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MAINTENANCE OF COMMUNICATION IN PRIMARY CLASSROOMS: SOME
EVIDENCE FOR THE ROLE OF ELICITATION AND CODE-SWITCHING IN
ENGLISH MEDIUM SCHOOLS IN KENYA, WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR
TEACHING

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

'Maintenance of communication in primary classrooms: some evidence for the role of elicitation and code-switching in English medium schools in Kenya, with implications for teaching'

CHARLES BENEDICT ODUOL

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1987.

SUMMARY

This is a study of specific aspects of classroom interaction at primary school level in Kenya. The study entailed the identification of the sources of particular communication problems during the change-over period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching in two primary schools. There was subsequently an examination of the language resources which were employed by teachers to maintain pupil participation in communication in the light of the occurrence or possibility of occurrence of specific communication problems. The language resources which were found to be significant in this regard concerned firstly the use of different elicitation types by teachers to stimulate pupils into giving responses and secondly teachers' recourse to code-switching from English to Kiswahili and vice-versa.

It was also found in this study that although the use of English as the medium of instruction in the classrooms which were observed resulted in certain communication problems, some of these problems need not have arisen if teachers had been more careful in their use of language. The consideration of this finding, after taking into account the role of different elicitation types and code-switching as interpretable from data samples had certain implications which are specified in the study for teaching in Kenyan primary schools.

The corpus for the study consisted of audio-recordings of English, Science and Number-Work lessons which were later transcribed. Relevant data samples were subsequently extracted from transcripts for analysis. Many of the samples have examples of cases of communication breakdowns, but they also illustrate how teachers maintained interaction with pupils who had yet to acquire an operational mastery of English. This study thus differs from most studies on classroom interaction because of its basic concern with the examination of the resources available to teachers for overcoming the problem areas of classroom communication.

CLASSROOM INTERACTION
KENYA
ELICITATION
CODE-SWITCHING
TEACHING

DEDICATION

To Tus,

who without doubt would have loved to see this work completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES

This chapter contains an outline of the objectives of the present study. The formulation of these objectives was influenced by two considerations which in essence indicated there was a need for the study to be conducted. There is also in this chapter an outline of the preliminary investigative procedures which were used in the study. These procedures relate to a description of the schools which provided the corpus, a summary of the procedures for the collection of this corpus, and an account of the factors governing the selection of relevant data from the corpus. The corpus in question consisted of audio recordings of classroom lessons which were subsequently transcribed. The final section of the present chapter is devoted to a preview of the contents of the rest of the chapters in the study.

1.0 Objectives of the study

The present study set out to investigate the sources of the spoken communication problems which teachers and pupils encounter in classroom communication, during the changeover period from Kiswahili, to English medium teaching in two Nairobi primary schools. It was presumed that the sources of most of these problems could be identified if the communication that took place during the teaching-learning of English, Science and Number-Work lessons in selected standard 4

classrooms was examined. It was suspected that these subjects demand to a certain extent, different communication requirements, but it was left to the study to confirm the validity of this suspicion. Once the sources of communication problems in selected classrooms had been identified, the second objective of the study was to discover the language resources used by teachers to overcome these problems. It was thought that these resources would be the means by which the communication between teachers and pupils was maintained. The last objective of the study arose from the view that the identification of the sources of communication problems in selected classrooms, and of the language resources used to overcome them would have certain implications for teaching at primary level. It was understood from the beginning of the study that the nature of these implications would depend ultimately, not only on the means identified as resources for the maintenance of classroom communication, but also, on the socio-cultural context of primary school teaching in Kenya. The specification of these implications constituted in essence, the final objective of the study.

1.1 Reasons for the Study

As stated earlier, two considerations were influential in the formulation of the objectives of the study. The first consideration arose from the fact that Kenya has many ethnic languages which makes it imperative that only certain languages can be used in the country's education system beyond a certain level. This consideration, as is shown in the sub-section

which follows, led to the formulation of an educational language policy which makes the investigation of aspects of communication in the Kenyan primary school context an important research area. The second consideration emanated from my awareness that the primary education sector in Kenya continues to experience certain problems which can adversely affect teacher-class communication. The investigation of the problematic aspects of teacher-class communication was consequently deemed to be a suitable area for research.

1.1.1 The language situation in Kenya

Kenya has many languages, but it is not easy to specify the exact number of languages in the country. Whiteley, ed. (1974) indicates that there are more than thirty distinct languages in the country. These languages represent four major African language groups, namely Bantu, Nilotic, Para-Nilotic and Cushitic groups. Examples of some of the languages in these groups are shown in the figure below.

African Language Groups

<u>Bantu Languages</u>	<u>Nilotic Language</u>	<u>Para-Nilotic Languages</u>	<u>Cushitic Languages</u>
Kikuyu	Luo	Teso	Somali
Embu		Turkana	Rendille
Mbere		Maasai	Boran
Meru		Samburu	Galla
Kiswahili		Njemps	
Chuka		Nandi	
Bukusu		Kipsigis	
Wanga			
Kuria			
Logoli			
Tsotso			
Samia			
Kamba			

Fig. 1 African Languages in Kenya and their language groups

Other significant languages in Kenya are Arabic, and the languages of the second generation of Asian immigrant communities such as Gujarati, Urdu and Hindi. The most important languages in the country are, however, Kiswahili and English, which operate as the de facto national and official languages respectively.

While all the other indigenous languages in Kenya serve as markers of ethnic differentiation, this is not the case with Kiswahili since it does not belong to any particular ethno-linguistic group in the country. Its origins lie in the contacts which developed between Arab traders and coastal inhabitants in the period before 1600. Consequently, this language has many lexical elements from Arabic, but its morphological and syntactic structure indicates it is a Bantu language. At present, some coastal inhabitants use Kiswahili as a first language, and it is at the coast that people are most proficient in the language. As one moves into the interior of Kenya, non-standard varieties of Kiswahili predominate.

Nevertheless, this language still remains the most widely spoken language in the country. Heine and Mohlig, ed. (1980), found in their survey of patterns of language use in Kenya that 65.3 per cent of the Kenyan population speaks Kiswahili. By way of comparison, only 16.1 per cent of the population speaks English. The influence of English in Kenya is, however, far out of proportion to the number of its speakers. This is due primarily to its status as an

international language, and to the vital role that it plays in the country's education sector. Consequently, even at the primary school level; English impinges on classroom communication as soon as pupils are perceived to have a rudimentary understanding of the language.

The presence of numerous indigenous languages in Kenya, plus the fact that English and not Kiswahili is the key language in the country's education sector, led to the formulation of the following policy concerning the languages that have to be used as the media of instruction in most of the country's primary schools. In most primary schools in urban areas, the language of instruction in the first three years of schooling has to be Kiswahili. However, primary schools which have a multi-racial intake use English as the medium of instruction from the first year of schooling. This means in the case of Nairobi for example, that about 25 per cent of the city's 150 primary schools are wholly English medium institutions. During the period when Kiswahili is operating as the medium of instruction in urban primary schools, English is taught as a subject in the school curriculum.

Since Kiswahili is not the mother-tongue of most teachers and pupils, its use as the medium of instruction in the early years of primary school does not always guarantee problem-free communication. This language nevertheless provides a common medium of communication for all classroom interactants in lower primary classes in most urban schools. From the fourth year of schooling in urban areas, English

becomes the language of instruction, while Kiswahili begins to be taught as a subject in the curriculum.

In the country's rural primary schools, mother tongue languages operate as the media of instruction in the first three years of primary school, with Kiswahili and English being taught as subjects in the curriculum. This arrangement changes, however, in the fourth year of primary school, when English takes over as the medium of instruction, while the mother tongue languages are dropped altogether from the school curriculum.

The present study took as a starting point the commonly held view that the changeover period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching in urban primary schools in Kenya results in problems of communication between teachers and pupils. It is often observed that by the time of the changeover to English medium teaching, many pupils are often still incapable of meeting the communication demands associated with the role of English as the language of their instruction. It could of course be argued that this changeover is normally a gradual rather than an abrupt occurrence, and as such, is less likely to result in communication problems. This argument has some validity. Nevertheless, since Kiswahili is not the mother tongue of many pupils, and they have to be taught the standard variety of this language just as they have to be taught English, the shift to Kiswahili by some teachers in the course of classroom communication during the changeover period, can also result in communication problems in certain cases.

Such factors led to the conclusion that the characteristics of the communication that takes place during the changeover period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching was a fruitful area for investigation.

This conclusion was strengthened by the knowledge that during the changeover period, many of the pupils were unlikely to be in a position to use English for purposes of communication. Furthermore, the teachers who were to help them become competent in English were non-native speakers of this language. Against this background, there appeared to be good reasons for a study which would investigate the resources available to these teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication.

1.1.2 Primary education in Kenya

Kenya's primary schools differ with regard to the quality of their teaching staff because of the variations in the academic and professional qualifications of the teachers who are employed in different categories of schools.

In urban areas, the most highly qualified teachers tend to work in the elitist primary schools which were formerly 'whites only' or 'Asians only' primary schools. The teachers in these schools are generally University graduates, with post-graduate diplomas in education, although some of them only hold the Kenya Advanced Certificate of Education (K.A.C.E.). This qualification is equivalent to the G.C.E. A-level certificate. By way of comparison, the majority of the non-elitist primary schools tend to be staffed by teachers whose highest academic

qualification is the Kenya Certificate of Education (K.C.E.). This qualification is equivalent to an O-level certificate, and is usually used as a criterion for selecting applicants for teacher training colleges. To gain admission into any of the country's 17 teacher training colleges, applicants must normally possess either a first, second or third division K.C.E. qualification,¹ although in certain cases, applicants with lower qualifications such as the Kenya Junior Secondary Education Certificate (K.J.S.E.), or the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.), are accepted for training. A few of the applicants who gain admission into training colleges hold the K.A.C.E. qualification. Since most secondary school leavers join the teaching profession as a last resort,² it is mainly those with the weakest grades at K.C.E. level who decide to go for teacher training.

In the teacher training colleges, students are taught, over a two year period, a variety of subjects which include English, Kiswahili, Science, Mathematics, Agriculture, Geography, History, Religious Education, Music, Physical and Health Education, Art Education and Home Science. Apart from these subjects, students are also taught Educational Administration, Psychology and Methodology, and there is a six week period for Teaching Practice in the first year of their training, and a similar period in the second year.

In the past, training colleges were staffed mainly by tutors who had previously taught for many years in primary schools, and were thus conversant with the requirements of

primary school teaching where a teacher has to be capable of handling the whole range of subjects in the school curriculum.

The highest academic qualification which was held by most of these tutors was the K.C.E. qualification. This qualification was deemed as adequate in the days when applicants for teacher training could gain admission into colleges on the basis of the C.P.E. qualification, but as entry requirements were raised, tutors who did not possess a higher academic qualification found themselves being phased out from their jobs.

They were replaced by University graduates, many of whom were fresh from college, and had no experience of teaching in primary schools. Some of the new tutors had taught for a short period of time in secondary schools, but it is debatable whether this experience provides adequate preparation for teaching, in a training college for teachers.

On completion of their training, students qualify as either P.1, P.2 or P.3 teachers, depending on how they perform in the pre-service primary teachers examination. To qualify for the award of a P.1 certificate, candidates have to achieve a grade 1-6 pass in at least eight selected subjects. The requirements for P.2 and P.3 certificates are lower.³

In non-elitist primary schools in urban areas, the majority of the teachers are holders of the P.1 certificate. Taking into account what has been said about the academic background of most of these teachers, and the fact that a significant proportion of the tutors in training colleges have no experience of teaching in primary schools, it was felt that

the investigation of how teachers of the P.1 category communicate with their pupils, would be interesting from a research perspective. This feeling was strengthened by the awareness that most of the teachers in Kenya's primary schools will continue to be teachers of the P.1 category because of recently announced changes, to the rules governing the award of certificates to student-teachers on completion of their training.

According to these changes, students who enrol for training and are holders of a K.C.E. certificate, automatically qualify as P.1 teachers on completion of training, while those with weaker qualifications such as the K.J.S.E. and C.P.E., qualify as P.2 and P.3 teachers respectively. Since most of the students in teacher training colleges at present, are holders of the K.C.E. qualification, it follows that most of the teachers who will graduate from these colleges will be P.1 teachers. The table which is presented below, illustrates this point.

Academic Qualification	First Year		Second Year		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
K.A.C.E.	12	10	14	-	26	10
K.C.E.	3493	2243	3110	2088	6603	4331
K.J.S.E.	39	38	37	41	76	79
C.P.E.	45	49	43	34	88	83
	3589	2340	3204	2163	6793	4503

Table 1. Qualification, number, year of training and composition of student teachers in various colleges in Kenya in 1985. (Source: Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics Survey Report, 1985)

Key to the abbreviations in the table:

K.A.C.E. - Kenya Advanced Certificate of Education

K.C.E. - Kenya Certificate of Education

K.J.S.E. - Kenya Junior Secondary Education. This certificate is normally obtainable after two years of secondary education. Teachers with this qualification do not teach in the urban areas.

C.P.E. - Certificate of Primary Education. Holders of this qualification can only teach in the very remote rural areas of Kenya.

Apart from the differences in the academic and professional quality of the teaching staff in Kenya's primary schools, many of these schools also suffer from chronic shortages of teaching materials. Consequently, teachers in many primary schools often have to conduct their work in classrooms which lack basic coursebooks and other teaching aids such as wall charts and drawings. In some classrooms, it is not uncommon to find lessons in which there are only seven coursebooks to be shared by forty-five pupils. Clearly, in such lessons, the teacher's abilities are taxed to the limit. However, from the point of view of classroom research, the communication that occurs in lessons of this kind provides excellent cases for investigation. This factor was significant in the formulation of the objectives of the present study, since it was felt that the shortages of teaching materials in certain classrooms, was likely in itself to

exacerbate communication problems between teachers and pupils. These shortages are part and parcel of primary education in Kenya, and are unlikely to be eradicated in the near future for the reasons outlined below.

With a population growth rate of more than 4 per cent per annum, the country has at present one of the highest growth rates in the world. From a population figure which currently stands at 18.78 million (Abecor country report: April, 1985), it is estimated that by the end of this century, this figure will exceed the 34 million mark. Not surprisingly therefore, the country's rapid rise in population has affected the government's efforts at providing teaching materials for primary schools. An indication that the government might be forced to withdraw altogether from the responsibility of providing such materials is contained in the country's Development Plan for the period 1984-1988. In this plan, it is emphasized that the government no longer wishes to continue shouldering or subsidising social services, and that local communities must be prepared to bear this burden.

1.2 Preliminary investigative procedures

The conditions governing the award of research permits in Kenya made it imperative that only a maximum of three schools could be considered as potential settings for the present study. These conditions are as follows.

Before one can be permitted to conduct research in Kenya, a detailed application has to be sent to the Permanent

Secretary, Office of the President. In this application, information is given on the nature of the research to be undertaken, the sources of funding for the research and the relevance of the research for Kenya's needs. A committee then meets to decide on whether the application sent to the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President warrants approval. If the application is successful, a research clearance permit is granted which makes it legal for the applicant to gain access to relevant research settings. In many cases, such access is never an automatic formality. This is because officials in government and local authority offices are empowered to restrict or prevent access to research settings following their own independent evaluation of the merits and demerits of a given research proposal. An important consideration in such evaluation is often the question of whether there is sufficient money available for a study to be conducted successfully.

It might be worthwhile to note at this juncture that the scope of the present study was affected by the fact that it was not supported by any financial grant from any local source. This factor was responsible for the City Education Officer's decision to allow access for corpus collection purposes to only three Nairobi schools namely Kawangware, Kangemi and Kariobangi South primary schools. Once this study began, it was subsequently decided that given the fact that there was no financial grant to support the study, only two schools would be used as research settings. This decision was quietly reached following the realisation that in a 'one-man' research, there

are constraints on the amount of data one can collect and analyze in a given period of time. It is largely for this reason that the corpus for this work consisted basically of audio-recordings of sixty-two lessons from Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools which were subsequently transcribed.

Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools have certain characteristics in common. For instance, they are both staffed by teachers who hold comparable academic and professional qualifications. This conclusion was reached after examining school records which were made available by the headmistresses of the two schools. A breakdown of the number of teachers holding given types of academic qualification at Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools at the time of the study is presented in the following table.

School and total number of teachers	Academic Qualification			
	K.A.C.E	K.C.E DIV. 1	K.C.E DIV. 2	K.C.E DIV. 3
Kawangware 32	3	-	6	23
Kangemi 34	4	-	5	25

Table 2. Number of teachers holding given types of academic qualification at Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools.

From the table, it is evident that over 70 percent of the teachers in the two schools are holders of a third division K.C.E qualification. Significantly, none of the teachers in these schools had a first division K.C.E qualification. Nevertheless, a few of them (9 percent at Kawangware and 12 percent at Kangemi) had a Higher School Certificate qualification (K.A.C.E). Another point to note is that since all the teachers in the two schools were of the P.1 category, they must have successfully completed their two years of pre-service training in various colleges. Consequently, they were all professionally qualified.

A total number of four male and twelve female teachers were observed conducting lessons during the corpus collection phases of this study. The youngest of these teachers was 21 years old and the oldest was 45. Five of the teachers had between fifteen and twenty years of teaching experience, seven

had between eight and fourteen years experience while the rest had taught for between three and seven years. None of the teachers in the study can thus be said to have been lacking in teaching experience. It might be of use to note however, that the scarcity of course books and other teaching materials at Kawangware and Kangemi has led to a situation in which the basic method of teaching is the 'talk and chalk' method.

Kawangware and Kangemi also happen to be among the largest primary schools in Nairobi, with enrolments of nearly 1,400 pupils in each school. The average number of pupils per class in these schools stands at fifty.

The headmistresses of the two schools pointed out furthermore that less than 50 percent of their pupils had attended pre-primary classes before being enrolled in Standard 1. This factor probably accounts for the observation by many of the teachers in the study that even after four years of primary schooling, some of the pupils were barely able to write their names. Other factors may however, be responsible for this situation.

As an example, it emerged from several informal interviews with teachers that the poor family background of most of the pupils in the two schools could be the explanation for some of the problems faced by these pupils in classroom tasks, pertaining to literacy and numeracy. In this regard, it was noted during the corpus collection phases of the study for instance, that there was generally a lack of concentration by pupils in lessons which were conducted between 11am and 12.30pm. According to teachers, the reason for this lack of

concentration was the fact that many pupils often attended school without having had sufficient breakfast in the morning. Consequently, after 11am they were often too hungry to follow lessons effectively.

The Kenya government is aware that malnutrition is affecting academic performance at the primary school level. For this reason, a 'school milk programme' was started a few years ago through which school children are entitled to a litre of milk once a week. Much more needs to be done by parents however, if hunger and malnutrition are to be eradicated as factors which can affect pupils' performance in classroom tasks. At this point in time, it is difficult to visualise how the parents of most school going children can provide these children with an adequate diet when they themselves have barely enough to keep body and soul together.

It was noted from school records with some concern that 60 percent of the parents of the children in the classrooms which were observed during the study earned less than the equivalent of 35 pounds a month. This income is hardly sufficient to feed, clothe and house a family in Nairobi.

It also emerged from an examination of school records that some of the children came from single parent households where the mother was the breadwinner. Through observation and informal interviews with teachers, it emerged that many of the female household heads in the neighbourhood of Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools earn their living primarily by hawking vegetables. In the Kenyan context, this occupation guarantees

no more than a hand to mouth existence. The conclusion can be drawn, therefore, that most of the pupils in the classrooms which served as settings for this study are from families in which hardship is the rule rather than the exception.

The language background of the pupils at Kawangware and Kangemi is also interesting. A sizeable proportion of them speak Kikuyu as a first language since the two schools happen to be in what was formerly an area occupied by members of the Kikuyu ethnic group. This area has, however, since been settled by people who come not only from different parts of Kenya, but also from Uganda, Zaire, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. Thus, in any given classroom at Kawangware and Kangemi, one encounters pupils who on the whole, speak different languages as mother tongues. They nevertheless have, in Kiswahili, a common medium of communication, although the variety which they use is generally a non-standard one.

From the picture which has been presented of Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools, it can be seen that a deliberate effort was made to obtain a corpus from schools with characteristics which were likely to contribute to communication problems between teachers and pupils.

The audio-recording of lessons as a means of obtaining a corpus is apparently simple and straightforward. All that is required is a good tape-recorder. The transcription of the recorded material is often a very time consuming exercise however, because the quality of the recordings is affected not only by echoing walls but also by the movements of pupils in class. The collection of the corpus which was used in this

work occurred during the following periods.

In the first three months of 1983, several observational visits were made to lower primary classes, namely standards 2-4, at both Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools. The policy⁴ which governs admissions into the primary schools administered by the Nairobi City Council ensured that pupils in Standard 2 classrooms were aged between 8 and 9 years while the ages of those in Standards 3 and 4 varied between 9 and 10 years, and 10 and 11 years respectively. No recording equipment was carried into any classrooms during this phase of the study. Then, as the teachers gradually became used to the presence of the researcher in their classrooms, the practice was adopted of recording, in a note-book, any occurrences of problems which were interpreted as interfering with aspects of teacher-class communication. The resources which were used by teachers to overcome these problems were also noted. Of significance in this respect was the feature of code-switching. Informal interviews were also conducted with the teachers on some features of the communication between them and their pupils, which had been observed during particular lessons. Through these interviews, the classes which were best suited for corpus collection were selected. An important factor in their selection was the willingness of particular teachers to be observed and recorded when teaching.

In May 1983, a tape-recorder was introduced into selected standard 4 classrooms at both Kawangware and Kangemi schools. No recording took place during this month. The

practice was however adopted of placing the tape-recorder which was used in the study, in a prominent position so that the teachers and pupils would get used to its presence. This position happened in most classrooms to be the teacher's table, located in front of the class and facing rows of desks. No attempt was made during this phase of the study to restrict lesson observation to the three subject areas of English, Science and Number-Work. This move would have increased the anxiety of some teachers, and discouraged them from participating in the study.

To lessen teacher anxiety, the researcher assured the teachers at Kawangware and Kangemi that they would not be identified by name in the study. The researcher also informed them that the results of his work would have no effect on their professional standing, since he was merely a student who wanted to improve his teaching skills. Many teachers were relieved to learn that the researcher was a student, and they were subsequently very forthcoming with 'tips' on effective teaching.

In June 1983, the researcher approached four teachers at Kawangware and four at Kangemi, and informed them that he was ready to begin the audio-recording of their lessons. These recordings they were told, would be confined to English, Science and Number-Work lessons. Eight recordings each of lessons from these subject areas were consequently made in the months of June and July in selected standard 4 classrooms. The twenty-four recordings were subsequently transcribed in August. Ordinary orthographic conventions were used in the

transcriptions.

The quality of some of the recordings was found to be rather poor. It was therefore decided that in subsequent recordings, teachers would be requested whenever there was much background noise in their classes, to agree to strap the cassette-recorder on to their shoulders, with the condenser microphone attached to their clothing. This, they agreed to do. Consequently, the quality of the recordings which were made between September 1983 and March 1984 was improved considerably. Altogether twenty-four English lessons, eighteen primary science lessons, and twenty number-work lessons were recorded. The duration of each lesson recorded was 30 minutes.⁵ Their transcription provided the study with a corpus from which specific features relating to classroom communication could be examined.

During the transcription of the recordings which had been made from September onwards, there was constant reference to observational notes which served as supplements to the recordings. The purpose of these notes was to provide a picture of the events in specific lessons which could not be captured by the cassette-recorder. Details of particular incidents of a non-verbal nature, descriptions of the objects and realia used in given lessons, and outlines of the material pupils were asked to copy from black-boards, are examples of things which made up the observational notes.

It was subsequently realized that the whole collection of lesson transcripts could not be used as data in the present

work. This was because only part of it was relevant for the investigation of the sources of particular communication problems, and of the resources used by teachers to overcome them. Relevant data had thus to be selected from these transcripts. The procedure which was used to achieve this goal is the subject of what follows.

1.2.1 The selection of relevant data

Two factors guided the selection of relevant data from the lesson transcripts. The first one stemmed from the researcher's pragmatic knowledge of the characteristics of communication in formal classrooms. Because of this knowledge, the researcher was aware for instance, that many classroom questions⁶ are posed by teachers as a means of gauging whether pupils are following what is being taught. Consequently in this circumstance, a correct answer to a teacher's question signals to the teacher that a given 'lesson segment',⁷ has been accomplished successfully.

However, when a wrong answer is given to a question, the teacher has certain conventional ways of ensuring that the correct answer will be available to the class. For example, the teacher can use a series of Socratic questions to lead the class to the correct answer. Alternatively, the teacher can supply the answer to his or her own question. In all these cases, there may be no suggestion that the communication between the teacher and the class is encountering a major problem, such as that which can result for instance, in a break-down in communication. The possibility cannot be ruled

out, however, in this context that the failure of a class to supply a correct answer might be due to a pupils' misunderstanding of a teacher's question. It might also be the case that the instructions relating to the question were not effectively presented by the teacher, in which case pupils might fail to supply the correct answer.

In view of this factor, it was decided that the utterances⁸ sandwiching portions of transcripts in which the questions from a teacher had failed to evoke the 'correct' or acceptable answers, including the sandwiched questions and answers, would be extracted and used as part of the data in the present work. The assumption was that these utterances and the question-answer pairs would reveal the sources of some of the communication problems faced by teachers when interacting with their pupils. This procedure of selecting data meant that in the context of given data samples, all the verbal responses to teachers' questions had to be scrutinized to see in what ways they met or failed to meet teachers' expectations of 'correct' and 'incorrect' answers. Consequently, a total number of 680 and 417 'question-answer sequences' in the transcripts of English and Science lessons respectively were identified for examination. The number of such sequences in the transcripts of Number-Work lessons stood at 519. A selection of the portions which were extracted from transcripts is illustrated by the following examples. The symbol 'T' stands for teacher, 'P' for pupil, and 'Ps' for pupils.

(i)

T : Sh..sh. I don't want the word 'me'. And you sit at your desks. You don't put your hands up. Can you now use 'I' in the sentence? Mwangi.

P1: I go to school everyday.

T : Yes. The second sentence.

P2: I go to eat everyday.

T : Yes. Next.

P3: You go to school everyday.

T : Ah .. now, you cannot say you go to school everyday. You can say, 'he goes to the market everyday.' Number three.

P4: She goes to the market everyday.

In this example, it appears there was no major problem in the communication between the teacher and the class. This was not the case however. For instance, there was some misunderstanding between the teacher, and P3. In his answer, this pupil used the second, instead of the first person singular pronoun, which was contrary to what the teacher wanted. His answer was therefore rejected outright, even though grammatically, it was perfectly correct. Significantly, no reason was given to the pupil for the rejection of the answer he had given apart from the assertion from the teacher that,

'you cannot say you go to school everyday'

Clearly, in this sample of data, the communication between the teacher and P3 was not problem free, since the two had different interpretations of what counted as the correct, and therefore expected response, in the example.

(ii)

T : Mmh .. Is it made of metal or wood? Pamela.

P1: It is made of plastic.

T : It is made of plastic. I think there you will answer,
'No, it is not made of metal, it is made of plastic.'
Okay. Is this made of metal? Yes .. what shall we say
for this one?

P2: It is made of metal.

T : It is made of?

P2: Metal.

T: Okay. What about this? Caroline. And you speak up.

P3: It is made .. made of .. of wood.

T : Yes, but you should have said, 'No, it is not made of
metal, it is made of wood.'

This example contains little indication that there was a problem facing the communication that it represents. Nevertheless, there appears to have been a mis-match between what the teacher expected as a correct answer, and the answers which were given by the pupils. This is noticeable for instance in the teacher's reaction to the answer from P1. The reaction suggests that what she wanted from the class were answers consisting of two clauses. There was an inconsistency however, in her approach to the type of answer she expected from the class, since in the example being examined, she proceeded to accept the single clause answer from P2. This factor might have led P1 to wonder why her own answer was not accepted. In the light of this, the communication between the teacher and the class in this example cannot be interpreted as having been problem free.

The researcher's pragmatic knowledge of the characteristics of communication in formal classrooms also made him realize that it is not always the case that questions from the teacher are answered in class. There was in fact already some evidence in the transcripts which suggested that possibly as a result of their low level of English language competence, an alarming proportion of the pupils in the study often failed to supply any answers to the teachers' questions. This factor implied that the communication between teachers and pupils at both Kawangware and Kangemi often ran into problems. How the teachers in these schools subsequently resolved the problems was a matter to be investigated by the study. It was hoped that the resources available to the teachers for solving particular communication problems would be revealed in the sequences of utterances which followed "question - no answer sequences". For this reason, all the utterances sandwiching portions of transcripts containing "question - no answer sequences" were extracted from transcripts to be used as part of the data for this study. The total number of "question - no answer sequences" in transcripts of English lessons was found to be 227. In the case of transcripts of Science lessons 173 "question - no answer sequences" were identified while the number of such sequences in transcripts of Number-Work lessons stood at 342. A selection from the study of portions of transcripts with "question - no answer sequences" is represented by the following extracts.

(iii)

T : Okay now. Why can't they change?

Ps: (No response).

T : They cannot grow bigger, they cannot grow smaller, why?

P1: Because .. because they are non-living.

(iv)

T : If Agnes is three years .. the brother is six times her age. What is the age of this brother?

PS: (No response).

T : Now .. eh .. if Njeri is two years old, and the brother is two times her age, what is the brother's age? What do we multiply? Yes?

P1: Two times two.

T : Two times two, yes and what is the answer?

P2: Four.

T : Four. Good. Njeri's brother is four years old. Njeri's brother is how old, class?

PS: Four.

T : He is four years old. Now, with Agnes, she is three years old .. and the brother is older. He is six times older. What do we multiply if we want to know the age of this brother? Quickly. Yes.

P1: Three times six.

The second factor which guided the selection of relevant data from the lesson transcripts was the researcher's awareness that English and not Kiswahili should operate as the medium of instruction in Kenya's primary schools, from the fourth year of schooling. The portions of transcripts in which English had been used as the language of instruction were consequently regarded as representing cases of unmarked

language usage in the communication between teachers and pupils. The same could not be said, however, of those portions in which Kiswahili had been employed for purposes of communication. These portions provided the first hint that the presence in transcripts of language elements from Kiswahili in the transcripts, might be indicative of the fact that this language had a role to play not only in overcoming specific communication problems, but also in ensuring that communication was maintained. The portions of transcripts in which language elements from Kiswahili had been used were consequently extracted from the transcripts to complete the selection of relevant data for this study. Two of the portions which were extracted are presented below. The translations of relevant parts of utterances in these portions are enclosed in square brackets.

(v)

T : Now, the following animals, how do they move? Man, lion and rat - how do they move?

PS: Walk, run.

T : Yes. Very good. What about snake? How does a snake move? Eh?

PS: Walk.

T : It walks? A snake walks? A snake does not walk. We say it crawls. The snake crawls. 'To crawl ni kutambaa [is to crawl]. 'To crawl' ni nini? [is what?]

PS: Kutambaa [To crawl]

T : Ni kutambaa ndio kwa sababu nyoka haina miguu .. Lazima itambae na tumbo. [Is to crawl yes, because a snake has no legs .. it has to crawl on its belly].

(vi)

T : Angalia [look at] part D. Make seven sentences from this table. Make seven sentences from this table. Anataka mutengeneze 'sentensi' ngapi? [You are required to make how many sentences?]

PS: Saba [Seven]

The selection of the two sets of data, the first one dealing with extracts in which the teacher's questions had either evoked responses which were unsatisfactory from the teacher's point of view, or had failed to evoke any responses at all, and the other with extracts containing language elements from Kiswahili, marked the end of one stage in the study.

The next stage required answers to questions of the following kind: what were the factors which were responsible for misunderstandings in the communication between teachers and pupils, as could be interpreted from the data? How did the teachers resolve these misunderstandings? What effect did certain methods of teaching have on the communication between teachers and pupils? Were pupils able to communicate with teachers through the medium of English? What type of questions led to communication breakdowns? How was communication re-established after such breakdowns? Were the communication problems identified in the study common in the three subject areas of English, Science and Number-Work? What was the role of Kiswahili in classroom communication, as could be judged from the data?

These and other questions meant that a wide selection

of studies not only on classroom communication, but also on code-switching, needed to be examined as a starting point in the formulation of the theoretical basis of the study. It was also hoped that these studies would provide suggestions for the methods to be adopted in the analysis of the data.

1.3 Preview of chapter contents

The next chapter is devoted to an examination of previous research into classroom communication and code-switching. The large number of studies in the area of classroom communication meant that only selections of these studies could be examined in some detail. The studies which were ultimately selected for examination illustrate the different approaches which are available for the study of on-going communication in class. These approaches, as is indicated in Chapter 2, need not be mutually exclusive in a given work. Among the studies on code-switching which are examined in Chapter 2 are those in which language is viewed as a dynamic process, and not as a phenomenon which should be studied by taking the sentence as the largest unit of analysis.

Chapter 3 has details of the senses in which certain terms are used in this study. The terms in question are elicitation, lesson-segment, code-switching, and the phrase 'maintenance of communication'. There is also in this chapter an account of the methods which were employed to analyse and present data samples.

In Chapter 4, there is an examination of the sources of particular communication problems in the classrooms which were

observed during this study. Relevant data samples are used in this chapter to illustrate how pupil participation in communication was affected in some cases, by the teaching techniques which were employed by teachers.

Chapter 5 then addresses the issue of how teachers were successful in sustaining the flow of talk with their pupils by using different types of elicitation. It is the case, nonetheless, that the use of different elicitation types to sustain the flow of classroom talk did not lead to the elaborate use of language by pupils.

In Chapter 6, consideration is given to the role which code-switching plays in the maintenance of pupil participation in communication. Several data samples are used in this chapter for purposes of illustration. These samples reveal that code-switching occurred during the teaching of each of the three subject areas which provided the corpus for the study.

Chapter 7 has a discussion which is related to the relevance of four aspects of the present study to the methodology of classroom research. These aspects are as follows:

- the relationship of a researcher to the participants in a given study on classroom communication.
- the relative importance of non-linguistic factors in the investigation of the local organisation of talk in studies of classroom communication.
- the possibility, or otherwise, of maintaining a distinct separation between non-linguistic and

linguistic structures in studies of classroom communication.

- the importance of idealization in the selection and analysis of data.

With reference to the aspects which have been outlined, it is concluded in Chapter 7 that:

- for practical reasons, the objectives of involving participants in the interpretation of data is often not easy to achieve.
- non-linguistic factors play an influential role in the interpretation of data in most studies of classroom communication.
- the distinction between non-linguistic and linguistic structures in studies of classroom communication needs to be re-examined because of the interdependence between language use and environmental and social features.
- Some degree of idealization often affects the data which are used in studies of language and the present work is a case in point.

The final chapter of this work has a summary of the main findings of the study and their implications for teaching. There is also in this chapter an outline of possible areas for future research into aspects of primary classroom communication in Kenya.

NOTES:

1. The grades awarded for the K.C.E are equivalent in standard to the grades awarded for the joint examination for the School Certificate and the G.C.E. Consequently, the interpretation of the grades is as follows:

Grade 1	
2	Very good
3	
4	Pass with credit
5	
6	
7	
8	K.C.E Subject pass

For a candidate to be awarded a K.C.E first division qualification, the candidate must pass in at least six subjects drawn from at least four subject groups with grade 6 or better in at least five of the subjects which must include English Language and Mathematics. Finally the grade aggregate for the candidates best six subjects should never exceed 23.

To obtain a second division K.C.E qualification, a candidate should normally have passed in at least six subjects which must include English Language. These subjects must furthermore have been drawn from at least four subject groups with the candidate's score being grade 6 or better in at least four subjects. Finally, the candidates aggregate for the best six subjects should be below 33.

2. The Institute of Development Studies of the University of Nairobi has conducted several studies on the career preferences of school leavers. The results of these studies indicate that teaching as a career is not favoured by most school leavers.
3. For the fourteen subjects in the pre-service primary teachers' examination a candidate is awarded one of six grades as follows:

Grade 1	Very good
2	
3	Credit pass
4	
5	Pass
6	
7	
8	Fail

The fourteen subjects in the primary teachers examination are: practical teaching, professional studies, English, Kiswahili, Science, Agriculture, Geography, History, Religious Studies, Music, Physical and Health Education, Art Education, Home Science and Mathematics.

In order to qualify for the award of a P.1 (ie. primary one) certificate a candidate must:

- achieve a grade 3 or better in at least eight subjects which must include practical teaching, professional studies, either English or Kiswahili, and Mathematics.
- have an aggregate score of not more than 24 for his or her eight best subjects.

To be awarded a P.2 Certificate, a candidate must achieve a grade 4 pass or better in at least eight subjects which must include practical teaching and mathematics, professional studies and either English or Kiswahili. The candidate must also have an aggregate score of 32 or below for his or her best eight subjects.

Finally, in order to qualify for the award of a P.3 Certificate, a candidate's aggregate score for eight of the fourteen subjects in the examination must be below 48. The candidate also must achieve a grade 6 pass or better in at least eight subjects.

4. It is the policy of the Nairobi City Council that only those children who are aged 7 years at the beginning of a calendar year (ie. 1st of January) can be admitted into Standard I in the schools which are managed by the Council. The strict adherence to this policy has in recent years resulted in numerous cases of children aged 5 years and 11 months at the beginning of a calendar year being told to wait for an extra 12 months before seeking admission into a primary school.
5. A deliberate decision was made to record only those lessons which were likely to have a significant amount of teacher-class communication.
6. In a formal grammar, a question refers to a syntactic class which is marked by one or more of the following criteria according to Quirk et al (1973):
 - the placing of the operator before the subject
 - the initial positioning of an interrogative or wh-element
 - rising intonation.

The important point to note is that at this stage of the presentation of the study the term question is regarded as a synonym of the term elicitation. Examples of utterances which qualify as elicitation in the present work are given in chapter 3 (see Section 3.0). Some of these utterances would clearly not be referred to as questions by formal grammarians.

7. The sense in which the term 'lesson-segment' is employed in the present study is explained in chapter 3.
8. As used in this work, the term 'utterance' is employed as a pre-theoretical label, following Harris' (1951:14), for "any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on behalf of that person". This is the definition adopted in Lyons, 1977:26.

CHAPTER 2

PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION AND CODE-SWITCHING

This chapter has a review of studies which provide a reflection of the different approaches which are available for the investigation of classroom interaction. It is not implied however, that these approaches have to be mutually exclusive in a given work, since there is evidence which shows that in some of the works, a combination of approaches was used. It should be noted that the terms 'interaction' and 'communication' are used as synonyms in the present work, despite the confusion which this usage might create, since there are different interpretations which researchers give to the terms being considered. (See Allwright, 1984 for arguments against the interchangeable use of these terms).

The studies of classroom interaction which are reviewed in the present chapter fall into three broad categories. The first category concerns a study in which the technique of systematic observation was used, while the second category concerns a study which is based on ethnography. The defining characteristic of the third category of studies is that they are underpinned by methods of investigation which come from the area of Discourse Analysis.¹ This category of studies also has a strong 'sociolinguistic' orientation. The term 'sociolinguistic' as used in this context is simply a descriptive label for works which have examined the characteristics of language in on-going communication in the social context of classrooms.

There is also in the present chapter a review of studies which have investigated spoken communication that is characterized by code-switching not in classroom but in social contexts, since very little research has been reported which is specifically concerned with the investigation of the factors which trigger the occurrence of this feature in classrooms. In the data which are used in this study, code switches are a regular feature. For this reason, studies which have investigated code-switching in general were regarded as likely to provide suggestions on how the presence of language elements from Kiswahili may be accounted for in samples of data. This is discussed in sub-sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

Certain language acquisition studies, in particular those in which the notion of 'communication strategy' is examined, contain some reference to code-switching. Consequently, it might be expected that this work should also be reviewed in detail in the present chapter. This is not done, however, because of the following consideration.

It was observed that irrespective of the position which is adopted by researchers on communication strategies on how these strategies should be defined, the fact remains that in all these studies, the learner's attempts at communication is the centre of investigation. Consequently, most of the data in studies of communication strategies are learner-based (This can be inferred for example, from Faerch and Kasper, 1984 and Tarone, 1981).

By way of comparison, the data which are used in the

present work are largely teacher-centred for the basic reason that in the classrooms which were observed, it was the teachers who did most of the talking. Moreover, rightly or wrongly, this situation is typical of the Kenyan classroom. In view of this factor, the critical assessment of studies on communication strategies, taking into account the concern of these studies with the learner as a communicator, was found to be principally of indirect relevance in the present work. This conclusion holds, despite the view expressed by Tarone (1981) that communication strategies have "an interactional function, as they are used for a joint negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer" (p.285). Tarone's view can be interpreted as implying that communication strategies can occur also in classroom contexts when pupils attempt to communicate with the teacher. There are good reasons in support of this view, but it should be noted that the joint negotiation of meaning is something which occurs only rarely in many formal classroom settings, because of the teacher's total control of the nature and direction of the communication in these settings.

The following section has an account of a study of classroom interaction in which the technique of systematic observation was used.

2.0 The Work of Flanders (1970)

The theoretical bases of studies of classroom communication which are dependent on the research technique of systematic observation come chiefly from behavioural psychology. This is indicated in Meacham and Wiesen (1973),

Rosenshine and Furst (1973), and Herman (1977). The use of systematic observation in studies of classroom communication became fashionable initially as a result of the work of Flanders (1970) in which the major objectives of the use of this technique in classroom studies are specified. Briefly, these objectives concern the question of how classroom communication can be defined and measured as a means of evaluating teacher effectiveness and the classroom climate (See Bealing, 1973.)² With this question as a guiding principle, the following technique is employed:

"An observer sits in the classroom, or views a video-sound playback, or just listens to a voice recording and keeps a record of the flow of events on an observation form."

(Flanders, 1970:5.)

This observation form usually contains a list of pre-specified categories which an observer tallies in the light of the occurrence of particular events during a given lesson. The frequency of the occurrence of certain categories of events in the lesson is then tabulated. Alternatively, a profile of their distribution can be drawn, but there are other things which the data can be used for.

The Flanders' observation system consists of ten categories. Seven of the categories are for coding teacher talk, two are for tallying pupil talk, and the final category is for coding silence or confusion.

There is a strong hint in Flanders, (1970) that the teacher who is non-authoritarian, gives praise when it is due, and builds interaction on the ideas suggested by pupils, is a

better teacher than one who does not conduct his lessons in this way. A further hint in the work of Flanders is that the use of directives and criticisms by teachers to 'produce compliance' is a negative factor in classroom contexts, since this stance creates "such high dependence on the teacher that pupils become unable to do their schoolwork except under direct teacher supervision". (p.47.)

The hints which have been specified are useful for teachers, and might improve teaching standards, but it should be noted that in certain cultures, successful teaching occurs under conditions which can be described as 'authoritarian'. There may be less need therefore, for teachers who belong to these cultures to change their teaching behaviour to bring it in line with that which is implicit in the work of Flanders.

Apart from the observation system of Flanders there are many others which are available. As an example, Simon and Boyer (1970), includes a list of 79 observation systems, while Galton (1979) has a list of 41 native British systems. Most of the studies conducted in Britain in recent years in which observation systems were used employed principles which differ to a considerable extent from those of Flanders. (See Delamont, 1984.) The study by Mitchell et al (1979) is a case in point. This trend indicates that the principles governing the ten category observation system designed by Flanders are not a common feature in studies which are based on observation systems.

A cursory examination of the Flanders' system gives the

impression that it can be used to capture the essence of classroom communication. This is far from being the case, however, for the following reasons. Firstly, the system was not designed to capture actual communication in the sense in which linguists use the term. Instead, this system seeks "to abstract communication by ignoring most of its characteristics." (Flanders, 1970:29.)

As far as the present study is concerned, it was noted that a system which is primarily concerned with events rather than language could not provide information on the resources available to teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication. In spite of this conclusion, observation systems of the Flanders' type can provide suitable statistical information for instance, on the frequency of responses in a given study. The importance of such statistical information can be enhanced if it is the case that the information is part of other statistical information related to, for example, a comparative study of the frequency of responses in specific subjects at a given level of education, in different categories of schools. Even then however, the information obtained in itself, would not provide a complete picture of the factors behind the frequency of responses in a particular category of school. This conclusion is deducible from Delamont (1976), who clearly showed that the quality of information obtained through the use of the Flanders' observation system can greatly be improved if it is supplemented by other information obtained through ethnography.

In Delamont (1976) the Flanders observation system was

employed as a means of getting information on the differences in teaching styles between specific teachers. After obtaining this information Delamont saw that the Flander's system could not provide reasons for the differences in the teaching systems of the teachers in her study. She consequently employed long term participant observation, which included formal and informal interviews, to obtain information not only on the teachers' styles of self-presentation but also on their classroom settings. These factors were found by Delamont to be significant in influencing the characteristics of communication in the classrooms she observed.

The study by Delamont is important in the context of the present work in illustrating that in a given study on classroom communication, the use of the technique of systematic observation does not exclude from the study the possible use of other methods or techniques for data collection purposes.

The second reason why the Flanders observation system cannot be used to capture the essence of classroom communication is the fact that there is no provision in it for contextual considerations during the collection and interpretation of data. This was found to be a major drawback in the system because cultural factors can play a significant role in determining the characteristics of communication in classroom contexts, as is shown for instance by Philips (1972).

Briefly, Philips found that the reluctance of Warm Springs Indian children to talk in class was not due to their shyness, but probably to the fact that they followed different

socio-cultural rules on how participation in on going communication in the presence of adults should be conducted. In this respect, Philips observed that in the Indian communities, children were often present at many adult interactions, but they were rarely called upon to contribute to the interactions. Their primary role during these interactions was that of diligent listeners. Philips deduced from this, that whenever Indian children were called upon to speak in class, they found it difficult to react as required because this task conflicted with their assumptions about how adult-child interactions should be conducted. Judging from the findings of Philips, it is clear that cultural and socio-cultural considerations have a vital role to play in the interpretation of data relating to classroom communication.

A further shortcoming in the Flanders' system is that since the functions of utterances in communication depend to a considerable extent on the contexts in which they occur, the criteria governing the coding of particular utterances as 'questions', 'responses' etc in the system being considered are open to criticism, because observers can differ in the interpretations they give to the occurrence of specific events of a linguistic or non-linguistic nature.

Not surprisingly therefore, the observation system of Flanders, and others which are similar, have been criticized by Walker (1972), Robinson (1974), Walker and Adelman (1976), Stubbs (1975), Edwards and Furlong (1978), Edwards (1980), Long (1980), Mehan (1981), and Delamont and Hamilton (1976; 1984).

In most of these works, a notable criticism against the

use of systematic observation in studies of classroom communication centres on the fact that this technique neglects the importance of sequencing in on-going communication. This neglect is a major shortcoming, because the sequence in which utterances occur in a given classroom context is crucial in the identification of the discourse functions of the individual utterances in the sequence.

Some of the criticisms which have been put forward against the use of the technique of systematic observation in studies of classroom communication have been rebutted by McIntyre (1980). He argues that specific criticisms against the Flanders' system should not be generalized to cover all observation systems. This, according to McIntyre, is because observation systems differ in their procedures.

Due to McIntyre's rebuttal, the pressing question for the present study was the following one: from a theoretical and methodological perspective, what insights could this study gain from using the technique of systematic observation?

This was a difficult question to answer in view of the recognition that in spite of the criticisms which have been directed at systematic observation as a research technique, it still has much to offer to teacher education. As an example, the study by Mitchell et al (1979) in which an observation system was used revealed that in elementary foreign language classes, there was too much emphasis on the rehearsal of situations which were based on the coursebook. This study also showed that teachers concentrated mainly on whole class

teaching, rather than on group and individual work. Arising from the findings of this study, suggestions which had been put forward that the technique of systematic observation had little to offer as far as the issue of effective teaching was concerned (See for instance, Bealing, 1973), were re-examined afresh.

This re-examination revealed that on the whole, systematic observation has thus far failed to provide conclusive evidence that there is a definitive correlation between teachers' verbal styles, as defined in observation systems, and measures of teaching effectiveness. From a methodological standpoint, it was noted that because systematic observation is dependent on data which are not representative of actual communication, the use of this technique in the present study would be totally inappropriate. This is because if in this study, the actual words used by teachers and pupils are reduced to matrices on observation sheets, there is no way in which one can arrive at a decision on the language resources which were used by interactants to overcome particular communication problems during the study.

It was consequently concluded that studies of classroom communication which have an ethnographic orientation were likely to provide some relevant insights in the formulation of the theoretical and methodological aspects of this work. The study which was outstanding in this respect is the subject of what follows.

2.1 The work of Florio and Walsh (1981)

Most studies of classroom communication in which ethnography as a research method was used generally contain data which were obtained through long term or intensive fieldwork. It is the common practice in such studies that during the period of data collection, some form of participant or non-participant observation is used with the observer being free to interview participants when necessary.

It is also normally the expectation during fieldwork that the observer would maintain a measure of detachment from the observed, in order to lessen for instance, the extent to which research results might be influenced by considerations of friendship. Such detachment is often difficult to achieve in research contexts, but various suggestions have been put forward on how this can be done. (See for example, Bruyn 1963.)

The remarkable feature about ethnography as a research method in studies of classroom communication is that it has no established theoretical foundations. Because of this factor, this research method has been used by among others, psychiatrists such as Zachary Gussow, sociologists such as Howard Becker and behavioural psychologists such as Malcolm Parlett (see Gussow, 1964; Becker, 1968; Parlett, 1969). Not surprisingly therefore, studies of classroom communication in which ethnography was used as a research method tend not to have been guided by a priori theoretical statements on the nature of the problems which were investigated by the studies.

This stance is noticeable for example in Florio and Walsh (1981), where the evolving relationship between a teacher and a researcher constituted an important component of a study on how school children are socialized into ways of behaving. During this study, video recordings of particular lessons were made, as well as audio recordings. Other data came from field notes, and both Ms Florio, who was the researcher, and Ms Walsh, who was the teacher, were free to raise questions concerning specific features in the data. Significantly, these questions were not formulated prior to data collection. However, some of them were in relation to the following aspects: "the problems of individual children, the effects of room organization, the disruptions that occurred and their possible sources" (Florio and Walsh, 1981:94). A striking feature in the study being considered is the fact that the teacher in this study, namely Ms Walsh, was not the subject of investigation, but instead soon acquired the role of a co-researcher.

The principal criticism which has been directed at studies of classroom communication which are based on ethnography, has been the charge that their results are not only unreliable, but also incapable of being generalized (See for example, Le Compte and Goetz, 1982). The question of the generalizability of research results presupposes that a given study can be replicated, and the same results obtained that were achieved in the original study. In the physical sciences, this happens regularly, but as Le Compte and Goetz have argued, the exact replication of some studies is largely an ideal,

irrespective of the research methods employed in the studies, because human behaviour is never constant, but is subject to change.

Another criticism which has been directed at studies of classroom communication which are based on ethnography has been in connection with the failure of ethnographers to make explicit their underlying assumptions and define the terms they use, so that their research results can be more comprehensible (See Long, 1980).

Despite the criticisms which have been directed at ethnography as a research method, it still remains an effective means of studying aspects of classroom communication which are not amenable to investigation by other methods, such as that represented for instance, by the technique of systematic observation. The study by Walker and Adelman (1976), highlights this point.

Briefly, the two researchers found that the meanings communicated between teachers and pupils in classroom communication are extremely complex, but that this complexity could be unravelled through long-term participant observation. Walker and Adelman were consequently able to understand the meanings of particular jokes which occurred during lessons after interviewing the teachers and pupils in their study. These meanings as emphasized by the two researchers, were private and as such could not have been understood by them if for instance, they had tried to understand them merely from a reading of lesson transcripts. If Walker and Adelman had used

systematic observation techniques in their study, these techniques could have done little more than note that joking had taken place.

Arising from the findings of the study by Walker and Adelman, the conclusion was drawn that ethnography had a positive contribution to make in the present work. This contribution was not of a theoretical nature, because of the stance which ethnographers generally adopt towards research theory. According to the dictates of this stance, ethnographers are supposed to carry out their investigations without being guided by a priori theoretical statements on the characteristics of the problems to be investigated. Consequently, the data which emerge from ethnographic research are not the product of the manipulation of variables. It has been argued however, that it is impossible for ethnographers to approach particular research contexts without having the slightest idea about what exactly they are setting out to investigate (See for example, Stones, 1978). This argument has much credibility, but it did not prevent the present study from using some aspects of the methodology of ethnographic research.

These aspects entailed principally the use of observational notes and informal interviews during the data collection phase of the study, as a means of obtaining information which could not be captured by the microphone (See 1.2), and the admission, as part of the analysis of data, of the researcher's own understanding of the socio-cultural factors which had some influence on teacher-class interaction.

The concern in the next section is the consideration of three studies which represent the final category of studies reviewed in this chapter.

2.2 The works of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), French and MacLure (1979) and Malcolm (1979)

The studies by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), and French and MacLure (1979) are examples of studies on classroom communication in which Discourse Analysis procedures were used. So too is the study by Malcolm (1979). The reason for this conclusion is that in all these studies, the number of utterances are not investigated without reference to their functions in on-going communication. Consequently, in the three studies, the examination of the sequential patterning of communication is seen as an important research objective, since such patterning illustrates how classroom discourse is structured.

As far as the present work is concerned, the studies which are under consideration are important in that they provide an excellent background against which to present in the next chapter, the methods which were used in this work to analyse relevant samples of data. It is significant in this respect that the studies by Sinclair and Coulthard, and French and MacLure, have frameworks which can be used in the description of the resources available to teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication following specific problems. Sinclair and Coulthard's framework is however,

broader in scope, since it can be used to describe and analyse the whole of classroom communication, and not just segments of it. This characteristic of Sinclair and Coulthard's framework is examined in greater detail in the sub-section which follows.

2.1.1 Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive framework

The descriptive framework of Sinclair and Coulthard was the product of their attempt to answer the following questions:

"What function does a given utterance have - is it a statement, question, command, or response - and how do the participants know; what type of utterance can appropriately follow what; how and by whom are topics introduced, and how are they developed; how are turns to speak distributed and do speakers have differing rights to speak?"

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:1.)

To answer these questions, the two researchers designed a descriptive framework which could handle all aspects of verbal communication in class. Thus, a distinguishing characteristic of their framework is its ability to handle data at both primary and secondary levels of delicacy. The guiding principles behind the design of this framework are inferable from the content of the minimum criteria which Sinclair and Coulthard regard as essential in the effectiveness of any descriptive framework. These criteria are as follows:

Firstly, they state that a descriptive framework should be finite; in this way, predictions can be made of the members of each class in the framework. Secondly, Sinclair and Coulthard state that the terms and symbols employed in a descriptive framework must be capable of matching their exponents in the data. From this criterion, it can be deduced

that the conditions governing the use of particular terms and symbols in a given framework must be explicit. The two researchers' third criterion is that a descriptive framework must be able to account for the whole of the data in a given work, and not just segments of it. Finally, Sinclair and Coulthard state that some of the symbols used in a given descriptive framework must be subject to co-occurrence restrictions.

It appears that the four criteria which have been specified can largely be met in the description of a grammatical unit such as the clause for example, but their use in the description of discourse units raises the question of whether discourse and grammar operate at the same level of abstraction. In view of this question, Sinclair and Coulthard's framework was examined in greater detail. The starting point for this examination was the consideration of the constituents of this framework.

2.2.1.1 Constituents of Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive framework

Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive framework is based on the concept of a rank scale in which a discourse unit at a given rank - provided this is not the lowest - is seen as consisting of structural elements from a unit in the rank below. Altogether, the two researchers specify five discourse units, which in the order of their size, beginning with the largest, are 'lesson', 'transaction', 'exchange', 'move', and 'act'.

In grammatical description, the concept of the rank scale provides the means for a graphic illustration of the way in which grammatical units - morphemes, words, phrases, clauses and sentences - are related. However, the use of this concept in the description of grammatical units has to be different from its use in the description of the patterning in spoken communication. This is because spoken communication represents a different level of abstraction from that which is represented in descriptions of grammatical units. It is for this reason that in grammatical description, one can predict the constraints governing the positions of occurrence of given grammatical items in a linear sequence. A similar prediction is difficult to make for units of spoken communication, especially in non-institutional settings, because the communication which occurs in these contexts is the joint product of co-interactants.

A further point to note is that the use of a rank scale in the study of spoken communication such as is the case in the work of Sinclair and Coulthard, pre-supposes that discourse is structured. This presupposition is not in dispute, but the following observation from Stubbs (1983), concerning how the concept of structure applies to discourse, is significant:

"To say that discourse has structure does not necessarily mean that this structure is specifically linguistic (Morgan and Sellner, 1980). The structure may be the surface manifestation of much more general organization, including the causal relation between events in the world and our inferences about such events" (p.102-103).

It seems to be the case that the concept of structure,

as used in Sinclair and Coulthard's framework, is not linguistic in nature, but is functional in orientation. For this reason, it can be concluded that the sense in which this concept is employed in the work being considered is in order. (This interpretation is examined further in Chapter 7.) What then are the shortcomings of Sinclair and Coulthard's framework as can be deduced from its constituents? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the different units in this framework, can be recovered for analysis from given samples of data.

In this regard, it is a little disappointing to note that Sinclair and Coulthard's largest unit - the lesson - is no more than a "stylistic type, which means that strictly, there is little point in labelling the lesson as a unit" (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:60). Due to this factor, the order in which elements of structure occur in the unit being considered is not specified by the two researchers. They state however, that these elements consist of an unordered series of transactions.

According to Sinclair and Coulthard, transactions begin with Preliminary exchanges and end with Final exchanges. In between the Preliminary and Final exchanges, the two researchers indicate that there are a series of Medial exchanges, but they are unable to specify with precision, the order in which Medial exchanges occur in transactions. They state however, that the first Medial exchange normally comes from any of the exchange types - Inform, Direct, or Elicit, and

they subsequently identify on a provisional basis three major transaction types namely, Informing, Directing, and Eliciting.

Sinclair and Coulthard point out nonetheless, that they had not yet done enough work on transactions to be sure that "what we suggest here will stand up to detailed investigation" (p.56). In the light of this factor, no further detailed discussion concerning 'transaction' as a discourse unit, needs to be presented.

The problems which Sinclair and Coulthard encountered in connection with the discourse units 'lesson' and 'transaction', were primarily due to their view that frameworks that are used in the study of spoken discourse should be descriptively adequate. The position adopted in the present work on the matter of the descriptive adequacy of frameworks is that the evaluation of the descriptive adequacy of a given framework should be dependent on the explicit and implicit objectives of the study in which the framework occurs. Consequently, when two studies differ in their research objectives, separate criteria ought to apply in the evaluation of their descriptive adequacy. This viewpoint was influential in the approach which was adopted in the present work to describe and analyse samples of data pertaining to the maintenance of classroom communication.

A very significant unit in Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive framework is the unit 'exchange'. This unit provides an illuminating picture of the way classroom communication is structured. It also provides a basis for the description and analysis of the means which are available to

teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication. In view of this factor, the structure of the unit, 'exchange' is given detailed consideration in the following sub-section.

2.2.1.1 Exchange structure in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)

In the framework of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), there are two classes of exchanges. These have been labelled 'boundary exchanges', and 'teaching exchanges'. They are linked to the unit below by five classes of move namely framing and focusing moves for boundary exchanges, and opening, answering and follow-up moves for teaching exchanges³. The two researchers indicate that the elements of structure in moves are different classes of act. Boundary and teaching exchanges are divided further by Sinclair and Coulthard, into eleven sub-categories of which six are free, and five are bound.

As far as this study is concerned, it was found that only the class of teaching exchanges exhibited parameters which could be used in the description of the resources available to teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication. This was especially the case if one took into account Sinclair and Coulthard's sub-categories (vii) and (viii) which are concerned with re-initiations in classroom communication (See Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 53-54).

According to the two researchers, sub-category (vii) of exchange is the bound exchange with the structure IRI^bRF , where I^b is a bound exchange. It is stated that this structure occurs when a given elicitation fails to stimulate a response

from a class, and the teacher then has to use either the same elicitation, or a re-phrased one to evoke a response. As an alternative strategy in this circumstance, Sinclair and Coulthard indicate that a teacher can use any of the acts 'prompt', 'nomination', or 'clue' to stimulate a response from the class.

In the light of the above, it was thought that a bound exchange with an IRI^b_{RF} structure exhibited characteristics which could be used in the description of data relating to the resources available to teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication. This conclusion was found to be valid only when the proposition expressed in the first elicitation of a bound exchange with the structure being considered, remained unchanged in subsequent re-initiations in a given sequence of utterances. For this reason, an IRI^b_{RF} structure cannot be used in the description of data in which the proposition expressed in an elicitation is not reformulated, but instead, is replaced by another proposition in a subsequent elicitation, following the failure of a class to respond to the first elicitation.

Sinclair and Coulthard could argue, however, in this case, that the replacement of the proposition expressed in a given elicitation by a new proposition in a subsequent elicitation in the context of an IRI^b_{RF} structure, leads altogether to the creation of a different sub-category of exchange, namely the teacher-elicited.

It was decided therefore that if the sub-category of

exchange with the structure IRI^bRF was to be used in the present work, it would be necessary to employ it in conjunction with the sub-category of the teacher-elicitor. This arrangement was found to be unfavourable because an alternative approach could be devised for the description and analysis of sequences of utterances which portrayed the resources used by teachers to maintain classroom communication, as is shown in the next chapter.

It was also noted that the IRI^bRF structure, and the sub-category of the teacher-elicitor, rest on foundations which to a certain extent are idealized. The basis of this idealization comes from the functional definition of the discourse acts which provide the input to the IRI^bRF structure, and the sub-category of the teacher-elicitor.

In this respect, it appears that the twenty-two discourse acts of Sinclair and Coulthard operate essentially as mutually exclusive entities. Consequently, in a given classroom, an utterance is implicitly seen as performing one and only one function at a time which can then be coded as a particular discourse act. This representation is rather misleading, because utterances in on-going communication are capable of performing more than one function at a time. (See also Stubbs, 1983:134.) The following hypothetical example illustrates this feature.

Supposing that in the course of a lesson, an elicitation related to what is being taught is directed by the teacher to an inattentive pupil seated at the back of a class, this pupil is likely to interpret the utterance from the



teacher not only as an elicitation, but also as a warning to stop being inattentive. In this context, the teacher's utterance has a double function, but surprisingly, double functions are not catered for in the framework of Sinclair and Coulthard. This shortcoming explains why in the present study, the method which is used for the description and analysis of some 'segments' of data is not wholly functional in orientation. Instead, it has a strong pedagogical bias.

Sinclair and Coulthard's sub-category (viii) of teaching exchange is described as having the structure $IRF(1)^b RF$. It is said to occur when in a given exchange with a pupil, the teacher re-initiates after receiving a wrong answer to an elicitation. A wrong answer in this context is in itself not an indication that the communication between a teacher and a pupil has run into some problems, and consequently needs to be maintained through the use of certain resources, especially if it is the case that the interactants are native speakers of the language of communication. However, at elementary school level in ESL contexts, pupils sometimes provide wrong answers in response to elicitations because of their low level of English language competence. In such cases, if a teacher re-initiates in the context of an $IRF(1)^b RF$ discourse structure, the re-initiation can legitimately be described as contributing towards the maintenance of classroom communication. It is for this reason that the structure being considered was viewed as potentially useful for the analysis of data in the present study.

French and MacLure's work, which is reviewed next, is at a fundamental level concerned with the investigation of the resources available to teachers for the maintenance of communication in infant classrooms. This work, as far as the present study is concerned, consequently seemed to offer the most relevant insights with regard to the formulation of the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study.

2.2.2 The work of French and MacLure (1979)

The starting point for French and MacLure's work was the following question:

'What is the commonsense conceptualisation of children which teachers operate?'

This question made them examine what socialization theorists had to say on the characteristics of the relationships between adults and children. In this respect, they point out that Speir for instance, had rejected certain conventions which were regarded as important in socialization theory. These conventions were as follows:

1. Children are adults in the making.
2. Children get socialized or 'made' into adults mainly by adults who teach culture, ie. 'norms', 'values', 'roles', 'behaviour systems', etc.
3. Children progressively develop into competent social members.
4. Children are defective social participants by virtue of

pre-competence or incompetence.

Speir proposed instead that adults and children differ because they operate within cultures which are not similar. French and MacLure did not commit themselves to this interpretation. However, they expressed interest "in the reasoning which underlies this theoretical reformulation" (p.3). This interest made them consider "the implications of teachers operating a socialization model for school processes" (p.4).

In the course of this consideration, they observed in their data that teachers not only pre-determine answers to questions, but also insist in some cases on the forms such answers should take. In the opinion of the two researchers, this stance can result in certain problems because in many cases the criteria governing the acceptance or rejection of particular answers are never made explicit. French and MacLure also noted, following Mackay (1974), that while children tend to be regarded as incompetent learners, adults expect them "to use sophisticated methods of interpretation in the process of acquiring" competence (p.12).

This contradiction served as an important element in the framework which French and MacLure designed to describe aspects of teacher-class communication. The framework itself is the product of certain modifications which were made by the two researchers to the properties of utterances qualifying as adjacency pairs. These pairs, as outlined by Sacks, have the following characteristics.

"They're two utterances long, and the utterances that

compose them are adjacently placed to each other. Characteristically, there are names for the components of such pairs, for example, Greeting-Greeting, Question-Answer, Goodbye-Goodbye (whatever you want to call that). Complaints followed by an Excuse a Request for Forgiveness an Apology a Denial, Offers followed by Acceptances or Rejections, Compliments followed by Acceptances of a Compliment, etc. etc."

(Lecture Notes, April 4, 1972: 1 - quoted in Merritt, 1976).

To French and MacLure, it is the utterances consisting of Question-Answer pairs which proved to be of interest, because in their view, "Asking and answering questions - on the part of teachers and pupils respectively - constitutes one of the central mechanisms of classroom interaction" (p.1.) Consequently, the unit of analysis in their descriptive framework is the Question-Answer pair of utterances in classroom communication.

French and MacLure do not regard this pair of utterances as a common feature in infant classrooms, for the basic reason that adult-child relationships, and therefore by extension, teacher-pupil relationships, are characterized by the inherent contradiction which has already been specified. This contradiction was influential in the modifications which the two researchers made to the properties of the Question-Answer adjacency pair. These modifications were as follows:

Firstly, while Sacks made it a condition that a first pair part in any adjacency pair has to evoke a response from a recipient, French and MacLure discovered in their data that this condition was not applicable because of the "sequential and temporal disjunction between a teacher's question/directive and its appropriate answer/response" (p.5). What this finding

means for the study of classroom communication is that it is possible to have several intermediate utterances embedded in Question-Answer pairs.

Sacks had also put forward the condition that in a Question-Answer pair, the successful completion of the second pair part is the sole responsibility of the recipient of the question. This, in classroom contexts, means one or more pupils. French and MacLure indicate that this condition is not always applicable to classroom communication, because teachers "recognise their own obligations in the achievement of appropriate seconds to their own firsts" (p.6).

After pointing out the shortcomings of the conditions specified by Sacks on Question-Answer adjacency pairs in the context of classroom communication, the two researchers proposed a framework which can help explain why asking and answering questions are the central mechanisms of classroom communication. This framework is underpinned by two interactive devices which are examined in the following subsection.

2.2.2.1 Interactive devices in French and MacLure (1979)

Two categories of interactive devices are identified by French and MacLure as significant in the successful accomplishment of questioning and answering in classroom communication. The first category of devices consists of what they refer to as 'preformulating strategies'. They employ the term 'preformulator', when referring to the actual linguistic realization of any of these strategies. The two researchers

also indicate that the function of a pre-formulator is to "orient the child to the relevant area of experience upon which he must draw if he is to supply the appropriate answer" (p.2). Because of this factor, pre-formulators precede teachers' questions in a given sequence of utterances. French and MacLure label the utterances which express these questions - 'nuclear utterances'.

The following examples from their work illustrate the context in which they use the terms pre-formulator and nuclear utterance in a given sample of data.

(i)

PREFORMULATOR

Teacher: Can you read what's written up there?

NUCLEAR UTTERANCE

First of all what's written at the top?

(ii)

PREFORMULATOR

Teacher: Now look at the wall. See, there's the hungry caterpillar.

NUCLEAR UTTERANCE

And what does it turn into?

(p.2)

On the basis of the role played by preformulating strategies in these examples, one can discern a means of describing the resources available to teachers for the initiation of classroom communication.

It was observed in the descriptive framework being examined that there was a strong similarity between the term

'pre-formulator', and Sinclair and Coulthard's discourse act 'starter'. This similarity gives the impression that the former term is merely another label for any utterance which has the discourse function of a 'starter' in classroom contexts. If this is the case, it is difficult to understand why French and MacLure refrained from using Sinclair and Coulthard's term. Significantly, the two researchers acknowledge that "some of their preformulation data look very similar to a non-question structure outlined by the Birmingham discourse analysts Sinclair and Coulthard" (p.7). This non-question structure turns out to be the class of acts called 'starter'.

The second category of devices which teachers employ to ensure that questioning and answering is accomplished in classroom communication consist of devices which French and MacLure have labelled 'reformulators'. In their view, these devices "attempt to obtain appropriate responses by providing in the reformulating question, part of the information necessary for an analysis of what may count as an appropriate answer" (p.13). The sequential organisation of reformulating sequences can be represented as shown in the following example, which comes from the work being considered (See pages 12-13). Its layout has been modified, to enable it to meet the requirements of the present discussion.

NUCLEAR UTTERANCE

T: What colour have you used?

[Child has painted a self-portrait]

BREAKDOWN	P: (No response)
REFORMULATOR	T: Is it blue?
BREAKDOWN	P: (No response)
REFORMULATOR	T: It's a brown, isn't it?

In this example, through the use of reformulators, the teacher gradually delimited the range of possible responses to the question in the nuclear utterance. Altogether, French and MacLure specify five sub-types of reformulators which they illustrate by means of the following examples⁴.

[T and group are looking at a picture of people planting rice in a paddy field in India]

T: What are those people doing?

P: (No response)

T: What are they planting?

This example illustrates the first sub-type of reformulators in the work being considered. In the example, the second elicitation which qualifies as a reformulator is easier to process than the first elicitation since it contains information which served as a clue, to the pupil in the example. According to French and MacLure, the second sub-type of reformulators also contain a clue, although in this case, the clue is not what the teacher expects as the appropriate response. This is illustrated in the following example:

[T is asking the class questions about the story 'Elmer the Patchwork Elephant']

T: What was he - what kind of an elephant, apart from being patchwork.

P: (No response).

T: Well, was he a very SAD elephant?

P: Yes.

T: Was he! I don't think he was.

The defining characteristic of the third sub-type of reformulators in the work of French and MacLure is that it usually contains a yes-no question, to which a positive response is the preferred and therefore expected answer. By way of comparison, the preferred response in the second sub-type of reformulators is usually a negative reply. The defining characteristic of the third sub-type of reformulators is illustrated by this example.

T: Did you see the four-poster bed? Like that?

P: (Nods)

T: What else did you see?

P: (No response)

T: Could you see the chest of drawers?

P: (Nods)

French and MacLure indicate that their fourth sub-type of reformulators usually contains a pair of possible answers, one of which is normally preferred as a response by the teacher. The following example in which the preferred response was the answer 'By bus', highlights this point.

T: How did they go, Gary?

P: (No response)

T: By bus or by car?

The final sub-type of reformulators in French and MacLure's work merely request one or more pupils to confirm whether a particular answer is appropriate. This characteristic is inferable from the following example.

T: What colour have you used?

P: (No response)

T: Is it a blue?

P: (No response)

T: It's a brown, isn't it?

The present study gained certain insights from the descriptive framework being considered. As an example, the sub-types of reformulators in this framework raised the question of whether they could also be found in the data which are used in this study. It was also recognized that French and MacLure's framework is supported by excellent reasons concerning why the properties governing Question-Answer adjacency pairs, as specified by Sacks, are not applicable to formal classroom contexts. These reasons will be seen to be of importance in this study, particularly in relation to the methods which are used to describe and analyse samples of data in which the communication between a teacher and a class breaks down, and needs to be re-established.

From a methodological perspective, the present study learnt from the work of French and MacLure that in studies of classroom communication, it is often a useful research strategy to concentrate principally on the investigation of the

problems which interfere with communication, and of the means used by interactants to overcome them.

2.2.3 The work of Malcolm (1979)

The major objective of Malcolm's work was the investigation of the problems of communication in Western Australian primary schools. These schools were mostly staffed by non-Aboriginal teachers, and among their pupils were Aboriginal children. Malcolm's work is significant in showing that the problems of communication in the schools which provided the data for his work were often due to the differences in the cultural background of teachers and Aboriginal children.

The data for the study came from naturalistic recordings of teacher-class communication in a large number of classrooms. Four questions were significant in the interpretation of the data. The first one was in connection with whether Aboriginal interaction is characterized by the presence of communicative acts which differ from those employed by non-Aboriginal interactants. The second question concerned the issue of whether teachers used different communicative acts when talking to Aboriginal pupils, in contrast to the acts they used when addressing non-Aboriginal children. The third question concerned the matter of whether Aboriginal children participated differently in classroom communicative routines, in contrast to non-Aboriginal children. The fourth question concerned the issue of whether in communicating with Aboriginal

children, teachers participated differently in classroom communicative routines.

To answer these questions, Malcolm employed two analytic categories, namely the "communicative act", and the "routine". The first category is not equivalent in conceptual meaning to the concept of the speech act, as defined by Austin (1962)⁶ and Malcolm states that communicative acts do not occur in isolation, since their function in given sequences of utterances is dependent on the positions they occupy in the sequences. The label he assigned to these sequences, is the term "routines".

From the recordings he made of teacher-class communication, coupled with the observational notes in his possession, Malcolm identified 100 kinds of act. 40 of these acts came from pupils, and 60 from teachers. Seven basic interactive functions were subsequently used to group the acts. These were eliciting, bidding, nominating, replying, acknowledging, informing, and directing. Further differentiation within some of the groups of acts revealed the presence of certain communicative acts which were used only by Aboriginal children. These acts, as can be deduced from Malcolm's work, contributed to the communication problems between the teachers in the study and Aboriginal children because the acts were not in the repertoire of non-Aboriginal children. As examples of the acts being considered, Malcolm presents the case of:

"Proxy Eliciting, where a child makes an elicitation of the teacher by means of another child; Empty Bidding, where a

child bids to answer but does not speak when called upon; Deferred Replying where a child pauses for much longer than normal before giving a response; Declined Replying, where a child does not respond to a direct elicitation; Shadowed Replying, where a child delays his reply until he can give it in the 'shadow' of the next speaker; and Unsolicited Replying, where a child gives a reply without having been nominated to do so" (Malcolm 1979: 311-313).

The routines in Malcolm's data were also placed in specific groups. The most important routine was the one which, in the view of Malcolm, constitutes the basic pattern of teacher-pupil interaction. This pattern is represented in his data by the following sequence:

1. TE - An elicitation from the teacher.
2. CB - A bid from a pupil.
3. TN - A nomination from the teacher.
4. CR - A response from a child.
5. TA - An acknowledgement from the teacher.

(See p.314.)

Malcolm states that what is of significance in this pattern are the variations which it can exhibit because of problems in the 'communicative chain', such as those arising for instance, from the failure of a pupil to supply an answer to a teacher's question. He suggests that one possibility for the teacher in this circumstance, is to freeze "the interaction while he tries a number of linguistically different elicitations with the same child" (p.315). This suggestion indicates how teachers in the Western Australian context are able to re-establish classroom communication by using certain resources at their disposal. It is for this reason that

Malcolm's work was found to be of direct relevance to the present study.

In the section which follows, an outline is presented of the two categories of studies which are reviewed in this work, and which are concerned with the investigation of the feature of code-switching.

2.3 Studies on code-switching

The studies which have examined the feature of code-switching in social contexts are for the purposes of the present work divided into two categories. The theoretical underpinning of the first category reflects the view that language is a system of levels and structures, while that of the second category portrays language to be a dynamic system which is characterized by variation to enable it to meet the requirements of communication from a social perspective. Both categories of studies were examined in the hope that they would provide some indication of how the code-switches in this work should be investigated. This factor, more than any other, was influential in the selection of the studies which are reviewed in the following sub-sections.

2.3.1 The works of Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Pfaff (1979)

The study by Bentahila and Davies (1983), is an excellent example of a study on code-switching, in which language is depicted as a system of levels and structures. This interpretation is inferable from the research objective of

Bentahila and Davies in the study being considered. This objective concerned the examination of the syntax of intrasentential code-switching between Arabic and French. With this objective as a guiding principle, the two researchers tape-recorded seven and a half hours of conversation, and subsequently examined the syntactic points at which code-switching typically occurred in the corpus.

Their examination revealed that there were cases of code-switching in which main clauses had been expressed in French, and the subordinate clauses in Arabic. In other cases, the two researchers found that main clauses were in French, while the adverbial clauses were in Arabic. Their data also indicated that in some instances, there was code-switching involving two co-ordinated clauses.

It was concluded in the present study that while these findings provide useful insights on what happens at the syntactic level when two distinct languages are used in a given sentence, they do not represent an account of the reasons behind code-switching. Such reasons were deemed to be of primary significance in the method which was adopted in this study to investigate the role of code-switching as a resource which was available to teachers for the maintenance of classroom communication (see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.8). This factor was responsible for the importance which the present study attaches to a suggestion by Bentahila and Davies on an aspect of intrasentential code-switching in the Moroccan context.

The aspect in question concerned the tendency by

Moroccan bilinguals to use in their speech, function words - determiners, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions - which were from Arabic, and not French. This pattern of language use seemed to suggest in the opinion of Bentahila and Davies that for Moroccan bilinguals, "the grammatical formators of the first learned language remain more basic even after the assimilation of the second language is also complete, and so tend to surface frequently even in L2 environments when the speaker is using this code-switching variety which pools the resources of both languages" (p327). There is in this quotation an effort to provide a reason for an aspect of code-switching in the speech of Moroccan bilinguals, but the rest of the study being examined is concerned principally with the syntactic aspects of code-switching.

The second study to be considered is that of Pfaff (1979). In the study, the linguistic constraints governing Spanish-English code-switching were examined. This examination indicated that in Pfaff (1979), language is viewed essentially as a system of levels and structures. Despite this observation, there is an awareness in the study that "language mixing⁷ originates in response to social motivations, and social factors cannot be ignored in any analysis" (p.291). However, this is largely what Pfaff proceeded to do in her work, on the basis of the argument that "the realization of mixes is subject to functional and structural constraints" (p.291). In the context of the study being considered, these constraints relate to patterns of intra-sentential mixing in

noun and verb phrases, in prepositional phrases, and in conjoined clauses.

The findings of Pfaff's study are too numerous to be outlined here, but a few of them will be mentioned. Briefly, this study revealed that cases of non-clausal code-switching tended to begin before main verbs, nouns or adjectives. The study also showed that in noun phrases with switched adjectives or nouns, there were hardly any cases of post-nominal attributive adjectives.

These findings are illuminating from the point of view of grammatical research, but they are not an explanation of the reasons behind Spanish-English intra-sentential code-switching.

It was consequently concluded that it was up to the present study to examine whether the analysis of elements of sentence structure in cases of English-Kiswahili code-switching could help explain the reasons behind such switching. The usefulness of adopting this analytic method, it was realised from the beginning, would depend ultimately on whether the cases of code-switching in the present study mainly occur at the level of the sentence, or below the level of the sentence as a syntactic unit. In this respect, it is worth noting that most of the code-switching in the present study occurs above the level of sentence. There are nevertheless a few cases of intra-sentential code-switching in the study. This factor more than any other made it possible for the deduction to be made that syntactic considerations could be of use in the examination of the role of code-switching in the maintenance of pupil participation in classroom communication. The method

which was finally adopted to examine the role of code-switching in the present study is discussed in Chapter 3 (see Section 3.8).

2.3.2 The works of Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Douglas-Cowie (1978)

The studies which are considered in this sub-section concern cases of intra-language code-switching. By way of comparison, the code-switching in the present study involves two distinct languages namely English and Kiswahili. Because of this factor, the studies which are reviewed in this sub-section may appear to be of minor relevance to the present study. This is far from being the case, however, since it is accepted in this work that the competent language user, as described by Bell (1976) is a "chooser amongst codes and it little matters in terms of pure description, whether the codes are styles, dialects or what are normally thought of as autonomous languages, since any or all of these can be involved in the code-switching behaviour of the language user" (p.110).

This stance was influential in the selection of the study by Blom and Gumperz (1972) on code-switching by the residents of Hemnesberget in Norway as a good example of a work which is based on the view that language is a dynamic and heterogeneous system. Briefly, the study by Blom and Gumperz showed that the residents of Hemnesberget alternated between using a dialect of Norwegian, Ranamal, and the standard variety, Bokmal, in their linguistic repertoire, depending on one or more of the

following variables: setting, social situation, and social event.

By making use of the variable of setting, Blom and Gumperz were able to establish how the residents of Hemnesberget classified their ecological environment into distinct locales. On the other hand, the variable of social situation enabled them to have a better picture of the aggregate of activities conducted by groups of people in given physical settings in Hemnesberget. The final variable - social event⁸ - made it possible for them to identify the topics in specific communication situations.

Within sociolinguistics in general, the variables of setting, social situation and social event are usually employed as descriptive and analytic variables in studies which attempt to investigate the problem of "who speaks what language to whom and when" (Fishman, 1972:15). (See for instance the study by Parkin, 1974). It ought to be borne in mind nevertheless, that there are a number of studies in which the use of the variables under discussion, including others, have proved to be less effective in accounting for code-choice. This conclusion is inferable from Sankoff (1972) who states that,

"Multi-code situations often appear to be marked by extremely frequent and rapid switching which, to put it blindly, defies explanation, if by explanation one means accounting for every switch." (p.36)

Despite Sankoff's statement, it was thought that the cases of code-switching in the present study might best be accounted for by using factors which are non-grammatical in

nature. These factors are discussed in chapter 3 and the striking point about them is that they are capable of accounting for code-switching that occurs above the level of the sentence, such as was the case in the present study.

The other variables which have proved useful in studies of code-switching and which are closely linked to the variables already presented are 'participants' and 'topic' (see Hymes, 1964; Ervin-Tripp 1964). The study by Douglas-Cowie (1978) highlights the importance of the variables of 'participants' and 'topic' as factors which can trigger code-switching.

The setting for Douglas-Cowie's study was the Irish Village of Articlave. One of his principal objectives was the investigation, through the use of quantitative methods, of the correlation between social factors and specified linguistic varieties. These varieties, as was the case in the Norwegian study, were not distinct languages, but instead were points of reference on the linguistic continuum ranging from standard variety to non-standard variety.

One of Douglas-Cowie's findings was that the variable of 'participants' influences code choice. This influence was evident in the study when an Englishman with an R.P. accent was requested to hold a conversation with the local residents of the village of Articlave. These residents generally employed non-standard dialects but when they heard the Englishman's R.P. accent, there was a significant tendency on their part to switch to a more standard variety. The study being considered also revealed that certain topics of conversation, such as those relating to education and occupation for example, tended

to initiate switches to more standard linguistic codes.

These findings suggest that there is minimal difference between Douglas-Cowie's study and that of Blom and Gumperz. However, the former study also investigated the correlation between socio-psychological factors such as the degree of an individual's social ambition and his linguistic behaviour. Because of this investigation, Douglas-Cowie did not overlook the important point that in a given setting, code-choice is sometimes linked to a speaker's desire to influence or manipulate specified communication situations, although such a choice may at the same time be connected to social constraints and contextual correlates.⁹

The findings in Douglas-Cowie's study also demonstrate that factors of a non-grammatical nature can significantly influence code-switching. The role played by such factors in the analysis of relevant data samples is part of the subject matter of chapter 3.

3. Conclusions

The presentation in this chapter entailed in the first instance the review of several studies which make it possible for the categorisation of the different approaches which are available for the investigation of classroom interaction to be achieved. The studies which were reviewed in the chapter are those of Flanders (1970), Florio and Walsh (1981), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), French and MacLure (1979) and Malcolm (1979).

The other studies which were reviewed in the chapter

are those of Bentahila and Davies (1983), Pfaff (1979), Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Douglas-Cowie (1978). These latter groups of studies indicate that there are two basic approaches for the investigation of code-switching. In the first approach, code-switching is investigated from the perspective of syntactic or grammatical units while in the second approach, the occurrence of code-switching is examined from the perspective of the influence of factors such as setting, participants, topic and the degree of an individual's social ambition. It emerges from this chapter that the second approach to the study of code-switching was viewed as most suited to the provision of answers when it comes to the question of reasons behind code-switching particularly in cases where such switching occurs above the level of the sentence. Despite this viewpoint, it also emerges from this chapter that due allowance was made in the study for the consideration of the role of syntactic factors in code-switching in those instances in which the switching occurs either at the level, or below the level, of the sentence as a syntactic unit.

NOTES

- 1 Discourse analysis is still an evolving field of study which attracts a wide range of meanings depending on one's research interests. This is evident in the fact that the term 'discourse analysis' is used by:

- Sociolinguists who may primarily be interested in the study of how features of social context impinge on interaction;
- Psycholinguists who examine primarily matters which are related to language comprehension;
- Computational linguists who are mainly interested in the production of models of discourse processing.

It follows from the above that the reference in this work to 'methods of investigation which come from the area of Discourse Analysis' is somewhat misleading since Discourse Analysis does not exist as a monolithic field of study. The following clarifications are consequently necessary.

- The methods of investigation which are considered as relevant for the present study are those which are related to the procedures governing the investigation of the characteristics of oral interactive discourse, not monologues or written texts.
- These methods normally examine language from the perspective of how sequences of utterances are inter-related, and they entail in some cases the classification of the function of utterances or 'discourse acts' on linguistic, pedagogical or sociolinguistic criteria. A combination of these criteria is often used, after taking into account relevant non-linguistic features, to assign particular functions to utterances, 'discourse acts' or 'communicative acts' (see Chapter 7). The study by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Malcolm (1979) provide excellent examples of the 'methods of investigation' which the present study relates to the field of 'Discourse Analysis' (see also Sandulescu 1976 for a discussion on the defining characteristics of the field of study known as Discourse Analysis).

- 2 Rosenshine and Berliner (1978) have indicated, however that the investigation of the socio-economic climate of classrooms is no longer an important concern in studies which are based on the technique of systematic observation.

- 3 Sinclair and Coulthard have since made some changes with regard to the elements IRF as the minimal units of interactive discourse in class. They state that the third element now refers to the term 'follow-up', not feedback. The reason for this change, according to them is that the term 'feed-back' gave the misleadingly strong impression

that the function of this discourse category was "to let the pupil know how well he has performed" (See Coulthard & Brazil, 1979:39). A further point to note is that exchanges are now regarded as consisting minimally of the two elements l and R (not lRF), and maximally of four namely l(R/l)R(F). The two researchers have also changed the names of the classes of move in exchanges, to eliciting, informing and acknowledging.

- 4 See also Merritt 1979 who in her study of questions in service encounters, identified the following sequence:

Q.1 - May I have a bottle of milk?

Q.2 - Are you twenty one?

A.2 - No.

A.1 - No.

- 5 It should be noted that the symbol 'P' for pupil does not appear in any of French and MacLure's examples of sub-types of reformulators (See pages 15-18). Its inclusion in the examples of the two researchers is therefore purely for the purposes of the present work.

- 6 In Austin (1962), speech acts are sub-divided into locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Briefly, locutionary acts represent acts of saying something, while illocutionary acts refer to acts which are performed in saying something such as making promises and requests for instance, or asking questions. Perlocutionary acts, on the other hand, refer to acts which are performed by means of saying something, such as persuading a group of people to perform certain activities like dancing or singing for example. Malcolm's use of the term 'speech act' is different from the senses which this term has in Austin's work since according to him, a speech act may be realised "by linguistic, paralinguistic or non-linguistic means, or by combinations of such means" (p.311)

- 7 Pfaff uses the term 'language-mixing' as a generic label for borrowing and code-switching.

- 8 It appears that the term 'social event' as used by Blom and Gumperz, has the same conceptual meaning as the term 'speech event' in Hymes (1977).

- 9 See Giles (1979) for a proposal that greater use should be made of socio-psychological parameters in Sociolinguistic research.

CHAPTER 3

TERMINOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES AND METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

The features of language use in primary classroom communication which this study identified as important in the maintenance of classroom communication concerned firstly, the use by teachers of different types of elicitation in 'lesson segments' to stimulate responses from pupils, and secondly the tendency of teachers and pupils to code-switch from English to Kiswahili, and vice versa. It is for this reason that the terms elicitation, lesson segment, code-switching, and the phrase 'maintenance of communication' occur often in this work. The senses in which the terms 'elicitation' 'lesson segment' and 'code switching' are used in different works usually vary. Consequently, the senses in which these three terms are used in this work, in contrast to the senses in which they are used elsewhere, form part of the content of the present chapter (see sections 3.0, 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). There is also in this chapter an explanation of the contexts in which the use of the phrase 'maintenance of communication' is applicable to samples of data. Then follows an account of the methods which were used to analyse and present samples of data.

These samples perform different functions in the study. The first group of samples illustrates the sources of communication problems in particular lessons, while the second group highlights, in the context of lesson segments, the role played by certain elicitation types in the maintenance of

classroom communication. The third group of data samples illustrates the part played by code-switching in teacher-class communication.

The description of the methods which were used in this work to analyse and present samples of data is spread over four sections. In section 3.4, the method which was used to analyse and present data samples which illustrate the sources of the problems in teacher-class communication is outlined. Then follows in section 3.5 an exposition of the significance of the concept of the lesson segment in the identification of the different elicitation types which occur in data samples. There is subsequently a presentation of some variants of elicitation types in section 3.6. These variants had no direct role in the maintenance of communication, but they further illustrate the significance of the concept of the lesson segment as an analytic unit in the method which was used in this work to identify the elicitation types which contribute towards the maintenance of classroom communication.

All the elicitation types and their variants constitute in essence descriptive categories in the study and form part and parcel of the method that was employed to examine the role of specific elicitation types in teacher-class communication. The description of this method is given in section 3.7. Finally, in section 3.8 is presented the method which was used to analyse data samples exhibiting the feature of code-switching. This section also contains an account of the method which was used to present these data samples in the study.

3.0 The term elicitation

As used in this study, the term elicitation refers to an utterance made by a teacher in the formal learning environment of the classroom, as a means of evoking a linguistic response from one or more pupils. It consequently follows in this study, that for an utterance to qualify as an elicitation, it must expect, anticipate, or demand a verbal response.

This interpretation suggests that the sense which the term elicitation carries in this work is identical to the sense it carries in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), where an elicitation is defined as a discourse act,

"the function of which is to request a linguistic response - linguistic - although the response may be a non-verbal surrogate such as a nod or a raised hand." (p.28).

There is a similarity between Sinclair and Coulthard's definition of an 'elicitation', and the definition attached to this term in the present work. The two researchers do not, however, classify elicitations into types as is the case either in the present work, or in Malcolm (1979). In the present study, five types of elicitations were identified but the inventory of classroom speech acts in Malcolm's work contains not only eliciting but also,

- check eliciting,
- suggestive eliciting,
- conjoined eliciting,
- linked eliciting,
- relayed eliciting,

multiple eliciting and
reading eliciting

which implies that one can legitimately identify in his data, cases of check elicitations, suggestive elicitations, conjoined elicitations etc.

The data for this study indicate in broad terms that the elicitations in them could be identified by appealing to formal criteria, and in some cases to our knowledge of classroom conventions. The following criteria, the first three of which are similar to those specified by Quirk et al (1972) as formal realisations of the function 'question', were used in the identification of the elicitations in samples of data.

- (1) The presence of an operator placed before the subject in a given utterance, as in the following examples in which the symbol 'T' stands for teacher:

- (i) T: Was he caught? ... Did the Police catch him?
- (ii) T: Are .. er .. the village houses very many?

- (2) The presence of a wh- element, often, but not always, in initial position in an utterance, as in the following examples:

- (i) T: What type of houses do we find in the village?
- (ii) This is plural. Therefore which word are we going to put after 'there'?

- (3) The presence of rising 'question' intonation in an utterance, as is likely to be the case in the expression of the following examples:

- (i) T: Two times four equals?
 - (ii) T: The first step?
- (4) Teacher nomination¹ of a particular pupil to provide a response, as is illustrated in the following examples in which 'P' stands for 'pupil'.
- (i) T: Obunga.
P: Jumping
 - (ii) T: 'Jumping' we have heard of it. Berenda.
P: Walking
- (5) The presence of directives which expect responses in given utterances, as is the case in the following examples in which 'PS' stands for pupils.
- (i) T: Everybody say 'pull'.
PS: Pull.
 - (ii) T: Again.
PS: Pull.
- (6) The presence of verbal cues in transformation drills in specific utterances, as in the following examples:
- (i) T: I am sitting down.
P: Am I sitting down?
 - (ii) T: I wash my clothes everyday.
P: Do I wash my clothes everyday?
- (7) The presence of instances of teacher repetition of a given response, as a cue to pupils that the next

response is expected from them, in a context where an elicitation anticipates several responses. Such a context is evident in the following examples:

(i) T: Other examples of non-living things? Yes.

P1: A stone.

T: A stone.

P2: Tin.

T: Tin.

(ii) T: Now .. ah .. give me examples of liquid. yes.

P1: Water.

T: Water, yes.

P2: Ink.

T: Ink.

3.1 The term 'lesson segment'

Mitchell and Parkinson (1979), employ the concept of the SEGMENT as a starting point in the identification of the sub-divisions in language lessons. These sub-divisions constitute what the two researchers refer to as 'lesson segments'. They state that

"An important insight in deciding what is and is not a segment comes from the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who showed how teachers tend to use so-called 'framing moves' and 'focusing moves' to indicate that one stage of the lesson has ended and another is about to begin." (p.9)

It can be inferred from this quotation that some of the

segments in Mitchell and Parkinson's work are the same as the different 'stages' which occur in lessons. Framing and focusing moves were not however, used by the two researchers as the criteria for the segmentation of the language lessons in their work. Other criteria were used for this purpose. The most important of these criteria is the one they term the 'pattern of expectation', and which is based,

" not on the last thing the teacher said or did, but on something that went before", (p.10)

which has to be accomplished or cancelled before the teacher can set a new pattern for a class. Thus, as an example, in a given language lesson, if a teacher tells a class to stop reading a passage silently and begin answering orally, specific questions on the passage they have read, a new 'pattern of expectation' is set for the class because there has been a shift from one form of learning activity to another. This shift signals to pupils that a specific lesson segment is over, and that it is time to proceed to the next one.

It is evident from this example that the lesson segments in Mitchell and Parkinson's work are pedagogic units which are based mainly on specific classroom activities. Consequently, the conclusion can be drawn that there is no one to one correspondence between the 'segments' in the work being considered, and the 'stages' which Sinclair and Coulthard's framing and focusing moves enclose.

The present study has borrowed the concept of the 'lesson segment' from Mitchell and Parkinson's work and has

used it as a unit of analysis for the identification of different elicitation types and their variants in the study. The sense in which this concept is employed in the present work is quite different however, from the sense which this concept carries in Mitchell and Parkinson (1979).

A lesson segment in the present study refers in the first instance to an interaction pattern in data samples which has a minimum sequence of two successive utterances, namely an elicitation from a teacher followed by an appropriate response from a pupil or pupils. It was earlier stated (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.1) that the total number of question-answer sequences in transcripts of English lessons was 680 while the number of such sequences in transcripts of Science lessons was 417. An examination of the transcripts of Number Work lessons revealed, by way of comparison, the presence of 519 question-answer sequences. Since in chapter 1, the term 'question' was employed as a synonym of the term 'elicitation', it follows that altogether there were 1616 elicitation-response sequences in data samples. These elicitation-response sequences do not in themselves constitute lesson segments. This is because the concept lesson segment as employed in this work refers only to an elicitation-response sequence in which the response component is appropriate from the teacher's point of view, and is therefore a signal to the teacher that a given elicitation-response sequence has been successfully accomplished.

An examination of the teacher utterances which occur after the elicitation-response sequences in data samples reveals that a significant number of the responses from pupils

were deemed by teachers to be unsatisfactory. The numbers and percentages of satisfactory and unsatisfactory responses in elicitation-response sequences in the transcripts of English, Science and Number-Work lessons is shown in the following table.

Subject	Total number of responses	Numbers & percentage of satisfactory responses	Number & percentages of unsatisfactory responses
English	680	502 (73.8%)	178 (26.1%)
Science	417	302 (72.4%)	115 (27.5%)
Number Work	519	316 (60.8%)	203 (39.1%)

Table 3. Distribution of satisfactory and unsatisfactory responses in lesson transcripts.

From the figures in table 3, it is evident that over 60 percent of the responses in elicitation-response sequences in the transcripts of English, Science and Number-Work lessons were satisfactory from the perspective of the teachers in the study. This, by itself, is not an interesting discovery. What is of interest is the fact that 26 percent of the responses in elicitation-response sequences in the transcripts of English lessons were unsatisfactory while the percentages of unsatisfactory responses in elicitation-response sequences in the transcripts of Science and Number-Work lessons were 28 percent and 39 percent respectively. These figures indicate

that over a quarter of the elicitations in English, Science and Number-Work lessons failed to evoke the responses which were expected. Since it is the successful response to an elicitation which is a pre-requisite for the realisation of a lesson segment, the important point to be made is that over a quarter of the elicitation-response sequences in English, Science and Number-Work lessons failed to gain the status of lesson segments. It is the case, nevertheless, in classroom contexts that following an inappropriate response in an elicitation-response sequence, a teacher has the prerogative of making a first, second, third or even fourth attempt to evoke, by using the same or an alternative elicitation, the expected response and in the process bring to a successful ending a given elicitation-response sequence. The use of the same or alternative elicitation by the teacher in such cases results in lesson segments which are more extended than those which have an interaction pattern with a sequence of only two successive utterances. In view of this factor, a lesson segment in the present study refers also to an interaction pattern in data samples that begins with an elicitation from the teacher followed by a response that does not occur immediately after the elicitation, but is separated from the elicitation by other intermediate utterances. The names which were given to some of the intermediate utterances in extended lesson-segments are specified in sections 3.5 and 3.6.

The concept of the lesson segment, as used in this study finally refers to a pattern of interaction in data samples that includes an utterance which is an elicitation from

a teacher followed by a non-response from a pupil or pupils. Then follows the same or an alternative elicitation, followed by a response or non-response, depending on the ability of pupils to provide the expected response. This ability, as is inferable from the content of what has been presented thus far in this section, is a crucial factor in the realisation of lesson segments. It is for this reason that the number of sequences of utterances in a given lesson segment depends ultimately on the extent to which pupils are able to respond quickly and as expected to the elicitations in the segment. In this respect, it was observed in the study that lesson segments which were characterised by non-responses to elicitations tended to be more extended than those containing the expected responses. This observation lends support to Mehan's conclusion that if

"the reply called for by the initiation act does not immediately appear in the next turn of talk, teacher-student interaction continues until symmetry between initiation and reply acts is established. The initiator employs a number of strategies, including (1) prompting incorrect or incomplete replies, (2) repeating, or (3) simplifying initiation acts until the reply called for by the original initiation act appears. The result is an extended sequence of interaction between teachers and students." (Mehan, 1979:55)

The symmetry between initiation and reply acts which Mehan refers to in the above quotation is evident for instance in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), and French and MacLure (1979). There is also an allusion to it in Malcolm (1979).

The number of elicitations which failed to evoke any responses from pupils in the present study was 742 as can be

discerned from lesson transcripts. 227 of these elicitations were present in transcripts of English lessons, 173 were in transcripts of Science lessons and the remainder were in transcripts of Number-Work lessons (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1.) This information is contained in the following table.

Subject	No of elicitations	No of elicitation- response sequences	No of elicitation- non response sequences
English	907	680	227
Science	590	417	173
Number- Work	861	519	342

Table 4. Distribution of elicitation-response and elicitation-non response sequences in lesson transcripts.

3.2 The term code switching

The definition of the term 'code-switching' is dependent on the interpretation given to the meaning of the word 'code'. As far as this study is concerned, the meaning of this word is regarded as conceptually equivalent to the meaning of the word 'language' in the sense in which a lay-person would interpret the meaning of the word 'language' from his or her knowledge of the world. On the basis of this knowledge, two languages such as English and Kiswahili for instance qualify as distinct languages, and therefore by extension, are distinct

'codes'.

Arising from this interpretation, the term 'code-switching' as used in this work refers to the alternate or mixed use of linguistic elements from two distinct codes, - namely English and Kiswahili - in sequences of utterances which are discursively tied. The reference to the mixed use of linguistic elements from two distinct codes, it should be noted, does not in the context of this study entail the acceptance of the view which is implied in Pfaff (1979), that the terms 'code-switching' and 'borrowing' fall under the umbrella of the generic term 'language-mixing'.

Most of the linguistic elements which qualify as switches in the present work are larger than the unit of grammatical description - word. However, due allowance was made to cater for exceptional cases such as that represented by the code-switch in the following example:

T: What is eh ... 'Kuruka' in English? Nyokabi.

P: To .. to jump.

T: To jump. Good.

In this example, the single lexical item 'kuruka' which is the Kiswahili word for the infinitive verb 'to jump', is the only signal that in the first utterance, there was a switch from English to Kiswahili, before the teacher switched back to English to complete the utterance.

Judging from what has been presented thus far in this section, it is clear that the term 'code-switching' is used in this study in a very specific sense. This stance was

necessitated by the awareness that linguists have yet to provide a universally acceptable definition of the phenomenon known as 'language'. Their failure to do so has resulted in different interpretations being given to the term being considered. As is shown in what follows, efforts by linguists to answer the key question - 'what is language?' - have often been the stimuli for much debate, instead of leading to an acceptance that the answers offered are from a linguistic perspective, satisfactory.

De Saussure's distinction between 'langue' and 'parole' represented an attempt to define the concept 'language'. According to this distinction, 'langue' resides principally in the 'collective consciousness' of a speech community, and is pure in its form, in contrast to the 'degenerate' version of langue, namely 'parole', which is manifested in actual speech, and is consequently available for direct observation by the senses.

Chomsky's distinction of 'competence' and 'performance' is also in broad terms similar to the langue-parole dichotomy, though in this case, the pure form that is to be equated with the concept 'language' is housed not in the speech community, but in the mind of the 'ideal speaker-hearer'.

The strengths and weaknesses of the distinctions made by De Saussure and Chomsky are not of direct concern in the present study. It should be noted, however, that any definition of language which fails to take into consideration the ways in which it is used by speech communities is far from

satisfactory. It is for this reason that the views expressed by sociolinguists on the difficulties associated with attempts to define the concept of language deserve some mention.

Trudgill (1974) for instance, gives the interesting example of Dutch and German being regarded by most people as cases of two distinct languages. However, as Trudgill indicates, at some places along the Dutch-German border, the dialects which are spoken on either side of the border are so similar "that social and political considerations would need to be invoked for one to decide on whether speakers of these dialects speak German or Dutch" (p.15).

What emerges from Trudgill's example is the fact that the definition of the term 'language', and by extension, of the term 'code', is not clear cut. This is the position even when the criterion of mutual intelligibility is used to distinguish one language from another. Because of this situation, according to Trudgill, political and cultural factors are significant in the interpretation that one can give to the conceptual meaning of the term 'language'. This is especially the case in contexts where a given variety operates both as a 'language', and as a 'dialect', depending on certain factors.

From the brief description which has been presented of the difficulties facing any attempts to define the term 'language', it appears there is a good reason for the interpretation which is given to the term 'code-switching' in the present work. This reason is best appreciated if one examines the different senses which this term generally carries in relevant sociolinguistic literature.

3.2.1. The term 'code-switching' in sociolinguistic literature

Saville-Troike (1982) uses the term 'codes' to refer not only to different languages, but also to different varieties of the same language, such as those characterised by classical as opposed to colloquial Arabic for instance. From this interpretation, it follows that a code-switch occurs not only when there is a shift from using one language to using another language, but also when the change relates to two varieties of the same language in a specified speech event.

The condition that a code-switch occurs within the boundaries of a single speech event is significant in that it excludes from the definition of code-switching, those switches which are tied to specific domains, and which are sometimes referred to, not as cases of code-switching, but as instances of 'code-alternation' (Gumperz, 1976).

Saville-Troike (1982) also mentions the distinction which is often made between 'situational code-switching', and 'metaphorical code-switching' following Blom and Gumperz (1972).

Briefly, situational code-switching occurs when a speaker's shift from one code to another, is tied to any of the analytic variables of 'participants', 'setting' and 'topic' which leads to a redefinition of the communication, because the norms governing the participants' rights and obligations have changed. As an example of situational code-switching, Saville-Troike gives the case of Navajo teachers, who, in discussing school matters among themselves, tend to use English. However,

when discussing their families and other community matters, these teachers often speak in Navajo, and not English.

In contrast to situational code-switching, metaphorical code-switching is said to be confined to a single communication situation, and refers to switches in the use of given varieties or languages which enrich "a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation" (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972:409). As an example of metaphorical code-switching, Saville-Troike cites the case of most bilinguals who very often can signal which membership group they identify with in a given speech situation, simply by their choice of one language rather than another. The language which is selected for use in such contexts signals the metaphorical meaning associated with the selection, including any other denotative meaning which the language selected conveys.

A major distinction which has thus far not been mentioned is that which concerns the difference between 'code-switching' and 'borrowing'. This is a fundamental distinction which the present study cannot overlook. Consequently, in the following sub-section, an outline is first given of the distinction which has been drawn between 'code-switching' and 'borrowing' in relevant studies, followed by a summary of the position adopted in this work on this distinction.

3.2.1.1 The difference between 'code-switching and 'borrowing'

Bentahila and Davies (1982) employed the term code-switching to refer to the use of "two languages within a single conversation, exchange or utterance" (p.302). When this happens, utterances inevitably exhibit linguistic elements which belong to two distinct languages. However, according to the two researchers, for a linguistic element to qualify as a borrowing, it has to be an element which has been integrated into the system of the borrowing language.

The criterion of integration as the determining factor in the identification of lexical elements which qualify as borrowings, was first specified by Haugen (1956). This criterion has since been used in a number of studies. A typical example of such studies is the one by Gibbons (1979) on code-mixing and Koineising at the University of Hong Kong, which contains some interesting examples of integrated lexical items. In the study, Gibbons found that the students at the University of Hong Kong often replaced syllable initial /t/ and /d/ in given English words, by the aspirated /th/ and unaspirated /t/, respectively. Pronunciations of this nature provide an indication of what the criterion of integration can entail in a given speech context.

With regard to the present study, there were certain words in the data which qualify as borrowings because they have been integrated into the sound system of Kiswahili. Typical examples in this respect are the words 'chokaa' (chalk), 'picha' (picture), 'lita' (litre), 'shilingi' (shilling), and

'namba' (number). These words are more easily noticeable in samples of data, when they occur in the context of segments of utterances which are in English, as opposed to when they are embedded in segments which are in Kiswahili. This point is partly highlighted in the following example:

T: Yes?

P: (Inaudible).

T: Speak loudly.

P: Ten.

T: Ten? Ume pataje kumi? [How did you get ten?]
You are to multiply the number of pakiti [packets]
by two shillings.

The teacher's last utterance in this example is marked by a code-switch from English to Kiswahili, but most of the rest of the utterance is in English. The exception in this utterance is the word 'pakiti' which, in essence, represents an example of a lexical item which has been integrated into the sound system of Kiswahili. In the example being considered, the process of locating the word 'pakiti' as a case of borrowing is simple, because of its position of occurrence in the example. This, however, is not the case with regard to the lexical items which qualify as borrowings in the following example.

T: Now, how do we know the number of classes in the whole school? What do we do?

PS: (No response).

T: Tumeonyeshwa namba ya watoto. Kwa sukuli yote,
kuna watoto [We've been shown the number of children.
In the whole school, there are] seven hundred and thirty
eight.

In this example, the teacher used a combination of Kiswahili and English to express her second utterance. This utterance consequently provides a good illustration of code-switching. A feature which is not obvious from a cursory examination of the utterance is the fact that some of the words in it, namely 'sukuli' (school) and 'namba' (number), are in reality borrowings from English, which have been adapted to make them conform to the phonological structure of Kiswahili words.

Another difference between code-switching and borrowing which is cited by Bentahila and Davies is the point made by Shaffer (1975), that code-switching is basically a feature of informal speech, in contrast to borrowings which may be present in writings, or in formal speech.

Whether or not the samples of data in the present work would qualify as cases of informal speech is not clear. However, the cases of code-switching in these samples are wholly in the spoken form.² This factor lends support to Shaffer's view.

Pfaff (1979), approached the differentiation of code-switching from borrowing by answering the question of what these terms reveal about the language competence of a given speaker. In this regard, she drew the conclusion that borrowing "may occur in the speech of those with only mono-lingual competence, while 'code-switching' implies some degree of competence in two languages" (p.295-296). In the context of the present study, code-switching was available to both the

teachers and pupils, and from this perspective, following Pfaff, the participants in the study can be described as bilingual.

This study accepts the view that the criterion of phonological adaptation is the significant factor in the differentiation of code-switching from borrowing. There is evidence which indicates, moreover, that in a given study, once it has been established that particular linguistic elements qualify as switches and others as borrowings, the linguistic elements identified as borrowings can be differentiated further on the basis of certain distinctions. Some of these distinctions are worth noting, even though the focus of interest in this work is on code-switches not borrowings, since it is code-switching which is relevant for the maintenance of communication in class. The distinctions which were made by Whiteley (1967), on types of loan words (i.e. borrowings) in the Tanzanian context, serve as an appropriate basis for a discussion on the possible ways of differentiating lexical items which qualify as borrowings. This discussion is the subject of the following sub-section.

3.2.1.1.1 Types of borrowings in Whiteley (1967)

Whiteleys' differentiation of types of loanwords is dependent on certain distinctions which he proposed. His first distinction relates to what he referred to as the difference between 'established loanwords', and 'probationary loanwords'.

The first category of loanwords according to Whiteley, are said to be those which have been in the repertoire of speakers for a long time, and consist of words such as the following, which are present in Kiswahili 'baisikeli' (bicycle), 'motokaa' (motor-car), and 'redio' (radio). In contrast to established loanwords, 'probationary loanwords' are stated by Whiteley to be fairly recent creations, and include the following words which occur in Kiswahili: 'pareto' (pyrethrum), and 'satelaiti' (satellite).

When the borrowings in the data for this study were examined, it was discovered that some of them qualified as 'established borrowings', and others as 'probationary borrowings'. This difference is reflected in the following examples:

- (i) T: Not only maize, even beans will take how many months to be ready? Ikiwa mna panda 'Januari', muone mtakula mwezi gani [supposing you plant the crop in January, observe and see when it will be ready].
- (ii) T: They cannot grow rice because there is no much water there. Kwa vile mumekaa kwa 'deski', tusome hivyo vitabu. [Just as you are seated at your desks, let's read those books].
- (iii) T: Look at the sentences at the bottom of that page. You choose the correct sentence to match the picture given. Hapo mwisho, chaguwa ile 'sentensi' ambayo inaweza kuenda pamoja na iyo 'picha'. [There at the end, choose that sentence which expresses what is in a particular picture].
- (iv) T: I am chewing. Can everybody chew? If you are eating a chewing gum, how do you eat it? Now chew .. chew a bit. Vile muna kula 'Bigi G' chew Big G ... Just the way you chew what?]

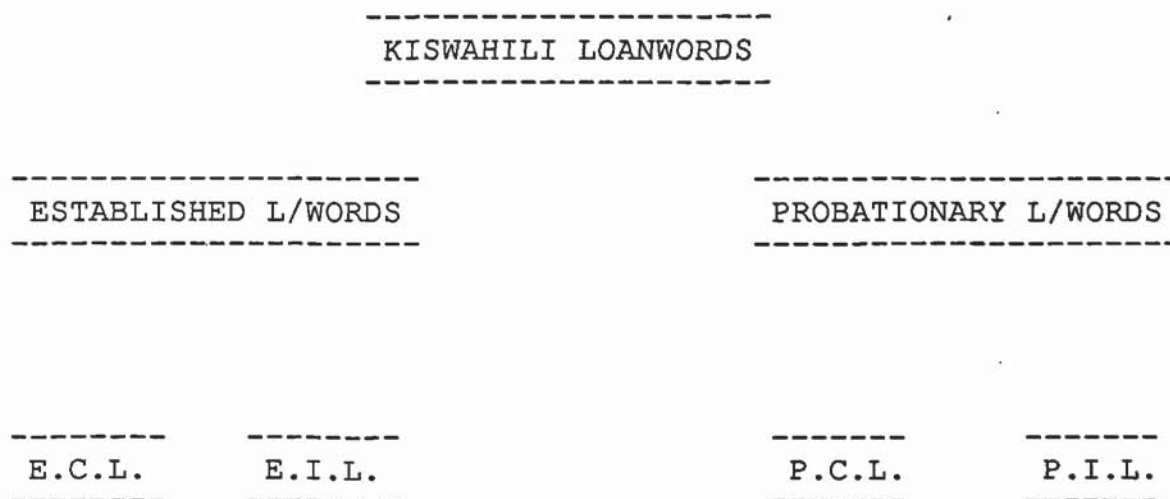
PS: bigi G'.

In these examples, the words 'Januari', 'deski', 'sentensi' and

'picha' qualify as established borrowings, whereas the phrase, 'Bigi G'³ represents a case of probationary borrowing.

There is subsequently a further sub-division by Whiteley, of established and probationary loanwords into 'conformist' and 'innovatory' sub-types, on the basis of the linguistic characteristics of assimilation relating to particular words. Briefly, conformist loanwords are described by Whiteley as those words which have been adapted phonologically and morphologically by speakers to make them conform to the linguistic patterns of Kiswahili. Some typical examples of conformist loanword which Whiteley cited are 'shilingi' (shilling), and 'dereva' (driver). Innovatory loanwords, in contrast to conformist loanwords, are remarkable according to Whiteley, because of the peculiar way in which they are pronounced by members of a speech community. This peculiarity stems from the introduction into the pronunciation of a given word, of some linguistic innovation. Some examples of innovatory loan words which are present in Whiteley's data are the words 'sansuti'/(Sunsuit), and **kampuni**/(Company). Whiteley indicates that these words were often pronounced in the Tanzanian context with a stress in the first syllable, and not penultimately as is usually the case in Kiswahili.

The following figure summarizes the types of loanwords outlined by Whiteley.



KEY:

- E.C.L. - Established conformist loanwords
- E.I.L. - Established innovatory loanwords
- P.C.L. - Probationary conformist loanwords
- P.I.L. - Probationary innovatory loanwords

Fig.2: Types of Kiswahili loanwords

Before concluding this sub-section, some comment is necessary in connection with the status of words like 'u-pilot', 'nime-advise', and 'ina-convey' in Whiteley's data, and 'ku-fetch', 'ku-fly', 'ku-kneel', and 'ku-pick', in the data which are used in this study.

Whiteley referred to these words as examples of partially unassimilated loans presumably because their stems remain unassimilated during their pronunciation. This

interpretation is inferable from an examination of the meanings of the Kiswahili elements which occur as constituents of these words. These meanings are as follows:

- 'U' is a subject prefix in Kiswahili. It functions as the second person singular pronoun 'you'. As a rule in Kiswahili, the subject of a verb is always prefixed to it.
- The language element 'nime', in essence, consists of two particles, namely the first person subject prefix 'Ni' (1), and the present perfect tense marker, - me -. The translation of 'nime-advise', is consequently, 'I have advised'.
- The particle 'ku' is a prefix which when attached to a verb stem, indicates that a given verb in Kiswahili is infinitive. This particle is therefore roughly equivalent in meaning to the English infinitive particle 'to'.⁴

The position adopted in the present study is that the words being considered should simply be labelled as borrowings because their English language segments have not undergone any phonological or morphological adaptation.

3.3.2. Contexts for the use of the phrase 'maintenance of communication'

In some formal classroom situations, the communication between the teacher and the class can be characterized as consisting of elicitations from the teacher which evoke responses from the class. These responses may be followed by

some form of teacher evaluation or feedback (See Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:51). This pattern of communication is for the purposes of this study, labelled an

Elicitation

Response

Evaluation

pattern, which hereafter is simply referred to as an ERE pattern.

What a given ERE pattern in a sample of data suggests is that the interactants responsible for the pattern encountered no overt breakdowns in communication during the production of the pattern. By an overt communication breakdown in this context, is meant a situation in which a teacher's elicitation totally fails to stimulate any verbal response from the class, and is met instead with silence.

It might be the case, however, that there was an element of mis-communication during the production of the ERE pattern under consideration. If this is the case, the ERE pattern can be described as representing an instance of a covert communication breakdown. Thus for example, when a pupil gives a wrong response to a teacher's elicitation because he misunderstood what was expected as an answer, this misunderstanding is indicative of a covert breakdown in the communication between a pupil and his teacher.

Cases of overt and covert breakdowns in communication in samples of data provide a context for the use of the phrase

'maintenance of communication' in the present study, because these cases call for the employment by teachers of specific elicitation types and code-switching to maintain the process of classroom communication.

The phrase 'maintenance of communication' is also used in the present study in contexts in which code-switching was used for socio-cultural, socio-psychological or other reasons to help sustain pupil participation in specific activities. In classroom situations, these activities may be verbal or non-verbal.

3.4 Analysis and presentation of data concerning the sources of classroom communication problems

The analysis of the sources of overt or covert communication problems in data samples required the identification of the factors which created the problems. The identification of these factors was assisted by the researcher's knowledge that in classroom contexts teachers control the relevance of what pupils say through the process of constant monitoring (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975 and Stubbs, 1983). This monitoring, it was discovered, provides a way of identifying the factors responsible for some of the communication problems in classroom discourse.

The identification of the sources of communication problems in given data samples was dependent also on the examination of the relevance of given utterances to the utterances preceding them in discourse sequences which were characterised by mis-matches, mis-understandings or break-

downs. The rationale for the examination in question was the researcher's awareness that a satisfactory interpretation of an utterance occurring in a discourse requires knowledge of the preceding context. It also requires the making of inferences to link what an interactant says, to what co-interactants assume or ought to assume to be discourse relevant during interaction. The conclusion can be drawn therefore that the identification of the sources of particular communication problems in the data samples appearing in this work was also dependent on the analytic procedure of pragmatic interpretation (see Merritt, 1976 for details concerning the notion of pragmatic interpretation).

The analytic procedure of pragmatic interpretation made it possible for the following examinations to be undertaken. In the first instance, the characteristics of the languages which were used by interactants in data samples were examined to see if any of them was responsible for the occurrence of particular communication problems. Secondly, as could be discerned from data samples, the teaching methods which were used by teachers were also examined to find out whether any of these methods contributed to the occurrence of mis-matches, mis-understandings or break-downs.

The analysis of the data samples which illustrate the sources of particular communication problems in the classrooms which were observed during the study is the subject matter of chapter 4. This chapter also has details of specific features which the present work regards as representative of the sources of communication problems in data samples. Each of these

features is examined in a particular section or sub-section of chapter 4 where relevant data samples are presented sequentially in the appropriate sections and sub-sections.

3.5 Significance of the lesson segment in the identification of elicitation types

In section 3.1, it is stated that the concept of the lesson segment is used in this work as a unit of analysis for the identification of elicitation types. These elicitation types were named,

KEY ELICITATIONS

MODIFIED ELICITATIONS

PREPARATORY ELICITATIONS

REPLACEMENT ELICITATIONS

and

EVALUATIVE ELICITATIONS

Some of these elicitation types were used by teachers to maintain communication with their pupils. It follows from this statement that there were other elicitation types which were identified as having no role to play in the maintenance of communication. The basis of this deduction is part of the subject matter of the following discussion.

In a given classroom context, an elicitation-response-pattern of communication that is not illustrative of an instance of miscommunication between a teacher and a class, portrays what can be described as a case of "successful communication". When an ER pattern is illustrative of an

instance of miscommunication, the pattern can be described as representing a case of "unsuccessful communication".

By "successful communication" in this context is meant simply the presence of evidence in a data sample that the elicitation in the ER pattern was able to stimulate the expected, and therefore correct response from the teacher's point of view. If, however, this response is absent in an ER pattern because a pupil misunderstood a teacher's elicitation for instance, and consequently gave a 'wrong' response, the conclusion can be drawn that the communication represented by the ER pattern was "unsuccessful".

An ER pattern which is illustrative of successful communication, as was pointed out in section 3.1, is one manifestation of a LESSON SEGMENT. It might be argued that it is inappropriate to use the ER pattern as one manifestation of the analytic unit, lesson segment for the following reason. Work by other researchers, notably Sinclair and Coulthard and Mehan indicate that the minimal units of interactive discourse in classrooms consist of three sequences of utterances. In Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), these sequences are initiation, response and feedback (I-R-F) while in Mehan (1979), the sequences being considered are initiation, reply and evaluation (I.R.E). Sinclair and Coulthard's explanation for the presence of three part interaction sequences in classroom discourse is that

"Having given their reply children want to know whether it was the right one. So important is feedback that if it does not occur we feel confident in saying that the teacher has deliberately withheld it for some strategic purpose."

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:51)

Sinclair and Coulthard do not specify the number of interactive units with three part interaction sequences in their work. It might therefore be of interest to point out that the 363 elicitations in Mehan's data generated a total of 140 three part interaction sequences. This is a significant number but what is striking is the fact that around 61 percent of the elicitations in Mehan's data failed to generate three part interaction sequences. In the light of this information, there seems to be some justification in basing one manifestation of the concept of the lesson segment on a two part interaction sequence.

This position is consistent with that of French and MacLure (1979) who indicate in their work that questioning and answering are the central mechanisms of classroom communication. Because of this factor, it can be concluded that in a given classroom, when an elicitation evokes the expected response, this response indicates to the teacher that s/he can proceed to the next lesson segment. This segment might consist of another elicitation-response sequence, in which case, an ER pattern of communication would be in operation.

In the present work, the elicitation type which occupies the initial frame⁶ in a lesson segment with an ER pattern, and which therefore is the elicitation marking the onset of the lesson segment is given the name, KEY ELICITATION.⁷ This elicitation type occupies the same position in a lesson

segment in which an elicitation from the teacher does not immediately evoke the appropriate and therefore expected response, which leads to an extended sequence of interaction between the teacher and one or more pupils. The following data sample gives an illustration of some key elicitations.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/1	Now Njeri. Tell us how many brothers do you have?	Key elicitation
P	Three.	
T/2	Good. You have three brothers. And how many sisters do you have?	Key elicitation
P	I have .. I have two sisters.	

In this sample of data, the elicitation type in T/1 is a key elicitation since it marks the onset of a lesson segment. It is successful in evoking the correct and therefore expected response from a pupil. The teacher then launches the next lesson segment when she uses the key elicitation,

'And how many sisters do you have?'

in T/2 which also evokes a response from the pupil in the sample. From the example being considered, it is evident that the key elicitation cannot be used for the purposes of communication maintenance in teacher-class communication.

The second elicitation type in this study bears the name MODIFIED ELICITATION.⁸ This elicitation type is by its

nature a reformulation of a prior elicitation. It was found in samples of data that different elicitation types can be modified. The decision was made however, that in the context of the present study, a modified elicitation should be used to refer only to the reformulated version of a key elicitation, a rerun key elicitation or a replacement elicitation in the context of a lesson segment.

The occurrence of modified elicitations in lesson segments seemed to be related mainly to the failure of pupils to provide the expected responses to relevant key elicitations. This failure acted as a stimulus for some teachers to reformulate their key elicitations so that given lesson segments could be accomplished in readiness for the launching of other segments. It follows from this description that the modified elicitations in the present study do not fall under the umbrella of Sinclair and Coulthard's 'starters'. An example of a modified elicitation is present in the following sample of data.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/3	Now .. eh .. which are the conditions necessary for germination?	Key elicitation
PS	(No response)	
T/4	.. When you plant the seed in the soil, what does a seed need in order to germinate?	Modified elicitation

The elicitation type in T/4 in this sample of data is a modified elicitation since it is a reformulation of the key elicitation in T/3. There is evidence in the data which shows that more than one modification of a key elicitation could occur in a given lesson segment depending on how quickly pupils could be stimulated to provide a response to a specific elicitation. In the following sample of data, there is one modification of a modified elicitation.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/22	The bus fare from my home to town is 1 shilling, and from the town to school it is 80 cents. Now .. eh what is the fare from my home to school?	Key elicitation
PS	(No response)	
T/23	What is the total .. ah .. of my fare from my home to school? This problem is one where you have to add.	Modified elicitation
PS	(No response)	
T/24	From my home to school, I pay 1 shilling to the conductor. Now, from town to school, I pay 80 cents. How much money altogether do I pay .. eh from my home to school? Yes.	(First modification of the modified elicitation)
P	1 shilling .. and ... and 80	

The accomplishment of the lesson segment which is present in this sample was dependent on the correct and therefore expected response being given to the key elicitation in T/21. This elicitation type failed to evoke a response, and the teacher subsequently used the modified elicitation in T/22 to try and stimulate a response from the class. There was no response from the class to this elicitation, but its subsequent modification in T/23 was successful in re-establishing the communication between the teacher and the class.

Since all modified elicitations are reformulations of prior elicitations, there are often lexical and grammatical reasons for referring to a particular elicitation in a lesson segment as a 'modified elicitation'.

The third elicitation type in the present study was named the PREPARATORY ELICITATION. This elicitation type occurs in the following circumstance in lesson segments. When a teacher launches a lesson segment through the use of a key elicitation, this elicitation type may fail to elicit a response. The teacher might then try to maintain communication with a class by using a modified elicitation as her next elicitation. If the class is still unresponsive to this modified elicitation, the teacher can use a preparatory elicitation to re-establish communication with the class.

Preparatory elicitations have a 'remedial' function in classroom communication. It is for this reason that in given samples of data, preparatory elicitations perform the role of preparing pupils 'language-wise' or 'content-wise', for the re-

introduction of the propositions expressed in elicitation types which had previously failed to evoke responses.. The elicitation types being referred to in this context are primarily **key elicitations**, and **modified elicitations**. The re-introduced versions of these elicitations are examined in subsection 3.6.

As can be interpreted from samples of data, some preparatory elicitations occurred due to the failure or inability of a class to provide the expected responses to **REPLACEMENT ELICITATIONS**. This category of elicitations constitute the fourth elicitation type in the present work.

In the following sample of data, there is a preparatory elicitation followed by a variant of this elicitation type. This variant is considered in section 3.6.

(iv)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/12	Where is a safe place in this class? Someone point to me a safe place in this class.	Key elicitation
PS	(No response)	
T/13	You see this machine here on the table?	Preparatory elicitation
PS	Yes.	
T/14	If we go for break .. and we leave it on the table there, with the door and the windows open, what can happen to it?	Neutral preparatory elicitation
P	Someone will .. someone can	

steal.

T/15 Someone can steal it because
the table is not safe.

In this sample of data, there is no re-introduction of a proposition from an elicitation type preceding the preparatory elicitation. Therefore in this sample, the preparatory elicitation had the function of preparing the class for the explanation which the teacher provides in T/15. It is noticeable that it is the preparatory elicitation in T/13 which re-established communication with the class. The elicitation type that is considered next is the 'REPLACEMENT ELICITATION'.

The data for this study indicate that this elicitation type occurs when a teacher replaces either a key elicitation, a modified elicitation or another replacement elicitation in a lesson segment by a new elicitation as a means of re-establishing communication with pupils. In classroom contexts, the replacement elicitation enables teachers to launch 'fresh' lesson segments or alternative lesson segments, following the non-accomplishment of preceding segments. The following sample has some examples of replacement elicitations.

(v)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/2	Now, let us look at these examples on the board, and I want you to be very active. You show me what should be done to this first example here - forty nine plus fifteen.	Key elicitation.

Anna.

P (No response).

T/3 What do we do first? The first step. Replacement elicitation.

P (No response).

T/4 Which column do we start with? Replacement elicitation

P That (pointing)

T/15 Yes, this column

When the key elicitation failed to evoke a response in this sample of data, it was replaced by the **replacement elicitation** in T/3. The attempt by the teacher to launch an alternative lesson segment through the use of the **replacement elicitation** being considered, backfired since the pupil in the sample remained silent. The **replacement elicitation** in T/4 succeeds however, in re-establishing communication with the pupil. **EVALUATIVE ELICITATIONS** constitute the final elicitation type in the present study. Samples of data suggest that **evaluative elicitations** were used by teachers to:

- seek clarification from pupils on the responses they gave.
- correct responses from pupils.
- ask pupils to repeat either whole utterances from the teacher, or to complete parts of such utterances.

The difference between an **evaluative elicitation**, and Sinclair and Coulthard's discourse act, 'evaluate', is that the former has an eliciting function, while the latter has an eliciting function only when it operates as a tag question.

This deduction is inferable from Sinclair and Coulthard's work, where it is indicated that evaluates are realized by

"statements and tag questions including words and phrases such as 'good', 'interesting', 'team point', commenting on the quality of the reply, react, or initiation, also by 'yes', 'no', 'good', 'fine', with a high fall (positive), or a rise of any kind, (negative evaluation)."

(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:43.)

In samples of data, evaluative elicitations occupy positions which are subsequent to those occupied by key elicitations, modified elicitations and preparatory elicitations in lesson segments. The sample below has in T/2, an **evaluative elicitation** which was used by a teacher, to demand a clarification from a pupil on the response he had given to the key elicitation.

(vi)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/1	Now, can you tell me one thing that I told you about a whale, or something you know about a whale? Yes.	Key elicitation
P	It feeds .. it feeds their babies on milk.	
T/2	It feeds?	Evaluative elicitation
P	It feeds their babies in milk.	

The **evaluative elicitation** in this lesson segment not only sought a clarification from a pupil, but also demanded a

response from him. It is clear from this that an **evaluative elicitation** cannot be realized by phrases such as 'good' and 'fine' for instance. Some **evaluative elicitations** perform the function of correcting pupil responses. This is the case with the **evaluative elicitation** in the following sample.

(vii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/4	Now, what did he have? Kariuki.	Key elicitation
P	Tom have.	
T/5	Had.	Evaluative elicitation
P	Tom had a banana.	

Other **evaluative elicitations** request pupils to repeat utterances or parts of utterances from the teacher, following the successful accomplishment of a lesson segment, as is the case with the **evaluative elicitations** in the following sample of data.

(viii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/7	What other thing can you use if you want to travel to Kisumu?	Key elicitation
P	Aero ... aeroplane.	
T/8	Aeroplane. Good. You can travel to Kisumu in an aero- plane .. if you can have a lot of money. You can fly to	Evaluative

	Kisumu. You can do what class?	elicitation
PS	Fly, fry.	
T/9	Say FLY to Kisumu.	Evaluative elicitation
PS	Fly, fry to Kisumu.	
T/10	FLY	Evaluative elicitation
PS	Fly, fry.	

The first evaluative elicitation in this sample of data expected the class to give as a response, the word 'fly'. Some pupils were successful in giving the expected response, but others are unable to do so because of their pronunciation of /flai/ as /frai/. The teacher consequently used the evaluative elicitation in T/9 to elicit from the class, the correct pronunciation of the word 'fly'. This task proved to be too difficult for some of the pupils even after the teacher's use of the third evaluative elicitation in T/10.

The following table summarizes the elicitation types in the study, their typical position of occurrence in data samples and their classroom function.

Elicitation Type	Position of occurrence in a sample of data	Classroom function
Key elicitation	Typically occupies the first frame in an ER pattern, and therefore occupies a prominent position in a lesson segment. Retains the same position in the context of an elicitation-non-response sequence in a lesson segment.	Typically signifies the onset of lesson segments

Modified Elicitation	In a given lesson segment, it typically occupies a position which is subsequent to that which is occupied by a key elicitation, a re-run key elicitation or a replacement elicitation. The successive modification of a modified elicitation is possible. This indicates that a modified elicitation can occur after another modified elicitation.	To re-establish communication following the inability or failure of pupils to provide a response to a preceding key or in some cases preceding modified elicitation or preceding replacement elicitation.
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Preparatory Elicitation	Typically occupies a position which is subsequent to the one which is occupied by a key elicitation, and a modified elicitation in a lesson segment	Prepares pupils for the re-introduction of the proposition expressed in a prior elicitation type. In a few cases, it prepares pupils for certain explanations. Its principal function is to re-establish learner participation in classroom communication.
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Replacement Elicitation	Typically occupies a position which is subsequent to the one which is occupied by a key elicitation and a modified elicitation in a given lesson segment. In some cases a replacement elicitation can replace another replacement elicitation.	Performs the function of re-establishing communication, after the failure of pupils to respond to a preceding key or modified elicitation.
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Evaluative Elicitation	Typically occupies a position which is subsequent to the one which is occupied by a key elicitation, a modified elicitation, a preparatory elicitation, and a replacement elicitation in a given data sample	Generally performs the function of demanding the repetition of teacher utterances. It is also used to demand the correction of a specific response or to demand a clarification on a given response.
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Table 5.1: Summary of elicitation types, their position of occurrence, and their classroom function

Out of the five elicitation types in this table, only three, namely **modified, preparatory and replacement** elicitations, are directly concerned with the maintenance of classroom communication. This factor explains why chapter 5 is devoted to an examination of the part played by these elicitation types in samples of data.

The members of the five elicitation types in table 5.1 were subsequently found to be amenable to further differentiation depending on whether they were **LANGUAGE ORIENTED OR CONTENT ORIENTED**. This distinction was found to be not consistently clear cut in samples of data, basically because since most school subjects are transmitted principally through the medium of spoken language, the elicitation types in lessons segments tended to have a language orientation. However, some members of these elicitation types were found to

have a strong bias towards subject matter content. This factor indicated there was a need to differentiate language-oriented from content-oriented elicitations. The elicitation types in the following sample of data are language oriented.

(ix)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/1	Look at this word here on the blackboard. It is 'village'. 'Village'. Everybody say 'village'.	Key elicitation
PS	/viledz/, /viredz/.	
T/2	Again.	Evaluative elicitation
PS	/viledz/, /viredz/.	

The elicitation in T/1 in this sample of data is a key elicitation since it represented the onset of a lesson segment. It is for this reason that although this elicitation expected pupils to repeat an utterance from the teacher, it has not been labelled an evaluative elicitation.

The teacher's utterance in T/2 qualifies however, as an evaluative elicitation. Both the key elicitation and the evaluative elicitation in the sample being examined are language oriented since what they expected from the class is the correct pronunciation of the word 'village'. By way of comparison, the elicitations in T/1 and T/2 in the following sample of data are key elicitations which are content oriented. This is because they are intended to stimulate responses which

above all else, should have been correct from the point of view of the rules governing the multiplication of numbers.

(x)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/1	What is one times six? Onyango.	Key elicitation
P	Six.	
T/2	Six. Good. Njeri. Four multiply by two? Quickly.	Key elicitation
P	Eight.	

3.6 Significance of the lesson segment in the identification of variants of elicitation types

The variants of elicitation types which were identified in the study by taking into consideration the concept of the lesson segment as a unit of analysis were six in number. These variants were given the names,

NEUTRAL KEY ELICITATIONS

RERUN KEY ELICITATIONS

RERUN MODIFIED ELICITATIONS

NEUTRAL MODIFIED ELICITATIONS

NEUTRAL PREPARATORY ELICITATIONS

and

NEUTRAL REPLACEMENT ELICITATIONS

None of these variants of elicitation were used by teachers as resources for the maintenance of communication with their pupils. This is because some of them functioned in data samples as 'starters', in the sense in which this term is used by Sinclair and Coulthard and consequently had no eliciting function. Other variants on the other hand merely re-introduced propositions belonging to elicitation types which preceded them. Consequently, they tended to have an eliciting function.

The first variant of an elicitation type in this work was given the name, **NEUTRAL KEY ELICITATION**.⁹ In a given sample of data, this variant precedes a key elicitation marking the onset of a lesson segment and because of its position of occurrence is never intended to evoke a response. Since neutral key elicitation cannot launch lesson segments, their function in classroom communication is not always clear. The following sample of data has some examples of neutral key elicitation.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/14	Okay now. Look at the other pictures. We have noticed something in page 5.	
	What is happening to all these things? What is happening to all of them?	Neutral key el. Neutral key el.
	The tree, the kittens, the hens, the chick - what is happening to them?	Key elicitation

Only the key elicitation in this sample of data had an eliciting function. The other two elicitations in the sample had no eliciting function and are examples of **neutral key elicitations**.

The variant **RERUN KEY ELICITATION** has an eliciting function, in contrast to a neutral key elicitation. This is because its function is to re-introduce a proposition which is connected to a prior key elicitation, and which in a given lesson segment, is suspended from use temporarily to make way for a preparatory elicitation. The re-run key elicitation consequently occupies in a lesson segment, a position which is subsequent to the one occupied by a key elicitation, and a preparatory elicitation. In a few cases a re-run key elicitation occurs after an evaluative elicitation. The sample of data below has an example of a re-run key elicitation which made it possible for the lesson segment in the sample to be accomplished successfully.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/8	.. We cannot take away 8 from 7 therefore we borrow. We borrow 1 from here. This 1 ten that we borrow, how many ones are there in it? Muthee.	Key elicitation
P	(No response).	
T/9	Now, you have a bundle of sticks like this one on the desk. Like that bundle you have has got how many sticks?	Preparatory elicitation

P (Counts). Ten.

T/10 That bundle of sticks, it has
1 tens, therefore the 1 that
we borrow from here, it has
how many tens? Re-run key
elicitation.

P Ten ... Ten.

When the key elicitation in this sample failed to evoke a response from a pupil, a preparatory elicitation was used by the teacher in T/9 to re-establish communication with the pupil, and to prepare him for the oncoming re-run key elicitation in T/10. This variant expresses the same proposition as the key elicitation in T/8. In essence therefore, it re-introduced a proposition which had already been presented to the class. A re-run key elicitation cannot be used to begin a lesson segment because of its position of occurrence in a given lesson segment.

The modified elicitation also has a variant which was named the NEUTRAL MODIFIED ELICITATION. Because of its position of occurrence in a sequence of successive elicitations, this variant has no eliciting function. In a given lesson segment, the neutral modified elicitation precedes either a modified elicitation, or a replacement elicitation. The neutral modified elicitation precedes a replacement elicitation in the following sample of data.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/8	can tell us the things one can see in a village?	Key elicitation
PS	(No response).	
T/9	A village, a village .. what can we see in a village? Look at this picture. (Holds up a picture). Tell me what you see in this picture.	Neutral modified elicitation Replacement elicitation

Another variant of the modified elicitation was given the name **RERUN MODIFIED ELICITATION**. It occurs in a lesson segment in a position which is subsequent to that occupied by the following elicitation types:

- a key elicitation which fails to evoke a response.
- a modified elicitation which also fails to evoke a response.
- a preparatory elicitation which re-establishes pupil participation in classroom communication.

In a given lesson segment, the **re-run modified elicitation** has the function of reintroducing a proposition related to a modified elicitation, which having failed to evoke a response from the class, makes way for a preparatory elicitation. The sample of data which follows has an example of a **re-run modified elicitation** in T/8. This variant re-introduced the proposition expressed in the modified elicitation in T/6.

(iv)

Speaker utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/5	What other means can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?	Key elicitation
PS	(Murmurs. Inaudible response).	
T/6	Kisumu is far away. You can't go there on foot, so you can go there by something else. You can go there by what else?	Modified elicitation
PS	(No response)	
T/7	Can you go to Kisumu by boat - by a boat with a sail like that one in the picture we saw this morning?	Preparatory elicitation
PS	No.	
T/8	So what can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?	Re-run modified elicitation
P1	Lorry.	

In some lesson segments, the preparatory elicitation which re-establishes pupil participation in classroom communication was sometimes followed by one or more elicitations which also seemed to have the function of preparing pupils for the re-introduction of a particular proposition from an earlier elicitation. These intermediate elicitations constitute a variant of the preparatory elicitation. This variant was given the name **NEUTRAL PREPARATORY ELICITATION**. It has no role in the maintenance of

classroom communication as can be deduced from the following sample of data where it occurs in T/17.

(v)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/14	Okay. Now how did the crocodile and the monkey meet? Njoroge.	Key elicitation
P	(No response).	
T/15	The crocodile and the monkey, how did they meet?	Modified elicitation
P	(No response).	
T/16	Does the monkey live in the water?	Preparatory elicitation
P	No.	
T/17	And the crocodile, does it live in the water?	Neutral preparatory elicitation
P	Yes.	
T/18	So the monkey and the crocodile, how did they meet?	Re-run modified elicitation

The final variant on an elicitation type to be examined is the **NEUTRAL REPLACEMENT ELICITATION**. This variant occurs when a given replacement elicitation is preceded by an elicitation which outwardly has the characteristics of a replacement elicitation, but cannot elicit because of its position of occurrence which neutralizes its eliciting powers. In the sample which follows, the first elicitation in T/6 is a

neutral replacement elicitation.

(vi)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/5	What is 10 divide by 3?	Key elicitation
P	(No response).	
T/6	What is 6 divide by 2? What multiplies 2 to get the number 6?	Neutral repl.el. Replacement el.
P	Two .. three.	

The variants of elicitation types which have been outlined in this section are summarized in the following table.

Variant type	Position of occurrence in a sample of data	Classroom function
Neutral key elici- tation	Precedes a key elicitation in a sequence of successive elici- tations. As such it has no eliciting function.	Not specifiabale with precision because pupils understand from their socio- cultural knowledge of classrooms that when they are faced with successive elicitations only the last elicitation is meant to evoke a response.
Re-run key elici- tation	Occurs after a key elicitation and a preparatory elicitation in a lesson segment. In a few cases, it occurs after a pre- ceding evaluative elicitation.	To elicit a response which pupils should have given to a prior key elici- tation in a sample of data.

Neutral modified elicitation	Precedes a modified elicitation or a replacement elicitation in a sequence of successive elicitations, and consequently has no eliciting function.	Not specifiabile with precision.
Re-run modified elicitation	Occurs after a preparatory elicitation in a lesson segment.	To elicit a response which pupils ought to have given to a prior modified elicitation in a sample of data.
Neutral preparatory elicitation	Occurs after a preparatory elicitation in a given lesson segment.	Also prepares pupils for the re-introduction of a proposition expressed in a prior elicitation. Has an eliciting function.
Neutral replacement elicitation	Precedes a replacement elicitation in a given sequence of successive elicitations.	Not specifiabile with precision but it cannot elicit a response because of its position of occurrence.

Table 5.2 Summary of variants of elicitation types, their position of occurrence, and their classroom function.

3.7 Method of analysing the role of specific elicitation types in data samples

The analysis of data containing modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations - since these were the elicitation

types which were identified as relevant for the maintenance of classroom communication - entailed essentially the descriptive interpretation of their role in the data. As a guiding element in the interpretation of the role of the elicitation types being considered in given samples, the question - 'what effect does the use of an elicitation type in a lesson segment have on the communication between a teacher and a class?' - was employed.

A selection of data samples are presented in chapter five to demonstrate the part played by modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in teacher-class communication. Since, in spoken communication, utterances have discursality, the analysis of the ten samples of data of necessity called for some reference to be made to the other elicitation types and their variants. Because of this factor, special symbols are used as codes for all the elicitation types and their variants in each sample of data. These symbols carry the following meanings:

K - stands for a key elicitation

M - stands for a modified elicitation. The number 1 placed after the symbol M, thus (M1) indicates that a given modified elicitation has been modified once already.

Pr - Stands for a preparatory elicitation.

Rep - Stands for a replacement elicitation.

E - Stands for an evaluative elicitation.

- 1 - May occur after any of the elicitation types in the study. When placed after the symbol K thus, (K-1), this symbol indicates that the key elicitation with which it co-occurs is language oriented.
- C - May occur after any of the elicitation types in the study. When placed after any of these elicitation types as in K-C for instance, it indicates that the key elicitation with which it co-occurs is content-oriented.
- NK - Stands for a neutral key elicitation.
- (R)K - Stands for a re-run key elicitation.
- (R)M - Stands for a re-run modified elicitation.
- NM - Stands for neutral modified elicitation.
- N Pr - Stands for a neutral preparatory elicitation.
- N Rep - Stands for a neutral replacement elicitation.

The other symbols which are employed in connection with the method of analysis evolved in this study are:

- [] to enclose translations of utterances, or parts of utterances.
- '.... to indicate the presence of untimed pauses in samples of data.
- () to enclose researcher comments as in the following example: T/6 What is the name of this animal?
(teacher points at a picture of a giraffe.)
- * to show that a given utterance is grammatically incorrect.
- / / to enclose phonemically transcribed items. There are

only a few cases of such items in the study.

T/1, T/2 etc. These are codes for first teacher utterance, second teacher utterance etc. In a sample of data, the numbers appearing in the codes are identical to those which are held by the utterances to which they refer in the lesson transcript from which the sample was obtained. It is because of this that in most of the samples of data, the first utterance from a teacher is not coded as T/1.

The following example is an illustration of the method which is used in the study to present data samples that demonstrate the role of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in data samples.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/20	Tell me the name of the person who follows the railway line after school.	K-C
P	Edward.	
T/21	Edward. Clap hands for her. What happened to the engine?	K-C
PS	(No response)	
T/22	When the train was travelling, what happened to the engine? Mwaniki.	M-C
P	The train come off the rails.	

In this example pupil participation in classroom communication was re-established by the elicitation in T/22 which is a content-oriented modified elicitation.

3.8 Analysis and presentation of data on code-switching

In an important article, Fishman (1971) states that,

"It is one of the hallmarks of scientific social inquiry that methods are selected as a result of problem specifications rather than independently of them." (p.30)

With reference to the present study, it can be inferred from the contents of the preceding chapter (see in particular sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2) that two methods were available for the analysis of data samples in which there was code-switching.

The first method called for the use of specific grammatical units as the units of analysis. The units in question are words, phrase, and clause/sentence and the justification for their selection was the presumption that the cases of intra-sentential code-switching in the study could be analysed by using grammatical units. It was decided that the following procedures would serve as guidelines in the analysis of data samples containing cases of intra-sentential code-switching. In the first instance, at least three examples of code-switching at the level of the word, the phrase and the clause/sentence would be selected from data samples. Statistical information would then be given concerning the frequency of occurrence of code-switching at the level of the units which have been specified in data samples. Finally,

there would be an assessment of the contribution of code-switching to the maintenance of classroom communication at the level of the analytic units being discussed.

The procedures which have been outlined were based on the understanding that English and not Kiswahili should operate as the medium of instruction in Kenyan primary schools from the fourth year of school (see the discussion in chapter 1, section 1.2.1.) This factor meant that if grammatical units were employed as the units of analysis for the investigation of the role of code-switching in the maintenance of classroom communication, the investigation would in essence entail the examination of the role of Kiswahili words, phrases and clauses/sentences in the maintenance of communication.

It is the case however, that the investigation of the part played by code-switching in the maintenance of communication is not necessarily best conducted through the examination of code-switched words, phrases and clauses/sentences in isolation. This is because as a prerequisite, such an investigation calls for the specification of the reasons behind code-switching. It is doubtful whether the specification of these reasons can meaningfully be assisted by the examination outside the context of a given type of discourse of utterances that qualify as the grammatical units of word, phrase and clause/sentence. This is because the interpretation of the reasons for code-switching in face-to-face communication often calls for an understanding of the ways in which sequences of utterances are tied not necessarily at

the grammatical, but at the semantic level. It also calls for an understanding of how non-linguistic factors impinge on the communication process 'as has amply been demonstrated by sociolinguists who tend to use factors such as participants, setting, topic or socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors to account for code-choice.' Other researchers account for code-choice by examining the influence of rhetorical factors on code-switching (see in this connection, Rayfield, 1970).

The following examples from the present study support the contention that the examination of code-switched words, phrases and clauses/sentences in isolation does not provide the appropriate framework for the specification of the reasons behind code-switching.

- (i) Angalia [look at] part D. Make seven sentences from this table.

In this example, the code-switched element of structure is the word 'angalia'. This word is equivalent in conceptual meaning to the English prepositional verb 'look at'. It is the case however, that since the grammatical systems of English and Kiswahili are different, there is no one to one correspondence between the word 'angalia' as a verb in Kiswahili and the English prepositional verb 'look at'.

In the context of the present discussion, the word 'angalia' is an excellent example of code-switching at the grammatical level of the word. However, the significant point is that the reason for its use by the teacher in example (i) is

not obtainable from its grammatical status as a word. This is a point which the present study could not ignore.

- (ii) T/6 when you look at this diagram, you will see it has a shaded part and an un-shaded part. Shaded part ni hii ambayo ina madoa doa na hii nyingine ni un-shaded part.

The utterance portion which is code-switched in example (ii) is translatable as: [is this one which has spots and this other one is]. On the basis of this translation one can state that the elements of structure which are code-switched in the example being examined are the verb phrase, the complement, the relative clause which post-modifies the complement, the sentence connector and finally, the noun phrase. The question must be asked however, whether the presence of the elements of structure which have been specified in example (ii) provides any significant information on the reason behind the code-switching in the example. The answer to this question is definitely in the negative.

(iii) T:what do we do?

PS: (No response)

T: Tumeonyeshwa 'namba' ya watoto.
Kwa sukuli yote kuna watoto
seven hundred and thirty eight.

The utterance portion, "Tumeonyeshwa 'namba' ya watoto" [We've been shown the number of children] in example (iii) represents a case of code-switching at the grammatical level of the clause/sentence. This grammatical fact is however, irrelevant to the question of the reason behind the code-

switching in the example.

After the examination of the examples which have been presented and several others, it was concluded that the use of the grammatical units word, phrase and clause/sentence as the units of analysis in the investigation of aspects of code-switching is suitable only in a particular type of study. This is the study in which the objective is to examine the syntactic points at which code-switching occurs in data samples, as was the case for instance, in Bentahila and Davies (1983). Such an objective was not applicable to the present study, as can be discerned from the discussion in chapter 1. It is for this reason that some of the factors in the second method which is available for the investigation of code-switching were ultimately selected as the appropriate means for investigating the role of code-switching in the maintenance of communication.

Briefly, the defining characteristic of this second method is the proposition that in social situations, language choice is influenced by the factors of "participants, topic, setting or context, channel, message form, mood or tone, and intentions and effects" (Sankoff, 1971:35). It does not follow, however, from this proposition that language choice in classroom contexts is automatically determined by the factors which have been specified. This is because some of these factors, such as participants and setting for instance, account for code-choice essentially in contexts which are amenable to manipulation. By way of comparison, classroom contexts are by their nature not easily manipulable. This comparison should not be taken to imply that the factors of participants and

setting were found to be of little consequence in the present study.

It is the case for example that the factor of participants made it possible for the prediction to be made during the study that given the low level of pupils' mastery of English, teachers would at some point or another in the course of lessons switch to Kiswahili to maintain the process of communication.

It is also the case that while it was not possible to manipulate the factor of setting in this work, the factor in question provided a partial explanation of the reasons behind the regular occurrence of code-switching in the classrooms which served as the sources of data for the study. This partial explanation was to be found in the fact that Kawangware and Kangemi primary schools are located in what are low socio-economic areas of Nairobi where Kiswahili is the major language of communication. Such partial explanations were nevertheless found to be un-satisfactory for the analysis of the role of code-switching in the maintenance of communication.

The following factors were consequently selected after a thorough examination of data samples as the factors which could help explain interactants' use of language elements from Kiswahili, and on the basis of which the role of code-switching in the maintenance of communication could be assessed.

1. Socio-cultural factors.
2. Pedagogical factors as deducible from the presence of repetitions and translations of segments of utterances in data samples for the purposes of

clarification and emphasis.

3. Socio-psychological factors.
4. Topic.
5. Participants' English language competence.

The use of the factors which have been outlined as the analytic means for the investigation of the role of code-switching in the maintenance of communication reveals in Chapter 6 that code-switching occurred in the study not only as a response to cases of overt and covert communication breakdowns (see the discussion in 3.3), but also as a response to the demands of socio-cultural, pedagogical and even socio-psychological factors. It is consequently the case that some of the reasons for code-switching in the present study are specifiable.

What should be noted however, is the fact that the reasons for code-switching in face-to-face communication are often, if not invariably, inter-related. Thus in chapter 6, the emphasis that is placed on highlighting the significance of the influence of individual factors on code-switching in the analysis of data samples should be viewed as but an extension of the common practice of using idealized data in language studies (see also the discussion in chapter 7, section 7.4).

The following example illustrates the method which is used in this study to present data samples which exhibit code-switching.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/88	... Now, the following animals, how do they move?	
PS	Walk, run.	
T/89	Yes. Very good. What about snake? How does a snake move? Eh?	
PS	Walk.	
T/90	It walks? A snake walks? A snake does not walk. We say that it crawls. A snake crawls. 'To crawl' ni kutambaa. 'To crawl' ni nini?	is to crawl is what?
P	Kutambaa.	To crawl
T/91	Ni kutambaa kwa sababu nyoka haina miguu. Lazima itambae na tumbo.	Is to crawl, yes because a snake has no legs .. it has to crawl on its belly.

It is noticeable in this example that some of the utterances in it do not exhibit any code-switching. For this reason, the utterances in question may be regarded as unnecessary in the context of the example. This is far from being the case however, since the interpretation of the significance of a given-code-switched utterance portion depends ultimately on what is expressed in the portions which both precede and follow it. Consequently, all the data samples on code-switching in the present study also contain utterances

which are in English.

NOTES:

1. It is the case in data samples that teacher nomination of pupils to provide responses co-occurs with elicitations which formally are 'questions'. A teacher nomination of a pupil to respond in classroom contexts cannot therefore independently be equated with the function 'eliciting'. This is because such nomination is in most, if not all cases, tied to an elicitation which has the formal characteristics of a question either in the same utterance, or in a prior utterance. The fourth criterion in section 3.0 should thus be regarded as a dependent criterion which co-occurs with the first three criteria. It is for this reason that a nomination on its own is not given the status of an independent elicitation type in chapter 3.
2. During the data collection phase of the study, there were no instances of glossaries being given to pupils to help them understand blackboard notes. For this reason, the cases of code-switching in this study are confined only to the spoken medium.
3. 'Big G' is the brand name of a chewing gum.
4. Some reservation concerning this interpretation has been expressed by Wilson (1970). His basic contention is that strictly speaking, there is no verb infinitive in Kiswahili (see p.10). In the present study, the classical view is held that the particle 'ku' is an infinitive verb marker in Kiswahili.
5. This statement should not be taken to imply that feedbacks or evaluations are insignificant in classroom discourse. It is the case as a matter of fact in the present study that the presence of feedbacks or evaluations in data samples made it easier for utterances qualifying as 'expected responses' to be identified.
6. The term 'frame' is used here in a non-technical sense, and refers simply to the position occupied by an utterance in a sequence of interactive communication. Thus, as an example, in a Question-Answer adjacency pair, the question occupies the initial frame, while the answer occupies the second frame.
7. Note, however, that in certain cases, replacement elicitations can be used to launch lesson segments, as was the case for instance in a few data samples. Note furthermore, that there are also some data samples which indicate that lesson segments could be re-launched through the use of repeated key elicitations (see the relevant data in chapter 5). Such cases are marked in the present study by placing the word 'repeated' before 'K', thus: (Repeated) K.

8. Cases of repeated modified elicitations are specified in relevant data samples (see chapter 5).
9. The question might be asked: why should a neutral key elicitation be referred to as an 'elicitation' in the first place? To answer this question, it can be stated that just as it is possible to have rhetorical questions which are never intended to be answered in a given communication situation, so it is that it is also possible to have elicitations which have a 'non-eliciting' role in classroom contexts. It is the position of occurrence of such elicitations which 'neutralizes' their eliciting power.

CHAPTER 4

TEACHER-CLASS COMMUNICATION: SOURCES OF PROBLEMS

The data in this study support the findings of other researchers that communication in classrooms is heavily dominated by teachers (see for instance, the studies by Bellack et al 1966 and Flanders 1970). This dominance meant that in the search for answers concerning the sources of communication problems in the present study, the characteristics of the languages used by teachers were bound to receive the most scrutiny. Due to the fact that the procedure of pragmatic interpretation is employed in this chapter in the analysis of data samples (see chapter 3, section 3.4), the following questions were used to help focus the examination of these characteristics.

1. How was classroom communication affected by the characteristics of the elicitations which were employed by teachers?
2. What effect did the response requirements of given elicitations have on classroom communication?
3. How was classroom communication affected by teaching methods which required deliberate code-switches from English to Kiswahili, and vice versa?

The first two questions indirectly illustrate the importance that this study attaches to eliciting and responding as central elements in the accomplishment of lesson segments (see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.5). The third

question indicates on the other hand, that some aspects of code-switching were deemed to be detrimental to the process of classroom communication. To obtain the answers to these questions, the following aspects were examined in data samples:

- the vocabulary employed in elicitations.
- the response requirements of elicitations.
- the verbal reaction of pupils to specific classroom tasks such as role play, 'role-exchange' (see 4.3 for definition) and story-telling.
- the necessity of using Kiswahili to set the scene for the oral practice of some English language patterns.
- the necessity of using Kiswahili to serve as a stimulus for the oral practice of English.

The examination of the aspects which have been specified is the subject of sections 4.1 - 4.7 while a final section - section 4.8 - has a summary of the principal points in the chapter.

4.1 Effect of the vocabulary employed in elicitations

Subjects in the school curriculum have some 'specialist items of vocabulary' which occur regularly in the teaching and learning of the subjects. In this work, there is evidence in data samples which suggests that the incorporation of these items of vocabulary in teacher elicitations could hinder the communication between teachers and pupils. The following data sample demonstrates this point.

(i)

T/11: ... Now Rachel, what - give me another name that has a meaning equal to the word 'name'.

P: (No response)

T/12: Karani Gitau. Try.

P: (No response).

T/13: We call it 'Noun'. Now, what do we call these names of places and persons?

Ps: (No response).

T/14: What do we call them in another name?

Ps: (No response)

T/15: Njaramba. I gave you the name the other day. Pr-
(teacher prompts).

P: Proper Noun.

In this sample of data, classroom communication was brought to a standstill when the elicitation in T/11 was used by the teacher. The proposition expressed in this elicitation is not very clear, but it amounts to a request, as can be inferred from subsequent utterances, for a 'technical term' that is a label for the name of a person, place or thing. Two pupils failed to provide any response to the elicitation, and the one who finally provided this response, did so through the prompting of the teacher.

It appears to be the case in the sample being examined that pupils were deterred from communicating with the teacher because the elicitations which should have stimulated them into communicating, required an understanding of a specific English word class. Consequently, there was little that the pupils

could say in this circumstance, because what was expected from them was the recall of a particular term.

The sample of data from a Number Work class which follows, also illustrates the effect on classroom communication of employing specialist items of vocabulary in elicitations.

(ii)

T/4: Okay. Can you tell me the meaning of the word 'perimeter'?

PS: (No response).

T/5: Tell me the meaning of the word 'perimeter'.

PS: (No response).

T/6: How many have heard the word 'perimeter'?

PS: (No response).

T/7: Wangapi wamesha sikia hili neno linalo itwa 'perimeter'? [How many of you have heard of this word called (perimeter)?]

PS: (No response).

T/8: Hakuna mtu amesha sikia hili neno linalo itwa 'perimeter'? Hauja ona? [None of you has heard of this word called (perimeter)?] [You haven't even seen it?] Now .. eh .. I want one child to come and walk round the figure on the floor here.

This sample of data raises the question of how the terms which occur in Number Work lessons should be introduced to pupils, since at some stage or another, they have to acquire them. In fact, much of the content of mathematics as a subject of study involves descriptive terminology. In the sample which is under consideration, the propositions expressed in the teacher's elicitations suggest that the acquisition of the

conceptual meaning of the word 'perimeter' by pupils, was almost seen as an end in itself. This stance reduced the class to silence, and not even the code-switch in T/7 succeeded in re-establishing the communication between the teacher and the class. Terminology need not be a hindrance to classroom communication, provided it is handled properly by a teacher, as was the case in the following samples of data.

(iii)

T/13: Good. One remains. This one, we call it the remainder. It is what remains when we divide ten by three. One is the remainder. One is the ?

PS: Remainder.

(iv)

T/1 : ... You had work to do in the morning of addition with carrying. Addition with carrying. Addition with?

PS: Carrying.

The term 'remainder' in sample (iii), and the term 'carrying' in sample (iv) occur regularly as part of the meta-language of the teaching and learning of Number Work at elementary school level in Kenyan primary schools. The incorporation of these terms in the relevant elicitations in the samples being considered, was probably less threatening to pupils, since they were not being asked to define these terms. Instead, they were merely expected to complete utterances which the teacher had begun, which was a relatively simple task.

4.2 Effect of the response requirements of elicitations

This section is divided into five parts. The first part examines what is the effect on classroom communication of the insistence by some teachers that responses to certain elicitations had to be in the form of 'full sentences', while the remaining parts are devoted to an examination of the effect on teacher-class communication of elicitations which are either:

- (a) non-inference based,
- (b) closed,
- (c) context-dependent,
- or (d) simple to understand because of the presence in them of specific clues.

It was found in the study that an elicitation which had any of these characteristics was more likely to evoke a response than one which did not.

4.2.1 Effect of the requirement of 'full-sentence' responses

The data for this study indicate that there is a belief in some of the classrooms which were observed that successful classroom communication occurs only when the interactants employ 'full sentences'. This belief is inferable from samples of data in which there is an insistence by teachers that the responses from pupils should be in the form of 'full sentences'. The consequence of this stance was the imposition on pupils of a method of communication that is directly at variance with how participants communicate not only inside, but

also outside classrooms. Not surprisingly, therefore, as the following sample of data illustrates, some pupils found it difficult to communicate in 'full sentences'.

(i)

T/13: Okay. Now I shall put up things one by one and you tell me whether it is 'wood' or 'metal'. (The teacher then displays different articles, one at a time).

PS: Metal.

T/14: Put up your hand. Ng'ang'a.

P: Metal.

T/15: And I think let us use full sentences. Can you use a sentence? Is this one made of metal or wood? Then you answer in full sentence. Gathungu. Is this one made of metal or wood?

P: It is .. it.

T/16: It is made?

P: It is made ... made of wood.

The response from the class to the elicitation in T/14 in this sample of data would be regarded as adequate in non-classroom contexts. This response lacks redundancy, since the context of the situation in which it occurred provided the background information required by the participants in the communication which is represented by the sample of data under consideration, to accept it as a 'complete response'. However, the teacher's view was that the linguistic exponents of the response in question, had to be in the form of a 'full clause'. This view probably arose from the need for pupils to practise the English language patterns which they learn at school, but in the sample of data being considered, it had the effect of

contributing to the temporary abandonment of communication by a pupil.

In other samples of data, the insistence that pupil responses had to be in the form of 'full sentences' did not lead to the abandonment of communication by pupils. However, it limited the opportunities which were available to them for the spontaneous use of English, as the following sample of data indicates.

(ii)

T/20: Tell me how much he paid.

PS: Four hundred and thirty two shillings.

T/21: Yes .. er .. now, that we already know. In fact, this is what you did not know, and that is what we are supposed to know. What are we supposed to know?

P: (Inaudible)

T/22: Aha, what are we supposed to know? Ehe? You speak up.

P: One metre is -

T/23: Now. Say we are supposed to know the price of one metre. That is the question. What is the question, class?

PS: We are supposed to know the price of one metre.

The elicitation in T/21 in this sample of data, was directed at a pupil who was afraid of speaking in class. His response to the teacher's elicitation was consequently inaudible. A re-run of the elicitation in T/21 was then made by the teacher, in T/22 to make him repeat his response. This he began to do, reasonably well it seems, but he was then cut short by the teacher who was expecting the response,

'We are supposed to know the price of one metre'

The teacher's reaction in this sample of data illustrates how the preconception that correct, and therefore appropriate responses have to be in the form of 'full sentences' can stifle communication in class, and even lead to the loss of a speaking turn which had been given to a pupil. This is what happened in sample (ii), where the turn to speak which had been given to a particular pupil, is taken away from him and given to the whole class (See T/23). With this move, the opportunity which this pupil had, for making a contribution in English disappeared.

4.2.2 Effect of using non inference based elicitations

The following sample of data illustrates why non-inference based elicitations were found in this study to be more likely to evoke a response than inference based elicitations.

(i)

T/11: Kyalo, is there a mountain near our school?

P: No.

T/12: No.. There is no mountain here. You see this mountain - at the top, there are only trees because people cannot go there and start digging their shambas [plots of land]. Now, what about the hill?

PS: (No response)

T/13: Can we plant tomatoes, onions, mmh sukuma wiki [a variety of cabbage] on this hill?

PS: Yes.

In most forms of discourse, a referent in a given utterance does not always have to be made explicit in subsequent utterances, because the participants can, through inference, 'retrieve' it at a later stage in the discourse. The successful retrieval of a given referent requires that particular attention be paid by interactants to the co-text and context of utterances. Such attention was often lacking in the classrooms which were observed in this study, as can be deduced from sample (i).

In the sample, the explicitness of the elicitation,

'Now, what about the hill?'

in utterance T/12, is dependent on the discourse ties that it has with the other propositions which are present in the utterance. This suggests that the elicitation in T/12 was meant to be understood by the class as,

'People can't grow crops on top of this mountain, but can they do so on top of the hill?'

The class failed to interpret the teacher's elicitation in this way, and there followed a break-down in communication when the elicitation failed to stimulate a response. Communication was subsequently re-established when the teacher used the non-inference based elicitation in T/13. The response requirement of this elicitation was very simple, since what it expected as a response was the single word, 'Yes' which did not create a problem to the class.

The following sample of data also underscores the point

that in the present study, pupils could more readily respond to non-inference based elicitations as compared with inference based ones.

(ii)

T/10: A pencil is made of?

PS: Wood.

T/11: Very good. Okay. Now, what about 'writing'?

PS: (No response).

T/13: What are we going to do with 'writing'? Paul.

P: (No response).

T/13: Okay. A pencil is made of?

PS: Wood.

T/14: Come on. And how is it used? Yes.

P: It is used for writing.

The teacher's objective in the portion of a lesson which is represented by this sample of data was to encourage the class to use the three words, 'pencil', 'wood' and 'writing' in a conjoined sentence. Some practice had already been given in a previous lesson on how such sentences could be made. In the sample of data being considered, the teacher specifically wanted the class to give the response,

'A pencil is made of wood, and it is used for writing'.

With this objective in mind, the teacher used the elicitation in T/10 to direct pupil attention to part of the required response, and the elicitation in T/11 to evoke the remaining half of this response. The latter elicitation was

probably employed on the presupposition that the class would infer from the proposition in the response to the elicitation in T/10, that the response that was now expected was,

'And it is used for writing'.

The class failed to make this inference, however, and a temporary breakdown occurred in the communication. The teacher then used the elicitation in T/12 which is also inference based, to try and re-establish communication. This move failed to evoke any response from the class. Communication was finally re-established when a non-inference based elicitation was used in T/13. This elicitation merely expected a one word response, and was therefore, not demanding in its response requirement.

4.2.3 Effect of using open elicitations

In the following sample of data, classroom communication was re-established primarily because the elicitation which was used in T/6 is closed, and not open. Closed elicitations, as opposed to open elicitations, usually expect only single word responses like 'yes' or 'no', and provide little opportunity in classroom contexts for pupils to give elaborate responses. Principally because of this factor, pupils find it easier to respond to these elicitations than to open elicitations.

(i)

T/5: ... We can see some houses there. What sort of houses are those?

PS: (No response).

T/6: Are all those houses there covered with 'mabati'? [corrugated iron sheets].

PS: No.

The elicitation in T/5 in this sample of data is open ended, and expected more than a single word response. On the basis of this factor, this elicitation was demanding in its response requirements. In particular, a suitable response to this elicitation required a satisfactory command of the language resources which one would need to give a verbal description of the characteristics of specific houses. This condition did not apply to the response requirements of the elicitation in T/6 which merely expected a single word response, and was therefore, less of a problem to pupils.

In some samples of data, closed elicitations took the form of a presentation by the teacher of a set of possible answers from which pupils were asked to select the correct response.¹ Elicitations of this type were found to be unlikely contributors to communication breakdowns. The sample of data which is presented below highlights this point.

(ii)

T/29: .. Look at the queen. How is its body? How is the body of the queen.

PS: (No response).

T/30: What can you say about its body?

PS: (No response).

T/31: Is the queen termite .. ah .. fat or thin? Look at the picture. Yes.

P: It is fat.

The open ended elicitations in T/29 and T/30 in this sample of data were unsuccessful in stimulating a response from pupils. These elicitations expected responses which were descriptions of the body of the queen termite. Presumably, it was the teacher's expectation that in giving these responses, the class would be in a position to mention something about the colour and shape of the queen termite, since these are characteristics which a description of termites should contain. If this was the teacher's expectation, s/he probably expected too much from the class, because the skill of translating what can be perceived visually into words requires a satisfactory mastery of the language that is to be used for this task. This factor probably explains why the elicitations in T/29 and T/30 were met with silence, in contrast to the closed elicitation in T/31 which offered a set of possible answers.

4.2.4 Effect of using non-context-based elicitations

The data for this study indicate that pupils found it easier to understand context dependent elicitations which were based on specific physical, visual or aural elements or on a combination of all three elements, than to understand elicitations which were not context bound. The following sample of data highlights this point.

(i)

T/11: 'Next'. What is the meaning of 'next'?

PS: (No response).

T/12: Now, who is sitting next to you? Who is sitting next to you? Er ... you (nominates a pupil).

P: It is Gatei.

In this sample of data, the elicitation in T/11 was not presented to the class with reference to any physical or visual object. Probably because of this factor, the class encountered some difficulty in understanding it.

A possible response to this elicitation could have included as an example, an interpretation of the meaning of 'next', as an enumerative conjunct, which precedes the specification of a series of events. Alternatively, the response might have included the function of 'next' as an ordinal, or as an adverb of place or position. The possible responses which have been specified could not have been given by the pupils in this study, since these responses were beyond the level of their cognitive ability, yet the challenge which was facing them in the sample of data being considered required just such responses. The non-response to the elicitation in T/11 is consequently not surprising. It is significant that the elicitation in T/12, which re-established the communication between the teacher and the class, was presented in relation to a specific physical and visual entity.

The inability of the pupils in the study to respond to non-context based elicitations is also evident in the following

sample of data.

(ii)

T/11: What is a 'safe place' eh? What kind of a place is a 'safe place'?

PS: (No response).

T/12: Where is a 'safe place' in this class? Someone point to me a 'safe place' in this class.

PS: (No response).

In this sample of data, the elicitation,

'What kind of a place is a 'safe place'?"

in T/11, was difficult for the pupils who were expected to respond to it because of its response requirements. The reason for this conclusion is that while it is relatively easy to give a few examples of safe places, the same cannot be said of the task of outlining the parameters of a safe place, especially if account is taken of the fact that the pupils in the study had only a rudimentary mastery of English. The elicitation which the teacher used in T/12 was less daunting however, since it merely expected one of the pupils to point at a place, such as a lockable cupboard for instance, which could qualify as a safe place. Nevertheless, even this elicitation failed to evoke a response. A possible reason for this failure might have been due to the fact that the class did not know the conceptual meaning of the phrase 'safe place'. Consequently in this circumstance, the class had only the option of remaining silent when the elicitation in T/12 was used by the teacher. Other reasons for the silence from the class can be suggested, but

what is significant in the sample of data which is under consideration was the failure of the class to respond to non-context bound elicitations.

4.2.5 Effect of using clued elicitations

The work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) amply demonstrates the important contribution which is made by clues to classroom communication. The data for the present study indicate that pupils found it easier to respond to elicitations which had clues than to respond to elicitations which had none. In the sample of data which follows, there was a response to the elicitation in T/7 largely because the proposition it expresses contains a clue. This clue was instrumental in helping a pupil provide the response which was expected.

(i)

T/6 : ... Now, what was between the maize plants?

PS: (No response).

T:7: The things they were to pull off - what do we call them
- what do we call them - what is their name?

P: Weeds.

Similarly, in the following sample of data, the proposition which is expressed in the elicitation in T/9 gave the class a strong hint of the nature of the response that was demanded by this elicitation.

(ii)

T/8: I told you that a knife can be very dangerous if you do not use it properly. What other things can hurt us in the house?

PS : (No response)

T/9: There is something that we use when we are cooking, and this thing .. ah .. it can be very dangerous. Who can give me the name of this thing that we use for cooking?
Yes.

P: Fire.

4.3 Effect of role-play on classroom communication

Role play can be used as a means of practising a target language in a given classroom context. In the present study, there were occasions when role play was employed in Number Work classes to encourage pupils to be active participants in lessons. The following sample of data shows that at elementary school level in an ESL context, the communication demands which are associated with role play can create certain problems.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/16	Now, who will come and .. ah .. buy some things from our duka? Mwaniki is the shopkeeper, and now, we want somebody to come and buy some things from the shop. Haya. You come and .. eh .. buy things from the shop. Anza kuongea basi .. kwa kiingereza.	Shop Okay. start speaking then .. in English.
P	I .. I want to buy .. to buy	

T/17	There is sugar. There is rice. What do you want to buy?	
P	I want .. want to buy rice.	
T/18:	How many kilos of rice do you want to buy?	
P:	I want one kilo rice.	
T/19:	Say 'I want one kilo of rice'.	
P:	I want one kilo of rice.	
T/20:	Good. Now, tell the shop- keeper .. tell Mwaniki that you want another thing.	
P:	I want .. I want one kilo 'unga' maize flour	
T/21:	Mwenye duka pia aongee	The shopkeeper should also talk.
P:	What .. what	
T/22	Tuongee kwa kiswahili kama lugha inaleta taabu.	Let us use Kiswahili since English is creating problems for you.
P	Unataka .. unataka nini tena	What .. what else do you require?
P	Nataka kilo moja ya viazi	I want a kilogram of potatoes.

The communication which is represented in this sample of data ran into difficulties when a pupil was directed in T/16 to ask for certain commodities from the 'shopkeeper', through the medium of English. This he attempted to do, but was unable to complete his message. Through the assistance of the teacher, he finally managed to complete the message which he had abandoned.

In T/21, the teacher directed the pupil who was playing

the role of the shopkeeper, to contribute to the on going communication which up to this point had been conducted mainly in English. This pupil failed to make the required contribution, and the teacher consequently directed that the participants in the role play should switch to Kiswahili.

The communication problems in the sample being examined might have arisen because the pupils in the study lost confidence when it came to using English. Nevertheless, it is also possible that these problems were created by the fact that in any role play, the participants must be able to suspend reality, and take their roles seriously. This suspension of reality does not come easily to most people, and it was likely to be a stumbling block to the pupils in the study, since they were being asked to imagine they were in a particular situation, and follow the transactions which were taking place in that situation, in a target language which they had yet to acquire.

Some communication problems in the present study occurred when in the course of a given Number Work lesson, a pupil was asked to stand in front of a class, and explain in English how a given sum was to be solved. Activities of this type were intended to encourage pupils to be more communicative, but as the sample of data in the following section indicates, this goal remained largely illusive. In the sample in question, the teacher and a given pupil theoretically 'exchange' their roles. This occurrence is what is referred to, for the purposes of the present work, as a 'role-exchange'.

4.4 'Effect of role-exchange' on classroom communication

In the following sample of data, the pupil who was requested to explain to his classmates the individual steps which are involved in solving a given sum, encountered problems in having to use English to carry out this task. He consequently abandoned this task, but was able to continue on being told to use Kiswahili, and not English in his explanation.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance Code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/43	... Now, I want someone to come and work this sum for us - this sum eight divide by two. Muthoni, come and do it for us.	
P	Three .. three	
T/44	Ehe?	
P	Three.	
T/45	Tueleze kwa kiswahili vile tutaifanya.	Tell us how to solve it in Kiswahili.
P	Ile .. ile namba itakuja karibu eight?	That number which comes nearest to eight?
T/46	Ukifanya nini?	If you do what?
P	Ukidivide	When you (divide)
T/47	Hapana	No.
P	Ukimultiply.	When you (multiply).
T/48	Yes. Ukimultiply. Endelea.	When you (multiply)
P	Ukimultiply ni ngapi? Njoki.	When you multiply, what do you get?

P	Ni nne.	Is four.
T/49	Ni nne. Andika nne hapo juu. Kuna baki na kitu?	Is four. Write four at the top. Is there any remainder?
P	Hapana.	No.
T/50	Basi majibu ni nini?	So what is the answer?
P	Nne.	Four

Judging from what happens in this sample, it seems that some of the communication problems in the classrooms which were observed, occurred because pupils could not perform certain tasks through the medium of English. A notable feature in this sample is the presence in it of lexical items which qualify as borrowings. The items 'ukidivide' and 'ukimultiply' which might be interpreted as implying that Kiswahili has no terms which express the concepts of division and multiplication are significant in this respect.

Kiswahili has terms which express the concepts under consideration - namely the terms 'kugawanya' and 'kuzidisha' respectively. Their absence from sample (i) was probably due to the fact that in teaching Number Work, teachers want their pupils to acquire the meta-language of this subject in the language in which it occurs in relevant coursebooks. Since these coursebooks are in English, the meta-language of Number Work mainly belongs to English.

4.5 Effect of the activity of story-telling on classroom communication

Story telling was often used in the classrooms which were observed during the data collection phase of this study, as a means of getting pupils to practise English. This objective suggests there is a good reason for retaining story telling as a method of teaching English in Kenya's primary schools.

The ability to tell a story requires, however, a good command of the language that is to be used to carry out this task. A story teller should also be capable of holding his or her audience's attention through effective use of pause, intonation and gesture. These skills were not in the possession of the pupils who were observed in this study, yet a number of them were presented with the task of having to tell a story in English. Not surprisingly, this task proved to be a major problem for those who were selected to undertake it as the sample of data below illustrates.

(i)

P: I am going to tell you a story.

PS: Tell us.

P: Once upon a time, they lived a -

T/1: There lived.

P: They lived.

T/2: There lived.

P: There lived a cheetah and hare. One day, hare was -

T/3: The hare.

P: Hare was walking along the road, then saw -

T/4: Then he saw a cheetah. Then he told it. Then he told it. Then.

T/5: He saw a funny animal.

P: I saw -

T/6: He.

P: He saw a animal. He. He. The hare. And then they stayed and stayed. He asked him. What ... what. Then the hare told him that the one eye is in the head, and the one on back.

T/7: On the back.

P: On the back. And the leg is like silk of tree. That's why you see that ... that the cheetah, they remember that and then laugh. Thank you.

If the story which is narrated in this sample of data was meant to spur a particular pupil into practising English, this objective appears to have disappeared as soon as the narration of the story began. This is because the story teller was not allowed to proceed with his story without being interrupted, due to the teacher's frequent intervention to make certain grammatical corrections (See T/2 and T/3 for instance). The story teller also encountered difficulties in recalling certain events in his story, and after T/4, he temporarily abandoned his task. He was subsequently able to continue with his story after some assistance from the teacher. His problems were far from over however, and whatever he said after the teacher's intervention in T/6 was muddled.

The inability of this pupil to narrate his story to the class was due to factors which were beyond his control. At a fundamental level, he simply did not have the language

resources which would have enabled him to tell his story with any degree of accuracy in English. His plight highlights the fact that some of the communication problems which were identified in this study had their origin in certain tasks which pupils were asked to undertake.

4.6 Effect of using Kiswahili to set the scene for the oral practice of English language patterns

The teacher's objective in the portion of a lesson which is represented by the sample of data in this section, was to lead pupils to express habitual occurrences in English. These expressions were supposed to have the pattern'

subject + simple present + adverbial,

as, for instance, in the expression,

'He walks to work everyday.'

The scene for the oral practice of the pattern which has been specified was set in the sample when the teacher resorted to using Kiswahili. This happened when the teacher requested the class to provide some examples of the things they do habitually in Kiswahili. A cursory examination of the responses from the class to this request, suggests that these responses are expressions of habitual activities. This is far from being the case, however, as a detailed examination of the sample being considered which is presented below, reveals.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/1	Now, we are going to learn English. Niambie kitu moja unafanya kila siku.	Tell me one thing which you do everyday.
P1	Uoga kila siku.	*takes a bath everyday.
T/3	Eh?	
P1	Naoga kila siku macho	*I am washing my face everyday.
T/4	Naoga kila siku. Naoga kila siku .. Na wewe? Niambie kitu moja unafanya kila siku	*I am washing my face everyday .. I am washing my face everyday. And you? Tell me one thing which you do everyday.
P2	Nakula kila siku.	*I am eating every day
T/5	Nakula. Asante sana. Na wewe?	*I am eating. Thank you very much. And you?
P3	Ninaosha sufuria zetu kila siu.	*I am washing our pans everyday.
T/6	Busaidi alisema 'nina'. 'Nina' inatumika wakati ule kitu kina fanyika. Ungesema 'na', na usiseme 'nina'. Sasa, kwa kiingereza, nipeni vitu ambavyo ninyi mnaafanya kila siku.	Busaidi used 'nina'. Nina is used only if an activity takes place at the moment of speaking. He should have used 'na'. Don't use 'nina'. Now in English, tell me the things which you do everyday.
P4	I sit .. I am sitting everyday.	
T/7	I sit?	
P4	I sit everyday.	

T/8 I sit everyday, yes.
P5 I playing -
T/9 No, say I play.
P5 I play everyday.

A noteworthy feature in this sample of data is that the responses in Kiswahili have verb forms that express activities which are still in progress, and not habitual activities. Despite this factor, the teacher accepted them as correct. This acceptance defeated the whole purpose of the teacher's use of Kiswahili to set the scene for the practice of a specific English language pattern. It also suggests that the sample being considered indicates how pupils can be misinformed, when a teacher is not sure of what he is trying to communicate to his pupils. The reason for this conclusion is as follows.

In Kiswahili, habitual activities are normally expressed through the use of a self-standing pronoun, followed by the particle, 'hu'. This particle is then prefixed to a verb, with the words 'kila siku' [everyday] or 'kila wiki' [everyweek] either preceding, or following the hu + verb elements. It follows from this that the correct response from P1 should have been,

'Mimi huoga kila siku'
[I take a bath everyday]

or

'Kila siku mimi huoga'
[Everyday, I take a bath]

The teacher's acceptance of the response from P1, as well as those from P2 and P3 was thus surprising. This acceptance was probably responsible for the grammatically incorrect responses,

'*I am sitting everyday'

and

*'I playing (everyday),

from P4 and P5 respectively, since in giving these responses, they had translated into English what the teacher had been accepting as correct in Kiswahili.

One must conclude from this development that what we have in sample (i) are examples of unsuccessful communication, because what was being communicated in the sample is at variance not only with the teacher's objective in the lesson portion which this sample represents, but also with what is known about the grammatical rules of Kiswahili.

4.7 Effect of using Kiswahili to stimulate the oral practice of English

It was found in this study that some teachers made use of stretches of language from Kiswahili to stimulate pupils into producing utterances which were in English. This type of exercise often occupied only a small proportion of a given lesson - usually the beginning - and essentially entailed asking a class to translate into English, expressions which had initially been presented in Kiswahili. A variant of this

type of exercise had an element of role play during which a teacher and a selected pupil engaged in some form of discourse in which both English and Kiswahili were used.

Since most of the pupils in the present study rarely had the opportunity to use English outside the school context, the practice of directing pupils to translate Kiswahili expressions into English is worthy of some sympathetic consideration. The following sample of data illustrates however, that over-reliance on translation as a means of encouraging pupils to use English, can in fact be a hindrance to communication.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/25	Sasa, ukitaka kusema kwa kiingereza 'ninakaa chini, utasemajee?	Now if you want to say in English 'I'm sitting down', what would you say?
P1	I am sitting down.	
T/26	I am sitting down. Ndio. Ukitaka kusema, 'siketi chini', kwa kiingereza, utasemajee? Esther.	Yes. If you want to say in English, 'I'm not sitting down', what would you say?
P2	I have .. I have .. sitting down.	
T/27	Say, 'I am not sitting down'.	
P2	I am not sitting down.	

In this sample of data, the failure to pay particular

attention to the proposition which is contained in the teacher's elicitation in T/26, might have been the cause of the grammatically incorrect response,

*'I have sitting down',

from P2. This response is a literal translation of the Kiswahili expression,

'Ni - na - kaa chini'
[I am sitting down]

In this expression, 'Ni' is the first person singular pronoun, 'na' is the present tense marker, while '-kaa' is a verb stem.

The problem for P2 was that the elements 'Ni + na' are representations also of the expression 'I have', in Kiswahili, depending on the linguistic nature of the words which co-occur with them. Thus, as an example, the translation of the expression,

'I have a book',

in Kiswahili, is,

'Ni - na kitabu'.

In this translation, the particle -na- performs the function of an auxiliary verb, although Kiswahili does not have auxiliary verbs as such in its grammatical system. What P2 apparently did in his response to the teacher's elicitation, was to confuse the different grammatical functions that 'na' performs

in the Kiswahili language. His response does not however, exemplify a case of an overt communication breakdown, but it suggests that there was some misunderstanding between him and the teacher which certainly interfered with their communication.

Many learners use literal translation in classroom contexts as a learning strategy, and in the course of such translation, mistakes occur. Consequently, the response from P2 is not particularly disturbing. What should cause some concern however, is the fact that in the sample of data being considered, the teacher deliberately created a situation which required the use of literal translation as some kind of teaching-learning method.

The principal shortcoming of this practice is that the linguistic differences between English and Kiswahili imposed undue stress on pupils, especially when they were faced with the task of engaging in unnecessary translation work. It was found that tasks of this nature could even result in overt communication breakdowns because of the inability of pupils to translate particular utterances, spontaneously. The following sample of data illustrates this point.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/85	Now, I want to know English. I am an African. Now, you, you know English, and I would like you now to pretend that now you	

are talking to the people. I'll speak in Kiswahili, and you translate into English. Who can come here and speak to these people? Yes. Teresia .. Jina My name is Mr. Mbichi. langu ni mista Mbichi.

P My name is Mr. Mbichi.

T/86 Nimetoka nchi ya Amerika. I've come from America.

P I come .. I come

T/87 I have come from.

P I have come from America.

T/88 To come and speak to you - aah. And wanted to tell you
Nikataka kuongea maneno a few things.
machache kwenu.

P I .. I would like to speak few ..
few.

T/89 To say a few things to you.

P To say a few things to you.

The demands of having to translate on going discourse from one language to another, were possibly responsible for the breakdowns in communication that occurred in this sample of data. Consequently, the teacher's utterance in T/86 failed to be translated, and further problems arose in connection with the translation of the utterance in T/88.

The conclusion can be drawn in the light of what occurred in sample (ii), that there is some cause for concern about the justification for using Kiswahili as a means of stimulating pupils into practising English.

4.8 Conclusions

The data appearing in this chapter are illustrative of aspects which were identified in the study as the causes of the problems in teacher-class communication.

In this connection, it was illustrated in the chapter that the response requirements of elicitations which had been presented in English affected the ability of pupils to provide the expected responses to these elicitations. The elicitations which created special problems for pupils were those which were either inference based, open, non-context dependent or non-clued.

It also emerged in this chapter that pupils found it difficult to participate through the medium of English in the activities of role-play, 'role-exchange' and story-telling.

The data samples in the chapter revealed furthermore that it is teachers who were responsible for some of the communication problems with which pupils had to contend. As an example, the incorporation of certain 'specialist' items of vocabulary in elicitations silenced pupils instead of encouraging them to give responses. In other cases, the insistence by teachers that 'full sentences' should be used by pupils when responding made some of the pupils abandon what they had intended to say.

This chapter finally revealed that some aspects of code-switching were detrimental to the process of classroom communication. One such aspect was the technique of using Kiswahili to stimulate the oral practice of English.

NOTE:

- 1 Closed elicitations are comparable to French and MacLure's Type 4 reformulators (see French and MacLure, 1979:18) or Mehan's choice elicitations (see Mehan, 1979:44).

CHAPTER 5

CONTRIBUTION OF MODIFIED, PREPARATORY AND REPLACEMENT ELICITATIONS TOWARDS THE MAINTENANCE OF CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION

The contents of the preceding chapter indicate that the communication between teachers and pupils in the present study was not problem free. A principal resource at the disposal of teachers for overcoming some of the communication problems in class was their use of different elicitation types to coax pupils into giving appropriate responses and thus bring to a successful conclusion given lesson segments. The elicitation types which were found to be significant in this respect were modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations (see section 3.5). These elicitation types made a significant contribution towards the maintenance of classroom communication, as will become clear in due course. This statement should not be taken to mean however, that in classroom contexts communication is maintained only through the use of the elicitation types under consideration.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) point out for instance, that when there is no response to a teacher's elicitation in a given classroom, the teacher can obtain the expected response by giving a clue, or by using the same elicitation. Alternatively, the teacher can obtain the expected response by nominating or prompting a pupil to give the expected response. The data which were selected for examination in the present study indicate furthermore that teachers can also re-establish pupil participation in communication following a non-response

to an elicitation by responding to their own elicitations. The following selection of data samples illustrate these alternative strategies of maintaining pupil participation in classroom communication.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/32	The body of the scorpion has... mmh... is divided into parts. What do you call those parts, eh?	K-C
PS	(No response)	
T/33	If you look at the scorpion, it is divided into parts like that. (Makes sub-divisions on the board) What do you call those parts? Girls.	(Repeated) K-C
PS	(No response)	
T/34	You have the name in the notes. It begins with 's', then 'e'. Yes.	
P	Segment	
T/35	Segment. Clap hands for Mabunde. (Pupils obey directive)	

In this data sample, the key elicitation in T/32 failed to evoke any response from the class even after it was repeated in T/33. There was subsequently a response to this elicitation however, after the teacher's provision of a clue in T/34. The response indicates that clues provided by teachers can be instrumental in re-establishing pupil participation in communication.

The teacher's repetition of the same elicitation in

classroom contexts can also perform a comparable role. This is discernible from the following data sample.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance/code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/13	Eight legs...boys...girls..it has eight...aah.. no. it has eight legs so there, you've got ten marks. Ten marks. Now, how many eyes has a scorpion? Boys	K-C
P	A scorpion....a scorpion has...	
T/14	Has?	E-C
P	A scorpion has ten... has ten legs	
T/15	I did not ask legs. I asked eyes. One more chance. How many eyes has a scorpion?	(Repeated K-C
P	A scorpion has two eyes.	
T/16	Two eyes. Now, what does a scorpion eat?	K-C

Following the teacher's use of the key elicitation in T/13 in this data sample, there was an incomplete response from a pupil. The teacher then employed the evaluative elicitation in T/14 to evoke a complete response but the response it evoked was not accepted by the teacher. This is because the teacher had asked about the number of eyes - not legs - which a scorpion has. It is correct to conclude therefore that there was a breakdown in communication between the teacher and a pupil in the data sample being examined. The repetition of the

elicitation, K-C in utterance T/15 was successful, however, in re-establishing a particular pupil's participation in communication.

Nomination and prompting by the teacher, as the following data sample indicates, can also be used in the maintenance of pupil participation in communication.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/10	Sound is produced by what? These familiar sounds you hear, they are produced by what?	NK-C K-C
PS	(No response)	
T/11	Njeri	
P	vibration	
T/12	What?	E-1
	The whole group say 'vibration'	K-1
PS	vibration	
T/13	That is something moving. Something -----	
PS	Moving.	
T/14	All sounds are connected to what?	NK-C
	All sounds are connected to what? Yes.	K-C
P	Vibration	
T/15	Vibration of?	K-C
P	(No response)	
T/16	Vibration of? Class	(Repeated) K-C

PS (No response)

T/17 Of mov---

PS Movement.

It is significant in this data sample that the key elicitation in T/10 evoked a response only after the teacher's nomination of the pupil, Njeri, to respond to the elicitation. The nomination of the whole class to respond to the key elicitation in T/15 was unsuccessful, however, in evoking a response. The teacher consequently used a prompt in T/17 to evoke the expected response.

The data sample which is presented next demonstrates that an alternative way of maintaining pupil participation in classroom communication is to have the teacher respond to his or her own elicitation.

Speaker utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
<hr/>		
T/33	Wamathwe. This is 3 times 3, not 3 plus 3. How are you getting 6 here?	K-C
P	(No response)	
T/34	What is 13 times 3?	Rep-C
P	(No response)	
T/35	This is not 6. 3 times 3 is not 6. 3 times 3 is 9. 3 times 3 is what?	E-C
P	9.	

The key elicitation in T/33 in this data sample stimulated no response from a pupil and neither did the

replacement elicitation in T/34. The teacher subsequently supplied a response in T/35 to her initial elicitation, K-C, which is in utterance T/33. She then used this response in the context of the evaluative elicitation in T/35 to evoke a response and thus establish pupil participation in communication.

The present study examined the number of lesson segments in the data which were accomplished due to teachers' use of each of the illustrated alternative ways of maintaining pupil participation in classroom communication. The results of this examination, with reference to the three subject areas in the study are summed up in table 6.1.

Strategy employed to accomplish segment with elicitation-no response sequence	Subject and number of elicitation-non-response sequences in the data		
	English (227)	Science (173)	Number-Work (342)
Use of clue	15	21	33
Repetition of same elicitation	6	9	7
Use of nomination	43	25	45
Use of prompting	17	11	6
Use of own response	11	6	29
Use of other strategies	135	101	222

Table 6.1 Distribution of alternative strategies of maintaining pupil participation in lesson segments containing elicitation-non response sequences.

It is evident in this table that there is some variation in the extent to which certain strategies were employed to help bring about the accomplishment of lesson segments containing elicitation-non response sequences in English, Science and Number-Work lessons. As an example, in English lessons only 6.61 percent of the lesson segments containing elicitation-non response sequences were accomplished through the use of clues. By way of comparison, 12.14 percent and 9.65 percent of the lesson segments containing elicitation-non response sequences in Science and Number-Work lessons respectively, were accomplished through the use of clues. The percentages relating to the use of the remaining strategies to accomplish lesson segments in English, Science and Number-Work lessons are tabulated below.

Strategy Type	Subject and percentage of successful use of strategy type in lesson segments.		
	English	Science	Number-Work
Use of same elicitation	2.64	5.20	2.05
Use of nomination	18.94	14.45	13.16
Use of prompting	7.49	6.36	1.75
Use of own response	4.85	3.47	8.48
Use of other strategies	59.47	58.38	64.9

Table 6.2 Percentages relating to the use of different strategies to accomplish lesson segments.

From table 6.2, it is noticeable that the use of

nomination played a greater role in the accomplishment of lesson segments than the use of the same elicitation. Nevertheless, what is most striking in the table being considered is the fact that well over 58 percent of the lesson segments which could be identified in the present study were accomplished by using 'other strategies'. These strategies concern firstly the incorporation of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in lesson segments and secondly the recourse to code-switching in lesson segments.

An examination of the contents of the rest of this chapter and those of the next chapter give the impression that modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations and the feature of code-switching were consistently mutually exclusive occurrences in the classrooms which were observed. This is far from being the case however, because there are data samples in which modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations exhibit features of code-switching. Data samples reveal furthermore that code-switching was also operative in the context of the alternative strategies which were earlier specified as alternative resources for the accomplishment of lesson segments.

The figures in tables 6.1 and 6.2 do not therefore relate to strategies which were identified in data samples following a rigid separation of samples which were in English from those which were in Kiswahili. The conclusion to be drawn from this statement is that there is definitely a notable degree of idealisation not only in the present chapter but also

in the next one with regard to the selection of the data which appear in these chapters. The importance of idealisation in studies of classroom interaction is part of the subject matter of chapter 7. For this reason, no further discussion of this issue is necessary at this stage. What might be required on the other hand, is a brief outline of the contents of the rest of this chapter.

In this respect, the point to note is that the rest of the chapter is divided into four sections. The first section has a selection of four data samples from transcripts of English lessons which exemplify, within the parameters of lesson segments, the part played by modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in the maintenance of classroom communication. The second and third sections contain selections of data samples from transcripts of Number-Work and Science lessons respectively. These data samples also illustrate within the parameters of lesson segments the contribution made by modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in teacher-class communication. Altogether, there are four data samples in section two and three data samples in section three.

The three sections which have been specified demonstrate on the whole that the occurrence of the elicitation types being considered transcended subject boundaries in the classrooms which were observed during the study. The fourth section in the present chapter is reserved for some concluding comments.

5.1 Contribution of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in English lessons

In the sample below the teacher employed different types of elicitation to encourage class participation in the communication which is represented by the sample.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation
T/7	Here is a picture of a village.. er .. a village. Look at the houses. (The picture shows some huts with livestock in the back- ground). This is a village. (Points at the picture). Is Kangemi school in a town, or is it in a village? Njoki.	K-C
P	In a town.	
T/8	Yes. Our school is in a town. It is not in a village. Now, who has been to a village? Who can tell us the things one can see in a village?	NK - C K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/9	A village ... a village ... what can we see in a village? Look at this picture. (Holds up the picture). Tell me what you can see in this picture.	NM - C Rep-C
PS	(No response)	
T/10	When you are in a village, do you see stone houses like these houses here at Kangemi? Are there stone houses in the village?	Rep - C
PS	Yes. No. Yes.	
T/11	What type of houses do we find in the village?	K-C
PS	(Inaudible mixture of responses)	

T/12 Someone come and draw for us a village house. Obunga, come and draw for us a village house. (Obunga draws a hut on the blackboard. The teacher then draws a mud-walled, tin-roofed house). These are the types of houses you can find in the village. Are the houses very close to each other in the village? Rep - C

PS (No response)

T/13 Are .. er .. the village houses very many .. like the houses we can see here at Kangemi? Rep - C

PS No

T/14 No ... village houses are not many .. but in the town, the houses are very many.

Replacement elicitations are significant in this sample of data since they helped the teacher accomplish specific lesson segments. The first replacement elicitation was used after the key elicitation,

'Who can tell us the things one can see in a village?'

failed to elicit a response , and was subsequently replaced by the elicitation,

'Tell me what you can see in this picture',

in T/9. Both of these elicitations are open ended, although the key elicitation in T/8 is probably more demanding in its response requirements. This is because it expects as a response an account of a variety of things which one would find in Kenyan villages (houses, animals, plants etc.). The presentation of this account proved to be too difficult for

the class not only because some of them, being city residents, were unaware of what a given village contains in terms of its physical and material assets, but also because virtually none of them could perform this task in English. However, by using the replacement elicitation in T/9 the teacher gives the class an opportunity to contribute towards the accomplishment of the lesson segment which was started by the key elicitation in T/8 since the response requirements of this replacement elicitation called for a description of a specific object, namely the picture which the teacher was holding. The replacement elicitation in T/9 failed to evoke a response however, which is surprising since what it expected as a response entailed no more than the utterance of the single word, 'houses'.

Nevertheless, the subsequent replacement elicitation in T/10 was successful in re-establishing the communication between the teacher and the class. The next elicitation in sample (i) is the open ended key elicitation,

'What type of houses do we find in the village?'

in T/11. This key elicitation represented the onset of a new lesson segment, but it was probably too difficult for the class since its use by the teacher presupposed that pupils were able to give, through the medium of English, a description of the different types of houses in Kenya's villages. Presumably, the type of houses which the teacher had in mind were mud-walled, grass-thatched huts, but Kenyan villages also contain tin-roofed houses. There are also in some villages better quality houses with running water and electricity. It is unlikely that

the pupils in the present study, with their limited command of English, could have pointed out in their response to the key elicitation in T/11, the differences in the types of houses which are found in Kenyan villages.

The key elicitation in T/11 evoked no more than an inaudible mixture of responses from the class. The teacher then sacrificed the lesson segment begun by this elicitation, and launched an alternative segment when she used the replacement elicitation,

'Are the houses very close to each other in the village?'

in T/12. This replacement elicitation evoked no response from the class but the teacher's subsequent use of another replacement elicitation in T/13 was successful in re-establishing pupil participation in communication.

Sample (i) raises certain questions about the characteristics of the elicitations which were used by teachers during this study. For instance, how open, should 'open' elicitations be? What role should realia and visual objects play in the context of teacher elicitations? What should be the nature of elicitations which relate to entities or concepts which are unfamiliar to pupils? These are questions which ought to be given greater consideration by teachers.

In the sample of data which follows, the accomplishment of the lesson segment which began when the teacher employed the key elicitation in T/5 was achieved principally by means of the preparatory elicitation in T/7.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/4	Last month, I travelled to Kisumu. I went there to visit my mother. She was sick. Er .. Kisumu is far away. How many of you have visited eh Kisumu?	K - C
PS	(Three pupils raise their hands)	
T/5	Good. When I went to Kisumu, I travelled there by bus. But you can also go to Kisumu by other means. What other means can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?	K - C
PS	(Murmurs and inaudible responses)	
T/6	Kisumu is far away. You can't go there on foot, so you can go there by bus. But you can also go there by something else. You can go there by what else?	M - C
PS	(No response)	
T/7	Can you go to Kisumu by boat - by a boat with a sail like that one in the picture we saw this morning?	Pr - C
PS	No.	
T/8	So what can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?	(R) M - C
P1	Lorry.	
P2	Car.	

In this sample, the key elicitation,

'What other means can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?'

in T/5 evoked an inaudible mixture of responses. This

elicitation anticipated responses which exemplify other ways of travelling to Kisumu. The teacher subsequently tried to re-establish pupil participation in the communication which is represented by Sample (ii), by using the modified elicitation in T/6. This elicitation failed to stimulate a response from the class. A preparatory elicitation was then used in T/7 in the hope that it would evoke a response from the class which it did. The use of this preparatory elicitation prepared the class for the re-introduction of the proposition which is expressed in the modified elicitation in T/6. The actual re-introduction in teacher-class communication of the proposition in question occurred when the teacher employed the re-run modified elicitation,

'So what can you use if you want to go to Kisumu?'

in T/8. The lexical elements in this elicitation show that it is a reformulated version of the modified elicitation in T/6. Consequently, its use in Sample (ii) did not represent the onset of a new lesson segment, but instead the penultimate stage of a segment which was about to be concluded.

In the next data sample, a replacement elicitation and a modified elicitation ensured that two of the lesson segments in the sample were successfully accomplished.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/12	Those girls in our picture .. those girls with baskets on their backs, what work .. eh .. do they do in the tea estate?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/13	Their work, what is their work - kazi yao? [their work]	M - C
PS	(No response)	
T/14	What is the name of the things ... the things in the baskets those girls are carrying? Njeri.	Rep - C
P	Tea .. tea.	
T/15	They are called tea-leaves. Very good. Now, what is the name of the people who pick the tea-leaves? Yes.	K - C
P	Pick .. pickers.	
T/16	Clap hands for her. They are called tea pickers. How do they pick the tea leaves?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/17	Do they pick the tea leaves from the ground - like if I throw this chalk .. ah .. on the ground, hala fu nikuambie uiokote [then I ask you to pick it up] is that the way tea leaves are picked?	M - C
PS	No.	

The key elicitation in T/12 in this data sample appeared to be so explicit that pupils should not have failed to respond to it. This explicitness was made possible by the two noun phrases which precede the interrogative clause component of the elicitation, since they draw pupil's attention

to a specific part of the picture which the teacher was using as a teaching aid. There was no response to the key elicitation however, and the teacher reacted by eliciting through the modified elicitation,

'Their work, what is their work - kazi yao [their work]?

in T/13. This modified elicitation failed to evoke a response from the class.

The non-response by the class to the key elicitation in T/12 and the modified elicitation in T/13 might simply have been due to the fact that pupils did not know what to say in response to the elicitations. The teacher managed to re-establish communication with the class however, by using the replacement elicitation,

'What is the name of the things .. the things in the baskets those girls are carrying?'

in T/14. The proposition which is expressed in this elicitation was totally different from that which was expressed in the teacher's earlier elicitations.

The question might be asked at this juncture whether the use of replacement elicitations encouraged pupils to avoid giving responses to some key and modified elicitations. No firm answers to this question can be given on the basis of the evidence of pupils' reaction to the elicitations in the data sample under consideration. However, the following point can be made; if pupils are aware that all they have to do when they are uncertain of what to say in response to certain

elicitations is keep quiet, they lose by their silence excellent opportunities for practising the target language.

It is also noticeable in Sample (iii) that the teacher did not nominate any specific pupil to respond either to the key elicitation in T/12, or the modified elicitation in T/13. Instead, she left it to the class to volunteer responses. It is possible that if the teacher had nominated specific pupils to respond to her elicitation in T/12 and T/13, these pupils would have given the expected responses to the two elicitations. This suggestion also applies to the key elicitation in T/16 which was unsuccessful in stimulating a response from the class. The teacher re-established communication in this case by using the modified elicitation in T/17 which only expected a single word response. This modified elicitation was consequently easier in its response requirements than the key elicitation,

'How do they pick the tea leaves?'

in T/16 which is open ended, and demanded as a response a description of the activity of tea-picking.

In some data samples, teacher elicitations took the form of 'test questions', and expected pupils to recall certain factual information. The elicitations in the following data sample are a case in point.

(iv)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/8	When Paul and Jane went to visit their grandmother, what did she do for them? Yes.	K - C
P	She give .. she give them supper.	
T/9	She gave them a big supper. Clap hands for Mutungi. (pupils do as directed). When you visit your grandmother .. eh .. do you also get a big supper?	K - C
PS	Yes.	
T/10	Aya [okay]. After the big supper Paul and Jane were told something by their grandmother. Eh .. what was the thing that she told them? Okaka.	K - C
P	(No response).	
T/11	They were told something about some animals. What were they told? Kanyottu.	M - C
P	They were told .. of .. of monkey and crocodile.	
T/12	Good. They were told a story of how a clever monkey tricked a crocodile. Eh, how was this monkey tricked by the crocodile? Muthee.	K - C
P	The crocodile want to eat monkey.	
T/13	Okay, now, how did the crocodile and the monkey meet? Njoroge.	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/14	The crocodile and the monkey, how did they meet?	M - C

P	(No response)	
T/15	Does the monkey live in the water?	Pr - C
P	No.	
T/16	And the crocodile, does it live in the water?	NPr - C
P	Yes.	
T/17	So the monkey and the crocodile how did they meet?	(R)M - C
P	The crocodile feel hungry.	
T/18	Yes, the crocodile was hungry, and when he saw the monkey on a tree, he said 'give me food, give me food'. Then they .. they became friends.	

The elicitations in this data sample were intended to assess if pupils had understood a specific passage after reading it. The sample itself is significant in demonstrating that when the grammatical errors in utterances from pupils are overlooked by the teacher, classroom interaction can proceed without being unduly interrupted. As an example, the response to the key elicitation in T/8 has a grammatical error but the teacher did not say anything about the error. She reacted in a similar manner to the response which was given to the modified elicitation in T/11, the key elicitation in T/12, and the re-run modified elicitation in T/17. This reaction suggests that in ESL situations, it is sometimes necessary to encourage pupils to use the target language by ignoring the grammatical mistakes in their utterances.

The elicitation types which were used to try and re-establish pupil participation in the communication which

occurred in Sample (iv) are modified elicitations and a preparatory elicitation. The first modified elicitation was used when the key elicitation,

'What was the thing that she told them?'

in T/10 failed to evoke a response. This failure led to the teacher's use of a modified elicitation in T/11. A notable feature about the use of this modified elicitation is that it was preceded by a 'preformulator' which served as a clue and created the appropriate conditions for the modified elicitation to evoke the expected response. The pupil to whom the modified elicitation was directed failed to respond to the elicitation however, and the teacher then nominated a different pupil to give this response. This pupil provided the expected response. The conclusion can consequently be drawn that it is the shift of a speaking turn from one pupil to another which was responsible for the successful accomplishment of the lesson segment which ended when there was a response to the modified elicitation in T/11.

It is also noticeable in Sample (iv) that when the key elicitation,

'... how did the crocodile and the monkey meet?'

in T/13 failed to stimulate a response from the class, the teacher tried to re-establish pupil participation in interaction by using the modified elicitation,

'The crocodile and the monkey, how did they meet?'

in T/14. This modified elicitation failed to evoke a response from a pupil. Both the key elicitation in T/13 and the modified elicitation in T/14 are open ended, but the preparatory elicitation which the teacher subsequently employed in T/15 to re-establish communication is a closed elicitation which expected a single word response. After using the neutral preparatory elicitation in T/16, the teacher re-introduced in T/17, the proposition which is contained in the modified elicitation in T/14.

In the following section, the role of modified preparatory and replacement elicitations in data samples from transcripts of Number-Work lessons is examined.

5.2 Contribution of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in number-work lessons

(i)

Speaker utterance/code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/15 How many 50 cents' pieces are there in 3 shillings? There is no need to use those sticks. Hiyo ni kuharibu wakati bure tu. [That's a waste of time] Yes.	K - C
P	(No response).	
T/16	How many 50 cents coins make 3 shillings?	M - C
P	(No response).	
T/17	1 shilling has .. eh .. how many 50 cents coins like this one?	Pr - C
P	2.	

T/18 Now, 2 shillings has how many
50 cents coins and do we divide
or multiply? NPr - C

P Multiply.

T/19 Yes. We multiply what? NPr - C

P 2 ... 2 times 2.

T/20 2 times 2, yes and what is the
answer? NPr - C

P 4.

T/21 The answer is 4. And therefore,
how many 50 cents coins do we
have in 3 shillings? (R)M - C

PS 6.

T/22 6. Good. Now listen to this problem.
The bus fare from my home to town
is 1 shilling, and from the town
to school, it is 80 cents. Now,
eh .. what is my fare from my
home to school? K - C

PS (No response).

T/23 What is the total .. ah .. of my
fare from my home to school?
This problem is one where you
have to add. M - C

PS (No response)

T/24 From my home to school, I pay
1 shilling to the conductor.
Now, from town to school, I
pay 80 cents. How much money
altogether do I pay eh from my
home to school? Yes. M1 - C

P 1 shilling .. and .. and 80.

T/25 Yes. It is 1 shilling and 80 cents.
Good. You add 1 shilling and 80
cents and you get one eighty. You
add.

In this sample, the modified elicitation,

'How many 50 cents coins make 3 shillings?'

was used by the teacher to try and evoke a response from a pupil in T/16, following the pupil's failure to respond to a prior key elicitation. Whereas the key elicitation in question consists grammatically of a Q-element + Verb Phrase + Noun Phrase + Adverbial Structure, the modified elicitation in T/16 has a Q-element + Verb Phrase + Noun Phrase structure. This, in itself is not significant. What is of some significance was the teacher's non-use in the modified elicitation of the word, 'pieces'. This word was replaced, in the modified elicitation by the word 'coins', but this factor does not necessarily mean that the modified elicitation was easier for pupils to understand than the key elicitation. The reason for this conclusion is that the non-responses to the elicitations in the sample being examined were only partially due to language factors, since the level of pupils' competence in Number Work also came into play. It is probably because of this that the preparatory elicitation which was used by the teacher in T/17 to re-establish communication with a pupil is less demanding than either the key elicitation or the modified elicitation which precede it.

The re-introduction of the proposition which is expressed in the key elicitation in T/15 and the modified elicitation in T/16 occurred in T/21 where the re-run modified elicitation,

'And therefore how many 50 cents coins do we have in 3 shillings?'

was employed by the teacher. The teacher's use of this elicitation indicated that the lesson segment which was set off by the key elicitation in T/15 was about to be concluded. This segment ended when the re-run modified elicitation in T/21 stimulated the expected response from the class. The neutral preparatory elicitations in T/18, T/19 and T/20 contributed towards the accomplishment of the lesson segment being considered.

In T/22, the class failed to provide an instant response to the key elicitation,

'What is my fare from my home to school?'

which represented the onset of a new lesson segment. The first modification of this elicitation occurred in T/23 where the teacher used an elicitation which has a post-modified Noun Phrase head. This post-modification was achieved through the use of the phrase 'of my fare', but it did not make the modified elicitation in T/23 more explicit than the key elicitation in T/22 from which it was derived. It seems more likely that the non-response by the class to the key elicitation in T/22 was due to the short period of time which the class was given to provide a response. This conclusion is inferable from the fact that when the proposition which is expressed in this elicitation was incorporated in the modified elicitation M1 - C in T/24, a pupil encountered no difficulty in giving the required response. Nevertheless, it is

noticeable in the sample that instead of simply repeating word for word the key elicitation in T/21 in subsequent elicitations, following the failure of a pupil to respond to it, the teacher employed different reformulations of the key elicitation, first in T/23 and then in T/24.

A replacement, a preparatory and a modified elicitation played a vital role in the accomplishment of the lesson segments in the following sample of data.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/3	We are going to subtract with borrowing. Now eh .. in this sum 27 take away 8, we cannot subtract 8 from 7, why?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/4	8 cannot be taken away from 7 because of what?	M - C
PS	(No response)	
T/5	Can you take away 8 from 7?	Rep - C
PS	No.	
T/6	No, you cannot. Hii eight ni kubwa sana kwa hivyo lazima ufanye nini? [This eight is too big therefore what must we do?]	K - C
P	Uborrow [You borrow].	
T/7	Yes, you borrow. You borrow from which number?	K - C
P	2.	
T/8	Good. You borrow from 2. We cannot take away 8 from 7 therefore we borrow. We borrow one from here.	

	This one ten that we borrow, how many ones are there in it? Muthee.	K - C
P	(No response).	
T/9	Now, you have a bundle of sticks like this one on the desk. Like that bundle you have has got how many sticks?	Pr - C
P	(Counts) Ten.	
T/10	That bundle of sticks it has one tens therefore the one that we borrow from here, it has how many tens?	(R)K - C
P	Ten .. ten.	
T/11	Good. It has got ten ones. Okay. we borrow one ten from here. Now, what remains in the tens' column? Wanjira.	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/12	We had 2 tens here, and took away on ten, so what remained?	M - C
P	(No response)	
T/13	What is 2 tens take away 1 ten?	M1 - C
P	1	

The key elicitation in T/3 represented the onset of a new lesson segment in this data sample. It failed to stimulate a response. A modified version of this elicitation was subsequently used by the teacher in T/4 to stimulate a response from the class, but this move did not produce the expected result. Both the key elicitation in T/3 and the modified elicitation in T/4 did not anticipate single word responses, but expected the response,

'Because eight is greater than seven'

It is possible that the failure of the class to give this response arose from the fact that pupils did not have adequate mastery of the linguistic exponents needed for the comparison of two entities in English. If this was the case, there may be a need for the teaching of certain operations in Number Work to be conducted concurrently with the teaching of comparative adjectives and adverbs for instance.

The replacement elicitation in T/5 which the teacher used to maintain communication with the class is closed. Consequently, the class had no difficulty in responding to the elicitation.

In T/8, the key elicitation,

'This one ten that we borrow, how many ones
are there in it?

was unsuccessful in evoking a response from a pupil. The teacher then employed the preparatory elicitation,

'Like that bundle you have has got how many sticks?'

in T/9 to re-establish communication with the pupil. This preparatory elicitation drew the pupil's attention to a basic step in the subtraction of numbers which he needed to know to be able to respond correctly to the re-run key elicitation in T/10. He responded to this elicitation without any difficulty.

In T/11, the key elicitation,

'.. what remains in the tens' column?'

failed to stimulate a response from a pupil. The teacher then employed the more explicit modified elicitation.

'We had 2 tens here, and took away one ten, so what remained?'

in T/12 to try and get a response from the pupil. This modified elicitation did not evoke a response, but its subsequent modification in T/13 was successful in evoking the expected response.

In the next data sample, the teacher took over the role of responding to some of her elicitations.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/25	I don't know what's wrong today. How many of you understand what is meant by distance? 'Distance', ni nini? [is what] What is 'distance'?	NK - 1 NK - 1 K - 1
PS	(No response)	
T/26	The distance round a figure. That is to say, the length and the width. The length and the?	E - 1
PS	Width.	
T/27	Therefore, the meaning of distance is what?	(R)K - 1
PS	(No response)	
T/28	What do we mean by 'distance'? I have just explained it.	M - L
PS	(No response)	
T/29	It is the distance round the figure.	

Now, if I say, find the distance
of this figure .. find the distance
of this figure, what will you do? K - C

PS (No response)

T/30 You are going to add the
measurements of all the four sides.
You will add the measurements of
all the four sides so you will
say perimeter equals, then
you will write down the
measurements six plus five
plus eight plus six, then you
will find twenty-five. You
will find what? E - C

PS Twenty five.

The elicitation,

'What is distance?'

in T/25 is a key elicitation which is language oriented in sample (iii), since what it expected as a response is the conceptual meaning of the word 'distance'. This key elicitation failed to evoke a response from the class and the teacher found it necessary in T/26 to give her own response to the elicitation.

It is implied in the teacher's utterance in T/26 that the meaning of the word distance is "the length and the width" which is somewhat misleading, but the class was made to accept this interpretation when the evaluative elicitation E - 1 was used by the teacher.

This evaluative elicitation indicated that the re-establishment of pupil participation in classroom communication was performed in the present study not only by modified,

preparatory and replacement elicitations, but also by some evaluative elicitations. It should be noted however, that the lesson segment in which the evaluative elicitation in T/26 occurs was started and accomplished principally by the teacher since the degree of pupil participation in the segment is negligible. This factor was probably responsible for the teacher's use of the re-run key elicitation,

'Therefore, the meaning of distance is what?'

in T/27 to assess whether pupils were really following what she was trying to put across. The use of this elicitation by the teacher re-introduced into the communication between the teacher and the class the proposition which is expressed in the key elicitation in T/25. The re-run key elicitation in T/27 failed to evoke a response however, but pupils were given another opportunity to be participants in the communication which is represented in Sample (iii) when the modified elicitation,

'What do we mean by 'distance'?

was employed by the teacher in T/28. The class was unable to respond to this modified elicitation and the teacher decided to respond herself to the elicitation.

The following question is of some relevance at this point: is it possible that the failure of the class to respond to the key and modified elicitations in this sample was due to their awareness that the teacher would eventually respond to the elicitations anyway? It would be inaccurate to draw such a

conclusion on the basis of evidence from one sample of data, but one cannot avoid noticing in the sample that by keeping quiet, pupils were able to 'deflect' the key elicitation in T/25, the re-run key elicitation in T/27, and the key elicitation in T/29.

The following data sample is the last one to be examined from transcripts of Number-Work lessons.

(iv)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/5	How do you get 4?	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/6	You have forgotten what you were taught only this morning. When you get a sum like this .. eh .. you start with the column on the right. Which is this column in this sum here? Ndegwa.	Pr - C
P	That .. that (Pupil points at the blackboard)	
T/7	Come and point it with your finger.	
P	(Responds to directive)	
T/8	Now, which is the second column?	NPr - C
P	(Responds to directive)	
T/9	Which is eh .. the column on the right hand side? This one here is the left.	NPr - C
P	(Responds to directive)	
T/10	Now, 9 and 5 are on which column?	NPr - C
P	Right.	

T/11	9 and 5 are on the right column. They are on the?	E - C
P	Right.	
T/12	Right column. So first of all ah .. we add the numbers on this column. 9 ones and 5 ones we get 14, but do not write 14 here. We only write 4. That is why we write this 4 here.	

In this sample, when the key elicitation,

'How do you get 4?'

was directed at a pupil in T/5, it did not evoke a response. The teacher then used the preparatory elicitation in T/6 to re-establish communication with the pupil. This pupil was then led by means of the neutral preparatory elicitations in T/8, T/9 and T/10 towards the explanation which the teacher provided in T/12. In the course of this explanation, the teacher gave the appropriate response to the elicitation, K-C which is in T/5. This response signified the successful accomplishment of the lesson segment which began in T/5.

The data samples which are examined next are from transcripts of Science lessons.

5.3 Contribution of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in Science lessons

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/4	... Now, it feeds its young ones on milk. Then in which group of living things can we put it? (i.e. the whale).	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/5	In other words, is it a reptile, or a mammal, or a non-flowering plant?	M - C
PS	Mammal.	
T/6	Its a mammal. Good. Eh .. why is it a mammal?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/7	What do mammals do that you know of? Yes.	Rep - C
P	It feeds .. it feeds its young ones in milk.	
T/8	Because it feeds it young ones on milk. Good, therefore all mammals feed their young ones on?	E - C
PS	Milk.	
T/9	Which is the other characteristic of mammals?	K - C
PS	(No response).	
T/10	Tell me another reason why we should call the whale a mammal.	M - C
P	It produce.	
T/11	It reproduces. It does not lay eggs like other animals, but it produces its young ones.	

There is a strong 'testing' element in the elicitations which appear in this data sample. In the sample, the key elicitation,

'Then in which group of living things can we put it?'
(that is, the whale)

in T/4, represented the onset of a new lesson segment. It failed to evoke a response and the teacher subsequently employed the much simpler modified elicitation in T/5 to re-establish communication with the class. The simplicity of the modified elicitation is due to the fact that it contains three alternatives from which pupils could select the expected response. Their response to this elicitation marked the end of the lesson segment which was set off by the key elicitation in T/4.

The next lesson segment was started by the open ended key elicitation,

'Why is it a mammal?'

in T/6. This elicitation evoked no response from the class, but the subsequent replacement elicitation in T/7 evoked the expected response from a pupil.

The last lesson segment in the data sample being examined was started in T/9 by the key elicitation,

'Which is the other characteristic of mammals?'

The use of this elicitation by the teacher raises the following question: Given the fact that the pupils in the study had a

weak command of English, were they in a position to understand the proposition expressed in the key elicitation in T/9? There is no conclusive evidence in the sample which shows that pupils did not understand the proposition, but it is noteworthy that the modified elicitation in T/10 which re-established communication with the class does not contain the phrase, 'characteristic of mammals'. The lexical content of this elicitation shows that it is possible for teachers to elicit without incorporating into their elicitations, phrases which might create problems for pupils.

Replacement elicitations played a major role in the maintenance of communication in the sample of data which follows.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/33	What causes diseases?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/34	We found that houseflies can carry some things that can make us sick. Eh .. what is the name of these small things which houseflies carry? Yes.	Rep - C
P	Germs.	
T/35	They are called?	E - C
PS	Germs.	
T/36	Okay, germs. Can somebody - Muthee - give me the name of another insect, another one which can carry germs?	K - C

P (No response)

T/37 What is the name of the small insects .. which bite .. which bite us when we are sleeping? Rep - C

P Mosquitos.

T/38 Mosquitos, yes. Now, look at the mouth of the mosquito in the second picture. This one (pointing). How is the mosquito's mouth? K - C
Wangeci.

P (No response)

T/39 Does the mouth look like the mouth of .. of a man? Rep - C

P No.

T/40 Is it like a sharp needle - kama sindano? [like a needle?] K - C

P Yes.

T/41 Yes, it looks like a needle. Now .. ah .. the pictures at the bottom of page 72, they show us how to keep mosquitos away from our homes. How can we keep away the mosquitos from our homes? K - C

PS (No response)

T/42 There is that kamkebe [small tin] in that picture. What is written on the mkebe [tin]? Rep-C
Njeri.

P It.

T/43 It. Very good.

The principal elicitation type which was used in this data sample for the maintenance of communication is the replacement elicitation. As an example, when the key elicitation,

'What causes diseases?'

in T/33 failed to evoke a response, the teacher employed the replacement elicitation,

'What is the name of these small things which houseflies carry?'

in T/34 to stimulate a response from a pupil. From the point of view of its response requirements, the key elicitation in T/33 was more demanding than the replacement elicitation in T/34 since it did not have any clue which could have led the class to the expected response. By way of comparison, the replacement elicitation was preceded by a 'preformulator' which lessened the likelihood that a non-response would follow the use of this elicitation.

A new lesson segment in the sample being examined was launched when the teacher employed the key elicitation in T/36. This elicitation expected a pupil to give an example of another insect which is a germ carrier. The pupil failed to respond to the elicitation, and the replacement elicitation,

'What is the name of the small insects .. which bite .. which bite us when we are sleeping?'

was presented to him as an alternative elicitation in T/37. This replacement elicitation had a clue which guided the pupil to the expected response.

The next lesson segment in the sample was started by the key elicitation in T/38 which demanded as a response, a description in English of the mouth of a mosquito. There was

no response to the elicitation. The observation can be made at this point that for pupils in lower primary classes in ESL contexts to be able to describe in English, the sizes, colours, and shapes not only of various living things, but also of the objects they use during Science lessons, they should be taught the linguistic exponents required for such descriptions.

The elicitation which re-established pupil participation in classroom communication, after the failure of a pupil to respond to the key elicitation in T/38, is the replacement elicitation in T/39. The closed nature of this elicitation ensured that it would not be a problem to the class.

The key elicitation in T/41 required pupils to infer from the picture of an insecticide can, on which was printed the word 'IT', that mosquitoes can be eradicated by means of insecticides. Pupils failed to make this inference however, and a replacement elicitation with a clue in it was then used in T/42 to maintain communication with the class. The inability of pupils to respond to the key elicitation in T/41 suggests that at elementary school level, elicitations which require pupils to draw on their knowledge of the world to help them formulate appropriate responses can fail to elicit any response from them.

The data sample which is presented next is the last one in the present chapter.

(iii)

Speaker utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/34	Now, living things are divided into four main parts. Now, when you look at this plant I am holding, can you tell me what parts this plant is divided into?	K - C
PS	(No response)	
T/35	What parts can you see? (Repeated) Okombo.	M - C
P	(No response)	
T/36	What parts can you see? Gitau.	(Repeat) M - C
P	(No response).	
T/37	We have the root. That is one part, but the plant is divided into other parts. What is the other part, apart from the root?	M1 - C
P	(No response).	
T/38	The root is one part of the plant. What other part do you know?	M2 - C
P	The stem.	
T/39	The stem. Very good. Some people call it the trunk of a plant, but we shall just call it the stem. Another part?	NK - C
	Another part of the plant I am holding? Alex.	K - C
P	Leaves.	

Modified elicitations constitute the principal elicitation type through which pupil participation in teacher-class communication was maintained in this sample of data.

The first modified elicitation was employed after the key elicitation in T/34 failed to evoke a response from the class. This modified elicitation was directed at a specific pupil, but he failed to respond to it. The teacher then re-directed the same modified elicitation to a different pupil who also failed to respond to the elicitation. Through successive modification of this elicitation, first in T/37 and then in T/38, the teacher succeeded in re-establishing pupil participation in the communication which the sample being examined represents. The response to the modified elicitation which is labelled M2 - C brought an end the lesson segment which was started by the key elicitation in T/34.

This sample of data also shows that a teacher can maintain classroom communication by taking away a speaking turn from one pupil, before handing it over to another pupil.

5.4 Concluding comments

It has been shown in this chapter through appropriate exemplification that whenever a given key elicitation had failed to evoke a response, a teacher could re-establish pupil participation in communication by using either a modified elicitation, a preparatory elicitation or a replacement elicitation. These elicitation types as has been demonstrated, played a major role in the accomplishment of lesson segments. There were nevertheless, other strategies which were available to teachers for accomplishing lesson segments.

Of significance in this respect were the use of clues

or the same elicitation, nomination, prompting and finally, responding to own elicitation.

It also emerges in the chapter that the use of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations entailed in some cases the employment of elicitations which were non-inference based, open, context-dependent or clued.

In view of the findings which have been specified, one could suggest that if the teachers in Kenya's primary schools want their elicitations to evoke the expected responses, what is required is for them to incorporate into their repertoire modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations. The usefulness of this suggestion would be dependent however, on the awareness by teachers that some of the communication problems which led to the use of modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in the present study were due not to pupil weakness as such, but to the inability of teachers to set in motion given lesson segments by means of appropriate key elicitations.

There are numerous examples in the study such as those which are represented by the following data samples to show that teachers did not always use appropriate key elicitations to set off lesson segments.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/27	Look number two. Look the word that follows 'a lot of'. Is it plural or singular	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/28	Does it show there is one or more than one?	M - C
P	More .. more than one.	
T/29	Therefore it is plural. So if it is plural, which auxiliary verb are we going to put after the word 'there'?	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/30	Are you going to put 'was' or 'were' after 'a lot'	M - C
P	Was.	
T/31	Was. You are going to put was.	

Since the pupil in this data sample was able to respond to the modified elicitations in the sample without any difficulty, there is no reason why he could not have responded to these elicitations if they had occurred in the positions which are occupied by the key elicitations. It is consequently the inappropriateness of the key elicitations employed by the teacher which led to the non-responses in the sample.

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Elicitation type
T/20	What else can you see in the picture?	K - C
P	I can see a chair	
T/21	Oh yes, that we can see. There is something else I can see. What do we call it?	K - C
P	(No response)	
T/22	What is the name of that thing there - I mean the part that is marked on the ground?	M - C
P	(No response)	
T/23	Can you see a pole on that ground - on that ground which is marked?	Pr - C
P	Yes.	
T/24	What is the name of that part which is marked, and it has the pole? Ng'ethe.	(R) M - C
P	Netball.	

The use of the preparatory elicitation in T/23 was successful in re-establishing pupil participation in communication in this data sample. However, the need to re-establish communication through the use of this preparatory elicitation could have been avoided if the teacher had used a more specific key elicitation in T/21. This is because there were other objects in the picture which is mentioned in T/20.

The two data samples in this section show that while

modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations are useful for the maintenance of communication between teachers and pupils, there are occasions when their use can be avoided especially if a teacher is able to employ suitable key elicitations to set off given lesson segments. The question then arises: what are the characteristics of a 'suitable' key elicitation?

There are no easy answers to this question but an examination of the characteristics of the responses to modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations can be used to address it more effectively. In this connection, it is significant in data samples that the responses evoked by modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations are not illustrative of instances of elaborate language use. One could conclude therefore that one characteristic of a suitable key elicitation is that it has to be capable of stimulating only minimal language output from pupils.

A principal shortcoming in this conclusion however, is the fact that pupils who are used to giving responses which consist mainly of 'yes' and 'no' are unlikely to have the skills for participating through the medium of English in games, role-play, or any other activities such as story-telling for example which require the extended use of language. This factor has to be borne in mind in any attempts to specify the characteristics of a suitable key elicitation.

CHAPTER 6

ROLE OF CODE-SWITCHING IN THE MAINTENANCE OF COMMUNICATION

Clearly, there are many possible approaches to the examination of code-switching. Interest may be in whether there are intra-sentential/intra-clause switches; whether nouns are more subject to switching than verbs or adjectives; or whether grammatical elements are switched to the same degree as lexical ones. Focus on switching at the micro-linguistic level would be feasible and legitimate. However, this chapter elects to focus on the role or communicative function of code-switching. The reason for this choice of orientation is that there is a clear need for understanding the motivation underlying the phenomenon; and descriptive statements at the micro-linguistic level are essentially incapable of providing an explanatory apparatus.

Since this study arises out of a concern with the discourse characteristics of teacher-class communication, language teaching, and with the training of language teachers, no apology is needed for an investigation of the motivation underlying code-switching within the classroom. Without an adequate theoretical account of the motivation for code-switching, a rationale for good teaching practice, in relation to code-switching cannot be developed.

6.1 Influences on code-switching

Five separate influences on code-switching are identifiable in the 62 lessons sampled: culture, emotional

support, topic, English language competence and pedagogy. The relative frequency of each of these sources of influence is presented in Table 6.3 below.

	occurrence in study
Pedagogy	25
English language competence	19
Culture	8
Emotional support	4
Topic	2

Table 6.3 relative frequency of influences on code-switching

While some indication of the relative importance of the various factors can be gauged from Table 6.1, a detailed analysis of the frequencies per se would not be illuminating. A qualitative rather than quantitative discussion of the data is therefore preferred.

Each category of influence on code-switching phenomena is presented with data extracts and discussed in the following sections.

6.2 Influence of socio-cultural factors on code-switching

Language has often been viewed as an important vehicle for the transmission of culture. Consequently, in multi-lingual contexts, socio-cultural factors can operate as significant determinants of code-choice. This conclusion is well supported by evidence from some of the data samples in the

present study. One such sample is the following one.

(i)

Speaker/ Utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/61	So the leaves are green in colour. And the next point is: 'They prepare food'. They are the ones who prepare?	
PS	Food.	
T/62	Hao ndio wakina mama. Hao ndio wakina nani?	Those are the womenfolk. Those are the?
PS	Mama.	Womenfolk.
T/63	Bila hawa, hakuna chakula kwa mimea. Hii ndio inatengeneza chakula. Ina jiko?	Without these, there wouldn't be any food for the plants. It is the one which prepares food. Has it any cooker?
PS	Hapana.	No.
T/64	No. It just prepares food from some parts. Hapa ndio iko kitu inaitwa chlorophyll. Inaitwa namna gani?	Here is where there is Something called chloro- phyll. It is called what?
PS	Chlorophyll.	
T/65	Sisi hatuwezi kuona vile inatengeneza chakula lakini Mungu ana maajabu. Chakula kinatengenezwa hapa lakini sisi hatuwezi kuona. Tunaweza kuona kweli?	We can't see how it prepares food but God has surprises. Food gets prepared here but we can't see how this is done. Can we see how this happens?
PS	Hapana.	No.
T/66	Kwa maana hatuoni hapo mwiko lakini	Because we can't see the spatula but it is

	yenyewe inaendelea kupika. Kwa maana hii matawi ndio inajuwa huu mmea itakula nini. Ndio inajuwa huu mmea utafanya nini?	there at work - helping with the cooking. Be- cause it is these leaves which know what the plant is going to eat. It is the one which knows what this plant is going to?
PS	Itakula nini.	It is going to eat.
T.67	Hawa ndio 'wana-prepare' chakula. The leaves - the leaves prepare the food for the plant.	They are the ones who prepare food.

In this sample, instead of merely translating for the class the meaning of the proposition in the item of black-board notes,

'They (ie. leaves) prepare food',

the teacher interprets for pupils the meaning of this proposition by using imagery that is derived from the traditional view in Kenya that a woman's place is in the kitchen. As an example, in T/62 she personifies 'leaves' and compares their role to that of womenfolk in Kenyan society whose duty it is to cook for family members. It is for this reason that the teacher proceeds to tell the class in T/63 that without leaves, plants would go without food. The teacher subsequently makes use of imagery from the kitchen to give pupils some idea of what the preparation of plant food by leaves entails.

The first image that she evokes in this respect is that of a 'cooker' and pupils were soon told that leaves have no

'cookers' (T/64). The second image from the kitchen is that of the 'spatula' which according to the teacher is invisible to the naked eye, although it continues to work in plant leaves because leaves have the duty of 'cooking' for the whole plant.

The class was of course aware of the fact that in African societies, the responsibility of preparing food for members of families lies solely on the womenfolk. This socio-cultural knowledge helped them visualise the role of leaves in plant life. It is unlikely that if the teacher had used English to interpret for pupils the meaning of the proposition in the item of black-board notes,

'They (ie. leaves) prepare food',

she would have succeeded in tapping their socio-cultural knowledge of the role of the traditional African woman in Kenyan society to help her achieve her objective. The code-switching to Kiswahili for socio-cultural reasons in the data sample being examined was therefore useful to the teacher from the point of view of the maintenance of pupil participation in communication.

In the data sample which is presented next, the teacher also code-switches for socio-cultural reasons to maintain communication with her pupils. The sample is from a transcript of an English language lesson.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/38	Now, who will tell us the story of the things in the next picture? I want a boy to tell us the story this time.	
P	Ngethe, Ngethe.	
T/39	Okay Ngethe. Come and tell us the story. (Pupil moves and stands infront of the class). Now, who is in the first picture?	
P	(No response)	
T/40	Aah, Ngethe.. Sasa wewe ukitazama hiyo picha ni wakina nani una-waona? Hiyo ya kwanza inatuon- yesha picha ya jikoni na humo ndani ya jikoni, kuna nani na nani?	Now, on examining that picture which people can you see? The first picture depicts a kitchen and who and who are present in the picture?
P	Mama .. mama na msichana wake.	A mother .. a mother and daughter.
T/41	Ndio. Huyo ni mama na msichana wake. Si wasichana waki rudi nyumbani baada ya masomo husaidia mama kwa jikoni?	Yes. That is a mother and daughter. Isn't it true that after school girls usually help their mothers with kitchen work
Ps	Ndio	Yes.
T/42	So those pictures tell us the story of the things we do in our homes. Like now in the second picture, what is happening?	
P	There is a boy. He .. he is helping his father to..	
T/43	Yes.	
P	To .. to	
T/44	Say to milk the cow	
P	To milk the cow.	
T/45	Ndio. Kukamua ngombe. Hiyo huwa kazi ya wavulana kwa sababu wasichana kazi yao huwa kama ile ya kuchota	Yes. To milk the cow. Milking is usually set aside for the boys since girls have their own work such as fetching

maji, kutafuta kuni na
kazi kama hiyo. Haya.

water, firewood and so on
Okay.

What is interesting in data sample (ii) is the teacher's code-switch to Kiswahili in what was an English lesson. It might be argued that this was an inappropriate thing to do since pupils had more opportunities outside the classroom for using Kiswahili than they had in class for practising English. The code-switching in the data sample being examined nevertheless has an important role in the communication that is represented in the sample. This is because it enables the teacher to utilize pupils' knowledge of an aspect of their culture as a means of sustaining communication with them.

The aspect in question relates to the acceptance of the view by members of the African Society in Kenya that boys and girls have clearly demarcated roles to play in the home or homestead. Consequently, in rural areas tasks such as milking of cows and the repair of cattle enclosures tend to be performed by boys. By way of comparison, girls are expected to perform kitchen related tasks like cooking. In urban areas, it is girls who provide the necessary assistance in the kitchen while boys are required to perform tasks assigned to them by their fathers. These tasks range from polishing shoes to giving practical help in the 'duka' (shop).

With reference to data sample (ii), the propagation of the view that boys and girls have different roles to play in the home is noticeable from an examination of the content of utterance T/40. The propositional content of the elicitation

in this utterance implies that there is an appropriate place in the kitchen for a certain category of people, namely women and girls. This interpretation is supported by the nature of the response which the elicitation in T/40 evoked. Further evidence to support this interpretation subsequently emerges in T/41 and T/45. The content of the utterances in T/41 and T/45 indicate that the teacher subscribes to the view that boys and girls have different roles to play in the home. This viewpoint was certainly shared by the boys and girls in her class since they were all from a similar cultural background. The teacher was consequently able to maintain communication with the class, following the non-response to the elicitation in T/39 by exploiting pupils' knowledge of a specific socio-cultural practice.

6.3 Influence of pedagogical factors on code-switching

There are numerous examples in this study which strongly indicate that the maintenance of teacher-class communication through code-switching often arises from pedagogical considerations. The conclusion can consequently be drawn that pedagogical factors were major determinants of many of the code-switches in the study. This conclusion is not surprising in view of the fact that in classroom contexts, teachers and pupils gather for the principal purpose of teaching and learning respectively. It is consequently the case in classroom contexts that pedagogical rather than for instance, the rhetorical factors outlined in Rayfield, 1970

operate as the major determinants of code-choice.

The code-switches which are the product of pedagogical considerations are discernible in the present study from their status as repetitions and translations of segments of utterances. Their function in the classrooms which were observed was to maintain teacher communication with pupils by serving as 'channels' for the clarification and emphasis of aspects related to given lessons. The following data samples highlight this point.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/51	So the thing I want us to do is to look carefully at the sentences at the bottom of that page. You choose the correct sentence to match the picture given. Hapo mwisho, chagua ile 'sentensi' ambayo inaweza kuenda pamoja na iyo picha. Now, look at picture number one very carefully and then you choose a sentence from there. The correct sentence you match to the picture. Wanjiku.	At the end of the page, select a sentence which expresses what is in a given picture.
P	My first picture has a kitten in it.	
T/52	Good.	

In this data sample, an item of instruction in T/51 was

perceived by the teacher as a potential source of misunderstanding for the class. This instruction was consequently translated into Kiswahili to ensure that the class had understood the propositions expressed in it. The code-switching to Kiswahili in the data sample being examined can thus be said to have been brought about by a pedagogical consideration. This code-switching had the effect of giving pupils a replay of a specific item of instruction which had already been given through the medium of English. It is the case therefore that the code-switching in sample (i) enables the teacher to maintain communication with the class since it was intended to prevent mis-understandings from arising.

The translation of a specific instruction is also evident in the following data sample which, like the preceding sample, is from a transcript of an English language lesson.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/24	.. Now, before we do 'C', let us look at 'D'. Put these sentences in the right order. Tunataka muweke hiyo 'sentensi' iwe vile vile inafuatana. Wamechanganya pamoja kwa hivyo wanataka muweke hiyo 'sentensi' iwe in the right order. In the right?	We want you to put those sentences in the required order. They have juxtaposed those sentences so put them
PS	Order.	
T/25	Now, look at the sentences	

and you tell me which
one will be the first
sentence. Nigani
itakuwa ya kwanza?
Which is the first one?
Ni gani itakuwa ya
kwanza? Esther.

Which will be the
first one?

Which will be the first
one?

P Ben's brother picked
up his knife.

The comprehension by pupils of the item of instruction in T/24 in this sample is crucial since it is vital for the successful performance of the 'exercise' which they were being asked to perform.

This exercise involves re-arranging sentences to reflect the order in which certain events occurred in a story. From the teacher's experience, pupils were often unable to perform this type of exercise successfully principally because they could not follow the instructions relating to given exercises when such instructions were presented in English. There was thus a pedagogical reason for the translation into Kiswahili of the item of instruction in T/24. This translation enabled the teacher to maintain communication with the class by making it possible for her to clarify certain propositions.

A striking feature in transcripts of Number-Work lessons was the fact that pupils often found it difficult to respond to key elicitations arising from mathematical problems which had been expressed verbally in English. It is not easy to draw the conclusion from available data samples that the only cause of this difficulty was their poor command of English. This is because some communication problems in the

Number-Work lessons which were observed appear to have been caused by pupils' inability to apply the basic operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division to the solution of given 'problems'. Whatever the reasons might be for the difficulty pupils experienced when faced with some of the key elicitations arising from the type of mathematical problems under discussion, the teachers in the present study often repeated such problems, including the relevant key elicitations in some cases, through the medium of Kiswahili as a means of maintaining communication with their pupils.

The practice of translating verbally expressed mathematical problems and in some instances the subsequent key elicitations may be regarded as an unnecessary practice in classroom contexts. It is the case however, that this practice performed the important pedagogical function of clarifying the propositions expressed in specific mathematical problems and key elicitations thus making it possible for pupils to respond to given elicitations. The data sample which is presented below supports this interpretation.

(iii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/41	Now, a shop-keeper buys 75 tins of milk. He paid 900 shillings for them. How much does he pay for 1 tin? Quickly. What do we know about the shop-keeper? Yes.	
P	75 tins, he pays .. he pays 900 shillings.	

is what you are
supposed to work out.

It is the failure of the class to respond to the key
elicitation,

'What don't we know?'

in T/43 which in this data sample made the teacher deduce that
the class had probably not understood the propositions in the
'problem' in T/41. This problem was as follows:

'a shop-keeper buys 75 tins of milk. He pays 900 shillings
for them. How much does he pay for 1 tin?

The teacher's reaction to the non-response from the class to
her elicitation in T/43 was to code-switch to Kiswahili in
T/44. In the course of this code-switch, the teacher repeated
the propositions in the problem in T/41 which she had initially
expressed in English. She also repeated the proposition
expressed in the key elicitation in T/43 in the course of this
code-switch. Since a pupil was able to respond to the repeated
version of the elicitation in T/43, the teacher's recourse to
code-switching in the data sample being examined must be
regarded as having been of use in the maintenance of pupil
participation in communication.

(iv)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
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T/8	Who is going to be our leader? Who will be our	
-----	---	--

leader?

PS Njeri. Mutahi.

T/9 Okay. Mutahi come here.
(Pupil obeys directive).
Aya. You are now the leader. First, you think of a number .. eh .. the way I was doing. Then you think of another number. You will therefore have how many numbers? Okay.

P Two.

T/10 Two. Good. You will have two numbers. Okay. You will then do something with the numbers .. mmh .. like you multiply them, or divide them, but only silently in your head. Only what, class?

PS Silently.

T/11 Only silently in the head. Halafu, .. eh .. you will tell the class only the answer, and what you did to get the answer. The class will then tell you the numbers which you thought of .. mm .. to get the answer. Ni kama vile tu nime kuwa nikifanya hapo mwanzoni. Okay. Mutahi, you now tell the class the number you are thinking of. Then It's just like how I did at the beginning of the lesson.

P (No response).

T/12 Think of a number and tell us.

P (No response).

T/13 Huelewi kitu ninataka. Sasa, tuseme mimi ndie 'group leader', nita-fikiri 'nambari' mbili kwa kichwa. Hizo You don't understand what I want. Now, supposing I'm the (group leader), I'll think of two numbers silently. Those two

'nambari' mbili,
nikizizidisha, ama.
nikizimultiply, majibu
nitapata ni kumi.
Mnafikiri hizo 'nambari'.
mbili ni ipi?

numbers, if I
multiply them the
number I get is ten.

Can you tell me the
numbers involved in the
operation I've carried
out?

Which numbers can I
multiply to get ten?
Hii ni hesabu rahisi.
Njeri.

This is a simple sum.

P 2 ... 2 times 5.

T/14 Yes, 2 times 5. Kwa
hivyo, zile 'nambari'
nilikuwa nafikiria ni
mbili na tano. I was
thinking of two and five.
I was thinking of two and?

Therefore the numbers
I had in mind were
two and five.

PS Five.

The instruction governing how the game in this data sample was to be played was first presented to pupils through the medium of English in T/9, T/10 and T/11. Since the teacher had already demonstrated what was to be done in this game, as can be inferred from the content of utterance T/11, the pupil who was nominated to be the 'leader' should have been able to meet the demands of communication that went with that role. This he failed to do however, as can be interpreted from his non-response to the key elicitation in T/11 and the modified elicitation in T/12.

There is no conclusive evidence however, in sample (iv) which indicates that his inability to respond to any of these elicitations arose from his failure to comprehend the English version of the instruction relating to the game in the sample.

The teacher's repetition of this instruction in Kiswahili nevertheless supports the contention that she thought the non-responses in the sample being examined were due to the fact that her initial instruction in English on how the Number-Work game was to be performed had been misunderstood by the class. She consequently employed Kiswahili to clarify what she expected the class to do. A notable feature of the Kiswahili version of the teacher's instruction is that it is more explicit than the English version.¹

This conclusion is supported by the fact that there are no examples of numerals in the English version of the instruction to help pupils follow what the teacher was trying to put across as is evident from an examination of the following extracts from the sample.

- 'First, you think of a number...eh...the way I was doing. Then you think of another number' (T/9)
- 'You will do something with the numbers...mmh...like you multiply them, or divide them, but only silently in your head' (T/10)

One could argue that the content of the first extract could have been made more explicit if the teacher had given as part of the content of this extract, examples of specific numerals to serve as 'signposts' for the type of reasoning expected from the pupil who was nominated to be the leader. The numerals 6 and 3 for instance, could have been used in this context. The use of these numerals would then have required the teacher to state in the second extract that 6 and 3 could be multiplied or divided. None of these suggestions seem to be necessary for the Kiswahili version of the teacher's instruction.

This is because when the teacher switched to Kiswahili in T/13, she was able to convey her instruction more satisfactorily because she did not convey it in an abstract form. Instead, as part of the content of this instruction, she included a specific numerical example to serve as a tangible reference point for the type of reasoning that should have accompanied pupil's comprehension of the rules of the game in sample (iv). This interpretation is supported by evidence from a cursory examination of the following portion of utterance.

"nitafikiri 'nambari' mbili kwa kichwa. Hizo 'nambari' mbili, nikizizi disha, ama nikizi multiply, majibu nitapata ni kumi." [I'll think of two numbers silently. Those two numbers if I multiply them the number I get is ten]

In the portion of utterance which has been presented, the reference to the numeral 'ten' helped pupils perceive from a more favourable position the parameters of the task facing them. This reference also added to the teacher's instruction a degree of clarity which is lacking in the English version of the instruction.

6.4 Influence of socio-psychological factors on code-switching

In most formal classroom contexts, teachers control the nature and content of communication. For this reason, formal classroom teachers might be viewed as people who in a sense are impersonal and detached in their dealings with pupils. It is the case, however, that most formal classroom teachers show great concern for the welfare of their pupils. Consequently, whenever the occasion demands, they are able to discard the

formality that is often attached to their role as teachers and present themselves to their pupils as people who are loving, caring and very 'human' after all.

Data samples with instances of code-switching which reveal that teachers can be caring and informal provided in the present study the means for the examination of the influence of socio-psychological factors on code-switching for the purpose of maintaining communication. One such sample is presented below.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/17	What is growing there?	
PS	Maize.	
T/18	Yes. Maize is growing there. Now, this shows there was something that was given to the seedlings or the maize in tin B and it was not given to the seedlings in tin A. Can you see that?	
PS	Yes teacher.	
T/19	Okay. There was something given to the seedlings in tin B, but not to the seedlings in tin A. Christine, what was given here and not given there?	
P	(No response)	
T/20	Christine, bado waumwa na kichwa?	are you still having a headache?
P	Ndio mwalimu	Yes teacher.

T/21 Kama bado wa umwa na
kichwa, si vizuri uka
onyeshe afisi uka
pumzike nyum bani? Beba
vitabu vyako uka pumzike
(Pupil obeys directive)

If you are still having a
headache, wouldn't it be
better for you to inform
the office and then you
can go and have a rest at
home? Pick up your books
and go and have a rest.

Okay. Let us continue.
What was given to the
seedlings in this tin
and not given to the
seedlings in tin B?
Onyango

P Water.

The content of the communication that precedes utterance T/20 in this sample is significant since it gives the impression that teachers' dealings with pupils are largely an impersonal exercise dominated by elicitations which demand responses. These responses may subsequently be evaluated by the teacher.

In the data sample being considered, the key elicitation,

'Christine, what was given here and not given there?'

in T/19 marks the on-set of a new lesson segment. This elicitation failed to evoke a response but the teacher did not employ any of the elicitation types which were specified in chapter 5 to re-establish pupil participation in communication. Instead, she re-established the communication by code-switching to Kiswahili, partly for socio-psychological reasons, as can be inferred from her expression of concern about Christine's headache during the switch. This concern provided an opportunity for Christine to communicate with the teacher

following her non-response to the elicitation in T/19.

The teacher's code-switch in data sample (i) also made it possible for her to project herself as a loving and caring person whose relationship with her pupils was not restricted to eliciting and monitoring classroom talk. There is strong justification in concluding therefore that the teacher's code-switch to Kiswahili in the sample being examined was influenced by socio-psychological considerations.

In some data samples, teachers' use of English and Kiswahili for different purposes gave the strong impression that English was regarded by teachers as the appropriate language through which they could conduct the serious business of teaching. The use of this language as the medium of teaching by teachers consequently seemed to have in some data samples a degree of formality attached to it. By way of contrast, the purposes for which Kiswahili was employed in these samples gave the impression that this language was only suitable for expressing in an informal way, classroom related propositions. On the whole, the informal presentation of specific classroom related propositions made it possible for teachers to cast aside the formality that is often attached to their teaching roles.

In the data sample which follows, the informal presentation of a specific proposition was achieved through the code-switch in T/24. This code-switch provided the necessary conditions for a pupil to engage in communication with the teacher following his non-response to a key elicitation which

had been presented in English. It is the case therefore that the code-switch in the sample played a crucial role in the maintenance of teacher-pupil communication.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/22	So we have found that water was put in tin B and it was not put in tin A. It was not put in tin?	
PS	A.	
T/23	In tin A. In tin B there was water, in tin A there was no water. So Lukorito, which seedlings in the two tins could grow?	
P	(No response)	
T/24	Ni kama tu nyinyi asubuhi. Ikiwa iko hapa watu ambao walikuja shuleni bila hata kunywa chai, ama uji, arna chochote kuwekwa kwa mdomo watu kama hao watakuwa nanguvu na wakiendelea hivyo wataweza kukuwa kweli?	It's just like you in the morning. If there are people here who didn't have anything for breakfast like tea, porridge and so on. If there are such people do they have the energy to do anything and if they continue like that Lukorito, will they be able to grow?
P	Hapana	No.
T/25	Na wata soma vizuri kweli?	And would they be able to learn really?
P	Hapana	No.
T/26	Na itafika saa ya break kama hao watu wana njaa sana nahawataweza kusoma, sivyo?	And by break-time these people would be so hungry as to be unable to continue with their lessons, isn't it?

P Ndio

Yes.

T/27 Ni hivyo hivyo na hiyo mimea Lukorito. The ones in tin B have water, those in tin A have no water. So the ones which will grow are the ones in tin? It's the same with those plants Lukorito.

P B

T/28 In tin B, yes.

Utterance T/22 and T/23 in data sample (ii) give an indication of the formality that sometimes accompanied teacher's use of English as the medium of instruction. This formality entailed, as is the case in the data sample being examined, the projection of the impression through the content of what was being communicated that there was little room for deviating from the set objectives of a given lesson by cracking jokes, or talking about non-classroom events for instance.

It is for this reason that the teacher's code-switch in utterance T/24 should be viewed as a refreshing development since it made it possible for her to present a specific proposition to the class in an informal way. This informality is noticeable in the analogy which she drew in the data sample being examined between the vital role of breakfast for effective learning and the vital role of water for plant growth. Clearly the informality has an emotional function, and serves to maintain personal relationships.

The content of the utterances which are in Kiswahili also portray the teacher as someone who was approachable and

cared about the welfare of other people. It is consequently the case that the code-switch in data sample (ii) was partly influenced by socio-psychological factors. These factors made it possible for a given pupil, namely Lukorito, to be a participant in communication following his non-response to the key elicitation in T/23.

6.5 Influence of topic on code-switching

Fishman, 1971 has stated that the

"implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled 'better', or more appropriately in one language than in another in particular multi-lingual contexts. However, this greater appropriateness may reflect or may be brought about by several different but mutually reinforcing factors" (p.17).

One of the reinforcing factors which Fishman mentions is the influence of interlocutors language of training on their language choice. Also mentioned by Fishman as a reinforcing factor is the influence of the lack of certain specialised terms in a language being used by interlocutors on their language choice.

With reference to the present study, the influence of topic on code-choice appears partly to have been reinforced by teachers' desire to accomplish given lesson-segments. The influence of topic on code-choice appears also to have been governed by the need to maintain pupil participation in communication by exploiting their knowledge of the names of certain items in Kiswahili. The following data samples

illustrate the significance of the points which have been made in this paragraph.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/39	We now know how the housefly lives. Now, let us see how we can control houseflies in the home. One way is by keeping our compounds clean. One way is by?	
PS	Keeping our compounds clean.	
T/40	Yes. Keeping our compounds clean. The other way of controlling houseflies is by stopping them from coming to our homes. We can stop them from coming to our homes in what ways?	
PS	(No response)	
T/41	Njia ya kwanza ni kutunza vizuri vyakula vyetu. Vyakula hivi ni vitu kama ugali, githeri, wali na viazi vikuu. Njoki, na vingine ni vipi.	The first method is by taking good care of our foodstuff. Such foodstuff can for instance be cooked maize flour, cooked maize mixed with beans, cooked rice, and sweet potatoes. Can you give me some more examples Njoki?
P	Sukuma wiki [there is some laughter from the class].	A variety of cabbage.
T/42	Ndio. Sukuma wiki. Hiyo mboga hutusaidia kweli kweli. Haya. Then we can also control houseflies by keeping clean the things we use in our kitchens like what for	Yes. (Sukuma wiki) That variety of vegetable is of great assistance to us. Okay.

example?

P Masufuria.

T/43 Yes, masufuria. Other Pans.
examples?

P Cups.

T/44 Cups, yes, some more
examples?

PS Spoons, Knife.

T/45 Only those? There are
many things we use in
the kitchen. Come on.

PS (No response)

T/46	Kwani hamjui majina ya vitu kama mwiko, bilauri na vingine kama hivyo? Njeri.	Don't you know the names of utensils such as spatula, tumbler, and others like those?
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P	Masahani	Plates.
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T/47	Masahani. Good.	Plates.
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The key elicitation in T/40 in this data sample failed to evoke any response from the class. This failure brought to an unsuccessful conclusion the lesson segment which was set in motion by the key elicitation in T/40. The teacher consequently code-switched to Kiswahili in T/41 and in the course of this code-switch, provided a response to her own elicitation. She thus managed to bring to some form of conclusion the lesson segment which had been started by the elicitation in T/40. It can consequently be stated that the code-switch in T/41 was partly influenced by the teacher's desire to accomplish a lesson segment which pupils had failed to accomplish.²

The code-switch in utterance T/41 is however, also significant because the propositions in the utterance relate at a general level to the topic of foodstuff. In this respect, it is the case that the names of some Kenyan dishes could best be given by the interactants in the sample only through the medium of Kiswahili since there are no suitable translation equivalents of these names in English. This is noticeable for instance, from the fact that the translation of the name of a dish like 'githeri' runs into something like 'cooked mixed corn and beans'.

The English translation of the name 'githeri' does not really capture the essence of what 'githeri' represents as a dish in the Kenyan context since it excludes from consideration, the other ingredients which are used in the preparation of this dish. There is some justification in contending therefore that topic was an important influencing factor in the code-switch in T/41.

This code-switch made it possible for pupil participation in communication to be re-established when the teacher elicited during the switch and subsequently received an appropriate response to the elicitation. Some comment on the nature of the response which the teacher's elicitation evoked is necessary at this juncture because 'sukuma wiki' is not just any variety of vegetable in the Kenyan context. Instead, it is a variety which because of its cheap price is often of great assistance to the many families who have to count each passing day while waiting for pay day to arrive at the end of each month. (Note the content of utterance T/42). This shared

socio-cultural knowledge should thus be regarded as a reinforcing factor in the assessment of the influence of topic on code-switching in the data sample being examined.

The influence of topic on code-switching is also noticeable in utterance T/46 following the difficulty experienced by pupils in providing more examples of kitchen utensils through the medium of English. The teacher decided on this occasion to give these examples through the medium of Kiswahili and in so doing, succeeded in re-establishing pupil participation in communication. This can be inferred from the presence of the response which the teacher's elicitation in T/46 evoked.

Topic is also an important influencing factor in the code-switch which is present in the data sample to be presented next. This conclusion is deducible from the fact that in the communication which is represented in the sample, pupils are not able to give many examples of farm produce through the medium of English following the teacher's elicitation in T/19. They did, however, manage to do so after being requested to give these examples through the medium of Kiswahili (see utterance T/20). It is the case therefore that the code-switch in the sample being considered was employed by the teacher to tap pupils' knowledge of the names of different kinds of farm produce in Kiswahili, as a means of re-establishing their participation in communication. The sample in question is presented below. It highlights the importance of topic as a regulator of code-choice.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/17	So you can see that the soil is useful to us because from it, we can get different kinds of farm produce. From the soil, we can get what class?	
PS	Different kinds of farm produce.	
T/18	From it we get differ- ent kinds of farm produce like what for example?	
P	Maize.	
T/19	Maize. Good. Others?	
PS	(No response)	
T/20	Kwani hamjui majina ya mazao ya mashamba yetu? Mbaazi ni moja wapo. Na nyingime ni?	So you don't know the names of different kinds of farm produce? Pigeon peas are one example. Other examples are?
PS	Mchele	Husked rice.
T/21	Mchele, ndio, nyirigine?	Husked rice, yes. Others?
PS	Nazi, limau, korosho	Coconuts, lemons, cashew nuts.

6.6 Influence of participants' English language competence on code-switching

So far, code-switching has been accounted for in terms
of socio-cultural, socio-psychological/emotional and topic

factors. In very general terms, these factors related principally to the background characteristics of participants. However, the influence of pedagogical necessity is overlaid on all of these, and indeed is not strictly distinguishable. It is not in fact useful to scale a neat dividing line between "pedagogical and "other" concerns, since pedagogy may be served efficiently by maintaining cultural and emotional limits, as well as by explanation/clarification.

One further influence on code-switching requires comment: English language competence in the pupils.

In the following data sample, the teacher switched to Kiswahili because of her awareness that pupils often misunderstood notes which had been written on the black-board in English. She consequently re-stated specific aspects of these notes through the medium of Kiswahili to maintain communication with the class. The code-switches in the sample can thus be said to have been influenced by the poor English language competence of the pupils in the study.

(i)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/48	Now, the stem. I told you not to write Teresa. Now, it is written there, 'The stem grows above the ground.' Hiyo ndio nimewaambia inakuwa ikienda juu. Aiendi chini ya mchanga. It grows above. 'Above' ni juu. Then, 'it holds the leaves.' Hiyo ndio inashika matawi. 'It	That's what I have told you; it grows going upwards. It doesn't grow downwards into the soil. is up That is what holds the leaves.

Maji inapo toka chini	When the water comes up
kutoka hapa kwa	from the (roots), it
'roots' inaelekea inakuja	goes through the (stem).
kwa 'stem'. Hapo	
ikitoka inaenda kwa	From there, it spreads
leaves. Inaenda kwa wapi?	to the (leaves). It
	spreads where?

To the (leaves).

Let's say that's the route for food or water on its way from the (roots), via the (stem) and onwards to the (leaves). That is the meaning of

That is the route. That is the route for plant food.

The stem grows above the ground. It is the part which holds the leaves. The stem also carries water from the roots to the leaves. This water goes to all parts of the plant.

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written on the blackboard.

The propositions which the teacher re-stated for the class through code-switching in the sample are as follows:

- The stem grows above the ground.
- It holds the leaves.
- It carries water from the roots to the leaves.
- The water which it carries goes to all parts of the plant.

The re-statement of these propositions through the medium of Kiswahili enabled the teacher to maintain communication with the class since Kiswahili was understood by all the pupils.

In the data sample which is presented next, there is a non-response and consequently a break-down in communication following the teacher's key elicitation in T/8. It is possible that the non-response was due to pupil's ignorance of the answer to the teacher's elicitation. Nevertheless, an examination of the sample suggests that a better reason for the non-response was the fact that the teacher was more proficient at imparting information to her learners through the medium of Kiswahili than through the medium of English. This conclusion is inferable from the fact that in the sample to be examined, the teacher provided more information to the class through the medium of Kiswahili than he did through the medium of English (see in particular utterance T/10). This extra information was instrumental in sustaining the communication between the teacher and the class.

(ii)

Speaker/ utterance code	Utterance	Translation of relevant portion of utterance
T/4	Okay. Can you give me a number?	
PS	(No response).	
T/5	Tell me of any number that you know of. Niambieni 'nambari' fulani kutoka kwa kichwa. 'Nambari' yoyote. Nereah.	Give me any number that you can think of. Any number.
P	Eight.	
T/6	Okay. Eight (writes the following: 8 - 11). Another person to give me a number? Yes.	
P	Thirteen.	
T/7	Thirteen. (Writes the following: 13 - 16). Can we have another number? Omollo at the back. Stop sleeping and eh .. give me a number.	
P	Five.	
T/8	Five (writes the following: 5 - 8). Aya. Now, look at the numbers you gave me, and the numbers which are on the right hand side ... the numbers which the arrows are pointing to. What did I do with the numbers you gave me to get the numbers on the right?	Okay.
PS	(No response).	

T/9 Look at the first
number - eight. Guess
what I did to eight to
get .. uh .. eleven.

PS (No response).

T/10 Kumbe watu wanala la
tu kwa hili darasa.
What we are doing is
very simple. Niliwauliza
kwanza munipe 'nambari'
na mukanipatia hii
nambari' - eight.
Kutoka kwa hiyo
'nambari' mulinipa,
nikaandika eleven.
Sasa, bahatisheni hii
eleven imetoka wapi?
Bahatisha.
'Nambari' nyingine
ambayo mulinipa ni
thirteen. Kutoka kwa
hiyo thirteen nikaandika
sixteen. Sasa, kitu
ambacho mnatakiwa
mniambie ni, hii
sixteen imetoka wapi?
Nimeongeza ama nimezidisha
kupata kumi na moja, kumi
na moja, kumi na sita,
na hii nane ambayo
iko hapa chini? Just
think and tell me the
answer. That is the
game we are playing.
You are to think and
tell me the?

So people are just
sleeping in this class.

I first asked you for
a number, and you
gave me (eight).

From the number you
gave me I wrote (eleven).

Now can you guess
where this (eleven) has
come from? Guess.
The other number which
you gave me is (thirteen).
From that number, I
wrote (sixteen).
Now, what you are
required to tell me is
- this (sixteen), where
has it come from?
Have I added or
multiplied to get
eleven, sixteen and
this eight which is
down here?

PS Answer.

T/11 Okay. Okay .. from
eight I have written
eleven. What did I do
to get .. to get this
number? Wairimu.

P Add.

T/12 I have added what
number?

P Two .. three.

T/13 Three, very good.

Makofi kwa Wairimu.

Clap hands for (Wairimu).

The task for the teacher in this data sample was to give the class the following information concerning the procedures governing the performance of the 'guess what I am doing' game in Number-Work. The class had in the first place to give the teacher a specific numerical digit which the teacher would write on the black-board. The teacher would then perform some operation on this digit and write down the answer arising from this operation to the right of the digit which the class had provided. This procedure was to be repeated three or four times, with different digits being used on each occasion. The crucial test for pupils would come when they were asked to name the operation and the digits which the teacher had used to get the numbers occupying the right hand side of those from pupils. With reference to data sample (ii), this crucial test came in T/8 when the teacher employed the key elicitation,

'What did I do with the numbers you gave me to get the numbers on the right?'

There was a failure on the part of the class to respond to this elicitation and the teacher then reacted by switching to Kiswahili to explain once more the procedures to be followed in the 'guess what I am doing game' (see T/10). In the course of this code-switch, the teacher gave a summary of what had already transpired during the lesson and gradually led the class towards an awareness of the procedures governing the game they were supposed to be playing.

A notable feature in the teacher's code-switch to Kiswahili in the sample being examined is that her explanations

through the medium of this language contained more details than the explanations she presented through the medium of English. This factor suggests that the teacher was better at explaining through the medium of Kiswahili than through the medium of English. The response which the teacher's elicitation in T/10 evoked is consequently not surprising since it came after some detailed explanation had been given in Kiswahili.

6.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, it was demonstrated through the use of selected data samples that there are at least five separate influences on code choice. They are in most cases socio-cultural; pedagogical; socio-psychological; topic-related; language competence-related.

No attempt was made in the chapter to account for code-switching at a micro-linguistic level by examining code switched words, phrases and clauses/sentences. A descriptive account of the nature of the linguistic elements code-switched is essentially non-explanatory. If the interest is in understanding the motivation underlying linguistic behaviours, such an approach would have been sterile. It would in any case have been directly at variance with the objectives of the study (see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.8).

NOTES

1. It seems to be the case that the teachers in this study were more competent in giving explanations through the medium of Kiswahili than they were in giving explanations through the medium of English. Further work needs to be conducted, however, to support this contention.
2. Incidentally, this statement lends support to the fact that most code-switches are often triggered by the interplay of a combination of factors although data sample (i) was primarily intended to highlight the influence of topic on code-switching.

CHAPTER 7

RELEVANCE OF ASPECTS OF THE STUDY TO CLASSROOM

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Actual results of the analysis of the data, have already been presented: sources of classroom communication problems in Chapter 4, elicitation types in Chapter 5 and code-switching in Chapter 6. This chapter presents a discursive exploration of the methodology and theoretical status of the descriptive apparatus of research into classroom communication. The exploration is deliberately 'distanced' from the actual analyses already presented. It formulates some essential considerations to be taken into account in any investigation of classroom interaction and is thus focussed very specifically on the issue of theoretical sources of explanation, and of methodology for this and future investigations.

Four considerations require acknowledgement, and these are related to the procedures which were used to select appropriate data in the study (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1) and to the methods which were subsequently employed to analyse and present data samples (see chapter 3, sections 3.4 - 3.8). The aspects under discussion are examined in the present chapter from the following perspectives:

1. The relationship of a researcher to the participants in a given study on classroom communication.
2. The relative importance of non-linguistic factors

in the investigation of aspects of classroom communication and the question of how far a researcher needs to consider these factors. As used in the present chapter, the term "non-linguistic factors" broadly covers the pragmatics of a 'situation' (in the sense in which the term 'pragmatics' is used by Levinson, 1983). The non-linguistic factors to be considered include for instance participants' world knowledge and the socio-cultural constraints which govern communication.

3. The possibility (or otherwise) of maintaining a distinct separation between non-linguistic and linguistic structures in studies of classroom communication.

4. The importance of idealization in the selection and analysis of data.

In the sections which follow the four aspects which have been specified are examined in greater detail. There is reference in these sections to the work of other researchers who have also studied characteristics of classroom communication.

7.1 Researcher-participants relationship in studies of classroom communication

The study by Florio and Walsh (1981) which was reviewed in Chapter 2 demonstrates that it is possible for researchers and teachers to obtain research findings which are the joint product of the efforts of the two groups. The production of such findings requires however, as a pre-requisite, the adoption of an ethnographic approach in studies of classroom communication as was the case, for instance, in the study by

Florio and Walsh. Another study which needs to be mentioned in this connection is that of Adelman (1981).

In the study, Adelman reports on a teaching project in which a group of teachers were trying to monitor how their actions - intended or unintended, verbal or non-verbal - affected their pupils' contribution to ongoing communication. For monitoring to be successful, it was necessary for the teachers who were participants in the project to receive feedback from their pupils on specific aspects of the lessons they had been taught. Adelman points out that this feedback was not easily obtainable, since the younger children who were participants in the teaching project under discussion could not verbalize the required feedback. The older children were also unable to provide the expected feedback because they found this expectation a "cause for mirth and ridicule" (p.78). Due to the lack of co-operation from pupils, it was impossible for teachers to obtain honest accounts of the intended and unintended effects of their actions.

It consequently became apparent to Adelman and his co-researcher that the teaching project under consideration could no longer be left solely in the hands of teachers. They thus embarked on a more active role in the project which entailed interviewing teachers and pupils separately to obtain information which was then made available to the two groups. Through the use of this method, Adelman and his co-researcher made it possible for teachers to obtain honest accounts of how particular lessons had been received by pupils. The

investigative procedure which was employed by Adelman in the project being considered constitutes what is generally referred to as triangulation.¹

The importance of using triangulation in classroom communication research is that it provides the appropriate conditions for research findings to be the joint product of researchers and those who find themselves participating, willingly or unwillingly, in research.

It is worth noting in this connection that in the present study, teachers and pupils became participants in a study in which they would not be called upon to help in the interpretation of data. The findings of this study are consequently not the joint product of the researcher and those who participated in the study. More teacher and pupil involvement in the study might have been possible, but this could not happen for the following reasons.

In the first place, the 10 year old pupils who were participants in this work were too young to be able to play an effective role in any investigative procedure which entailed the use of triangulation. Moreover, these pupils had yet to master English, which is the medium in which many of their lessons were supposed to be conducted. Due to this factor, there was little chance that the pupils who were participants in the present study would have been able to carry out an evaluation of the lessons they had been taught.

The teachers who were observed in this study were not required to identify or analyze specific characteristics of communication in their classrooms for practical reasons. In

the first instance, teachers are often very busy people. Thus, a teacher with close to 50 pupils in a class, as was the case in the classrooms which were observed in this study, is unlikely to have the inclination to engage in the detailed examination of the characteristics of teacher-pupil talk.

There is also, in connection with the issue of teacher participation in the analysis of data, the well-known problem which faces all researchers who set out to investigate characteristics of classroom communication. This problem relates to the very familiarity of classrooms which makes it difficult for one to perceive as remarkable in any way the events which occur in these contexts. It is this familiarity which led Atkinson (1981) to make the following observation on classroom communication research:

"Quite apart from problems of linguistic analysis it is all too easy for an observer to sit and watch hours of classroom life without being able to generate any lines of inquiry or working hypotheses, other than a paraphrase of 'what happened', or a commonsense evaluation of the teacher and pupils".
(p.101)

It seems to be true therefore, that while one might wish to involve teachers (and even pupils) in the interpretation of data in classroom communication research, this goal is not easy to achieve in most cases. There are consequently very few examples of studies on classroom communication in which participants (at least in the case of teachers) operate as co-researchers. For this reason, the indirect involvement by teachers in the interpretation of data

in given studies could be regarded as a sufficient criterion for the assertion to be made that the research findings of those studies are not the sole product of researchers. A study which is worth mentioning in this respect is that of Malcolm (1979) whose findings were supported by information which was obtained from teacher and teacher aide interviews. It is the case nevertheless, that even in Malcolm's work teachers played no role in the formulation of the analytic categories which he employed to examine data.

Teachers did play an indirect role in the interpretation of data in the present study, since the informal interviews which were held with them during the data collection phase of the study were later found to be useful during the interpretation of data. These informal interviews revealed for instance, that they were greatly concerned that the children in their classes could not cope with the communication demands of English as the medium of instruction. They offered a number of reasons to account for this situation such as the shortage of coursebooks in their classrooms, the poor home background of the pupils in their classes, and the fact that many of the pupils had not attended pre-primary schools. These reasons were taken into consideration in this study, especially in the analysis of data samples which exhibit code-switching. In some of these data samples, teachers deliberately request pupils to use Kiswahili instead of English as a means of re-establishing pupil participation in communication (see for instance, example (i) in Chapter 4, section 4.3).

7.2 Relative importance of non-linguistic factors in the investigation of aspects of classroom communication

Because of the lack of fit between the linguistic realisation of a given utterance and its function in on going discourse, studies of classroom communication which are based on the examination of the local organization of sequences of utterances must of necessity rely on non-linguistic factors when it comes to the interpretation of data. The non-linguistic factors which are significant in this respect are context, knowledge of the world, the experience of co-interactants and the wider socio-cultural constraints which govern interaction.

In Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) the influence of non-linguistic factors in their interpretation of data is handled in the area of distinctive choice which is labelled situation. According to Sinclair and Coulthard,

"Situation here includes all relevant factors in the environment, social conventions, and the shared experience of the participants." (p.28).

Their analysis of what they call situational categories (as opposed to discourse categories) and their rules for the interpretation of utterances (pp.29-33) are essentially dependent on the context of situation and the shared knowledge of the participants about such matters as what activities are possible or proscribed at the time an utterance is made.

At a theoretical level, this point is also argued by Levinson, (1983:29) although he rejects Sinclair and

Coulthard's research and similar work as 'misconceived', presumably because their attempt to define rules of 'form-to-force' are too simplistic. This deduction is inferable from Levinson's argument that,

"questions of context, both sequential (or discourse) context and extra-linguistic context, can play a crucial role in the assignment of utterance function. We can expect, therefore, no simple 'force conversion' rules to supply a general solution here, but rather some immensely complex inferential process that utilizes information of many different kinds." (p.291.)

Needless to say, the present study does not attempt to take up the theoretical problems of how utterance function is precisely assigned. However, it is clear that the researcher's knowledge of classroom situations in general and of the specific socio-cultural context of the Kenyan primary school was important in the interpretation of data in the study.

In this respect, it is noticeable for instance, that a non linguistic concept - the lesson segment - was chosen as the analytic unit for the identification of different elicitation types and their variants (see 3.5 and 3.6). The interpretation of specific data samples was subsequently carried out on the presupposition that teachers regarded the successful launching and accomplishment of lesson segments as their primary goal. This presupposition explains why in certain data samples when a given key elicitation fails to stimulate a response from a class, the participation of pupils in communication is re-established through the use of either a modified elicitation, a preparatory elicitation, or a

replacement elicitation (see Chapter 5).

It is also the case in the present study that all the key elicitations in data samples are identified after taking into consideration a pedagogic criterion. This criterion relates to the role of key elicitations as the principal elicitation type by means of which new lesson segments are launched in data samples. A pedagogic criterion is also significant in the identification of the preparatory elicitations in the present study. This criterion concerns the fact that the primary role of preparatory elicitations in teacher-class communication is to prepare pupils 'language-wise' or 'content-wise' for the re-introduction of the propositions in elicitation types, which having failed to evoke responses from pupils, were temporarily suspended from use. Furthermore, since in the present study the role of replacement elicitations in data samples is seen to help teachers re-launch lesson segments following the non-accomplishment of preceding segments which had been set in motion by key elicitations, it can be concluded that the identification of replacement elicitations requires definite reference to a pedagogic and therefore, non-linguistic criterion. The importance of non-linguistic factors in the interpretation of data in this study is also reflected in the decision to examine the feature of code-switching principally from the perspective of the influence of non-grammatical factors on code-switching (see chapter 3, section 3.8).

Factors of a non-linguistic nature also play a prominent role in the interpretation of data in Malcolm (1979).

This conclusion is deducible from the four questions which his study set out to answer, plus a fifth one which was later examined. These questions were as follows:

1. Do different communicative acts characterize Aboriginal interaction (as opposed to that of non-Aboriginal interactants) in the classroom?
2. Do different communicative acts characterize teacher behaviour with Aboriginal pupils (as opposed to non-Aboriginal pupils) in the classroom?
3. Do Aboriginal pupils participate differently (from non-Aboriginal pupils) in communicative routines in the classroom?
4. Do teachers participate differently in classroom communicative routines with Aboriginal pupils?
5. Can Aboriginal childrens' communicative behaviours in the classroom be related to communicative patterns in Aboriginal society? (p.310).

To answer some of these questions, Malcolm relied not only on his knowledge of classrooms, but also on an examination of events of a para-linguistic nature. His understanding of the socio-cultural factors which governed aspects of communication in Aboriginal society was also of significance in his interpretation of data.

Non-linguistic factors were significant also in the

interpretation of data in French and MacLure (1979). This is deducible from the description which the two researchers give to utterances which bear the label PREFORMULATORS. According to this description, 'preformulators' "serve to orient the child to the relevant area of experience upon which he must draw if he is to supply an appropriate answer" (p.2). The dimensions of the 'relevant area of experience' which French and MacLure were referring to in their description of preformulators include:

- the material that is physically present in the context in which interaction is taking place;
- the socio-cultural knowledge that interactants bring into interaction.

Judging from these dimensions, there are grounds for deducing that the identification of preformulators in a given sample of data must be guided, by and large, by non-linguistic factors.

In the light of the crucial role that non-linguistic factors play in the interpretation of data in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Malcolm (1979), French and MacLure (1979) and in the present work, one can conclude that studies of classroom communication which attempt to ignore non-linguistic factors are unlikely to provide a comprehensive account of the factors which influence aspects of communication in classroom contexts.

It can moreover be argued as a matter of fact that no study of conventional classroom communication which regards as important the actual words used by interactants can afford to ignore non-linguistic factors in the interpretation of data for

the simple reason that classroom communication is as it is because of the difference in status between teachers and pupils.

Reynolds (1985) has identified three levels at which assymetry operates in classroom communication. These levels are as follows:

1. the procedural: referring to the management of the unfolding structure of the classroom event.
2. the substantive: referring to the exchange and transfer of conceptual meanings, the subject-matter (and purpose) of the event.
3. the linguistic: referring to all aspects of the medium in which the event is conducted. (p.4.)

In view of the fact that the non-linguistic feature of the difference in status between teachers and pupils is also so crucial in classroom communication, it is worth asking whether the distinction between 'non-linguistic' and 'linguistic' structures with reference to the organization of classroom talk needs to be retained at all in such studies. An attempt is made to address this question in the section which follows.

7.3 The separation of 'non-linguistic' from 'linguistic' structures in studies of classroom communication

Any study of classroom communication in which the interpretation of data is guided by the principle that utterances in on going communication have discourse ties

presupposes that there is some form of structure in relevant data samples. It is because of this presupposition for instance, that it is possible in the present study, to compare the different elicitation types and their variants. It is also due to the presupposition being considered that it was stated in Chapter 2 (see sub-section 2.2.1.1) that the concept of structure, as employed in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) is in order.

The distinction must be drawn, however, at this juncture between the concept of structure as it applies to the present work and the use of this concept in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). In the present study the organization of talk that is present in data samples is by and large pedagogic and because of this factor this organization can be described as being non-linguistic. By way of comparison, it seems to be the case that Sinclair and Coulthard regard the organization of talk in their work as being linguistic in nature. This viewpoint is deducible from the two researchers' assertion that,

"the sources of meaning in discourse are of the same general type as those of other levels of language organization, especially levels that have been explored with academic rigour over many years" (and that they consequently) "were suspicious of structural proposals that had no parallel elsewhere in linguistics". (p.119).

It is this suspicion which encouraged Sinclair and Coulthard to use as the basis of their descriptive system the linguistic framework of Halliday (1961). The question must be asked, however, whether the use of Halliday's framework by the two

researchers necessarily means that non-linguistic factors were insignificant in their interpretation of data. The answer to this question, as inferable from the content of section 7.2 is negative.

It may not be misleading for the observation to be made therefore, that the differentiation of 'non-linguistic' from 'linguistic' structures in investigations of the organization of classroom talk gives the incorrect impression that in certain studies such as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), non linguistic factors were insignificant in the analysis of data whereas this is not the case. Arising from this observation, it can be argued contrary to Sinclair and Coulthard's contention, that 'structural proposals' which have a non-linguistic underpinning need not be viewed with suspicion. This is because the sources of meaning not only in classroom communication, but also in non-classroom communication cannot consistently be accounted for in linguistic terms. It is due to this factor that the present study accepts as valid Morgan and Sellner's view that,

"given the powerful common-sense abilities that are brought to bear in just making sense of the world and other people, it is thoroughly implausible to suppose that these abilities are suppressed when texts are encountered in favour of some arcane, strictly linguistic mechanism whose sole function is to process and understand discourse."
(Morgan and Sellner, 1980:196)

Taking into consideration the content of this quotation and the fact that non-linguistic factors play such an important part in the interpretation of data in studies of classroom

communication, there is a need for researchers to re-assess whether it is really necessary for the distinction to be made, between 'non-linguistic' and 'linguistic structures' in investigations of the organization of talk in classrooms. It is recognized nonetheless, in putting forward this suggestion that Sinclair and Coulthard's suspicion of 'non-linguistic' structures in studies of classroom communication stems from the fact that they were not simply interested in describing what goes on in teacher-class communication. Of more importance to them was the development of a descriptive system for the analysis of other kinds of communication and not just classroom communication.

There is reason to believe, however, that the analysis of other kinds of discourse might also be dependent on the recognition of communicative structures that are essentially non-linguistic in the same way that the 'lesson segment' in Mitchell and Parkinson (1979) and in the present work is non-linguistic. In the sub-section which follows, the study by Long (1983) on the characteristics of native/non-native speaker conversations is used to support the main point which has been made in this paragraph.

7.3.1 The significance of the study by Long (1983)

Briefly, Long's study shows that in native speaker/non-native speaker conversations, the use by the native speaker of utterances which are short and less complex from the point of view of syntactic structure is often not significant in the non native speaker's understanding of the utterances. Long points

out that of more importance are the 'adjustments' which the native speaker makes to the interactional structure of his conversations with the non-native-spaker. It is the contention in the present study that these 'adjustments' can be regarded as resources which are available to the native speaker for the maintenance of communication with the non-native speaker in non-institutional settings.

According to Long, 'adjustments' are normally made by native speakers to prevent problems from interfering with conversation, or as a repair device for conversation which has run into trouble. Long's work reveals that among the manifestations of the 'adjustments' made by native speakers in conversations with non-native speakers are the following:

- their willingness to relinquish topic control;
- their brief treatment of topics;
- their constant checks to ensure that the non-native speaker is following what is being discussed;
- their acceptance of unintentional topic switches by non-native spakers;
- their requests for clarifications and their tolerance of ambiguous utterances from the non-native speakers.

Other resources which assist the native speaker in conversations with the non-native speaker as outlined by Long concern the native speaker's use of a slower pace of delivery and pauses before key words. Long's conclusion is that the native speaker's use of these resources (including, of course,

the manifestations of 'adjustments' which have been specified)
go

"some way to making linguistic input comprehensible to the SL acquirer as evidenced by the fact that without them communication, conversation, breaks down; with their use, conversation is possible and is sustained" (p.138).

It can be argued with reference to Long's study that there is a 'control hierarchy' which in essence gives the non-native speaker command of communication with the native speaker. This command imposes a major element of structure on the pattern of communication that characterizes native speaker/non-native speaker conversations. The significant point to note is that the notion of a 'control hierarchy' is a non-linguistic abstraction.

In classroom contexts it is the teachers who like the non-native speaker in Long's study are in command of the 'control hierarchy'. It does appear therefore, that investigations of classroom communication which emphasize the importance of linguistic structures fail to give due recognition to the fact that such structures are influenced by other structures of a non-linguistic nature. It is recognised, however, in the comparison which has been drawn between how the notion of 'control hierarchy' operates in Long's study and how this notion operates in classroom contexts that there are major differences between non-institutional and institutional settings.

In this connection, in many conversational settings the difference in status between co-interactants is not so marked

that it is always one person who controls the flow of talk, as is the case in conventional classroom contexts. It is for this reason that in many conversational settings, co-interactants manage to collaborate in steering conversations towards particular goals. By way of comparison, in the present study as well as in many other studies of classroom communication, teachers and pupils engage at most only in what Reynolds (1985) refers to as 'pseudo-negotiation'. Reynolds defines pseudo-negotiation as

"the process of sharing meanings and achieving interactional ends in which one participant (the power holder) is both able to and allowed to manage the interaction within his/her own terms of reference." (p.5)

Pseudo-negotiation is a form of pseudo communication. A major feature of pseudo communication is that standard communicative functions appear to operate, but are, in fact, unreal "meaningless manipulation of the linguistic code" as Brumfit (1984:114) puts it.

A further point to note is that in conversational settings the sources of particular communication problems can be identified with a certain degree of confidence. This is especially the case when in a given context interactants are able to state the nature of the communication problems facing them, as is illustrated for example, in the study by Varonis and Gass (1985). In this study, Varonis and Gass examine the characteristics of non-native speaker non-native speaker conversations, and in the following examples which are taken from their work, there are overt signals that the brief

conversations which are represented by the examples are not proceeding smoothly:

(i) 140 J: ... research

140 J: Research, I don't know the meaning. (p.74)

(ii) ULJ: Are you a student in your country?

120S: in my class?

ULJ: in your country?

120S: Oh, I don't understand (p.76)

By way of comparison, in the case of the present study, the identification of the sources of particular communication problems was not a straightforward matter. This was because the difference in status between teachers and pupils made it difficult for pupils to make explicit statements either that they had not understood the teacher's elicitations, or, if they had understood these elicitations, that they could not provide the expected responses because of problems of a conceptual nature or because of inadequate linguistic ability at the productive level. It is for this reason that it was decided that in the examination of data samples, any non-response to an elicitation would be regarded merely as an indication of a breakdown in communication rather than an attempt to discover the precise contributing factor or factors in the nonresponse.

If children could state the nature of the difficulties which face them in teacher-class communication, not only would the teachers be given an insight into pupils' learning problems, but researchers would be in a better position to

discuss with confidence the sources of particular communication problems in class. However, since pupils rarely accept that they have not heard what a teacher is saying,² let alone admit that they have not understood what is being said, researchers must of necessity continue to employ procedures which do not require pupils to assist in the identification of the sources of particular communication problems in classrooms. This viewpoint is nevertheless subsidiary to the main concern in this section which has been to suggest that the distinction between 'nonlinguistic' and 'linguistic' structures in investigations of the organization of classroom talk needs to be re-examined in view of the evidence for the close interdependence between language use and environmental and social features.

7.4 Importance of idealization in the selection and analysis of data

A common practice in generative linguistics has been to ignore such factors as memory limitations, slips of the tongue and errors in the analysis of data samples because these factors are regarded as grammatically irrelevant. (See for instance Chomsky, 1965). A generative linguist consequently regards as perfectly acceptable data "which are the linguist's own introspections or intuitions: data which he has elicited from himself" (Stubbs, 1983:33). One could draw the conclusion therefore that a significant degree of idealization is involved in the postulation of the general statements which are often made after the selection and analysis of data by generative

linguists.³

Researchers in other branches of linguistics also employ idealized data in their investigations. This conclusion is inferable from Stubbs, (1983) who has noted that in the study of language a decision has to be made at some stage or another on how much idealization is "necessary or justifiable" (p.10). In Stubbs' view this decision is often determined by three considerations which relate to :

- the size of the units to be selected for analysis.
- the nature of the data to be analyzed as manifested in the distinction between contrived or introspective data as opposed to naturally occurring data.
- the inclusion or otherwise of the non-linguistic features of context in the analysis of data.

These considerations have some relevance for the present study. They are consequently examined in some detail in the discussion which follows.

It is the case with reference to Stubbs' first consideration that the objectives of the present study made it imperative that the units to be selected and analyzed had to be larger than the sentence as a unit of grammar. The reasons for this decision have already been explained in chapter 3. Some of these reasons are related to the fact that in the analysis of data the researcher depended not only on his knowledge of classroom conventions (see section 3.4) but also on his understanding for instance of the socio-cultural situation in Kenya (see section 3.8). Since only certain portions of transcripts were extracted to serve as data in this study, it is apparent that some degree of idealization affects these

data.

This degree of idealization could have been lessened if the study had adopted Labov's suggestion that researchers should make available to the readers of their findings relevant corpora in the form of audio-recordings for example. Readers can then examine these corpora to see if they can arrive at alternative conclusions (see Labov, 1972).

As for Stubbs' second consideration, since the data in the present study are not contrived or introspective, the statement can be made that they are not affected by the kind of idealization that is often associated with the use of contrived and introspective data in language research. It should be noted however, that despite the measures which were taken to ensure that the presence of the researcher and a tape-recorder in relevant classrooms did not unduly un-settle the participants in the study⁴ (see the discussion in chapter 1, section 1.2). One can conclude that the communication that was eventually recorded was affected by idealization since it had some element of un-naturalness in it. This un-naturalness was due in part to the participants' awareness that they were being recorded as the following extract from a lesson transcript illustrates.

T/15: Okay. Now the group leader eh is going to be the teacher. He is going to lead the discussion. Aya [Okay]. Wanjohi you can begin.

P: I...I call you here to help me to answer these questions. Will...will you help me?

PS: Yes.

P: What is a grasshopper?

P1: It..it is a living thing.

P: Do you agree?

PS: Yes.

T/16: Speak loudly. We can't get your voice if you don't speak loudly.

P: Where...where.

T/17: It did not get it (ie. the tape-recorder). You must speak loudly. Ask 'where does the grasshopper live?'

What is striking in this extract is that the teacher makes explicit references to the presence of the tape-recorder in his class (see in this connection utterances T/16 and T/17). These references indicate that the teacher and the class had not forgotten that they were being recorded.

At this juncture, the question must be asked however, whether in classroom communication research it is really possible to base a given study on 'natural' data. Since the presence of observers and tape-recorders in classrooms invariably affect in some way aspects of communication in classroom contexts, the answer to this question must surely be in the negative. This answer is valid only if by 'natural' is meant 'unaffected by the presence of observers and tape-recorders.' The answer to the question being examined would conversely be in the affirmative if one's understanding of 'natural' entailed the acceptance of Wolfson's contention that:

".....there is no single, absolute entity answering to the

notion of natural/casual speech. If speech is felt to be appropriate to a situation and the goal, then it is natural in that context. The context itself may be formal or informal, interview or conversation. It is only when norms of speaking are uncertain or violated that one gets 'unnatural' speech" (Wolfson, 1976:202).

Despite Wolfson's contention, there is still some room for arguing that some degree of idealization affects the data in the present study. This idealization, as has already been pointed out, is linked to the effect which the presence of the researcher and a tape-recorder had on the communication which was recorded in given classrooms. Since for sometime to come observers and tape-recorders will continue to be part and parcel of classroom communication research, it is difficult to see how at this point in time the kind of idealization associated with their presence in classroom contexts can be eliminated in relevant data. The present study has no solutions to offer in this regard.

The idealization that affects the data in the present study also stems from the fact that these data do not illustrate all the relevant features of on going communication. As an example, it is noticeable that none of the data illustrate the part played by para-linguistic, kinesic and proxemic features in on going teacher-class communication. The decision not to examine the part played by these features in the study was of course determined by the objectives of the study. These objectives are specified in chapter 1 (see section 1.0). It is the case however, that even if these objectives dictated that consideration be given in the study to the features under discussion, it is unlikely that such

considerations would satisfactorily have been given. This is because, as at present, the analytic models for the study of language cannot satisfactorily be employed in the investigation of all the relevant features of on going communication. Some of these features have even proved to be extremely difficult to define. A typical feature in this respect is that of context. It is significant for the purposes of the present discussion because it is related to the issue of the inclusion or otherwise of the non-linguistic features of context in studies such as this one.

It might be of use to recall at this point part of what was stated in section 7.2 to the effect that non-linguistic factors invariably play a crucial role in the analysis of data in probably all studies which are concerned with the examination of the local organisation of utterance sequences. Among the non-linguistic factors which was specified in section 7.2 was the feature of context. This feature was found to be of considerable assistance in the analysis of most of the data samples in this study. As an example, the feature of utterance context was taken into account not only in the identification of the sources of some communication problems (see chapter 3, section 3.4) but also in the identification of the different elicitation types and their variants. Similarly, since the study was conducted in a particular socio-cultural context, it was discovered that socio-cultural factors acted as an important influence on code-switching in certain data samples (see chapter 6, section 6.1).

The notion of context has deliberately been used in the preceding paragraph with some degree of vagueness⁵. This vagueness illustrates the fact that although notions such as utterance context and context occur regularly in the repertoire of language researchers, they have rarely defined them in a satisfactory manner in relevant studies. The present study suffers from the same weakness. Lyons (1968) has nevertheless given the following definition of the notion of utterance context:

"...the context of an utterance cannot simply be identified with the spatio temporal situation in which it occurs: it must be held to include not only the relevant objects and actions taking place at the time, but also the knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer of what has been said earlier, in so far as this is pertinent to the understanding of the utterance. It must also be taken to include the tacit acceptance by the speaker and hearer of all the relevant conventions, beliefs and presuppositions 'taken for granted' by the members of the speech community to which the speaker and hearer belong" (p.413).

The term 'context' has by way of comparison been defined by Ochs in Ochs and Schieffelin eds. (1979) as a feature which:

"includes minimally, language users' beliefs and assumptions about temporal, spatial, and social settings; prior, on going, and future actions (verbal, non-verbal), and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction in hand" (p.5).

Despite the difficulties faced by researchers in providing definitions which contain exhaustive accounts of the contextual features that characterize the notions of 'utterance

context' and 'context', one cannot underate the relevance of these notions, for the study of communication in the classroom, as is demonstrated by the methods of data analysis that are employed in this study (see chapter 3). The theoretical implication of this fact is that an adequate descriptive apparatus of classroom interaction cannot be based exclusively on surface structure characteristics. It must make direct reference to non-linguistic factors, without which the function of utterances in the classroom is obscure.

NOTES:

1. An alternative definition of the term 'triangulation' is provided by Stubbs (1983) who states that triangulation "refers to collecting and comparing different perspectives on a situation. Thus survey data might be checked against ethnographic observations, and more generally quantitative data might be checked against qualitative reports, and vice versa". (p.234).

2. This conclusion is inferable from Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who make the following observation:

"In every communicative situation there will be times when someone does not hear" (yet there) "are no examples in our tapes of a child admitting to not hearing". (pp.55-56).

The data which appear in the present study lend support to this conclusion.

3. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the data used by generative linguists are often not only regularized but also standardized. For the definitions of the terms regularization and standardization in theoretical linguistics, see the discussion in Lyons, 1977:586-587.
4. There is justification in concluding that the presence of the tape-recorder in the classrooms which were observed had nevertheless, some effect on the communication that was recorded. This justification arises from the fact that the awareness by interactants that they are being recorded tends to affect their speech in various ways. As an example, they might for instance shift their speech style from the informal "towards the formal end of the spectrum" (see Labov, 1972:113). It is due to this factor that in the opinion of Labov the appropriate speech style that ought to be investigated by researchers is the "vernacular". He defines the 'vernacular' as that speech style which is least controlled by close monitoring of speech.
5. Levinson (1983) has stated that although the availability of lists which illustrate relevant contextual features reduces the vagueness associated with the way in which the term context is employed in language research there is no theory at the moment to help predict "the relevance of all such features." He notes that this can be "an embarrassment to a definition that seems to rely on the notion of context." (p.23).

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

The contents of this concluding chapter are as follows. The first section has a summary of the main findings of the study. Then follows in the second section an account of some implications for primary level teaching in Kenya which arise from the findings of the study. The final section of this chapter contains an outline of two possible areas for future research into aspects of communication in Kenyan primary classrooms.

8.1 Summary of findings

Among the objectives of this study was the investigation of the sources of communication problems in given classrooms during the change-over period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching. Relevant data samples show on the whole that some of the communication problems which pupils encountered in classrooms were due to:

- teachers' incorporation of 'specialist' items of vocabulary' in elicitations (see 4.1)
- teachers' insistence that pupils should use 'full sentences' in responding to elicitations (see 4.2.1).

Other problems in teacher-class communication occurred because pupils were largely incapable of participating in certain activities through the medium of English. The activities in question are exemplified in the present study by role-play (see 4.3), role-exchange (see 4.4) and story-telling

(see 4.5).

This study has also shown that in some cases the response requirements of elicitations which were in English made it difficult for pupils to provide appropriate responses. The elicitations which created special problems for pupils in this respect were those which were inference based (see 4.2.2), open (see 4.2.3), non-context based (see 4.2.4) or non-clued (see 4.2.5).

The most significant findings in the study concern however the discovery that by using different elicitation types and by code-switching to Kiswahili teachers were largely able to sustain pupil participation in classroom communication. The elicitation types which were found to be important in the maintenance of pupil participation in communication were modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations. Teachers' use of these elicitation types coupled with their recourse to code-switching to accomplish lesson segments having elicitation - non-response sequences was found to be greater than their use of other available strategies to sustain the flow of classroom talk (see tables 6.1 and 6.2). These other available strategies are specified in chapter 5 as the use of clues, repetition of the same elicitation, nomination, prompting and also the use of own response to re-establish pupil participation in communication.

The present study has shown furthermore that code-switching occurred for pedagogical reasons in twenty-five out of the fifty-eight data samples which were available for the

analysis of the role of code-switching in the maintenance of communication (see the discussion in the introductory part of chapter 6). By way of comparison, there were only two cases of code-switching that could be linked to the factor of topic in the whole study.

The significance of these findings must of course be viewed from the perspective of the fact that some idealization runs through the method that was adopted to investigate the part played by code-switching in the maintenance of communication. This idealization meant that in the examination of certain data samples there was a tendency to disregard the contribution made by the influence of a combination of factors to code-switching. Since the reasons for code-switching are often intertwined (see for instance Rubin, 1968 and Gumperz and Wilson, 1971), the tendency being discussed might be viewed as a weakness in the present study. This tendency nevertheless raises some serious questions about the adequacy of current methodologies for the study of the reasons behind code-switching in face-to-face communication particularly when the relevant research data are in the form of tape-recordings and transcripts and when the analysis of data is based principally on the examination of tape-recordings and transcripts.

8.2 Implications of the findings of the study for primary level teaching

Although only two schools provided the data for this study, the findings of the study nonetheless have certain implications for primary level teaching in Kenya. These

implications can be presented in the form of the following questions:

1. Taking into account the sources of problems in teacher-class communication as specified in this study, how can pupil participation in communication be encouraged in Kenyan primary classrooms?

2. What is the significance of using modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in teaching?

3. In which circumstances should Kiswahili be used in teacher-class communication during the changeover period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching?

Consideration is given in sub-section 8.2.1 to the first question, in sub-section 8.2.2 to the second question, and in sub-section 8.2.3 to the third question.

8.2.1 Possible ways of encouraging pupil participation in teacher-class communication

Allwright (1984) cites some arguments which have been put forward in support of getting pupils to communicate in classrooms. Among the arguments is the proposition that

"communicative practice in the classroom is pedagogically useful because it represents a necessary and productive stage in the transfer of classroom learning to the outside world." (pp.156-7)

An alternative argument, as presented by Allwright, relates to the proposition that the process of communication contributes to learning especially during language lessons. Allwright

subsequently states that

"classroom interaction is important because interaction is the sine qua non of classroom pedagogy" (and) "from this point of view, then, there is no point in being 'for' or 'against' interaction, since it is an inescapable and inescapably crucial aspect of classroom life" (p.159).

The type of interaction which Allwright was referring to in the above quotation is that between teachers and learners and not the type which occurs in the context of 'communication practice'. In the work being discussed, Allwright shows how specific modes of participation enable students to contribute to the management of interaction in classroom contexts. Among the modes of participation cited by Allwright are negotiation and navigation.

The present study regards as important Allwright's view that interaction is an essential part of classroom pedagogy. It is for this reason that even at primary school level, pupils should be encouraged to participate in classroom communication, and such encouragement could be provided by teachers' judicious use of 'specialist' items of vocabulary especially in the context of elicitations. It would also be helpful for teachers to accept as satisfactory pupil responses which are not in 'full-sentence' form. In cases where there are communication break-downs as manifested in the inability of pupils to respond to elicitations for instance, teachers should make greater use of non-inference based or clued elicitations to sustain pupil participation in communication.

The expectation in Kenya that pupils in lower primary

classes can participate in certain activities through the medium of English during the change-over period from Kiswahili to English medium teaching without the necessary prior preparation needs also to be re-examined by teachers. This is because the evidence from the present study strongly indicates that pupils were largely incapable of participating in activities such as role-play, role-exchange and story-telling through the medium of English. Pupils consequently found it difficult to enjoy participating in these activities which is unfortunate because by virtue of their nature, activities such as role-play for instance are supposed to be enjoyable to participants (see Kerr, ed. 1977).

In the light of the above, it might be useful for teachers to ask themselves whether their pupils have the necessary English language resources for participation in role-play, role-exchange and story-telling before incorporating these activities into lessons. If it should turn out that pupils are deficient in the English language resources necessary for satisfactory participation in a given activity, teachers must be prepared to teach and practice the relevant language realisations¹ required for the activity. This suggestion is consistent with that of Abbott (1981) who has pointed out that drills are necessary as a means of preparing pupils for acts of communication. Through such preparation teachers would make it possible for pupils to be active participants in classroom communication through the medium of English.

8.2.2 Significance of using modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations in teaching

This study has shown that by using modified, preparatory and replacement elicitations teachers can to a significant extent maintain pupil participation in communication. The over dependence on the use of these elicitation types by a teacher would indicate however, that many of the elicitations employed by the teacher to set off given lesson segments are unsuitable (see also the discussion in chapter 5, section 5.4). Consequently, in planning their lessons it would be appropriate for teachers to give greater consideration to the formulation of the elicitations they intend to use in given lessons.

8.2.3 Circumstances for the use of Kiswahili in teacher-class communication

This study has shown that Kiswahili is an important medium for the maintenance of pupil participation in communication not only in Science and Number-Work lessons, but also in English lessons. The view is held in this study nevertheless, that in English lessons emphasis should be placed on the use of English and not Kiswahili. The reasons in support of this view are specified in the English language coursebooks for primary schools in Kenya. In one of these coursebooks it is stated that:

"during an English period we want English to be used as much as possible, if only for the common-sense reason that the more English a learner hears and uses during the

period, the more English he is likely to learn. Moreover, it gives a child great confidence in his teacher and in himself as a learner to realize that he has heard and used nothing but English." (Ministry of Education, 1975:9)
(Progressive Peak English Coursebook: p.9)

If however , in the course of a given English lesson pupils are unable to follow particular explanations through the medium of English, some code switching to Kiswahili would clearly be necessary on the part of the teacher. What teachers should avoid in English lessons is the unnecessary recourse to the use of Kiswahili as is exemplified for instance in Chapter 4 (section 4.6) where the use of this language to set the scene for the oral practice of a language pattern from English was probably responsible for the following grammatically incorrect response from the class:

*' I am sitting everyday'

*' I playing (everyday)'. .

In the same chapter (see 4.7), the recourse to the use of Kiswahili to stimulate pupils into producing utterances which were in English led to the production of the grammatically incorrect response,

*'I have sitting down.'

by a pupil.

The shortcomings which have been outlined in this subsection concerning the use of Kiswahili in English lessons can be eradicated if teachers asked themselves the following question before code-switching to Kiswahili:

'In what way would the accomplishment of a given lesson segment be affected if there was no code switch?'

In the teaching of content subjects, code-switching to Kiswahili could be employed as a means of encouraging pupils to be participants in classroom communication. The reason for this is that in some of the content subjects like Science for example, children are supposed to learn about their environment principally by means of 'discovery procedures' which can best be tackled through the medium of a familiar language.

8.3 Possible areas for future research

It was not the intention in this study to compare how language is used in the teaching of English, Science and Number-Work. A future study could therefore examine the role which language plays in the teaching of these subjects and assess whether at the primary school level the distinction between 'skill subjects' and 'content subjects' is of any significance.

An alternative study could investigate how communication is maintained in classrooms in which English, Kiswahili and a third or even a fourth language such as Luhya and Dholuo for example occur in the context of code-switches.

NOTE:

1. The teaching and practice of appropriate language realizations should be taken to mean that there would be no attempt to let pupils handle 'authentic materials'. This is because as Swan (1985a) has pointed out "elementary students, faced with authentic material that is not very carefully chosen, may find it so difficult that they get bogged down in a morass of unfamiliar lexis and idiom" (p.85).

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