrates

ismortal". This shows primitive reasoning and it shows correspondence to this rule of logic "If X is a Y and all Ys are Z, then X is Z" (Pinker 1995:76). The author explains a machine that could follow the laws of Physics blindly to show the theory of thinking that known as "the physical symbol system hypothesis" did this (Pinker 1995:77).

Pinker explains that here there should be no peeking or little men inside because one has to posit arranged symbols and the processor being a set of reflexes that is fixed to produce conclusions that are intelligent. This therefore means a representation does not use any language and it only uses symbols for concepts and logical relations. In relation to this, even though internal representation in the mind of a certain language speaker does not have to be like their language, there is a possibility for them to look like that particular language that person speaks. Pinker (1995) highlights the point that no language is suited to work as an internal device of computation. Examples of observable problems as elaborated by Pinker are ambiguity, no logical explicitness, co-reference, deixis and synonymy. Pinker concludes by stating, "The representations underlying thinking, are on the one hand, in the sentence and on the other, are in many ways at cross-purposes" (1995: 81). This implies that people think in a language of thought and not in a particular language- not in Setswana or in English. Pinker (1995) states that in mentalese a particular language must correspond to several concept symbols; this means that knowing how to speak a language means translating mentalese into that language.

If we think in mental representations as most of the scholars mentioned above have shown, the relationship between bilingualism or multilingual in education will be considered to see how language in education is used to accommodate the learner's conceptual skills in both languages. In relation to this, Bialystock (1991) points out bilingual children are not only able to differentiate concepts but they can also show how concepts are related. Therefore, the education system can use a bilingual education model of their choice to accommodate learners. In Botswana, most of the learners are bilinguals as they learn both English and Setswana languages as compulsory subjects. As defined by Grosjean (2010) bilingualism is the ability to use two languages therefore one may describe every Motswana learner as a bilingual or multilingual since English and Setswana are compulsory subjects throughout the basic education system. Other children can acquire the second language before they reach the school going age (Tucker 1998). According to Tucker (1998), this acquisition can be simultaneous or sequential. The author describes simultaneous bilingual acquisition as acquiring both languages at the same time like when the mother talks to them in a different language and the father talks

to them in a different one. They continue to describe sequential bilingualism as bilingualism that acquired after the acquisition of the first language. They observed that there is no significant difference between the two types of bilingualism.

Bialystock (2001) categorises three dimensions of language use into metalinguistic, literate and oracy, which require very high, medium and low cognitive levels consecutively. They believe that the experiences that the speaker of that language goes through can define a language therefore language acquisition works in cognitive development and the support of the development of the cognition affects acquisition. Aitchison (1996) has shown that language acquisition evolves in a continuum since a human being can take about 5 years to acquire basic language components, 5 more years to acquire complex elements like grammar and about 10 years to acquire complex vocabulary of a language. This evolution of language has some implications on learning and teaching in bilingual classrooms. Realising this, Cummins (2000) differentiates between levels of language acquisition and elaborates on the implications of these on the education of bilingual or multilingual learners.

According to Cummins (2000), there is a difference between everyday use of language or thought and abstract uses of language. He states that everyday use of language is contextualised, context embedded and abstract use of language is less contextualised or context reduced. These are the BICS and CALP respectively. The BICS are the surface skills used in speaking and listening in normal day-to-day conversations. Acquiring these skills can be quick. In contrast, CALP allows the learner to be able to meet the academic demands in different subjects and acquisition can take 5-7. Cummins (2000) also states, “as students progress through the grades of formal education they are increasingly required to manipulate language in cognitively demanding and context reduced situations that differ significantly from everyday conversational interactions” (Cummins 2000:69). Therefore using the learners’ first language for learning and teaching for a prolonged period can have a positive impact on their academic performance. To emphasise this, Boroditsky (2001:20) states that language can be influential in shaping abstract thought. Languages may play the most important role in shaping how their speakers think. This echoes well Cummins’ (1992) view that transitional models are good as they as they also contribute to enhanced second language acquisition. However, some authors like Imhoff (1990) argue that using English for learning and teaching from an early age is necessary for natural acquisition but this assertion overlooks the value of the learners’ first language in the interdependence of languages as postulated by Cummins.

Vygotsky, just like Cummins (2000), observed that there are complex words depending on the contexts of use. The context in which the word appears determines its sense and so its sense changes in different contexts. According to Vygotsky, the rules of inner speech are the predominance of context over speech, sentence over word and sense over meaning. Inner speech can function independently and it is not a way of talking internally even though it is a form of speech. He explains that inner speech contains words, which subliminate to bring thought. Inner speech is therefore very useful in the classroom where formative and summative assessment evaluates learning and achievement. Thought in external speech is contained in words. It turns out to be a psychological interface between culturally learned symbols and private language.

Vygotsky also as quoted in Vygotskiĭ (2012) states that literacy and language emerge from a social context as children interact with members of their social groups that are more knowledgeable. Language, Mathematics and literacy, which are known as cultural tools are internalised by children in these interactions. He states that spontaneous understandings trigger the development of meanings of words as these meanings are attached to some experiences and they will develop to abstract scientific concepts that can be hierarchically arranged. He also states that the meaning of words become deep as the intellect develops. This requires mastery of language that involves producing appropriate speech (see Hua Liu and Matthews 2005: 393) and “The mastery of language use always entails not just producing grammatically correct texts, but also producing appropriate speech as required by situational and communicative demands. The acquisition of language of such dual nature is the formulation of all our verbal and mental thinking” (ibid). Cummins also showed the development of language proficiency as he highlighted the earlier stages of language acquisition as the basic skills that can later on develop into cognitive academic language proficiency.

2.3.2 Interdependence Hypothesis

Cummins’ interdependence hypothesis of languages that follow the transformative or intercultural approach states that

To the extent that instruction in L_x is effective in promoting proficiency in L_x, transfer of this proficiency to L_y will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L_y (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn L_y (Cummins 1981: 29)

The interdependence principle means that the first language does not have to be eliminated so that competency in the second language may be acquired. Proficiency in one language depends

on the other and so it is important to develop the already existing skills for academic language proficiency. If we were to substitute Lx and Ly with English and indigenous languages of Botswana the principle will read as follows:

To the extent that instruction in indigenous languages of Botswana are effective in promoting proficiency in indigenous languages of Botswana, transfer of this proficiency to English will occur provided there is adequate exposure to English (either in school or environment) and motivation to learn English.

This transfer of proficiency is made possible by the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), which Cummins (2005) shows is different from the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) which claims that proficiency in one language is separate from the other language. Using the balloon metaphor, he illustrates how the SUP works by saying that blowing into the second language (L2) balloon will only inflate one balloon and not will only inflate the first language balloon (L1). However, in CUP, proficiency in L1 and L2 is common and interdependent across languages. Cummins (2000) makes a distinction between context-embedded and contextreduced language. He points out that context–embedded language involves the use of signals that help in revealing meaning. In context-embedded tasks, learners are exposed to visual cues and oral cues. Therefore, this involves the use of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) that do not take a long time to acquire. It is possible to use BICS in normal day-to-day communication but Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), which takes about 6 years to acquire, is used in context-reduced communication (Cummins 2000). This language is usually abstract and used in textbooks as academic language. The author continues to point out that the duration of acquisition of BICS and CALP differs in that one can take about 2 years to acquire BICS but it takes a longer period to acquire the CALP. Cummins (2005) points out that the CUP transfers conceptual elements, metalingualism and cognitive strategies, pragmatics of a language, linguistic elements and phonological knowledge. Therefore, the proficiency of the learners' L1 and L2 depends on both languages and there can be transfer of linguistic elements.

According to the interdependence hypothesis, a learner must use their first language in learning for about six years to develop their CALP that can be transferred to their second language after prolonged education in their L1. Reducing the duration of education in the learners' first language may cause learners to have poor academic performance, since they would not be proficient in the academic language. Since learning becomes more abstract after every year of formal education and this requires proficiency in the second language if L2 is a language of

learning and teaching (Cummins 2005). The author also uses the “Dual Iceberg Model” of bilingual proficiency to demonstrate that on the surface, we can see or hear different surface features of L1 and L2 but the underlying proficiency that is common to both languages cannot be seen. However, in Botswana the system supports using Setswana for learning and teaching only at Standard 1.

This theory supports learning a second language as a subject and learning in mother tongue since the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) in the mother tongue is transferable to the second language for proficiency in academic language context. However, since these languages do not exist separately in the learners’ language system, learners can bring both languages to schools and therefore this may result in more than two languages audible in a single classroom.

2.3.3 Codeswitching

In the 21st century separating languages and allocating them distinct functions to play has been questioned (see Garcia 2013). In this era there is movement of people and production of goods has become complex. Multilingual classrooms might be referred to as transglossic as stated by Garcia (2013). Because translanguaging might develop some language practices that are needed by learners, “It is in classrooms where the tension between the global and national designs, on the one hand, and local practices on the other, are made more evident” (Garcia 2013:172). Schools continue to prefer one language although learners bring to school 2 or more languages. According to Lin (2008:11), “Classroom codeswitching refers to the utterances of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants e.g teacher, students, teacher aid”. Codemixing is intraclausal or sentential alternations whereas code switching is alternation at the interclausal or sentential level. Currently, more researchers argue for tolerance of the use of learners’ first language in the classroom. Empirical studies show that it is rare to find learners that use only one language in multilingual communities (Arthur and Martin 2006, Arthur 1996). Guthrie (1983) categorises CS into 1) inclusion 2) translation 3) Procedures and directives 4) Clarifications 5) checks for comprehension and cautions that some of these categories are not pedagogical.

According to Nzwanga (2000), CS in the classroom can be formal or informal. Fennema Bloom (2009) states that CS can play some pedagogical roles at all levels: at the informal level, it is used to manage the class or for administration and at the formal level it is used for explanations, for introducing the lesson and for commenting. Nzwanga (2000) continues to point out that CS has some academic and communicative roles. However, it only plays its roles when the learners

feel free to use their languages (see Liebscher & O’Cain 2005). Furthermore, learners use codeswitching when they feel free in the classroom as Liebscher and O’Cain (2005) point out that “Codeswitching strategies ... may be found only if the conditions are right, that is, if learners feel comfortable using both L1 and L2” (Liebscher and O’Cain 2005:239). Guthrie (1984) affirms that codeswitching can be used for clarification, for translation and to check understanding. It can also be used to give instructions, socialising, emphasising and creating a sense of belonging.

Wei and Martin (2009) found that in most multilingual communities CS is never investigated. Policies have influenced the way in which codeswitching in the classroom is perceived and this has led to conflict and tensions in the classroom. In most classrooms, it is unacceptable. They found that there are tensions between policy and practices of codeswitching in the classroom just like Mokibelo (2014a) and Arthur (1997). The amount of time devoted to languages in the classroom and their functional distribution was the focus in earlier quantitative studies. However, Losey (2009) states that in the United States of America some researchers support using written CS at college and others are against this. This is mainly because of language tensions in the US. Studies have discovered that written CS can enhance communication by promoting natural literacy acquisition in both languages as it keeps students engaged and it values their cultural backgrounds. Edelsky (1986) found that learners rarely do CS in writing. After analysing some studies in code switching, it was found that

- Codeswitching that is written is a resource in bilingual or multilingual communities
- Usually people who codeswitch orally do so in writing and those who never codeswitch orally never do so in writing
- Written CS mostly happens in informal speeches like friendly letters
- Written CS is less frequent in academic writing

There is a lot of research on oral codeswitching of English and Spanish. As stated by Malik (2010) in most cases teachers CS to translate important points like when they introduce new vocabulary. It simplifies everything for the learners’ understanding. It can also be used for socialisation when the teachers express their feelings. They continue to point out that sometimes teachers CS when they cannot recall the term in the target language. However, this feeling of insecurity can cause the learners to doubt their teachers’ proficiency in the target

language. CS is therefore considered necessary in the classroom as it can cater for the learner's needs.

As suggested by Sert (2005), codeswitching can be used as a way of modifying language for personal intentions. It can also be used to build some relationships in a bilingual community. In the classroom, the teacher's CS is not always conscious and sometimes it just comes automatically. The students may choose to CS so that they may use native equivalence of a word in target language therefore this can be correlated with linguistic competence of learners. This can function as 'defence mechanism' (Sert 2005:4) for learning as it allows them to communicate in class. CS therefore is considered important as it allows speech to continue with no interference. However, as pointed out by Hughes, Shaunessy, Brice, Ratliff and McHatton (2006) have realised that teachers react negatively towards codeswitching though they use it. CS is a reflector of intellectual advantage Hughes et al. (2006:9) to many learners; it does not reflect semi literacy because integrating two systems of culture means higher cognitive flexibility.

Sociolinguistics plays a significant role in CS. Lin (2008:5) states that "The key therefore, to understanding the implicit meaning signalled by codeswitches lies in a recognition of the sociolinguistic fact that whenever Hong Kong Cantonese have something urgent and earnest to relay to one another, they do so in their shared native language." They only use English amongst themselves for institutional purposes and teachers do likewise. They can sometimes codeswitch to negotiate different frames for example from informal frame to formal frame, to show transition between activity types and for interpersonal functions. Learners commonly use their first language to think aloud (see Anton and DiCamilla 1999). Participant related uses of CS involves the role of the teacher and the learner in the classroom and discourse related functions of CS show bilingual practices that take place outside the classroom and discourse related functions of CS include the role of the teacher and the learner in the classroom. These functions of CS also show bilingual practices that takes place outside the classroom. This therefore makes learners view the classroom as a bilingual space where they can practice CS. However, Setati and Adler (2000) have observed that when teachers use English for explanation, learning becomes teacher centered because learners do not participate actively. They keep silent because discourse is important in the production of reasoning and knowledge and they do not have the competency to communicate in English. However, Ludi (2003) suggests translingual switching of codes to avoid breakdown of communication. Valdes

(1982:213) when analysing codeswitching patterns found out the following in a case study of 24-year-old (Spanish-English) bilingual:

Table 2 Codeswitching Patterns

Pattern	Definition
1. Situational switches	Relating to social role of speakers
2. Contextual Switches	Situation, topic, etc. are linked to
3. Triggered Switches	Switches due to preceding or following item
4. Switching of isolated items	Lexical need
5. Identity Markers	Stress in-group membership
6. Reformulations	Linguistic routines
7. Discourse markers	But, and, of course, etc.
8. Metaphorical switches	Obvious stylistic device used for emphasis or contrast
9. Proper nouns	
10. Quotations and paraphrases	May be contextual or non contextual
11. Sequential responses	Speakers use language last used (following suit)
12. Symmetrical switches	Blend and proportion of language alternation is made to resemble that of other speakers

According to Liebscher and O’Cain (2005), conversation analysis CS can also show momentary lack of competence in a language. They were analysing how learners codeswitch between their first language and the second language in the classroom. After studying the patterns of CS between a second language classroom and a content subject classroom, they analysed codeswitching by showing how it is linked with language patterns in the classroom. They also found that CS could be described as a way of keeping communication flowing by using another language. The article intended to contribute in identifying which CS patterns are used in bilingual classrooms ‘to identify what it takes to create bilinguals’ (Liebscher and O’Cain 2005:236). It therefore considered communication in the classroom and communication out of the classroom to draw parallels. Liebscher and O’Cain (2005) take the classroom as a community of practice where language practices are based on conversation analysis by paying attention to the utterances where CS is taking place. The authors found

reformulation can be used for emphasis in CS. CS in the classroom may indicate the learners relationship with the teacher and other learners as a bilingual student. Students can switch between informal and formal roles in the classroom using CS. According to their analysis, participant related CS then provides examples of the use of CS in participant and discourse related roles. A pause before an utterance can indicate a word search, after which a reformulation can take place. This therefore means allowing students to CS can give them a backup language when they cannot retrieve it. Lemke (1990) states that constructivist learning is least used in the classroom:

In this study teachers realised that if they provided guidance and practice in using language in order to express mathematical reasoning, learners could express themselves more effectively and that this aided them in solving mathematical problems”

The data showed that CS has a positive effect in the mathematics lesson. Teachers used CS in classes and they used English when referring to mathematical terms like rectangle or circle. Plannas and Setati (2009) also studied how bilingual immigrant learners use language in the mathematics classroom. They were using a critical sociolinguistic approach. The data gathered showed that the bilinguals use two languages in the mathematics classroom and these two languages are used in different areas of Mathematics, for different purposes, and for different social settings. They found that the immigrant learners could not spontaneously discuss in whole class discussions but they were rather active in small group works. Moschkovich (2002) states that an assumption that codeswitching is triggered by inability of the speaker to retrieve suitable words is a misconception. Cook (1991) asserts that Codeswitching can be used effectively in teaching when the teacher is proficient in the learners’ first language.

As pointed out by Barwell, Barton and Setati (2007), around the world more students come from multilingual backgrounds. Multilingualism in Mathematics education cannot be ignored because i) people are moving across borders and languages are coming into contact with other languages ii) minority language speakers are forming movement that call for political and economic emancipation iii) trajectories of multilingualism in mathematics must be considered because language plays a vital role in pedagogy. Language interacts with learning in Mathematics education and according to Setati, Molefe and Langa (2008), language used in the classroom must be visible. The learner must be able to see clearly, what they are learning about through the language of learning and teaching. They also state that when it comes to writing language must be invisible; it must not hinder learners from expressing themselves. Since Mokibelo (2014) and Arthur (1996) have shown there is codeswitching in Botswana

classroom, it may be necessary to consider if it is only the presence of two languages or if it is for meaningful participation.

2.3.4 Translanguaging

The theory of translanguaging takes codeswitching (CS) and Cummins hypothesis of interdependence further though the proponents claim translanguaging supports neither codeswitching nor the interdependence hypothesis. The translanguaging theory in language and education views the learners' first and second languages differently from earlier theories. It does not put emphasis on the learner's first language nor on their second language but this theory claims that individual speakers of a language use what makes up their language. In support of this theory, Garcia and Kleyn (2016) state that even if someone may be categorised as speaking a particular language, social interaction shapes everyone's linguistic system and that is why people who live together can have similar language systems. In this theory, bilinguals have two languages but from their linguistic system point of view, they have a single linguistic system that goes beyond the languages of multilinguals. Here learners are viewed as emergent bilinguals with a dynamic and complex linguistic system. This approach to bilingualism is central on the language practices that are observable. Garcia and Lin (2017) point out that codeswitching has always been in use in education throughout the world but contestation occurs when used with minority language learners so that it may not contaminate the national or state language. However, translanguaging is different from codeswitching as it promotes multilingualism and does not respect the established boundaries of languages. They point out that Computer Based Platform (CBT) can enable learners to hear both English and Spanish and then write their responses in any language.

Garcia and Lin (2017) differentiate between the two versions of translanguaging by showing that the first one is the strong one that does not endorse the use of named languages and the second one is the weaker one that endorses the use of named languages that develops from the linguistic interdependence hypothesis. This study will be mainly using the weaker version of translanguaging that recognises named languages from MacSwan (2017)'s perspective of multilingualism. They point out that for multilingual education programmes to sustain minority languages, the weak and strong versions of the theory of translanguaging must be combined.

Garcia (2009) defines translanguaging as "...engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism that is centred not on languages as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable." (Garcia 2009:44). It deals

with effective communication that focuses on function not form. It also deals with language production and cognition. According to Hornberger (2012), there is a continuum between L1 and L2, monolingual and bilingual, and oral and literature. The continuum model is necessary in language planning, teaching and doing research in multilingual settings. It makes it clear that the literacy development of multilingual learners is influenced simultaneously by both L1 and L2 through media, content and context. Transnational translanguaging practices can be based on the students' linguistic repertoire to improve their academic achievement. Transnational literacies are "literary practices whose referents and meanings extend across national borders- perhaps most clearly instantiated in the literacies of trans migrants" Hornberger and Link (2012: 264). Bloommaert (2010) calls this use of languages critical sociolinguistics of globalisation that looks at language in motion and not in one place. It views language in political, historical and social contexts.

Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) trace the origins of translanguaging from 1980. They state that Cen Williams first used it in the 1980s in the context of Wales. At first translanguaging emphasised using two languages to gain understanding; it involved using all languages in the learners' system fluidly for effective communication. This is a developing theory and meaning of this term is changing gradually as more research is done. According to Lewis et al. (2012), this term began in Wales with the separation of English and Welsh in education. They saw English as a prestigious language and the Welsh language was threatened. However, towards the end of the 20th century, began the recognition of these languages as beneficial for bilingual education in the education system and translanguaging emerged in around 1950. Lewis et al. (2012) show that the term translanguaging was first in Welsh "trawsieithu" and the translation to English was "translinguifying" and now it is known as translanguaging. It is linked to Jacobson (1983, 1990)'s concept of using two languages simultaneously. In translanguaging the first and second languages are used to help one's understanding, literacy, speaking and learning. Globally translanguaging in the classroom can be viewed as the emancipation of bilinguals, like additive and not subtractive bilingualism.

In the 20th Century, language came to be seen as an advantage and not a disadvantage. Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) relate translanguaging to CS and translation in classrooms. Translanguaging uses all the learners' linguistic resources to enhance understanding and therefore academic performance. Translanguaging challenges diglossia where there is the separation and assigning of languages different roles to play in different contexts. This concept helps researchers best understand both literacy and language practices that involve making

meanings, gaining understanding and shaping experience using L1 and L2. Lewis et al. (2012) state that codeswitching analyses the speech of bilinguals. However, translanguaging is sociolinguistic and situated; it does not really focus on linguistic influence, but it looks at how bilinguals use linguistic features to communicate. It does not focus on borrowing, transfer or interference as it occurs in codeswitching. In a bilingual classroom, both languages are interdependent and can develop by integration at different levels.

Garcia (2009) states that translanguaging is the most prevalent and effective language practice in bilingual classrooms. It has some communicative and cognitive advantages. Translanguaging has been extended to gaining understanding of multilingualism. It is studied at the neural level using neuroscientist methods to test the results of using one language for input and producing content that is relevant in another language. Therefore, translanguaging can be divided into classroom translanguaging, universal translanguaging and neurolinguistics translanguaging (see Garcia 2009). She also points out that co-langaging falls under translanguaging. It occurs when content is delivered simultaneously to different language groups. It can be termed as translation for the whole class. However, it is different from colanguaging in a setting of bilinguals where only a certain group can follow bilingual instruction. The using of translanguaging may depend on the subject taught. The humanities commonly use it because there is less special jargon but it is rarely used in mathematics and science. Translanguaging does not only look at spoken language but it also focuses on different communicative modes as it shows the intersection of the global and local contexts. According to Baker (2011), the four advantages of translanguaging are as follows:

- It promotes understanding of content
- Helps integrate proficient speakers with language learning
- Facilitates home-based schooling and cooperation with parents
- Helps in the development of a language

Garcia (2009) observed that most bilingual teachers hide their translanguaging practices from administrators. Students also feel ashamed when translanguaging because language-in education policies have always favoured monolingualism. However, Wei (2011) states that translanguaging is transformative as it allows the language user to use language in a meaningful way by combining different dimensions of history, environment and cognitive capacity. Some educators have realised the power of translanguaging to encourage bilinguals to use their first

languages as a resource to “think, reflect, and extend their inner speech.” (Garcia and Kleifgen (2010:63). There is the triadic dialogue of Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) where the teacher elaborates the learners’ responses by asking other learners to comment on them. Taylor and Coetzee (2013) found that in developing countries the LoLT is English because the indigenous languages are not well developed. They found out that MTBE in lower grades lead to enhanced English proficiency at higher grades and these results do not hold for all schools in South Africa but they can be used as suggestive evidence that translanguaging by taking into consideration the learners’ repertoire is important. This therefore indicates that the one for all approach in language-in-education practice is not suitable for all schools.

Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) state that a teacher may translate in a class with students who speak various languages so that they may understand content in their languages; it can be used as a pedagogic strategy in vocabulary teaching. Even though translation separates languages, it makes use of both languages to make them strong. They categorised translation into three categories. The first category is translation for the whole class where the teacher can switch from the main language to deliver content. It ensures learners understanding even though both groups cannot understand to the same level. Translation for a second language learner is the second category where the teacher codeswitches to explain some aspects to others who do not use the language of learning and teaching. The third one is translation of subject related terminology, which is a scaffolding approach that helps learners to complete tasks in the classroom. Bilingual learners in science classes should do translation to have oral and written practice in class restating expressions using their own words and translating the colloquial arguments to scientific language that is formal (see Lemke 1990). The teacher can use the learner’s L1 proficiency to link learners’ points of view with scientific explanations. This is the kind of translation between informal speaking and formal scientific language. To create balance in the proportion of time allocated to languages in translanguaging, teacher-led and learner-led translanguaging can be used.

As stated by Garcia (2009), young language learners as emergent bilinguals do not learn a separate language but integrate language practices that are new in a dynamic repertoire. Translanguaging is therefore used to support and aid communication in this repertoire. Translanguaging views languages as fluid and dynamic. However, Garcia (2013) makes it clear that translanguaging may not be helpful to a learner who is in the early years of language acquisition, as it demands input and output in two languages. Garcia and Kleyn (2016) highlight that codeswitching endorses monoglossic ideology of bilingualism. This notion does not

support translanguaging. They posit that the earliest models of bilingualism view the speaker's first language separately from their second language and so the language-in-education program under the traditional model adds a second language to the learners' first language but they are kept separate. That is why these programs can be referred to as additive or subtractive bilingualism. They claim that Cummins' model also supports the monoglossic ideology of bilingualism even though it posits that the CUP enables learners to transfer academic and linguistic concepts from their first language to the second or to other languages. According to the proponents of translanguaging, Cummins theory does not support translanguaging as it separates languages and assigns them functions for a certain period of time. As analysed by Garcia and Kleyn (2016), the interdependence hypothesis overlooks the view that there is one cognition and linguistic behaviour and so there cannot be transfer of proficiency from one language to the other. After Cummins Interdependence hypothesis there is, codeswitching and mixing that support the monoglossic ideology of bilingualism (see Garcia and Kleyn 2016). However, codeswitching acknowledges the view that bilinguals use all their languages alternatively even though they view them as autonomous. Codeswitching and mixing rely on the notion of national languages that are named politically but not on how speakers use their language as a resource. Garcia and Kleyn (2016) present the translanguaging model, which uses the speakers' linguistic repertoire as a whole. They emphasize that the translanguaging theory is not associated to the boundaries of named languages that are defined politically and socially. It does not view language in a monoglossic way like the traditional, Interdependence and codeswitching models of bilingualism as illustrated in the next page.

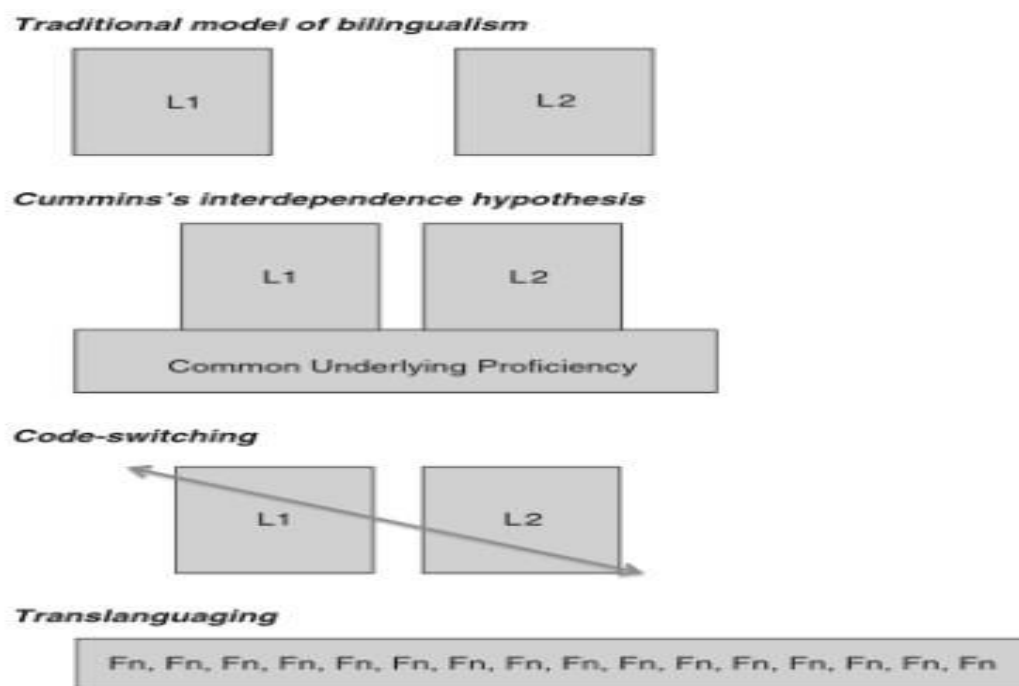


Figure 4 Different models of Bilingualism . Source Garcia and Klyen (2016)

Translanguaging theory uses Fn for features (F) of the speakers' linguistic system and nominal number (n). It does not separate languages into L1 and L2 because by doing so the theory will be endorsing the monoglossic ideology of bilingualism. According to Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015), a bilingual does not separate the language that they speak and they do not even name them even though the languages are named politically. On this bilingual's repertoire according to Garcia and other proponents of translanguaging, the learner draws from a single pool of one language. However, MacSwan (2017) who proposes an integrated multilingual model of translanguaging, views translanguaging from the perspective of bilinguals grammar using the letter (G) for grammar to show that in bilinguals the grammar and other language components are internally different. Therefore, MacSwan (2017) agrees with Garcia (2012) that indeed bilinguals have a single repertoire but MacSwan's model is different from the unitary and the dual model of individual bilingualism as it has a multilingual perspective on translanguaging. Figure 5 illustrates MacSwan's multilingual model that demonstrates the shared and separate grammatical elements.

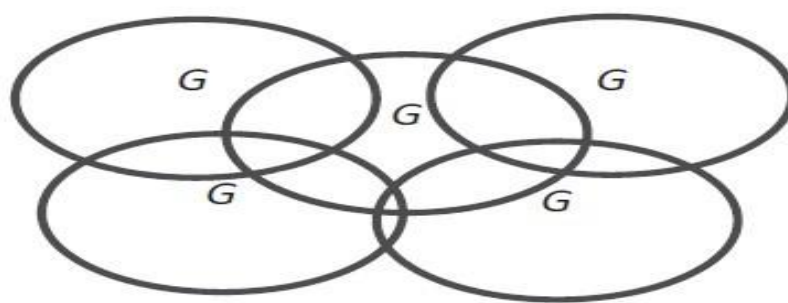


Figure 5. The Integrated Multilingual Model. Source MacSwan (2017)

Garcia (2013) states bilingual strategies must be used in a constructivist bilingual pedagogy, which allows learners to learn while interacting with others. As aforementioned, learners can remain silent in the classroom because of language problems. This is described by Bourdieu (1991) as symbolic violence, that is noticed when the language problems of participants in a community are not valued and they are made to seem worthless in scaffolding. The constructivist theory founded by John Piaget states that learners construct knowledge through their experiences (see Piaget 1964). Elaborating on development and learning, he says learning is different from development even though development explains learning. Learning is triggered by conditions, by experiences or by the teacher. Learning is therefore (according to Piaget 1955) provoked and not spontaneous. Learners are led to more understanding and capabilities to analyse and think critically. They are led to do this by the teacher who acts as a facilitator. This theory contributes significantly to curriculum development as it can be used to enhance learners' conceptual and logical growth. It claims that meaning is formed and knowledge is produced based on the experiences that people go through or have gone through. Piaget's assertion is that for new knowledge to be constructed, accommodation and assimilation take place. He therefore supports minimal teacher input. Assimilation is when new experiences are incorporated into the old and accommodation is when new experiences are used in the existing mental capacity (see Piaget 1955). Dewey as cited in Bredo (1994) states that unintelligible language has no meaning and this shows that knowledge is constructed socially through language used in a social context. As stated by Suchman (1987), there is always uncertainty when people are discussing an issue even if the other one may assume that others do not understand. That is because the other one would be trying to construct and understand what it is, and cannot be identical to the other person even though they can reach agreement. Their understanding may not be identical and therefore there is a need for evaluation and revision of plans on how they can meet the demands in or of a certain environment.

The argument so far in individual bilingualism of learners is between the unitary models and dual proficiency models in translanguageing. Garcia's unitary model views all the languages that a learner brings to school as features of their linguistic repertoire but dual models view the learner's languages separately and that is why they can advocate for the use of one language for a significant period. However, MacSwan (2017) brings a new light to inform the translanguageing theory. MacSwan's perspective lies somewhere between codeswitching and translanguageing even though he claims it is just a perspective on translanguageing, which the author MacSwan (2017) claims it becomes an ideology if we leave out codeswitching. In translanguageing as aforementioned, the concept of codeswitching is not supported as it has a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism by separating languages of a single repertoire. The application of the theory of language and conceptualisation to the theories of individual bilingualism from Cummins, Garcia and MacSwan's perspectives results in a view that learners' first language can have features of one or more languages. In a situation where it is more than one language, these languages are internally different but usable in a single repertoire. If the whole repertoire is used at home, it becomes the child's home language from which they retrieve words and concepts that they refer to therefore it is important to consider this and use it in learning at school.

Wei (2011) explains the notion of translanguageing space that focuses on connectedness by studying the sense of belonging and its consequences on the individual's identity. To study this, he proposes a moment analysis approach that studies outstanding language practices in multilingual contexts. He highlights the need to study the language practices and their effects on both the individuals and the translanguageing space, as translanguageing can be transformative. Wei (2011) observed that the translanguageing space brings together the multilinguals' history and experiences in one meaningful performance. He also emphasises that translanguageing involves criticality and creativity that show the ability to shed light on the normal cultural practices and the ability to choose how to use language. Therefore, he points out that these can be studied as momentary practices through moment analysis. Wei (2011) emphasises mainly studying these unique moments and not patterns of practices based on frequencies of occurrences because the same moments can be replicated to end up with language practices that are copied or frequently followed. He says moment analysis first involves capturing the language practices and analysing what prompted them and the results of the practices, which can be collected through interviews or discussions with the participants.

This study therefore adopts the weaker version of translanguageing. It will make use of

MacSwan (2017)'s integrated perspective of multilingualism in translanguaging as it enlightens the translanguaging theory and makes it seem more realistic. It is relevant to the language situation in Botswana where children in minority language speaking communities can simultaneously acquire their language and Setswana. Children in cities can also simultaneously acquire English and their first language and Batswana learners in general learn both English and Setswana as compulsory subjects so this they become bi/multilinguals soon as they start Standard 1. The integrated perspective on translanguaging embraces multilingualism and recognises named languages unlike the unitary model of bilingualism that does not support the use of named languages as it claims the languages are social and political constructs that do not really describe language as used naturally by the speaker. Based on MacSwan (2017)'s perspective, translanguaging seems practical and promising as named languages are considered just the way language is considered as a social construct by Otheguy et al. (2015). In the collection and analysis of data to support my thesis, Wei (2011)'s moment analysis will be considered.

2.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the literature review on language in education and performance. It has also discussed the theories of language and conceptualisation to see how the learners' language is related to thought. Then it links these theories to show how learners use their linguistic repertoire to create knowledge from their experiences. This chapter clarified that even though some theorists posit that thinking is done in the languages that we speak, other theorists hold a different point of view that thinking is not done in natural language but in mentalese - symbolic representations in the mind known as the language of thought. This study has looked at both perspectives to realise how the learners' linguistic repertoires are important in the acquisition of knowledge through constructivism. Cummins' hypothesis of interdependence of languages and translanguaging has been shown to play a major role in influencing this thesis. MacSwan's (2017) recent contribution on translanguaging was and how it differs with Garcia's unitary proficiency model of translanguaging was considered and discussed. This study therefore will be investigating language practices in Botswana through MacSwan (2017)'s lens of multilingual perspective on translanguaging. Methods of data collection and analysis to be employed in this study will be elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main objective of this research study was to understand language practices and their probable impacts on academic performance of learners in selected schools in Botswana. This chapter focuses on the research methods that were used to establish the language practices for teaching and learning in the classroom at primary school level. By doing this, this chapter seeks to explain what I did to collect data, and to analyse it; the chapter also explains why data was collected using different techniques that were employed.

3.2 Research Design and Methodology

This research study was not monolithic, as it did not use a single way to collect data. According to Mackey and Gass (2015), the way we understand learning guides how data is collected to answer research questions. This study viewed language from a sociocultural perspective as it is based on language forms and how they interact in contexts of learning. The researcher looked at the teachers' choice of language practices and student centred-work like group work. This was a critical interventionist research as suggested by Liebscher and O'Cain (2005). It integrated sociolinguistic interpretive and conversation analysis. To do a systematic study of how effective multilingual classroom strategies are, this study includes pedagogical analysis, academic genre analysis, assessing the learners' mastery of the subject by studying their academic performance. In addition, this study put the classroom in its socio economic and political contexts and re-examined the goals of the classroom to find out if they meet the main aim the curricula, which is learner centred lessons. Both outstanding language practices (see Wei 2011) and common language practices were studied in the investigation of language practices in relation to the language-in-education policy of Botswana.

This study adopted a qualitative research design. A qualitative approach is an approach that the researcher uses to study patterns of behaviour to find the meaning of phenomenon to participants. Through this approach, the interactions of participants in the relevant activity are observed (see Creswell 2009). It primarily used the qualitative research approach to explore the language practices in the three primary schools in relation to the declining performance of Botswana learners in general. It also employed the quantitative approach to a lesser extent to analyse data on the close ended questions in the questionnaire. According to Creswell and Poth (2017), case study research involves studying current cases that are taking place in real life for in-depth understanding. This study therefore chose casing to understand what goes on in practice at different primary schools in Botswana that may be contributing to the learners'

declining academic performance as they move to higher levels of secondary education. Generally, researchers do not want to generalise from a single case and so for the researcher to best generalise they must “select representative cases for inclusion in the qualitative study” (Creswell and Poth 2017:99). Therefore, three representative cases were chosen for this study to end up with a multiple case study of language practices in Botswana schools.

3.3 Sampling

Since the country is multilingual with about 31 languages, casing was used to study the three primary schools that represent Botswana’s language situation. Language practices and performance of learners at these three primary schools were studied as multiple cases. Cases are important in sampling as they are in a social system that is open and therefore they allow research to elaborate on ideas of what works well for whom and on what conditions. In qualitative research, cases are treated as strong constructions as they describe in detail what goes on in a specific setting. It answers the question “what is actually happening here and how does it happen?” and cases allow for the building of the system. Therefore, a total number of three primary schools were chosen in Botswana. All these schools were government schools and solely managed by the government of Botswana.

Since this research study was focusing on language-in-education policy and language practices in Botswana primary schools, three (3) cases (public primary schools) were chosen from a total of 755 public primary schools (Statistics Botswana 2014). They were not chosen as representatives of Botswana public primary schools but for the in-depth study of the phenomenon across various language situations within a country. School A was in the Kgalagadi district where there is a total of 42 (5.6%) public primary schools, School B was in the Southern district where there is a total of 123 (16.3%) public primary schools and School C was from South East district where there is a total of 51 (6.8%) of public primary schools (Statistics Botswana 2014).

Purposeful sampling was used in the selection of the aforementioned cases as they could provide in-depth knowledge about language-in-education policy and language practices because they were selected from regions that have different languages spoken by the majority. According to Mills, Durepos and Wiebe (2009) information rich samples are selected in qualitative case studies to enhance their validity and depth of information. Therefore the 3 cases were chosen for in-depth study of language policy and practice. To select the participating

classes within samples I used stratified purposeful sampling to bring about major variations that differentiate language practices between levels of study at primary schools.

Conducting a multiple case study enabled the research to include all the relevant key elements to cover diversity for exploration of the language for teaching and learning in Botswana. These elements include language diversity and rural or urban contexts. All of these schools were public schools; the assumption was that they considered the language-in-education policy of Botswana in their language practices. To avoid bias, two content subject lessons (Mathematics and Science) were observed. Language classes were avoided for fairness since language classes were likely to be conducted purely in a specific language; Setswana lessons were likely to be strictly in Setswana and English lessons were likely to be in English throughout. All the three cases were individually focused on as if it was a single case. This means new information in a particular case was not assimilated into other cases so that each case remained unique as it was in real life.

As aforementioned, this research study was primarily qualitative as it intended to provide an “interpreted understanding” (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:3) on the role of language in the declining performance of Batswana learners as they move to higher levels of secondary education. As pointed out by Stake (2010), qualitative research relies mainly on human understanding and perception, and the characteristics of teaching as a practice fit nicely into qualitative research. Each place and time in this study is different but relevant to their own setting. Because it is a multiple case study, some generalisations can be made (see Creswell and Poth 2017). Even though the research was conducted at the three primary schools, it will be mainly focusing on the linguistic dimension of education. The two crucial aspects in this research are the functional distribution of L1 and L2/ L3 and relative extents of L1 and L2/L3. Early studies relied on relative amounts of L1/L2 with frequency counts of distribution using the Concurrent Transition (CT). However, these researchers assumed that there was stability in the functional categories and utterances to be assigned to each category reliably. This therefore was taken for granted as it ended with frequency counts of L1 and L2 in different functional categories. Even though this study subjectively assessed the extent of use of different varieties of language, it also analyses the roles played by both languages in learning and teaching, as it will be done in chapter 5. As highlighted by Creswell and Poth (2017), to deeply understand a case is to interpret different types of qualitative data like observations, interviews, audio or even video data. For this research study, recorded data was observed, transcribed and analysed

3.4 Research Sites

School A was from a minority language speaking district in Kang village with a population of 5 985 according to the 2011 census. Shekgalaharhi is dominantly spoken in this village. This village is in the Kgalagadi district and it covers part of Kgalagadi desert. Shekgalaharhi is mostly used at home and the learners switch to Setswana and English when they arrive at school. The school began operating in 1956 and the government of Botswana solely manages it. The school logo is in Setswana. It has pre-school education that learners are enrolled in a year before they begin Standard 1. At preschool learners mainly bring their home language to school but by the time they begin Standard 1 Shekgalaharhi could be rarely heard in the classroom. According to the language policy of School A, English is supposed to be used in school from Monday to Thursday and on Friday, Setswana must be used for interactions outside the classroom in School A. However, it was highlighted that in practice learners mainly use Shekgalaharhi outside the classrooms throughout the week. PTA meetings and non-teaching staff meetings are conducted in Setswana even though the participants frequently switch to Shekgalaharhi and consultation letters to parents are written in Setswana. Teaching-staff meetings are conducted in English but there are frequent switches to Setswana. The language of learning and teaching-policy is based on the RNPE language-in-education-policy that promotes the use of English as a language of teaching and learning from Standard 2. Therefore, Setswana is only used as a language of learning and teaching at Standard 1. The two teachers for Standard 1 classes were Bakgalaharhi who spoke Shekgalaharhi as their first language. There were 18 teachers, 540 Batswana learners in total and only 2 foreign learners in one Standard 1 class. This class mainly used translation and interpretation from English to Setswana for learning and teaching.

School A has a language committee that oversees language subjects and preparations for English and Setswana composition writing for PSLE. The committee also tries to ensure adherence to the school language policy of English and Setswana even though in most cases their efforts fail as learners bring to school the language they use at home. Learners pay P60 (about 5.94 USD) as development fees inclusive of the annual prize-giving ceremony contribution. Failure to pay the development fees does not deny the learners education therefore even if they do not manage to pay the fees they are allowed in the classes. The PSLE ABC pass rate of School A rose from 62% in 2013 to 83% in 2014. In 2015 and 2016, the pass rate was 70%.

School B was in Mmathethe, a small village in the southern district where Setswana is the dominant language. Most of the learners use English only at school as a language of learning and teaching. There were two primary schools, 1 junior secondary and 1 clinic in this village with a population of 5078 according to the 2011 census. The school was built in 1934 by regimental labour and by 1960, it was operational. The government of Botswana solely manages the school and Teaching Service Management employs teachers. Currently there is no pre-school education in this school but only the six weeks reception orientation classes before the beginning of the academic year. Students pay development fees of P25 (about 2.47 USD) annually. Failure to pay this cannot deny the child their right to education but can lead to failure of school activities due to lack of financial resources. There is no special criterion for selection of learners for admission into Standard 1 but the child should be at least six years old by June of the year in which they begin their Standard 1.

The school has a comprehensive language policy that provides a framework for day-to-day interaction amongst learners and teachers. The policy promotes the use of English as it assumes that this will contribute to enhanced use of the language socially and academically. The logo of the school is in Setswana the language that people dominantly speak in the village. The school has a language committee that spearheads language activities in the school. The committee also sets language items for monthly assessments. The committee also has a role to cultivate the culture of reading and English speaking in the school by empowering learners with better methodologies in the teaching of languages for improved language performance in the school.

In School B, Setswana was used for P.T.A meetings, parents' consultation letters and nonteaching staff meetings. English was used for learning and teaching from Standard 2 and it was used for teaching-staff meetings. There were no foreign learners or foreign teachers in the school and the total number of teachers was 22 with about 700 learners. In 2014, the school had a 48% ABC pass in PSLE and the performance improved in 2015 to 51% ABC pass and 75% ABC pass in 2016.

The third school was School C in Gaborone the capital city of Botswana where various languages of Botswana come into contact. Due to the 80% dominance of Setswana in Botswana, generally Setswana can be said to be dominant in Gaborone. However, because it is a city for modernity, business and investments, some households prefer to use English. Based on the 2011 census the population of Gaborone was 231 592. According to the deputy head of

the school, the school started operating in 2001, and the government of Botswana solely manages it and they only ask for donations from private companies when they have special events. They do not directly hire teachers as the teachers are posted to their school by the regional administration. There is no pre-school education in this school and admission of Standard 1 learners is usually done in July of the preceding year. A development fee of P80 (about 7.80 USD) is paid annually but non-compliance does not deny the learner their right to education. The newly registered Standard 1 learners usually go through a six weeks orientation programme towards the end of the last term every year. There is no special criterion for the selection process; they only consider age appropriateness as children are expected to start Standard 1 at six or seven years. School C's language policy is slightly different from the national language-in-education policy as stated in the RNPE. The school promotes the use of English for communication and as a language of learning and teaching from Standard 1. The logo of school C is in English. The language policy of School C favours the use of English from Standard 1 to accommodate learners who are mostly from English-medium preschools in the city.

Even though other schools in the same region have the same language policy, cluster examinations for Standard 1 are set in Setswana except for English language subject. Therefore, School C has a language panel that translates the cluster examinations to English except for Setswana language subject. The language panel's other responsibilities include conducting workshops for all the members of the staff in areas like composition writing format and reading. Teaching-staff meetings are conducted in English, parents and teachers' meetings are usually held in Setswana but consultation letters to parents are written in English. The PSLE performance of School C ranges between 82% and 92% A,B,C pass rate from 2014 to 2016. Currently, the school has a total number of 1 060 learners and 29 teachers. There are only 8 foreign learners and all the teachers are Botswana. The school has never been under management of a foreign head teacher.

As pointed out by Stake (2010), interviewing, observation and examination of items are the common methods used in qualitative research to understand or explain situations. Thus, in these research sites this research study used the following data collection techniques were used to understand language practices at the three primary schools. Instead of interviewing, focus group discussions were conducted.

3.5 Data collection Techniques

3.5.1 Observation

After deciding what and whom to study and using which method, the researcher was ready to collect data by observation. To establish the language practices for teaching and learning in the classroom at the selected primary schools, class observation was employed for accuracy and objectivity as language in practice was studied. In addition, since qualitative research views reality as a human construction, the research was based on observations, as it was field oriented. This helped the research to collect primary information about language practices. Three classes were purposively selected at each of the schools. One class from Standard 1, 4 and 7 was chosen randomly to be observed continuously. This helped the researcher to be able to establish consistent language practices in the representative class. A maximum of three lessons were observed in a day: 2 or 1 class before tea break and the remaining classes after the break. This allowed the researcher to concentrate well in class and pick all the details. Standard 1 was chosen as it is the entrance level for primary education since pre-primary is being rolled out. Of the three cases, only School C has pre-primary and so for uniformity the researcher chose to observe language practices from Standard 1.

Standard 4 classes were also observed as this is the middle year of primary education where attainment tests are written. In addition, Standard 7 classes were observed as this is the final year of primary education where the PSLE is written. In total 10 teachers were observed. The additional one was observed at school A as the teacher of the Standard 1 class under observation was absent and so the researcher observed Class B to use the empty time slot. The classes were observed for 10, 10 and 7 days for schools A, B and C respectively. According to the time plan of this study, the researcher was not able to observe these classes for a longer period (collectively) because of the limited time for the researcher's scholarship. In addition, highlighted in chapter 1 School C was observed just before a national event that the learners were actively participating in and so in some days there were no lessons at all. This limited the results of this research study. The number of lessons observed are shown in the following table.

Table 3. Observed lessons

Total days	School	Standard	No. of Lessons	Lessons
10	School A	1	5	Mathematics
			5	Science
		4	4	Mathematics
			5	Science
		7	5	Mathematics
			5	Science
10	School B	1	5	Mathematics
			5	Science
		4	5	Mathematics
			5	Science
		7	5	Mathematics
			5	Science
7	School C	1	3	Mathematics
			3	Science
		4	4	Mathematics
			3	Science
		7	3	Mathematics
			3	Science

As stated by DeWalt et al, (2011), observation is a fair test as it presents data as it appears in reality and so in this research a voice recorder was used to capture utterance in the classroom. After getting the teacher's consent, a voice recorder was used to capture utterances for transcription. According to Mallinson, Childs and Van Herk (2013), transcription enables the researcher to analyse language so that speech may be reproduced consistently and faithfully. Video or digital recorders are recommended to produce accounts that describe communication in class. Therefore, a digital voice recorder was used in this study to record language practices

that could be heard in the classroom. Litosseliti (2010) states that one can use the interpretive approach to investigate how language is used in classroom interactions. This study used the interpretive approach to investigate language practices in the classroom. It therefore looked at the social, linguistic and cultural diversity of classes during observation. The voice recorder data was transcribed and data was selected for instances that showed language practices in the classroom. According to Edwards and Lampert (2014), transcription is important in research on spoken language as it enables the researcher to focus on what they have found out since transcriptions preserve the information gathered.

As stated by Edwards and Lampert (2014) in category design, when designing a category for the description of a dimension the categories must be systematically discriminable with clear data. For example, for pauses, there must be a system for determining whether the pause is long or short. The categories must be exhaustive for every case to fit in miscellaneous and to cater for such cases. The authors also emphasise the point that the categories must be contrastive. This means that the categories must be mutually exclusive. This research study used normal font for the speakers' real words and bold for the translation so that the reader may differentiate translated text from the speaker's real utterances. The transcript is also readable and this is enhanced by spatial arrangement and visual prominence. Systematicity and predictability of encoding are important properties in computer analysis. However, because of lack of such an application for transcribing automatically from audio to text, computer analysis was not employed by this research study. Spatial arrangement of speakers' turns can be vertical, column and partitive. The vertical format is mostly used and the column format is important in highlighting asymmetries in interactants. The partitive format is similar to vertical format as it implies turn taking. Contextual comments, nonverbal events, prosody and coding can be used and there can be nonverbal actions like nods. This research study chose to use the vertical format in transcription of speech. Linguistic patterns were analysed to provide solid conclusions. The transcriptions allowed the researcher to find out rare or unusual language practices and frequently appearing phenomena as highlighted by some authors. The first step was collecting and logging data using audio recordings. Second step was repeatedly listening to data to engage with it. The third step was sampling data, looking at focal texts to be selected using the research questions as a guide. Power relations and ideologies came out and attention was paid to what stood out. The last step involved the transcription and analysis of data and the researcher was cautioned "too much attention to many different modes may take you away from understanding the workings of a particular mode" Litosseliti (2010:194). Therefore,

attention was also paid to how active was the class or the consequences of some language practices like silence, bowing down heads or active interaction in the classroom.

During the observation, the researcher was moderately participating. She did this after informing the teacher that she will be raising her hand up to answer but the teacher should not call her more than three times. It was limited to a few answers so as not to influence the language practices in class. The following are the types of participant observations according to DeWalt (2011):

- Non-participation- in this type of observation there is no membership role at all and the researcher uses information gathered from documents or television.
- Passive participation- also implies no membership role. The researcher does not interact with the people that he or she is observing. He or she acts like a spectator.
- Moderate participation- here the researcher has peripheral membership, as they interact but not actively in the action. They limit their participation.
- Active participation- involves lively membership role, where the researcher interacts actively with the people. It may include living among those who are being observed and learning their culture.
- Complete participation- entails full membership where the observer becomes part of the people they are observing.

The researcher adopted a moderate participation type of observation. Other types of observation were not used in data collection because being passive in a primary school class would interfere and learners were likely to lose concentration and wonder about the intruder. Likewise, being too active in interactions was kept low to avoid spoiling the observation process by influencing the language practices of the classes under observation. This resulted in moderate participation as the researcher sat among learners and joined the class for participant observation to avoid the inconsistencies that may arise when the participants do not behave naturally but behave the way they think the observer would expect them to. This usually happens when the researcher sits separately away from the learners to observe the lesson passively. In this study, the researcher was not passive. Passive observation would yield these inconsistencies as primary school learners would be in shock wondering what the researcher is doing in their class if she does not sit among them. However, because the observer joined them in class the participants felt free to behave as they normally did in class. Participant observation in this study yielded

quality data and it also enhanced the quality of data collected. Therefore, it was indeed working as a “data collection and analytic tool” DeWalt et al. (2011:10).

3.5.2 Questionnaire

As elaborated earlier one class was chosen for observation from Standard 1, 4 and 7 in each of the selected schools (2 Standard 1 classes at Kang Primary School). Then a pre-piloted questionnaire on the language of learning and teaching was administered to the teachers of nonparticipating classes on the first day of data collection for validation of data obtained through observation. In total 20 teachers out of 23 teachers filled and returned the questionnaire but 3 did not. This limited to some extent data gathered through questionnaires. The questionnaire consisted of questions about facts, and questions about behaviour.

The first section of the questionnaire (Section A) was factual questions. They are also known as demographic characteristics. These helped the researcher to divide the group of respondents when comparing their answers for example sex, educational level and age group. Sections B and C were behavioural questions concerned with what the respondents are doing or what they have done in the past in relation to the language of learning and teaching. The questions included the language that the teacher uses to explain concepts, the proficiency of learners in English and Setswana, and the language that is learners mostly use in class to interact among themselves or with the teacher. These questions were used to support observed data. According to Dornyei and Taguchi (2009), attitudinal questions concern peoples’ beliefs, interests, opinions, and values and the researcher did not include them in the questionnaire to avoid very personal questions that sometimes can be said to be confidential. This means questions like how do the teachers feel about minority languages or whether they want to use their own first languages for learning and teaching. The research incorporated two types of questions in order to gain more understanding on language practices at primary school level- open-ended questions and close ended questions.

According to Gillham (2007), open or closed questions can be used in a questionnaire. A closed question is the one with predetermined answers. Only 2 open questions were asked as they are not easy to analyse but they can lead to a higher level of discovery and so the research used both types of questions to fill gaps of the other. The questionnaire helped in understanding more about the ways in which teachers interpreted their experiences and the meaning that they attached in relation to language of learning and teaching and the academic performance of learners. It was used to support primary data collected through observation. It was also chosen

because it is not expensive to use, it has no interviewer bias and it is convenient; this was one of the techniques that were used to gather information from teachers. The researchers therefore kept the questionnaire simple, as it was not suitable to get deep into the issue because the respondents answered them on their own. To authenticate the questionnaire results, a follow up focus group discussion was conducted.

3.5.3 Focus group discussions

The questionnaire was followed by a semi-structured follow up, face-to-face focus-group discussions for clarification of issues arising from the questionnaire since it contained practice type research questions. All teachers of Standard 1, 4 and 7 classes were invited for a focus group discussion on the final day of class observations in each school. At school A seven teachers attended the focus group discussion, at School B 6 teachers did and at school C 6 teachers did. The questions asked in the focus group discussions were not personal questions about the teachers' ethnic groups for example but they were questions around the language of learning and teaching in practice and the language proficiency of learners. This allowed the teachers to discuss their perspectives on language-in-education policy and practice and engage them on the observed language practices as well as why the teachers practiced them. These questions were similar to questionnaire questions but the difference was that the researcher wanted to gain more understanding for authentication of data gathered through observation and the questionnaire in a discussion forum where every teacher who had something to say was given a chance to share their views and opinions (see Appendix B).

Teachers as a group participated actively in the focus group discussion. As espoused by Turner III (2010), an interview guide has to be prepared before the discussion. This was done to guide the researcher so that the discussion would be on target but also flexible so that participants could discuss other important issues that the researcher had not anticipated. The researcher was acting as a chairperson and note taker to facilitate the discussion.

As pointed out by Turner III (2010), that the three types of interviews are structured, semi structured and unstructured interviews. The structured interview contains questions with predetermined responses and it is best for some topics that are mainly objective like questions that require yes or no answers without any subjective implications. It is common in quantitative research. This research used a semi-structured interview that consists of a list of questions; the participating teachers were given a chance to talk about issues that are not listed but relevant. These types of questions are common in qualitative research. The unstructured interview

consists of topics or themes to be discussed with the interviewees; it is led by participants and used by some qualitative researchers. These interviews can also be divided into closed or quantitative type and open or qualitative type of interview. According to Sturges (2004), there is telephone interviewing and face-to-face interviewing which she points out is usually the most suitable to use. However, she continues to point out that telephone interviewing can be used for sensitive topics. Because language practices in the education system of Botswana are not usually a confidential issue, the researcher used face-to-face focus group discussion in the planned research so that teachers could freely express their views. It helped the study to generate useful data, as some questions were open-ended. These were questions like “From the experience that you have in teaching, which language practice do you think will be best for teaching and learning in Botswana primary schools?” “How do you use language to explain concepts that learners find difficult to understand. Please explain?” However, this research avoided questions that were too open so that they could be clear and precise.

According to Seidman (2013), in depth group interview aims to understand the experience of other people. For a researcher to investigate an educational organisation or process, it must be through the experience of the people who make up that organisation and who participate in the process. Language practices that the researcher was studying were best understood through in depth focus group discussion, as it offered access to teachers’ experiences. It helped the researcher to gain insight into language use in the classroom and the academic performance of learners. This discussion was focused and combined general language-in-education discussions. The aim of this discussion was to get the teachers reconstruct their experiences of language in education in Botswana at primary school level, so that they interpret the meaning that they make of those experiences. This enabled the researcher to get the teachers’ clarification on some points and their perspective from their experience. The discussion lasted for 30 minutes for manageable analysis.

This research study is interpretative as it focuses on the meaning of language practices at primary education level as seen from different perspectives. This means multiple meanings can be expected from this study. Findings of the study are based on the interactions of the researcher and subjects. Hence, it is situational as it is attached to teaching and learning in the classroom. These findings are divided/classified/grouped into categories and themes by the researcher who was the primary instrument for collecting data and analysing it. According to Merriam (2009)’s characteristics of qualitative research, it is rich in description and so is this research study which has a rich descriptive product. Words are used to convey what was discovered about language

practices at the three primary schools; the academic performance of learners, the contexts and the participants are fully described.

Stake (2010) points out that in most cases qualitative research empathises and advocates and this can interfere with getting an understanding of how things work. However, this research incorporates statistical data for objectivity to avoid bias in interpretation of findings. This therefore means that to some extent, this research was quantitative as numbers were used as data. According to Stake (2010), quantitative research relies on measurements, linear attributes and statistical analysis. Hence, this research also aims to show the relationship between the language practices and the academic performance of learners in Botswana at primary school level by correlation and therefore at some points it collapsed diversity to average. Empirical data was included as part of the real situation in the classroom.

3.6 Data analysis

According to Turner III (2010), qualitative data may be coded and analysed quantitatively. This study converted the qualitative data to numbers for analysis of questionnaires. Content analysis was used in this study to examine texts and images. After choosing a research method, the researcher decided on measurement techniques. This also covered data collection methods like direct observation, a questionnaire, reviewing some official documents or any other technique. As pointed out by Lin (2008), Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) provides essential tools for the analysis of language in different bilingual settings. Mostly used are contexts in which L1 is preferred. This means it can provide learners with limited second language proficiency with access to the curriculum by explaining, translating, elaborating or exemplifying or textual functions where different languages are used to highlight topic shifts. Therefore, to determine the language practices in learning and teaching, classroom utterances were transcribed and analysed thematically. Qualitatively, thematic analysis was used to analyse content and descriptive statistics was used to analyse close ended questions in the questionnaire.

3.6.1 Descriptive Statistics

In the analysis of close ended questions in the questionnaire, this study used descriptive statistics to summarise and describe data from the close ended questions in the questionnaire. According to Angrosino (2007) descriptive analysis of data involves breaking it down into smaller sections that reveal the existing patterns or themes. As shown by Healey (2013) in quantitative data analysis, organisation and manipulation of data makes data more

comprehensible. Therefore this research study used some statistics derived from close ended questions to clarify the results for meaningful findings. Healey (2013) also points out that percentages as a dimension of descriptive statistics is one of the most commonly used research techniques that can be used to present research results. This study used both percentages and frequencies instead of choosing between the two in order to allow the reader to make a fair judgement of the statistics and their significance (Brown 2001, Healey 2013).

3.6.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to study linguistic features of teaching and learning process and material in the classroom. This included verbal and written communication transcripts obtained from observation, assessment records, focus group discussion and open ended questions in the questionnaire. According to Bryman (2012), this approach is easy to verify and therefore this study used it to study linguistic content in the classroom as well as how it relates to the academic performance of learners. It is popular in analysing qualitative data to analyse information of texts, audio or visual. Thus, the researcher used it to investigate concepts that were in the texts by allowing the researcher to get into the content.

First, the researcher looked for material to analyse. This means the teachers and learners language practices. Then a coding scheme for a specific theme was created. This showed a pattern in language practices and academic performance. This analysis was done manually. The researcher played the voice recorder to collect substantive statements from the focus group discussion and the teachers and learners' language use in class. Then the recorder was replayed to note down the points that stood out and content analysis was done. The notes compiled during observation and some focus group discussions were analysed. Hult and Johnson (2015) point out that at the first stage of data analysis the kinds of talk going on in the classroom are identified, then the way language/s are used by the learners and teacher is documented. Then it is checked if these patterns go beyond the classroom into wider communities. Finally, explicit talk was investigated to show ideologies regarding language.

Still in content analysis, thematic analysis as a method of content analysis was used. For my qualitative research in general, in order to yield meaningful results, language practices in the 3 schools were also analysed in a methodological manner. According to Attride-Stirling (2001), thematic analyses can be presented as thematic networks. That is, some illustrations that look like the web and summarise the main theory that emerge from the text. This method of data analysis looks at themes and patterns that can be identified in participants' lives or behaviour.

Data was recorded using a voice recorder and from the transcriptions, patterns were identified through direct quotes or just by picking the ideas that are common. Patterns that fell under one category were grouped together and they were combined into sub themes (see Aronson 1995). This technique was practical in the conduction of an analysis. It analyses and “allowed a sensitive insightful and rich exploration of a text’s overt structures and underlying patterns” (Attride-Stirling 2001: 386). This analytic tool drew on some approaches in qualitative analysis. It was used to look at how language practices and academic performance were understood and how significant these are in education. The organising principle of thematic network of this study was a network that explicitly made the procedures to be interpreted from the text. These networks revealed the following types of themes:

- Lowest-order premises evident in the text (basic themes)
- Categories of basic themes grouped together
- Superordinate themes that encapsulate metaphors in the texts (global themes)

The thematic networks analysis had 3 broad stages which were

- a) Breaking down the text
- b) Exploring the text
- c) Integrating the exploration

For easy articulation of these levels of abstraction the full process is divided into 6 steps:

- 1) Coding the material
- 2) Identifying the themes
- 3) Constructing thematic networks
- 4) Exploration of text
- 5) Summarise thematic networks
- 6) Interpret patterns

A comprehensive picture of the experience of learners and teachers was formed by joining what was observed, data gathered from questionnaires and what the teachers told the researcher. Therefore, the researcher made sure they were coherent through interpretation. Finally, a conclusion was reached by choosing the themes and seeing how they relate to current literature

in language in education. This analysis of qualitative data material was needed as it is subjective and therefore could bring out qualitative meaning in a social context.

3.7 Ethics

For ethical purposes, a letter was obtained from Rhodes University confirming that I am a registered student *see Appendix 4*. It was submitted at the Ministry of Education and Skills Development in Botswana to request for permission to undertake my research at the selected schools and permission was granted to collect data from the participating schools as shown in *Appendix 5*. Consent was also sought from the participating teachers and headteachers of participating schools and classes, *Appendices 8a- 8d*. Learner's names, teachers' names and the schools name are concealed in this study; for transcribed utterances, pseudonyms were used.

3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter deliberates the methodology of this research study by elaborating on the research design and methodology. The research design is essentially qualitative since a case study approach was adopted. A multiple-case study was adopted in the form of three primary schools, one from an urban district area, another from a majority language district and the third one from a minority language district. However, the study also has a quantitative dimension in the form of descriptive statistics used to analyse close ended questions. It also explained the research techniques that used, how they were used and why they were used. These include observations, questionnaires and focus-group discussions. The following chapter gives a report on the findings of the study after using the aforementioned research techniques.

CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study in a narrative form by giving a report of preliminary data, data from observation, questionnaires and focus group discussions. Main sections of the chapter will be reports on each school as a case and graphs, tables and some extracts from transcriptions will be integrated into the narrative presentation. The aim of this research study was to establish the language practices at primary schools to determine how pedagogy in the 3 selected schools at Standard 1, 4 and 7 occurs. The following narratives give an account of language practices at each of the schools.

4.2 School A

According to the preliminary data from the head teacher, in School A Shekgalaharhi was dominantly spoken; this was confirmed by the researcher before entering the first class for observation. Outside the classrooms learners use Shekgalaharhi to interact with others. Setswana was used at Standard 1 as a language of learning and teaching in compliance with RNPE. From Standard 2 onwards English was used as a language of learning and teaching. However, she said that one class out of the two Standard 1 classes uses both English and Setswana to accommodate two foreign learners of Indian and Shona origins and so the teachers regularly translate between English and Setswana. She also highlighted that even though the school tries to adhere to the national policy in education, sometimes Standard 1 learners can respond to the teachers' questions in Shekgalaharhi. It was noted that both Standard one teachers were Bakgalaharhi. An observation was made that in class 1A after the learner has answered the teacher in Shekgalaharhi, the teacher would correct them by giving them the right word in Setswana and the learner would repeat the word after the teacher. The following extract reveals these instances:

Extract 1. School A Standard 1A Science Lesson

Teacher: Basimane bone lo itlhokomela jang?
Boys how do you take care of yourselves?
Thabiso: Teacher, Teacher. Roll on!
Onalenna: O a ipola! gatwe basimane.
They shave! The teacher was asking about boys
Teacher: O ipola? A reng bathung?
O ipola? What is she saying?
Class: Go ipola! Go ipola!
Go ipola! Goipola!

Teacher: A go ipola ke Setswana?
Is 'ipola' a Setswana word?

Class: Nnyaa mma. Go ipeola! Teacher go ipeola.
No teacher! Go ipeola! Go ipeola!

Teacher: Go ipeola wa utlwa Onalenna? A ko o re go ipeola? Eseng go ipola.
Please repeat after me

Onalenna: Go ipeola.

From observation, it was realised that Setswana was dominantly used in class 1A. In this class, the teacher once used a Setswana nursery rhyme to introduce a lesson to learners of 1A as shown in the following extract:

Extract 2. School A. Standard 1A Science lesson. Uses of Water

Whole Class: Mmutla o kokobetse, mmutla o kokobetse
 O theka le metsi metsi, o theka le metsi metsi

Teacher: Ee a re nneng ha batshe. Jaanong he! ee, lo ntse lo opela pina ya mmutla akere?
 Jaanong re ntse re re mmutla o letheke le ntseng jang?
Let us all sit down. You have been singing a song about a bunny. What does it say about the bunny's waist?

Class: Le metsi! Le metsi!
It is flexible..Literally translated [wet]

Teacher: Jaanong phakela re ne re dirisa metsi re a dirisetsa eng?
What did we use water for in the morning?

In class 1B where there are foreign learners, there was almost a balance in the use of Setswana and English. In the questionnaire, one Standard 1 teacher showed that learners mostly use Shekgalaharhi to interact among themselves but they used Setswana to interact with the teacher. Almost all teachers showed that the proficiency of their learners in English and Setswana is fair. She indicated that she uses teaching aids to simplify meaning for learners.

This teacher indicated in the questionnaire that she would prefer using both English and Shekgalaharhi. She agreed that language of instruction has an effect on the performance of learners and it was realised that in the mid-year tests at School A in Class 1A of 32 learners 66% pass in Mathematics and 84% pass in Environmental Science was recorded. For class 1B of 30 learners 87% pass in Mathematics and 92% pass in Science was achieved. Learners in both classes were fully participating by answering the teachers' questions and demonstrations; teaching aids using locally available material like clay to mould was used. Through observation, it was realised that both teachers used Setswana to interact with learners and only switched to English to communicate with a foreign learner or to translate content as shown in the extract below:

Extract 3. School A Standard 1B Mathematics. Height

- Teacher: A ngwana le motho yo o godileng ba a lekana?
Does a baby and an adult look alike?
- Learners: Nnyaa mma!
No madam!
- Teacher: Mmhh?
- Learners: Nnyaa mma!
No madam!
- Teacher: Ga ba lekane jang?
How do they differ in size?
- Boitumelo: Ka gore yo mongwe o monnye.
Because the other one is small.
- Teacher: Ka gore o mongwe o monnye akere? Nna le Thabo. Mpoellang sengwe ka nna le Thabo. Buang. Buang ka nna le Thabo. Nna ha hatshe a boo tsholetsa seatla.
Because the other one is small, right! Thabo and me. Tell me something about me and Thabo. Say something. Say something. Say something about me and Thabo.
- Masego: Thabo o monyennyane
Thabo is young.
- Teacher: O monnye mo go mang?
Younger than who?
- Masego: Mo go teacher
Than the teacher
- Teacher: Good girl! Thabo o monnye mo go teacher akere?
Thabo is younger than the teacher, right!
- Learners: Ee mma!
Yes Madam!
- Teacher: Ha o bua okare Thabo o eng ene?
What can you say about Thabo?
- Learners: O ngwana! O ngwana!
He is a child! He is a child!
- Teacher: Ha re bua ka go gola boleele le bokhutshwane oka re Thabo o eng?
What can you say about Thabo when we talk about his height?
- Learners: O mokhutshwane!
He is short!
- Teacher: O mokhutshwane mo go mang?
Shorter than who?
- Learners: Mo go teacher
than the teacher
- Teacher: Very good! Thank you very much. Go and sit down Thabo. Mary, we were comparing two people. We were comparing two people by their height. They say that Thabo is shorter than and the teacher is taller than Thabo. Is that so? Hee! Who is short?
- Mary: Thabo is shorter than the teacher

Teacher: Very good girl! Thabo is shorter than the teacher. Le a mo utlwa le ene Mary a re Thabo is shorter. Fa a re Thabo is shorter o raya gore Thabo o mokhutshwane. When she says Blessed is...The teacher is taller go raya gore teacher o motona, o moleele mo go Blessed. A reye! Thank you very much
you can hear that Mary is also saying Thabo is shorter. When she says the teacher is taller she means the teacher bigger than Thabo. Let us continue

At Standard 4 a young Motswana male who used both English and Setswana to almost the same extent taught the class. The class was very active and learners could use both English and Setswana to ask the teacher for clarification. The teacher could give the learner an exercise to do on the board as they present their working to the whole class. Later on, he will give them individual work and move around the class to help those who are struggling.

Extract 4. School A Standard 4 Mathematics. Converting Litres to millilitres

Teacher: It is simple. You multiply the number by one ona akere?
this one okay?

Learners: Yes teacher!

Teacher: A bo o adda diunits. Jaanong ke le neela exercise. Ke mang yo o sa ntshaloganyang?
Then you add the units. Now I am giving you this exercise. Who does not understand?
Lo siame lotlhe? (He writes some questions on the board) Ke e exercise e. One two three four
Do you all understand? Here is the exercise
Pule o a tshaloganya? Ntirela e fa e le gore ga o tshaloganye. Ntirela three litres to milli litres, o seka wa ba wa e tloa.

Pule do you understand? Please do this one for me if you do not understand.
Convert three litres to millilitres; please do not skip this question. Pule: One thousand times.....

Teacher: Mhhh? O raya gofe?
you mean which one?

Pule: Hale. That one
 One litre

Teacher: Banyana! Oa Tshaloganya? Ntirela e. Eight litres to millilitres
Banyana! Do you understand?

Banyana: Eight times zero, eight times zero, eight times ten

Teacher: Ga wa tsenya eng? Sir o sharp? O a tshaloganya? Ntirela palo e. Seven litres to milli litres.

What have you omitted? Sir are you fine? Do you understand? Can you convert this?

Thabo: (He writes in his book)

Teacher: Seven o mmaa fela foo? O nna go lebagana le zero wa bofelo ga a nne fa
You just write that seven right there? It has to be under the last zero but not where you wrote it.

Thabo: seven times zero, seven times zero, seven times ten

Teacher: Ga re a tsenya eng? Fa o sa tsenya millilitres oa a bo o sa feleletsa. A lo a utlwa? O a bo o sa kwala sentle. Answera e e correct is this one.

What have we omitted? Your work is incomplete if you do not write millilitres. Are you following? By so doing you would not have written properly. The correct answer is this one...

The teacher mainly interacts with the learners mainly in Setswana and asks them if they are okay or they need some clarification “*Learner x o sharpo* Sir/Madam?” Learners in this class were interacting with their teacher in both English and Setswana and among themselves in Shekgalaharhi. According to the records of school, this class of 35 learners had a 91% pass in Mathematics and 86% pass in Environmental Science.

In School A the Standard 7 class was already doing revision for the PSLE exam. The class was mainly taught in English and was mainly conducted by the teacher. The teacher asked them questions and they answered. They also worked in groups to answer some questions and present to the class for comparison. While working in groups learners could use their first language but they would switch to English when the teacher approached their group. For interaction with the teacher, learners used English mainly and rarely used Setswana as shown in extract 5. The lessons were mainly teacher centred using the question and answer method whereby the teacher asks a question, the learner answers and then the teachers reports back the answer to the class as shown in extract 5 “he says he baths” “he says food”. Wallcharts were purely in English and developed by the teacher as shown in figure 6. This class of 32 learners had a 72% pass in Mathematics and 50% pass in Science.

Extract 5. School A. Standard 7. Science. Nutrition

- Teacher: Hei can you put away all those papers. We’ll be doing Science. You all know that you are done with Science. So there’s one topic that we are going to do again. Before we get into that that topic I will like anyone to tell me what he or she does before coming to school. What do you do before you come to school? Anything that you do before you reach School A Primary School? Yes Laone
- Laone: I wake up
- Teacher: A re **she says** she wakes up. She wakes up
- Thabo: I eat
- Teacher: He eats. Yes Agang?
- Agang: I bath
- Teacher: He baths. Mhh Larona?
- Larona: I play
- Teacher: You play before you come to school? A re **he says** he plays. You pray? Pray or play? He prays. Mhhh what else? That’s all that you do? you do what?
- Kabo: Brush our teeth
- Teacher: Brushing your teeth falls under bathing
- One: Polish our shoes
- Teacher: Polishing their shoes. But I want us to talk about this, this thing called eating. What do we eat? Theo?

Theo: Food
 Teacher: A re **he** says food. What kind of food? Mma?
 Bogolo: Porridge, we eat soft porridge.

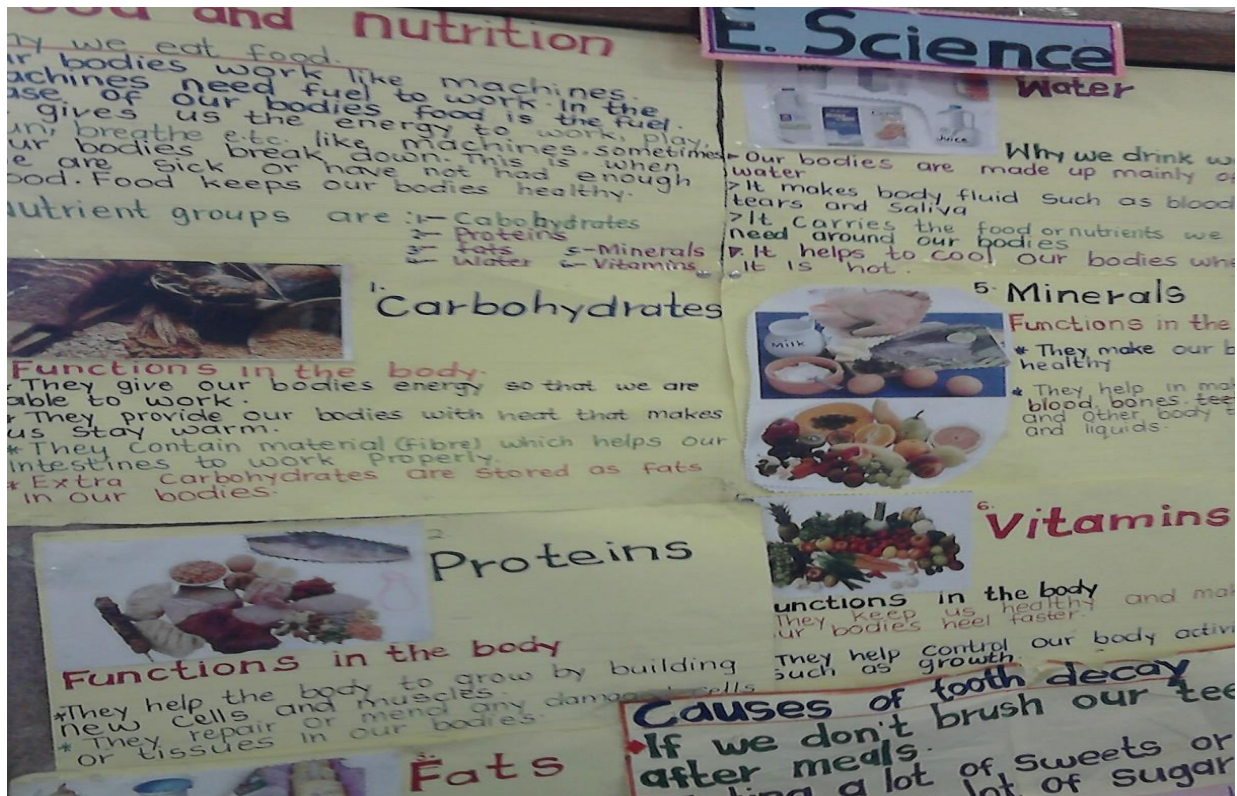


Figure 6. School . A Standard 7. Wallcharts created by the teacher. Science

The language of learning and teaching responses of the teachers in the questionnaire showed that 2 out of 6 (33%) teachers said they used English for learning and teaching and 4 (67%) showed that they use both English and Setswana in the classroom. On the language of interaction, 1 (17%) teacher showed that learners use English to communicate with her, 1 (17%) teacher showed that learners use Setswana to interact with her and 4 (67%) showed that learners use both English and Setswana. On the language of interaction among learners, 3 teachers (50%) showed that learners can use English, Shekgalaharhi and Setswana. Still on the interaction of learners among themselves 2 out of 6 (33%) teachers showed that learners use English and Shekgalaharhi and out of 6 teachers 1 teacher (17%) showed that learners can use Setswana to interact among themselves.

The focus group discussion of 7 teachers from Standard 1, 4 and 7 showed that 2 teachers believed that mother-tongue education until Standard 4 would work in a school like School A, 2 believed that using two languages might help and only 1 believed that using English only from Standard 1 would enhance the learners' performance. All of them except 1 explained that they never deliver content purely in Setswana or English as recommended by policy. He showed that he uses the language the way he does for learners to understand well in class. Other teachers said that they used teaching aids and gestures to explain difficult content. Generally, in the focus group discussion teachers in school A felt that the learners' proficiency in both English and Setswana was fair, however in the questionnaire 1 teacher indicated that the learners' performance in English is poor.

The following Table is a summary of language-in-education policy and practices in School B
Table 4. Summary of School A language Practices and Performance

	LoLT Practice in	School Policy	Mid-Year % Pass Maths Science	Language of Assessment
Standard 1	Mainly Setswana Setswana English and	Setswana	66 88 87 92	Setswana Setswana Batswana for English and foreigners) (for
Standard 4	Setswana and English	English	91 86	English
Standard 7	Mainly English	English	72 50	English

4.3 School B

From observation, Setswana was dominantly spoken in School B as the Deputy Head teacher pointed out. This was also validated by the response of teachers in the questionnaire as all of them (5) showed that Setswana is dominantly spoken in School. In the classroom, 1 Standard 1 teacher showed that learners used Setswana to interact with her, 2 showed that learners used English to interact with them and another 2 showed that learners used both languages to interact with them. For interaction among themselves, the questionnaires revealed that 3 teachers out of 5 claim that learners use Setswana to communicate among themselves, 1 said they use English and another 1 said they use both English and Setswana. The Deputy Head teacher had also revealed that Setswana is used as a language of learning only at Standard 1, and from

Standard 2 onwards English is used. At Standard 1 as observed this was practised but at Standard 4 and 7 both languages were used to varying extents for learning and teaching.

Just as Setswana was dominantly used in school B at break, the same practice was observed in the Standard 1 class that the researcher was observing. Learners interacted with the teacher and among themselves in Setswana. The class was always actively participating in collaborative work or giving out class presentations. The teacher informed the researcher that they had completed the breakthrough programme, which is why they could confidently participate in exercises that involved reading and writing. Before the teacher introduces the lesson, she writes the topic on the board and learners would read syllable by syllable while the teacher was writing. By the time she invites them to read, they would have long finished reading the topic on the board. The only time learners used English was when they rarely called “Teacher! Teacher!” or when the teacher would say “Good!”, after the learner had given a correct answer. The following extract shows all the features that characterise this class:

Extract 6. School B Standard 1 Mathematics. Times of the Day

- Class: di...na...ko... tsa... le... tsa...tsi (they read while the teacher is writing on board)times of the day
- Teacher: A re reetsaneng! Nako ya letsatsi. Re a go dira Dipalo jaanong fa re dira Dipalo a ko mongwe a tsholetse a re balle gore re tla a bo re ithuta ka eng. Thabo bala.
Please let us us listen! Times of the day. We will be doing Mathematics so can someone raise up his or her hand and tell us what we will be learning about today. Thabo read.
- Thabo: Dinako tsa letsatsi. (He reads)
times of the day
- Class: Dinako tsa letsatsi (they read with the teacher) **times of the day**(later on)
- Teacher: Hee! Go leng? A go bosigo? A go motshegare? Ee mma, lorato. A go motshegare? Yone nako yone e, a g motshegare?
What time of the day is it? night? Afternoon? Yes! Lorato. Is it in the afternoon
- Lorato: No teacher!
- Teacher: Ke kopa gore lo tsholetse matsogo tlhe bathung, hee!go leng boipelo?
Could you please raise up your hands, Boipelo what time of the day is it-now?
- Boipelo: Go maphakela.
It's in the morning.
....(Later on)
- Teacher: Go nna leeng, bosigo? Go nna leeng Karabo?
What did she say we have? The night? Karabo what do we have?
- Karabo: Bosigo.
The night
- Class: ga o a re badisa! Ga wa re badisa!
We have not read the word, we have not read it.

Karabo: bo-si-go! (she reads aloud with the class) Bo-si-go.
Night.

Teacher: Ekare o ne o sa badise bone. Akere? Ee go tla bo go nna bosigo. Akere? It is like you have never made them to read that word.
Yes, then comes the night okay?

Class: Ee mma.
Yes madam.
 ...(Later on)

Teacher: Good. Re a tshameka motshegare. Mm? re dira eng gape? Ke kopa gore o tsholetse, malebogo! Re bo re dira eng gape motshegare? Ha? Re bo re dira eng gape motshegare? Mareko? Hee? **We play in the afternoon. What else do we do in the afternoon Mareko?**
 ...(Later on)

Tshepiso: Teacher!

Larona: Re bo re itshasa. Re bo re itshasa re bo re eja dijo tsa maitseboa. Akere? haa! Ee mma! Re bo re dira eng gape?
Then we apply the lotion. Then we have supper. Okay? Hey! Yes madam. What else do we do?

Bineelo: Re bo re apaya? **Then we cook.**

Teacher: Bua a bo re dirang? Buela ko godimo Rebaone.
Please speak up Rebaone. What do we do at dusk?

The performance of Standard 1 learners was 88% in Mathematics and 73% in Environmental Science. The teacher informed the researcher that the following year the learners are switching to English as a language of learning and teaching just as the deputy head teacher had shown on the preliminary data. She however raised a concern that it will bring the learners' marks down and they would not be participating actively as they were doing. In the questionnaire, 2 teachers in School B claimed that learners' proficiency in English was good and 3 claimed that it was fair. The standard 4 teacher whom the researcher was observing stated that her class' proficiency in English was poor and she tried some exercises to help them acquire English.

The situation changed significantly in Standard 4 class when one had been to the Standard one class. Here, the language of learning and teaching was mainly English and the class was not very active. Learners used mainly English to interact among themselves and their teacher. While using English the teacher could relax and switch to Setswana then invite the learners to answer her in Setswana. After she had asked a question in English, she could translate it to Setswana. The following extract shows this:

Extract 7. School B Standard 4 Environmental Science. Road traffic Signs

Teacher: ...but do we find these signs at the cattle post? Do we find these signs at the lands? No teacher. Why is it that it is in the villages and towns? Why?

Learners: Because...(silence)

Teacher: You raise up your hands. Why? Why? Dimakatso

Dimakatso: Because lands and cattle posts are far from the Villages and towns.

Teacher: O mongwe o ka molella gore ke eng di seyo ko morakeng le ko masimong why is it that we don't have these road signs at the cattle posts and the lands. Why? Don't we have them at the cattle post? These traffic signs. Ah! Road signs. Why? Why? O mpoellang a mpoelle ka Setswana gore ene o bona ele gore ke ka goreng. Tell me in Setswana. Why? Yes Boitumelo.

Can someone tell her why we do not have these road signs in the village?

Boitumelo: Ka gore go sekgwa ga go tsamae batho ba le bantsi.

Because there are clumps of trees and fewer pedestrians.

Teacher: Go sekgwa ga go tsamae batho ba le bantsi.

There are clumps of trees and fewer pedestrians O mongwe ene a reng?

What can you say? Osego!

Osego: Dikgomo di ka di senya

The cattle would destroy them.

Teacher: We have traffic signs in towns and cities but not at the cattle post. O mongwe ene a reng? Tlheng mpoelleleang. Potsonyana fela e lo e ithutileng ko creche. Ee!

Please answer me. You learnt this at pre-school. Yes!

Bontle: Ka gore batho ba ka di diga.

Because people would destroy them.

Teacher: Batho mo Mmathethe mo Mmathethe mo ga ba kake ba di diga? Ao! Botshelo! ba bolelle gore ke ka goreng?

And so residents of Mmathethe village cannot destroy them?

Botshelo: Ka gore dikoloi ga di tsamae di le dintsi teng

Because there is less traffic.

Teacher: Yes! Ka gore dikoloi ga di tsamae di le dintsi teng. Yes. Clap hands for her. Ka gore ga go na dikoloi tse dintsi tsi at the cattle post. Ga go na dikoloi tse dintsi tsi at the lands. Ga go na batho ba bantsi tsi akere?

Because there is less traffic at the cattle post.

That is why we are having them in villages, in cities and in towns. Is that clear? Is that clear?

Learners: Yes teacher!...

The same teacher did not tolerate poor pronunciation of English words, as she would repeatedly ask the learners to pronounce the word until she feels they are pronouncing it right.

Extract 8. School B Standard 4 Mathematics. Time

Teacher: Count from 1 up to 12

Class: 1,2,3

Teacher: there is nothing like *tirii*. I have never heard of that start, start, start, start afresh! Onalenna count from 1 up to 12

Onalenna: 1,2

Teacher: Hey! Hey! 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12, Maatla! Stand up and count from 1 to 12.
 Maatla: 1,2,3,4,5
 Teacher: Why are you happy Thabang? You are looking at Maatla and you are smiling. Wena **you** you cannot count from 1 up to 12? You can't count from 1 up to 12. Can I have a bigger plate there? Thabang stand up and count from 1 up to 12.
 Thabang: 1,2,3,4,5
 Teacher: there is nothing like tirii. Start
 Thabang: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12
 Teacher: (holding the plate) whose is this?
 Class: Thabo!...
 Teacher: What do you think I am drawing here?
 Class: You are drawing a watch .

The teacher used diagrams on wall charts to simplify meaning for learners. She also used material developed by the learners as part of class activities, as shown in the figures below.

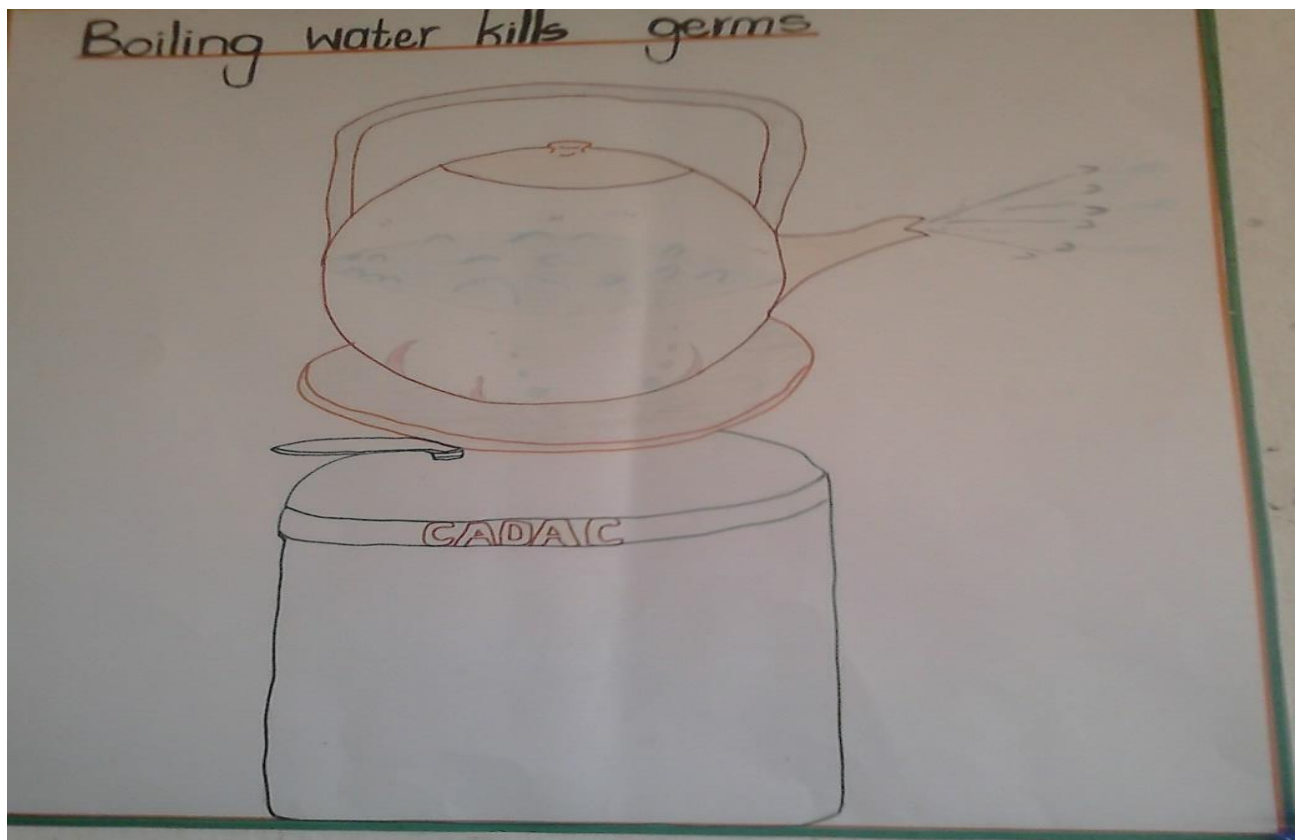


Figure 7. School B Environmental Science Wallchart created by the teacher

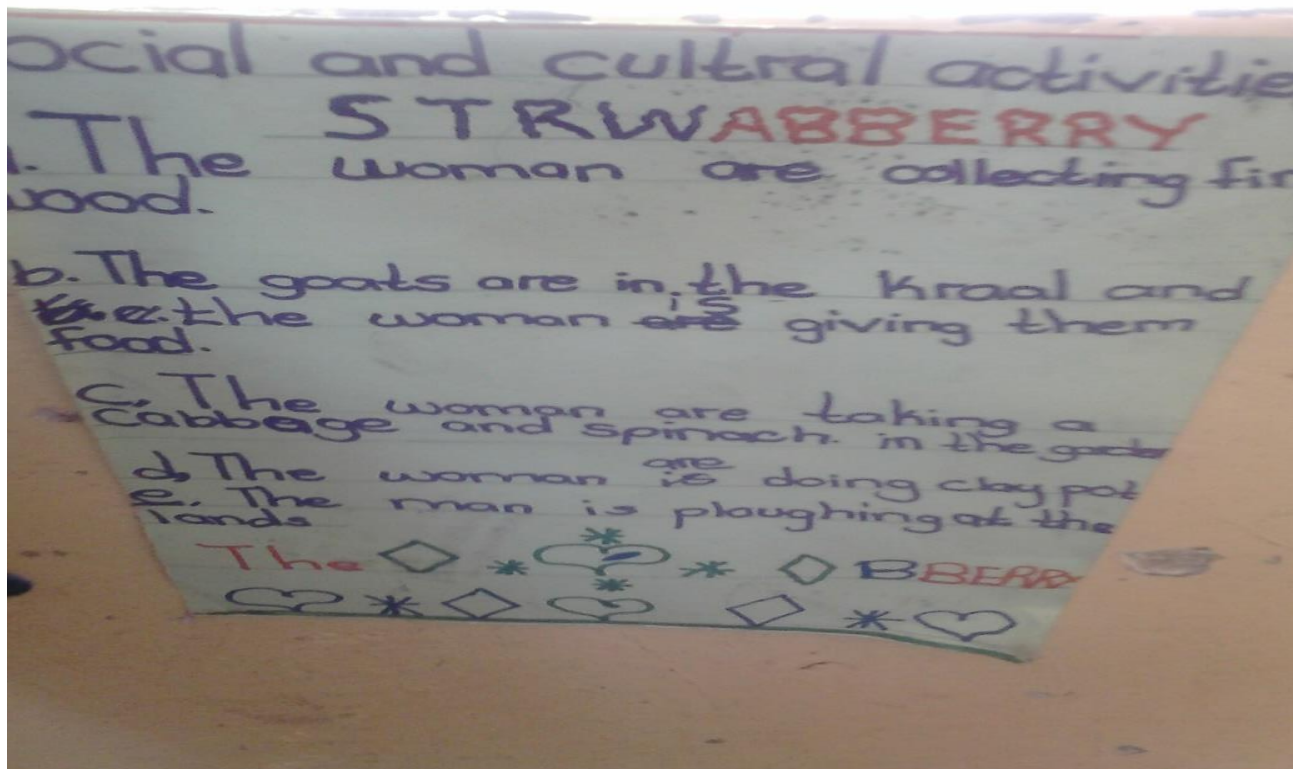


Figure 8. School B learner Created Wallchart

The picture below is a wall chart that the teacher mentioned that she hoped would enhance her class' vocabulary.

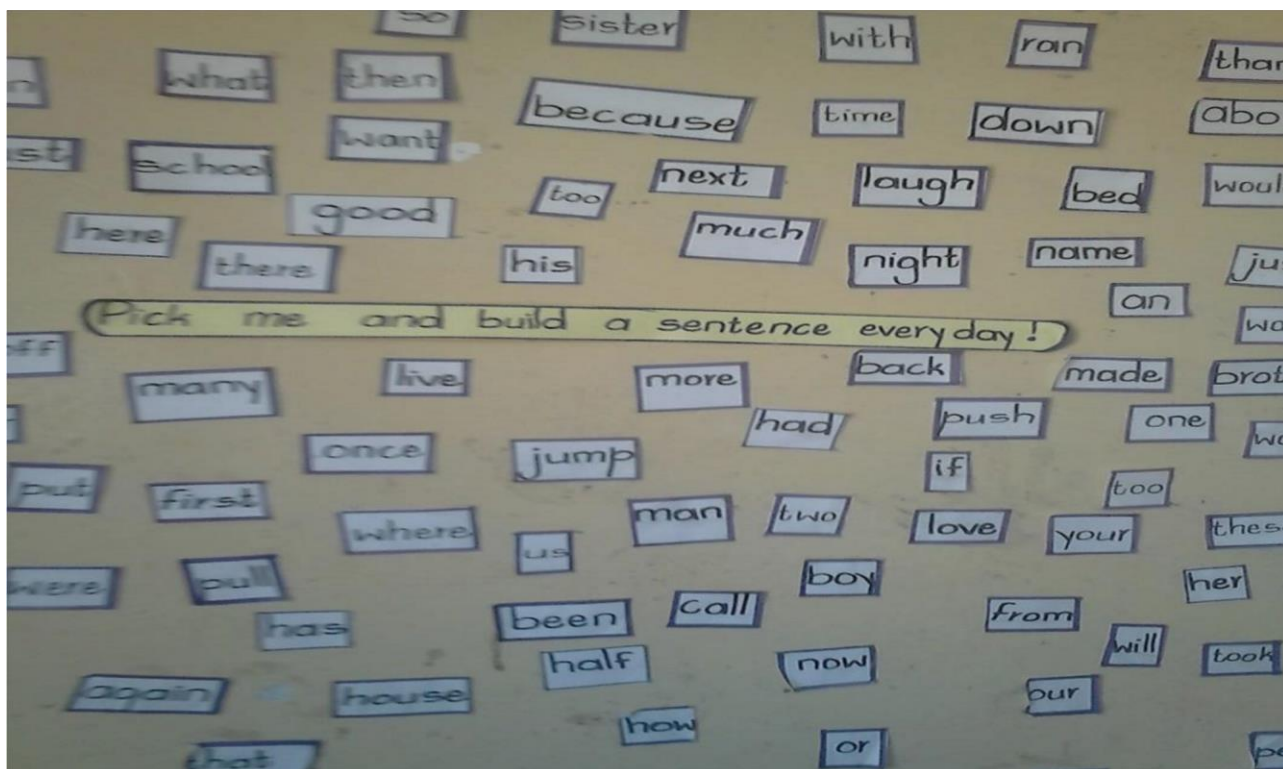


Figure 9. School B Standard 4 Vocabulary activity on the wall

The mid-year examination results of this class of 40 showed a 3% pass rate in Mathematics and 49% pass in Environmental Science.

The language of learning and teaching in Standard 7 was mainly English. Learners also mainly used English to interact among themselves or with their teacher. In most cases, the teacher switched to Setswana to reprimand learners or just as a habitual tendency. During revision, the teacher could identify a topic that she felt needed more attention and concentrate on it. Learners could be taught how to pronounce a word, how to spell it and how to use it in a sentence.

Extract 9. School B Standard 7 Mathematics Revision for PSLE

- Teacher: Ee! **Yes** let's hear from you.
- Baone: Because we can ...
- Teacher: Hee! Never start a sentence with because ...
- So, I want us to read these words quickly before we get to the actual work. Who can read that word on the board? Or you can't see? There is that word on the board. Who can do it? Ah! Can't you see it? Ee **Yes**, Thabiso! What is that word? Ee! Help him?
- Thabiso: Proba...proba...bity
- Teacher: Hee! **Hey!** I said I hate someone who laughs at someone... When someone says a thing, please don't laugh at him or her. You better correct that person. Okay, let's hear from you...
- Thabang: Probability. Okay that is what she is saying. How about the other person? What is the word?
- Masego: Probable
- Teacher: Ah! haa! **Hey!** The word is what? Probably, Probly, is what? Probably, probably. And we have the other one. What word is that? Is the other word? What word is it?
- Malebogo: Dub..dub...dub
- Teacher: Help him!
- Neo: Doubtful.
- Teacher: The word is what?
- Learners: Doubtful.
- Teacher: Ehe! then we have the other one. We have that word there what is it? Ha! Speak up!
- Thabo: Likely.
- Teacher: What did he say?
- Learners: The word is likely
- Teacher: Can you close your eyes and spell that word?
- Learners: L-I-K-E-L-Y
- Teacher: What is the word?
- Learners: Likely!
- Teacher: And the first one was what? Probably. With your eyes closed can you spell that word?
- Learners: P-R-O-B-A-B-L-Y probably
- Teacher: And the second one is what? Doubtful. How do you spell it?
- Learners: D-O-U-B-T-F-U-L

Teacher: Thank you. There is a new word on the board. What is it? All those words people use them with probability. Some people are putting their heads down...

From the questionnaires, it was realised that 5 out of 5 teachers at School C felt compelled by policy to use language of teaching and learning the way they did in class. About the effect of language practices on the performance of learners, 4 showed that they thought language did have an effect and 1 thought language does not affect the performance of learners. It was realised through observation that at Standard 4 and 7 the learners were quiet as they usually participated only after the teacher had asked them a question several time. In relation to this, 4 teachers showed that they used Setswana to simplify content for learners and 1 showed that they simplify content by simplifying the language of learning and teaching which is English. According to the questionnaire, 4 out of 5 teachers in this school felt that using Setswana only at Standard 1 in a school like School B is not beneficial to learners and the policy must be changed but 1 teacher felt that English must be used from Standard 1. Learner performance of this Standard 7 class in the mid-year assessment was 48% pass in both Mathematics and English.

The focus group discussion authenticated the above findings, as all of the teachers showed that they try to follow policy even though sometimes they end up using a prescribed language. Even though they feel the policy must change as shown in the questionnaire, they have differing views on how it should be changed. 1 said they will prefer Setswana as a language of learning and teaching in school B, 1 said she would prefer English only, 2 thought mother-tongue education up to standard 4 might be helpful and 1 felt that both languages may be used.

Table 5. Summary of school B Language Practices and Learner Performance

	LoLT	Policy	Mid-Year Pass Maths	% Science	Language of assessments
Standard 1	Mainly Setswana	Setswana	88 73		Setswana
Standard 4	Mainly English	English	3 49		English
Standard 7	Mainly English	English	48 48		English

4.4 School C

School C dominantly used English just as revealed by the head teacher and all the teachers in the questionnaire. Outside the class, they used both English and Setswana to interact among

themselves. Likewise, learners could use both English and Setswana in the classroom. However, in the classrooms English was more dominant than Setswana. This was also observed in Standard 1 as the learners and the teachers could use both languages but English largely. Learners' participation was just moderate as the teacher mainly delivered content by engaging the learners in question and answer exercise. The following extract shows this:

Extract 10 School C Standard 1 Science. Soil.

- Teacher: Ehee! Ehee! **Hey! Hey!** keep quiet. Didimalang! **Keep quiet!.** We talked about rocks. We said something about rocks. What did we say about the rocks? What did I say? Texture. We talked about the rocks they differ in texture and what else? And how do they differ if we consider the differences?
- Malebogo: Shapes
- Teacher: They differ in shapes and how else? Yes! If you are rubbing these stones what is it that you are making now?
- Class: Soil.
- Teacher: mmm? That is what I want. If you rub them you are making soil. He said by rubbing them you are just...thank you for that answer because you are taking us to what we want to do. Mmmm?
- Thapelo: We can decorate with them.
- Teacher: We can decorate with them and what else can we say about the rocks?
- Tebo: We can build the houses.
- Teacher: We can build the houses. Very good! Masego?
- Masego: We can build a wall. We can make some walls.
- Teacher: We can pave, we can pave with them. This is how we can ...These are the uses and the differences. Those are the uses of rocks but I like the one that says we can make soil. We can make soil out of the rocks. We can make rocks. As you have seen. We rubbed them then we made soil. We end up making soil, making what?
- Class: soil
- Teacher: That is how we end up with soil. We make up soil out of the rocks. By rubbing them. Before we talk about the uses of soil, I want you to tell me the three types of soil. The three types of soil that you remember? We talked about it. I want you to remember the three types of soil. These ones are the uses of soil. These are the uses of rocks.
- Lesego: We can make dams
- Thabo: We can make roads
- Teacher: The soil is there and the rocks are there?
- Teacher: Heela tlhe rra, heela tlhe rra! (reprimands one student who is making noise along the corridor) these are the uses of soil. But today we are going to deal with with the uses of soil. How do we make soil?
- Thabo: By rubbing the rocks together
- Teacher: By rubbing the rocks together. Before we get into it, I want you to give me the three types of soil.
- Maungo: Clay soil
- Teacher: We talked about clay soil. What do we use clay soil for? What is it that we use if for? We talked about it. What do we use clay soil for? We do what with clay soil? We do what? The clay soil?

Bonno: We make stuff

Teacher: Which stuff? A re **she says** we make stuff...which stuff? What do we do with clay soil?

Remember when we were at standard 3 class. Yes standard 3. What were we doing?

Lesego: Moulding

Teacher: We were moulding. We use clay soil to mould. We use clay soil to mould. What else can we make with clay? What can we make with clay? What can we mould?

Lebang: Plates

Teacher: Yes we can mould plates yes with the clay soil. What else can we make with clay? What can we make with clay? We can do what?

Thato: We can make some cups

Lorato: some plates

Teacher: We can make all these with with clay soils. There's another type of soil. We talked about three types of soil. Can you give me another type of soil? People were not listening. People they don't read. There is the name of another soil. They only know clay soil. Yes!

Rose: Physical soil

Teacher: No. Physical soil? Jaanong go raa gore **this means** she is taking us to Cultural Studies.

Physical abuse. What did we say physical abuse is? Is when someone is doing what? Beaten! Beaten over nothing. That is physical abuse. Now she is taking us somewhere else. Ee yes, we got the clay soil and which other soil? What did we say about loam soil? How does it help us?

Kagiso: We use it at the gardens.

Teacher: What about the sandy soil? To make what? To make?

Lebo: To make houses and to make bricks

Teacher: Lo a gakologelwa re bua kaone mothaba?

We are going to look at the uses of soil. Uses of what?

Class: Uses of soil

Teacher: The uses of soil. O nne o akanye foo gore mmu re dira eng ka one? **In the meantime think about the uses of soil** Think about it? What do we use soil for? What do we use soil for? To do what?

Lesedi: To make a dam.

Teacher: To make what? Dams. To build dams. To build what?

Class: Dams

Teacher: What are we talking about? What is the second use? ... Ke tlaa bo ke beile fale ke riana wena wa go bua, wa go buaselo sa teng akere? Nambara akere? **I have pasted some charts on the board and you have to tell me what that picture is, okay?** To build dams. We are talking about soil akere? And what else? Tsholetsa lebogo la gago wena! Ee! please raise up your hand! Yes! What else? What else do you use soil for? What else Barati?

Barati: To make houses.

Teacher: We are talking about the soil. What else?

Heelang tlheng banyana ke lona lo a tlhodia, ha re lo a tlhodia. Tlogela tshipi e wena e. Tlogela tshipi. Hey girls! You are making noise, you are making noise! Please leave that metal rod leave it! We can decorate, we can use the soil to decorate with it. We can also use soil to decorate. Batho ba babngwe ba kgona go o dira gore o sale o ntse jaana a bo go sala go le gontle some people can creatively do this and come up with these nice patterns Tiro, what else do we use the soil for? The soil? Soil? Tsoga wena Gorata...please wake up Gorata! To do what Kenanao?

Kenanao: To mould, to mould

Teacher: To mould also. We also use the soil to mould. To do what?

Class: To mould

Teacher: What else? To make what? Thato, bua enngwe mo gongwe hoo please tell us, what else do we use soil for? The uses. Di tlaa fetelelaa the chart is already full now. Ehe.nna nne ke re I was saying the uses of soil. A re bale. A re bale. Let us, read let us read.

Class: To build dams.

Teacher: Again!

Class: to build dams

Bone: to build houses.

Larona; to decorate

Teacher: Ee go kgabisa to decorate. To make a place look beautiful. You take the soil. Put it in the boxes. Some different colours of the soil. We use them to decorate our houses. A re a utlwana are you following? That is the work of...that is to decorate. To mould, to grow plants on it. To make roads. What are the roads? Tsela-eng? The road Tsela the road. Tebogo, Ba neele. Ba neele ba kwale Please give them their books to write.

Tebogo: (calls out their names as she hands out the exercise books)

In a single incident in a Standard 1 Science lesson about poisonous substances a learner talked about a crab and the teacher did not know what a crab is. Other learners tried to describe a crab but the teacher was clueless as she informed them that she did not know and then she continued with the lesson in the recommended language according to School C language policy. Extract 11 shows this.

Extract 11. School C. Standard 1. Environmental Science. Poisonous Substances.

Teacher: At the petrol station we get petrol and what? Bonang... what is it?

Bonang: Paraffin

Teacher: Paraffin...and what else? And what else? Stop talking!

Thobo: Yesterday when I was sleeping at home \I saw a crab.

Teacher: a?

Thobo: crab

Teacher: A crab is what? What is a crab?

Some learners: It goes like this (imitating a crab with their hands)

Teacher: Ehe! I don't know it. Gatwe it goes like what? Some

learners: Like this

Teacher: Ehe! I don't know it. Even the soap...even the soap. Can we eat the soap?

Learners: No! we can't eat it

Teacher: It is also a poisonous substance

The performance of these learners for mid-year assessment was 93% pass rate in both Mathematics and Science. The teacher explained that the school wrote the cluster assessment that was set in Setswana but a special committee in the school translated it to English.

Language practices in Standard 4 also showed the dominance of English just as mentioned by the head teacher in the preliminary data that learners and teachers in the classroom communicate in English. It was also realised that for interactions among themselves learners used both English and Setswana. Learners were participating actively as they could also voluntarily interact with the researcher in English. The extract below is from a transcript of Standard 4 Mathematics lesson on change. It shows that the teacher could ask a question in Setswana but expect learners to answer in English.

Extract 12. School C. Standard 4. Mathematics. Change

Teacher: Let us assume that all of you are my children. When you go to the shop I will give you each P100. You are going to use this P100 to buy things. Do we buy same things?

Learners: No!

Teacher: We have got different ideas. Interests. So, when we go to the shops we are not going to buy same things we are going to buy different items. Thato will buy, Thato will buy?

Thato: I am going to buy...I am going to buy bread.

Teacher: Is it difficult to say bread?...Only?

Thato: Five roses. Yes teacher. 2.5 kg tse di tona tse gatwe di bidiwang?

Other learners: Flour, flour

Thato: This is not flour it's bread

Teacher: E rile gotwe **What you are doing** is direct translation...how much is it? O batla go duba magwinya ? You want to prepare dough for fat cakes?

Thato: And tea

Teacher: Tea o raya eng?

Thato: Tee. Five roses

Teacher: and how much is the Five Roses?

Thato: P10

Teacher: Is it all you want? Ah! This is what Thato is going to buy. Ke mang agpe yo mongwe gape? Malebogo

Malebogo: Ke batla go reka...

Teacher: Speak English!

Malebogo: Phaleche...maize meal. Maize meal

Teacher: you don't want to buy....

Malebogo: Teacher I want to buy...I really want to buy....I will buy a Samsung phone.

Teacher: 2 Samsung phones with P100? Is it going to be enough? For a second hand?

Malebogo: No P8000

The language of learning and teaching was dominantly English as the teacher could rarely switch Setswana. Wallcharts were mainly the learners' work as shown in figure 10. The midyear performance of this class was 88% pass in Mathematics and 92% pass in Science.

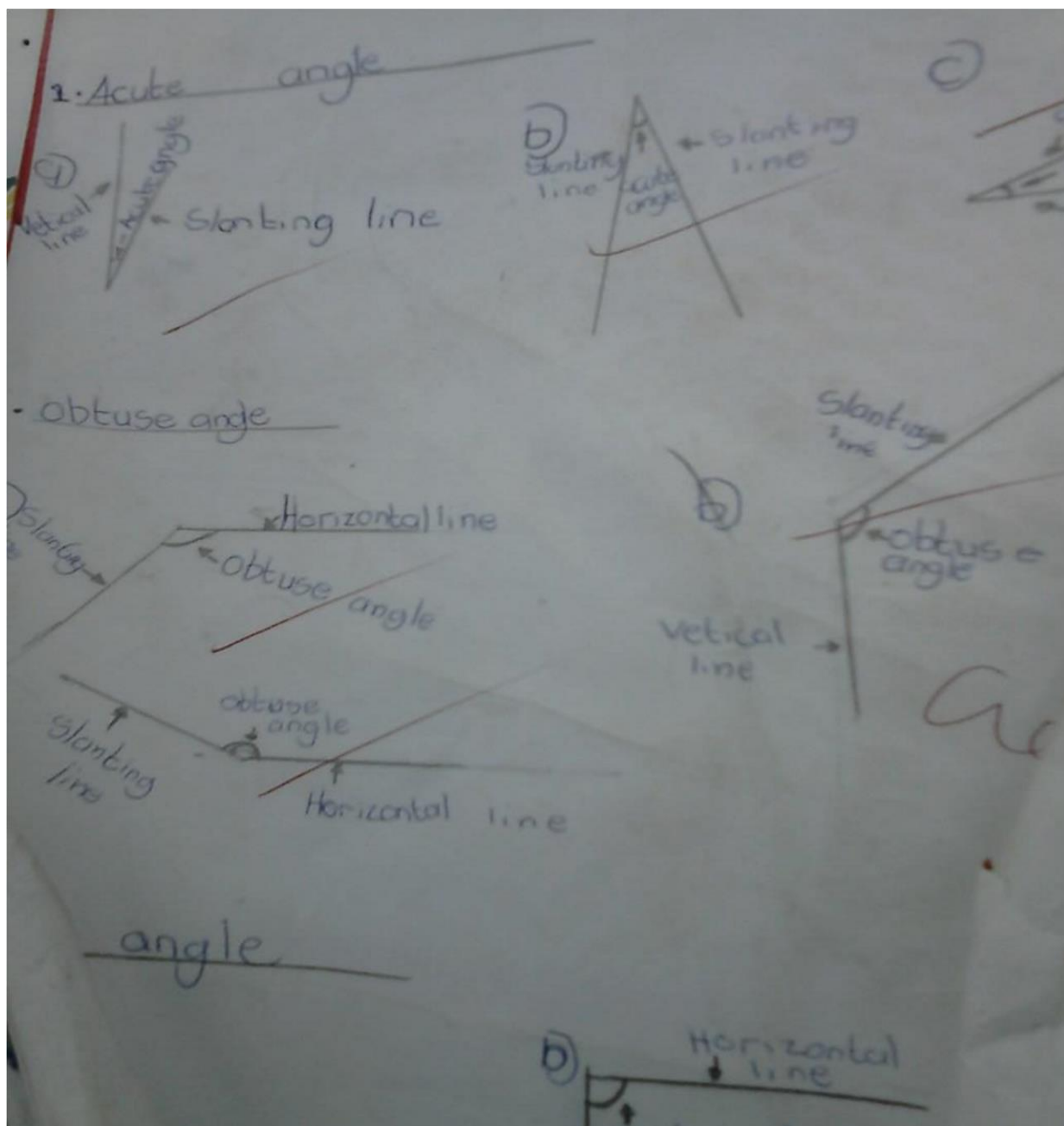


Figure 10 School C Standard 4 Mathematics Exercises mounted on the wall

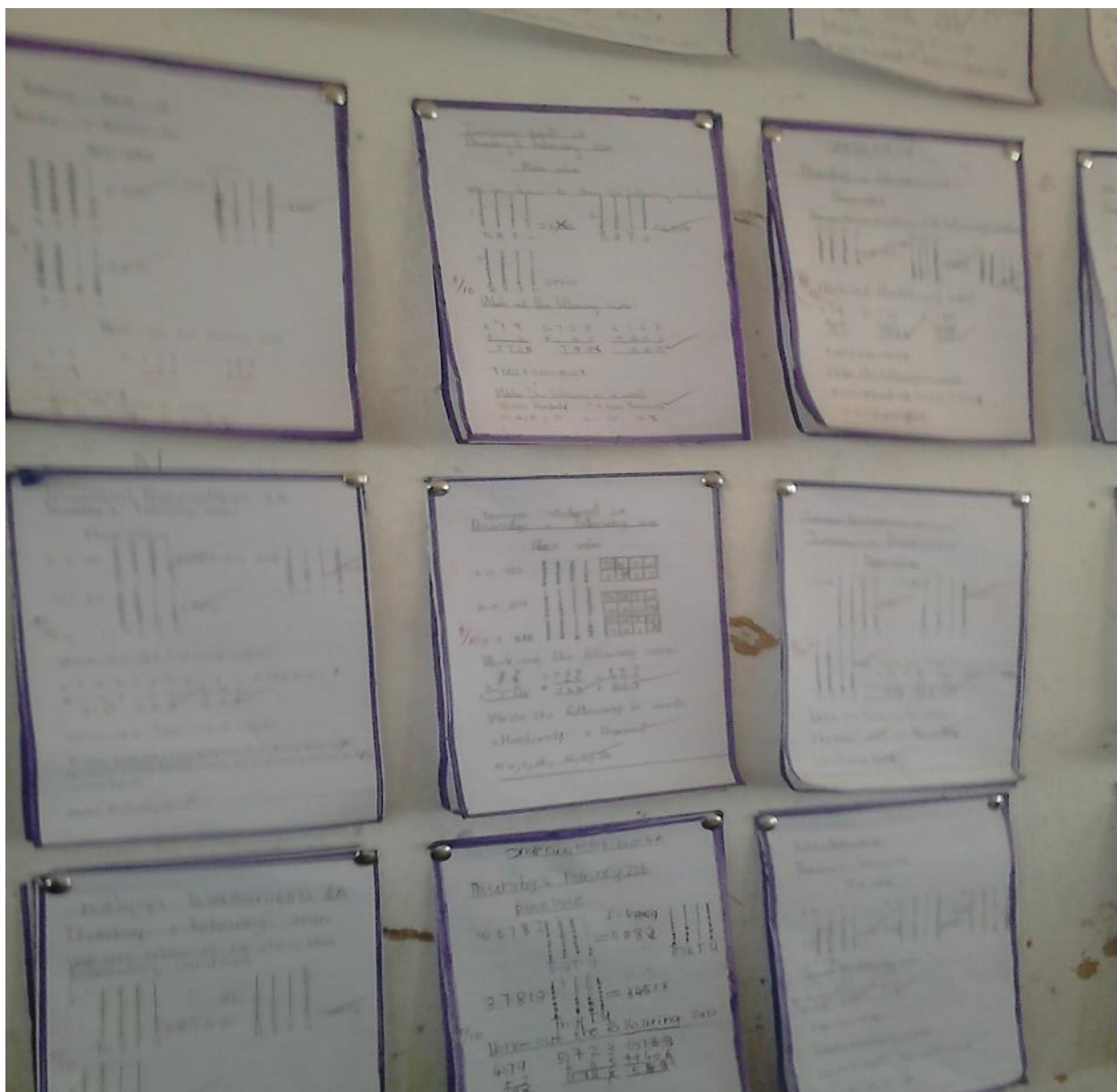


Figure 11. School C Standard 4 Mathematics Learners' class Exercises as Wall charts

At Standard seven, revision for PSLE was ongoing mainly in English. The teacher usually sat among the learners supervising the revision exercise and for consultation on advanced questions. Any volunteering learner who stood at the board to point to other learners to read the questions usually led the revision exercises. The learner as the facilitator also picked fellow learners to answer the question or to walk upfront and do the work on the board. In both mathematics and science lessons learners could use both languages to argue for their answer or to explain their method. The teacher also could use both languages to explain the best answer.

Extract 13. School C Standard 7 Mathematics Revision for PSLE.

- Teacher: So let's go to number 9. Malebogo is saying this is a quadrilateral so it should add up to 360 because it is a trapezium. Akere? Okay?
One two three four sides. Now this angle here. This one here is 60. 60 go raa gore kana(that means.... This' angle H. F and F yoo F yo a le fa that F is here. F yoo that F? F yoo that F? Just a...go raya gore M and G fa That means F and G are here. Remember this is not complete. Fa e le complete ke gore a bo e ntse jaana This is how it should look like if it is complete. FH are not complete. Fa e le complete ke fa e ntse jaana okay This is how FH looks like when it is complete? Rea dumalana akere do you agree? Yes! So fa e le gore golo fa is 60 go raya gore le fa is 60 if we have 60 here that means we also have 60 here. So if there is 30 go raa gore le fa is 30 The same applies to 30. Le fa go 30 another 30 is here? Le fa ke 30 even here?
- Lesego: No teacher it's supposed to be 60 there. Teacher is 30. So if this is 30 this 30 is going to be 60 plus 120. Plus 120 e nna 240 **it becomes 240.** 240. We are left with this and this.
- Teacher: Ke 30 ka fa? is it 30 here?
- Lesego: Ke bone 30 I got 30. Teacher 360-240 ke bokae What is 360-240? Nyaa! No! and then we divide by 2.
- Teacher: By 2?
- Lesego: Hee! Nyaa! Nyaa! No! No! I am not saying it is not C akere C re dumalane le yone We agreed about C?
- Teacher: I will ask Mma Thapelo.
- Masego: Number 31.
- Teacher: Akere Maipelo o e dirile? Maipelo has done it?...

All these observations were confirmed by the questionnaires that showed English was dominantly used at school C. It was revealed that 7 out of 9 (78%) teachers showed that they used English only as a language of learning and teaching and 2 showed that they used both English and Setswana. For interaction among themselves, all teachers showed that learners used both English and Setswana but they used English for interacting with their teachers. On the proficiency of learners in English, 5 teachers out of 9 showed that their learners were good in English and 3 out of 9 showed that their learners' proficiency was fair. In the focus group discussion, all the teachers indicated that to simplify content for learners they use teaching aids, simplified language, gestures and role-plays. This was mainly observed at Standard 4. In Setswana, 4 out of 9 teachers rated the learners' proficiency as good, and 5 out of 9 showed that the learners' proficiency in Setswana was fair. Therefore, in the discussion, 6 teachers out of 10 said they prefer an English only policy for School C and 4 said they prefer the use of both English and Setswana. On the effect of language on the academic performance of learners, only 1 teacher out of 10 in the discussion at school C showed that he did not think that language may have an effect on the academic performance of learners. Moreover, all the 10 teachers at

school C for the focus group discussion felt that it is important to consider how the learners' languages are used from Standard 1.

The following table summarises language practices at School C in relation to policy and assessment.

Table 6. Summary of School C Language Practices and performance of learners

	LoLT	Policy	Mid-Year % Pass Mathematics Science	Language of assessment
Standard 1	Mainly English	English	93 93	English
Standard 4	Mainly English	English	88 92	English
Standard 7	Mainly English	English	83 77	English

4.5 Summary of Language Practices at the 3 Schools

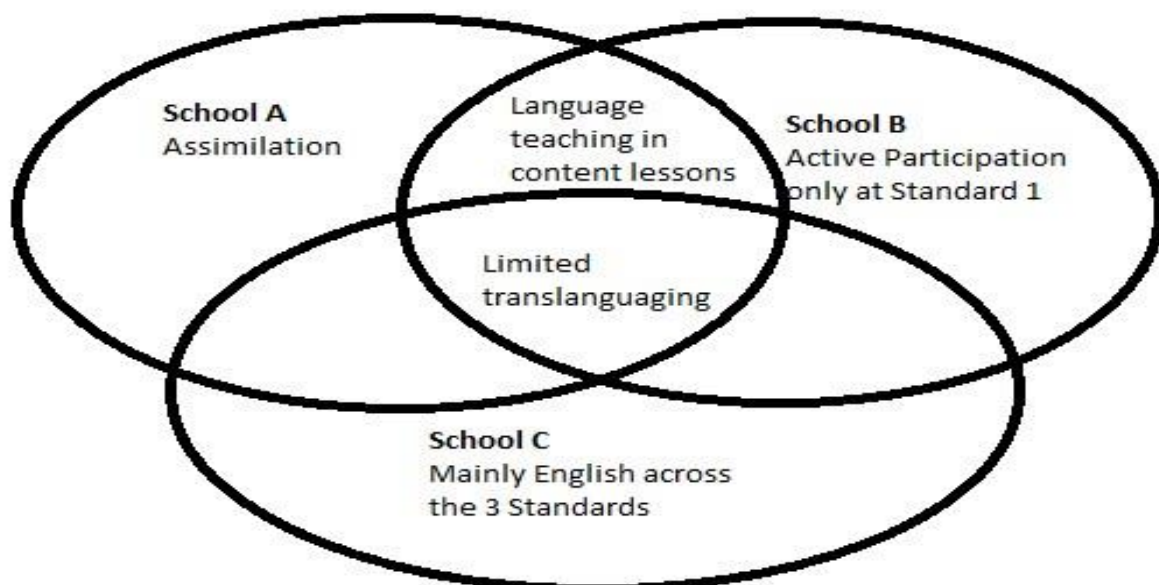


Figure 12. Summary of language practices at School A, B and C

4.6 SUMMARY

This chapter was reporting the findings of this study. It presents data from observation as captured in the voice recorder or as heard and seen by the researcher. It also presents data gathered from the questionnaires and focus group discussions in a narrative form. It was found out that assimilation takes place at School A, at School B there is active participation only at Standard 1 and at School C English was used across all levels of education. However, both schools showed limited translanguaging and language teaching in content lessons. The next chapter extracts information from the presented data and make relevant inferences in relation to the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER 5 DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses data in alignment with the objectives of this study. It is divided into 4 sections that elaborate on the findings of this study. The first section focuses on language practices at the 3 primary schools, the second one investigates compliance of schools to the RNPE language-in-education policy, and the third section assesses the impact of the established language practices on pedagogy. The final sections critiques the RNPE language-in-education policy from perspectives of current research on language in education.

5.2 Language Practices

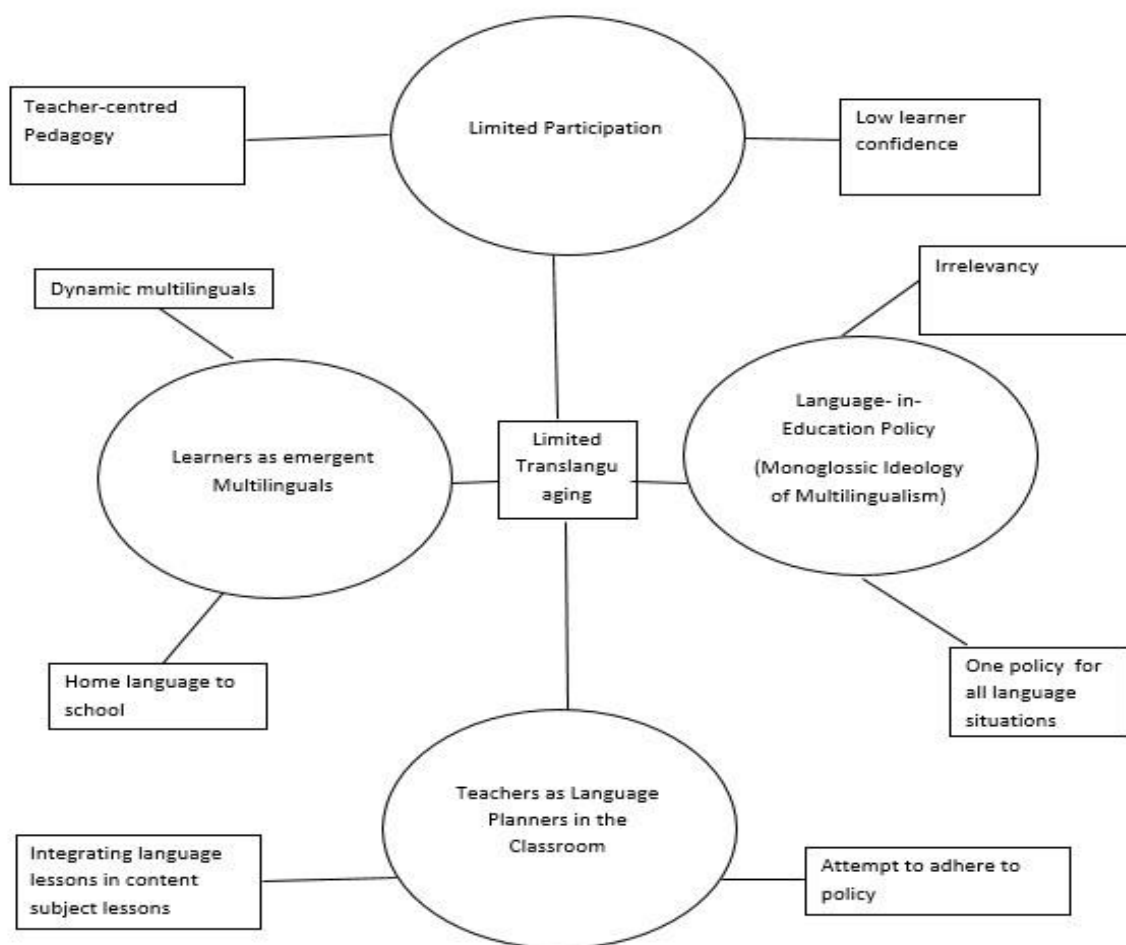


Figure 13. Thematic Analysis

Language practices in Botswana at the 3 primary schools reveal what Bailey (2007) calls heteroglossia. Bailey (2007) uses this term to describe speech of bilinguals in which various

forms of communication can be used. It also looks at the tensions that exist in the use of those forms and signs for communication as they have some socio historical associations that shift. These associations shift because they are negotiated and subjective. In all the schools across Standard 1, 4 and 7 both, teachers and learners used various speech styles and multiple languages but to a limited extent depending on the circumstances and on the intended effect on the audience. Garcia (2013) views this as transglossia, as it goes beyond heteroglossia as it includes translanguaging. This study adopts translanguaging theory as it investigates language practices at the three schools.

Since this is a developing theory, its definition changes as more research is undertaken on this area. Otheguy et al. (2015) define translanguaging as “using one’s idiolect, that is, one’s linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language labels or boundaries.” (Otheguy 2015:297). Using this definition of translanguaging is controversial, as it does not endorse the use of named languages. However, MacSwan (2017) later enlightens this theory with a multilingual perspective on translanguaging that recognises named languages and shows that grammars of the languages of a multilingual individual are actually integrated and not unitary as claimed by translanguaging theory. MacSwan does not differ with the claim that for meaningful participation multilinguals use their full repertoire naturally to communicate flexibly. According to Garcia and Kleyn (2016), translanguaging does not hold a monoglossic ideology to bilingualism and so they posit that bilinguals have a unitary system of language. That is the linguistic repertoire with different features of their repertoire. Since the proponents of this theory do not endorse named languages, it does not endorse codeswitching as Garcia and other proponents claim that codeswitching is mainly about separating languages but translanguaging is about using the entire linguistic repertoire for full participation. It views the whole repertoire as a resource in meaningful communication.

In addition, the translanguaging theory does not support the interdependency hypothesis of languages as the proponents claim that the interdependency hypothesis separates the languages of a bilingual learner even though it claims they are interdependent. However, the integrated model of individual bilingualism on translanguaging also supports the use of named languages and the claim of translanguaging that indeed bilinguals have a single repertoire. Therefore, in describing the language practices at the 3 primary schools this study uses MacSwan’s lens in translanguaging that endorses named languages.

According to Batsalelwang and Kamwendo (2013), teachers as powerful language planners were mainly in control of how language was used in the class even though there were some other contributing factors as discussed in the second section of this chapter. This was realised at Standard 1 in a school where a minority language is dominant, as their teachers prohibited the use of their first language in class though learners frequently said out their answers in Shekgalaharhi. After giving out an answer in Shekgalaharhi, the learners' answer would be translated to Setswana and they would be given the translated version of their answer as the correct one. Based on Mooko (2006), this may be assimilation to incorporate Setswana into the linguistic repertoire of minority language speakers, without accommodating their repertoire for access and meaningful participation. This revealed very limited transglossia which according to Garcia (2013) is complex language practices that related to translanguaging. Based on Gordon's (2007) assertion that songs or rhymes can be used strategically to encourage early speech emergence, it may be concluded that the use of Setswana nursery rhymes like in *extract 2* "*Mmutla o kokobetse, mmutla o kokobetse. O 'theke le metsi metsi. O theke le metsi metsi*" can be viewed as a powerful tool of assimilation. Gordon (2007) points out that song and music are effective ways of teaching a second language because when the learners sing along together as a class "they are not afraid of mispronouncing a sound or getting a word wrong" (Gordon 2007:85).

Contrary to this marginalisation of a minority language in Botswana, in another class where there were 2 foreigners, language was planned in such a way that it revealed the triglossic nature of languages in Botswana. According to Batibo (2005), triglossia is when languages in the same community are designated positions in hierarchy according to the distinct roles that they play whereby the one on top is the most developed and used in government domains. The one in the middle is usually a national language and the one at the bottom is the one with the lowest status, usually a minority language. This class illustrated all this as it presented the availability of 3 languages being English-spoken by the two foreign learners, Setswana-supposed to be used for learning and teaching at this stage according to policy and Shegalaharhi- spoken by the majority of learners as their first language. The language at the lowest level was also not allowed in this class. The class actually favoured the use of English to accommodate the foreigners who are very few in number but the other class failed to accommodate the majority through the language that they already have in their repertoire. This exposes the two cases where interpretation/translation was used to assimilate the majority and to accommodate the minority (according to class statistics). According to Duff (2015),

transnationalism is the movement across linguistic or geopolitical boundaries. It involves the construction of identity temporarily or permanently, therefore, transnationalism in this minority language-speaking village was supported whereas translanguaging was limited. It must however be noted that language practices like these are not usually planned by the teachers but they are usually adapted from the macro policy.

Varying fluidity of communication was established across the schools and across the three levels of primary education. The teacher as a powerful language planner, to some extent also controlled the fluidity of communication in class. The fluidity of communication in the three primary schools was seen from the way the teacher and learners interacted in class. Factors like barring some languages and allowing others could affect the fluidity of communication in the classroom as all the languages of a multilingual learner or their whole repertoire must be accommodated and not suppressed for them to participate meaningfully in class (see Garcia and Kleyn 2016). Generally, fluid communication was audible outside the classroom during break at all the schools. This was the only chance for learners to fully use their idiolect.

At School A mainly Shekgalaharhi could be heard, at School B communication was mainly in Setswana and in School C learners mainly used both English and Setswana. This revealed the language practices that they normally practised outside school. Fluid communication in class was recognised in the Standard 1 class in the majority language speaking school where Setswana was used for learning and teaching only at Standard 1. This was the only class that the national policy in education could accommodate the learners' repertoire. Therefore, it was not amazing that the learners had already successfully completed the Breakthrough to Setswana programme that introduces Standard 1 learners to literacy in Setswana. As it can be noticed in *extract 4* learners rarely used English in words like 'Yes teacher! No teacher!' or 'Teacher!' when they wanted her to call them for an answer and the teacher rarely switched to English in words like 'Good!' to commend the learners after they have got the answer right. In this class, content was mainly in Setswana and learners were participating actively and enthusiastically as they could just loudly read the word on the board while the teacher was writing it. They participated in different class activities like collaborative work and interactive presentations. Based on Wiley and Garcia (2016), this is what happens when the learners are allowed to use their repertoires fully. The same language practice was realised at School C across levels where learners were welcomed into school mainly through English. It was planned intentionally to accommodate learners with the language that they bring to school as explained by the head teacher this can be seen by the flexibility of language use as both learners and teachers can

switch between languages in lessons (see extract 15). However, at Standard 4 the teacher did not expect the learners to use Setswana even if she posed a question in Setswana as shown in extract 12.

Overt language teaching in content subject lessons was also common across schools and levels at varying degrees. Since the minority language was suppressed at School A, the only languages that were actively put into use in learning and teaching were English and Setswana. There was unconcealed teaching of Setswana in Mathematics and Science lessons in School A at Standard 1 as learners through assimilation were taught what to suppress and the proper version of Setswana to use. English was also taught in Mathematics and Science lessons in School B at both Standard 4 and 7. At Standard 4 (see extract 8) the teacher could ask the learners to count up to 12 just to correct their pronunciation of the word which according to the teacher was not supposed to be called (*tirii*) but (three). At Standard 7 as shown in *extract 9* the teacher could integrate vocabulary, spelling and pronunciation exercises into the revision programme as learners could be asked to close their eyes and spell the word.

The aforementioned examples may show that in practice, education that does not consider the learners' repertoire is mainly about language teaching. These learners' proficiency in English was said to be fair by the majority of teachers but some of them struggled to read the terms that the teacher was introducing for revision. In their personal interactions among themselves and outside the classroom, learners at School B dominantly used Setswana. The majority of learners' heads were bowed down by the time they got to the third word. Based on Canagarajah (2011)'s observation that translanguaging empowers learners to be confident about their identity, this may lead to despair and learners may develop negative attitudes towards learning in general since it was mainly done in English. In relation to identity practices, Bailey (2007) states that when someone speaks, they represent what is happening around the world therefore it is not possible to separate language from the political and social reality of life. He also states that when discussing identity we answer questions like how, when and why individuals are taken as a member of a group.

Extract 14. School B. Standard 7. Mathematics Revision for PSLE

- Teacher: *Ee! (Yes)* let's hear from you.
- Baone: Because we can ...
- Teacher: *Hee!* Never start a sentence with because ...
- So, I want us to read these words quickly before we get to the actual work. Who can read that word on the board? Or you can't see? There is that word on the board. Who can do it? *Ah!* Can't you see it? *Ee (Yes)*, Thabiso! What is that word? *Ee!* Help him?
- Thabiso: Proba...proba...bity
- Teacher: *Hee!* I said I hate someone who laughs at someone... When someone says a thing, please don't laugh at him or her. You better correct that person. Okay, let's hear from you...
- Thabang: Probability. Okay that is what she is saying. How about the other person? What is the word?
- Masego: Probable
- Teacher: *Ah! haa!* The word is what? Probably, Probly, is what? Probably, probably. And we have the other one. What word is that? Is the other word? What word is it?
- Malebogo: Dub..dub...dub
- Teacher: Help him!
- Neo: Doubtful.
- Teacher: The word is what?
- Learners: Doubtful.
- Teacher: *Ehe!* then we have the other one. We have that word there what is it? *Ha!* Speak up!
- Thabo: Likely.
- Teacher: What did he say?
- Learners: The word is likely
- Teacher: Can you close your eyes and spell that word?
- Learners: L-I-K-E-L-Y
- Teacher: What is the word?
- Learners: Likely!
- Teacher: And the first one was what? Probably. With your eyes closed can you spell that word?
- Learners: P-R-O-B-A-B-L-Y probably
- Teacher: And the second one is what? Doubtful. How do you spell it?
- Learners: D-O-U-B-T-F-U-L
- Teacher: Thank you. There is a new word on the board. What is it? All those words people use them with probability. Some people are putting their heads down...

In most cases and across all the three schools, the teachers frequently used translanguaging to reprimand learners and then switch back to the main language of teaching and learning as shown in *extract 6*. This was where the teachers would say phrases like, “gatwe tirii?” *did you say three* “lo a tlhodia!” *you are making noise* “didimalang!” *keep quiet* “heela rra!” *hey you*. Based on Cahyani and Courcy (2016), it may be said that the teacher was using a variety of

languages for class management. The teacher did not only use translanguaging in tense moments of reprimanding learners, but they could also switch to Setswana in their interactive revision exercises to argue for their methods and answers. The following lines reveal this.

Extract 15. School C. Standard 7. Mathematics Revision for PSLE

- Teacher: *Fa e le complete ke fa e ntse jaana okay (This is how FH looks like when it is complete)? Rea dumalana akere (do you agree?)* Yes! So *fa e le gore golo fa is 60 go raya gore le fa is 60 (if we have 60 here that means we also have 60 here).* So if there is 30 *go raa gore le fa is 30 (The same applies to 30).* *Le fa go 30 (another 30 is here)? Le fa ke 30 (even here)?*
- Lesego: No teacher its supposed to be 60 there. Teacher is 30. So if this is 30 this 30 is going to be 60 plus 120. Plus 120 *e nna 240 (it becomes 240).* 240. We are left with this and this.
- Teacher: *Ke 30 ka fa? (is it 30 here?)*
- Lesego: *Ke bone 30 (I got 30).* Teacher 360-240 *ke bokae (What is 360-240)? Nyaa! (No!)* and then we divide by 2.
- Teacher: By 2?
- Lesego: *Hee! Nyaa! Nyaa! (No! No!)*! I am not saying it is not C *akere C re dumalane leyone (We agreed on C)?*

In addition, the teacher could use translanguage to change the mood/ tone of discourse to make it more relaxed, seemingly as a way of inviting the learners to answer. In *extract 5* below, the Standard 4 teacher at School B had posed a question of why there were no traffic signs in rural settings but the class was silent; even though she asked them to raise their hands, no one seemed to and so she called Dimakatso who gave out a wrong answer. Then again, because she wanted the learners to answer she switched to Setswana and asked if someone could tell Dimakatso the correct answer. When no one volunteered to help Dimakatso with the correct answer, then teacher asked the learners to say their answers in Setswana after asking *why* several times. The following extract is rich in translanguaging instances where translanguaging was used to change the mood of a lesson to make it more relaxed and translanguaging was used to reformulate the question.

Extract 16. School B. Standard 4 Science. Road Traffic Signs

- Teacher: but do we find these signs at the cattle post? Do we find these signs at the lands? No teacher. Why is it that it is in the villages and towns? why?
- Learners: Because...(silence)
- Teacher: Raise up your hands. Why? Why? Dimakatso
- Dimakatso: Because lands and cattle posts are far from the villages and towns.

Teacher: *O mongwe o ka molella gore ke eng di seyo ko morakeng le ko masimomg why is it that we don't have these road signs at the cattle posts and the lands. Why? Don't we have them at the cattlepost? These traffic signs. Ah! Road signs. Why? Why? O mpolellang a mpoelle ka Setswana gore ene o bona ele gore ke ka goreng. Tell me in Setswana. Why? Yes Boitumelo.*

(Can someone tell her why we do not have these road signs in the village)

Boitumelo: *Ka gore go sekgwa ga go tsamae batho ba le bantsi.*

(because there are clumps of trees and fewer pedestrians)

Another language practice that was common in all the schools was translanguaging for content acquisition. Based on Garcia (2013), it may be concluded that in such a case translanguaging was used to simplify content for multilingual learners by accommodating their repertoires. Some teachers were not mainly using English or Setswana and they were not very strict about grammatical corrections for proper English. *Extract 3* shows a Standard 4 class in School A where the teacher used both English and Setswana at a balance. This teacher could even give the learners individual attention asking them if they have understood in Setswana and the learners could respond in Setswana. This positively affected pedagogy in such a way that the teacher and the learners shared tasks and the teacher worked only as a facilitator in learner centred lessons.

Extract 17. School A. Standard 4. Mathematics

Teacher: It is simple. You multiply the number by one *ona akere?*
(this one okay?)

Learners: Yes teacher!

Teacher: *A bo o adda diunits. Jaanong ke le neela exercise. Ke mang yo o sa ntthaloganyang?*
(Then you add the units. Now I am giving you this exercise. Who does not understand?)
Lo siame lotlhe? (He writes some questions on the board) *Ke e excersice e.* One two three four
(Do you all understand? Here is the exercise)
Pule o a tlthaloganya? Ntirela e fa e le gore ga o tlthaloganye. Ntirela three litres to milli letres, o seka wa ba wa e tlola.
(Pule do you understand? Please do this one for me if you do not understand. Convert three litres to millilitres, please do not skip this question) Pule:
One thousand times.....

Teacher: *Mhhh? O raya gofe?*
(Which one are you referring to?)

Pule: *Hale. (That one)*
One litre

Teacher: *Banyana! Oa Tlthaloganya? Ntirela e.* Eight litres to millilitres
(Banyana! Do you understand?)

Banyana: Eight times zero, eight times zero, eight times ten

Teacher: *Ga wa tsenya eng? Sir o sharp? O a tlthaloganya? Ntirela palo e.* Seven litres to milli litres.

(What have you omitted? Sir, are you fine? Do you understand? Can you convert this?)

Thabo: (He writes in his book)

Teacher: *Seven o mmaa fela foo? O nna go lebagana le zero wabofelo ga a nne fa*
(You just put that seven right there? It has to be under the last zero, but not where you wrote it)

Thabo: seven times zero, seven times zero, seven times ten

Teacher: Ga re a tsenya eng? Fa o sa tsenya millilitres oa a bo o sa feleletsa. A lo a utlwa? O a bo o sa kwala sentle. Answera e e correct is this one.
(What have we omitted? Your work is incomplete if you do not write millilitres. Are you following? By so doing, you would not have written properly. The correct answer is this one)...

Despite the multiplicity of language variations in use in oral language practices, textual learning resources in the three schools were mainly monolingual. However, the Standard 1 Mathematics textbooks at Schools A and B were bilingual whereas School C did not use textbooks at that level. The dominance of English at Standard 4 and 7 across all the schools was noticeable as all the Mathematics and Science textbooks were all in English. Students' work including assessments at Schools A and B at Standard 1 were written in Setswana but at School B learners wrote in English. Literacy in English at Schools A and B begins at Standard 2 but at School C it begins right at Standard 1. Teaching aids like wallcharts could be developed monolingually by both the learners and teachers as shown in *figures 6,7,8,9,10,11*.

Figure 8 shows a wallchart that was created by Standard 4 learners at School B where Setswana is only used at Standard 1 for teaching and learning and then English is used from Standard 2. In relation to this, Cummins (2005) suggests the use of bilingual instructional strategies in the education of bilingual learners as it helps in teaching for cross language transfer. Based on Cummins (2005)'s proposal of bilingual learning material, the Standard 4 group of learners who struggled to construct error free sentences may have used Setswana, their first language. *Figure 9* is a wallchart in the same class that encourages the use of English for acquisition but from the grammatical errors in *Figure 8*, it may be assumed that the strategies are not effectively bringing change in the mastery of English by the learners. At School C in the Standard 4 class, learners' work was displayed as shown in *Figure 11*. This was not visible from afar but the learners' confidence in classroom interactions with the teacher and fellow learners showed that they were empowered and most probably through the language practices in their class.

Using Garcia and Kleyn (2016)'s categorisation of bilingual education models, language practices in the three primary schools may be placed between codeswitching and translanguaging because of the following reasons. 1) Using more than a single variety of language was found to be for meaningful participation and not just as switching between languages. 2) It was not pure translanguaging as the learners' repertoires were significantly constricted due to the above mentioned factors. However, the language-in-education policy of Botswana can be located in the earliest models, traditional models of bilingual education that separated languages into different functions. The gaps being the interdependence model that supports mother-tongue education, codeswitching and translanguaging show the irrelevance of the policy that will be discussed later in the same chapter.

5.3 Compliance of Schools to the RNPE Language-in-Education

The aforementioned language practices show a varying mismatch between the national language-in-education policy at the three primary schools in the minority language district, majority language district and in the city. Mokibelo (2014) showed that implementation of the language-in-education policy at Standard 1 is not easy because of the realities on the ground. In relation to Mokibelo's observation, this study went further and found out that some schools like School C developed their own policies for smooth transition. This showed that some schools are complying and some are not. Arranging the three schools in how compliant they were starting with the most compliant, we end up with School B, School A and School C.

According to the language-in-education policy of Botswana, Setswana is supposed to be used as a language of learning and teaching at Standard 1 and from Standard 2 English is to be used for learning and teaching. According to the reasons for this recommendation, the objective behind the allocation of more years for English for learning and teaching was for early acquisition of the language for enhanced performance at PSLE since the examination is set in English. Setswana was only added to play its symbolical role of national unity as shown by RNPE (1994). Actually at first, the use of English was recommended right from Standard 1 but the recommendation was amended to allocate the first year of primary education for Setswana.

From the language practices at School A as stated in the previous section, it is noticeable that School A is trying to adhere to the national language-in-education policy at Standard 1.

However, right from Standard 1 there exists two opposite language situations in two different Standard 1 classes where one class is full of the minority language-speaking learners whom for

the context of school B statistically are the majority and Class 1B has only 2 foreign learners. All of these learners bring their identities to school and the only ones that are linguistically accommodated at Standard 1 are the 2 foreign learners whom content is translated to them. It can be said that the language practices at School A at Standard 1 only favour the 2 foreigners as local learners are assimilated into Setswana right at Standard 1 and according to the teachers they are expected to switch to English at Standard 2. The teacher of 1A at School A as a language planner tries to stick to policy but learners bring in the language that they naturally speak and they are made to suppress it. Even so, at Class 1B the minority (statistically) are linguistically accommodated in the class through translation between Setswana and English. Even though the policy recommends the use of English from Standard 2 as a language of learning and teaching, at Standard 4 the language practices were fluid to a certain extent as Setswana and English were more or less at a balance. However, it must be noted that learners only used Sekgalaharhi “backstage” as called by Arthur (1996) to refer to a situation whereby emergent multilinguals use their languages in private. The prevalence of Sekgalaharhi and Setswana only in this class did not come as a surprise as the assimilation had long started in Standard 1 and then at Standard 4 they already knew what to suppress and what to put into use. At Standard 7 the class that was mainly in English and this marked further suppression of the learners’ repertoire in preparation for their PSLE which was set in English. Therefore, it was evident that the national policy if adhered to strictly, it would altogether not accommodate the linguistic repertoires of learners in districts where minority languages of Botswana are spoken.

School B was very close to complying with the national language-in-education policy, as children were strictly taught in Setswana at Standard 1. This school as mentioned earlier is in a less urbanised village where Setswana is dominantly spoken. Based on Garcia and Kleyn (2016) and Cummins (2000), one may conclude that from the enthusiasm of Standard 1 class at School B one could tell that these learners were welcomed ‘just as they were’ into the first grade of primary school. They had the hunger to show their expertise in literacy in their first language. They did not have to suppress much of their repertoire. However, compliance to policy was mainly at Standard 1 only, where learners were allowed by policy to fully use their repertoires. At Standard 4 the class was quieter than the Standard 1 and less active in class participation as language practices were mainly in English and correcting the learners’ pronunciation and English grammar in Mathematics and Science lessons was a norm. Analysing the language practices of this class one would wonder if content learning really takes place at Standard 2 when learners switch to English or English will be taught across all lessons

except for Setswana lessons. By Standard seven, the lesson was almost wholly delivered in English as learners were revising for their PSLE. This reveals the power of policy in the suppression of the learners' linguistic repertoire.

However, School C does not comply with the policy at Standard 1 where Setswana is to be used as a medium of instruction as stated in the RPNE. The head teacher stated that it is according to the school policy to accommodate the learner with their language that they bring from pre-school, as the majority of preschools in the capital city Gaborone are English medium schools and parents prefer to use English when communicating with their children. All the classes observed at school C dominantly used English as a language of teaching and learning and the participation of learners was always active. This school does not comply with the RNPE language-in-education policy but it accommodated the learners' repertoire largely. There is active language planning that considers the language that the learners bring to school at the micro level in the school as everything was put in place. The school has a committee that translates cluster tests for Standard 1 into English. However, it must be highlighted that teachers as the implementers at the micro level through the influence of the policy have more power than the management of the school and the RNPE to practice language as they did. The classes were taught mainly in English though translanguaging was also observed. Noncompliance of individual schools to RNPE language-in-education policy may be due to the

following factors 1) The learners' linguistic repertoires 2) the teacher as a language planner at the lowest level 3) the language-in-education policy- the national and school policy 4) the language in learning material.

The proficiency of learners in the recommended language may be playing a significant role in the language practices at the 3 schools as their repertoires were accommodated or suppressed to end up with language practices as elaborated earlier. Even at Standard 4 and 7 where policy recommends English, more than one variety of language could be heard in class. In School C where learning and teaching was mainly done in English, the language practices appeared that way because of their linguistic repertoire to a significant extent. Kachru (1982) describes a linguistic repertoire as the codes that a speech community has for interaction. He uses the terms "linguistic repertoire", "code repertoire" and "verbal repertoire" identically for this collection of codes that a speaker has and highlights that no one can necessarily control the repertoire. Therefore, since Batswana learners in different districts bring to school different languages and learn Setswana and English as compulsory subjects, their repertoires expand naturally when

they get to school. However, this does not mean monolinguals do not have linguistic repertoires. They also have repertoires of style, registers and dialects as stated by Kachru (1982). Based on this, Simpson (2017) shows that there is intralingual translanguageing; this involves the use of various registers in the language that is normally used. Garcia and Kleyn (2016) have shown that the linguistic repertoires of learners must be considered in the formulation of a language-in-education policy.

The teacher as a language planner at the centre of language policy as put by Hornberger and Ricento (1996) was found to be playing a significant role in influencing the language practices at primary schools. Their level of proficiency in the language of learning and teaching may also contribute to translanguageing during lessons; Hornberger and Ricento (1996) show that teachers implement policy and what they do can lead to social change. Based on Hornberger and Ricento (1996)'s notion of policy change as it goes down the levels of administration, it may be concluded that the teachers have the power to comply or not as they are between policy and learners. Their repertoire also counts in how much they can use the language recommended by policy. As Maimela and Monyatsi (2016) have shown that most of Batswana teachers are not proficient in English, this may be what influences the teacher to switch back to Setswana. It must be noted however that this study did not intend to measure the proficiency of teachers in any language but in studying the language practices at the three primary schools, it was found out that even the teachers' linguistic repertoire make a significant contribution in shaping the language practices at primary school level of education in Botswana. The teachers can use their repertoire to suppress or accommodate the learners' repertoire. This was noticed in cases like *extract 5* where the teacher could say "yo o arabang o ka araba fela ka Setswana" (/you may answer in Setswana). Here the teacher explicitly and temporarily gives the learners a chance to use their repertoire then she switches back to English and the learners' repertoires is constricted to some extent.

Since Batswana learners study English and Setswana as compulsory subjects throughout the basic education system, they may be referred to as emergent multilinguals basing on Garcia and Kleifgen (2010)'s notion on emergent bilinguals. This has a significant effect on their repertoires. Garcia and Kleifgen (2010) elaborate on this notion in the context of minority learners in the United States but states that it is applicable to the society. It can be used to refer to learners who learn English as their second language but this still is applicable in Botswana where learners can bring one or two languages and use them at school while mainly using their first language at home. Those in the majority language speaking districts learn English as their

second language and the majority of those who are in town may have had balanced exposure to both of these languages at home before they are registered at school. Therefore, because English and Setswana are compulsory to Batswana learners in government schools, this means learners can be referred to as emergent multilinguals. However, even most of the teachers as shown by Monyatsi and Maimela (2016), do not have a high level of proficiency in English; they may be referred to as emergent bilinguals as they are not native speakers of English but they still have the potential to acquire more into their repertoires. This results in a continuum of language proficiencies that cannot be accommodated by a policy that holds a monoglossic ideology of multilingualism like the RNPE.

Since Setswana is used as a lingua franca in Botswana, it may be that some learners in the minority language speaking districts may have acquired a minority language and Setswana at the same time resulting in simultaneous acquisition. The only languages used in public media in Botswana are English and Setswana and these languages are also taught as subjects in Botswana, therefore by the time they go to school some of them may have two languages in their repertoires. Saville-Troke and Barto (2016) define simultaneous acquisition as the acquisition of first languages. They explain that people can acquire language without any effort. Children in minority language speaking districts can pick any language spoken in their environment as they can differentiate phonemes at a young age. In relation to this, Saville-Troke and Barto (2016) state that “If young children hear and respond to two (or more) languages in their environment, the result will be simultaneous multilingualism (multiple L1s acquired by about three years of age)”. Saville-Troke and Barto (2016:13). Likewise based on this explanation of simultaneous acquisition, learners in cities whose parents prefer communicating with them in English as shown by Mokibelo (2014) may also have acquired English and Setswana simultaneously. Based on Garcia’s (2009) notion of dynamic bilingualism, Batswana learners can be viewed as dynamic multilinguals who participate in a complex cycle of communication in which language use is always adjusting to multimodal and multilingual language practices.

The school management may also contribute in shaping the language practices in their schools. As aforementioned, Schools A and B followed the RNPE as it was and tried to implement it in their schools but still the practices did not show compliance to policy as shown. However, at School C the language practices are very different right from Standard 1 and the head teacher clearly stated that they begin using English as a language of learning at teaching at Standard 1 to accommodate learners who are mainly from English medium pre-schools. The school

management of School C may be said to be intermediaries who have the power to implement that, which takes into cognisance the linguistic repertoires of their learners.

The fourth factor that was found to be shaping the language practices as they appear at the 3 primary schools was the RNPE language-in-education policy that favours the use of English as a language of learning and teaching from Standard 2 and Setswana to be used only at Standard 1. Based on Cooper (1989) and Ricento and Hornberger (1996)'s view that a policy may not be implemented as stated, it may be said that the language-in-education policy of Botswana has not managed to change language practices at schools but it has significantly influenced language practices in the three primary schools as they base their school policies on the RNPE. Even the language policy of School C that is mainly English from Standard 1 is aligned with the RNPE as the policy seems to be heading towards an English only policy. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) have shown that as the policy goes through different administrative levels, it may have changed by the time it reaches the innermost level which is the classroom. However, teachers in the three schools have shown that they try to follow the language-in-education policy and the reason why they seem not to comply is a reason beyond their control.

The last factor that influences the language practices at primary schools in Botswana can be said to be learning material that are in English. This starts with the curriculum and includes textbooks, language of assessments and the language used generally in writing. Even though oral language practices mainly rely on translinguaging, learning materials and written class exercises are mainly monolingual. Based on Garcia (2013), this means that a substantial part of the learners' repertoire is suppressed when it comes to reading and writing. The curriculum/syllabi in English also influences the language used to scheme and prepare for lessons and so learning materials are developed in English. Because learners are also required to write strictly in English, their class exercises and learner developed material are characterised by spelling mistakes and grammatical errors as seen in *Figure 8* of a wallchart that was developed by a group of learners at Standard 4 in a village that dominantly speaks Setswana. At the three levels of primary education of this study, only the Mathematics textbooks of Standard 1 was found to be bilingual, in English and Setswana. This may signal the ideal policy of the education system of Botswana, which may be English as a language of learning and teaching from Standard 1. If this happens, it might further constrict the linguistic repertoires of learners in majority language and minority language speaking districts and continue to favour those in cities.

5.4 The Impact of Language practices on Pedagogy

Since language is used in education as an inevitable component in the system, it may also play a significant role in influencing pedagogy. Hall (1905) explains pedagogy as a term that developed from the Greek pedagogue who took the boy to and from school acting as his keeper and not as his teacher. In relation to this, Mark Smith (2012) defines pedagogy as more than just teaching as it entails caring for the learners, caring about them and bringing learning to life. As revealed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis, the primary school syllabus of Botswana encourages learner centred education whereby through constructivism learners can actively participate in learning. Based on the language practices at the three primary schools, it may be said that translanguaging (which is the established language practices) plays a significant role on pedagogy. Lessons that involve suppression of the learners' repertoire result in limited translanguaging, which in turn limits the learners' participation in class. As shown in *Extract 7* where the teacher was mainly using English and teaching learners spelling and pronunciation; by the time they got at the third word that was on the board most of the learners' heads were bowed to avoid eye contact with the teacher so that she could not call them to read the next word. The same effect of limited translanguaging can be seen on *Extract 6* where the teacher calls out the names of learners and expects them to pronounce three *correctly*. One learner only counted from 1 to 2 and stopped because she was afraid to make an attempt to pronounce 3 though she knew she had to say 3 (this was a Standard 4 class). While shaking in fear the teacher scolds her "hey! Hey! One, two, three, four, five....twelve" and then the teacher calls another students to help the one who was still shaking. In contrast, *Extract 4* and *9* Show instances where the learners' repertoires were accommodated and learning was brought to life. Translanguaging was unrestricted and this resulted in learner centred pedagogy of learners who were able to stand and argue for their answer flexibly using a variety of languages that resulted in fluid communication with the teacher and the rest of the class. Learner centred pedagogy involves collaborative work and presentations where the teacher only acts as a facilitator. Unrestricted translanguaging therefore may be associated with active learner participation ideal for constructivism.

Duffy and Jonassen (2013) and Brown et al. (1989) have shown that constructivism entails the creation of knowledge using the existing knowledge that the learner already has. Constructivism therefore builds on what the learner already knows or brings to school. However, it is obvious that in rural contexts like School A and B most of the learners bring to

school the language that they speak at home but the curriculum does not place any special value on the language that the child brings to school. This disadvantages every Motswana, as minority languages are not recognised by policy and practice; the majority language is only used the lowest level of primary education and when the learners are just about to participate fully in class using their language they are compelled to switch to English at Standard 2. The language policy does not accommodate the repertoire of learners in the cities who are mostly from English medium pre-schools. However, they are fortunate as the head teachers can formulate their own policies at the micro level as realised at School C. Maseko and Vale (2016) show that an individual can relate to their environment in the language that they speak. Based on this, it may be said that by the time learners get to Standard 1 the knowledge that they have mostly is from and through their environment and for them to put that knowledge in to use in the creation of new knowledge, they employ the fluid use of their repertoire.

Usually in the breakthrough to Setswana programme, the sentence “ke bona nnana a lela” ‘I can see a baby crying’ is used. Setswana speaking learners would easily make connections and relate to this because already their proficiency of the language is at that level. They may be given any task on the sentence, like to identify words or to build their own sentences using words from the sentence. However, for learners who come to school with a minority language the teacher will have a double task of teaching them Setswana language while delivering content. For constructivism, it means learners who do not speak Setswana when they begin Standard 1 may have to be assimilated first before actively participating in learning. If we think through the language that we speak as posited by Whorf (1956) and Sapir (1921), it is hard to think about the hurdles that Batswana learners go through in learning. Still if we think through mental representations as posited by Fodor (1985) and Pinker (1995), it is harder to think about how it might be to interpret mental representations to a language that one only gets into contact with at school. It must be the hardest to create knowledge in a language that one is not proficient. Therefore based on Brock-Utne (2007), one may say that language practices may be one of the contributing factors to the academic achievement of Batswana.

The table below shows the mid-year performance of the classes that were observed at Schools A, B and C. School A is in a village that speaks a minority language of Botswana, School B is in a village that dominantly speak Setswana and School C is in Gaborone the capital city of Botswana. As stated in Chapter 1, all of the three primary schools are government schools fully managed by the government of Botswana. The highest performing school is School C where the school has its own language policy that accommodates the language that the learners bring

to school. In schools A and B, the least performing classes are those that entail very limited translanguaging as they suppress the learners' repertoires to a larger extent.

Table 7. Mid year Performance of the 3 Primary Schools

	School A Mathematics Science	School B Mathematics Science	School C Mathematics Science
Standard 1	77 88	88 73	93 93
Standard 4	91 86	3 49	88 92
Standard 7	72 50	48 48	83 77

Analysing the past 3 PSLE results from 2014 to 2016, it can be noticed that the two best performing districts are North East and South East that host the two cities of Botswana. The two lowest performing districts are Kgalagadi and Ghanzi districts where minority languages of Botswana are dominantly spoken. School A is in Kgalagadi district and School B is in Southern District. As stated in the previous chapter, learning in these schools may be mostly learner centred as shown by the language practices that reveal the question-answer method used frequently in Schools A and B. This shows that the language practices in the classroom may have an effect on pedagogy as where there is limited translanguaging there is limited learner participation; the teacher does most of the work of delivering content while working on correcting or teaching pronunciations and spelling in Mathematics and Science lessons. The following figures 14, 15 and 16 are the results of limited translanguaging that favours English.

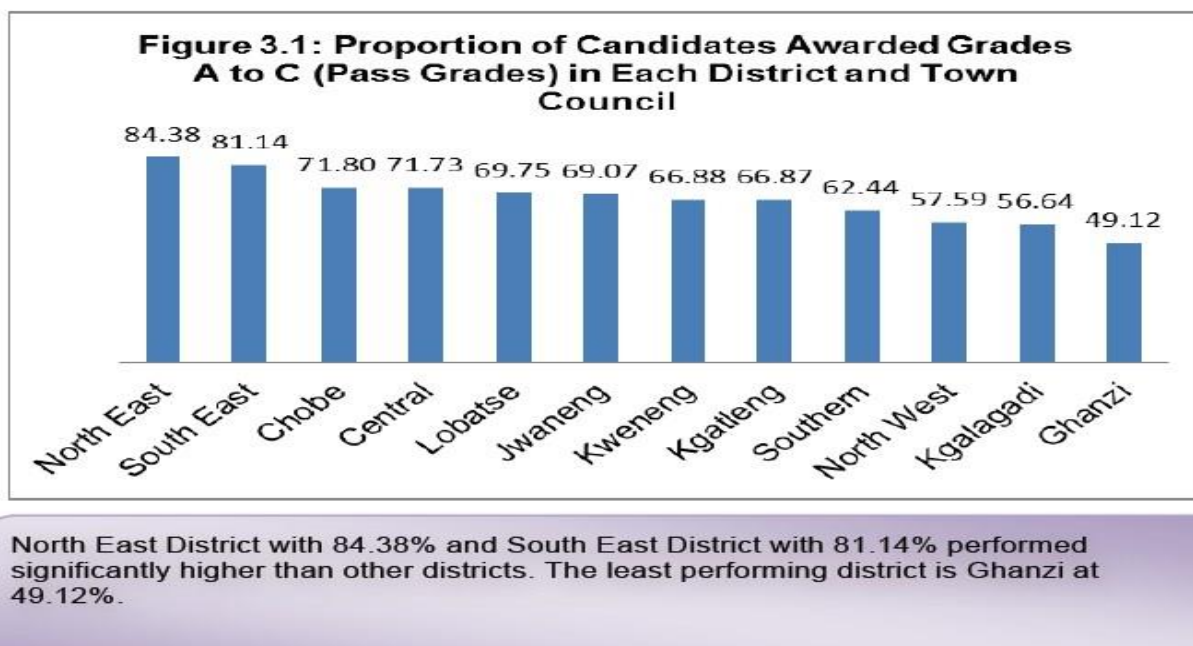


Figure 14. 2016 PSLE results. Source: Botswana Examinations Council website (<http://www.bec.co.bw>) accessed October 20th 2017.

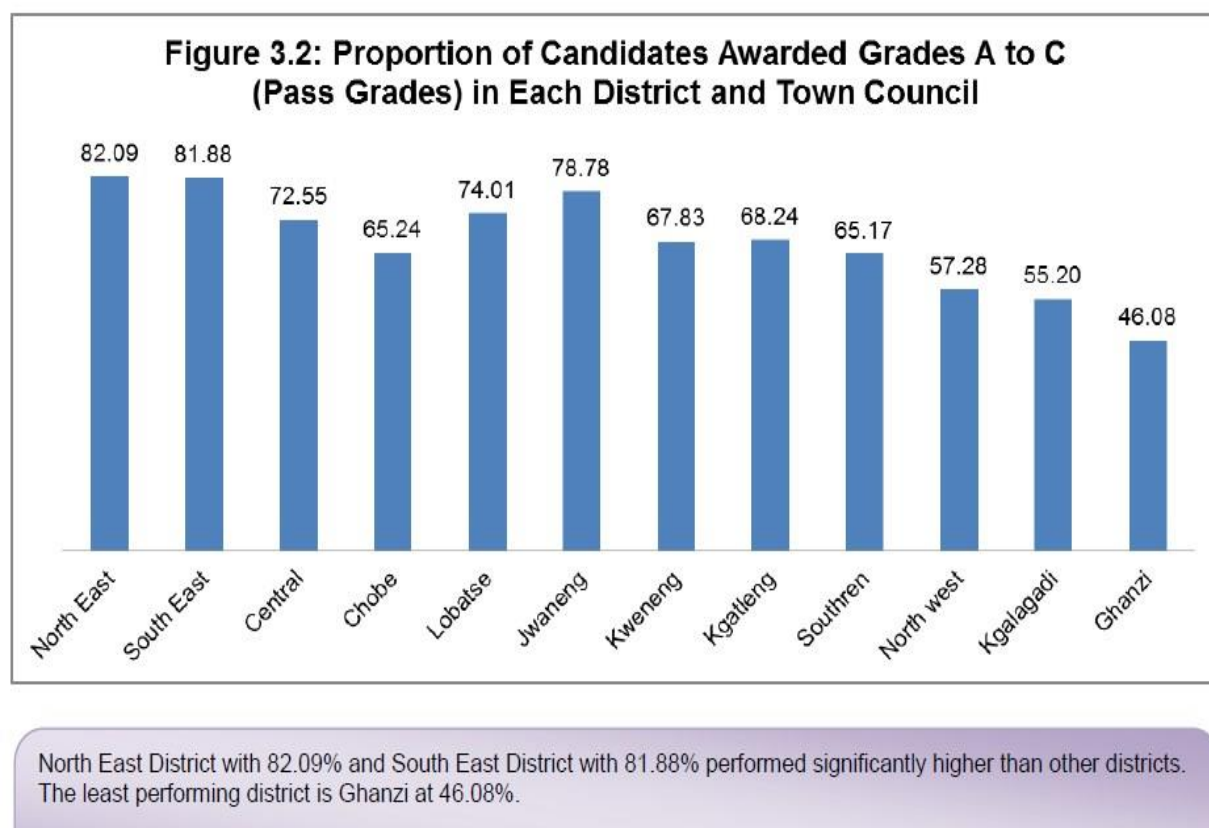
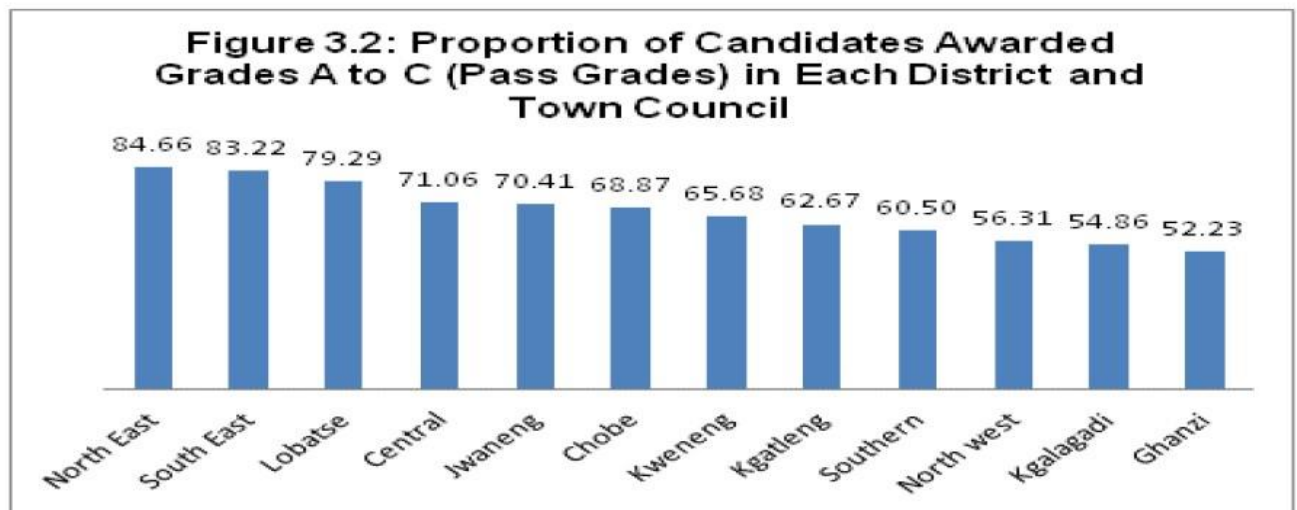


Figure 15. 2015 PSLE results. Source: Botswana Examinations Council website (<http://www.bec.co.bw>) accessed October 20th 2017.



North East District with 84.66% and South East District with 83.20% performed significantly higher than other districts. The least performing district is Ghanzi at 52.23%.

Figure 16. 2014 PSLE results. Source: Botswana Examinations Council website (<http://www.bec.co.bw>) accessed October 20th 2017.

Even though content and language learning were integrated spontaneously, this did not result in the acquisition of a foreign language used for teaching and learning as expected. Neither does this result in enhanced content acquisition as shown by the results. Based on Davidson (1997), the language for learning and teaching in minority language speaking districts is opaque in practice and in policy as it does not accommodate the learners' language. At school B, the language of learning and teaching is transparent for one year at Standard 1 only and from there it becomes opaque and learner participation and performance is highly affected. However, at School C it may be said that the management of the school actively plans language to accommodate the language learners bring to school. This makes the medium of learning transparent hence enhanced academic achievement of learners.

In relation to the research problem, based on the established language practices it was realised that by August, revision for PSLE in the classroom would have begun and it was realised that skill and drill alongside language teaching was mainly used at School A and B. This may be a sign of poor academic language proficiency as teachers spend most of the time teaching spelling or even pronunciation. At school C the revision was different, the teacher acted as the facilitator and revision was learner centred. However, it may be concluded that even though Botswana learners tend to perform well at PSLE, their academic language proficiency is poor

and so the highly objective questions that require low-order-thinking skills favour their limited academic proficiency. Therefore, based on the interdependency hypothesis, as concepts become more abstract and questions become more structured requiring developed academic language competency the academic performance of learners may decline as they do.

5.5 Critiquing the RNPE from Multilingual Perspective on Translanguaging

The following critic of the RNPE language-in-Education Policy expands Bagwasi (2017)'s critique of the language-in-education policy of Botswana. Bagwasi (2017) critiques the policy from a translanguaging perspective, which on its own some authors like MacSwan (2017) have shown that it remains an ideology as it does not even recognise named languages. This study therefore adds the integrated perspective of individual multilingualism to translanguaging, which is used by MacSwan (2017) to enlighten translanguaging.

The revised national policy on education that was published in 1994 encapsulates the language-in-education policy of Botswana. As elaborated in Chapter 2 of this study, just after independence the first commission (NCE 1) was set to revise the language-in-education policy to enhance the quality of education in Botswana. Setswana as a language of learning and teaching was used at the first three years of primary education by then. Then the language-in-education policy was reformulated to allocate the first four years of primary education to Setswana as a language of learning and teaching. This was the language-in-education policy in NCE 1 (1977). In 1992, another commission was set to revise the NCE 1 and it published this revision as the RNPE in 1994. The main aim of the RNPE was to enhance the education system of Botswana and so Setswana was to be only used at the first year of primary education as a language of learning and teaching and from Standard 2 English takes over as a LoLT to the highest levels of education in Botswana. These two languages are to be studied as compulsory subjects by all Batswana. Setswana was allocated only one year to symbolically serve the purpose of uniting the nation of Botswana and English was allocated more years to enhance learners' PSLE performance as the PSLE were set English and so the assumption was that if English could be used for a longer duration before learners write their PSLE they would perform better.

REC.18 [para. 4.7.31] With respect to the teaching of languages in primary school, the Commission recommends that:

- a) English should be used as the medium of instruction from standard 1 by 2000.

Ammended to read:

REC.18 [para.4.7.31] With respect to the teaching of languages in primary school,

- a) English should be used as the medium of instruction from standard 2 as soon as practicable

In essence, this means that the role of indigenous languages as per policy diminished in Botswana's education system. The minority languages of Botswana are not included in the RNPE as the recommendation that intended to promote them was deferred, as it would have been against the national language policy.

REC.18 [para.4.7.31] With respect to the teaching of languages in primary school, the Commission recommends that:

- e) Where parents request that other local languages be taught to their children, the school should make arrangements to teach them as a cocurricular activity.

Reasons for Non acceptance:

The recommendation may result in undue pressure on schools to offer the various languages spoken in Botswana, whereas the schools may lack the capacity to do so and the education system would not be able to support such a development. Further, it is contrary to national language policy.

According to the reasons for amendment of the recommendation that intended to make English a language of teaching and learning from standard 1, children had to begin schooling using their primary language first before using English. On the contrary, the reason for allocating English to be used from standard 2 was to enhance the performance of students in both English and other PSLE subjects.

Reasons for Amendment

The recommendation to use English as the medium of instruction from Standard 1 was based on children going through pre-primary education where they would be introduced gradually to English. Since the recommendation on pre-primary was not accepted it is necessary for children to be taught in a language they understand first before switching to English. On the other hand there is a concern about poor performance of primary school children in English and part of the problem is that children do not get used to using English early enough in the learning process and yet they are required to write their examinations in the language. Using English as the medium of instruction from standard 2 will improve their performance.

The RNPE language in education policy may therefore be considered as a reflection of Botswana's "covert language policy" which recognises English as the most important language and Setswana as the most important indigenous language (see Bamgbose 2004). This policy reveals what Batibo (1997) calls "double allegiance between western modernisation and

nationalism and identity". Therefore as aforementioned, previous studies are critical of the language-in-education policy in Botswana because of the following reasons:

- The dominance of English over indigenous languages since this presents learning difficulties for the learners (Batibo 2005, Arthur 2001 and Kasule and Mapolelo 2005)
- The marginalisation of minority languages, which unlike Setswana, are not mentioned at all in the policy (Nyati-Ramahobo 1999, Jotia and Pansiri 2013).

The motive behind the criticism is the realities on the ground at different schools in Botswana. The reality is that children bring their first languages into class at standard 1 and one language cannot cater for all standard 1 pupils. Not all of them speak Setswana as implied and assumed by the quoted reasons of amendment of the recommendation of Setswana as a language of learning and teaching from standard 1. Mokibelo (2014) states that among these children some are minority language speakers, some have Setswana as their first language, others are from pre-schools where English was dominant and others even use it at home to communicate.

Nyati-Ramahobo (1999) confirms Mokibelo's discovery who after realising the language realities in the classroom and the policy that mostly favours English, she recommended a mother tongue education programme. As aforementioned, around independence mother tongue education was from standard 1 to 3, from 1977 it was from Standard 1-4 and from 1994, the RNPE recommended using English from standard 2 for learning and teaching. Contrary to the latest policy, Nyati-Ramahobo (1999)'s programme does not generalise the pupils' linguistic repertoire but it caters for everyone through mother tongue education. From standard 1-4 is strictly mother tongue education and from standard 5 the policy allows pupils to study 2 subjects using English as a medium of learning. This corresponds well with Phillipson (1996)'s assertion that including indigenous African languages in the policy means equalising their status with English but not reducing the status of English.

However, this programme was never implemented but the policy stands and the pupils continue to bring their languages to class. This according to Mokibelo (2014), tears the teacher between policy and the realities on the ground. It results in using indigenous languages and English at the same time to facilitate learning. This code switching and mixing according to Arthur (2001), Kasule and Mapolelo (2005) as stated in Chapter 2, is caused by the dominance of English in the language policy that is supposed to be addressing language problems in the education of Botswana who speak Setswana and other indigenous languages as their primary languages.

Consequently, this results in a mismatch between policy and practice as observed by Mokibelo (2014). Furthermore, there is a problem of practice against policy in standard 1 classrooms. As quoted before, the reason for amendment of [REC 18] explicitly stated that it would not be appropriate for a child to use a foreign language in their first year of schooling. However, the education system of Botswana can be said to be shifting towards using English only for learning and teaching.

Despite the fact that the RNPE's language in education policy intended to improve the students' results, Botswana's academic performance has not been satisfactory as shown in the earlier section. Similarly, the schools in minority language speaking districts also perform below average. This shows that there is a problem in language in education in Botswana. Empirical Studies from other parts of the world reveal the same situation in their language in education. When she observed a similar occurrence in Tanzania, Arthur (2001) concluded that teachers can play a significant role in the success or failure of the policy as it is their responsibility to put it into practice. According to Heugh (2000), in South Africa though the policy recognises indigenous languages, preference in the education system is given to English and this like in Botswana causes mismatch between policy and practice.

Relevant theories on language-in-education, focusing on MT in multilingual contexts (bilingual education) are espoused by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) who views language as a right as well as Baker (1993), who views language as a resource in education and Cummins (1991) who also views language as a resource. The theories posit that education is very important in the construction of value that is in language. As espoused by Baker (1993), using one's first language in the learning process provides contextualisation of the knowledge acquired within the pre-existing knowledge.

Based on the findings of this study that show that some schools are already using English as a language of learning and teaching from Standard 1 and some standard 1 textbooks are bilingual-English and Setswana, it may be said that if the policy changes it might recommend for the use of English only throughout the whole education system. However, looking at the PSLE results from an integrated multilingual perspective of individual multilingualism, it can be said that the language-in-education policy of Botswana is based on traditional models of individual multilingualism that view the learners' languages separately as it tries to eliminate the other for the development of another language. The PSLE results show a trend that may demonstrate that the language-in-education policy of Botswana accommodates the elites in cities who bring

along English from home to school as English is given a larger share but it disadvantages the minority language speakers whose languages that they bring from home are shut outside as soon as they enter the classroom. The language-in-education policy of Botswana therefore (i) does not accommodate the linguistic repertoires of Batswana (ii) only accommodates those who speak Setswana but for only one year and then they are supposed to switch to English. (iii) mainly supports those in urban areas.

Authors like Kasule and Mapolelo (2005) have shown that codeswitching can be useful in the classroom. Recently, Bagwasi (2017) critiques the language-in-education policy of Botswana from the translanguaging perspective. As indicated before, Garcia and Kleyn (2016) view translanguaging as the full utilisation of the learner's linguistic repertoire in learning. The translanguaging policy supports fluidity in communication from a unitary model of individual multilingualism. It also emphasises that learners must be taught that sometimes they have to suppress their repertoires by using the prescribed language or style. The translanguaging theory does not recognise the multiplicity of languages and the named languages as it claims that they are constructed politically and socially. It uses F_n for features of a nominal number to classify an utterance while other models use L1 and L2 for first and second languages. The translanguaging theory does not endorse the Cummins interdependence hypothesis of languages and codeswitching as it claims that just like the traditional models and codeswitching models of bilingual education, they view the learners' languages as two separate entities. Since this makes the unitary model of bilingualism hard to follow, MacSwan (2017) enlightened the translanguaging theory with a multilingual perspective on bilingualism.

5.5.1 Irrelevance of the RNPE

As the decades go by, languages are coming into contact and they influence each other. Other people shift from minority languages to languages of power for upward mobility (see Batibo 2005). Active language planning therefore is needed urgently to solve language problems that may arise. Cooper (1989), Fishman (1974) and Bamgbose (1999) show that active language planning must include implementation procedures. Because of lack of active language planning, the language-in-education policy of Botswana continues to accommodate those who speak Setswana as their first language for one year. It also assimilates the minorities and favours the elites as a larger proportion of the policy is allocated to the use of English. This shows an underlying monoglossic ideology of bilingualism that this policy is operating on, as it treats language as a problem not as a resource (see Ruiz 1984). Therefore, this policy needs

to be revised based on research that is ongoing in language policies and education. If this would not be acted upon urgently, learners in the rural areas where Setswana or minority languages are spoken are likely to continue with poor performance while those in the cities excel as policy can be amended in their favour.

Fishman (1974) states that language planning never ends as it continues in a cycle of planning, implementation, language community (for practice) evaluation and then planning again continuously in a cycle; he points out that this can be carried out at both the micro and macro levels of planning. Based on this programme of planning, it may be suggested that since the language-in-education policy of Botswana has received much criticism, it may be the right time to continue with the cycle again and plan for language-in-education in the 21st century of dynamic multilingualism. Baldauf Jr (1994) states that attention must be paid to unplanned language policy and planning because planned and unplanned coexist in situations where there is lack of language and policy. Therefore, this critique of language-in-education policy of Botswana is based on the findings of this study that show how language is practiced in classes in different districts.

5.5.2 Marginalisation of the Majority of Botswana

The RNPE language-in-education policy seems to be influenced by the language of assessment at PSLE as the policy claims that allocating more years for English as a language of learning and teaching would enhance the performance of learners. At least the policy recognises the significance of language in the academic achievement of learners even though it took an irrelevant solution that does not address the linguistic needs of Botswana learners. Now that the BEC sets, administers, marks, and grades the PSLE, it may be possible to set PSLE in any language of Botswana that is already intellectualised to that level so that it may accommodate Botswana learners.

Accommodation of these learners' repertoires according to the translanguaging theory means using the means of the language. It includes allowing Botswana learners to fluidly practice their dynamic multilingualism in the classroom as they create knowledge using their prior and present experiences. Garcia (2013) emphasises the need for full use of the learners' repertoires in assessments that are usually monolingual. According to Garcia (2013), this compels learners to suppress part of their repertoire in these assessments that indirectly measures their competency in the language used and not what the learner knows; a translanguaging policy from MacSwan (2017)'s perspective therefore embraces multilingualism in education.

5.5.3 Monoglossic ideology of Multilingualism

As pointed out by Otheguy et al. (2015), translanguaging takes language as a social construct. However, the RNPE language-in-education policy does not consider the social environments of Batswana learners. It was formulated based on the monoglossic ideology (see Garcia 2009) that separates languages of multilinguals and allocates them separate roles. The school head as the manager know their learners very well and so according to Garcia and Wiley (2016), it would be better to use the bottom up approach in planning for translanguaging. This approach in language planning considers the learners' repertoire to address language problems that may hinder their participation. This shows the need for decentralisation that was once suggested by Maruatona (2001). In a multilingual country like Botswana, decentralisation of language-in education planning and policy would work. Because the policy already favours those in cities, it would be easy to adapt it by just not complying but those in rural villages where Setswana or minority languages are spoken do suffer the most throughout basic education. Active Language planning including ethnographic studies would be needed in planning for translanguaging. A one-size fits all language policy does not address language problems across the country and so with updated information on language practices in different Botswana communities, planning can be based on these to be relevant to the linguistic needs of language users. This policy does not address the language problem that Batswana learners face as dynamic multilinguals. Therefore, this study suggests the following guidelines for implementation of translanguaging programme in Botswana schools.

5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter was summarising the findings of this study according to the four main themes that emerged: Language practices, compliance of schools to the RNPE, the impact of language practices on pedagogy and the gaps in the RNPE. It also critiqued the RNPE from a multilingual perspective on translanguaging by showing that the policy is not relevant as it does not address the existing language problems in education. This chapter has shown that the language-in-education policy that holds a monoglossic ideology of multilingualism actually promotes marginalisation of the majority of Batswana. The final chapter of the thesis will give a conclusion and some recommendations on recognising Batswana learners as multilinguals.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the research study by summarising the findings, listing recommendations and concluding remarks.

6.2 Summary of Findings

The main aim of the study was to investigate language practices in relation to policy in education. As elaborated on chapter 4, the language-in-education policy in the Revised National Policy on Education uses a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism as it separates languages into different functions in the education system. It recommends the use of Setswana as a language of teaching and learning at Standard 1 only and English from Standard 2 and throughout the formal education system. This places this policy in the earliest models of bilingual education that are also known as traditional models of bilingualism or dual competence model of multilingualism that separates the languages of a multilingual. However, this seems irrelevant as it does not address the linguistic needs of Batswana learners as English and Setswana are taught as compulsory subjects and this makes Batswana learners automatically bilinguals.. Another factor that the policy does not address is that some Batswana learners already have a home language that they bring to school at Standard 1, which is not accommodated. Generally, this shows that Batswana learners are dynamic multilinguals whose multilingualism lies across different points in the continuum of multilingualism. Dynamic multilingualism in Botswana schools is shown by the language practices that are mainly heteroglossic or transglossic. This involves using varieties of languages in and outside the recommended languages that result in translanguaging.

Various authors have critiqued the language-in-education policy of Batswana from a mother tongue education perspective and recently one author has critiqued it from the translanguaging perspective which some authors feel it is not practicable or remains an ideology if it does not recognise named languages. Therefore, after investigating language practices at the three primary schools, this study found that there was limited translanguaging in the three primary schools. Therefore, this study critiques the policy from MacSwan (2017)'s multilingual perspective on translanguaging that uses the integrated multilingual model of individual bilingualism. The learners' linguistic repertoire, the teachers' repertoire, the policy and the

language of learning material play a significant role in influencing the language practices in the classrooms. They also determine the compliance of schools to policy and it was found that of the three primary schools, the most compliant was school B (Setswana dominant village) which at PSLE performs averagely. Then School A (minority language speaking village) was trying to conform despite the fact that learners sometimes answered the teacher in their home language and School C was the least complying as it has amended the policy.

According to the language-in-education policy of school C, English is used for learning and teaching from Standard 1 to Standard 7 and both English and Setswana are taught as subjects from Standard 1 for easy transition of learners who are mostly from English Medium preschools in the city. The Kalagadi district that hosts School A is usually one of the lowest performing districts and the South East District that hosts School C is usually one of the best performing districts. The language practices play a role in shaping pedagogy as most of the lessons become teacher centred and there was integration of content and academic language learning in content subject lessons. Limited translanguaging was found to be limiting the participation of learners as it also affected their confidence. This leads to memorisations that shatter the dream of constructivism in the education system of Botswana. To rectify this, this study proposes a multilingual guide on translanguaging that can be implemented to accommodate the learners' repertoires and to embrace multilingualism by studying three languages as compulsory subjects. It emphasises translanguaging in content subjects and integrating content in language lessons. If put into practice, the proposed guide would transform the education system of Botswana to be outcome based as intended by Vision 2036. It will also empower the minority language learners, majority language learners and learners in the city to empower themselves and flourish in their communities, in Botswana and in the globe.

6.3 Recommendations

This section lists some recommendations related to the study of language practices, translanguaging and pedagogy. Generally, it recommends the use of the proposed guidelines in the multilingual guide on translanguaging. This will promote language planning from the bottom to the top.

6.3.1 Language Policy of Translanguaging Using MacSwan's Multilingual Perspective

Even though there has been some questions whether translanguaging could be a threat or an opportunity for the vitality of minority languages (see Cenoz and Gorter 2017), Wiley and Garcia (2016) outline a language policy for translanguaging. According to Garcia and her colleague, a translanguaging policy in education may teach learners languages where learners will be encouraged to use the languages as they are supposed to be used when their repertoires is suppressed in society. Based on this, learners may be taught languages separately not in other subject lessons so that learners may use language as it is supposed to be used. In these language lessons, learners may be explicitly told there are some instances where they need to suppress part of their repertoire. Garcia (2013) also states that translanguaging policy creates equal opportunities for all learners. Language policy has been observed to be influential in language-in-education practice as stated by teachers at the three primary schools and so this article recommends a translanguaging policy that uses MacSwan's Integrated Multilingualism model because already there is translanguaging in practice even though it is limited by adherence to policy and learning texts. The main objective behind the translanguaging policy at the micro level will be to influence linguistic behaviour by allowing translanguaging (see Cooper 1989). The planning will be done bottom-up by studying the linguistic repertoires of learners when they are admitted at Standard 1 and holding language-planning meetings with parents.

The change that is expected from the language-in-education policy of Botswana (1994) would be to let individual schools to plan, implement and evaluate translanguaging policies that consider the learners' linguistic repertoires. The following is the proposed translanguaging model that serves as a guide for minority language speaking villages, majority language speaking villages and cities where different languages come into contact and English is dominating. It supports multilingualism and taught languages so that by the time the learners are supposed to suppress their repertoires, they would not fail. Since school is the main institution for learning English, the language will continue to be taught as a compulsory subject from Standard 1 together with Setswana, the national language and a minority language of Botswana. Learning African languages as subjects will contribute to their development and vitality and translanguaging in content lessons will ensure fluid communication for enhanced content acquisition. This will mean total coverage of content in the time scheduled for the lesson. The model includes pre-school years as it is rolled out under basic education. Because some Botswana are bilingual by the time they are registered for Standard 1, multilingualism

will continue to be used for inclusion of all learners from different linguistic backgrounds. The proposed guidelines will make content more transparent as language would not be a hindrance anymore. The following extract influenced the proposal of this translanguaging guide:

Taking up a translanguaging policy in education means meeting speakers where they are, with bilingualism at the core of language practices, and of learning, teaching and assessing. Adopting a translanguaging lens when discussing language policy in education means three things: (a) abandoning a definition of language as simply what speakers of the same cultural or national affiliation have, and instead seeing language as a speaker's ability to freely deploy all his or her linguistic resources, both lexical and grammatical, without trying to adhere to socially and politically defined language boundaries (b) giving up on teaching as additional language as a linear process that students eventually acquire and, instead, adopting a position that language is to be 'done', performed in particular situations, and thus emerging, and (c) relinquishing the idea of only using the target language in instruction in favour of leveraging the entire student linguistic repertoire so as to develop new linguistic features in interrelationship with old ones. (Wiley and Garcia 2016:58)

Adopting the translanguaging lens through MacSwan (2017) may be helpful in multilingual speech communities as the integrated model of translanguaging embraces multilingualism, differentiates grammars and supports the use of named languages. Therefore, the following guidelines are proposed.

6.3.1.1 Minority Language speaking Villages

In these villages, 3 languages being Setswana, English and the minority language may be used in the school for learning and teaching. The whole primary school education system may be mainly in the dominant language in the village. From Year 1 to year 7, texts may also be in the dominant language and learners may be expected to write in the dominant language. However, terminology and concepts of different subject lessons can be accepted written in any of the three languages since Years 5-7 learners textbooks will be used with trilingual hard copy glossaries. Learners will also learn Setswana, English and the dominant language as compulsory subjects- this is where they will be expected to suppress some parts of their repertoire as society will sometimes require them to.

Table 8

Multilingual Guide for Language-in-Education Policy for Schools in Minority Language Speaking Villages.

Years	Language of Learning and Teaching	Assessment	Learning texts
Preschool 1 1-4	<p>Dominant language</p> <p>Mainly dominant language.</p> <p>Other languages can be used in class discussions or group work.</p> <p>Learners encouraged to use the dominant language in writing</p>	<p>Dominant language</p> <p>Dominant language</p>	<p>Dominant language</p> <p>Textbooks written in the dominant language.</p>

5-7	<p>Mainly dominant language.</p> <p>Other languages can be used in class discussions or group work.</p> <p>Learners encouraged to use the dominant language in writing</p>	Dominant language	<p>Textbooks written in the dominant language.</p> <p>Trilingual glossaries</p>
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6.3.1.2 Majority Language speaking Villages

Since Setswana is spoken by about 80% of the population, it is considered as a majority language. In villages where Setswana is dominantly spoken, Setswana can be used as the main language in learning and teaching. Setswana, English and a minority language of Botswana may be learned as compulsory subjects from Standard 1. Learning material may be in Setswana and bilingual hard copy glossaries can be used alongside the learning texts. Just like in the minority language speaking areas, learners are welcomed into school in the dominant language from standard 1 to 4.

Table 9. Multilingual Guide for Language-in-Education Policy for Schools in Majority Language Speaking Villages

Years	Language of Learning and Teaching	Assessment	Learning texts
Pre- school 1-4	<p>Setswana Setswana.</p> <p>Other languages can be used in discussions or group work</p>	<p>Setswana</p> <p>Setswana</p>	<p>Setswana</p> <p>Setswana</p>
5-7	<p>Setswana</p> <p>Other languages can be used in discussions or group work</p>	Setswana	<p>Setswana</p> <p>Bilingual glossaries (Setswana and English)</p>

6.3.1.3 Cities

The findings of this research project have shown that learners in the capital city of Gaborone perform very well even if they mainly use English for learning and teaching. One of the participating schools have shown that they consider the learners' repertoires as they admit learners who are mainly from English medium pre-schools and so their school mainly uses English for learning and teaching. However, it was realised that even in this school learners and teachers were translanguaging. Therefore, the language-in-education guide for primary schools in cities also uses translanguaging and multilingual or bilingual glossaries. The 3 language subjects to be learned as compulsory subjects are English, Setswana and a minority language that is dominantly spoken in the city or any indigenous minority language of Botswana as decided by the parents and management of the school.

Table 10

Multilingual Guide for Language-in-Education Policy for Schools in Cities

Stand ard	Language of Learning and Teaching	Assessment	Learnin g texts
Pre- school 1 1-4	Mainly English Mainly English Other languages can be used in class discussions and group work.	Dual language assessments Dual language assessments (English and the dominant language)	Bilingu al bo oks/ activitie s Bilingu al textboo ks (Englis h and the domina nt languag e in the city)
5-7	Mainly English Other languages can be used in class	English	Textbo oks written in

			English
	discussions group work	a n d	Bilingual al glossaries or Trilingual ual glossaries es where a minority y language e dominantly spoken.

As aforementioned, the integrated multilingual model of individual bilingualism (MacSwan 2017) was used to inform this proposed guide of translanguaging to Botswana primary schools. This guide acknowledges the multilingual nature of Botswana and Batswana learners; it can be implemented any time so that the undeveloped languages may develop while in use (see Bamgbose 2000 and Ramani et al. 2007). The proposed policy also necessitates active language planning at both the micro and the macro level for the intellectualisation of the languages of Botswana. According to Liddicoat and Bryant (2002) as discussed in chapter 2, intellectualisation is developing the corpus of a language for concepts that are highly abstract. Gonzalez (2002) points out that translation is needed here to go through another conceptualisation as all languages can be intellectualised. This means that the minority

languages of Botswana can be developed through intellectualisation so that they can be effectively used for teaching and learning.

Because of the territorial multilingualism situation of Botswana, the language-in-education policy at the macro level only needs to allow individual schools to do their own language planning taking into consideration the language/s that their learners bring to school. If this were implemented in every school around Botswana, learners' academic performance may improve in villages and learners in cities may continue with their good performance. Learners may also perform well even at secondary education as the language they bring from home would be considered and developed in use for learning and teaching.

6.3.2 Advantages of using the 'Integrated Multilingualism Model of Individual Bilingualism as a Guide

Using the proposed guideline of implementing translanguaging policy through MacSwan's model of multilingualism on translanguaging will be beneficial in multilingual contexts like Botswana as it allows for active language planning that embraces multilingualism. Even though some authors have questioned the effect of translanguaging on the vitality of languages, this study has shown that translanguaging if planned well can have a positive impact on language development and learners' academic achievement. The following are the advantages that a bottom-up translanguaging planned at the micro level can have in multilingual contexts:

- 1) Enhanced participation and academic performance of learners
- 2) Development of the status of indigenous languages
- 3) Development of the corpus of languages through intellectualisation
- 4) Opportunities for minority languages and their native speakers in the development of indigenous languages
- 5) Improvement of acquisition planning for indigenous languages

The five listed advantages show that actively planning for translanguaging in schools can stimulate active language planning in all the four dimensions of status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning and opportunity planning by translating a second language into indigenous languages. This approach views language as a resource (Ruiz 1984) that can be planned even in times of language contact that breeds diversity of languages as shown by Makalela (2014). The suggested guide of translanguaging allows the learner to acquire content

flexibly using their linguistic system and it allows them to learn the named languages as subjects. It will also empower all the citizens of Botswana by affirming their identity through language of learning and teaching to result in citizens who can act locally, nationally and globally since they will be empowered. Consequently, this will develop the learners' creativity and criticality in language use for application in both language learning and content acquisition. Figure 17 shows empowerment of Botswana learners through translanguaging that recognises multilingualism. It shows empowerment from the inner core that involves minority language speakers, as they will be allowed to use their languages while learning Setswana, English and dominant language in their area. It also shows the empowerment of the communities that dominantly speak Setswana as learning will be mainly in Setswana while learning a minority language, English and Setswana as compulsory subjects.

Even in cities where English is mainly spoken by learners, 3 language subjects will be taught as compulsory: Setswana, English and a minority language of Botswana. Perforated lines in *Figure 17* show that languages can penetrate borders and this guide appreciates this characteristic of language and that is why at some point minority language speaking villages, Setswana dominant villages and cities and the globe share the same border. The guide values translanguaging and shows how the application of its stronger version in content subject lessons can enhance content acquisition and therefore better academic performance. It also shows how its weaker version can help in the development of African languages by studying them as compulsory subjects. The development of these languages may be realised through language teaching that is integrated with content but not content and language integration in content languages as this delays content acquisition. Since every field in education involves the use of language, the proposed guide encourages CLIL in language lessons. This will significantly contribute to the intellectualisation of African languages.

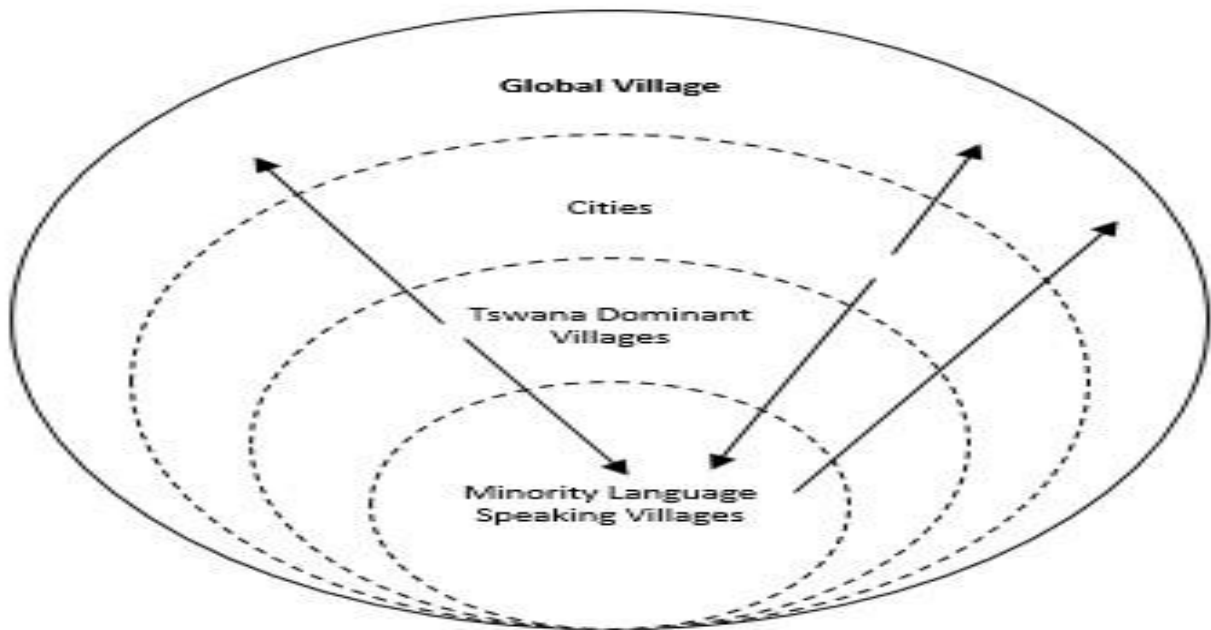


Figure 17 Empowering all Batswana using the multilingual perspective on translinguaging

It also recommends further study that can be undertaken to discover more on the language practices and the language-in-education policy of Botswana in relation to translinguaging as a theory and as practice.

1. Since pre-school is rolled out in primary schools under the Ministry of Basic Education and policy recommends the use of a dominant language in the learners' environment for introduction of lessons, it will be necessary to investigate the language practices. This would be to see if the existing preschools comply and if they do or do not the impact of their compliance or non-compliance will have to be studied. This will be necessary in the minority language speaking districts as the language-in-education policy of primary schools recommends for an abrupt switch from Standard 1 to 2, whereas the ECC&E recommends the use of a dominant language in the child's environment for introduction of lessons. Information gathered from this research could be used to advise relevant personnel as the programme is still being rolled out.
2. The language policies of primary schools in the cities will also have to be studied in all the categories of locations in the city. This means the higher and the low income earning locations, to study how language is planned in these schools. The same must be studied

in another city located in the North East district, which usually takes first position in PSLE.

3. Language practices must be studied in different districts to investigate how an abrupt switch to using English as a language of learning and teaching affects pedagogy and how the learners' repertoires are accommodated in a case like this.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

Limited translanguaging is prevalent in Botswana primary schools mainly because of trying to adhere to policy. This limits the acquisition of academic language and the participation of learners and affects pedagogy as content subject lessons become academic language lessons. For more coverage and depth of content subject lessons, this study recommends a multilingual guide on translanguaging to be implemented in primary schools. Because the guide accommodates the learners' repertoires, the implementation of its guidelines may positively contribute to the enhancement of academic performance of learners in Setswana speaking and minority language dominant districts. The guidelines cater for Botswana learners as dynamic multilinguals and it embraces multilingualism through the teaching of three languages as compulsory subjects. The implementation of the proposed guidelines for translanguaging policy and practice will enhance content acquisition and would encourage intellectualisation of African languages. It will make the medium of learning and teaching more transparent for creativity and criticality in both content and language classrooms. Recognising translanguaging will be recognising *Ubuntu* for teaching and learning in the education system of Botswana and would transform and empower Botswana towards the attainment of Vision 2036.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Thank you for taking part in this study. The research topic is **Language-in-Education Policy and Language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case Study of 3 Schools.**

Please tick the box of the corresponding answer

SECTION A

Demographic Data

Age

- ☐ <30 years
☐ 30-40 years
☐ >40 years

Sex

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

What is your first language (mother tongue)?

- ☐ Setswana
☐ Other. Please specify.....

How many years of experience do you have in teaching?

- ☐ <5
☐ 5-10
☐ 11-15
☐ >16

Please specify the teaching qualification that you hold

.....

Which level do you teach?

- ☐ Standard 1
☐ Standard 4
☐ Standard 7

SECTION B

1) Which language do you use in class for teaching?

- ☐ Setswana
☐ English
☐ Any other. Please specify.....
☐ Code mix. Please specify.....

2) Which language do your learners use in classroom interactions with the teacher?

- ☐ English
- ☐ Setswana
- ☐ Any other. Please specify.....
- ☐ Code mix. Please specify.....

3) Which language do your learners use in classroom interactions between themselves?

- ☐ English
- ☐ Setswana
- ☐ Any other. Please specify.....
- ☐ Code mix. Please specify.....

4) How proficient are your learners in English? Excellent

- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Very Poor
- ☐

5) How proficient are your learners in Setswana? Excellent

- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Very Poor
- ☐

6) What language is dominantly spoken by your class as their first language/ mother tongue?

☐ Setswana

☐ Other. Please specify

7) From the experience that you have in teaching, which language practice do you think will be best for teaching and learning at Botswana primary schools?

☐ Setswana only

☐ English only

☐ other language/s. Please specify.....

☐ Code mixing. Please specify.....

8) Do you ever feel compelled to strictly use a particular language for teaching and learning in your classroom?

☐ Yes. Yes.

Please explain.....
.....
.....

☐ No. No.

Please explain.....
.....
.....

9) Do you think the language of learning and teaching has an effect on the academic performance of learners?

☐ Yes. Yes

☐ No. No

SECTION C

10) How do you use language to explain concepts or terms that learners find difficult to understand? Please explain.

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11) What can you say about language in education at primary schools in Botswana?

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The END. Thank you for taking part in this research study.

Appendix 2

CLASS OBSERVATION

Class observation was carried out to observe language practices in Standard 1, 4 and 7 classes. It was used as the primary method of data collection to determine the following:

- The main language used in class for teaching
- Language that learners use in classroom interactions with the teacher and the one that they use to interact with other learners
- The proficiency of learners in English and Setswana
- The learners' first language
- The language that the teacher prefers for learning and teaching

1) A voice recorder was also used and the following were established to determine the following language practices at primary schools

- The dominant language in the classroom
- Other languages used in the classrooms
- Functions for different languages in the classroom
- Compliance to the national language-in-education-policy

2) The following learning material was also analysed to establish the dominant language

- Wall charts
- Reading texts

3) Both the learners' and the teachers' language practices were observed to determine their behaviour in pedagogy

4) Assessment records were consulted to evaluate the learners' academic performance.

Appendix 3

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

The focus group discussion was based on the following questions with the teachers of the selected 3 levels- Standard 1, 4 and 7. It was used to authenticate the questionnaire.

- 1) Which language do you use in class for teaching?
- 2) Which language do your learners use in classroom interactions with the teacher?
- 3) Which language do your learners use in classroom interactions between themselves?
- 4) How proficient are your learners in English?
- 5) How proficient are your learners in Setswana?
- 6) What language is dominantly spoken by your class as their first language/ mother tongue?
- 7) From the experience that you have in teaching, which language practice do you think will be best for teaching and learning at Botswana primary schools?
- 8) How do you use language to explain concepts that learners find difficult to understand? Please explain.
- 9) Do you ever feel compelled to strictly use a particular language for teaching and learning in your classroom?
- 10) Do you think the language of learning and teaching has an effect on the academic performance of learners?
- 11) What can you say about language in education at primary schools in Botswana?



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The Ministry of Education and Skills Development
Gaborone
Botswana

11 May 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RESEARCH – MS DUMELANG TSELAYAKHUMO – STUDENT NUMBER: 614T8573

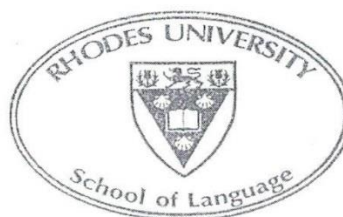
Ms Dumelang Tselayakhumo is registered for Master of Arts studies at the African Language Studies Section of the School of Languages and Literatures at Rhodes University. Her studies are based on research that looks at the language use in selected schools in Botswana. Her research proposal has been endorsed by the Humanities Higher Degrees Committee of Rhodes University and I am one of Ms Tselayakhumo's supervisor. For her study to be successful, she needs the assistance and support of the Ministry of Education and Skills Development in Botswana, schools, teachers and learners. She intends to administer questionnaires, conduct interviews, and observe Standard 1, Standard 4 and Standard 7 classes in three schools. The information that she will collect will be used solely for academic purposes. Privacy and confidentiality of the research subjects will be respected at all the times. It is hoped that this research will throw some significant insights on language matters in relation to education, especially in terms of how language use impacts the performance of learners in Botswana. Ms Tselayakhumo is prepared to share the findings and conclusions of her research in the form of his Master of Arts thesis after examination.

I therefore kindly request that you offer Ms Tselayakhumo the assistance that she needs to complete her research. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you need any information regarding this study.

Thanking you in anticipation.

With kind regards,

Dr Dion Nkomo
Senior Lecturer
School of Languages
Rhodes University
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Appendix 5

TELEPHONE (027) 3655469
TELEX: 2944 THUTO BD
FAX: 3185167



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT
PRIVATE BAG 005
GABORONE

REF: DPRS 7/1/5 XXV (87)

19th May 2016

Dumelang Tselayakhumo
PO Box 2393 ABG, Sebele
Gaborone

Dear Madam

RE: PERMIT TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

This serves to grant you permission to conduct your study in the sampled areas in Botswana to address the following research objectives/questions /topic:

Language practices at Primary school level and academic performance of learners in Botswana: a case study of Three (3) schools.

It is of paramount importance to seek Assent and Consent from the Regional Directors of South East, Kgalagadi and Southern regions, School Heads and teachers of selected 3 Primary schools namely, [REDACTED] that you are going to collect data from. We hope that you will conduct your study as stated in your proposal and that you will adhere to research ethics. Failure to comply with the above stated, will result in immediate termination of the research permit. The validity of the permit is from 19th May 2016 to 18th May 2017.

You are requested to submit a copy of your final report of the study as stated in the Research Guidelines (para 4.5 - 4.6, 2007) to the Ministry of Education and Skills Development, in the Department of Educational Planning and Research Services, Botswana.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

Sir Wonder Masebola
For/Permanent Secretary



Appendix 6a

P O Box 2393 ABG

Sebele

Gaborone

30th May 2016

The Director

Kgalagadi Region
P o Box 2
Tsabong

Dear Sir or Madam

APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

My name is Dumelang Tselayakhumo and I am studying African Languages Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. The research I wish to conduct for my Master's Thesis involves "Language Practices at Primary School Level and Academic Performance of Learners in Botswana: A Case Study of Three Schools". Therefore, I am hereby seeking your consent to undertake the proposed research and to approach Primary School.

Please find attached my permit to conduct a research study from the Ministry of Education and Skills Development.

If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on this email address bathochaba@yahoo.com.

Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely



Dumelang Tselayakhumo

Appendix 6b

ATT: [REDACTED]
RECORDS

P O Box 2393 ABG

Sebele

Gaborone

30th May 2016

The Director

Southern Region
Private Bag 3
Kanye

Dear Sir or Madam

APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

My name is Dumelang Tselayakhumo and I am studying African Languages Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. The research I wish to conduct for my Master's Thesis involves "Language Practices at Primary School Level and Academic Performance of Learners in Botswana: A Case Study of Three Schools". Therefore, I am hereby seeking your consent to undertake the proposed research and to approach Primary School.

Please find attached my permit to conduct a research study from the Ministry of Education and Skills Development.

If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on this email address bathochaba@yahoo.com.

Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely



Dumelang Tselayakhumo

Appendix 7a

SAVINGRAM

FROM: Director, Regional Operations
South East Region


D. Jenamiso
for/Director

TEL: 3972454

FAX: 3972915 / 3975899

TO: School Heads

- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]

REF: SER1/15/2 VIII (184)

10 June 2016

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH PROJECT

Dumelang Tselayakhumo from Rhodes University has been granted permission to conduct researches in your schools from the 19th May 2016 to 18th May 2017. The research is on "Language Practices at Primary School Level and Academic Performance of Learners in Botswana".

The researcher has been advised to contact you directly

Thank you. 397261 - 397289-6

TO: School Heads
- Mase Primary School
- Mase Primary School

Appendix 7b

TELEPHONE (267) 5441876

FAX: (267) 5441880 / 5442042



DIRECTOR (SOUTHERN REGION)
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SKILLS
DEVELOPMENT
PRIVATE BAG 003
KANYE

17th August 2016

Dumelang Tselayakhumo
P O Box 2393 ABG
Sebele
Gaborone

Ufs: **School** Head _____

RE: Request for permission to Carry out research

This letter refers to contents of a letter dated 30th May 2016, in which you request for permission to collect data at ~~Maunabo Primary school~~ ~~Maunabo primary school~~.

Initial permission was Granted in letter Ref: DPRS 7/1/5 XXVI (87).

Permission is granted provided you share findings with this office.

000000 for -Director Regional Operations
000000

Appendix 8a

Consent Form TEACHER-QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMATION AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Language-in-Education Policy and language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case Study of 3 Schools

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dumelang Tselayakhumo, from Rhodes University.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dumelang Tselayakhumo at Cell number [REDACTED] or kathochaba@yahoo.com

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to investigate language practices in primary schools to determine how they affect pedagogy.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in this study you will need about 30 minutes. To provide us with more information on this issue you are asked to;

- complete the questionnaire

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Discussing the way you use language for teaching and learning in your lessons is not likely to expose you to any risks since the names of schools will be concealed in the thesis. However, participation may take a longer time than anticipated.

If any part of the questionnaire makes you feel uncomfortable feel free to skip the question.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By participating in this study:

- you will increase the knowledge held by researchers and policy makers about language policy and practice and the effect that these may have on pedagogy

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information collected in this study:

- The researcher will not collect your name.
- The name of the school will be concealed
- Only the researcher will have access to the questionnaire

HANDLING AND SECURITY OF DATA

Data collection can never be guaranteed to be completely secure. However every effort will be made to ensure that your privacy and confidentiality is protected throughout the study. Data will be kept for 2 years and then destroyed by the researcher.

ANONYMITY

- All data will be presented in reports, presentations or other final summaries in a summarized format so that no one will be able to identify you from your comments or data.

PARTICIPATION, WITHDRAWAL and RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You can choose whether to be in this study or not.

- You may withdraw consent at any time without consequences of any kind.
- You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

- There is no payment for participating in this study

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study will be mainly used for my MA thesis and may be used in conferences, presentations and may be published in the following formats: in electronic format and in published journals.

The clearance from Rhodes University was used to seek for permission from the Ministry of Education and Skills Development which was given by Sir Wonder Masebela who also referred me to the Director of Region. granted me permission to undertake my study at ~~Primary~~ School. Please find attached the letter from Region.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

- I have read and understood the information provided for the study "Language-in-Education Policy and Language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case of 3 Schools".
- I understand the potential risks and discomforts involved.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in the research study.

☐ Yes ☐ No I agree to participate in this study

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Name of Witness (please print)

Signature of Witness

Date

The end. Thank you

Appendix 8b

Consent Form

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

INFORMATION AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Language-in-Education Policy and language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case Study of 3 Schools

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dumelang Tselayakhumo, from Rhodes University.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dumelang Tselayakhumo at Cell number [REDACTED] or hathochaba@yahoo.com

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to investigate language practices in primary schools to determine how they affect pedagogy.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to your school participates in this study, a maximum of 30 minutes will be spent in the focus group discussion. Therefore you are asked to feel free in sharing your experiences and challenges on language in education.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Discussing about language in education is not likely to expose you to any risks since the names of schools will be concealed in the thesis. However, participation may take a longer time than anticipated as it involves some discussions on different experiences.

Feel free to excuse yourself if the discussion makes you feel uncomfortable.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By participating in this study:

- you will increase the knowledge held by researchers and policy makers about language policy and practice and the effect that these may have on pedagogy

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information collected in this study:

- The researcher will not collect your name.
- The name of the school will be concealed
- Only the researcher will have access to this questionnaire

HANDLING AND SECURITY OF DATA

Data collection can never be guaranteed to be completely secure. However every effort will be made to ensure that your privacy and confidentiality is protected throughout the study. Data will be kept for 2 years and then destroyed by the researcher.

ANONYMITY

- All data will be presented in reports, presentations or other final summaries in a summarized format so that no one will be able to identify you from your comments or data.

PARTICIPATION, WITHDRAWAL and RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You can choose whether to be in this study or not.

- You may withdraw consent at any time without consequences of any kind.
- You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

- There is no payment for participating in this study

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study will be mainly used for my MA thesis and may be used in conferences, presentations and may be published in the following formats: in electronic format and in published journals.

The clearance from Rhodes University was used to seek for permission from the Ministry of Education and Skills Development which was given by Sir Wonder Masebola who also referred me to the Director of Region. granted me permission to undertake my study atPrimary School. Please find attached the letter fromRegion.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

- I have read and understood the information provided for the study "Language-in-Education Policy and Language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case of 3 Schools".
- I understand the potential risks and discomforts involved.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in the research study.

☐ Yes ☐ No I agree to participate in this study

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Name of Witness (please print)

Signature of Witness

Date

Consent Form

HEADTEACHER

INFORMATION AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Language-in-Education Policy and language Practices In Botswana Primary Schools: a Case Study of 3 Schools

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dumelang Tselayakhumo, from Rhodes University.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dumelang Tselayakhumo at Cell number 74439574 or dtsele@rhodes.ac.za

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to investigate language practices in primary schools to determine how they affect pedagogy.

PROCEDURES

If you agree that your school participates in this study, a maximum of 5 Science lessons and 5 Mathematics lessons will be observed in 1 class at Standard 1, 4 and 7. Then the teachers of non-participating- classes will be asked to answer the questionnaire and later on all teachers of these classes will be invited to a focus group discussion on language of learning and teaching and how it affects pedagogy. To provide us with more information on this issue you are asked to;

- complete the attached questionnaire

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Discussing the background information of your school is not likely to expose you to any risks since the names of schools are concealed in the thesis. However, participation may take a longer time than anticipated as it involves some statistical data on issues like the total number of students enrolled.

If any part of the questionnaire makes you feel uncomfortable feel free to skip the question.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By participating in this study:

- you will increase the knowledge held by researchers and policy makers about language policy and practice and the effect that these may have on pedagogy

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information collected in this study:

- The researcher will not collect your name.
- The name of the school will be concealed
- Only the researcher will have access to this questionnaire

HANDLING AND SECURITY OF DATA

Data collection can never be guaranteed to be completely secure. However every effort will be made to ensure that your privacy and confidentiality is protected throughout the study. Data will be kept for 2 years and then destroyed by the researcher.

ANONYMITY

- All data will be presented in reports, presentations or other final summaries in a summarized format so that no one will be able to identify you from your comments or data.

PARTICIPATION, WITHDRAWAL and RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You can choose whether to be in this study or not.

- You may withdraw consent at any time without consequences of any kind.
- You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

- There is no payment for participating in this study

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study will be mainly used for my MA thesis and may be used in conferences, presentations and may be published in the following formats: in electronic format and in published journals.

The clearance from Rhodes University was used to seek for permission from the Ministry of Education and Skills Development which was given by Sir Wonder Masebola who also referred me to the Director of Region. granted me permission to undertake my study at Primary School. Please find attached the letter from Region.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

- I have read and understood the information provided for the study "Language-in-Education Policy and Language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case of 3 Schools".
- I understand the potential risks and discomforts involved.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in the research study.

☐ Yes ☐ No I agree to participate in this study

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Name of Witness (please print)

Signature of Witness

Date

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When did the school begin operating?

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.....
.....

2. Is the school government aided, solely managed by the government or private?

.....
.....
.....

3. Does the school directly employ teachers? If no, how do the teachers get posted to your Primary School?

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4. Does the school have offer pre-school education?

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5. How much is the development fees?

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6. What are the consequences of failure to pay the fees by learners?

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.....
.....

7. Is there a special criteria for the selection of Standard 1 pupils? Please elaborate

[illegible]

8. Does the school have a language policy? Please tick the applicable answer

Yes.....

No.....

9. Please discuss your answer to question 8) by explaining the policy or lack of

.....

[illegible]

10. Is the language policy of your school clearly stipulated or inferred?

[illegible]

11. In what language is the logo of your school?

[illegible]

12. Does the school have a language committee?

No.....

Yes.....

13. If you answered yes in question 12 please discuss the roles of the committee

[illegible]

Consent Form

TEACHER-CLASS OBSERVATION

INFORMATION AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Language-In-Education Policy and language Practices in Botswana Primary Schools: a Case Study of 3 Schools

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Dumelang Tselayakhumo, from Rhodes University.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dumelang Tselayakhumo at Cell number 7477657 or dtsele@rhodes.ac.za

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to investigate language practices in primary schools to determine how they affect pedagogy.

PROCEDURES

If you agree that your class participates in this study, a maximum of 5 Science lessons and 5 Mathematics lessons will be observed and utterances will be captured using a voice recorder.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Observation of your class is not likely to expose you to any risks since the names of schools will be concealed in the thesis. However, participation may take a longer time than anticipated if the learners spend most of their time writing.

If you do not feel uncomfortable during observation please feel free to withdraw your consent.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By participating in this study:

- you will increase the knowledge held by researchers and policy makers about language policy and practice and the effect that these may have on pedagogy

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information collected in this study:

- The researcher will not collect your name.
- The name of the school will be concealed
- Only the researcher will have access to the voice recorder

HANDLING AND SECURITY OF DATA

Data collection can never be guaranteed to be completely secure. However every effort will be made to ensure that your privacy and confidentiality is protected throughout the study. Data will be kept for 2 years and then destroyed by the researcher.

ANONYMITY

- All data will be presented in reports, presentations or other final summaries in a summarized format so that no one will be able to identify you from your comments or data.

PARTICIPATION, WITHDRAWAL and RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You can choose whether to be in this study or not.

- You may withdraw consent at any time without consequences of any kind.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

- There is no payment for participating in this study

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study will be mainly used for my MA thesis and may be used in conferences, presentations and may be published in the following formats: in electronic format and in published journals.

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- I understand the potential risks and discomforts involved.
- My questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in the research study.

☐ Yes ☐ No I agree to participate in this study

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Name of Witness (please print)

Signature of Witness

Date