The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

of

Rhodes University
Grahamstown, South Africa

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Volume I: Text
December 2015

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, original. This thesis has not been submitted previously, partly or wholly, for the award of a university degree in any other university.

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December 2015

Abstract

The Kenyan language in education policy contemplates development of trilingual literacy skills in pupils by the end of standard three. The purpose of this study was to determine to what extent standard three pupils were literate in their mother tongue (Ekegusii), Kiswahili, and English. The study was undertaken in the context of; a language in education policy that provides for the use of mother tongues and Kiswahili (as languages of instruction) in rural and urban schools respectively up to the end of standard three, followed by a transition to an English medium from standard four; a general negative public attitude towards mother tongue instruction; and substantial empirical evidence in support of mother tongue instruction in basic education. Cummins' Linguistic Interdependence and Linguistic Threshold Hypotheses guided the study. Adopting a mixed methods approach, the study used direct classroom observations, face-to-face interviews, document analyses, and reading tests to obtain data. Thematic, content, and statistical approaches were used in data analysis.

It was found that various stakeholders understand key aspects of the language in education policy differently. Secondly, efforts in mother tongue instruction in schools are not motivated by theoretical and empirical foundations; development efforts are hence ineffective and inadequate leaving majority of learners with below average literacy skills in their mother tongue by the end of standard three. Thirdly, teachers do not implement the language in education policy as spelt out in the relevant documents; the three languages have therefore been allocated various classroom functions. Fourthly, the factors that motivate the disregard of the language policy include the language of examinations and textbooks, and transition to standard four in which English is the language of instruction. Lastly, reading scores indicate that majority of pupils transiting to standard four do not possess adequate reading skills to enable them read to learn in a mother tongue, Kiswahili, and English. This is observed across rural, peri-urban, and urban schools.

The study recommends that: The ministry of education conducts workshops to re-educate the relevant stakeholders on the meaning and significance of the language in education policy and the significance of mother tongue instruction in second language, literacy, and skill development. This should be followed by a re-classification of primary schools on the basis of linguistic homogeneity, or otherwise, to ensure the intention of the policy is achieved. This could include empowering individual schools to determine language of instruction in lower primary based on language predominance. Secondly, the ministry should provide relevant resources for mother tongues and Kiswahili to develop them as effective languages of instruction as recommended by various past education commission reports. Additionally, a bilingual course in teacher training colleges to equip primary school teachers for bilingualism and biliteracy development should be introduced; one implication of this is teachers giving notes and tests in the languages spelt out in the policy. Thirdly, the ministry should intensify inspection of schools to assess implementation of the policy. Fourthly, future studies should assess mother tongue literacies as well, since they determine the extent and success of second language acquisition and learning; and measures should be put to ensure English is adequately resourced and taught well. Finally, mother tongue instruction should be extended up to, at least, standard five.

…literacy should be grounded in the affirmation of the students' first language…

−Russell Kaschula, 2013

To Mose and Bwari

To Eve

To Nique, Tyler, Trevor, and Tevyl

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADEA   Association for the Development of Education in Africa
A-level   Advanced Level
BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation
BFLA   Bilingual First Language Acquisition
B.Ed   Bachelor of Education
BICS   Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
btn.   Between
CALP   Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
Cat/cat   Category-of the three school categories in this study
CAT(s)   Continuous Assessment Test(s)
CBD   Central Business District
CDE(s)   County Director(s) of Education
CEA   Canadian Education Association
cens.   Census
cqaso(s)   County quality assurance and standards officer(s)
C.R.E.   Christian Religious Education
DEO(s)   District Education Officer(s)
dev.   Deviation
diff.   Different
DN   Daily Nation
Dq   Short form for dqaso
dqaso(s)   District quality assurance and standards officer(s)
ECDE   Early Child Development Education
Ed/Edu.   Education
EFA   Education for All
Eke.   Ekegusii
ELLs   English Language Learners
Eng.   English
EPRDF   Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Forces
EU   European Union
Exp.   Experience
Gen.   Gender
GoK   Government of Kenya
hq(s)   Headquarter(s)
Ht/htr(s)   Head teacher(s)
ICT   Information Communication Technology
Intev.   Interview
IT   Information Technology
KANU   Kenya African National Union

KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KCE	Kenya Certificate Education
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
KEPSHA	Kenya Primary Schools Heads Association
KIE	Kenya Institute of Education
Kis.	Kiswahili
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNEC	Kenya National Examinations Council
KNLS	Kenya National Library Services
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
Knw.	Knowledge
KUPPET	Kenya Union of Post Primary Education Teachers
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LASS	Language Acquisition Support System
LIH	Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis
LoI(s)	Language(s) of Instruction
LTH	Linguistic Threshold Hypothesis
L1	Language one/first language
L2	Language two/second language
L3	Language three/third language
M	Male
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M.Ed	Master of Education
MoE	Ministry of Education
MSS	Mean Standard Score
N	Noun
NACOSTI	National Council for Science, Technology, and Innovation
NASMLA	National System for Monitoring Learner Achievement
NCES	(In the United States of America) National Centre for Education Statistics
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLG	New London Group
No/no.	Number
not.	Notation
Obsv.	Observation
P(s)	Pupil(s)
PE	Physical Education
pri.	Primary
PRIMR	Primary Math and Reading
proj.	Projection

P1	Primary One
qaso(s)	Quality assurance and standards officer(s)
Qu/qu.	Question
R	Research
Resp.	Response/respondent
RP	Received Pronunciation
SACMEQ	Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
Sch/sch(s)	School(s)
SCH	Short Circuit Hypothesis
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
STD	Standard (e.g. standard one)
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
T/tr(s)	Teacher(s)
TFLA	Trilingual First Language Acquisition
TOEFL	Teaching of English as a Foreign Language
TTC(s)	Teacher Training College(s)
TUKI	Taasisi ya Utafiti wa Kiswahili [Institute for Kiswahili Research]
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization
US	United States (of America)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

Definitions

Abagusii
People, belonging to a western Bantu group in Kenya, who speak Ekegusii (see also Gusii, Kisii).They occupy the Kisii and Nyamira Counties of western Kenya. This study was conducted in schools in the two counties.

Bilingual
It is having the ability to use two or more languages in either speech or writing. It could describe communities or individuals. Usually, there is no equal command of both languages. In the literature, it is used to also refer to individuals/communities who are trilingual, quadrilingual, or multilingual.

Bilingual first language

acquisition
It is acquiring two languages concurrently in natural contexts. It could be at home, or a combination of the home and the neighbourhood. Parents could choose to speak two different languages in the home which growing children acquire.

Bilingual literacy
It is the ability to read and write in two languages. It is also referred to as biliteracy. The general meaning in the literature is the ability to read and write in two or more languages.

Bilingualism
The concept that communities or individuals use two/more languages in speech or writing. The level of command of the two languages could depend on sociolinguistic factors including attitudes, profession, or legislation. In the literature, it is used to also refer to trilingualism and multilingualism.

Code switching
It is the use of more than one language in a single communication event by bilingual individuals. This could also be exhibited in writing. It is a phenomenon common in bilingual or multilingual contexts.

Conceptualization
It is understanding of something. In this study, it is what relevant stakeholders understand terminology in the Kenyan education language policy to mean and its operationalization in schools.

County
It is a semi-autonomous region in Kenya. There are 47 counties. Kisii and Nyamira, covering the Gusii region, are two of these. Counties are, legally, in charge of pre-primary education.

District
It is a sub-division of a county also referred to as sub-county. For instance, Kisii County is sub-divided into nine districts.

Ekegusii
The language of a western Bantu group of people who live in the Gusii region of western Kenya (see Kisii). Ekegusii should be a language of instruction up to standard three according to the language in education policy.

Epistemic	Related to knowledge. The word is derived from the noun epistemology which refers to the theory of knowledge. In this study, use of mother tongues in teaching and learning could facilitate acquisition of knowledge, especially in lower primary, as opposed to the use of English.
First language	It is the language a person learns first. In this study, Ekegusii. See L1, mother tongue, and native language. Most Kenyans from the 42 tribes acquire a first language (often a mother tongue) and later learn Kiswahili and English in school.
Frequency	The number of times something occurs. Frequency of scores in tests administered in this study is discussed in Chapter Ten and presented in tables in the appendices.
Gusii	The territory inhabited by the Ekegusii-speaking people of western Kenya. It is also referred to as Kisii.
Interdependence	It refers to things/situations depending on each other. In this study, it is the concept that two languages depend on one another in that acquisition of one facilitates the acquisition of the other. Interdependence is anchored on the principle of language universals. Knowledge of Kiswahili and English in this study could be dependent on knowledge of Ekegusii according to some linguists.
Kisii	Kisii Town or also the territory inhabited by the Ekegusii-speaking people of western Kenya. See also Gusii.
L1	See first language and mother tongue.
L2	See second language.
L3	See third language.
Language acquisition	The process of acquiring a language in natural contexts. Children usually acquire their mother tongues through this process. In Kenya, a majority of the population acquire their mother tongues and later learn Kiswahili and English in schools.
Language learning	The process of acquiring academic-type proficiency of a language in school type contexts. In Kenya, both Kiswahili and English are generally learnt in schools where they are taught as subjects.
Language planning	Processes that allocate languages roles they play in a community. In Kenyan education, mother tongues are supposed to be used in teaching up to standard three in linguistically homogeneous

	regions. In linguistically heterogeneous regions, Kiswahili should be used. Kiswahili is also the country's national language.
Linguistically homogeneous	(A place) with people who speak a common language. In Gusii, the level of homogeneity could be estimated at 4.5 in a scale of 5; it could be 5 in a scale of 5 except for the presence of mainly speakers of Agikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Somali, Luhya, etc, in especially Kisii, Nyamira, and Keroka Towns.
Linguistically heterogeneous	(A place) with people who speak different languages. In Kenya, major towns (Nairobi, Kisumu, Mombasa, Nakuru, etc) exhibit this feature. The level of heterogeneity in Kisii, Nyamira, and Keroka Towns of Gusii could be, averagely, 0.5 in a scale of 5.
Literacy	The ability to read and write. Literacy is also manifested in speech for example in a presentation. This study measured literacy using reading tests in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English. The literacy tested was ability to read, understand, and respond correctly to comprehension questions from standard three level texts.
Mother tongue	It is the language a person learns first, especially from the mother or babysitter. See first language and L1. Generally, in Kenya, a mother tongue is acquired at home and developed in the neighbourhood due to the predominant linguistic homogeneity in most regions in the country. Apart from English and in some cases Kiswahili, the 42 languages spoken in the country could be correctly referred to as mother tongues.
Mother tongue instruction	It is the teaching of mother tongue subject and using it as a medium of instruction. The Kenyan language in education policy prescribes this up to standard three in linguistically homogeneous regions/rural areas.
Motivation	The reason for doing something. In this study, it refers to the reasons for teachers' use of each of the three languages in classroom teaching and learning.
Multilingual	It is being able to use two or more languages in either speech or writing. It could describe communities or individuals. Usually, there is no equal command of any two/more of the languages. In the literature, it is used to also refer to bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual.
Multilingualism	The concept that communities or people use two/more languages in speech or writing. The level of command of the languages could depend on sociolinguistic factors including attitudes, profession, or education. In the literature, it is used to also refer to bilingualism and trilingualism.

Orange Book	A Kenyan ministry of education publication that lists all approved books to be used in primary and secondary schools, and in some tertiary institutions. No book could be bought by a public school if it is not listed in the book; buying is treated as misappropriation of public funds which is legally punishable.
Pedagogical	To do with teaching.
Quadrilingual	It is being able to use four languages in speech or writing. It is used to refer to communities or individuals. Often, proficiency in each of the four languages varies depending on the frequency of use of each of the languages. Compare bilingual, trilingual, multilingual.
Second language	It refers to the language a person acquires/learns after the mother tongue/first language. It could sometimes be acquired concurrently with the first one in what is referred to as bilingual first language acquisition. Also L2.
Sub-county	Sub-division of a county in Kenya also referred to as district. Kenya is divided into 47 counties that are semi-autonomous.
Third language	It is a language a person acquires/learns after the first two. It could also be acquired concurrently with the first two in what is referred to as trilingual first language acquisition. Also L3.
Trilingual	This is the ability to use three languages. This could be either in speaking or writing or both. Proficiency in either speaking or writing could possibly vary. It describes individuals or communities. Compare bilingual, quadrilingual, multilingual.
Trilingual first language acquisition	It is acquiring three languages concurrently in natural contexts. It could happen in homes where parents speak two different languages. A third language could be acquired in the neighbourhood, or from the babysitter if she speaks a language different from the parents.
Trilingual literacy	It is the ability to read and write in three languages. In this study, reading literacy of standard three pupils was tested in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English.

Tables

Figures

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1   Introduction

This thesis reports on the development of trilingual literacy development efforts in primary schools in Kenya. It was conducted against a backdrop of global concerns over delayed or unattained early literacy skills which is key to the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA, whose deadline is in the year 2015) targets. For Kenya, early school literacy is essential for the realization of the national education goals as well as for the achievement of Vision 2030. Significance attached to literacy across the world is captured by Baker and Jones and United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as follows;

> In education systems throughout the world, reading and writing are usually regarded as central in the curriculum. In developed and developing countries, literacy is often associated with progress, civilization, social mobility, and economic advancement (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 596).

> There are good reasons to place literacy at the core of education for all: A good basic education gives pupils literacy skills for life and further learning; literate parents are more likely to send their children to school; literate people are better able to access continuing educational opportunities; and literate societies are better geared to meet pressing development challenges (UNESCO, 2005a).

Its importance is further demonstrated by; the number of both governmental and non-governmental organizations that dedicate millions of dollars yearly to fund literacy development efforts; the meetings held regularly by international organisations (e.g. UNESCO, Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL]) to evaluate progress made in literacy development initiatives; and the millions of dollars spent yearly in literacy censuses across the world.

1.2   Literacy statuses: Global, sub-Saharan Africa, and Kenyan

Global literacy trends have shifted variously from the year 1990 depending on the parts of the world studied. In this section, adult literacy statuses are presented but details are skewed towards countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Kenya. Sub-Saharan Africa shares two features critical in this thesis; almost all of them were colonized; and in almost all of them, languages of former colonial powers were adopted for education and are still used as languages of instruction (LoIs) today. Adult literacy is significant since adults form the majority of persons who obtained their education-offered in foreign languages-after African countries had got their independence from the late Sixties and early Seventies. Their literacy skills, in a way, is a commentary on the level of success

(there could be other intervening variables) of these foreign media of education. The sources of information in this section are UNESCO (2013) and Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS, 2007). The statistics should be read cautiously; the definition of literacy used in the study by UNESCO is the United Nations' (UN's, 2008) restricted definition (cited in Section 3.3.1) which is merely functional. The contrast between this definition and the concept of multiliteracy (see Section 3.3.2 for details on multiliteracy) is enormous.

In 2011, global adult literacy status stood at an average of 84% with male literacy slightly higher than female literacy. In sub-Saharan Africa, the status was 60% with majority being male. According to UNESCO (2013), 774 million people lacked in basic literacy skills in the same year, with ¾ of these living in south and west Asia (407 million) and sub-Saharan Africa (182 million). A higher percentage of the global illiterate people were women. Projections of literacy statuses of various countries show that in the 2005-2014 decade, sub-Saharan Africa literacy would stand at 59%. By 2015, the global literacy rate was projected to reach 86%, missing the targeted literacy level by 5%. In the same projection, sub-Saharan Africa would be furthest from the 2015 target by possibly attaining 64 % literacy against a target of 79%.

Between 1990 and 2011, adult illiterate population fell from 881 million in 1990 to 774 million in 2011 globally except in south-west Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. In the two regions, literacy improvements were not sufficient to keep pace with population growth. Instead, sub-Saharan Africa witnessed an increase in the number of illiterate adults from 133 million in 1990 to 182 million in 2011. By 2015 the global adult illiterate population was projected to fall by 31 million but 743 million adults were still expected to lack basic literacy skills mainly in south and west Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. In the 2000-2011 decade, 17 out of 136 countries, many of which from sub-Saharan Africa, had a fall in adult literacy. In 2007, 61.5% of adult Kenyans had attained minimum literacy level leaving 38.5% (7.8 million) adults illiterate. Out of the 61.5%, only 29.6% of the adult population had mastered desired literacy and numeracy competencies (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics [KNBS], 2007; see Kenyan school literacy trends in Section 4.3 and in Chapter Ten).

A number of reasons may have led to this state of literacy in Africa and elsewhere including economic and social factors. Another possible factor is the language in education question. Citing its importance, Wolff (2011) observes that language is not everything in education, but without

language, everything in education is nothing. As discussed in Chapter Two, the language in education in African education has been identified as a decisive factor in academic success or otherwise. Any meaningful education ought to be communicated in a medium, if possible, deficient of barriers. But as Alexander (2003) observes, in Africa, children are made to learn in second languages which they barely understand. Could the trend of literacy (literacy and language are connected; see Sections 1.3 and 3.3.4) status in Africa be attributed to language(s) of education both for the first generation after independence and for subsequent ones?

1.3   Centrality of language in literacy development

Literacy is indispensable for academic progress (Baker, 2001; Nsibambi, 2000). For many years, various organizations have grappled with how best to develop early literacy. For instance, literacy is a key aspect of UNESCO's EFA goals (UNESCO, 2011). Presupposed in the literacy development debate is language. The relationship between language, education, and literacy is understood this way;

> Basic education and literacy are closely linked to language, because it is through language(s) that all educational contents and skills are transmitted and consumed…education has to do with developing the cognitive skills of the individual, which cannot be easily separated from his/her (pupil's) language skills (Wolff, 2006a, p. 6).

> Language and literacy cannot be separated. Put another way, both spoken language and written language are language. They are different sides of the same coin. Central to both is the creation and construction of meaning. Both are socially constructed. Both are developed in and through use, as learners generate, test, and refine hypotheses (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998, pp. 101-102).

This brings about the question of choice of languages to teach and to teach in given that sub-Saharan Africa is multilingual. Historically, languages of former colonial masters (English, French, and Portuguese) have been preferred (Nkechi, 2008; Obanya, 2004; Ofulue, 2012; Ouane 2009; & Owoeye 2011). UNESCO has however, from the middle of the 20th Century, held the position that the use of mother tongues, in the early grades in primary education, is the ideal for literacy development. In its 1953 declaration it stated;

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (1953, p. 11).

Following this position, several countries gave development of literacy in the mother tongue some priority. The various approaches adopted include bilingual education, first language schooling, mother tongue-based bilingual education, and transitional bilingual education (Dutcher, 2003; Malone, 2003; Ndamba, 2008; Nkechi, 2008; Thomas & Collier, 1997; & UNESCO, 2003, 2008). Nevertheless, mother tongues compete with colonial languages and with pidgins and creoles. Because standardization of the many languages and production of learning materials are assumed to be very costly, it is considered cheap to continue using the foreign languages. This is despite the various government commitments to introduce and enforce education policies with mother tongue components. The trend is against the truism that learning in a language that is not one's own provides a double set of challenges in learning a new language and learning new knowledge (Mathooko, 2009; Ogechi, 2009; UNESCO, 2007).

To illustrate the significance of language in education in relation to literacy, the Sri-Lankan experience is referred to. The country introduced two mother tongues-Sinhala and Tamil-as languages of instruction throughout the education system before independence in 1948. Its literacy rate today stands at 91% (the highest in southern Asia and one of the best in developing countries). It also boasts of 100 % participation rates in primary education. Educationists in the country observe that the change of medium of instruction from English to local languages enabled majority of students to learn science subjects in their mother tongue (Wedikkarage, 2009). According to one scholar, transition from English to local languages as media of instruction;

> helped to destroy the great barrier that existed between the privileged English educated class and the non-English educated deprived classes; between the science educated elite and non-science educated masses; between science itself and people. It gave confidence to the common man that science is within his reach and to the teachers and pupils that a knowledge of English need not necessarily be a pre-requisite for learning science (Ranaweera, 1976, p. 423, cited in Wedikkarage, 2009).

In Kenya, trilingual literacy skills are contemplated by the language in education policy; mother tongues are supposed to be both subjects of instruction and languages of instruction from standard one to standard three in rural schools (urban schools use Kiswahili as a LoI); Kiswahili and English are taught as subjects from standard one in both rural and urban schools. From standard four up, English becomes the LoI. One would expect a pupil to learn to read and write in their mother tongue, Kiswahili, and English at the primary school level. A rural school pupil would therefore have acquired trilingual literacy skills by the end of standard three. For a pupil in an urban setting,

if they migrated with a mother tongue, their trilingual literacy is implied; according to the interdependence hypothesis (see details in Section 5.2), skills could transfer from a second language to a first one and vice-versa (Cummins, 2000; Kenya Institute of Education [KIE], 2002, 2012; Republic of Kenya (RoK), 2010). Key objectives of early primary education in Kenya are acquisition of literacy and numeracy. The literacy suggested is, obviously, in the three languages mentioned in the language policy: a mother tongue (learnt for three years), Kiswahili, and English. The scenario in rural schools in Kenya is that use of the three languages to teach is concurrent and not really mother tongue instruction as contemplated in the policy (KIE, 2002; Muthwii, 2002; Nyaga, 2013; see Chapter Eight on how the three languages are used). This is simultaneous development of literacy in three languages referred to, in this thesis, as trilingual literacy development.

The current Kenyan language in education policy presupposes sufficient literacy in mother tongues at the end of standard three, that the languages should no longer be taught nor used as LoIs beyond this level. Kiswahili and English should both be taught as subjects henceforth. English assumes the role of LoI in all subjects. This is a further presupposition that by the end of standard three, Kenyan pupils would have developed sufficient literacy skills in English to be able to 'read to learn'in the language. This study examined language use in classroom teaching and learning and literacy levels attained, in light of a language in education policy which privileges mother tongues as LoIs in lower primary. This report is critical today when research indicates poor literacy skills among children in levels beyond standard three in the country (see Section 4.3 for literacy trends). Little research in trilingual literacy in elementary education has been done in Kenya, indeed throughout the continent, and the findings in this report could play a role in theory and practice of literacy development in Kenya and beyond.

1.4   Language situation in Kenya

Kenya is a linguistically diverse society with over 40 languages excluding English and Kiswahili and it is officially multilingual (Mukuria [1995] refers to it as a trilingual nation). About 66% of the population speak languages of Bantu origin among whom are the Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya, and the Kisii/Abagusii. The Nilotic family of languages comprise 31% in which group are the Luo, Kipsigis, and the Maasai. The rest of the population speaks Cushitic languages and languages of the Indian sub-continent including Somali, Gujarat, and Urdu. Indigenous languages are used for

intra-ethnic communication (Gorman, 1974; Mbaabu, 1996a; Musau, 1999, 2002; & Ogechi, 2002).

Kiswahili and English bear official status and the former doubles as a national language. Standard Kiswahili exists alongside other non-standard varieties of the language. The standard variety is acquired in school as a second language. Many of its other varieties are spoken at the Kenyan coast as mother tongues (Wotzuna, 2012). Kembo-Sure and Ogechi (2006) observe that though Kiswahili and English enjoy high status, English seems to enjoy a higher status citing the various national legal requirements for English that do not apply to Kiswahili. Others observe that English offers people a wider functional range (Kioko & Muthwii, 2001; Wotzuna, 2012). Despite the position of English, Wotzuna (2012) observes that it still remains a minority language mastered by only a small proportion of the population.

1.5   Language roles in education in Kenya

Languages in education are classified into mother tongues, Kiswahili, and English. Roles of each of these languages are outlined in the following section.

1.5.1   Mother tongues

Mother tongues are supposed to be used as LoIs up to standard three in rural schools/linguistically homogeneous areas during which period English and Kiswahili are taught as subjects (KIE, 2012; Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006). KIE (2012) justifies the place of mother tongues in education as follows.

a. The pupils' ideas and thoughts are in their mother tongue and will continue to be so, long after they have learnt to speak in English. To be encouraged to think for themselves, the pupils must be helped to do so in their own language.

b. The culture of a people is expressed in mother tongue. Mother tongue must be taught positively so that learners can respect their cultural heritage as a basis for appreciating that of other people and make their own contribution when they grow up.

c. Mother tongue acts as a link between home, early childhood development centres, and primary school, and encourages the child's free expression. It is also a tool for the teaching of literacy, numeracy, and manipulative skills and a foundation for learning other languages. When used as a medium of instruction, it provides children with a sense of

belonging, self-confidence, and motivates them to participate in all school activities. This provides for a smooth transition experience.

d. Mother tongue should be taught as a subject in lower primary so as to; establish basic language skills such as listening and understanding, speaking, pre-reading and reading, pre-writing and writing. These should be done in a language that the pupils can speak well; reinforce and develop it as an effective medium of instruction. The use of mother tongue makes what is taught meaningful since it relates to the child's previous experiences; develop it for greater use since it is the most comprehensive expression of the child's cultural heritage comprising character, moral and religious values (p. 147).

This role of mother tongues could not be more explicit and sound from both linguistic and pedagogical points of view. It guarantees a barrier-free negotiation of knowledge between teachers and pupils and also promises a foundation for the acquisition and learning of second languages (Kiswahili and English in the Kenyan context). Mother tongue instruction in Kenya, according to KIE, is assumed to develop adequate literacy skills by the end of standard three that mother tongues could be dropped and English adopted as the sole medium of communication and as a means to epistemic access henceforth. So far, a total of twenty-two mother tongues are used in education including Ekegusii-spoken in the Kisii and Nyamira Counties (Gusii) of Kenya (Mbaabu, 1996a; see Appendices C1 and C2 for the location). Re-emphasizing the value of mother tongues in education, the cabinet secretary in the Ministry of Education (MoE) says;

> Learning theories backed by research indicate that the use of local languages as media of instruction in the formative years offers many advantages…Most of the concepts introduced at primary level are thus a continuation of activities that form part of the child's play environment and as such the child learns from "known to the unknown" and new concepts are easier to grasp when taught in the local language. It is a fact that other 3rd World Countries that have learning based on their local languages have tremendous economic growth. Malaysia and India are live examples to this fact. The issue of language should not therefore be viewed out of context (Speech on the release of the 2013 Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) results on 3rd March, 2014).

In the actual implementation of the policy, mother tongues face challenges some of which stem from competition with socially prestigious languages-English and Kiswahili (in that order) (Cammenga, 2002; Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006). Mbaabu (1996a) captures this competition thus;

> …The issue of mother tongues has not been given prominence in the agenda of the national policy. Mother tongues have been sidelined partly by the deliberate promotion of the English language as the medium of instruction and the modest but, self-asserting role of Kiswahili as the national unifying language of inter-ethnic communication (p. 4).

Other supposed challenges facing promoting mother tongues as languages of education universally and also applicable to Kenya include; limited readership of mother tongue books; impracticability of developing all mother tongues and using them in education; and difficult in presenting some aspects of language in some of them (e.g. tone). Others are fear of rural school parents that their children might be left behind academically by those children in towns taught in English; politicians associating mother tongues with the spread of tribalism; lack of terminology in mathematics and science; and lack of teachers trained to teach in mother tongues (Mathooko, 2009; Muthwii, 2002; see Section 9.6 for reasons for non-use of mother tongues in Kenya). Obanya (1999) refers to most of these reasons as myths (see the extent of mother tongue education in schools in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight).

Scholars (Alexander, 2003; Bamgbose, 1991, 2005a; Cummins, 1979a, 1979b, 2000, 2005a, 2005b; Kaschula, 2015; Ramani & Joseph, 2006, 2015; Shale, 2015; Thomas & Collier, 2002; Wolff, 2006a, 2010, 2011), supported by numerous empirical research findings, hold the position that mother tongues are very significant for very practical reasons that they should be used as LoIs both up to standard three and beyond. For instance, in Kenya where survival rate at primary school level is about 40% meaning many would not have been sufficiently literate in English, literacy in their mother tongues could be an invaluable asset in their subsequent lives outside school (Wotzuna, 2012). Wolff (2010) says that should any children drop from primary school early, literacy in their mother tongue would make them become, 'better farmers, gardeners, herdsmen, craftsmen, small scale traders, etc' (p. 102). It is suggested that some of the ways to strengthen mother tongues are to change teachers' attitude towards them, and having key stakeholders steer efforts to strengthen mother tongues (see Section 4.2.2.3 for the ideal extent of development of mother tongues).

1.5.2 Kiswahili

It is spoken by over 65% of the population and it is used for inter-ethnic communication. In schools where it is taught and examined at both Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and KCSE, learners are expected to develop reading and writing skills in addition to listening and

speaking by the end of standard three. It is also the LoI in linguistically heterogeneous settings up to standard three. Problems identified in its actual teaching include poor teacher training and lack of sufficient materials. With the so many challenges facing the use of mother tongues, some scholars suggest that it should be adopted as a universal medium of instruction to satisfy the craving of rural parents (KIE, 2012; Mathooko, 2009).

1.5.3   English

It is perceived as a language of power and elitism and some people feel that it is almost impossible to climb the socio-economic ladder without it. Its role in education has been central that some scholars say that, that situation has led to its hegemony in relation to other languages in the Kenyan linguistic landscape (Nabea, 2009). English has enjoyed roles in education more than mother tongues and Kiswahili since pre-independence (see Section 2.8.5 for details on its role in education from pre-independence). Today, contrary to official language policy, some private schools use it as an exclusive medium of instruction from Early Child Development Education (ECDE) level. Like Kiswahili, it is a compulsory subject and examined at both KCPE and KCSE. In admissions to higher institutions of learning, especially universities, there is a requirement that a student should pass in either English or Kiswahili (Kioko & Muthwii, 2001). Some scholars claim that the variety of English used in the education system is far removed from the British English-Received Pronunciation (RP). Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) has consistently decried students' overall performance in the subject at both KCPE and KCSE for years. The observation made below by the examining body in 1980 still describes the situation today;

> The level of spoken and written English in all walks of life is dropping every year. Public documents and public addresses contain basic errors which arise from an insufficient command of the language. In the 1980 K.C.E examination, about 20% of the candidates wrote English compositions that were only minimally intelligible (Compare this with literacy assessment reports in Section 4.3.1).

A report by KNEC following the release of the 2013 KCPE examination indicates that the trend of scores is merely below average nationally in both the English subject and the subjects taught in English. This is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Mean Scores in KCPE 2013 in English and Content Subjects

	All	Male	Female
English composition	16.76	16.05	17.49
English objective	26.53	26.42	26.63
Mathematics	26.43	27.11	25.72
Religious education	21.13	21.08	21.17
Science	30.91	32.15	29.63

Note: English composition is marked out of 40; English objective out of 50; mathematics out of 50; religious education out of 40; and science out of 50. The number of candidates was 839,759. From *KNEC the year 2013 KCPE examination report*, by KNEC 2014. Nairobi. KNEC. Copyright 2014 by KNEC.

It is felt that steps should be taken to teach the British variety or officially accept the nativized one. The main challenges in the teaching of English in Kenya are said to include lack of models in schools, a poor knowledge of English by most Kenyans, and use of a diversity of varieties of English in the media. Importing models, sending teachers to English native environments and writing books on common errors to guide its use have been suggested as the steps in salvaging proper standards of the language in the education system (Kioko & Muthwii, 2001). A study of its quality carried out in 1998 revealed that after six years of English medium, Kenyan pupils in standard six were barely literate in the language. The same results, 12 years later, were reflected by Uwezo Kenya's findings in the year 2010 (Uwezo Kenya, 2010). The Uwezo study found out that reading skills in English were too low among primary school pupils. Uwezo Kenya did not study the language of instruction variable but their findings are an index to what are, possibly, critical underlying pedagogical deficiencies in elementary education especially in regard to English.

This study set out to study the extent of literacy developed in three languages; Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in Gusii. It was conducted in the backdrop of poor literacy levels in Kenya and Gusii among primary school pupils. Research indicates that pupils' literacy norms in English reading by standard six is strongly related to their level of reading at standard three (i.e. ability levels in standard three predict literacy attainments by standard six [Beykont, 1994, cited in Cummins, 2000]). The study however went beyond assessing literacy in English and included Ekegusii (a mother tongue) and Kiswahili (a second language). A mother tongue was especially significant;

according to the theory adopted in this study, the extent of literacy attained in the second language is predicated upon the extent of the one in the mother tongue (see Section 5.2 for details on the theory). This research tested reading literacy in three languages for three reasons; reading, as opposed to writing, would be easier to assess 330 standard three pupils. Secondly, KCPE and KCSE primarily require a reading skill to be able to respond to questions. Specifically, all subjects, except Kiswahili, in both examinations require sufficient reading skills in English. Thirdly, reading experts claim that reading is a more critical skill in literacy development. One expert explains the significance of reading this way;

> …reading is one of the fundamental building blocks of learning. Becoming a skilled and adaptable reader enhances the chances of success at school and beyond…encouraging children to read about things that interest them will not only help them learn to read efficiently, but will also enable them to develop an interest in writing (Govender, 2011, pp. 2-3).

1.6   Statement of the problem

The education language policy prescribes the use of mother tongues as LoIs up to standard three in rural schools in Kenya. Kiswahili (and in some cases English) is the LoI for schools in contexts with diverse (linguistic) settlements. The MoE supports the development of the two official languages (Kiswahili and English) by ensuring that publications and textbooks for their teaching are easily accessed as well as encouraging the use of the two by learners both in and outside school. In the Orange Book, there are very few reading and reference materials for the teaching of mother tongues. KIE, the curriculum developer does not, any longer, produce curriculum guides for mother tongues except the common syllabus guides. There is, in Kenya, a general public perception that local languages are no longer useful in education in schools (Mbaabu, 2006a).

The LoI, according to the policy, changes into English from standard four suggesting that the pupils would have acquired adequate literacy in the mother tongues that they are dropped both as subjects and as LoIs. It also could suggest that the learners could have acquired adequate literacy skills in English so that they would exclusively use it to read to learn in all subjects from standard four. Literature in second language learning and literacy development and compelling empirical data indicate that development of the mother tongue, both in teaching it as a subject and using it as a LoI, is foundational for the development of subsequent languages and literacies (Baker, 2006; Bamgbose, 2005a; Cummins, 2000, 2005b; Thomas & Collier, 2002; & Wolff, 2006a). In light of the outlined institutional and extra-institutional conditions in which mother tongues exist in Kenya,

to what extent are pupils in the Gusii region (and figuratively elsewhere in Kenya and Africa) literate in the three languages they are exposed to by the end of standard three in readiness for transition to the English medium? The problem was addressed by finding out; how the policy is conceptualized by education officers and teachers; how it is applied in classroom teaching and learning; the motivation of language use in classrooms; and by testing actual reading literacy skills by the end of lower primary school.

1.7   Research questions

This study was guided by three main research questions;

a. How do stakeholders conceptualize the language in education policy in basic education institutions in Kenya?
b. What roles do the three languages (Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English) play in classroom teaching and learning?
c. To what extent are pupils literate in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English by the end of standard three?

These questions were further broken down to the following specific research questions. The thesis is organized after the order of this sub-division.

a. How is the Kenyan language in education policy in basic education institutions conceptualized by relevant stakeholders?
b. To what extent is Ekegusii developed in schools?
c. What are the roles of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?
d. What motivates the use of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?
e. To what extent are pupils literate in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English by the end of standard three?

1.8   Significance of the study

This study has multisectoral significance which falls into three categories: To funders of public education; to the Kenyan public; and to others. Funders of education fall into Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), foreign countries, and the Government of Kenya (GoK). To these stakeholders, the results presented in this thesis are significant in that they could use them to alter

priorities in the allocation of funds in public education. This is especially in support to the teaching and use of mother tongues in public education now that the findings suggest that mother tongues predict acquisition of English. Reading mean scores are also better in the mother tongue than in the two second languages (see Chapter Ten and Appendix Q1 up to Q7).

The findings could also institute a process of redraft of language in education policy in ways that could support additive bilingualism/trilingualism and the consequent biliteracy and triliteracy among school children. Such a redraft of policy could, in the long run, be important to the development of Kiswahili and English, both official languages in the country. Still, for the government, the results could be a source of reference for four other relevant sectors: KIE, KNEC, publishers, and Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). For these, these findings are, respectively, significant in the development of the relevant mother tongue curricula; in the administration of national examinations and conducting interim assessment (like the one discussed in Section 4.3.1.3); in publishing of relevant mother tongue materials; and in preparing teachers in a manner that they may treat bilingualism as an educational resource.

Secondly, Kenyans are taxpayers and it is rightful for them to know the success of their investment in public education. Teachers need these findings because they are the actual implementers of policy. With an appreciation of these findings, they may be instrumental in implementing policy (in fact the current one) in a way that could effectively promote the teaching and development of early literacy which is key to subsequent educational achievement. To parents, these findings may encourage them to support, to the extent possible, literacy development both at home and at school. Understanding that children need their mother tongues would in a way change their attitude towards the use of these languages in education.

To the pupils, these results are important in the sense that they would understand the value of their languages in the development of early literacy as they try to acquire and learn in the second languages. For them to be literate is important because their success in subsequent grades and the realization of the government's Vision 2030 depends on the literacy skills they attain at their level. Finally, Kenya has 47 semi-autonomous county governments, generally divided along ethnic patterns. These could be some of the platforms for developing mother tongues in terms of bringing together story tellers, experts to write the relevant reading materials to be used in the schools, and acting as resources in availing aspects of culture to be published in mother tongues as readers. The

same governments could also provide both the funding and the markets for the materials developed and published.

The final sector includes researchers, NGOs, and knowledge in the discipline. Several people conduct research in language planning, bilingualism, and literacy. These findings could be a reference for them. Uwezo Kenya which conducts yearly literacy assessments across East Africa may find these findings relevant in the methodology of their research. There are low-key NGOs that work with communities and MoE to promote literacy; for them, these findings are a source of reference especially when they carry out literacy assessments. These results raise the question of the significance of literacy in mother tongues.

The findings could also be important as far as research in Ekegusii is concerned. Several scholars have studied Ekegusii in other aspects but not in its interaction with other languages in school settings. Finally, this study is a contribution to knowledge in language planning, bilingualism, and literacy development in early education in trilingual settings. The study is specifically a contribution to knowledge in respect of the application of Cummins' hypotheses in the interpretation of language and literacy development findings. Several studies (see Section 5.2.1.1) have applied the framework but generally with two languages and, in most cases, with maturer students. This research studied linguistic interdependence of three languages among children of the lower primary level.

1.9   Context of the study

Gusii, is in south western Kenya (see Appendix C1 and C2). Kisii County has its headquarters in Kisii Town, the first station that the white people (both colonial and Christian) settled in, in the first decade of the 20th Century (Nyaundi, 1997). It later became headquarter of the Gusii region and also a government district for long until it was progressively sub-divided into today's fourteen districts starting from the 1980s. Nyamira County has its headquarters in Nyamira Town, the head quarter of the first district to be created from Kisii District. The main town centres in Kisii County are Kisii, Suneka, Ogembo, and Tabaka while Nyamira County they are Nyamira, Keroka, and Nyansiongo. The counties cover a territory inhabited by the Ekegusii-speaking people whose population is 1,750, 534 (with that of Kisii County at 1, 152, 282) in the 2009 housing and population census (KNBS, 2010).

The Abagusii people engage mainly in farming due to rich soils and reliable rainfall. Consequently population density is higher in areas with large portions of arable land. In Kisii County, 40% of the population lives in towns while in Nyamira 30% of the population do, bringing the average town population in Gusii to 35% (KNBS, 2013a, 2013b). In education, Gusii has had poor KCPE and KCSE performance for years. This is attributed, partly, to lack of enough teachers, lack of facilities, high teacher-pupil ratios, and lack of teaching and learning materials (KNBS, 2013a, 2013b). There is, in mainly Kisii, Nyamira, and Keroka Towns, a presence of people from other ethnic communities mainly for academic or business purposes. Some respondents take this to be reason enough to adopt Kiswahili and English for instruction in schools from the first day. This could be erroneous because these settlers are concentrated in the centres of the towns. Secondly, lower primary school-going children could not be expected to constantly interact with these persons for obvious reasons. Additionally, these children rarely visit centres of these towns. Finally, their supposed input in Kiswahili is questionable given that Kiswahili is, to many Kenyans, a second language (which is generally an informal variety).

1.10   Researcher profile

I was born and bred in Gusii and I attended a nearby primary school and later a secondary school three kilometres away. Later, after university education, I lived and taught at schools both in the rural areas and in Kisii Town. During this time, I interacted with students and teachers from rural primary schools. I was also able to travel to all main centres in Gusii during school and other trips. For six years up to the year 2013, I lived in Kisii Town where I attended church services, visited markets, and public offices. During my research, I had another opportunity to visit newer places in the region during observations in the rural schools, during the administration of tests, and during visits to district education offices for interviews.

1.11   Structure of the thesis

This thesis, for practical purposes, is presented in two volumes. Preliminaries, text, and references are presented in the current volume. The second volume presents the appendices. The text, written in eleven sections, straddles three disciplines; language planning and policy, linguistics, and education science. The theory in Section 5.2 is constructed in the context of these disciplines. The current section introduces the study by outlining literacy statuses globally, which is followed by a discussion on the centrality of language in literacy development. This is further followed by a

discussion on the language situation in Kenya, role of the various languages in education, statement of the problem, research questions, and significance of the study. It is concluded by a discussion of the context of the research, researcher profile, thesis structure, and summary. Section Two (language planning and policy) and Three (language and literacy) are background sections; language acquisition and learning in schools occurs in the framework of language planning and literacy acquisition occurs in the context of language learning.

Section Four (language policy and literacy studies), traditionally referred to as literature review, and Section Five (methodology and theory) are conventional higher degree thesis sections. The former reviews literature in language policy and literacy assessment. The latter discusses the theory that guided the conceptualization of the study, literature review, data collection, and data analysis and discussion, as well as the methodology adopted. Sections Six, Seven, Eight, Nine, and Ten are data sections; they discuss findings. Upon the discussion in data sections are based the summary, recommendations, suggestions for further research, and the conclusion discussed in Section Eleven.

1.12   Summary

This section introduces the study by providing highlights on the status of literacy globally and discussing centrality of language in literacy development. Other aspects discussed include the language situation in Kenya, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, context of the study, researcher's profile, and structure of the thesis. The next section discusses language planning within which language education and literacy learning operate.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY

2.1   Introduction

This section discusses language planning and policy under which acquisition planning falls; status and acquisition of languages and literacy development formally, fall under status and acquisition language planning. The processes of language acquisition and literacy development in Kenya take place as part of the wider framework of theory in language planning and policy. The study finds a foundation in considering theory behind this practice. Discussion in this section is done in reference to the observation by Dubhashi who, in relation to planning, said;

> A rational process of policy making should follow definite policy path, consisting of a scientific analysis of the environment, identification of issues and problems, establishment of priorities, the working out of alternative solutions to priorities, weighing of benefits and costs of the alternative solutions, the choice of a preferred path solution, its prescription through enactments and executive orders, ensuring its success by providing for a strategy of implementation- including suitable organisation, adequate finances and trained personnel, continuous supervision and monitoring of policies and finally, evaluation of the impact, with a view to seeing whether any changes are required (1986, pp. 20-21).

In the 21st Century, the world may witness multicultural situations of an unprecedented scale due to easy travel from one part of the world to another; there is constant movement of populations in search of education, as a result of marriages, seeking for political asylum, seeking for economic and other opportunities. All people migrate with their mother tongues/heritage languages and in some cases it is the only languages they have to communicate in, wherever they go before they acquire second ones. These situations further rise to the birth of children who would join primary school. Such situations would call for language planning, a process which should observe principles of international treaties which uphold the rights of peoples' use of mother tongues.

2.2   Meaning of language planning and language policy

Dichotomy between the meaning and relationship between language planning and language policy is contested; there is lack of agreement on the exact nature of that relationship (Tollefson, 1991; Ricento, 2000). Fettes (1997, cited in Ricento, 2006) states;

> …language planning …must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy; the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better…language planning models. Such a field would be better described as "language policy and planning" (Ricento, 2006).

Because of this scenario, and for the fact that discussion in this chapter is merely providing an indices to the background of the study, the two terms are discussed together, but the substance of each is apparent.

The two terms often appear in similar contexts and sometimes are used interchangeably. Haugen (1959) is believed to be the first person to define the concept. He said that language planning is the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. He added that in this practical application of linguistic knowledge, we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgement must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Secondly, it refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties (Tollefson, 1991). Tollefson further states that these efforts may involve creation of orthographies, standardization, and modernization programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies.

Thirdly, it refers to efforts in a socio-political context to solve language problems, preferably on a long term basis, by heeding the process of language change (Herbert, 1992). Herbert adds that language planning is seen as an applied branch of sociolinguistics focused on the differential allocation of languages and language varieties in a community speech economy context. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define it as a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. They further observe that it involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context.

Key elements in the definitions that bear on this study are conscious efforts, affects structure, affects function, socio-political, language problems, laws, and institute or stop language change. Language planning has to be a conscious and deliberate effort from the view that language is an essential item of culture and in the sense that it would affect community members in their private and public use of language. The fact that it affects structure is reminiscent of the possibility that languages change and that for a language to fit a particular function, it has to be altered accordingly. Planning in most contexts affects function. In the Kenyan experience, co-opting of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction affected its functions in the past century from a hitherto inter-

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ethnic language, to a language of education. Planning of language takes place in socio-political contexts because language is a societal property and secondly, the society is governed by political forces whose considerations often transcend national borders. It is claimed that the current quagmire in education being offered via colonial languages in Africa, is primarily due to the politics of association and, to an extent, submission to former colonial powers for both political and other benefits (Mazrui, 2002). It is not actually because African languages cannot bear scientific knowledge.

Languages of themselves have no capacity to cause problems. Problematizing languages is a human act. Specifically, socially and economically privileged individuals in positions of influence, especially in multilingual contexts, look at some languages as impediments to the achievement of certain goals. In the process, they have to address the place of languages in such a society. The thorniest is when languages bear considerable long-term financial implications (in publication of books, training, and supposed lost opportunities because a particular language is not in use [see Section 2.6.1 for economic considerations in language planning]). Policies are actually laws because they are government positions on the application of its agenda for the public. Finally, planning of languages institutes or stops language change. The Kiswahili of the seventies is different from the Kiswahili in use in Kenya today due to its deliberate planning and development for use in offices and in education.

Language policies refer to legislative or government actions which are undertaken in order to solve language problems or conflicts in institutions, nation-states, or supra-national bodies (Wolff, 2013). Baldauf (2005) calls a language policy a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve some planned language change. These definitions are not basically different from language planning. Their overarching idea is that of legislation. Baldauf rightly observes that the idea of a language policy is an intention and not a finalized applicable position. His words correspond with the principle Gorman (1974) projects (see quote in Section 9.1 on page 242); the dynamics of society; political, economic, sociolinguistic, educational, etc, could make the operationalization of a policy impractical or cause it not to be implemented in full (see Section 9.6 for reasons for non-use of Ekegusii as LoI). Language policies, therefore, would seem to be by-products of language planning. It is these policies that these section will explore in light of competing social, political, economic, and other interests. The discussion here is meant to

demonstrate how individual languages (especially mother tongues) find survival and relevance or otherwise in education in Africa and Kenya in particular.

2.3 Types of language planning

Scholars recognize three common basic types of planning. These are acquisition planning, corpus planning, and status planning.

2.3.1 Acquisition planning

This is the type of planning (and status planning) that underlies this study. It entails setting the goals for language in the education system that address the totality of language education such as the target languages, attitudes to be generated, skills to be developed as well as the levels of proficiency desired for each of the target languages (Ingram, 1989). Acquisition planning also includes literacy development, minority language development, language teaching, learning in a second/foreign language, bilingual and mother tongue education (Jones, 2010). It is a process that includes the setting of goals for the use of language in the education system (Ingram, 1989). Accordingly, languages, attitudes, skills, proficiencies intended in educational settings are the targets of acquisition planning. In this study, acquisition of mother tongues, Kiswahili and English are the targets. As observed in Chapter One, acquisition of mother tongues is assumed sufficient by standard three after which English supercedes the use of the former as LoIs. This further presupposes sufficient knowledge of English that it is henceforth used as a LoI.

2.3.2 Corpus planning

It refers to those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and internal to a language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). It has three elements which are harmonisation; standardisation, and intellectualisation (Cooper, 1989). For Bamgbose (1989), those aspects related to language are orthographic innovation, pronunciation, changes in language structure, vocabulary expansion, simplification of registers, style, and preparation of language material. There are four principles that underlie corpus planning according to Vikør (1993). These are internal linguistic principles, principles related to attitudes toward other languages, principles concerning the relationship between the language and its users, and principles derived from societal ideologies.

2.3.3 Status planning

Status planning refers to those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the languages being planned. Two status issues making up the model are language selection and language implementation. Language selection focuses on the development of language policy and it involves choice of languages by/for a society through political leaders. Languages selected establish the specific linguistic form to be the norm and which is to have status in the society. On the other hand, language implementation is consequent to language selection. It focuses on the adoption and spread of the language form that has been selected and codified. Often, this is done through the education system and through other laws which encourage the use of the selected standard form (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In the Kenyan case, Kiswahili and English have been made official languages and the former is also the national language. Mother tongues function as LoIs in elementary education up to standard three (see Section 1.5.1 for their role). It is noted that the status of Kiswahili as a taught subject in schools, as a national, and official language, is as a result of political decisions.

2.4   Goals of language planning

The principle underlying all forms and types of language planning is that the language question may not impede the realization of the aspirations and existence of a society; aspirations are communicated through a medium. Out of this main goal, emerge mini-goals of most language planning endeavours. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) discuss eleven of these goals and six of them are highlighted in this section. The first one is language purification which is putting efforts to maintain the linguistic consistency and standards of a language. This is done to protect a language from external impurities or imposition of correct usage within the language. The former has the work of the French academy which works to keep the French language pure. The same applies to the Indian Council of Scientific and Technical Terminology. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has been doing the same work for English.

The second goal is language revival which occurs where a language has either died or is on the threshold of death. Language death threatens many minority languages because of pressure from majority languages which are assigned prestigious roles in society. In Kenya, the revival of the Suba Language is an example of this process. The Suba, a Bantu speaking people, lived amongst the Luo-speaking people and almost lost all the language until government efforts in the 1990s

revived it. The neighbouring majority Luo language had been used in all domains, and to access public services, the Suba gradually adopted it (Angiela, 2002).

Language standardization is the third goal. It is an aspect of corpus planning. It mostly occurs when a nation is trying to identify a national language for a specific use. The main linguistic tools of standardization are pedagogical grammars and dictionaries. These two do not however keep to the pace at which languages change due to the length of time taken to research and publish them. This has necessitated the production of new editions of dictionaries in about ten-year periods. This process has been going on for decades for the Kiswahili language in Eastern Africa, especially through the efforts of Taasisi ya Utafiti wa Kiswahili (TUKI: Institute for Research of Kiswahili) based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The fourth goal is language spread. This is an attempt to increase the number of speakers of a language. This, in most cases, is done at the expense of other languages (Wardhaugh, 1987). Sometimes though, language spread may be an unplanned process coming as a result of contact of populations speaking different languages. For instance, the acquisition and use of Kiswahili by refugees in Kenya was not a deliberate government attempt to spread the use of the language; they had to acquire the language for survival. This also applies to the use of English in many parts of the world where millions speak and use it for various social reasons. It has not been, in all cases, the plan of the British that this takes place. In Kenya, the government deliberately wants the spread and use of Kiswahili and English.

Lexical modernization, a fifth goal of language planning, is a process motivated by the constant emergence of new concepts which have come into use more quickly than natural development of a language is able to accommodate. This process could be achieved through creation of new words, old words may be recycled with new meanings, words may be borrowed from other languages, or words may be created out of common roots and affixes deriving from the historical base of the language or from a common external source. This type of planning is related to terminological unification usually undertaken internationally so that technological terms bear common meanings across languages. Accordingly, Kiswahili has obtained scientific words which it has consequently nativized like kompiuta, for computer, and eksirei, for X-ray.

The sixth goal of language planning is language maintenance. It is a process whereby efforts are put to protect a language from significant shift from the standard. The process could target a community language threatened with extinction or a majority language facing threats of drift from the preferred standard. The process usually precedes language revival. Other goals that Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) discuss are; terminological unification, stylistic simplification, inter-lingual communication, and auxiliary code standardization.

2.5 Extra linguistic influences on language planning

Language planning and policy processes do not occur in isolation; they are instituted in a complex ecosystem of history, competing political ideology, diverse economic theories, and (from the 1980s) in the context of a world almost controlled (in information dissemination) by ICT, and other societal influences. This could partly account for the situation Africa finds herself in, in issues to do with implementing African-friendly language policies, especially in education, as discussed below. In this section, three influences; politics, economics, and ICT are discussed.

2.5.1 Politics and economic theory

Politics and economics, in the context of language planning and policy, occur together for obvious reasons; politics invokes economic theory to meet some, if not all, of its ends. In this section, I, therefore, discuss them together. Politics is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary Online (www.programmableweb.com/api/cambridge-dictionaries-online) as the activities of the government, members of law-making organizations, or people who try to influence the way a country is governed. In matters of language, Dahal (2000) states that political factors are responsible for the rise and fall of languages. It is political leaders who decide which languages will play which roles in particular societies. The overarching role of politics in language planning is captured by the following observations by two language planning experts;

> How possible is it… to characterize the language planning decisions in any state or institution without appeal to the historical and political identity of that system, and moreover, to the identities of the forces struggling within it? There is no sense in which language planning can be undertaken, or its effects evaluated, within some social vacuum. We need …an understanding of these as a prerequisite for explanation' (Tollefson, 1991, p. vii).

> Language planning carries implicit assumptions about what a 'good' society is, about what is best for the people, about the way in which language and communication fit into that picture, and about how language planning can also contribute to social and political progress (Blommaert, 1996, p. 215).

From Tollefson and Blommaert, it is evident that language planning must be contemplated in the context of the macro society with such intervening factors as class, geographical location, sex, social context, etc. Rahman (1995) says that language planning is done with political ends in mind. Recognition of a particular language in society is an important aspect of legitimization of some culture, values, norms, beliefs, history and a lot of socio-economic and political factors (Dahal, 2000). For instance, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) government provided resources for the development of Kiswahili claiming it would unite the 42 tribes in the country.

Economics is the study of how societies use scarce resources to produce valuable commodities and distribute them among different people (Samuelson, 1948). Like politics, economic theory comes into play in social processes involving the use of public resources. Economic factors affect the fortunes of different languages both at the micro and macro levels. Economic arguments are used in support of differing positions on matters of which languages should be allocated which functions. All claims in reference to particular languages must always be brought in light of budgetary constraints (Grin, 2003). Pool (1979) proposed that language planners select the language that has the minimum total cost (see also Gao & Smith, 2011 for views on economic theory).

Economics is important in language planning in two ways, according to Zhang and Grenier (2012) and Vaillancourt (1996). Firstly, it helps us understand how language selection affects economic outcomes or how economic factors affect language selection. Secondly, it helps in the selection, design, implementation, and evaluation of language policy. Through cost-benefit analysis, it could make more than one language policy as an alternative. These twin factors, politics and economics, seem to be playing a prominent role in language planning and policy implementation in Africa. It is perceived that many African governments espouse the principle of using African languages in education and in other spheres (taking it from the charters they are signatories to). But it is apparent that implementation is a luke-warm process. More than fifty years of independence, for most countries, is more than enough time to implement and use an African language at least up to the end of the primary cycle of education. But, possibly, in consideration and prioritization of other political and economic interests both at the micro and macro levels and local and international, excuses have stalled implementation of language policies in favour of African langages in education.

2.5.1.1 Econo-language planning

Kaschula (2004), writing in the context of a multilingual South Africa, actually the whole of Africa, in which English (and other foreign languages) seem to control the power of economics, suggests an approach to language planning that he refers to as econo-language planning. This term is also used in an earlier publication (1999). He argues that in the macro-level is an economy established in international languages but there is a lot that other languages can afford economically at the micro-level. It is a plan in which local languages would be used in accessing economic products. For instance, if a farmer is allowed to apply for a loan in isiXhosa, it would, in the long run, have many people with knowledge of local languages, and little or no English, participating in economic development.

Such a plan could be extended to such other sectors like what some universities in South Africa are doing by requiring medical students to learn an African language before they graduate. This means people, who are the primary economic resource, are guaranteed health for they would explain their ill-health in a language they know best and therefore get appropriate medication and hence participate in economic activities. Such a scheme could be extended to the media where advertisements and business information is dispersed to masses of African language speakers. This approach could pave the way for majority of people at all societal levels (where more than 40% do not understand English-in South Africa) to experience economic benefits through their mother tongues (Kaschula, 1999, 2004). In my view this approach could be effective in Africa; governments should support development of mother tongues which would result to masses participating in economic activities hence developing their respective economies.

2.5.2 Information Communication Technology

Information and communication technologies affect the ways of working, accessing knowledge, socialising, communicating, collaborating-and succeeding-in all areas of the professional, social, and personal life (European Commission [EU], 2013). Daily and easy access to exciting opportunities offered by ICT changes the environment, habits and expectations of young generations. It also offers education systems new opportunities not to be missed. This context imposes a radical challenge to the educational paradigm to engage students in their learning. Education systems are expected to develop new competencies in students and new ways of teaching these.

Active, personalised, and collaborative learning environments are to be designed and offered to students for them to engage in effective, efficient and rich learning paths, developing the knowledge and key competencies needed by 21st century societies. ICT, properly integrated for the sake of learning, can substantially contribute to education systems' success. This means that students must have access to operational infrastructure in the classroom and make best use of it during lessons; teachers must have the right competences enabling them to use ICT to support engaging teaching and in-depth learning; suited pedagogical environments have to be designed for mainstream adoption while at the same time being adaptable to different contexts; good quality learning resources must be available and students' assessment models must be updated and implemented (EU, 2013).

In spite of these opportunities, UNESCO (2011) indicates that ICT is one of the threats to the survival of indigenous languages and cultures. ICT access leaves out minorities who consequently fail to access such things availed by ICT like education. The challenges that contribute to the digital exclusion faced by indigenous peoples in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere include; lack of basic infrastructure including electricity, computer hardware, and software; high cost of technology; limited budget allocations for IT maintenance and life-cycle; lack of technology training and support; lack of ICT expertise among policymakers; shortage of teachers with IT skills; dominance of English and other non-indigenous languages on the internet; lack of legislative and policy implementation to support longer term ICT initiatives (UNESCO, 2011).

In Kenya, some universities offer online degree courses in addition to compulsory introduction to computers for all students. Some secondary schools offer basic computer skills. The government is planning to roll out a programme in which all primary school pupils will have access to computers as tools for learning. KIE is developing the relevant content and it is expected that the programme could start for standard one pupils, from as early as the year 2017 or soon after. Some of the challenges facing the development of indigenous languages in Kenya (as discussed in Chapter Seven) are lack of books and other relevant teaching materials. UNESCO already notes that there is dominance of English and non-indigenous languages in the internet. The question is, will African governments, who have hitherto ignored calls to fully implement African languages in education, support the use of ICT in developing African languages by funding relevant content

generation in those languages in primary schools? (See Section 2.10 for a critique of government attitudes towards African languages in education).

2.6 Language in education planning

The aspect of language policy and planning that affects majority of the citizenry is in education. In countries with established school systems, language use by teachers affects language use by students and the effects could last a lifetime in which is their career life. This study is specifically under this type of planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) state that the education sector is often selected as the site for language planning because it deals with standard versions of a language. The existence of a standard is suggestive of socio-economic and socio-political unity which is entirely contrary to the reality of linguistic diversity (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Figure 2.1 shows the stages in language in education planning and policy.

The model represents the general model of a language policy process. From number seven, the stages branch into language in education. Experts however point out that a lot of language in education planning has been done without reference to the general stages in the model below (Baldauf, 1982; Eggington & Baldauf, 1990). To develop a sound-based language policy in a given setting, it is necessary to discover what languages are spoken, the purposes those languages serve, who speak them, where in the geography of that community those speakers are located, and what motivation there is for preserving them (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Language policy and planning
1.   =Pre-planning stage: Historical research, cost estimation
2.   =Survey stage: Design, test, disseminate, and collect data
3.   =Report stage: Write report, test recommendations
4.   =Policy stage: Design and test policy strategies
5.   =Implementation stage: Devise, implement strategies
6.   =Evaluation stage: Evaluate all phases and feedback into the system
Language in education policy
7.   =Education policy: Separate from general policy
8.   =Curriculum policy: What languages, when
9.   =Personnel policy: In-service/pre-service training
10.   =Materials policy: What, how much, how soon
11.   =Community policy: Parental attitudes, funding sources, recruiting teachers/students
12.   =Evaluation policy: Evaluation of curriculum, student success, teacher success/interest, cost effectiveness, societal change, basic policy

Figure 2.1. Schema for language in education policy development. From Kaplan and Baldauf (1997).

Consequent to a language in education policy and plan is implementation. Under this phase, Kaplan and Baldauf discuss the components that fall in the second segment of Figure 2.1; curriculum policy, personnel policy, materials policy, community policy, and evaluation policy. Curriculum policy has to do with the introduction of whatever language into a school curriculum. In all cases, there are subjects already being taught and therefore introduction of another subject would put pressure on the time available leading to re-dividing of the time available. This, in most cases, does not affect science and mathematics subjects given their perceived significance in most educational contexts. The number of hours in given subjects has therefore to be reduced or the subject is eliminated from the school curriculum.

Personnel policy involves the human resources needed to implement the policy. Three considerations are key in this stage; source of teachers, the training of teachers, and the reward for teachers. The source of teachers in the short term could usually be either to use non-trained personnel or import expert teachers from native environments. The training which usually takes a few years could be commenced but the same teachers could be used in schools and attend in-service training during school holidays. The reward for these teachers must, in most cases, be attractive to sustain enough personnel to avoid poor attitude as well as to encourage hard work. Materials policy refers to the relevant materials to be used to develop the desired skills in the learners. Usually, materials have to coincide with the methodology being employed to deliver the instruction and the methodology of training teachers needs to be matched.

Community policy is part of this process because learners come from there and it is the society that pays taxes that run educational programmes. A key aspect in regard to the community is developing approaches to community attitude towards particular languages or language varieties. The population must be convinced that the language being developed has significant value to the society as a whole. Finally, evaluation policy is meant to justify the often heavy expenditure on a language in education program. Evaluation will provide an opportunity to improve on the process of implementation in subsequent years.

2.7   Language in education planning in Africa

Africa is home to a big number of the world's languages and this is perhaps the reason for the existence of multiple approaches to the subject of language planning and policy. The approaches to planning and policy on language in the continent are, therefore, as varied as the number of

former colonial masters. My observation is that any language planning and policy in any African country is as good as the extent to which they have not succumbed to Obanya's (1999) fallacies of not using African languages in education. For the purpose of comparison, I have picked three commonwealth countries and former colonies of the British. But Cameroun was also colonized by the French and the British after the Germans and therefore enjoys a dual ex-colonial heritage. Ethiopia was not colonized. These four countries share one linguistic feature with Kenya; they all are highly multilingual.

2.7.1   Language in education planning in Nigeria

Nigeria, in mother tongue education literature, is renowned for the Six-year Primary Project in which Yoruba was used for six years as a LoI. Its successes are reported in various publications amongst which is Bamgbose (2005a). Like the other four countries, it is a multilingual country with over four hundred and fifty languages (Adegbija, 2004; Danladi, 2013) with each state being home to several indigenous languages. Most languages spoken by diverse ethnic groups bear minority status. Oyetade (2003) states that so far language planning policies have not realistically responded to linguistic diversity; they have instead precipitated ethnic consciousness leading to linguistic polarization. Three major languages; Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa, with more than ten million speakers each, are majority languages. There has not been a comprehensive language policy as a deliberate and planned exercise (Oyetade, 2003). In mainstream government business, English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa are privilleged (Adegbija, 2004; Danladi, 2013; & Oyetade, 2003) a state of affairs that the minority language speakers bitterly decry (Iwara, 1988). But Bamgbose (1985) states that English is the unchallenged official language, language of education, judiciary, and commerce. English has easily found a niche in a state where it is difficult to make any of the three main indigenous languages (Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa), a national language (Adegbite, 2004).

In regard to the use of languages in early child education, the constitution of the country states that mother tongues or immediate languages of the catchment should be used in elementary education (understood to refer to the first three years in primary) and then English be used later (Adegbija, 2004; Oyetade, 2003). Secondly, every child is supposed to learn one major language in addition to their mother tongue. In actual classroom situations, however, most teachers use English and the first languages. Adegbija interprets this use of English to be due to the influence of the colonial policy of using English as the LoI from the first day in school. The policy in regard to the use of

indigenous languages has not been fully implemented due to, according to authorities, practical difficulties including lack of teachers and materials in some or all the languages (Oyetade, 2003). English is the language Nigerians like their children to learn and many imagine it is the greatest legacy bequeathed to the people of Nigeria at the end of colonialism. As already noted, the pull towards English in education is motivated by the ideology of internationalization, reflecting the dual needs for an inter-ethnic and the international language of superiority (Bamgbose, 1971).

2.7.2 Language in education planning in Cameroun

Cameroun enjoys a history of having been colonized by three powers; the Germans, the English and the French. Linguistically today, it has two exo-glossic languages used as official languages; English and French. In addition to Pidgin English, it has over 250 other indigenous languages (Dieu & Renaud, 1983; Kouega, 2002, 2007; & Todd, 1984). Bobda (2006) indicates that there is no language policy in the country except a cursory mention in the constitution that English and French are the official languages and that the state shall promote bilingualism, and that the state shall promote and protect national languages. According to him, initial steps in formal language planning have not been taken in regulating the use of English, French, Pidgin English, the national languages, and mother tongues in educational matters.

Kouega (2002) indicates that Francophones outnumber Anglophones and that French is common in official use. Cameroun consequently lags behind in planning for the use of African languages, a problem Bobda (2006) says is due to difficulty of selecting languages to be given status to serve as main languages at both regional and national levels. The local languages in the country have not been used for official and national functions because of French intolerance during the colonial era (Bobda, 2001). The second reason is government's interest in promoting French and English (the official languages) which are considered a priority.

Some missionaries had reduced some local languages into written forms for the sake of their evangelization (Todd, 1984). The use of mother tongues in education though has not been realized in Cameroun due to the fact that basic laws of the country do not provide for their use. Secondly, there is no consensus among stakeholders as to the need for the use of mother tongues in education. Bobda (2006) observes that the centralized nature of the Camerounian government creates a lot of instability not favourable to the use of local languages of a given area in education. This is in respect of teacher transfers which see teachers transferred far away from their homes in places

their mother tongues may not be put into any pedagogical use. In spite of the challenges in the country, experiments in the use of indigenous languages in education have been successful. These are, courtesy of efforts of denominational schools, SIL, local academics, in mother tongue development experiments. In the experiments, thirty languages are either formally or informally taught in more than three hundred schools throughout the country (Bobda, 2006). English and French are the languages of instruction and examination in the two main territories where they are predominantly spoken (Kouega, 2007).

There is however a developing situation with the English Pidgin spoken by almost 50 % of the population and a major lingua franca, and now a mother tongue to some communities (Todd & Hancock, 1986). Kouega (2002) says that due to the poor mastery of English used as a LoI from standard one, there is common code switching in classrooms. It is believed that Pidgin English has a negative effect on the learning of English and so it is banned in households and institutions (D'Epie, 1998). Bobda cites a poster at a university that says;

> …If you speak Pidgin, you will write Pidgin. English is the password, not Pidgin. No Pidgin on campus, please. Speak less Pidgin and more English. The better you speak Pidgin, the worse you will write English. Speak a language well to write a language well. Be my friend, speak English. Succeed at UB by avoiding Pidgin on campus. Commonwealth speaks English, not pidgin (Bobda, 2006, p. 76).

In a nutshell, Cameroun does not have a formal policy to develop African languages in a way to use them in education.

2.7.3 Language in education planning in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a multilingual and multicultural African country without a history of colonization by Europeans except a brief intervention by Italians. It has about 80 different languages but due to historical reasons, Amharic enjoys prestige (due to its long use and hence development [Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2006; Seidel & Moritz, 2009; & Smith, 2008]). Throughout the regimes of Emperor Tewodros (from 1855), Emperor Yohanes IV, Menelik II, Haile Sellasie I, and the Derg government, Amharic was the main language of government. However, the Italian intervention between 1935 and 1941 introduced the use of local languages as media of instruction in primary schools (Cohen, 2000; Getachew & Derib, 2006; McNabb, 1988).

In 1974, the Derg administration also, in a national literacy campaign, introduced the use of 15 local languages for use in primary schools. This is a time a number of local languages were

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standardized. The campaign was nevertheless, faced with lack of teachers and resources (Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2006; Ayalew, 1999; Hoben, 1994; ZÁHOŘÍK & Teshome, 2009). The use of Amharic, a lingua franca, was for long encouraged as a way of keeping the country unified. Before 1991, it was used for elementary education and English for Junior High school and above. The new government then encouraged and set up mechanisms to use mother tongues referred to as national languages in the semi-autonomous regions (Getachew & Derib, 2006; Hirut, 2007; & ZÁHOŘÍK & Teshome, 2009).

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Forces (EPRDF) government (from 1991) officially started the development and use of local languages for administrative use, use in the courts, and in education. In the campaign, each region chose their own languages for various purposes leaving Amharic as the working language of both the federal republic as well as the regional states. Oromo, Tigrinya, Harari, and Afar Oromo are the main regional languages leaving many of the other local languages for use at lower regional units. Autonomy in the use of languages of their (states') choice anchored in the federal constitution provides a strong basis for application of the provision (Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2006; Getachew and Derib, 2006; Seidel & Moritz, 2009; ZÁHOŘÍK & Teshome, 2009). Today, more than 21 local languages are used as LoIs, excluding Amharic, at primary school level. These languages are also taught as subjects. Additionally, Amharic, Afan Oromo, and Tigrinya are taught as subjects up to post graduate level; several other languages are used to train teachers at teachers' training colleges; Afan Oromo is used as a first degree LoI in some universities; and the LoIs are taught as subjects from grade 1-8 (Getachew & Derib, 2006; Seidel & Moritz, 2009).

English is also used in the country as a LoI in secondary schools, in higher education, and also in the media (Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2006; ZÁHOŘÍK & Teshome, 2009). It is taught from grade one as a subject. Some scholars observe that in spite of the promotion and development of Amharic and local languages in all spheres in the republic, the dominance of English in education, business, and administration is increasing (Eshetie, 2010). In this regard, some states have made it the LoI from grade 7-9 in addition to being used as a co-language in the states (Getachew & Derib, 2006; Heugh, 2006). The benefits of the use of local languages has been increased enrolment and a raised public awareness and participation in educational matters (Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2006; Seidel & Moritz, 2009). Some of the challenges have had to do with curriculum content especially in

multi-ethnic states, conflicts between the language policy in schools and regional administrators, high cost of materials, lack of teachers, negative attitudes to local languages by some parents, and problems with choice of LoIs in multilingual states (Getachew & Derib, 2006; Seidel & Moritz, 2009; & Smith, 2008).

In spite of the challenges, the fact that regional governments support the use of local languages promises the development of even smaller minority languages. The thirst for English in Ethiopia is not as huge as the one in Kenya. The thirst is more in Amharic which, I could say, is analogous to the Kenyan English. The fact that English is a co-official language in the states in Ethiopia may increase with time depending on what the federal government may do with it in the coming years. Compared with the situation in the other four countries, Ethiopia's is an experiment of promise to the survival of many of its national languages and better prospects to hundreds of thousands of pupils who could acquire their basic education in their best known languages.

2.7.4   Language in education planning in South Africa

South Africa shares the multilingual feature with the four other countries discussed in this section, but it stands on its own in having had the most progressive constitutional provision for the use of indigenous languages in education. Prinsloo (2005) states that a language in education policy was accepted in 1997 giving school governing bodies the right to determine a school's language policy, and allowing learners to select their own LoI. This demonstrates understanding of the benefits of promoting language in education, commits the education department to the principle of additive bilingualism, and expresses determination to promote multilingualism as a resource and cultural diversity as a national asset. Such a provision for a people who understand the pedagogical, and other values of use of a mother tongue in education, is the most revolutionary provision for an African country. The question is, do the millions of speakers of indigenous African languages take it as an opportunity for successful learning?

In spite of this, Webb (2006) states that there is a striking discrepancy between the country's language policy ideology and its language policy practice. According to him, English is becoming more and more dominant and the power relations between English and the Bantu languages is becoming increasingly asymmetric as the latter have, supposedly, little economic, social, and psychological value. Bantu languages, he further observes, are deemed inappropriate for use in higher functions such as education. In spite of the legal provision for the use of the eleven Bantu

languages as LoIs, English as a second language is the LoI for the majority of black learners in spite of their generally inadequate academic proficiency in it.

There are three reasons attributed to this scenario. Firstly, Bantu languages are not seen as appropriate for education due to their association with apartheid and its policy on mother tongue education (Kamwangamalu, 2000). Secondly, the department of education has decided that English second language as LoI should be policy practice (Webb, 2006). Finally, and most critically, parents see English as the most important instrument for getting a job, occupational mobility, access to quality education, success, social status, modernity, progressiveness, and access to recreation. They thus exert pressure on teachers to teach in English (Prinsloo, 2005). This state of affairs in respect of the non-implementation of the language policy, as possibly contemplated by the drafters of the constitution, is not healthy for the country. Webb (2006) further observes that incremental use of English and a non-implementation of the policy is partly responsible for inequalities in the country; unequal economic and educational development, unequal social opportunities, inadequate development of democracy, and restriction of cultural liberty. The powerful position of English, according to Webb;

> …is a threat to linguistic and cultural diversity, is a powerful factor in discrimination,…exclusion…it will lead to a continuation of the unacceptable gap in the distribution of wealth in the country …and disadvantaging of an extremely large group of people in South Africa (2006, p. 58).

As it is in other African contexts, Webb indicates that the reasons for this lack of implementation are political and bureaucratic, economic and sociolinguistic, and theoretical and cultural. The situation of non-implementation has not however prevented wholly the use of African languages in education. A number of universities including Rhodes University, University of Cape Town, and University of KwaZulu-Natal, now offer some programmes in either isiZulu or isiXhosa (Kaschula, 2013). In my view, these efforts at the level of universities, may spur the efforts of other stakeholders in the education sector, and encourage more use of African languages. This would complement efforts in schools and encourage a more informed use of the languages in early education following the declaration of the Minister of Education of South Africa in 2014 on the use of African languages as LoIs in early education. Bamgbose says;

...teaching and research in universities are the engines propelling mother tongue medium education and the associated language development effort...projects and materials development are often initiated at this level, while the influence of teaching and research is transmitted to lower levels through the materials from universities (2005a, p. 254).

Shale (2015) insists that there is no option to the use of African languages as LoIs in South African classrooms. She indicates that the use of isiXhosa for the teaching of mathematics and the success attending it in the Eastern Cape Province currently, is basis enough to push for the use of mother tongues as LoIs in schools in the country.

2.7.5 Language in education planning in Kenya

Language planning and policy in Kenya dates back to the pre-independence era when both the colonial government and missionaries offered education each with specific intentions; the former to prepare low-cadre employees for local administration and the latter, to enable their converts read the scriptures (Gorman, 1974). It is my position, from the findings in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, and Nine, that the current scenario in the education system in respect of language in education policies and their implementation is, to a greater extent, a carry-over of the principles of decision making on matters of education at that time. Mbaabu (1996b) confirms this position by stating that language policy during the final years of colonial rule in Kenya had a major impact on language policy after independence. When English was made the universal LoI for all schools, the wave of change from the use of mother tongues to English as the LoI in the Asian and African schools was so strong that it had a lasting impact on language policy after independence (Mbaabu, 1996b).

The adoption of English as the universal medium led to mass failure of both Asian and African students. Stabler (1969) indicates that in the examination at the end of primary school, African and Asian pupils revealed marked weaknesses in the area of English. Further, at the end of secondary school, similar weaknesses showed up and over 75 percent of those who failed to win the Cambridge School Certificate did so because of failure on the compulsory English Language Paper. Few students had either the confidence or the ability to attempt the Oral English Examination and, of those who did, more than half failed. This situation has not changed much (see Sections 1.5.3 and 4.3). Majority of students perform poorly at both KCPE and KCSE, possibly due to the barrier erected in their learning and examination through an English scarcely

mastered. In the tests administered in this study, the pupils scored poorly in the reading test in English (see Chapter Ten for the scores and discussion of possible causes).

The pre-independence language in education policy decisions were characterized by opposing positions on the best medium for education and if that medium could also be taught as a subject. Policies shifted from one medium to the next following recommendations by various education commissions. The main commissions that recommended on languages of education from pre-independence to independence period are outlined below. The outline is only relevant to language in education in elementary and primary education. It is my feeling that appreciation of the current situation in language in education issues in Kenya (as demonstrated in the discussion in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, and Nine) could be done fairly with a knowledge of where Kenya has come from in the question of languages of education since the colonial period. The discussion has included provisions in documents that are not education commission reports per se, but which have significant bearing on the subject. These documents are the Kenyan Constitution (Republic of Kenya, 2010) and Sessional Paper Number 14 of the year 2012.

2.7.5.1 *Pre-independence language in education policies*

Information on pre-independence language in education policies was obtained from Gorman (1974). The main policies were as follows;

2.7.5.1.1 Commission on Education in the East African Protectorate (1919)

This commission recommended that the code for teaching in village schools should be vernacular for the first three classes and in Swahili in classes four and five. The advanced code for central mission schools provided for the teaching of Swahili in standard three, and for optional instruction in English between standards four and five. Overall, this commission prioritized African languages in early education. But the early exit to English would deny adequate development of these languages as means of literacy development. This happened at a time it would be expected that many pupils would easily drop out of school due to such factors as lack of motivation to acquire western education and lack of basic resources. With a poorly developed mother tongue, a school dropout would easily revert to illiteracy few years after.

2.7.5.1.2   Phelps-Stokes Commission (1924)

This commission supported the use of vernaculars as languages of instruction in early education. They then recommended that four languages be recognized as first languages of instruction: Swahili, Kikuyu, Luo, and Luhya. They also recommended that Kiswahili would not henceforth be taught except in the coastal areas where it was a mother tongue. In its place, English would be taught as a second language even in the village schools as soon as the reading and writing in the vernacular had been mastered. The recommendations of this commission too would possibly be met by a similar fate as the ones for Commission on Education in the East Africa Protectorate; the principle was to ultimately acquire English as soon as possible. The choice of four mother tongues would also be problematic because there are more than 40 different languages in Kenya; the policy would leave out so many and disadvantage the speakers.

2.7.5.1.3   East African Commission (1925)

The report reiterated the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes commission. It recommended that the medium of education should be a native language during the elementary and primary stages and that English should be introduced only at a later stage. This, as compared to the first two, would lead to a remarkable development of African languages.

2.7.5.1.4   Education Conference (1929)

The conference was held in Dar es Salaam to deliberate on language in education issues in East and Central African dependencies. Their three-point resolution in relation to languages was that in every case, the first medium of instruction should be the local vernacular. Secondly, as soon as possible, the local vernacular should give way to the dominant native language (where there was a dominant native language) which should first be taught as a language. Thereafter the dominant native language would be used as the medium of instruction until the stage was reached at which English could be used. In areas in which there was a dominant native language, the teaching of English would be postponed until the pupils had reached an approved standard in that native language and then only if recognized teachers of English were available.

In the pre-independence period, debate on whether vernaculars or Kiswahili or English were appropriate for early learning made reference to three factors. Firstly, considerations of the right for children to be taught in their language and secondly, the fact that Kiswahili was spreading fast

and would therefore be economical to use it in most places. The final factor was the African parents' wish for the use of the English medium as captured in the following excerpts. The factors were predictive of the post-independence language in education policies;

> …all peoples have an inherent right to their own language. It is the means of expression to their own personality…and no greater injustice can be committed against a people than to deprive them of their own language…cannot be effectively made without the adequate use of the native language… (Jones, 1953, cited in Gorman, 1974, p. 408).

> There can be no question that some official lingua franca must be adopted. Kiswahili has become the communal lingua franca…and for this reason among others, it is maintained by many competent witnesses that…it is at the moment the only suitable official language (Joint Committee on Closer Union East Africa, 1931, cited in Gorman, 1974, p. 420).

> There can be no doubt that one of the main incentives, if not the incentive, of African parents in sending their sons to school is for them to acquire a knowledge of English. A knowledge of English is naturally regarded by them as the principal means whereby economic advancement can be obtained by them in later life… (Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office, cited in Gorman, 1974, pp. 313-314).

The framework in the use of languages in schools in early education was trilingual in nature; vernaculars would serve as languages of instruction in African schools and English be used as LoI in upper primary. In urban centres the LoI would be Kiswahili up to standard three. It is until 1951 that English replaced Kiswahili as a LoI. Overall, Africans were taught using vernaculars or Kiswahili; Asians in Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, or Urdu; and Europeans in English (Mbaabu, 1996b). Between 1957 and 1961 the use of English was introduced as LoI in all African and Asian schools. The policy was unfair to African schools due to lack of trained teachers. As discussed below and in Chapter Nine, introduction of English has haunted education commissions in Kenya to date. This is possibly due to the erroneous association of English with civilisation. Fifty eight years today, English has been made the centre of education from as early as pre-primary schools in some places in Kenya. Reasons advanced for this scenario, against the stated policy, are discussed in Section 9.5.1.

2.7.5.2 *Post-independence language in education policies*

There are six post-independence education commissions (apart from the constitution and sessional paper 14) and their significance in relation to language in education is outlined below.

2.7.5.2.1   Ominde Report (1964)

This was the pioneer post-independence education commission. Its language in education recommendations was a trilingual dichotomy of the use of languages in schools. Firstly, English would be used as the medium of instruction from standard one; secondly, Kiswahili would be introduced as a compulsory subject from standard one; and mother tongues would be used for a period of storytelling daily in standard one, two, and three (Ominde Report, 1964). This was, perhaps the only post-independence commission whose recommendations dealt a blow to the use of Kiswahili and mother tongues whose effects, in my view, are evident today (see Section 9.5.1 for arguments in favour of English).

The reasons given for the choice of English as the universal medium by the commission were: English makes possible a systematic development of language study and literacy which would be very difficult to achieve in the vernaculars; consequent to number one, quicker progress is possible in all subjects; the foundation laid in the first three years is more scientifically conceived, and therefore provides a more solid basis for all subsequent studies than was ever possible in the old vernacular teaching; the difficult transition from a vernacular to an English medium, which could take up much time in primary five, was avoided; and the resulting linguistic equipment was expected to be much more satisfactory, an advantage that could not fail to expedite and improve the quality of post-primary education and learning of all kinds. In Article 171 of the report, the committee noted that they were not undermining the vernaculars for they were essential for domestic verbal communication. To sum up they stated, 'We see no case for assigning to them a role for which they are ill-adapted, namely, the role of educational medium in the critical early years of schooling'(Ominde Report, 1964, p. 60). In light of multiple research in second language learning, all the claims for English and vernaculars could not be supported; they had no theoretical nor empirical basis. Just ten years before, UNESCO had stated that in early education, mother tongues would be ideal LoIs.

Later on, research has confirmed that a developed vernacular is a resource for the development of the second language (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1979a, 1979b, 2000, 2005b; Edelsky, 1996; Edwards, 1995; Perez & Torres-Guzman, 1996; Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Wolff, 2006a). The position taken by this commission and the feelings of stakeholders in the education sector today (see Chapters Six and Nine) are a metaphor of what Mbaabu (1996b)

states about the fight for freedom. He says that the fight against colonial rule did not adversely affect the acceptance of the colonial language due to its utility as the language of education and upward mobility. The mobility, in my view, is perceived but not actual.

2.7.5.2.2 Wamalwa Report (1972)

This commission did not recommend on language use in elementary education. It recommended on teaching of foreign languages and the use of Kiswahili by civil servants as a way of developing it as a language of wider communication. The government today still insists on schools ensuring pupils master the language, in addition to English, for use both in and out of school. The fact that it did not recommend on mother tongues may not have been inadvertent; the attitude of the government towards the support of mother tongues in education today confirms this (Wamalwa Report, 1972).

2.7.5.2.3 Gachathi Report (1976)

This one made recommendations affecting the three languages; mother tongues, Kiswahili, and English. It recommended (for lower primary) that; the language of instruction be a predominant language of the school's catchment; to introduce English as a subject from standard one and to make it supercede the predominant local language as the LoI in standard four. It also recommended that KIE should prepare materials in the form of graded materials and sets of readers for each mother tongue for the teaching of those languages, as well as for the teaching of other subjects in mother tongues. How stakeholders have multiply conceptualized the provisions of these recommendations is discussed in Chapter Six.

This is the commission whose recommendations have faced opposition by parents, teachers and other non-language experts as discussed in Sections 7.2.4 and 7.3.4. The extent to which the recommendations of Gachathi Commission's recommendations have been implemented or not, could be best appreciated by a reading of Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, and Nine. It is however the first post-independence commission to position mother tongues in the all pedagogically important position of language of instruction. Its recommendation on the place of mother tongues in early education has not been replaced by any other subsequent policy. Its only limitation was that it limited the use of mother tongues to standard three. Research shows that a longer use of the mother

tongue in education is at no cost to English (Bamgbose, 2005a; Cummins, 2000; Gachathi Report, 1976; Save the Children, 2009; see the ideal extent of mother tongue development in Section 4.2.2.3).

2.7.5.2.4   Mackay Report (1981)

The recommendation of this commission affected the place of Kiswahili to this day because they were implemented. Language in education aspects of the recommendations were two; that a section to teach Kiswahili and other African languages be started in the Faculty of Social, Cultural and Development Studies in a university to be started; and the teaching and examination of Kiswahili be expanded up to the university level. Today, Kiswahili is taught and examined at both KCPE and KCSE and it is also a career subject in many public and private universities in the country. Kiswahili enjoys a rich corpus of literature for use at all levels of education right from primary one to university in addition to universities training several Kiswahili subject teachers. Like the Wamalwa Report, this one did not also recommend use of or reinforce Gachathi's position on the educational role of mother tongues (Mackay Report, 1981).

2.7.5.2.5   Kamunge Report (1988)

This one did not make a recommendation affecting the use of language in education in spite of having come at a time more empirical research findings were coming to the attention of the public and governments. The silence on language in education could be suggestive of public interest on English which may have taken root by this time, twelve years after the recommendations of the Gachathi Commission (Kamunge Report, 1988).

2.7.5.2.6   Koech Report (1999)

This is the most recent commission to touch on matters of language in education. Its language related recommendations were that; LoIs should be predominant languages of schools' catchment areas to ensure smooth transition from home to school learning; making of Kiswahili and English compulsory subjects at KCPE and KCSE; splitting of language and literature curricula in secondary schools; and materials for teaching of mother tongues to be produced. As shown in Chapter Seven, lack of materials for the teaching of mother tongues is one of the pressing problems facing elementary education in the country in regard to the development and use of the languages

in learning. This is in addition to public negative attitudes towards the use of mother tongues as LoIs (Koech Report, 1999).

2.7.5.2.7   Constitution of Kenya (2010)

The constitution promulgated in 2010 is one of the latest government documents alluding to planning and policy in regard to languages. But it does not provide a framework for the implementation of the provision either in educational institutions or in public. The provisions are in Articles 7 (3) a, b. It states that, 'The state shall; (a) promote and protect the diversity of language of the people of Kenya; and (b) promote the development and use of indigenous languages...' Article 44 (1) states that every person has the right to use the language of the person's choice. A neighbouring Article 53 (1), states that every child has the right (b) to free and compulsory basic education (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

It is five years since promulgation yet the relevant pieces of legislation have not been enacted. Legislation so far passed in respect of free and compulsory basic education do not touch on the language of education. On freedom to use languages of own choice, schools have instead instituted school-based language policies that prohibit the use of mother tongues (and in some schools, Kiswahili) across the country failure to which attracts various penalties. These steps are meant to encourage early acquisition of English (see the motivation for English in Section 9.5.1). A cursory study of Article 7 above would conclude that the most effective application of the provision would be in the schools. But the reluctance of the government to legislate and provide resources for this promotion would affect the place and role of these languages.

2.7.5.2.8   Sessional Paper Number 14 (2012)

This is the latest government publication to make reference to the use of languages in primary education in Kenya. It states;

> National and County Education Boards shall encourage the use of the two official languages Kiswahili and English both in and out out-of-school as provided for in the Constitution of Kenya. The language of the catchment area (Mother Tongue) shall be used for child care, pre-primary education and in the education of Lower Primary children (0-8 years)…For schools located in metropolitan areas such, Kiswahili shall be adopted as a language of the catchment area (MoE, 2012).

It is significant to note that the recommendations in regard to the use of languages in early education in Kenya are made at this time when; it is assumed that many regions in the country are

characterized by multi-ethnic settlements, and when it is expected that Kiswahili is almost a common household language. The recommendations indicate two possibilities, and this is the position of this thesis (see Section 1.10 for my knowledge of Gusii today); supposed multi-ethnic settlements in Kenya have not reached an extent that would make mother tongue education inappropriate; secondly, the presumed Kiswahili spread is not to the extent that it could be used without barriers in communication in lower primary education. Schools seem to ignore the provision on the use of mother tongues in the Sessional Paper and instead emphasize the development of Kiswahili and English in the same paper. Current research indicates that this approach is counter-productive and costlier in the long run.

Discussing the place of English in the country, two scholars observe that;

> …although the country is officially bilingual, a majority of the people will go for English at the expense of Kiswahili and other African languages. The other African languages, in particular, are more disadvantaged because they are not assigned any prestigious public functions…(Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006, p. 46).

But ironically, the same scholars decry the logic of the majority of people going for English;

> Despite the huge investment in teaching English and using it as a medium of education, only a small percentage knows the language of power as the majority of the people do not achieve effective proficiency in English (Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006, p. 46).

A lot of literature in second language learning indicates that the development of mother tongue is, figuratively, the development of a second language (Cummins, 2005b; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; & Wolff, 2002).

2.8 Language in education planning in Africa and the place of English

The discussion in Section 2.8 projects an image of English dominance in education in many African countries. The situation seems to echo the words of Hosmer (1890, cited in Kembo-Sure, 2009); 'The inevitable issue is to be that the primacy of the world will lie with us. English institutions, English speech, English thought, are to become the main features of the political social and intellectual life of mankind'. Kembo-Sure (2009) says that the demand for English has been growing over the years partly because of the demand for higher education, international trade, electronic communication, and demand for manufactured goods. English is the most sought-after language in spite of it not being the language with the most number of native speakers. The attitude towards English for some people, especially the elites, confirms the words of the Colonial Pioneer

Bishop Mackay (1908, cited in Mazrui, 2002) who said that cultural development in Africa would be served best by languages of wider communication like English or Kiswahili. McPake (2003) says;

> English has become an international lingua franca in a wide range of contexts, from air traffic control to popular music… there is intense pressure on people who are not mother tongue speakers of English to learn the language in order for them to communicate in international contexts (p. 158).

The following are some of the factors, according to Mazrui (2002), that have contributed to the position of English in African educational, socio-cultural, economic, and political discourse; a wide-spread continued use of English as a LoI in former British colonies; assistance for English programmes by British Overseas Development Administration, the British Council, and the United States Agency for International Development ([USAID], see also Kimizi, 2009 for reasons of spread of English); adoption of English in educational programmes in hitherto Francophone and Lusophone countries like Zaire, and Mozambique (and now Rwanda); the controlling influence that America and Britain have on both the medium and instruments of communication; Africa's epistemological and intellectual dependency on the West; and the fact that major philosophical works that inform education systems in Africa have not been translated into African languages resulting to higher knowledge acquisition through a foreign medium.

It is correct to say that elites and African governments have the relevant information in regard to the significance of the use of African languages as media of instruction. Mazrui (2002) suggests five processes as a way out of the English dependency; indigenization, domestication, diversification, horizontal inter-penetration, and vertical counter-penetration. In respect to the popularization of African languages, this would involve introduction of African languages as LoIs, translating major masterpieces into African languages, and significant financial support from governments in promotion of local languages in education (due to the fact that major donors, who support English hegemony, are reluctant to support such projects).

2.9   Language in education planning in Africa: A critique

Implementation of language in education policies in Africa has faced criticism from foremost language and other scholars from the continent and beyond. Brief views of four scholars are presented in this section; Ayo Bamgbose, Neville Alexander, Ekkehard Wolff, and Pai Obanya. For Bamgbose, part of the reason for non-implementation of the mother tongue provisions in

education policies is years of indoctrination and so people think that real education could only be acquired through English hence the idea of mother tongue is disputed by even educated parents. There should be an enlightenment campaign (Kaschula, 1999) therefore, to dispel this ignorance and prejudice. To change attitudes, policy makers need to add prestige to the study of African languages and their use as media of instruction. But underlying all challenges to implementation is lack of political will to break away from the colonial policy and practice of limiting mother tongue education to lower primary classes (Bamgbose, 2000; 2005a).

Neville Alexander sees the same problem and he calls it governments' paying lip service to efforts to embrace multilingualism and use mother tongues in education. He says;

> …the new elite, black and white, is prepared to do no more than pay lip service to the promotion of multilingualism or the development of the African and other marginalised languages…the new elitism in practice are quite comfortable with simply taking over the colonial state…but allowing everything in essence to remain the same (Alexander, 1999a, p. 3).

Wolff's (2002) position is that the situation is due to lies told to Africans about their languages which they believe in. His observation is allusive of Obanya's analysis of the language situation in Africa and reasons for non-implementation of policies. Obanya (1999) calls the reasons the eight fallacies which are; multiplicity of languages within one country; existence of multi-ethnic populations in urban areas; level of technical development of African languages; non-official status of indigenous languages; hostility of Africans to study their own languages; lack of personnel and appropriate materials; high costs; and the long-term ill effects of mother tongue education. Perhaps, part of the reason for non-implementation of African languages in education could be a feeling in some people that African language supporters want to entrench those languages in society and do away with English. Nobody has ever had this view. Kaschula sums up the rationale of the efforts towards empowering African languages thus;

> It is not a case of increasing the visibility of other languages and decreasing that of English. It is about developing and promoting some languages in order to create an appropriate multilingual and effective cognitive and intellectual environment (2013, p. 205).

Understood this way, African politicians and policy implementers should have all reasons to support the growth and development of African languages alongside English. Insistence on the use of English in Africa is against what many linguists, educationists, and psychologists say are the negative implications as stated by a Ugandan scholar,

Any attempt to use a foreign language as a medium of instruction, at least in the early grades of the primary school, is bound to have a detrimental effect on the child's mental development-that is, his ability to think. His natural desire for spontaneous self-expression is greatly interfered with. Even if he is able to speak a little English, the African child simply cannot be expected to verbalize his childhood experiences in a foreign language…such a language may have no idiom for expressing his experiences. He cannot find words for the stories he wants to tell; he cannot explain the recreational games he plays; he cannot talk intelligibly about the ritualistic ceremonies he attends, hence he says either little or nothing when called upon to speak. In this way, his thinking is retarded; his imagination is dulled; his confidence is weakened and his native wits remain unsharpened (Bagunywa, 2006, pp. 39-40).

The hegemony of English, according to Vaish (2008), continues to support the middle class. This discussion brings out the macro-context upon which the language in education situation in Kenya could be appreciated. Historical, political, economic, and sociolinguistic factors bear on the current trend in the implementation of the language policy, especially in the privilleging of English at the expense of mother tongues and Kiswahili. Discussion of findings in Chapters Six up to Nine could be appreciated in reference to the issues discussed in this Chapter.

2.10   Summary

This section discusses the concepts language planning and language policy as the frameworks upon which language use in society operates. Key areas discussed include; types and goals of language planning; language planning and politics, economics, and ICT; and language planning and policy in selected African countries including Kenya. The next section discusses the relationship between language and literacy.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

3.1 Introduction

This section discusses language and literacy. The language abilities learners go with to the school have far-reaching effects on subsequent language, literacy, and academic development (Menyuk & Brisk, 2005). The discussion is however limited to the general theoretical positions on how language is acquired, which is a prelude to subsequent language and literacy development outside home. Outside home, language acquisition assumes formalities uncharacteristic of babysitter styles of language socialization. The literacy development segment is a background to the literacy assessment reported in Chapter Ten. This chapter is a prelude to the discussion in Chapter Seven up to Chapter Ten.

3.2 Language acquisition

3.2.1 Language acquisition and language learning

The study of first language acquisition is a dynamic field of study with many unanswered questions (King, 2006). The following discussion however highlights the general theoretical positions meant to shed light on the subject of the current study. Some linguists use the terms language acquisition and language learning interchangeably. However there is a distinction. Yule (2007) says that acquisition refers to the gradual development of ability in a language by using it naturally in communicative situations with others who know the language. Activities associated with acquisition are those experienced by children constantly using the language with native speakers. Guasti (2002) and Gathercole and Hoff (2009) observe that in the process of acquiring a language, children do not require systematic instruction; instead language develops spontaneously by exposure to linguistic input on the basis of what children hear. Brown and Hanlon (1970) and Brown, Cazden, and Bellugi (1973) report that correction of error and formal teaching of rules do not apply to language acquisition. However parents or caretakers can modify their utterances addressed to acquirers to help them understand; the modifications are thought to help in the process of acquisition (Snow & Ferguson, 1977).

Yule's position is however contradicted. Chomsky (1975) argues that input plays a minor role and that children acquire language on slight exposure and without specific training. His argument is based on the nativist theory of language acquisition. Others who support input include Culicover

and Jackendoff (2005) and Tomasello (2003) and they ground language structure in general properties of human cognition and in the communicative function of language. They argue that children acquire language through its use in communicative functions and language is less abstract than the Chomskyan descriptions. They state that motherese is the evidence for the need of input (Cooper & Aslin, 1994). Generally, then, language acquisition refers to the initial, spontaneous, process of developing ability to use human speech. The pupils who formed part of the sample in this study had acquired Ekegusii as their mother tongue. This is the commonest language at home, at the play ground, and in other contexts outside homes.

Learning is applied to a more conscious process of accumulating knowledge of features such as vocabulary and grammar of a language, typically in an institutional setting. Krashen (2002) states that language learning is similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages which requires meaningful interaction in the target language; that is natural communication. Conscious language learning is thought to be helped by a lot of error correction and presentation of rules. This helps learners to come to the correct mental representation of the linguistic generalization. Syllabuses usually claim that learners proceed from simple to complex, a process that is not identical to the acquisition process (Krashen, 2002). Several individual differences operate in language learning and the subsequent outcomes (Gardener & MacIntyre, 1992).

The following factors have been identified as the main influences in language learning; age, sex, previous experience with second language learning, proficiency in the native language, personality differences, language aptitude, attitudes and motivation, learning rate, general intelligence, sense modality preference (visual, auditory, etc), sociological preference, cognitive styles, learner strategies, learner errors, hemisphere specialization, cognitive style, (Altman, 1980; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Skehan, 1989). Activities associated with learning have traditionally been used in language teaching in schools and and they usually, when successful, result in more knowledge about a language (demonstrated in tests) than in fluency in actually using the language (as demonstrated in social interaction [Yule, 2007]). This study was centered on the learning of Ekegusii (L1), Kiswahili (L2), and English (L2) and the consequent literacy in public primary schools in Kenya.

3.2.2 Theories of language acquisition

The main theories that explain language acquisition and development are, the nativist theory, the behaviourist theory, the cognitive theory, and the interactionist theory. The following discussion highlights the main features of each of them.

3.2.2.1 *Nativist theory*

The theory puts emphasis on inborn processes and biological mechanisms as responsible for language acquisition. Chomsky justifies this by stating that young children acquire language so rapidly and easily before their cognitive abilities are sophisticated (Chomsky, 1965; Pinker, 1994). He further states that a language has both a surface and a deep structure. The former consists of rules governing the way words and phrases can be arranged and the latter refers to inborn rules humans possess that underlie any language system. What language acquisition requires is a speech-analyzing mechanism which he calls language acquisition device (LAD). So whenever a child hears speech, the hypothetical mechanism in the brain develops a transformational grammar that translates the surface structure of the language into the deep structure that the child can comprehend (Vasta, Miller & Ellis, 2004). According to nativists then, language is a uniquely human cognitive capacity resulting from an innate language acquisition device which allows children to attend to language and develop appropriate grammar quickly and without specialized input (Fasold, 2006).

3.2.2.2 *Behaviourist theory*

This theory came up as a result of experiments by psychologists on rats and birds. They observed that these creatures were able to behave in a particular manner if a behaviour was positively/negatively reinforced. Skinner then proposed this theory for human language acquisition. He stated, 'a child acquires verbal behaviour when relatively unpatterned vocalizations, selectively reinforced, gradually assume forms which produce appropriate consequences in a given verbal community' (1959, p. 31). Further, a child could imitate and acquire the ability of human speech. He observed that when a child spoke and the caregiver reinforced the attempt, the child acquired that item of speech and vice-versa. On the other hand, if the caregiver did not reinforce an attempt, the item of speech was not acquired. This theory suggests that children do not bring with them any innate mechanisms to the language acquisition process thereby contradicting the claims of the nativist model (Fasold, 2006; Graham, 1998).

3.2.2.3 Cognitive theory

This was proposed by the Swiss Psychologist, Jean Piaget, who held the position that acquisition of language is in the context of mental development. He observed that a child has to understand an idea before they have a word to use to refer to it. Proponents hold the position that even very young children have a good deal of knowledge about the world, a knowledge they use to help them learn language. Children acquire language forms they can map onto cognitive concepts that they already possess (Bates & Snyder, 1985; Vasta, Miller & Ellis, 2004). Theorists state that it appears children need a concept of object permanence before they can begin using disappearance words. In addition the kinds of meaning children convey in their earliest sentences correspond to the kinds of understanding they have developed during the sensorimotor stage (Bowerman, 1976; Gopnik & Meltzoff, 1987; & Vasta, Miller, & Ellis, 2004).

3.2.2.4 Interactionist theory

It is based on the ideas of Jerome Bruner. It stresses that cognitive abilities and a helpful social environment make language acquisition possible. Proponents hold the position that a child's basic motivation for language acquisition is social interaction; children are seen as social beings and through language they enter into this world. Social interaction begins at birth and up to the time children are able to utter the first words, they will have had many opportunities to learn about the nature of language. Further, the typical social environment of children (parents/caregivers) provides structured opportunities for language learning. It is these opportunities that make up what Brunner refers to as Language Acquisition Support System (LASS) whose central component is the format (Brunner, 1999; Ninio & Snow, 1999). Formats constitute of structured social interactions that take place between mothers/caregivers and their children which include playing naming games and action games. Within these interactions, the parent provides scaffolding for language acquisition (Krashen, 1985; Snow, Perlmann & Nathan, 1987). The theory sees acquisition as a function of mental development and extra-personal factors.

3.2.3 Stages of language acquisition

Children undergo stages in the process of acquiring initial speech abilities. Development is so spontaneous and quick that a child acquires a great deal of skill by the age of four (Fasold, 2006; Menyuk & Brisk, 2005; Yule, 2007). A prerequisite for language acquisition is exposure to spoken speech, presupposing the cultural transmission argument of language acquisition. Presence of

human speech sounds will in turn provoke reception and production instincts of the baby (Goodluck, 1991; Yule, 2007). Note that this is the principle upon which I recommend wide use of Ekegusii as a LoI in Gusii. Kiswahili is not in common use in the region that it could be easily acquired, more so by the lower primary pupils. English is reserved for the classrooms and in most cases in code-switched patterns hence compromising its quality. Children rarely, actually do not, use it at play.

Cruttenden (1994) and Foley and Thompson (2003) identify the following stages; babbling, babbling and intonation sounds more like human language, first words, lexical overgeneralizations, two-word/three-word utterances, acquisition of the complete vowel system, utterances of four and more words, nominalizations, complete onsonantal system for many children, and a standard syntax within a range. Piaget proposed a five stage theory of how children learn till adolescence (he related both physical and cognitive development to language acquisition and development; Foley & Thompson, 2003). The following is a summary of Piaget's categorization as reported in Ko Peng Sim and Ho Wah Kam (1992).

Stage one: sensory motor stage (birth-2 years); stage two: the pre-operational stage (2-7 years); stage three: concrete operations stage (7-11 years); and stage 4: formal operations stage (11-16 years). This study conducted literacy assessment among standard three pupils in Kenya most of whom would, ordinarily, fall into the third stage. Children in this stage demonstrate their intelligence through logical and systematic manipulation of symbols related to concrete objects, conservation of seven conceptual domains related to learning of mathematics and science (demonstrated in number, length, liquid, mass, weight, area, volume), operational thinking develops, and egocentric thought including private language or speech for oneself diminishes. According to education practice in Kenya, this is the stage of learners in lower primary.

Acquisition of the mother tongue in normal children takes place at roughly the same time and along the same schedule. What children require is constant linguistic input which is referred to as caregiver's speech. The learning generally goes beyond structural elements of a language system. Learning language is a socially oriented process linked with wider cultural and cognitive processes that the child uses as a tool for social and cognitive function (Gathercole & Hoff, 2009; Yule 2007). However the linearity argument has been contradicted by some empirical reports. Vihman,

Depaolis and Keren-Portnoy (2009) state that non-linearity is found again and again in empirically grounded accounts of language acquisition.

3.2.4 Acquisition of language units

Pronunciation, morphology, vocabulary, syntax, semantics/pragmatics, and discourse, are what human beings acquire in the early years of life. Most research reports suggest that all these are learnt in a linear pattern. Below is a description of how each of these is acquired. Each unit has various influences in later development of literacy.

3.2.4.1 Acquisition of pronunciation

Basic units of pronunciation are sounds referred to as phonemes generally regarded as the building blocks of language. Phonemes form larger units of meaning referred to as stress and intonation also referred to as prosodic features of spoken language. Phonemes and prosodic features together comprise the phonology of a language (Foley & Thompson, 2003). There is evidence that human beings begin to learn the phonological system before the end of the first year. Halliday (1978) and Painter (1999) observe that the phonological contours of language are the genesis of meanings and of the semantic system. The non-linearity referred to earlier seems to apply in the stages that some authors outline as the order of phonological acquisition.

Boundaries of progressive stages in phonological acquisition are blurred by seeming regressions in performance and losses of previously well-established behaviors (McCune & Vihman, 2001; Thelen & Smith 1994). Echoing the variability inherent in acquisition of pronunciation, Aldridge (1991) states that learning is highly individualized and that the order of acquisition may vary from child to child and be different for siblings within the same family. There could also be differences between boys and girls, and in contexts where children are exposed to more than one language. There are also a number of physical, contextual, emotional and other factors that may influence an individual's actual development, performance, and competence in acquisition. Development of the first and subsequent words is catalyzed by the presence of speech-like syllables in the repertoire of the child's relevant language. Other motivations for the acquisition of words are presence of caretakers, the infant's sense of reward, and the proprioceptive feedback obtained from the articulation of the syllables which provides a reward (McCune, 1992). The linear order of acquisition is captured by Yule (2007) as follows; one-word stage, two-word stage, and the

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telegraphic stage. Research indicates that oral language plays an important role in the development of reading (Cain & Oakhill, 2007; Perfetti & Dunlap, 2008).

3.2.4.2 Acquisition of vocabulary

Vocabulary encompasses all words we must know to access our background knowledge, express our ideas and communicate effectively, and learn new concepts (Sedita, 2005). Early vocabulary development is influenced by social experiences of the child in which linguistic forms produced by adults provide the child with optimal situations for acquiring event representations and context-bound, social-pragmatic words (Barret, 1996). Rupley, Logan, and Nichols (1999) state that vocabulary is the glue that holds stories, ideas, and content together making comprehension accessible to children. The acquisition of vocabulary in children is closely connected with phonological development. Babbling carries over into development of meaningful speech, hence forming the building blocks of the child's early words (Stoel-Gammon & Sosa 2009). Children's early vocabulary is determined by semantic and pragmatic influences, and by a child's productive phonological ability. Young children are likely to produce novel words whose phonological characteristics are consistent with their own phonologies than words with phonological features not present in their phonologies (Schwartz & Leonard, 1982; Stoel-Gammon & Sosa, 2009).

Vocabulary learning is fast that by the age of 16-18 months, children have an average vocabulary size of 50 words. It is estimated that by the age of six, the average vocabulary size is up to 10,000 words, a fact accounted for by children's good learning and memory capacities (Anglin, 1993; Dromi, 1987; Markson & Bloom, 1997). Caregiver input seems to play a role in accelerating the amount of words a child acquires by a specific age. The frequency of specific words in caregiver speech to children correlates with the frequency of those words in children's vocabulary (Hoff, 2006; Huttenlocher, Haight, Bryk, Seltzer, & Lyons, 1991).

Composition of children's vocabulary has been found to consist majorly of nouns. This is attributed to the fact that nouns are relatively conceptually simple than verbs (Gentner, 1982). Children are able to infer word meaning not by personal cognitive ability but by deliberate caregiver style; they simplify words by providing numerous cues about the meanings and relationships between words. A common labelling pattern found in parents' speech is to refer to objects first by using basic-level count nouns. Secondly, they do not usually use multiple labels to

refer to the same object. In case multiple labels are used, they are qualified by clarifying expressions (Callanan, 1985; Callanan & Sabbagh, 2004; Clark & Wong, 2002).

Vocabulary acquisition is also roughly linear. From the first words referred to as holophrastic speech (referring to something more/bigger than the word), children build a base upon which later multiple words form. Many words in this stage are content words characterized by overgeneralization. At the age of two, they enter the two-word stage characterized by the use of phrases not more than two words. These two words do not usually have a fixed order. At about the end of the second year, there is a vocabulary spurt in which they begin to add about two hundred words a month. The multi-word stage starts at about two and half years when they begin to produce phrases of three or more words and their speech is referred to as telegraphic (Anglin, 1993; King, 2006).

3.2.4.3 Acquisition of grammar

Grammar refers to the way words are arranged to create meanings (Foley & Thompson, 2003). It also is anchored on child imitation of adult speech manners (Yule, 2007). By the third year, children have a system that conforms in basic ways to the syntactic patterns of the language they are learning (Goodluck, 1999). Children at a young age start using the relevant language structures in which they adhere to syntactic rules. But generally, what they already have in their brains outpaces what they actually produce. Development of morpho-syntactic abilities of children is commonly understood to be predictable implying that averagely all follow similar patterns and pass through similar developmental sequences as their competence develops. Development of inflectional and derivational morphology becomes apparent once children enter the multiple-word stage and continues up to the age of five (Brown, 1973; King, 2006). Vocabulary is usually the predictor of grammatical development.

In developing rules of grammar, children usually over generalize their application (Yule, 2007), a process that goes through three stages. A child could for instance say 'mans' in reference to the plus's' rule in forming plurals of regular count nouns. The process of over generalization usually goes through three stages; children could use the correct past tense of the word 'go' but not relate this past tense to 'went' to present tense 'go', treating went as a different lexical item; children construct a rule for forming the past tense and begin to over generalize it to irregular forms such as go, which becomes goed; and children learn that there are many exceptions to this rule and

acquire the ability to apply the rule selectively. Children's sensitivity to syntactic form indicates that they are skilled at detecting patterns in language and that they are able to generalize beyond the particular stimuli they have encountered when given appropriate evidence.

3.2.4.4 Acquisition of meaning

This usually begins with the acquisition of vocabulary. Children assign meaning to words using any relevant information in the context of use by adults. When words appear in idioms they interpret them differently. They usually learn non-idiomatic uses of words before they learn the idiomatic ones. They then begin to learn word collocations from the time they start to combine words. They may sometimes limit their early combinations to a particular collocation using specific words. As they learn details of words, they begin to express the meanings they intend and therefore extend the scope of each construction they produce (Clark & Kelly, 2006; Tomasello, 2003). Children start by using a single word to refer to several things just like the overgeneralization in vocabulary and grammar. Overextension is followed by a gradual process of narrowing down application of each word as more words are learnt. It has been observed that in words with hyponymous relations, children almost always use the middle-level term in a hyponymous set such as animal-dog-poodle. On the other hand, antonymous relations seem to be acquired a bit late at about the age of five, a time at which it is assumed they complete a greater part of the basic language acquisition (Yule, 2007).

Discussion in Sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5 indicates that the phonological, vocabulary, grammatical, and meaning capabilities that children have as they enter school are very significant in early pedagogy. They are the foundation upon which early formal classroom knowledge and further language and literacy development build. Research has demonstrated that knowledge of a mother tongue/first language plays a pivotal role in early child education (Ball, 2010; Cummins, 2000, 2001a; Genesee, Paradis & Crago, 2004; Leseman, Mayo & Scheele, 2009; Paterson, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). The principle in research findings is that the mother tongue has a stable and rich vocabulary that children use to negotiate meaning and communicate as opposed to a new language.

Upon this principle is based my thesis for the use of the mother tongue in most of the Gusii region and elsewhere in Kenya. Mother tongues are the only stable language systems for majority of elementary school children. The promotion and use of Kiswahili as a LoI in many schools near

small towns and market centres in Kenya is done on a shaky assumption; that the presence of some non-natives serving in the civil service is enough motivation for use and that their Kiswahili would be sufficient input to facilitate acquisition in addition to classroom input. Development of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS; see Section 3.3.7) takes a shorter time and this for Kiswahili is always mistaken to be readiness to use the language to teach content knowledge. I suppose that part of the reason for the pattern of the test scores in Chapter Ten, is the hurried transition to Kiswahili at the expense of the relevant mother tongue.

3.2.5 Multiple language acquisition

This is a widely researched and documented phenomenon. It has been indicated in the literature that human beings, both infants and adults have the capacity to acquire, concurrently or sequentially, more than one language. For the purpose of this study, this section brieflydiscusses bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) and trilingual first language acquisition (TFLA). These two provide relevant background in regard to this study.

3.2.5.1 Bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA)

Concurrent acquisition of two languages at infancy has been substantially reported. Researchers indicate that innate mechanisms that help children to acquire a single language are also responsible in dual language acquisition; either simultaneously or subsequently (Crystal, 2004). A person is said to be bilingual if he/she can use two languages in communication. A community is bilingual if some functions of community life take place in one language and other functions in another (Pearson, 2009). Simultaneous BFLA is, without doubt, a possible phenomenon going by research reports of children who have grown with two languages from birth. These have been referred in the literature to as bilingual first language learners and the process as dual language acquisition (Arnberg, 1987; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Busch and Sebastían-Gallés, 2003; Caldas, 2006; De Houwer, 1991; Goodz, 1989; Meisel, 2004; Quay, 1995).

Much of the research on this phenomenon has been motivated by the unitary language system hypothesis according to which children exposed to two languages go through an initial stage when the languages are not differentiated (Genesee, 1989; Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009). Volterra and Taeschner (1978) presenting the hypothesis state that in the first stage, the child has one lexical system which includes words from both languages and the language development of the bilingual child seems to be like the language development of the monolingual. In the second stage, the child

distinguishes two different lexicons but applies similar syntactic rules to both languages. Finally in the third stage, the child speaks two languages differentiated both in lexicon and in grammar. A distinction has been made between types of childhood bilingualism; simultaneous and sequential. Simultaneous bilingualism refers to a child acquiring two languages at the same time from birth, sometimes also called infant bilingualism, bilingual acquisition and bilingual first language acquisition. Sequential bilingualism is the one in which a child learns another language in addition to the one they have leant at home. This could be either in the community or at kindergarten (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Thompson 2000).

Simultaneous acquisition exhibits different types; one person-one language (i.e mother and father), home language is different from outside the home language, mixed language, and delayed acquisition of the second language. In the first case the parents have different languages, one of which is the dominant language of the community. Each of the parents speaks their own language to the child from birth, but speak one language to each other. In the second case the child acquires one language in the home and a different one outside the home. Both parents would use the same language at home and the child would acquire another language formally or informally outside the home. In mixed language, parents speak both languages to the child, frequently using both languages with the child. The delayed introduction type is in cases where the neighborhood, community, and school language commands a higher status and it is also dominant. In this case, parents delay exposure to the dominant language allowing the child to command the heritage language first (Baker, 2006; Pearson, 2009; Piller, 2001; Romaine, 1995). Psycholinguistic research suggests that both languages are always activated. This means that there are elements of both conscious and subconscious choice in which each language gets processed and in which each language gets suppressed in any situation (Francis, 2005; Pearson, 2009).

3.2.5.1.1   Acquisition of language units in BFLA

Phonological development in BFLA has been reported by among others; Bosch and Sebastian-Galles (1997); Burns, Werker, and McVie (2002); Genesee, Nicoladis, and Paradis (1995); Maneva and Genesee (2002); Oller, Eilers, Urbano and Cobo-Lewis (1997); Polka, Rvachew, and Mattock (2009); Sebastían-Gallés and Bosch (2005); Vihman (1998). The consensus is that children could show phonological contrasts between the two languages at an early age. Some studies indicate variations in phonological development of the two languages. Possible reasons for

the variability include; differences in maturation, individual differences, unequal exposure to each language, and asynchronous development that reflects normal language-specific differences in the pattern of emergence of phonological abilities (Brulard & Carr, 2003; Grosjean, 1989; Harding and Riley, 1986; Holm & Dodd, 1999; Johnson & Wilson, 2002; Matthews & Yip, 2003; Nicoladis and Genesee, 1996; Paradis, 2001; Saunders, 1988; Schnitzer & Krasinski, 1996).

Lexical development has been found to be going through the same pattern as in monolinguals (Nicoladis, 2001; Patterson & Pearson, 2004; Pearson, Fernandez, & Oller, 1993). But at the age of one and half years, there is a high rate of use of translation equivalents. This suggests that from this age on, children have two separate lexical systems (Deuchar & Quay, 2000; Genesee, Paradis, & Wolf, 1995; & Quay, 1995). Morphosyntactically, they acquire language specific properties of the two language systems early and these correspond to those by same-age monolingual children (Deuchar & Quay, 2000; Meisel, 2001). They show the same rate of morphosyntactic development as monolinguals, more so in their dominant language and exhibit possibilities of cross linguistic influences (De Houwer, 2005; Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009; Paradis, Crago, Genesee, & Rice, 2003). Cross linguistic transfer could be occasioned by language dominance. Asynchronous development of the two languages with respect to specific features could be a factor for cross linguistic transfer. So far, instances of transfer are restricted and they pertain to specific aspects of the bilingual's developing grammars (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009; Matthews & Yip, 2003; Paradis & Genesee, 2006; Paradis & Navarro, 2003; & Yip & Matthews, 2000).

3.2.5.1.2   Linguistic constraints in BFLA

There are supposed incompatibilities between languages of a bilingual resulting to production of ungrammatical structures. It is reported that child code mixing is grammatically constrained because these children mix the languages at points where the grammar of both is concordant. Constraints operating on child bilingual code mixing are similar to those of adults, though some researchers argue that constraints operating on child bilinguals should be able to reflect their level of grammatical development and therefore might differ from those of adults (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009; Lanza, 1997; Pan, 1995; Petersen, 1988; Sauve & Genesee, 2000; & Vihman, 1998). The fact that bilinguals possess two language systems makes code mixing inherent in their language use. It occurrs within or between utterances and the rates vary depending on the form of mixing, the nature of the mixed element, language of the conversation and context (Genesee & Nicoladis,

2009). The nature, style, and rate of code mixing differ between individuals of even those belonging to the same family (Genesee, Boivin, & Nicoladis, 1996; Lanvers, 2001; Vihman, 1998; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978).

Communicative competence is a well developed system after acquisition of grammar. Children are able to make appropriate language choices with different persons. At one- and two-word stages of development, bilinguals are able to use their languages differentially and appropriately with parents who habitually speak to them using different languages (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009). They demonstrate similar sensitivity when interacting with strangers with whom they have had no prior experience and they could also adjust their rates of code mixing to match those of unfamiliar interlocutors who change rates of mixing from one occasion to another. Contrary to initial fears (see Baker, 2006) that such a process could affect children's overall language and cognitive development, bilingualism is today seen as enhancing a child's development diversely. It is normal and natural and beneficial cognitively, culturally, communicatively, and for higher curriculum achievement (Baker, 2006). Bilingual acquisition needs a child to differentiate between the two languages, store the two languages for both understanding and production; capacities inherent in young children (Baker, 2006; Genesee, 2001, 2003; Meisel, 2004).

3.2.5.2 *Trilingual first language acquisition (TFLA)*

Research has reported a lot about monolingual and bilingual first language acquisition. There is little in the literature on trilingual first language acquisition, a research area now in its infancy (Barnes, 2011; Chevalier, 2011; & Genesee & Nicoladis, 2009). Studies on TFLA do not give detailed longitudinal accounts on the phenomenon (Hoffman, 2001a; Kazzazi, 2011; Stavans & Swisher, 2006; & Wang, 2008). The possible reasons for the little research in TFLA is firstly, the long time and resources it would require to conduct a credible longitudinal study. Secondly, there has been an argument that TFLA may not explore something new because processes operating on a third language are identical with those in BFLA. But Quay (2011) disagrees and says that TFLA is a unique phenomenon with its own characteristics and should be studied to shed light on the differences among the three levels of language acquisition.

3.2.5.2.1   Meaning of trilingualism

There is, up to today, an assumption that what bilingualism refers to is applicable to trilingualism. This is evident from definitions of bilingualism. Oksaar (1983) defines bilingualism as the ability of a person to use here and now two or more languages as a means of communication in most situations and to switch from one language to the other if necessary. Consequently, studies involving three languages have worked with theoretical frameworks that are bilingual in nature (Hoffmann, 2001b). The American Heritage Dictionary, quoted in Wang (2010), defines a trilingual person as someone who is using or able to use three languages, especially with equal fluency or nearly equal fluency. Stavans and Swisher (2006) state that trilingualism is a language condition that characterizes a person who commands three languages. The three languages of a trilingual in previous literature have been referred to as A, B, and C (Hoffmann, 2001b).

Four types of trilingual persons are distinguished by Cenoz (2000); those who acquire the three languages consecutively; those who acquire a third language after a simultaneous acquisition of the first two; those who acquire a first language and then acquire the next two languages simultaneously; and those who acquire three languages simultaneously. This reveals that the definition above does not comprehensively include the four types of trilinguals in its meaning (Wang, 2010). Another classification of trilinguals is that done by Hoffmann (2001b). Her five groups are; trilingual children brought up with two home languages which are different from community language; those who grow up in a bilingual community whose home language is different from the community languages; bilinguals who acquire a third language in school; bilinguals who have become multilingual through immigration; and those who are members of trilingual communities. Hoffman however observes that many trilinguals straddle these categories due to circumstances.

Early trilingualism as a result of TFLA is however rare than the one acquired through schooling (Baker, 2006). Wang (2010) however notes that TFLA is possible with anyone provided there are parallel language experiences and contexts for learning. Wang further notes that the main factors that influence trilingualism are age of acquisition, types of language being acquired, degree of exposure to the languages, the level of a person's education, changes in a person's language environment, differences in parental-child rearing beliefs and language socialization processes.

3.2.5.2.2   Types of trilingualism

Hoffman (2001b) identifies three types of trilingualism; trilingual language acquisition in children, trilingualism through schooling, and linguistic behaviour of trilingual immigrants. For the purpose of this study, the first two are discussed.

Trilingual acquisition in children: The most comprehensive account of TFLA is that reported by Wang (2010) about their two children who concurrently acquired three languages. The two boys acquired French (their father tongue), Chinese (their mother tongue), and English (their country tongue) simultaneously in the first eleven years of their lives. Their experience shows how children could balance two heritage languages with their country language. The similar linguistic systems in French and English and the different linguistic system in Chinese versus French/English brought about variations in speed and proficiency of the children's trilingual acquisition. Hoffmann (2001b) echoes the experience of these children in her observation about this type of TFLA. She says that in most cases, subjects in this category of trilingualism acquire the first two languages from the parents and the third one from the community.

Trilingual acquisition through schooling: This type of TFLA is commoner than the first one. A child could acquire either two languages at home, the third one at school or acquire one language at home and two others at school. Baker (2006) states that this is a common scenario in Africa and Asia where it is common for a person to acquire a local, regional, and official/international language. For instance, I acquired my three languages this way. Ekegusii, my mother tongue, is the first language I acquired as a child. Later on, on entry to primary school, I learnt Kiswahili which is a national language and regional lingua franca. I also learnt English in school which has been an official language and language of education since independence in 1963. On my use of the three languages, Ekegusii is the language I speak in with people of my culture; those who know Kiswahili and English or not. I use Kiswahili when I talk   to people not of my tribe especially if the discussion is not of an academic nature. I use English when I teach and also at official academic settings like conferences and on visits to public offices. What I experience when in conversation with people who speak the three languages or any two is that there is a lot of code switching especially when the setting is not of a strictly official nature. I usually, trilingually code switch depending on the occasion. This type has been reported in the literature by Cenoz (1998), Genesee (1998); Thomas (1988), and Zobl (1993).

3.2.5.2.3   Linguistic constraints in trilingual speakers

Trilinguals are communicatively competent users of the three language systems. They remain fully competent speaker-hearers within their linguistic environment and its communicative requirements (Hoffmann, 2001b). For instance, in a communicative situation, it may be required that a trilingual uses more of a particular language or language combination. Trilinguals' language system allows adjustments that make successful communication in such instances. On code mixing, studies indicate that it occurs predominantly between two languages (Stavans, 1992). This is even in instances where use of the three languages would have been possible.

Little research addresses code mixing and a case in point is Hoffmann and Widdicombe's (1999) child who spoke English, Italian, and French. The direction of the code mixing is usually from the strongest language in the trilingual's system to the weaker ones (Hoffmann, 1985). The strength of any one language at any one time in a trilingual's system is determined by changes such as migration, entry to kindergarten, or change of neighbourhood. A main determinant that could guarantee successful triliguality through childhood is, according to Gathercole and Thomas (2009), a consistent exposure to the three languages throughout development and a social context that supports trilingualism. Then, trilinguals become dynamic language users just like monolinguals (Clyne, 1997; Helot, 1988; & Hoffman & Widdicombe, 1998).

3.2.6   Major influences in language acquisition

This section discusses three influences; home, community, and peers. These three also bear on the process of language/literacy development in the school.

3.2.6.1 Home

Home is one singular influence in language acquisition, development and use possibly, only second to the school system. If parents deliberately choose to develop a child's language behaviour in a particular direction, children would grow with those manners and only the school, community, and adult life dynamics could alter them. Ely and Gleason (1996) state that parents direct the child's language by praising behaviour in regard to language and by use of abstract and metaphorical language and parental involvement in children's emergent literacy. The fact that the simple speech directed to infants is referred to as motherese (Crystal, 1986), attests to the foundational influence the home has in language acquisition and development. Two classic

illustrations of parental influence in language acquisition and use are reported in Wang (2010) and Caldas (2006). In the former, two children were able to acquire three languages; French (their father tongue), Chinese (their mother tongue), and English (their country tongue). The parents' deliberate choices on these children's language was felt up to, and possibly beyond, the eleven years recorded. In the latter, their three children grew up acquiring English and French from early childhood to late adolescence. Caldas reports that it took deliberate effort and strategies on their part as parents to ensure the children acquired full competence in oral and written forms of both languages. Caldas admits that parental influence faces a challenge that peer influence could have significant consequences for choices that teenagers make with respect to language and their decisions to continue with the home languages.

3.2.6.2 Community

Durkheim (1951) states that communities serve the function of integrating individuals into the larger social structure. One of the spheres in which there is a telling community influence is in language use. Communities give us a sense of shared identity (Putnam, 2001). Communities exist in multiple forms including neighbourhoods, villages, towns, cities, or countries. Individuals therefore in a way have to conform to the social norms of their various communities including language norms. It is such conformity that gives rise to accents, dialects, and languages (Caldas, 2006). For instance, one form of trilingualism is as a result of emigrants moving into a community with a different language. Bilingual immigrants find themselves compelled to acquire the community language for survival purposes. For children whose parents teach their two different languages which are different from the community, learning a third (a community language) is necessary for survival outside the home (Caldas, 2006).

3.2.6.3 Peers

Peers hold significant influence in language acquisition and learning (Aschermann, n.d.; Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988; Danli, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978). Peers express and negotiate ideas and contribute to each others' understanding through open communication among them. Some of the common techniques in the interaction among peers that contribute to learning language are scaffolding, imitation, and reinforcement (Aschermann, n.d.; Vygotsky, 1978). Children's participation in interactional routines with peers contributes to their acquisition of language through negotiation.

Constant dialogue among peers as they discuss and negotiate helps them strengthen their language skills (Corsaro & Rizzo (1988)

3.2.7 Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English

These are the languages at the teachers' disposal in their teaching in the research site. A brief discussion of their typological relationship is significant as far as appreciation of their interaction in lower primary classrooms in the study site is concerned. Linguistic interdependence is anchored on linguistic relatedness or otherwise and so an understanding of this is important in appreciating the discussion of findings in Chapters Six up to Nine.

3.2.7.1 Ekegusii

Ekegusii is one of the major Bantu languages spoken by the Gusii people of western Kenya (Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000). The language is more commonly known as Kisii. Its proper name is /ekeɣusii/. It is spoken by the /aβaɣusii/, (Cammenga, 2002). Akama and Maxon (2006) call the language Gusii. Guthrie (1971) groups it as E42 together with Kuria E43 and Lulogooli E41 in Group 40 of Zone E to which most Kenyan and Ugandan Bantu languages belong (see sound structure in Appendices E1 and E2).

3.2.7.2 Kiswahili

It is a Bantu language with three schools explaining its origin; it is basically a language of Arabic origin; it is a hybrid of the African languages of the peoples that lived on the East African coast and Arabic that was spoken by Arabs who came to trade and live on this coast; and it is a language of Bantu origin with some borrowing from foreign and other African languages (Massamba, 2007; sound structure is presented in Appendices F1 and F2). Ekegusii and Kiswahili have relationships in basic vocabulary similarities; morphological and phonological similarities; syntactic (both bear the SVO structure), adjectival, and nominal similarities. These similarities are, however at basic levels implying that an Ekegusii speaker would still need exposure to acquire and learn the language. To majority of Kenyans, it is a second language acquired mainly in schools and secondarily in informal contexts.

3.2.7.3 English

English is an SVO language (see the sound structure in Appendices G1 and G2) of the Indo-European family. It belongs to the western set of the Indo-European under the Germanic branch.

Other languages in the western set are Standard German, Yiddish, Dutch/Afrikaans, Frisian, Flemish, and Low German. Dialects of the language outside England and North America are United States English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, South African English, and the Caribbean English (Brinton & Arnovick, 2006). As a second language, it is spoken by about 350 million speakers in such countries as India, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Singapore, and Kenya (former colonies of the British). As a foreign language it is spoken by approximately one billion people. This review indicates close relationships between Ekegusii and Kiswahili in various basic linguistic features. Both too have this closeness to English; they use the Roman alphabet and use the SVO clause structure. According to Cummins (2000), these relationships could facilitate interlinguistic transfer from a first acquired language to the next. In this case from either Ekegusii to Kiswahili or Kiswahili to English and vice-versa.

3.3   Literacy
3.3.1   Meaning of literacy

A person is literate when he/she has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community, and whose attainments in reading, writing, and arithmetic make it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and the community's development (UNESCO, 1962, cited in Baynham, 1995). Secondly, literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate, and compute using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling an individual to achieve his or her goals, develop his or her knowledge and potential, and participate fully in community and wider society (UNESCO 2005b). UNESCO (2007) states that literacy is the ability to read, write, calculate, and otherwise use a language to do whatever is needed in life. According to the UN (2008), it is the ability to read and write, with understanding, a short, simple statement about one's everyday life.

National Centre for Education Statistics (NCES, 2002; the primary federal-United States [US] entity for collecting and analyzing data related to education) identifies three main types of literacy; prose literacy which they note is a prominent form of literacy in schools; document literacy for which they state that documents tend to be the principal form of literacy in non-school settings; and quantitative literacy which is the ability to perform numerical operations in everyday life. The

traditional definitions of literacy have however shifted from an ability to read and write to a host several things in education today. Scholars ascribe to literacy several abilities including use of computers, understanding social trends, and making appropriate choices pertaining to an individual's life. Literacy involves a continuum of learning to enable an individual to achieve his or her goals, to develop his or her knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in the wider society (Obanya, 2004).

Parry (2000) observes that literacy, the ability to use language in written as opposed to oral mode, is not only a means but also an end of formal education; and that it is largely through written texts that language planners try to influence the structure, status, and acquisition of languages. According to her, outside academic circles, 'literacy remains a largely unquestioned concept; its necessity and desirability are assumed, but there is hardly any discussion of what it means' (p. 59). She further observes that literacy is a complex phenomenon, the uses and consequences of which vary greatly in different cultural contexts and that if policy makers wish to use written language to further their aims, then they need to think about how literacy is used and about which of these uses should be encouraged and how, and which, perhaps should be discouraged and why.

Parry distinguishes seven types of literacy; functional, schooled, bureaucratic, commercial, technical, religious, and creative. Other literacies include; health/patient/clinical/medical literacy (Ishikawa & Yano, 2008; Nutbeam, 2008; Peerson & Saunders, 2009; Pleasant & Kuruvilla, 2008; Rootman & Gordon, 2008); digital literacies (Carrington & Robinson, 2011; Honan, 2008; Prensky, 2007; Robinson & Mackay, 2006), and media literacies (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robinson, & Weigel, 2007).

3.3.2 Multiliteracies

Evolution of the term literacy has led to what is today referred to as multiliteracies (New London Group, [NLG], 1996). The demands of the 21st Century, according to NLG, require complex and multiple literacies. The proliferation of technology and the capacity to easily record, store and send moving images, sounds and text would continue to change the way we communicate and challenge the ways we create meaning from different forms of communication. Globalisation in its broad sense and our increased capacity to transcend borders in a wired-up world with increasing people flows have also created a need for more complex 'reading' and processing of information. This in turn requires both a broad knowledge base and a strong capacity for critique and analysis, with

consideration of the factors that may affect the form, content, and meaning of messages and information (O'Rourke, 2005).

A pupil growing up in a media-rich 21st Century is disadvantaged if their literacy development is mainly judged through the narrow strand of reading and writing in print media. This is because we communicate linguistically, aurally, spatially, visually, through gesture and in multiple modes (NLG, 1996). Multiliteracies approach to literacy development combines these broad modes of communication and meaning-making with the diverse practice (situated, social, and cultural) of individuals, families, communities, workplaces, and the broader global society (O'Rourke, 2005).

Multiliteracies therefore acknowledge the diverse forms of literacy practice required for work and leisure, citizenship and community participation, personal growth and cultural expression. This concept broadens literacy from an emphasis on 'reading the word' to reading multi-modal texts; it includes the assumption that in the process of becoming literate, students are making sense of the world and themselves in the world; it assumes that literacy is also about communicating with, and understanding the communication of others; it assumes that part of becoming literate involves developing the capacity to understand the influences of social, cultural, historical, and political contexts.

There are four dimensions of multiliteracy; human, foundational, critical, and creative dimensions. The human dimension is shaped and influenced by the individual sense maker and communicator and the sum total of his/her knowledge and life experience while the foundational dimension refers to the particular skills and knowledge that is directly taught to students. The skills need to be practised for the learners to become proficient. In this dimension, emphasis has been placed on reading and to a lesser extent listening and speaking. The critical dimension encourages pupils to use high order thinking and developing deep understanding. Teachers' ability to question effectively provides scaffolding and support to stretch students in their thinking. In the creative dimension, learners create their own opportunities as they manipulate and reconstruct situations and make their creative experiences meaningful. They create something new and there is transformation in the pupil (Jeffrey & Craft, cited in O'Rourke, 2005).

Unless schools discover how best to teach literacy, children may find it difficult to live in a world increasingly characterized by local diversity and global connectedness. For teachers, this requires

a shift in terms of what we value as literacy practice. A multiliteracy approach encourages a broader perspective of the student as a learner and values diverse ways of knowing, thinking, doing, and being. It encourages education to see the whole person and to make judgements through this broader lens than cumulative sub-sets of skills. Teachers have to develop their understanding and proficiency in multiliterate approaches (O'Rouke, 2005).

3.3.3   Approaches to literacy

Rasool (2009) observes that the concept of literacy has lost much of the rigidity and linearity associated with it in the traditional, decontextualized, skills-oriented framework. Instead, she says, literacy is organic because it is seen as a cultural activity that involves people in conscious and reflexive action within a variety of situations in everyday life. It is multidimensional because it serves a variety of social, economic, ideological, and political purposes. Baker (2001) states that the term literacy is commonly used, but what precisely is meant by it is neither simple nor uncontroversial. Baker and Jones (1998) state that defining literacy depends on the aims in any one particular society; for some it is critical thinking, for others it is transmission of life stories, while for others it is reading a holy book. This implies that literacy is plural and relative to a given culture. How a society defines literacy therefore informs their approach to its teaching. The two indicate that educational processes in various societies could be differentiated depending on their approaches to literacy. They discuss the following approaches to literacy.

3.3.3.1 Skills approach

This type is underlain by the belief that children need functional skills only. Functional literacy skills are perceived as recognizing the status quo, understanding one's place in society, and being a good citizen. But this type of literacy does not mean reading print in 'quality' books but at a lower level for instance in reading labels on tins and road signs. A functionally literate person may find it difficult to use the skills in today's technological society; the skills may be insufficient in for example filling in bureaucratic forms and written instructions which require more advanced literacy skills.

3.3.3.2 Whole language approach

This one is diametrically opposed to reading and writing as decoding and as a series of separate skills. This one emphasizes learning to read and write naturally, for real purposes, for meaningful

communication, and for inherent pleasure. Writing means reflecting on one's ideas and sharing meaning with others. Reading and writing involve real and natural events, not artificial stories, artificial sequences, rules of grammar and spelling, or stories not relevant to pupil experiences. Reading and writing should be interesting, relevant, allowing choice by the learner, and giving students power and understanding of their world.

3.3.3.3 Construction of meaning approach

This one is connected to the whole language approach. It emphasizes that readers bring their own meanings to a text and that reading and writing are a construction and reconstruction of meaning. That the meaning pupils give to a text depends on their culture, experience, and social context is part of this consideration. This implies that students from different cultural backgrounds would interpret a text differently. For teachers to help pupils construct meaning from text, they need to be aware that literacy in the classroom exists in a social context, guided by culturally-bound ways of thinking.

3.3.3.4 Sociocultural approach

This is the ability to construct appropriate cultural meaning when reading, though in theory a person could be functionally literate but culturally illiterate (reading without meaning). This one is related to the construction of meaning approach. It is about the enculturation of literacy and usually raises the importance of literacy in the mother tongue arguing that literacy is easily and effectively learnt in the home language. This gives access to the wealth of local and ethnic heritage contained in the literature. Common problems in developing sociocultural literacy, however, include lack of grammars and writing systems for some languages, lack of teachers and the political argument that it may bring about disunity and be costly to maintain.

3.3.3.5 Critical literacy approach

This is an approach to literacy that makes people socially and politically conscious; for instance, oppressed populations would question why the situation is the way it is. The argument is that literacy must go beyond the skills of reading and writing; it makes people aware of their socio-cultural context and political environment. Mother tongue literacy or multilingual literacy is usually the medium through which this type of literacy is developed. It stimulates language activism, demands for language rights, self-determination and an equitable share of power for

minority language speakers. Citing Freire, Baker and Jones (1998) state that people acquiring literacy must have their consciousness raised to enable them analyze historical and social conditions giving rise to their particular status and low position in society. In this way, literacy teaching can become a political challenge to the hegemony of ruling capitalist states.

3.3.4 Interface between language and literacy

There is a very close connection between language and literacy. If children have an oral mastery of a language in phonology, vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and semantics, they would easily be able to start reading. The size of a child's vocabulary at the age of three is associated with learning to read and in reading comprehension when these children are at the end of grade three (Hart & Risley, 2003). Myers and Botting (2008) too confirm that spoken language skills are viewed as a condition for reading comprehension. Faltis and Hudelson capture the relationship between language and literacy this way;

> Language and literacy cannot be separated. Put another way, both spoken language and written language are language. They are different sides of the same coin. Central to both is the creation and construction of meaning. Both are socially constructed. Both are developed in and through use, as learners generate, test, and refine hypotheses (1998, pp. 101-102).

Pelletier (2011) illustrates the relationship between language and literacy by listing various language-based activities that children could be engaged in to help them develop literacy. Firstly, engaging children in conversation facilitates learning different forms of language, expands vocabulary which helps a child in learning to read. This happens in the sense that in conversation, children develop the language needed to make sense of print, especially decontextualized language. Narrative comprehension and production relates to academic performance especially in learning to read (O'Neil, Pearee & Pick, 2004, cited in Pelletier, 2011). Secondly, children use decontextualized language in dramatic play and in recounting events derived from personal experience in their play. Talk about play has been associated with children's later reading and writing. Children's language is enhanced when adults scaffold their play (Pellegrini, 1991, cited in Pelletier, 2011).

Thirdly, creating phonological awareness through hearing and thinking about language helps children learn to read. Children with well-developed phonemic awareness are more successful in learning to read (National Early Literacy Panel, 2008, cited in Pelletier, 2011). Fourthly, knowledge of letter names and letter-sound correspondences is a critical precursor to learning to

read and write. Letter names that cue children to letter sounds facilitate discovery of the alphabetic principle (Treiman & Zukowski, 1991, cited in Pelletier, 2011). Fifthly, shared reading promotes narrative competence. When children are read to, it has been found to affect literacy development. Finally, reading and story comprehension depend on vocabulary and general knowledge. This is acquired in oral instructions.

The following are the suggested steps to building a foundation for literacy development; oral language development should be an explicit focus; classroom time and space should be set up in a manner to encourage children's socio-dramatic play; teachers/parents should capitalize on environmental print for early literacy development; teachers should consider that phonological awareness moves from words to rhymes to syllables to sounds; teachers should promote recognition of alphabet letters and sounds; teachers should create opportunities for the children to actively engage with print; children should be engaged in shared reading to promote motivation and literacy development; and teachers should build reading comprehension as the ultimate goal (Pelletier, 2011). This relationship suggests that the development of language is in a way developing literacy in that language. Myers and Botting (2008) observe that the relationship is reciprocal; literacy in a language positively influences language development.

Bunyi (2008) sums up the language-literacy connection by indicating that literacy is intimately connected to language; it presupposes language for a person becomes literate in a language or languages. Similarly, through practising literacy (by engaging in cognitively demanding listening, speaking, reading, and writing), one attains even higher levels of linguistic development. There is no difference between language development and literacy development. In this study, I sought to find out to what extent pupils were literate in three languages in their education in addition to how literacy in Ekegusii and Kiswahili affects literacy in English. An academically developed mother tongue predicts the level of literacy in a second language (Cummins, 2000).

3.3.5 Bilingualism and biliteracy

Advantages of bilingualism have been said to include; easy communication with members of the family who speak different languages, ability to use languages with more sensitivity than monolinguals do, having a wider portfolio in jobs available. The cognitive advantage of this is creative thinking, faster progress in early cognitive development and greater sensitivity in communication (Baker & Jones, 1998). Exposure of bilinguals to opportunities of schooling or

reading and writing in both languages would develop them into biliterates. The ability therefore developed is biliteracy. Biliteracy is a common phenomenon in countries in Africa where individuals have to be educated in a mother tongue in early education and then a regional or international language afterwards. Academic and linguistic skills in a minority language transfer easily to the second language; learning to read in Kiswahili means that the reader would not re-learn reading in English. Lanauze and Snow (1989, cited in Baker & Jones,1998) state that language skills acquired in a first language can, at least if developed beyond a certain point in L1, be recruited at relatively early stages of L2 acquisition for relatively skilled performance in L2, which will shortcut the normal developmental progression in L2.

The transfer of literacy skills and strategies from a mother tongue to a second language, in a situation biliteracy is encouraged, happens easily if both languages use a similar writing system. But even with differences in writing system and orthography, generalizable skills in decoding and reading strategies may easily transfer from L1 literacy to L2 literacy. The principle operating here is Cummins' Dual Iceberg idea. The principle of transfer argues for initial command of literacy in the L1 so that the cognitive skills and strategies needed for reading could be fully developed. These developed skills in L1 transfer easily and readily to the L2 (Baker & Jones, 1998). On the other hand, where maintenance of the L1 is threatened by a majority language, transfer of literacy skills between the two languages may be impeded. When literacy is attempted first through the L2, the child's oracy in the L2 may be insufficiently developed for such literacy acquisition to occur. There can be simultaneous acquisition of biliteracy, L2 literacy then L1 literacy (in immersion programmes), and L1 literacy then L2 literacy.

Acquiring literacy in the L1 first then L2 next leads to successful biliteracy if the L1 continues to play a strong role in the school curriculum after literacy in the majority L2 is developed (see Section 4.2.2.3 for extent of mother tongue development). Maintenance bilingual, two-way or dual language, and heritage language education programmes usually lead to literacy in both languages. When to introduce literacy in L2 depends on context, age, and ability. It is advisable to delay introduction of L2 literacy for a six year-old than for an eighteen year old already fluent in the first language. Constant exposure to L2 written stimuli like posters, television, computers, may make L2 literacy occur easily. In Kenya, language policy provides for the use of mother tongues/Kiswahili as languages of teaching and learning up to standard three presupposing

developing the ability to read and write in mother tongues first. Additionally, Kiswahili and English should be taught as subjects from standard one. After standard three, mother tongues/Kiswahili are superceded by English LoI. Assumptively, the pupils would be able to read and write in mother tongues/Kiswahili and their level of literacy in English is adequate to allow change of LoI. This study was to find out to what extent standard three pupils had acquired literacy in three languages (Ekegusii/ Kiswahili, and English) in the context of seemingly poorly developed mother tongues.

3.3.6 BICS-CALP and biliteracy

BICS stands for basic interpersonal communication skills while CALP stands for cognitive academic language proficiency. This study assessed literacy skills in reference to the extent Ekegusii, the mother tongue, was developed as discussed diversely in this thesis and specifically in Chapter Seven. Zwiers (2008) uses academic language in place of CALP. Students' academic success depends on their ability to use an academic language. Academic language is often cited as one of the key factors affecting the achievement gap existing between high and low performing groups of students in schools (Wong Fillmore, 2004, cited in Zwiers, 2008). Zwiers explains that academic language is intricately linked to higher-order thinking processes; it is developed by extensive modelling and scaffolding of classroom talk; and it is accelerated by weaving direct teaching of its features while teaching content concepts. He defines it as the set of words, grammar, and organizational strategies used to describe complex ideas, higher-order thinking processes, and abstract concepts. It is used to describe complexity, higher-order thinking, and abstraction. He further observes that it builds from a foundation of home and community experiences and branches into more specialized forms of language.

Cummins discusses academic language alongside conversational fluency instead. He uses BICS and CALP for conversational fluency and academic proficiency respectively. Different scholars refer to the twin concepts using different terms: embedded and disembedded language (Donaldson, 1978); utterance and text (Olson, 1977); and communicative and analytic competence (Brunner, 1975). Zwiers states that BICS, which he refers to as social language, tends to be less complex, less abstract and is accompanied by helpful extra linguistic cues (e.g. pictures and facial expressions). CALP, on the other hand tends to be complex and abstract, lacking in extra linguistic support. See the features of both BICS and CALP in Figure 3.1.

Student Support Schema

COGNITIVELY UNDEMANDING TASKS [BICS]

Copying from the Board
Reading a Map
Face-to-Face Conversation
Selecting Food in the Lunchroom
Directions or Illustrations
    [with visuals or diagrams]

Following a Class Schedule
Getting an Absence Excuse
Telephone Conversation
Written Directions, Instructions
    [no diagrams or illustrations]
Oral Presentation
Oral Classroom Directions
    [no gestures or body language]

CONTEXT EMBEDDED   A | B   **CONTEXT REDUCED**

C | D

Demonstrations
Science Experiments
Basic Math Computations
Social Studies Lesson
    [with visuals and graphics]

Standardized Tests
Math Concepts and Applications
Listening to a Lecture
Reading Content Class
    Textbooks [Science, Social
    Studies, Literature]

COGNITIVELY DEMANDING TASKS [CALP]

Figure 3.1. BICS-CALP quadrant

The BICS-CALP quadrant. Tasks become cognitively demanding progressively as one moves from A, to B, to C, to D. Adapted from Steve Concidine's CLAD Study Guide, available at http://www.azusa/kiz.ca.us/bilingual/CLADpage1.htm

CALP is a student's ability to understand and express him/herself in both oral and written modes, concepts and ideas that are relevant to success in school. He states that students reach BICS in a L2 within about two years of exposure but a period of five to seven years to approach grade norms in CALP in English. Thomas and Collier (1997) state that students whose mother tongue has little support would take up to between 9 and 10 years to reach grade level profiency-the level at which peers would have attained. Cummins' estimates for English could be higher in Gusii, and Kenya in general, because a majority of children do not have access to English at home, in the playground, at the shops or churches to facilitate its input (Krashen, 1985).

Cummins indicates that children can develop BICS in the second language in two years but it could take 5-7 years to develop CALP and be able to work on the same level as native speakers of that language. Usually educators often overestimate learner abilities in the second language by looking at the BICS, oblivious of the difficulty second language pupils face in acquiring CALP in the second language. Quadrant A and B represent BICS which is the social language. Quadrant C is a

critical transition as pupils shift from learning to read to reading to learn. Quadrant D is characterized by acquisition of metaphoric competence.

The implications of the development of BICS and CALP is significant in bilingual education. It suggests that additive bilingualism should be the norm and that schools should continue to develop the L1 both conceptually and academically, which in turn, in a process of interlinguistic transfer would develop the L2. Such a process (additive bilingualism) maximizes the threshold levels of proficiency in both languages which students must attain to maximize the cognitive, academic, and linguistic stimulation they extract from social and academic interactions within their environment. He further points out that the development of both languages into literate domains is a precondition for enhanced cognitive, linguistic, and academic growth. On the other hand, when bilingual students develop low literacy in L1 and L2 due to inadequate instructional support, their ability to understand increasingly complex instruction (in L2) and benefit from their schooling would decline. The interdependence hypothesis (discussed in Section 5.2) is framed on these propositions.

This distinction is relevant to the teaching of Ekegusii-speaking children in the site of this research. Except four pupils in the eight schools studied, all pupils were Ekegusii-speaking (as test records showed and teachers confirmed) and of the three languages at their disposal, Ekegusii is the language system with an advanced BICS and CALP (due to its constant use at home, with peers and use in other social contexts). Developing its CALP further could be easier and faster than to drop it and start developing BICS and CALP in both Kiswahili and English as done in Sch 5, Sch 6, Sch 7, and Sch 8. For Sch 1, Sch 2, Sch 3, and Sch 4, sufficient development of Ekegusii in both BICS and CALP could promote the development of Kiswahili and English literacy. The concepts discussed in this section, except where indicated, are Cummins' (1979a, 1979b, 1981, 2000, 2008a, and 2008b).

Discussion in this chapter indicates that language and literacy have a symbiotic relationship. Conceptualization of literacy development in this study takes place in this context. The pupils in this study had fully learnt Ekegusii before they joined school. In school, and minimally in other contexts, they were developing bilingualism by the acquisition of Kiswahili. Their school environment exposed them to the acquisition of English, hence making them trilinguals. For their successful literacy development, this thesis argues that they would acquire the skills successfully

in Ekegusii (developing school-type literacy skills requires mastery of a first language). This would then facilitate transfer into Kiswahili and English (provided there is rich exposure to the two languages). But because exposure to the two second languages is restricted, then mother tongue LoI would be the ideal for up to about standard five and six. The scores discussed in Chapter Ten indicate that majority of the pupils have scarcely attained adequate literacy in English to be able to read to learn in it from standard four.

3.4   Summary

This section discusses language and literacy. The two are closely related as demonstrated since language is a precursor of literacy development. A key concept in the chapter is that for successful development of L2 literacy, the development of mother tongue literacy is a prerequisite. The next section reviews policy studies and literacy assessment reports relevant to the questions in this study as a way of delineating the gap that this study would fill.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE POLICY AND LITERACY STUDIES

4.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses dynamics of language policies and implementation in multilingual contexts and policy and literacy studies in East Africa. Salient features in implementation of language policies in multilingual contexts are the mother tongue question and classroom language use.

4.2   Language policies

Language policies exist in the context of the law (see Chapter Two). Countries state in their constitutions roles that various languages would play which actualizes investment in language development, material acquisition, capacity building, etc. But experience shows that in some cases, due to specific considerations (see Section 2.6 for common considerations), some policies are not implemented as contemplated in the actual policy provisions. In multilingual contexts, language in education policies face the challenge of partial implementation or absolute non-implementation. Common reasons include stakeholder ignorance, resistance to change, and poor capacity building. In Africa, as in other multilingual contexts, code switching and translation in classrooms have become synonymous with teaching. This study assessed literacy development in the context of language in education planning and its implementation.

4.2.1   Implementation of language policies

Language in education policies have far-reaching significance if implemented. This places teachers at a focal position in the hierarchy of language in education policy implementation. (Shale, 2015). Successful implementation lies in their daily decisions and choices. However, there is, usually, a discrepancy between policy makers' intentions and teachers' executions; teachers seem to practice their work based on classroom and political realities (Hong, 2008). Implementers, some researchers say, do not often implement what is in education policies (McLaughlin, 1987, cited in Hong, 2008). Teachers teach within the context of beliefs that shape their planning and interactive decisions (Richards, 1998). Reasons for non-implementation of education policies are diverse. They include; education directors do not support changes in ways that impact teachers; teachers do not have the knowledge, skills and other resources critical in the implementation; uncertainty about outcomes of implementation; the thinking that new practices may not be good; incompatibility of organizational arrangements with the innovations; lack of staff motivation;

teachers' prior knowledge, beliefs and experiences; different interpretations of the same policies; and misunderstanding or superficial understanding of the policies (Gross et al, 1971; Spillane, 2002; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002; Wang & Cheng, 2005; all cited in Hong, 2008; see Chapter Six for understanding of the language in education policy in Kenya). On the issue of teachers, Kafu, in reference to teachers in Kenya observes that;

> Since the mid-seventies, (Kenyan) teacher education curriculum has remained narrow and rigid in nature and scope…It emphasizes the training rather than the preparation of teachers. There has been no attempt to make it responsive to the emerging trends in the society in general and education in particular (2006, p. 11).

Kafu suggests that possibly, non-implementation of the policy is due to a static curriculum in a constantly changing world. In this study I sought to find out, as reported in Chapter Six, what critical stakeholders understood by the language in education policy governing basic education institutions in Kenya. I did this by picking key words (see Appendix I5) whose interpretation is significant for the subsequent implementation of the policy.

4.2.2 Language policies and mother tongues

In Africa, education is, unavoidably, discussed with the role of mother tongues in mind. This is due to the fact that a majority of the population speak African languages as mother tongues and secondly, only a minority have a mastery of exoglossic second languages which many countries use as languages of instruction. In spite of the challenges that mother tongues face in implementation of language in education policies (see Chapter Seven for some of the challenges), research in Africa and elsewhere confirms that they are the best medium of learning especially in elementary education. In addition, literacy in one's mother tongue has been found to be, figuratively, literacy in the second language (see Sections 3.3.4, 3.3.5, and 5.2 for significance of mother tongues in early literacy). For education in Africa, the mother tongue question is critical. Dutcher (1995) indicates that multilingual countries are constantly faced by poor results, high drop out rates, and general academic under archievement of second language students. Mother tongues in the context of additive bilingualism have been found to positively influence students' linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth (Cummins, 1998; see Section 3.3.4). Thompson-Green (n.d.) observes that literacy skills are best acquired via the mother tongue. He further states that if this process is disrupted at an early age while children are still learning the mechanics of their native tongue, they may never be adequately developed. Further, in the American context, minority

students fail, more likely due to too little instruction in their native language than too little English (see pupil scores in English in Chapter Ten in light of this claim). Prinsloo (2002) describes the facilitative role of mother tongues this way;

> Just as there is a transfer of linguistic knowledge, there is a transfer of conceptual knowledge developed in the mother tongue. The mastering of complex, abstract, or academic concepts in an inadequately known second language is always problematic, but, once mastered in the mother tongue, both concepts and vital cognitive skills transfer readily and are available for use in intellectually demanding contexts (p. 27. See Cummins' BICS and CALP in Section 3.3.7).

The following discussion on mother tongues is in reference to the education of primary school children in Africa. The discussion in this section (except where indicated) is based on Baker, (2006), Cummins (1991a, 2000, 2001b, 2005a), and UNESCO (2010a).

4.2.2.1 Meaning of mother tongue

The meaning of mother tongue adopted in this study is, in principle, the one by Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) as captured in Table 4.1. Ekegusii was, for all the children studied, the language they grew with and knew better than any other language by the time they entered school. The word mother tongue is used throughout the thesis synonymously with L1, heritage language, African language, local language, and indigenous language. Note that Ekegusii is figuratively, a reference to all the 42 Kenyan local languages. Another definition that fits the context of this study is, the language or languages of the immediate environment and daily interaction which nurture the child in the first four years of life. It is a language or languages with which the child grows up and of which the child has learned the structure before school (UNESCO, 2010a).

Table 4.1: Definition of Mother tongue
_____

Criterion	*Definition*
Origin	The language one learned first
Identification	
a. internal	a. the language one identifies with
b. external	b. the language one is identified as a native speaker of by others
Competence	the language one knows best
Function	the language one uses most

_____
Note. From *Bilingualism or not-the education of minorities* (p. 18), by T. Skutnabb-Kangas. 1984. Clevedon. Multilingual Matters. Copyright 1984 by Multilingual Matters.

4.2.2.2 Mother tongue instruction

Mother tongue instruction generally refers to the use of the learners' mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Additionally, it refers to L1 as a subject of instruction (Wolff, 2002). It is considered a significant component of quality education, particularly in the early years. The expert view is that mother tongue instruction should cover both the teaching of and the teaching through this language (UNESCO, 2010a).

4.2.2.3 Extent of mother tongue instruction

In language in education policies in most African countries, the use of mother tongues lasts up to the third year of primary education (Mbaabu, 1996a). This applies to Kenya. But is this enough time for Kiswahili and English to benefit from cross linguistic transfer from the mother tongues? Could English be a psychologically, sociologically, linguistically, and pedagogically appropriate medium from standard four onwards? Experts in bilingual education hold the position that the time of use of a mother tongue should be longer. Heugh (2006) says this about the period of the development of mother tongues;

> No acknowledged expert in psycholinguistics and second language acquisition will suggest that children in developing countries and minorities or poor communities can switch from mother tongue education by the end of grade/year 3 to the second language and also achieve well across the curriculum by the second half of primary school or in secondary school (p. 68).

Heugh suggests that the three years of mother tongue education and switching to English may not be beneficial in successfully learning both English and content subjects. Most children need at least 12 years to become competent in the L1 according to the Western Cape Education Department (2002, cited in UNESCO, 2010a). Heugh (2006) says that a firm foundation in academic and cognitive development in the first language is laid after eight years in less well-resourced schools (this could be the situation in the schools studied. See their profiles in Section 5.3.3). Using a language that is familiar to students beyond lower primary as the medium of instruction also provides a strong foundation for complex knowledge transfer from the familiar language to other languages. Cummins (2000) states that if beginning L2 learners do not continue to develop both their languages, any initial positive effects are likely to be counteracted by the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism. Continued development of bilingual students' two languages in elementary school entails the potential of positive academic, linguistic, and cognitive consequences.

This suggests that the Kenyan early-exit model of bilingualism could be detrimental to most learners' achievement in both Kiswahili/English and content knowledge (see Section 1.5.3 for the trend of scores in KCPE in English and content subjects). Mass failure has been reported in Kenya for many years (Mazrui, 2002; Kembo-Sure, 2009; Uwezo Kenya, 2010, 2012, 2013; see Section 4.3 for sample literacy assessment studies in Kenya) and experts partly attribute it to this model of bilingualism. The analysis of learner scores in Chapter Ten indicates the same trend of poor scores in English in addition to Kiswahili. Chapter Seven discusses the extent to which Ekegusii, the mother tongue of a majority of pupils in the sample schools, is developed. Its adequate development, in light of the interdependence hypothesis, should facilitate learning of, more so, English which assumes the LoI function from standard four onwards.

4.2.2.4 Arguments for mother tongue instruction

Multiple research reports point towards benefits of mother tongue education as outlined above. Benson, (2004) says the following are the benefits of mother tongue instruction. Firstly, the use of a familiar language to teach beginning literacy facilitates an understanding of the sound-symbol or meaning-symbol correspondence. Learning to read is most efficient when students know the language and can employ psycholinguistic guessing strategies; likewise, students can communicate through writing as soon as they understand the rules of the orthographic (or other written) system of their language. Secondly, since content area instruction is provided in the L1, the learning of new concepts is not postponed until children become competent in the L2. Thirdly, explicit teaching of the L2 beginning with oral skills allows students to learn the new language through communication rather than memorization.

The fourth benefit is that pupils' learning could be accurately assessed because when students express themselves, teachers can diagnose what has been learned, what remains to be taught, and which students need further assistance. Another benefit is that the affective domain, involving confidence, self-esteem and identity, is strengthened by use of the L1, increasing motivation and initiative as well as creativity. This of course increases student participation in learning. The sixth one is that bilingual programs encourage learners to understand, speak, read, and write in more than one language. The last benefit is that transfer of linguistic and cognitive skills is facilitated in bilingual programs (see Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006, for other benefits).

In his interdependence theory (see Section 5.2), Cummins explores the principle of skill transfer. He states that spending instructional time teaching through the mother tongue entails no academic costs for students' academic development in the majority language (in this case English). Further, there is a moderately strong correlation between bilingual students' L1 and L2 literacy skills in situations where students have the opportunity to develop literacy in both languages (Cummins, 2000). The implication of Cummins' claims is that the skills obtained in the L1 are essential in the acquisition of the L2. A continually developed L1 therefore, in the primary school, for example, continually develops the L2. To this list, Brock-Utne and Alidou (2006) and Wilmot (2003) add better understanding of scientific concepts in a familiar language and better results in examinations and fewer repeaters.

Desai (2012) argues for the practicability of mother tongue instruction in Africa. She does this, partly, by presenting successful studies that confirm that use of mother tongues is not just for individual rights or the preservation of heritage, but for the improvement of learning and enhancing learner participation in classroom activities. Her own research in Khayelitsha Township near Cape Town, the Najavo Project in Arizona, the Six Year Primary Project in Nigeria, the Ramirez, Yuen and Ramey Study in the USA, the Thomas and Collier Study, and the recent Ethiopian experience with mother tongues, all point to mother tongues as powerful agents in facilitating both content learning and the acquisition and learning of English or any other second language. The studies are some of the strongest arguments for the development of mother tongue education in Africa (see also Sections 1.5.1, 3.3.4, 3.3.5 for significance of mother tongues in literacy development).

4.2.2.5 Arguments against mother tongue instruction

Mother tongue instruction in Africa has not been a successful endeavour. This is, in spite of most countries being signatories to international agreements on the use of mother tongues in education. UNESCO (1953) stated that mother tongues were ideal for early child education because they are languages learners know best. This is in line with the pedagogical principle of teaching from known to unknown. But ever since, there have been controversies on the substance of the declaration and its applicability in light of Africa's sociolinguistic landscape. The arguments against mother tongue education are as follows;

Firstly, the use of several mother tongues in education is perceived as an obstacle to national unity. It is argued that if a country speaks one language, it would be unified unlike the contrary. A result

of this view of languages is the use of a lingua franca and in most cases in Africa, this has been the languages of the former colonial masters. The second reason for refusing mother tongue education in Africa is that African languages cannot modernise themselves or be developed, and are inferior to the ex-colonial languages which have now been adopted as official languages. This means that the languages are therefore ill-equipped to play the functions of languages of education more especially higher education. Developed international languages can only afford to do this.

A third reason is that universal and dominant use of the mother tongue carries the danger of isolation. It is argued that effort used to learn a mother tongue should be spared for learning an international language; time spent learning a mother tongue is to the detriment of the international language. The fourth argument is that advantages put forward in favour of learning in mother tongues are perceived as coming from multicultural minority lobbies and not from empirically tested propositions. This of course leaves room for the use of developed languages. The fifth reason is that becoming literate in mother tongues is a mistake from the economic viewpoint. This is especially in respect of the provision of such learning resources as books, teachers, translation services which governments may not always afford (see Section 2.6.1). The last reason is that parents and teachers reject mother tongue-based education and thus will boycott political reforms towards mother tongue-based education. This leaves predominance of foreign languages in all important domains of life in addition to education (see Association for the Development of Education in Africa-ADEA, [2005] for more obstacles to the promotion of mother tongues).

The above arguments are not sustainable today in light of numerous research findings which confirm the indisputable benefits of mother tongue education. Obanya (1999) refers to the above claims as myths used by society to deny the development of mother tongues. English is also a mother tongue that a society of speakers decided to develop to its current status. Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, German, and French, and many others are used in their respective countries as languages of education alongside the teaching of English as either a second or foreign language. The development of mother tongues as effective languages of education is actually developing the second language or in the Kenyan case and most of Africa, English (Cummins, 2000).

4.2.3 Language policies and classroom language use

Language is a key medium in teaching and learning. Language policies, in recognition of this, are meant to regulate what and how languages are used in teacher-learner interaction. In multilingual

contexts, there are three common features of classroom language use by teachers and learners reported in the literature. These are code switching (also referred to as code mixing or code alternation), translation, and translanguaging. This section discusses the first two.

4.2.3.1 Code switching

Adendorff (1993); Creese (2005); Haroon (2005); Lin, (1996); Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi, Bunyi (1992); and Nyaga (2013) report diverse instances of use and function of code switching in classrooms. Heller (1988, cited in Kaschula & Anthonissen, 1995) defines code switching as the use of more than one language in the course of a single communication episode. In multilingual communities, code switching emerges to be an unavoidable choice (Liu, 2010).

4.2.3.1.1   Functions of code switching

Lin (2008) refers to code switching as a communicative resource that teachers use for the following functions.

Ideational functions: Teachers switch to the students' L1 to translate or to annotate, explain, elaborate, or exemplify L2 academic content by, for instance, drawing on the pupils' real world experience to explain concepts in the L2 curriculum.

Textual functions: This one is achieved in, for instance, highlighting topic shifts, marking out transitions between different activity types or different focuses during classroom activities.

Interpersonal functions: This is in signalling and negotiating shifts in frames and footings, role-relationships and identities, change in social distance and appealing to shared cultural values or institutional norms. In the Kenyan context, a research by Nyaga (2013) in lower primary multilingual classrooms revealed that teachers code switch to serve the next three functions.

Facilitate understanding of content: This comes about because the text books are written in English and therefore teachers teach in that language which the pupils are still learning. Teachers then code switch to make what they have said in English understood in the language of the catchment or one pupils can understand.

Prepare learners for examinations: Good performance in the examinations pupils sit for requires that teachers constantly keep referring to the key words in English in which the examinations would be written. This gives rise to code switching.

Reduce the social distance between the teacher and learners: Nyaga (2013) indicates that usually a distance exists between the teacher and pupils. By the teacher speaking the language of the learners, that distance is reduced.

Encourage learner participation: The learners generally have a limited understanding of English. To have them participate in learning, teachers speak in the language the learners are able to express themselves in (compare functions of code switching found out in this study in Section 8.3.1).

Ríos and Campos (2013) found out that code switching is used for more other purposes; to express something you feel is best expressed in the other language, due to frequent exposure to given items in one language, due to cultural untranslatability, due to the fact that some items are commonly referred to in either language but not in both. Others are; to emphasize, to control addressees by excluding them in the code switching, due to vocabulary limitation, to explain specific terms, and to express such strong feelings as excitement or solidarity. In Ghana, Yevudey (2013) found out that teachers use code switching to explain, introduce English lessons, correct pupils, acknowledge pupils, and facilitate understanding. Some scholars have however found limitations of its use in teaching and learning. The main limitation is that it could lead to students turning out during the use of their weaker language and wait for information in their stronger language (Reyes & Kleyn, 2010). Maruwa (2015) says that code switching is a communicative resource and teachers need to develop conscious pedagogical strategies for its use in classroom teaching.

4.2.3.1.2   Pedagogical significance of code switching

On whether code switching is an effective and acceptable approach in classroom teaching, scholars hold divergent opinions. The importance of code switching in learning could be implied from the functions it plays in the classroom. The fact that it is able to effectively explain concepts, makes learners participate in learning, express a concept better in another language, are in themselves pedagogically significant applications of the technique. Rubdy (2007, cited in Nyaga, 2013) and Chimbganda and Mokgwathi (2012, cited in Nyaga, 2013) hold the position that code switching is a resource. It has been indicated by other scholars that the technique increases inclusion,

participation, and understanding, and enables lesson accomplishment (Arthur & Martin, 2006; Lin & Martin, 2005).

4.2.3.2 Translation

Translation plays a very important role in an increasingly globalised world (Leonardi, 2010), a world which includes classroom contexts. There is pedagogical and real translation and both differ in function, object, and addressee. Pedagogical translation is used for consciousness raising, practising, or testing knowledge of language. In real translation, the text translated is the goal of the process of translation. The object of pedagogical translation is information about the language learners' level of proficiency in the language (Klaudy, 2003). Scholars hold divergent positions on the subject of use of translation in second or foreign language classrooms. Malmkjær (1998) lists the reasons why translation is not seen as a legitimate resource in classrooms; it is a bad test for language skills, it prevents thinking in a foreign language, it is independent of and different from the four language skills, it takes up time that should be gainfully used in developing the target language, it misleads learners to think that there is a word to word correspondence between the first and second language, and it is unnatural. Some scholars, however object to the use of translation because it does not allow; acquisition of fluency in speech, and controlled introduction of communication strategies and controlled introduction of selected and graded structures.

Those who hold a contrary opinion support its use in second language classrooms saying it could enhance speaking, listening, reading, writing; and it could develop accuracy and flexibility in the acquisition of the target language (Duff, 1989). Others indicate that its use; improves verbal agility, expands students' vocabulary in L2, develops students' style, helps students understand how languages work, it consolidates L2 structures for active use, and it monitors and improves comprehension of L2 (Schaffner, 1988). If it must be used effectively, Nolasco and Arthur (1995), indicate that it should meet the following conditions; be used for a purpose, create desire for communication, encourage students to be creative and contribute ideas, students should focus on what they say not how they do it, students should work independent of the teacher, and students should determine what to say and write.

4.2.3.2.1   Application of translation in the classroom

It is apparent that translation may play a meaningful role in second and foreign language classrooms. Unless systematically approached, its use may be a source of confusion to young second language learners. My view in its application, in light of my observation of its use in real classroom teaching, is that teachers must first look at their lessons prior to teaching and determine which items would warrant translation, depending on the age and ability of the learners. Secondly, the teachers must purpose to speak deliberately and avoid the temptation of translating every other vocabulary item that comes up. Thirdly, the teachers should provide opportunities for the learners to engage in translating lists of words from both their language and the second language. In this regard, Cummins (2005a) recommends that pupils' attention should be drawn to the cognate relationships between languages and also be allowed to author dual language books. The use of translation by teachers in this study is presented and discussed in Section 8.3.2.

In light of the benefits of mother tongue instruction and development of bilingualism and biliteracy, both code switching and translation should not take up substantial instruction time. Giving prominence to use of mother tongues to teach knowledge implies that the two language techniques would be occasional for learning would be taking place in languages learners understand. There is an extent it could be argued that it takes more than time required to cover a topic of study due to adoption of the twin strategies. This has obvious far reaching economic and pedagogic implications.

4.2.4 Language policy studies: A review

This section presents recent research studies in policy. This study is anchored in the principles of language planning and policy; literacy development falls within the scope of language planning. The three policy studies cover the three East African countries; Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya and they essentially discuss language planning without assessment of literacy attainments. The second category of studies (Section 4.3) is essentially studies that assessed literacy of pupils in lower primary. The choice of reviewing studies in East Africa is motivated by four factors; in all the three countries, mother tongues, Kiswahili, and English are variables in early child education. Secondly, Kiswahili as a language is promoted in the three countries both as a language of education and as a lingua franca. Thirdly, all the three countries are multilingual dominated by

Bantu languages. Finally, previous studies (see, specifically, Uwezo Kenya studies below) covered the three countries.

4.2.4.1 Uganda

Two research studies conducted in Uganda are reviewed; Kirunda (2005) and Tembe (2008). Kirunda's study explored the link between literacy practices, the rural urban dimension, and academic performance of primary school leavers in Iganga District. Kirunda points out that there is imbalance between rural and urban learners' academic achievements having rural pupils performing poorly. She therefore analyzed factors that may affect performance including exposure to the language of examinations, level of parents' formal education, and parental mediation in children's work. Her position was that urban literacies expose learners more than rural and therefore the current education policy favours urban pupils because it exposes them to global literacies.

She employed observation, interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. New literacy studies and critical discourse analysis were her analysis techniques. Her findings were that urban areas are rich in academically oriented literacies, supportive of home and schooled literacies, and that there is access to parental mediation at home and at school. On the other hand, rural literacies are few and non-academic, and without parental mediation. She attributed this scenario to the fact that schools in town use English and the rural district schools used Busoga language. She finally observed that quality instruction, resource availability, motivated teachers, small classes promoted better performance in the urban schools. The situation was the contrary in the rural schools.

This study critiques language in education policy and its implementation in relation and its effect on literacy development. In this way, it was similar to Kirunda's. Secondly, the use of observation, interviews and documents used in her research were also used in this study. The differences are in the theoretical orientation, partly in instrumentation, and in data analysis techniques. However, some of her findings are contestable in light of current research findings. The factors she claims to facilitate better performance in town (parental mediation, resource availability, motivated teachers) could be accessed by rural children by the relevant authorities facilitating them. Secondly, to claim that rural literacies are non-academic is inexact; literacy in mother tongue and in rural areas is literacy; the view of literacy in this study was looked at from English which was

skewed. With sufficient exposure to the English of the urban schools, the same mother tongue literate pupils would transfer their abilities. Actually, reading in Busoga is as good as in English; the difference is the medium. Finally, prove of the extent of literacy abilities in both settings was to administer literacy tests which she did not do.

Tembe (2008) investigated stakeholders' responses to the new language policy promoting the use of local languages in education. Using questionnaires, interviews, observation, focus groups, and document analysis, she interacted with education officials, teachers, and the community. Her main finding was that stakeholders' attitude was ambivalent to the new policy. They preferred English which would ensure the children's upward mobility and fulfil their desire to be part of a wider and more international community. The study shared similarities in this study in instrumentation and in the fact that it was looked at from the language in education policy point of view. In fact her findings on negative attitudes inform teaching practices found out in this study as reported in Chapters Six up to Chapter Nine. It however, unlike the current study, did not conduct literacy assessment to confirm the extent of the ineffectiveness or otherwise of the new policy.

4.2.4.2 Tanzania

In 2004, using observation and interview, Wedin conducted a study on literacy practices in and out of school in rural Tanzania. He specifically investigated the relationship between literacy practices in and out of schools in five villages in Karagwe District from a linguistic anthropology perspective. His findings were that there was a close relationship between language, literacy, and power in which traditional elites used literacy to reconstruct their authority. On the other hand, new elites used literacy to get to power. Another of his findings was that poor attitude towards mother tongues had affected learning. My observation on this study is that an anthropological approach leaves a lot out of the discussion of this work. Currently, research in education and linguistics has shed a lot of light on the dynamics of literacy so that there is a thin, if any, distinction between home and school literacy. Literacy is described today to exist in a continuum (see Section 3.3.2 for a discussion on multiliteracies).

Tibategeza (2010) studied the implementation of bilingual education in Tanzania in the schools in a country where Kiswahili is the language of government business. Using interviews, observation, focus group discussions, and document analyses, he carried out the study at a local district. His main finding was that schools practice monolingual education leaving out Kiswahili along with

which government intended to develop bilingualism and biliteracy. His study exposes the mismatch between policy and practice in implementation of the policy a similar finding to one in this study. This finding only fell short of demonstrating the effect of this mismatch between policy and practice by conducting literacy tests. The current study actually conducted tests to confirm literacy statuses in three languages at the learners' disposal.

4.2.4.3 Kenya

A study on language policy and development of literacy was conducted by Nyaga (2013). Her investigation was on how teachers manage linguistic diversity in multilingual classrooms. She therefore analysed teachers' attitudes, skills, and strategies in the multilingual classrooms in four schools using observation, interviews, and documents. Her data were qualitatively analysed. She found out that there is a discrepancy between policy and practice; between teacher beliefs about linguistic diversity and actual language use in the classrooms; and between the MoE's definition of mother tongue and what teachers understand. In addition, teachers were not supported by the MoE in the execution of their work for instance in training and placement.

Nyaga's findings on discrepancy between policy and practice; teachers' understanding of policy; and lack of support from the MoE were part of the findings of this study. Her study, though conducted in Kenya, just like this one, is different in the following respects; it investigated multilingual classrooms, and it did not test literacy to ascertain the extent to which teacher beliefs affect its development. The classrooms in Gusii where the current study was undertaken were generally monolingual (see Sections 1.9 and 5.3.3 for details on site of the study and schools). These five studies above differ with the current study, mainly in the theory adopted in the conceptualization, data collection and interpretation of the findings. Cummins' hypotheses discuss literacy development in the context of national educational policies that affect languages of education. The mother tongue question is the basis of his propositions. In factoring the mother tongue question, this study deviated from the actual substance of these studies.

4.3   Literacy assessment

Literacy assessment in many contexts is informed by principles developed by Bloom (1956). There are basically three domains of objectives that teaching seeks to achieve; the cognitive (Bloom, 1956; Marzano, 2000), affective (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1973), and psychomotor (Harrow, 1972). Bloom (1956) constructed a taxonomy of objectives in the cognitive domain in a hierarchy

of six steps; knowledge; comprehension; application; analysis; synthesis; and evaluation. Tests conducted in this study tested the first two skills; knowledge and comprehension skills.

4.3.1 Literacy assessment studies in Kenya

The studies are appropriate because Kiswahili and English languages and subjects are variables that apply in the region of study. The Kisii District study is appropriate because it is an index to what the literacy situation in the site of study could possibly be. Numerous literacy studies from across the world and sub-Saharan Africa are reported in the literature but their analysis in this study was not considered. This is due to the following factors. Firstly, the role of Kiswahili and English in education in Kenya is as a result of a long historical process as discussed in Section 2.8.5. Secondly, the socio-political and educational context of Kenya could not be identical with any other region in the world. Finally, the sociolinguistic interaction of the three languages in this study could not be identical to any other elsewhere.

4.3.1.1 Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality ([SACMEQ], 2000)

SACMEQ is a consortium of ministries of education located in the Southern Africa sub-region with its sub-regional head office at UNESCO's Harare Office. Its founding members are Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It provides research-based policy advice on issues identified by decision-makers. It is a network of educational planners and it combines research and training components linked to institutional capacity building. Participating ministries define its future directions (Nzomo, Kariuki, & Guantai, 2001). It conducted a national literacy study in Kenya in 1998 among standard six pupils that is reported by Nzomo, Kariuki and Guantai (2001). The study looked at both school and home-based factors that could affect literacy among standard six pupils in the country. Its instruments were basic reading tests, pupil questionnaire, teacher questionnaires, and head teacher questionnaire. The tests were on narrative prose (21 marks), expository prose (23 marks), and document reading (15 marks) all with multiple choice questions. The population of pupils was 3,233 from the former eight provinces. Tac tutors were used in the collection of data.

The findings of that study were that 64.8± 2 (2.35) % reached the minimum level of mastery of the reading tests that is between 60.1 % and 69.5 %. Further, 23.4± 2 (2.10) reached the desired level of mastery on the reading test that is between 19.2 % and 27.6 %. This implies that about 35% did not reach designated minimum mastery level of reading and 77% did not reach desirable

level of reading. The mean standard score (MSS) for the various tests were; narrative, 10.9; expository, 12.1; and documents, 8.4 nationally. The scores across socio-economic status and school location are captured in Table 4.2. The study reports about pupils in standard six, just two years before they could sit for their KCPE examination in which they would need a mastery of English to tackle the language itself and content subjects. The scores point to the fact that, notwithstanding gender, socio-economic status, and school location, the scores were not high enough for this level. The study was conducted throughout the country with learners who spoke different mother tongues. The researchers observed;

> The results presented a somewhat gloomy picture concerning the reading performance of standard six pupils in Kenya…It is not acceptable that only around two-thirds of standard six pupils reach the minimum level of literacy, and only around one quarter reach the desirable level (Nzomo, Kariuki, & Guantai, 2001, pp. 66-67).

Table 4.2 : Mean Scores of Different sub-Groups of Pupils in the SACMEQ Study
_____

Sub-group	Narrative	Expository	Documents
Boys	10.9	12.1	8.6
Girls	10.9	12.1	8.2
Socio-economic status			
Very low	10.3	11.8	8.0
Low	10.3	11.6	8.0
Moderately low	10.4	11.6	8.2
Moderately high	11.1	12.3	8.7
High	11.7	12.6	8.8
Very high	12.8	13.9	9.3
School location			
Isolated	9.3	10.7	7.5
Rural	10.2	11.6	8.0
Small town	11.5	12.7	8.8
Large city	14.4	15.0	10.3
National	10.9	12.1	8.4

_____
Note. The means (out of 21, 23, 15 for narrative, expository, and document reading respectively) indicate students scored averagely in spite of gender, economic status, and school location. From *The quality of primary education in Kenya: Some policy suggestions based on a survey of schools* (p. 71), by J. Nzomo, M. Kariuki, & L. Guantai. 2001. Nairobi. UNESCO. Copyright 2001 by UNESCO.

4.3.1.2 Uwezo Kenya (2009-2013)

Uwezo Kenya is an initiative to improve competencies in literacy and numeracy among children aged 6-16 in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania through an innovative, civic-driven, and public accountability approach to social change. I present the 2010 and 2012 Kenyan reports. However

their latest report (2013) has been cited in discussion elsewhere in this report. Their target has been standard three pupils and children aged between six and sixteen years. Their officials visit homes and schools to administer the tests. The tests range from reading single letters, then words, then paragraphs, and finally two-paragraph comprehension texts. Children who read letters are allowed to read higher level items. The tests have always been administered in Kiswahili and English. In the 2010 report, the population, and number of districts were 102,666 and 70/158 respectively. In the 2012 report the population and number of districts was 131,971 and 122/158 respectively. The reading text for the 2010 study was; *Atieno is my sister. She is in class four. She has a blue skirt. She likes it very much.* Tests administered in 2012 are captured in Figure 4.1.
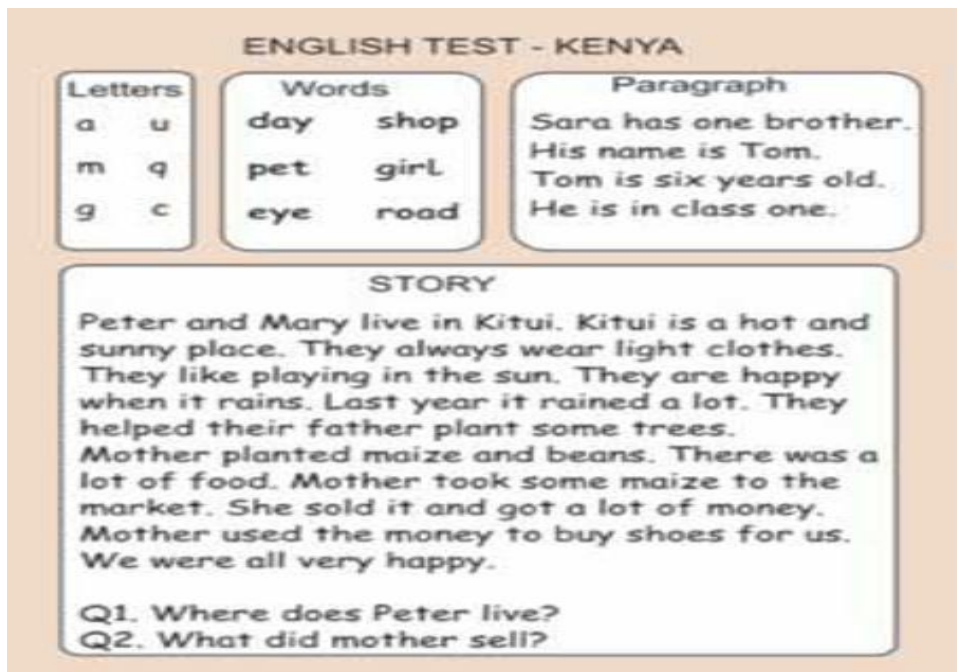
Figure 4.1 Uwezo Kenya 2012 tests. From Uwezo Kenya (2012).

The findings in the year 2010 were that two-thirds of standard two children in Kenya could not read the four-clause text above. Secondly, children in private schools performed better than those in public schools. A final finding was that children's literacy levels increased with mothers' level of formal schooling. In 2012, the findings were that less than a third of pupils enrolled in standard three in East Africa possess basic literacy and numeracy skills implying that a majority of pupils are not acquiring basic competencies during early years of primary school as expected in the

curriculum. Secondly, two out of ten pupils in standard seven in East Africa do not have standard two level literacy and numeracy competencies. Thirdly, the pass rate of standard two tests increases between standards four to six, implying that many of the pupils acquire standard two level skills in later years. In Kenya, only a third of standard three pupils could pass a standard two level test in which minimal differences existed between boys and girls and pupils in private schools performed better than those in public schools. The 2013 report indicates that literacy competencies have not changed since 2009 (Uwezo Kenya, 2010, 2012, 2013).

4.3.1.3 Kenya National Examinations Council (2010)

A wing of this council called National Assessment System for Monitoring Learner Achievement (NASMLA) with a committee of members from MoE, KNEC, KIE, research institutions, and universities, conducted a literacy study in the year 2010 among standard three pupils. The instruments used were questionnaire, literacy and numeracy tests, and observation. There were 36 literacy and 28 numeracy items administered on 7,931 pupils, while questionnaires were administered on 513 class three teachers and 328 head teachers. The findings were as follows: The national means for literacy and numeracy were 297.58 and 295.6 respectively both slightly below the standardized mean scores of 300. Secondly, girls did better in literacy and boys in numeracy. Thirdly private schools did better than public schools. Finally, most standard three pupils (46.1%) demonstrated emergent reading ability which is congruent with standard two level (KNEC/NASMLA, 2010).

4.3.1.4 Kisii District (Ayora, 2014)

Ayora's (2014) study was about causes of low reading literacy levels among lower primary school pupils in Kisii District of Kisii County (this district falls under Kisii County one of the two counties of Gusii that was part of the research site of this study). It sought to find out the effect of the following variables on literacy levels; language of instruction, reading materials, and school type. Using Holdaway's Theory of literacy development, the study used questionnaire, a reading test, and observation as data collection instruments. The sample, obtained purposively and stratified, had 31 teachers from both public and private schools; 125 and 80 pupils from public schools and private schools respectively, from 19 public and 12 private schools.

The findings, analysed statistically, showed; that 15.3 % of the standard three pupils could not identify letter sounds; that 19.0 % could not read simple words; that 49.0% could not read simple sentences; and that 61.3 % could not read a simple paragraph. He also found out that reading materials had a positive correlation and also that pupils from private schools did better than those from public schools. The study however did not observe actual language used in the teaching. It has been found that what teachers write in questionnaires or say in interview responses is not always the actual classroom practice (Nyaga, 2013). The problem of a majority of Kenyan pupils not being able to read in English is captured by one Kenyan scholar;

> …pupils particularly those from rural areas have difficulties in communicating in English even after studying it throughout their primary school education. This means that such pupils cannot read and understand English newspapers soon after leaving school (Mbaabu, 1996a, pp. 30-31).

All the above literacy assessment studies indicate a common issue; a reading problem which Mbaabu confirms.

4.4   Gap in the research

The studies above are significant in relation to the present study in the sense that there are both conceptual and methodological similarities; they investigated language policy, assessed literacy skills, and used observation, interviews, documents, and tests. However, in the policy studies, the current study was different in the following aspects; a triangulated instrumentation, a bigger sample of 23 interviewees and 330 test takers, it was conducted in more than 99% linguistically homogeneous classrooms with Ekegusii-speaking pupils and teachers. Finally, this study looked at the policy, its conceptualization, its implementation, and a test of the actual skills developed.

This study is different from the literacy assessment studies in the sense that the studies; were not based on a particular theory; they did not ascertain actual practice in classrooms; they did not pick tests from textbooks that pupils had used; Uwezo studies had a sample with an age span of 6 and 16; they were not conducted at the end of a school year; they tested literacy in English only (except Uwezo studies); and most importantly, they did not assess mother tongue literacy. The gap that this study would fill is that left by these studies; analyzing the understanding of policy by stakeholders first, assessing actual implementation of policy by teachers; ascertaining stakeholder beliefs; and assessing literacy skills developed in this context. A conspicuous difference in this research was the mother tongue factor.

This study attempted filling up the gap left by past studies by doing the following things. Firstly, by establishing understanding of stakeholders of the meaning of the language policy (see Chapter Six) and secondly by finding out the extent of development of mother tongues (see Chapter Seven). Thirdly, by discussing actual language use in classroom instruction (see Chapter Eight) and fourthly by finding out motivation for the various language uses in classrooms (see Chapter Nine). Finally, by testing the actual reading skills in three languages used in classroom instruction (see Chapter Ten).

This was an appropriate approach for the following reason. Before testing literacy skills, understanding of policy by literacy developers is important because their practice is informed by some theory. Secondly, and in light of the interdependence hypothesis, the extent of second language literacy and learning is predicated on the extent of first language development. Thirdly, to confirm findings of literacy tests, actual language use needs to be established. Fourthly, understanding motivation for actual language use is important for appreciation of classroom language practices and literacy scores. Finally, literacy scores could best be appreciated in the foregoing context.

4.5   Summary

This section discusses dynamics of language in education policies in regard to language use in classrooms and the mother tongue question. Additionally, there is a discussion on specific language policy and literacy studies in East Africa. The last segment of this chapter explains the gap that this study sought to fill. The next section discusses the theory and methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This section discusses theory and methodology adopted in the study. Theory is presented first. Methodology is presented next and it describes, in detail, how the research was conducted. Combining theory and methods was motivated by the fact that theory dictates the methodology of a study.

5.2 Theoretical framework

This study was guided by Cummins' twin hypotheses; the Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis (LIH) and the Linguistic Threshold Hypothesis (LTH). LIH was the principal theory while LTH was an associate one.

5.2.1 Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis

This hypothesis has guided research in bilingual and multilingual education contexts in Africa and elsewhere. Proposed by Cummins (1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1991b, 2005b, 2009a), it states;

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

Reiterating his initial claims recently, he says;

> Significant positive relationships exist between the development of academic skills in first (L1) and second (L2) languages. This is true even for languages that are dissimilar (e.g. Spanish/ English and Chinese; Dutch and Turkish)…The most successful bilingual programs are those that aim to develop bilingualism and biliteracy. Short-term transitional programs are less successful in developing both L2 and L1 literacy than programs such as dual language programs that continue to promote both L1 and L2 literacy throughout elementary school (2009a, p. 20).

The principle in the theory is that surface features of different languages are separate but there is underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across languages. This common underlying proficiency makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiency from one language to another. The hypothesis also seeks to account for related phenomena such as the significant correlations between L1 and L2 reading abilities. Research confirms that these correlations apply even across dissimilar languages suggesting that the

common underlying proficiency should not only be conceived as linguistic proficiency but also in conceptual terms (Genesee, 1979).

In cognate languages derived from common source languages (e.g. Ekegusii and Kiswahili in this research), transfer would consist of both linguistic and conceptual elements. In dissimilar languages, however, transfer would consist primarily of conceptual and cognitive elements (e.g. learning strategies). A student who knows the concept of phototropism in Spanish, could transfer both linguistic and conceptual elements of that knowledge to French and English. In dissimilar languages, only the conceptual elements would transfer. What the hypothesis implies, in the context of this study, is that Ekegusii instruction that develops Ekegusii reading skills is not just developing Ekegusii skills, but also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency strongly related to the development of literacy in Kiswahili and in English (Cummins, 2008a). This cross linguistic transfer is made possible by the common underlying proficiency that others refer to as a cross linguistic reservoir of abilities (Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006).

Five types of transfer are possible, according to the ypothesis: Transfer of conceptual elements (e.g. understanding of phototropism); transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies (e.g. strategies of visualizing, use of graphic organizers, and vocabulary acquisition strategies); transfer of pragmatic aspects of language use (e.g. willingness to take risks in communication through L2); transfer of specific linguistic elements (e.g. knowledge of photo in phototropism); and transfer of phonological awareness (Cummins, 2005b, 2008a). Cummins uses a dual iceberg metaphor to indicate that bilingual proficiencies lie under the surface (see Figure 5.1). In the metaphor, he indicates that common cross-lingual proficiencies underlie different surface manifestations of each language. The transfer of abilities has been seen to apply across typologically different languages; for children in elementary, middle, and high school; for learners of English as a foreign language and English as a second language; and also transfer from both first to second language and second to first language (August & Shahanan, 2006). Research has indicated that in settings where biliteracy is the target of an educational program, educational success of English Language Learners (ELLs), is positively related to sustained instruction through the student's first language. Generally, as indicated variously in this thesis, researchers report that the longer students stay in a program that maintains their first language, the more positive the outcomes.
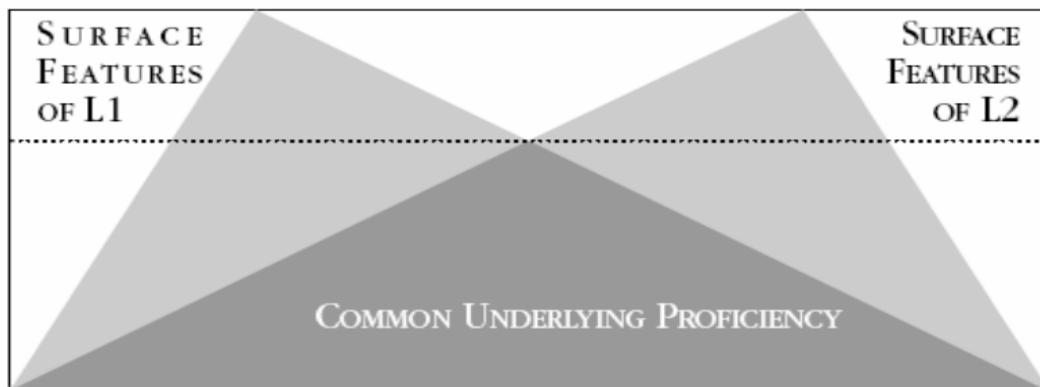
Figure 5.1 Dual ice-berg represention of bilingual proficiency. From Cummins (2005b).

Research in cross linguistic transfer of reading skills from a mother tongue to a second language confirms the claims of the hypothesis. Mushait (2003) investigated the relationship of L1 reading and L2 language proficiency with the L2 reading comprehension and strategies of English as a foreign language of Saudi University students. Using a mixed method design, he tested L1 and L2 abilities of 222 Arabic-speaking undergraduate students studying English for their bachelor degrees in the department of English at the college of education, King Saud University in Saudi Arabia. He used multiple choice questions based on comprehension texts; a vocabulary test, a grammar test, and a think aloud protocol. All the students spoke Arabic as L1 and they had a similar educational background. The methods of data analysis were both quantitative and qualitative. The findings of the study, among other things, confirmed that L1 reading ability positively affects L2 reading comprehension. Mushait says that the relationship between L1 reading ability and L2 language proficiency with L2 reading comprehension and L2 reading strategies seems to have depended on two factors; students' levels of L2 language proficiency and the language difficulty of the texts. The findings confirm the LIH.

Another comprehensive study that tested cross-language transfer of reading skills from the L1 to L2 was conducted by Chuang (2010) among Taiwanese ninth-grade adolescents at the junior high school age range. The subjects were learning English as a foreign language and their native language was Mandarin Chinese. Thirty thousand participants were randomly selected from a pool of national examinations through a six-year period. The students' scores in the two languages were

analyzed using descriptive, correlational, and regressional analyses. Results of Chuang's study indicated that there was a positive influence of Mandarin Chinese reading competence on English reading ability. L2 reading ability was found to depend on L1 reading competence thereby supporting the LIH.

Another study by Jiang (2011) tested both reading and writing among 246 Chinese college students learning English. L1 literacy and L2 proficiency were measured with college admission examinations in Chinese and in English. L2 reading comprehension was measured with the reading comprehension section of a test of English as a foreign language (TOEFL) and a researcher-developed comprehension passage. The results showed that L1 literacy was moderately correlated with L2 language proficiency. LIH is the principal theory that guided conceptualization of this study, literature review, collection of data, data analysis, and reporting. The hypothesis was meant to account for the reading score patterns of the standard three pupils in the study in a sociolinguistic situation with depressed status and negative public attitudes towards mother tongues. What amount of cross linguistic transfer is possible from Ekegusii to Kiswahili and to English?

The current study was carried out to corroborate, or otherwise, previous research findings based on this theory in school settings. Cummins observes that transfer is guaranteed to the extent that instruction in Lx (L1) is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx (L1). This suggests that a study carried out to test this theory should demonstrate that instruction in Lx is effective or not. The current study sought to determine if the teaching of L1 (Ekegusii) is effective (in respect of teachers' language choice, literacy activities, and resource provision; see Chapter Seven) before analyzing cross linguistic transfer to Kiswahili and to English. Few studies have attempted to find out extent of development of L1 first.

Contrary to previous research, this study is undertaken in the context of a mother tongue (Ekegusii) that faces stiff competition as a medium of instruction from Kiswahili (Cammenga, 2002) and English and a poor stakeholders' attitude towards mother tongue education (Kembo-Sure & Ogechi, 2006; Khejeri, 2014; Mathooko, 2009; Musau, 2002; Nyaga, 2013). It is important to find out through such a study how learners are able to acquire sufficient literacy skills in the two languages (Kiswahili and English) with a possibly suppressed and under resourced mother tongue by the transitional level of standard three. The reviewed research studied languages with rich stakeholder support and motivation to learn them.

Secondly, few studies have addressed cross linguistic transfer in the context of three languages. There could be arguments about both Kiswahili and English being second languages. But Kiswahili is typologically closer to Ekegusii and English is typologically distant. This may make the transfer, possibly, different from instances where the languages were just two. Lastly, the fact that the subjects come from a homogeneous setting under teachers who speak the same mother tongue would provide important insights about literacy development in such a context. Previous studies report findings of much older subjects who possibly may have had a diversity of sociolinguistic experiences, and possibly, having been taught by teachers with different linguistic backgrounds and mother tongues.

5.2.2   Linguistic Threshold Hypothesis

It is also referred to, in the literature, as the Short Circuit Hypothesis ([SCH]; Clark, 1979). Proposed by Cummins (1979a, 1979b, 2000), it states that there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence (in either or both languages in bilingual learning environments) which bilingual students must attain to avoid cognitive deficits and to allow potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence the students' cognitive growth (Cummins, 1979a, 1979b). As school curriculum demands increase (requiring more abstract thought processes grade-on-grade), language becomes increasingly significant in a child's cognitive development. Therefore thresholds of language proficiency are necessary for cognitive (including verbal cognitive abilities i.e. vocabulary knowledge, metalinguistic knowledge, and deductive verbal reasoning) and academic advantages of bilingualism to take effect (Cummins, 2000).

Research based on the LTH indicates the following understanding of this hypothesis: There is a certain threshold level of L2 proficiency which a student must attain before L1 reading ability transfers to the L2 reading; even skilled L1 readers could not read well in the L2 until their L2 language proficiency reaches a certain threshold level. 'A certain threshold level' is what Clark (1979) refers to as a 'language ceiling'. Bernhardt and Kamil (1995) state that a lack of second language linguistic knowledge ultimately short-circuits the first language reading knowledge. This means that a given amount of second language grammatical/linguistic knowledge is necessary in order to get first language reading knowledge to engage. There is a belief that language is a key factor in reading/literacy; for one to read a language, he/she has to know it (Bernhardt & Kamil,

1995). Good readers' L1 reading skills are short circuited if a threshold is not reached which means that they revert to poor reader strategies when engaged in a challenging task in L2 (Bosser, 1991).

In investigating linguistic interdependence in the context of three languages, LTH was used to explain possible poor reading abilities in Kiswahili and English which are the second languages for the learners in this study. Results of the tests administered were used to discuss whether the learners had reached a requisite thresholds in both Kiswahili and English to be able to transfer their L1 literacy abilities. I took up the hypothesis as an associate theory with full knowledge that Cummins (2000) himself has indicated that the hypothesis is in some way speculative in respect of the inability to determine a threshold level in a L2.

5.2.3 Criticism of Cummins' hypotheses

There has been criticism of Cummins' hypothesis especially the BICS-CALP concept (see discussion of BICS and CALP in Section 3.3.7). The LIH could not be complete without reference to the twin terminology that have come under criticism from various scholars. Criticism does not diminish the significance of the claims of any one theory; they instead do two things. Firstly, they make the proponent to re-evaluate the background of his claims, and secondly provide an opportunity to define the fine boundaries of the claims. I have taken this position for the current study because literature is replete with research that confirms the claims of the principles of the theory.

Criticisms on the distinction between BICS and CALP come from a number of scholars, amongst whom are Edelsky et al (1983) and Edelsky (1990). Others are Genesee (1984), Troike (1984), Wiley (1996), Scarcella (2003), and Aukerman (2007). The main items in the criticism are; the distinction reflects an autonomous view on language that ignores its location in social practices and power relations; CALP represents little more than test-wiseness, an artifact of the inappropriate way in which it has been measured; and CALP promotes a deficit theory by attributing academic failure of bilingual students to low academic proficiency than to inappropriate schooling.

In response, Cummins has variously written clarifying the boundaries of the distinction including in Cummins 2000, 2001a, 2008b, and 2009b. His response in Cummins and Swain (1983) and Cummins (2000) is as follows. Firstly, the distinction does not need test scores to support its construct validity or relevance to education. Secondly, the distinction has been integrated with a

detailed socio-political analysis of how schools construct academic failure among subordinated groups. Further, the framework documents educational approaches that challenge this pattern of coercive power relations and promote the generation of power and the development of academic expertise in interactions between teachers and students. He further points out that the criticisms originate from taking the constructs out of their original dialogical context. He however admits that the distinction is likely to remain contested for there is no cross-disciplinary consensus on the nature of language proficiency and its relation to academic development.

I have studied both BICS/CALP and the criticisms and I admit that both the critics and Cummins advance compelling arguments in favour of their respective positions. However, I maintain my position that in respect to the application of the interdependence and threshold hypotheses in this study, the criticisms do in no way affect their applicability. In contesting theoretical positions, I take the position that contestants adduce, as evidence, consistent empirical data in support of their refutation. When Edelsky and others contest the position, they should be expected to substantiate or provide an array of convincing empirical research findings as a basis for their position.

5.2.4   Alternative hypotheses

There are relevant frameworks and theories in the areas of literacy and bilingualism which would have been adopted in this study. These include Holdaway's theory of literacy development (1979); Krashen's input hypothesis (2000, 2003); Long's interaction hypothesis (1983); Gardner's socio-educational model of L2 learning (1985); Pienemann's teachability hypothesis (1985); Ellis' theory of instructed language acquisition (1993, 1994); Herdina and Jessner's dynamic model of multilingualism (2002); and Paradis' activation threshold hypothesis (1993).

Cummins' hypotheses were, however, adopted. His ideas are based on linguistics, education science, language planning, and extra-institutional contexts that bear on language as mentioned in Chapter One (Cummins, 2000). He discusses literacy development in the context of various government policies geared to providing knowledge in particular languages in various parts of the world for instance in Canada and in the United States. The other theories do not address language and literacy in the three contexts as discussed by Cummins in his writtings since 1979. This study had to consider the macro-sociolinguistic context of literacy development (especially on the priority given to English) in Kenya which also applies to sub-Saharan Africa (Chapter Two

discusses this context in detail). It is for this reason that the latter's ideas were adopted as the framework.

5.3   Methodology

5.3.1   Research paradigm

A paradigm refers to the overall effect of the acceptance of a particular general theoretical approach, and the influence it has on the scientist's view of the world (Walliman, 2005). It is an integrated cluster of substantive concepts, variables, and problems attached with corresponding methodological approaches and tools. It stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, and techniques shared by members of a community. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that paradigms represent what we think about the world but cannot prove. Our actions in the world, including the actions we take as inquirers, cannot occur without reference to those paradigms for as we think, so do we act. In social science, a research paradigm is a model or pattern, according to which the object of research is viewed. It could be described as the framework to define a research subject, research questions, research process, and research interpretation. In common terminology, it is a basic belief system that guides action or inquiry in research (Crotty 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Kuln, 1962; Mertens, 1998). Research methodologies are differentiated by four axioms; epistemology, ontology, logic, and axiology (McGregor & Murnane, 2010). Most researchers agree that it is important to begin the research process by identifying the researcher's own worldview (Bryman, 2008; & Creswell, 2007).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest four paradigms; positivism, post-positivism, constructivism, and critical theory. These epistemologies are philosophically distinct, but in practice, the distinctions are not always clear-cut; they are overlapping and contested. Most of them have evolved into hybrid forms that overlap and/or complement others (Lee, 1989). Features of the two relevant paradigms for this study are described below.

5.3.1.1 Positivist paradigm

This one assumes that the only way people can be positive that knowledge is true is if it was created using the scientific method-experiment and observation. The method consists of proposing hypotheses and designing experiments to test them. Sampling, data collection, and data analysis must be replicable so that scholars can predict any future results generated using the same methods. The entire research process must be objective to reduce biased interpretation of results. Science is

isolated from human beings who are seen as objects to be studied and controlled. Most research is done in controlled settings and it is removed from the real world of lived experiences (McGregor & Murnane, 2010; Rohmann, 1999; Walliman, 2005). The knowledge discovered enables one to provide explanations of the causes of things that happen in the world independent of intentions of people (Maree, 2008).

Statistical measures are a means of measuring reliability and validity of the findings of positivist research, the two criteria taken as evidence of intellectual rigor. This paradigm has had tremendous contribution in the physical sciences. Through experiment and observation, weather patterns could be monitored, new medicines be manufactured, and disease-resistant crop varieties be produced. However, it is not possible to expose every knowledge seeking endeavor to experiment and observation as claimed. For instance, studies to do with choices, attitudes, and feelings would be impractical if this paradigm was the only one in use (see features of post-positivism in Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Koch, 1996; McGregor & Murnane, 2010; Niglas, 2001; Shah & Corley, 2006; Thorne, 2000).

5.3.1.2 Constructivist paradigm

It assumes that the meaning of experiences and events are constructed by individuals (Charmaz, 2006; Crotty, 1998; Mertens, 1998). Research aims to elicit and understand how research participants construct their individual and shared meanings around a phenomenon. Particular to constructivism is a similar construction by researchers that their interpretation of the studied phenomenon is itself a construction (Charmaz, 2006; Lauckner, Paterson, & Krupa, 2012; Walliman, 2005). The acknowledged co-construction of the researcher's interpretation in constructivist research demands that a researcher conducts research in a reflective and transparent process. Reflection entails thinking about the conditions for what one is doing and investigating the way in which the theoretical, cultural, and political context of individual and intellectual involvement affects interaction with whatever is a subject of research (Lauckner, Paterson, & Krupa, 2012; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). A constructivist study prefers to use qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. Guba and Lincoln (1994), indicate that in such a study, the researcher is a passionate participant who interacts with the respondents to construct the outcome. Assumptions

of this paradigm are likely to be subjective and the created knowledge is understood to depend on the interaction between the researcher and respondents.

The paradigm is founded on five tenets; human life can only be understood from within and not from some external reality; social life is a distinctively human product and by placing people in their social contexts, there is greater opportunity to understand the perceptions they have of their own activities; the human mind is the purposive source of meaning and by exploring the richness, depth, and complexity of phenomena, we can begin to develop a sense of understanding of the meanings imparted by people to phenomena and their social context; human behavior is affected by knowledge of the social world-as our knowledge of the social world increases, it enriches our theoretical and conceptual framework and in this way there is a two-way relationship between theory and research; and the social world does not exist independently of human knowledge. Our knowledge and understanding are limited to the things to which we have been exposed; our intuition, values, beliefs, a priori knowledge influence our understanding of phenomena under investigation (Husserl, 1965; Hussey & Hussey, 1997; Maree, 2008). This paradigm gives priority to the researcher and the researched which is a practical position to take but leaving out quantification leaves it exposed, in some research contexts, to the risk of production of partial, skewed knowledge. Acquisition of diverse knowledge would call for multi-dimensional approaches.

5.3.1.3 Choice of paradigm

This study adopted elements of both positivism and constructivism. There is an assumption that reality is multiple and that we have many ways of knowing other than through pure science. The research was also undertaken on the understanding that the voices of both the researcher and the researched are important in the final inference made after a research activity. On data collection, it is only practical to have, in some contexts, a holistic approach. The fact that the study needed a one-on-one interaction with quality assurance officers, head teachers, class teachers, and learners in classrooms, validates the orientation. The methods of data collection opened the world of the respondents to my view and reflection; it was a dialogue between two meaning constructors which enriched my subsequent reflection and drawing of inferences. I did a critique of classroom realities based on published empirical research from other, possibly, similar or diverse, contexts. This too

applied to my analysis of documents. A study of the learners' reading abilities required a quantitative approach which was a further meaning-constructing process.

5.3.2   Research approach

There are different approaches to research depending on a researcher's philosophical orientation, type of knowledge sought, and methods and strategies used to obtain this knowledge. The approaches are quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods (Maree, 2008). The features of each of these approaches are discussed below.

5.3.2.2 Quantitative approach

In this one, a researcher relies on numerical data to test relationships between variables e.g. in a survey study or an experiment. It relies on the post-positivist approach to knowledge, implying existence of one objective reality (Charles & Mertler, 2002; Morgan, 1998; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The researcher tests theories about reality, looks for cause and effect, and uses quantitative measures to gather data to test the hypotheses. He/she then relates the variables to determine the magnitude and frequency of relationships. Quantitative studies are either descriptive or experimental (Maree, 2008). The sample is large and randomly selected to be able to generalize results to the larger population. Major quantitative designs are experimental, quasi-experimental, correlational, and survey research. To determine what numeric data need to be collected, the researcher identifies independent, dependent, and control variables (Creswell, 2005; Maree, 2008). Data are collected using existing or pilot-tested, self-developed instruments like surveys, tests, scales, and behavioural check-lists. Data analysis consists of describing trends, comparing groups, and relating variables. The analysis is at the level of both descriptive and inferential statistics. Results are interpreted in light of initial predictions and prior research (Maree, 2008). A major merit of this approach is that its results may bear a higher level of objectivity. It is limited in the sense that it may not be used to measure human beliefs, feelings, and other metaphysical phenomena.

5.3.2.2 Qualitative approach

It is an inquiry process of understanding where a researcher develops a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts a study in a natural setting (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ponterotto, 2005). Research questions are general and

broad and seek to understand participants' experiences with the central phenomenon. The sample size is small and is purposefully selected from those who have the most experience with the phenomenon under study. Major qualitative designs are case study, grounded theory, ethnography, and narrative research (Creswell, 2005, 2007; Patton, 2002). This type of research typically studies people or systems by interacting with and observing participants in their natural environment and focusing on their meanings and interpretations (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). Emphasis is on the quality and depth of information obtained (Maree, 2008).

Data are obtained and recorded by making notes on interview and observation protocols and by using audio and video recording devices. Data analysis is based on values and meanings that subjects perceive for their world. Interpretation involves stating the larger meanings of the findings and personal reflections about lessons learnt (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The structure of the report is flexible, but typically follows the standard format as used in quantitative research, but with considerable space devoted to data collection and findings. It also contains rich descriptions of the setting and participants, supporting participants' quotes, and explanation of the researcher's prior experience with the phenomenon studied. This approach accepts the personal experiences, beliefs, and narratives as true for those who have lived through them. Maree (2008) observes that the stories, experiences and voices of the respondents are the mediums through which we explore and understand reality (Burell & Morgan, 1979; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). By giving priority to the researcher and the researched, the approach may be so resourceful in generating knowledge about social issues. However, unless data collection is done in a manner to reduce both researcher and subjects' biases, knowledge generated may not be dependable.

5.3.2.3 Mixed methods approach

Fouche and Delport (2002) state that most authors agree that in real life, human sciences research uses both quantitative and qualitative methodology. It is a procedure for collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem more completely (Creswell, 2005). A researcher collects both numeric information and text information to answer a study's research questions. The method has gained the status of a third approach to research in the social, behavioural, and health sciences and its legitimacy is expanding. It is also referred to as multimethod, integrated, combined, multi-methodology, mixed methodology, and triangulation (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). A major

argument of pragmatism, a philosophical position upon which mixed method is founded, is that, both approaches have enough similarities in fundamental values to allow their combination within a single study (Creswell, Plano Clark, 2007; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003; De Vos, 2002; Greene & Caracelli, 1997; Howe, 1988; Reichardt & Rallis, 1994). It can be helpful in gaining in-depth understanding of some trends and patterns, generating and testing theories, developing new measurement instruments, studying diverse perspectives or understanding the relationship between variables (Biesta, 2013; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Some scholars however argue that quantitative and qualitative approaches are two different approaches based on different paradigms and different assumptions about ontology and epistemology so they should not be used in conjunction (Lee, 1991).

5.3.2.4 *Choice of approach*

This study was majorly based on the constructivist paradigm with aspects of positivism. The researcher holds the position that it is the nature of research question that determines the approach and not vice-versa. The research reported in this thesis is about how primary school teachers in Kenya use languages in classroom teaching to develop literacy in three languages by the end of standard three. The study could be concluded by using a qualitative approach. Observation, interview, and documents would actually provide rich data to describe the phenomenon under study. These instruments could explain teachers' language use in classrooms as well as their motivations. But to ascertain the level of literacy skills attained by pupils, I chose tests, a quantitative approach to measure. The analysis of their scores would actually illuminate the process studied through qualitative means. The scores of the pupils in the tests were exposed to descriptive and correlational analyses (see Chapter Ten), both features of the quantitative approach. The ideology adopted, instrumentation, data analysis and reporting are characteristic of the mixed method approach. The qualitative aspect analysed practice, the quantitative aspect analysed the results of the practice.

5.3.3   Sampling

Sampling is the selection of some part of an aggregate or totality on the basis of which judgment about the aggregate is made (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Punch, 2009; Thomas, 2009). There are two main types of sampling; random and non-random. Random sampling techniques give the most reliable representation of a population while non random ones could not generally be used to make

generalizations about the whole population (Maree, 2008; Walliman, 2005). In the aspect of sampling, this study did not adhere to the paradigm adopted per se. A random sample would have required an increase of the number of schools, head teachers and teachers, whose data collection and subsequent analysis would have been impractical. The sampling approach was therefore non random. Non random sampling involves smaller sample sizes, it is flexible, and it continues until no new themes emerge from the data collection process-what is called data saturation (Maree, 2008). Decisions made are not restricted to selection of participants but involve settings, incidents, events, and activities to be included for data collection. Non random sampling is used so that individuals are selected because they have experienced the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2003).

Gusii comprises of two counties (see Section 1.9 for details and Appendices C1 and C2 for the maps) in which are 14 districts with hundreds of public primary schools. I selected eight schools; four in the rural catchments (referred to as category one schools in the discussion) and four from urban schools from each of the two counties. Of the latter, I selected the first two from regions between rural and town settings but with Ekegusii-speaking people as predominant settlers and so Ekegusii was the predominant language (referred to as category two schools in the discussion). The last two were much closer to the town/urban centres but not in the heart of town (referred to as category three schools in the discussion). The latter four are classified by MoE as urban. It is for this reason that non-random samping was adopted; to obtain samples from distinct categories of schools for the sake of the study.

A larger sample was obtained from Kisii County because of its larger geographical size and bigger population. All pupils in standard three in each of the eight schools were sampled totalling to 330. This also applied to the head teachers and standard three teachers of the schools who were sampled for interviewing; it was easy to conduct observations and interviews, administer tests, and analyze documents in the same schools than otherwise. Sampling MoE officials for interview was done non-randomly to reflect the so-called urban/rural divide. Nine of them were interviewed. I use the words urban to refer to school locations with caution because my knowledge of Gusii geography and demography does not qualify the school locations to be referred as such. Secondly, the urban reference is erroneously applied to mean linguistic heterogeneity by education officers (see Chapter Six for their understanding of the terms). The schools in my judgement are labelled as urban for administrative convenience and not as a reflection of school enrolments of linguistically

heterogeneous pupils. It has been stated that in the four urban schools, there were only four non-Ekegusii speaking pupils in standard three during the time of the research. From Kisii County, three category one schools and one school from category two and three were sampled. This totalled to five schools and therefore five teachers and five head teachers formed the sample of respondents. There was one school from each school category from Nyamira County and therefore three class teachers and three head teachers.

5.3.3.1 Respondents' profile

Schools in this report are referred to using initials and the numerals 1 up to 8. The head teachers and teachers are referred in reference to the school initials as follows. Sch was used to refer to school, Ht to head teacher, and T to teacher. The first school, a teacher and a head teacher would therefore be referred to as, Sch 1, Sch 1 T, and Sch 1 Ht respectively.

5.3.3.1.1   Schools' profiles

The following information about sample schools is presented firstly, in line with the constructivist doctrine, and secondly to provide a background for the appreciation of the discussion of findings. Note that the schools follow a definite order: The first four have been referred to as category one schools, schools five and six as category two schools, and schools seven and eight as category three schools.

School one: Its population was 460 pupils. It was started in the year 1973 and had 13 classrooms. There was no library building nor was the school connected to electricity. The number of class three pupils was 28. It had 15 teachers; 4 taught at pre-primary; 3 at lower primary; and the rest at upper primary. The class three classroom had 12 teacher made charts on the walls; the number of English charts was 8, Kiswahili was 3, and Ekegusii 1. At the back of the classroom was a model shop with 'goods' labelled in English and a model garden with pieces of paper identifying crops written in English (see Appendix O1).

School two: This one had a pupil population of 311. It was started in 1960 and had 12 classrooms. It too had no library building but it was connected to electricity. There were 28 pupils whose age range was 8 and 13 years. In the standard three classroom, there were five wall charts with three labelled in English, one in Kiswahili, and another one in Ekegusii. It had 10 teachers and due to teacher shortage, the standard three teacher also taught upper primary lesssons.

School three: Its pupil population was 387 and it started in 1991. It had neither electricity connection nor a library building. Of the four rural schools, it had the highest number of standard three pupils standing at 46 who sat on desks in groups of mostly 4 in a class with a hearthen floor. There were few teacher made wall charts mostly in English and few in Kiswahili.

School four: It was started in the year 1997 and had a pupil population of 250. It had neither a library nor electricity connection. It had 8 teachers for standard one up to standard eight and 2 teachers for pre-primary. Three teachers taught standard one up to standard three. The standard three class had 11 pupils who sat in twos; they sat either in threes or fours during reading sessions because text books were not enough. The classroom had a few charts on the walls with none written in Ekegusii. Schools 5 up to 8 do not teach Ekegusii (their LoI in lower primary is Kiswahili). They were included in this study for the following reasons; they were nearly 100 percent linguistically homogeneous; they would demonstrate differences in scores for schools that do not use a mother tongue as a language of instruction or as a subject; they were included so that reasons for their various language choice and use may enrich the findings.

School five: It was started in 1970, had 13 classrooms and it was neighboured by an Ekegusii-speaking community. It is treated as an urban school though located out of the main town. It therefore does not teach the Ekegusii subject nor use it as a LoI. But one could hear pupils both in class and while out playing shouting in Ekegusii. My interaction with any pupils and teachers (except during interviews) was in Ekegusii. Teachers in this school and school 6 and 7 talked in Ekegusii in the staffrooms. Only in school eight did they use Kiswahili and only when the non-Ekegusii speaking teachers were in; otherwise their language was Ekegusii. The school had a pupil population of 630. Like others above, it was not connected to electricity and neither did it have a library building. Class three pupils were 79 and were sometimes divided into two classes; when combined, they sat in groups of four or five (see Appendix O2). In the standard three classroom, there were few wall charts written in mainly English and some in Kiswahili. It had 15 teachers, four of whom taught in the lower primary and the rest in upper primary.

School six: School six was started in 1975 and had a pupil population of 420. It was also treated as an urban school though in an exclusively Ekegusii-speaking catchment. The Ekegusii catchment

was evident as one walked to the school but more so observing pupils and teachers language use just outside and inside the school compound. It is built on a hill facing one of the two main towns. It was connected to electricity but did not have a library like all the others. It had 15 classrooms and 12 teachers. The standard three population was 47. There were no charts on the standard three classroom walls. Four teachers taught in the lower primary and the rest in upper primary.

School seven: It had a population of 368 with 11 classrooms. Instead of a library, it had a book store and it was not connected to electricity. It had 12 teachers, 4 of whom taught at the lower primary. Though situated about 5 kilometres from a main town centre, it was classified as an urban school but with a predominantly Ekegusii-speaking catchment. Like school eight below, business people from the Luo, Kikuyu, and Maasai tribes bring wares to the town nearby and few own businesses. Others who are non-natives near this school, just like in school eight, are people working as civil servants. All teachers in the school were Ekegusii-speaking as were those from school 1 up to Sch 6 above. In standard three, there were two Luo-speaking pupils in a class population of 36. There were no charts on the standard three classroom walls.

School eight: It is neighboured by a market centre and a secondary school. The market centre has some settlers from other ethnic communities especially the Luo and itinerant Kikuyu and Maasai traders but the predominant language is Ekegusii. Some Luo-speaking traders own some businesses in the town. It was started in 1958. Its population was 620 pupils and 18 teachers, 5 of whom taught at the lower primary. It was connected to electricity but it had no library. The standard three enrolment was 56 and in the classroom were many wall charts most of which were written in English and few in Kiswahili (see Appendix O3). Four of its female teachers came from different ethnic communities (married locally) but the head teacher, deputy head teacher, and senior teacher were Ekegusii-speaking people. One factor is significant, for appreciation of the interpretation of the findings from the next chapter and the bilingual model proposed in Chapter Eleven: The high level of homogeneity in Ekegusii in both the pupil and teacher population. School catchments were also predominantly Ekegusii-speaking.

5.3.3.1.2   Teachers' profile

Table 5.1 shows teachers' profile.

Table 5.1: Teachers' Profile

_____

School	Age range	Education level	Gender
1	36-40	Degree (B.Ed)	Female
2	36-40	Diploma (Ed)	Female
3	36-40	P1 certificate	Male
4	56-60	A-level (Form six)	Female
5	31-35	Degree (B.Ed)	Female
6	36-40	Degree (B.Ed)	Female
7	46-50	Diploma (Ed)	Female
8	46-50	Diploma (Ed)	Female

_____

Note. Most of the teachers have higher qualifications than the P1 certificate required to teach in primary schools. They had obtained certificate qualifications first from TTCs and later obtained higher qualifications through school-based university studies. All teachers were Ekegusii native speakers.

5.3.3.1.3   Head teachers' profile

Table 5.2 shows head teachers' profile.

Table 5.2 : Head teachers' Profile

_____

School	Age range	Education level	Gender
1	56-60	Diploma (Ed)	Male
2	51-55	Master's (M.Ed)	Male
3	56-60	Diploma (Ed)	Male
4	51-55	Degree (B.Ed)	Male
5	51-55	Degree (B.Ed)	Male
6	56-60	Degree (B.Ed)	Male
7	46-50	Degree (B.Ed)	Male
8	46-50	Diploma (Ed)	Male

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Note. Most of the head teachers had higher qualifications than the P1 required to teach in primary schools. These were obtained through school-based university studies. All head teachers were Ekegusii native speakers.

5.3.3.1.4   Ministry of education staff profile

These responded to research question one. They were one MoE official from the ministry headquarters, five district quality assurance and standards officers (dqasos), two head teachers, and one standard three teacher. Their profile is captured in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 : Pseudonyms and Profile of MoE Staff
_____

Notation	Based at	Age (yrs)	Exp. (yrs)	Ethnicity	Edu. level	Gen.
Dq 1	MoE (hqs)	56-60	20	Luhya	B.Ed	M
Dq 2	Kisii	56-60	35	Kisii	B.Ed	M
Dq 3	Nyamira	51-55	23	Luo	M.Ed	M
Dq 4	Nyamira	41-45	17	Kisii	M.Ed	M
Dq 5	Kisii	56-60	24	Kisii	P1	F
Dq 6	Kisii	56-60	30	Luo	B.Ed	M
MoE 7	Nyamira	46-50	25	Kisii	B.Ed	F
MoE 8	Nyamira	46-50	17	Kisii	B.Ed	F
MoE 9	Nyamira	41-45	19	Kisii	P1	F

_____
Note. Majority of the official have the required qualification (B.Ed). The one with P1 qualification who was a Dq may have been promoted to the position due to long experience or special work-related abilities. Majority (6) were Ekegusii native speakers. Exp., Edu., Gen. stand for experience, education, and gender respectively.

A conspicuous feature of the sample is that almost all were Ekegusii-native speakers, born and bred in Gusii. This is significant in respect to the implementation of the policy that provides that mother tongues should be languages of instruction; for the research site, this is Ekegusii.

5.3.4   Data collection
I conducted data collection personally. This enabled me follow up and develop emerging themes as the study advanced. This section describes preparation for and actual data collection.

5.3.4.1 Preliminaries

The process started before I travelled to Kenya. I had asked a colleague to visit schools identified and introduce me and the intended study to the head teachers and teachers. Except in one school, where the head teacher refused and for which a replacement was found, others accepted. I had also applied for a research permit from the National Council for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) before I left South Africa which I obtained soon after arrival. The preliminary entry

to schools started at the end of May 2014 and data collection ended on 30th January, 2015. The first activity in my first meeting with the teachers, head teachers and MoE officials was to seek for their consent. In each case, I requested the individuals to fill in a consent form. The various consent forms are presented in Appendices H1, H2, H3, and H4.

5.3.4.2 Instrumentation

Data collection is hinged on the researcher's overall aim, research questions, theoretical framework, paradigmatic orientation, choice of design, and data analysis procedures anticipated (Silverman, 2000). Instruments used were direct classroom observation, interviews, documents, and tests. Each of the instruments was used as described below.

5.3.4.2.1   Observation

Observation is the systematic process of recording the behavioural patterns of participants, objects, and occurrences without necessarily questioning or communicating with them. It can be used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. It is appropriate in situations where full and accurate information cannot be elicited by questioning (Kumar, 1999; Maree, 2008; Walliman, 2005). Kumar (1999) indicates that some of the limitations of observation include, the Hawthorne Effect, observer bias, that observations of one person may differ from those of another, and failure to record all behavior patterns in the process of note-taking.

The first phase of observations was conducted from the start of June 2014 up to 22nd July 2014. The second one was in January 2015. On each of the observation days, I sat at the back of the classrooms as the teachers taught. In all schools, I arrived at 7.30 a.m. except on Fridays when pupils had pastoral programs from 8.20 a.m. to 8.50 a.m. The average number of observations for each school and subject was seven (to militate against the Hawthorne Effect) in the rural schools. I recorded (by audio recording and writing down) patterns of behaviour in teachers' and learners' language use to understand assumptions and beliefs. I also wrote down learner activities teachers wrote on the chalkboard. Samples of transcribed observations of the teaching are presented in Appendices N1, N2, N3, N4, and N5. The observation guide is in Appendix J.

5.3.4.2.2   Interview

It is a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about ideas, beliefs, views, opinions, and behaviour of the participant. The aim of

interviews is to obtain rich descriptive data to help one understand the participant's construction of knowledge and social reality (Maree, 2008). Of all data collection techniques, interview strikes many as the single best device for promoting understanding and getting at the truth. It is particularly useful when qualitative data are required (Ruane, 2006; Holstein & Gubrium). Interview was used to corroborate observation, and secondly to respond to specific research questions 1, 3, and 4. The interview questions used for each set of interviewees are captured in Appendices I1, I2, I3, I4, and I5.

I started interviews in November 2014 as schools were conducting end year tests and finished it at the end of January 2015. I conducted them starting with class teachers, then head teachers and finally MoE officials. I adopted this down-up approach so as to raise issues discussed at the immediate lower level with the subsequent higher officers for clarification. Interviews took place in standard three classrooms, head teachers' offices, and MoE offices. In all cases, I asked a question and depending on the response, I asked a follow-up question or read the next question on my list. One standard three teacher travelled abruptly and another said she did not have time for an interview. I therefore, interviewed six class teachers, eight head teachers and nine MoE officials. Of the twenty-three interviewees, one responded to most questions in Ekegusii. Sample interviews are presented in Appendices M1, M2, and, M3.

5.3.4.2.3   Documents

Documents can serve as sources of data in research and can be used to uncover meaning and discover insights in respect to a research subject (Merriam, 2001). Written documents may include published and unpublished documents, company reports, memoranda, agenda, administrative documents, letters, reports, e-mail messages, faxes, newspaper articles, etc (Maree, 2008). Documents do not alter the natural setting as would other means of data collection and therefore ideal as sources of data. They can be used as sources of data or as part of literature review (Denscombe, 2003; see Appendix K for documents analyzed). Document analysis was done soon after the start of the third school term. The choice of this time had a two-fold rationale; to avoid the feeling among teachers that the research was a quality assessment exercise and secondly, to be able to obtain complete records covering the just ended second term.

5.3.4.2.4   Tests

Tests administered to the 330 pupils are captured in Appendices L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, and L6. The objective of tests is to measure abilities of subjects according to a standardized scale so that comparisons can be made (Walliman, 2005). Tests were used to determine reading comprehension skills in the three languages by the end of standard three. The end of standard three is a transition point from the mother tongue LoI to an English LoI. Results obtained have been used to discuss the possible inter-linguistic and interdependent dynamics of trilingual literacy development. The tests were set by three standard three teachers and myself. The main guide was the syllabus (KIE, 2012) as expressed in the class textbooks for standard three. These are the documents that define the experiences the pupils had gone through throughout the year. Two tests for each subject were administered as shown in Appendices L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, and L6. A second set of tests was administered for two reasons; to corroborate the results of the first one and secondly, to militate against factors that may have affected scores in the first one. The pattern of scores in both sets however, indicate an identical trend.

Questions were set to test knowledge and comprehension aspects of Bloom's taxonomy of cognitive educational objectives (Bloom, 1956). It would be impractical and illogical to test the other aspects of the cognitive domain (application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation) because these pupils were at their formative years of language as well as academic learning. I did not adopt international reading tests. Results of any testing is as good as the curriculum stipulations in the culture. The Kenyan objectives for learners at every academic level are captured in the school syllabuses (KIE, 2012) and as practised in the KIE certified school teaching and learning materials. Judging literacy skills using an alien test protocol would not only be invalid but also anomalous. Use of classroom teachers in setting tests is acceptable (Yigzaw, 2012). However, international testing maxims were a guiding principle in the construction and marking of the tests.

The tests were administered in the second half of September and second half of October of the year 2014 (schools are expected to have completed the syllabus by this time). The rationale for the choice of reading tests was that in KCPE, comprehension is the primary skill tested. Secondly, for pupils to read to learn for the rest of their school life, they need a reading to comprehend skill. Finally, textbooks in all subjects present knowledge in an expository style which demands comprehension skills to be able to read to learn. The tests are presented in Appendices L1 up to

L6. The tests in each school started with English, then Kiswahili (then Ekegusii for rural schools). On average, pupils took 40 minutes in each test followed by an hour's break. It was not possible to finish the tests (in rural schools) by 12.30 p.m., which is the official lunch break time. Ekegusii tests were therefore, administered at 2 p.m. During the tests, I stood at the back of the classrooms and observed. Appendices O1, O2, and O3 capture some of the pupils taking the tests.

5.3.5   Data analysis

Content analysis, the first approach used in analysing documents, is a systematic approach that identifies and summarizes message content (Neuendorf, 2002). It was used to analyse documents captured in Appendix K. Thematic analysis was used in the analysis of transcribed interviews and observations. Quantitative analysis started by marking of the learner scripts (Appendices P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P7; Appendices Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q7), recording their scores and then SPSS was used for statistical analysis. A univariate test was run to clean the data, check for accuracy, and to generate frequencies. A descriptive analysis was then conducted to find out mean scores and standard deviations in each test across the three school categories. The statistical analysis was presented using tables and graphs as shown in Chapter Ten and in Appendices Q2, Q3, Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q7. Table 5.4 is a matrix of the sources of data and how they were analyzed.

Table 5.4 : Research Matrix
_____

R. qu.	Type of data	Source of data	Analysis
1.	Observation, interview, documents	MoE officials, teachers, pupils	Qualitative
2.	Observation, interview, documents	MoE officials, teachers, pupils	Qualitativ
3.	Observation, interview, documents	MoE officials, teachers, pupils	Qualitative
4.	Observation, interview	Teachers	Qualitative
5.	Tests	Pupils	Quantitative

_____
Note. Most data were analysed qualitatively. R stands for research. qu. stands for question.

5.3.6   Validity and reliability

Validity of an instrument is the extent to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. It refers to the strength of conclusions and inferences and can also refer to whether it is appropriate to generalize findings of a study to larger populations (McGregor & Murnane, 2010).

On the other hand, reliability of an instrument is meant that if it is used at different times or administered to different subjects from the same population, the findings should be the same (Maree, 2008; Ruane, 2006; Walliman, 2005). Validity and reliability in qualitative research is a research that is credible and trustworthy (Maree, 2008). Lincoln and Guba (1985) include credibility, applicability, dependability, and confirmability as key criteria of trustworthiness and these are constructed to parallel the conventional criteria of inquiry of internal and external validity, reliability and neutrality respectively. Since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of validity is sufficient to establish reliability. In this regard, the following was done: The proposal was approved by supervisors, school of languages, and the higher degrees committee; I piloted the interview guides and the tests before the actual interviews and tests were conducted; I sought guidance from supervisors during data collection; I adopted a multi-method approach in data elicitation and analysis; I used two different reading tests (in each language) and set them in conjunction with practicing teachers; and exposed the analysis to supervisors whose suggestions were used to focus the discussion, conclusion, and recommendations.

5.3.7 Ethical considerations

Ethics refers to principles of conduct considered correct, especially those of a given profession (Kumar, 1999). I did the following things in adherence to principles of ethics in research: Using a supervisor's introduction letter (see Appendix A), I obtained a research permit from the NACOSTI (specific permission was sought from county commissioners and county directors of education of the respective counties [see Appendices B1, B2, and B3]). The dqasos, head teachers, and class teachers also offered permission; I used pseudonyms of schools, dqasos, head teachers, teachers, and pupils in this report; in instances in this thesis where other people's work has been cited, due acknowledgement has been made both in text and in the references; and I reported the findings as the data indicated.

5.4 Summary

In this section, theory underlying the study is described. It brings the study to focus by a description of its tenets. Studies guided by the theory have also been outlined. This is followed by a detailed description of the methodology. The next section is the first of the data chapters. It presents and analyses data on how key stakeholders in the education sector understand the language policy in basic education institutions in the country.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY

6.1   Introduction

This section discusses the conceptualization of the Kenyan language-in-eduation policy in basic education institutions by key stakeholders: District quality assurance and standards officers and teachers. It responds to specific research question one which was;

> *How is the Kenyan language in education policy in basic education institutions conceptualized by the relevant stakeholders?*

Conceptualization of the policy would determine the extent of the success of its actual implementation. Quality assurance and standards officers (qasos) are in charge of curriculum implementation in basic education institutions. The head of quality and standards is housed at the MoE headquarters and below him/her are officers in the county (cqasos) and district (dqasos). Schools answer to dqasos in matters of curriculum but head teachers, in addition, answer to district education officers (DEOs) in matters of overall school administration. Officers interviewed were one at the MoE headquarters, five dqasos from Kisii and Nyamira Counties, two head teachers, and one class three teacher. Other data were obtained from head teachers and class teachers interviewed. Key terminology were used to generate questions for the interview whose sources were the Gachathi Report (1976); the Koech Report (1999); Sessional Paper Number 14 of 2012 (MoE, 2012); KIE Syllabus (2012); and MoE circular of January 2014 (see Appendix D). Gachathi and MoE state the policy as follows;

> Recommendation 101: To use as a language of instruction the predominant language spoken in the schools' catchment area for the first three years of primary education.
>
> Recommendation 102: To introduce English as a subject from Primary 1 and to make it supercede the predominant local language as the medium of instruction in Primary 4 (Gachathi Report, 1976, pp. 54-55).
>
> National and county education boards shall encourage the use of the two official languages Kiswahili and English both in and out-of-school as provided for in the constitution of Kenya (2010). The language of the catchment area (mother tongue) shall be used for child care, pre-primary education and in the education of lower primary children (0-8 years)…For schools located in metropolitan areas such, Kiswahili shall be adopted as a language of the catchment area (MoE, 2012).

The sections below present findings and discussion of understanding of the policy.

6.2   Classification of schools

The language in education policy in basic education institutions is built on a dichotomy of human settlement. Both the Gachathi and Koech reports use human geography terms to assign the use of the two African languages (mother tongues and Kiswahili) as LoIs. Primarily therefore, effective dichotomization of schools is a factor for the success of the use of these languages in education. Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, and 6.2.3 discuss what the MoE officers understand these terms to mean.

6.2.1   Peri-urban areas

Out of the eight MoE officials who responded to the question of what a peri-urban area is, five of them said they did not know the meaning of the word. One defined it as a place between rural and town settlements but he could not point out an example. Another one cited Ekerenyo as a peri-urban but he did not know the meaning of the word. The last one called it a place with both urban and rural features. In his example, the last one cited my former primary school as a peri-urban school in which Kiswahili should be a medium of instruction. I did not ask the MoE official at the ministry headquarters about an example of such a place in Gusii (he comes from another part of the country), but on what a peri-urban place is, he said it is a place outside urban areas with one or more languages. These are some of their responses;

Qu: What about peri-urban areas?
Resp: Peri?
Qu: Yes. Peri-urban.
Resp: Peri, I don't know that one (Intev Dq 2).

Qu: What about peri-urban?
Resp: Peri-urban it is, peri-urban and semi-metropolitan are more or less synonymous because it is a situation where both the characteristics of the urban and the rural are intertwined…

Qu: Gxxxxxxx Primary is just close here next to Nxxx Secondary. What is the policy there?

Resp: Gxxxxxxx is Kiswahili. Because I want to believe that it is peri-urban. So we expect other students who are non-Gusiis to come to that institution.

Qu: That is my home and I don't think there is any other non-Ekegusii speaking …

Resp: (Interrupting) then if there is non-Gusii in that institution then going by the numbers, they will adopt Ekegusii as the language of the catchment area (Intev Dq 3).

These responses show that these officers do not know the meaning of the term peri-urban. The one who defines it refers to a school that does not bear features of a peri-urban settlement. In fact he uses the word 'believe' to suggest that he did not have concrete knowledge of what territory the

school could belong yet it was a school under his administration. He cites semi-metropolitan as a synonym of peri-urban, further indicating inexact knowledge of the term. The school he cites is my former primary school. In fact that morning I had passed by the head teacher's office on a courtesy call. Because it was not a sample school, I did not take any notes nor record our exchange. The subject of my research came up and the head teacher confirmed that they were encouraging the use of Kiswahili and English. He stated that to that day, they had not enrolled a pupil from any other tribe other than Ekegusii-speaking children from the locality. Next to the school is a local church whose worshippers come from the villages around. On its other end is a secondary school which admits most KCPE candidates from this school. The school is situated at about four kilometres from the district head quarters. This finding, and the ones in sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3, are similar to what Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002, cited in Hong, 2008) and Spillane (2002, cited in Hong, 2008) found out; some of the reasons for non-implementation of language in education policies is diverse understanding of a language policy. In some cases, as suggested above, the understanding is not only diverse but erroneous.

This scenario, just like the ones in sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3, reveals that how schools are classified in reference to the use of the two languages of instruction (mother tongues and Kiswahili) is haphazard and casual. It indicates that the classification was done, not based on learner language composition but possibly for administrative convenience. This lack of correct understanding of the term (and obviously its subsequent application) could apply to several other dqasos countrywide. This scenario works against the intentions of the policy for without a correct understanding of the terms, one could not expect correct implementation. Secondly, what motivates this state of knowledge is possibly, the hands-off attitude on the issue of mother tongue education (see discussion in Section 9.5.1.5). In the background, in my analysis, is a government which has succumbed to Obanya's (1999) myths on African languages as languages of education. One would expect a government committed to the cause of mother tongues as spelled out in the policy, to conduct ocassional workshops to both review the extent of implementation as well as update key stakeholders on how best to improve implementation. The fact that these key officials differ on their understanding is evidence that MoE has not bothered to do this.

6.2.2 Urban areas

The officers stated their understanding of urban areas and their responses are captured in Table 6.1 (in subsequent sections in tables in this chapter, N/A is used to mean the question was not asked, or the response given did not answer the question, or the respondent did not answer the first nor the second question).

Table 6.1 : Meaning of Urban Areas
_____

Respondent	Response	Examples in Gusii
Dq 1	A place with mixed settlement	N/A
Dq 2	It is a town or around town	Kisii, Nyamira, Keroka, Ogembo, Suneka
Dq 3	They are metropolitan areas	Kisii Town only
Dq 4	They are towns	Kisii only
Dq 5	It is a town	Kisii, Nyamira, all district headquarters in Gusii
Dq 6	It is a town area	Kisii, Suneka, Nyamira
MoE 7	It is like a metropolitan place	Kisii, Keroka, Nyamira
MoE 8	It is areas within town	Kisii and Nyamira
MoE 9	Those areas in town	Kisii only

_____
Note. Almost all respondents cited Kisii as an urban area followed by Nyamira.

The officials hold different positions on what an urban area is (just like in peri-urban areas above) and what the various settlement centres in Gusii could be referred to. An urban area is, according to them, a place with mixed settlement, a town/around town, metropolitan areas. Note that Dq 5 cites all district headquarters as urban areas. Some of these headquarters were started barely five years ago and most of them are erecting offices for key administrative offices. In fact Nyamira County was a district (on its own from which we now have five districts [KNBS, 2013b]) in as recently as 1999. The now Kisii County was also a district (now nine districts; KNBS, 2013a) in 1999. These fourteen districts (in Kisii and Nyamira Counties) today were divisions of these two mother districts most of which happened during the years 2006 and 2012.

It cannot be expected that a place identified as a district headquarter (from my own knowledge of Gusii and Kenya) could have attracted many people and grow to an urban centre status in such a short period of time. These differences in understang imply varied applications of the language policy in basic education institutions as observed in Section 6.2.1. In Table 6.1, Dq 2 up to Dq 6 are quality assurance and standards officers at district levels. Their interpretation could affect the next district to which they will go in their next posting. Progressively, this is how this confusion

may have come to affect understanding of the policy in the whole country. It has been reported that some dqasos have banned mother tongue instruction, a step that is against the stated policy and which would actually impact negatively in early literacy achievement.

6.2.3   Metropolitan areas

The nine respondents defined metropolitan areas and identified them in the Gusii region as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 : Meaning of Metropolitan Areas
_____

Respondent	Response	Examples in Gusii
Dq 1	A place settled by many tribes	N/A
Dq 2	An area with learners coming from diff. places	Kisii
Dq 3	They are urban areas	(Nyamira is semi-urban)
Dq 4	They are urban areas	Kisii
Dq 5	They are towns with many languages	All district headquarters
Dq 6	An urban area, small or big town with diverse settlers	N/A
MoE 7	It is a town area	Nyamira, Kisii, Keroka
MoE 8	I don't know	N/A
MoE 9	I don't know	N/A

_____
Note. Most respondents equated metropolitan area to urban areas or towns. MoE 8 and MoE 9 did not answer the question.

These officers call a metropolitan area different things and two did not know the meaning. The data in sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, and 6.2.3 show that these officers have different understanding or some do not know what the terms actually refer to. For Dq 2 up to Dq 6 and up to MoE 9, it implies different applications of this policy in their territories. The districts that the dqasos are in charge of usually have many primary schools; generally from twenty-five to more than fifty. This understanding is, possibly, the source of the scenario captured in Chapter Seven (on the development of Ekegusii) and Chapter Eight (on classroom language use). Going by their understanding, there could be possibly more than one way of operationalizing this provision in the language in education policy.

The classification of schools as rural, peri-urban/urban, or metropolitan (in the Gusii region and possibly elsewhere in Kenya) is haphazard and possibly not based on school-based or classroom-based information (see excerpts from MoE 8 and 9 below). For instance, the school where MoE 8 is the head teacher is located at a village about eight kilometres from Nyamira Town. It is not neighboured by any institution that has attracted diverse tribal settlements. The churches

surrounding it are all local churches ministered by Ekegusii-speaking ministers. The whole school community is Ekegusii-speaking just like are all the teachers and learners as indicated in this excerpt;

Qu: So you teach it (Ekegusii) as a subject?
Resp: No, we don't.
Qu: Why don't you teach it?
Resp: You know this is in township. In township, we don't teach Ekegusii as a subject, we teach instead, we teach kikwetu [our language] where we teach all those syllables.
Qu: In which language do you speak when you teach kikwetu [our language]?
Resp: Kiswahili. We teach it in Kiswahili.
Qu: What is the language of the learners who come to your school?
Resp: It is Ekegusii. Entirely Ekegusii in fact. We don't have others from outside from other tribes. We only have Kisiis from the local community.
Qu: So what prevents you from teaching Ekegusii as a subject?
Resp: I may not be well versed with that one. Let me just say even me I came and found them being taught like that. I have not really asked why. But I think it is because we are in township and you see when we are in township, it means we should dwell in English and Kiswahili. Lakini [but] in those rural areas, like where the first school I was, we used to teach in mother tongue and they still teach it there. But because this is township now, tunaiga tu [we just copy]. Ni kama [It is like] we are in town now we should not teach in Ekegusii because we want them to be well versed in English and Kiswahili. That is what I see (Intev MoE 8).

Qu: So in class three, Ekegusii is used, I mean so you don't use Ekegusii?]
Res: Class three, there are things you find they do not know you must use Ekegusii. There are words you know you may speak to them that are difficult that a learner may wonder what it is you spoke. You must explain it in Ekegusii now if you come to teach it when you are on teaching it the learner finds that he/she has known it. When he/she has known it in her language it is easier now to relate...
Qu: That law of language policy in schools in lower primary, what does it require like this school of yours which language are you supposed to use to teach?
Resp: The language we are supposed to use is the one spoken here. In lower, we are told that you use a language a learner understands. Do not use English only or Kiswahili only because that you may find you have not taught this learner.
Qu: So it means you use Ekegusii?
Res: Yes (Intev MoE 9).

The township the interviewee refers to is a government administrative unit. Current central government administrative units are in the order of region, district, location, and sub-location. In her case, township is a sub-location in which Nyamira Town takes after. But because the town is not big, only the central part has a relatively higher number of non-native speakers of Ekegusii. This leaves native residents as majority settlers. Inadvertently or otherwise, the MoE has possibly used those administrative boundaries to determine the application of the language policy in basic education institutions. The respondent's school is therefore classified as an urban school. From the

two respondents, we see that all pupils as well as the teachers are Ekegusii speakers but the subject of Ekegusii is not taught nor is the language used as a LoI. According to both, this is an urban school which should use Kiswahili as a LoI. But MoE 9 confirms that they were told they are supposed to teach in the language that is spoken in that place and which learners understand. For her this is Ekegusii. MoE 8 had already indicated that she did not really know why Kiswahili is the policy in that school but then she thinks it is because they are in township. This confusion confirms Hong's (2008) finding that there is often a discrepancy between drafters of policies and implementers resulting to different unintended outcomes.

Lack of a clear understanding of the geographical terms used in the policy could be a cause of a lot of confusion in the implementation of the policy as demonstrated in subsequent sections of this report. It is not clear if the two teachers know what should be the LoI and if the subject of Ekegusii should be taught. But the confusion is also evident among their immediate seniors. A possible underlying cause of this situation could be the government's luke-warm approach to the specific policy on language use in basic education institutions (see discussion in Sections 7.3.4.3 and 9.5.1.5). This scenario has possibly left thousands of learners in the region (and possibly elsewhere in the country) being taught in Kiswahili and English from as early as standard one, even when mother tongues would be the ideal medium. The practice could be assumed to be ideal because the parent ministry does not follow up on the issue of language of instruction.

The ministry's attitude to the issue is further captured in a circular of 30th January 2014 on language policy in basic education institutions (see Appendix D). After citing the provision for use of languages of the catchment for teaching in pre-primary and standards one to three, the officer sending the circular concludes by the following words;

> By a copy of this circular therefore, the County Directors of Education (CDEs) and District Education Officers (DEOs) are required to sensitize head teachers of primary schools and all stakeholders on the content of the language policy (MoE, 2014).

The questions, possibly intentionally, left unanswered by the officer, are sensitize the head teachers and stakeholders to do what? What does the ministry plan to achieve by that which should be done? What is the deadline of doing those things that should be done? What are the penalties for those who do not meet deadlines? The tone of this circular is in contrast to one issued to all schools, public and private and primary and secondary, about three years ago banning holiday tuition. The

urgency with which it was executed demonstrated the seriousness the ministry gave to the issue. In the first holiday following the circular, police officers moved around schools and arrested teachers they found offering tuition. Today, just few years after, no school opens its doors during the three holidays in a year (April, August, and November/December). The policy that the ministry was reminding stakeholders about is thirty-nine years old today. The scenario in respect to classification of schools is in confusion because it does enjoy government goodwill. The circular did not show a strong intention to have mother tongues used as LoIs. Probyn (2009) also found out that teachers do not follow language in education policies. This generally results in use of second languages, especially English in Kenya, which Van der Bank and Basson (2014) found out creates a communication gap between teachers and pupils thus affecting provision of quality education.

6.3 Mother tongue question

This section presents and discusses data on the mother tongue issue; mother tongues as subjects and the rationale for their use as LoIs.

6.3.1 Mother tongues as subjects

Development of a language is in two dimensions; as a LoI and as a subject of instruction (see Chapter Seven). All the officers responded in the affirmative to the question of whether mother tongues should be taught as subjects. Dq 1 and MoE 8 answered no saying mother tongues should only be used as LoIs. The varied understanding implies that in their inspection duties, the officers possibly would give attention to the aspect they know is provided for in the policy. Implementing either aspect of a language will leave the language only half developed as KIE (2012) observes. The confusion is compounded by the differing provisions in for instance the 1976 recommendations, KIE (2012) provisions, and the contents of the latest circular on the subject. Implementation of this policy should not be in such confusion. One expert observes;

> …A major aspect of the implementation of a policy of using indigenous media of instruction, should be an enlightenment campaign designed to explain in terms that the lay person can understand, the arguments in favour of the policy (Bamgbose, 2000, p. 88).

So such different understanding should least be expected. Wolff (personal communication, March, 18, 2015) insists that a language must be developed in two aspects; taught as a language as well as be used as a LoI.

This practice in which there is contradicting knowledge among stakeholders and information in documents on the policy, would ultimately prevent the development of the mother tongues and subsequently affect the rate of the learning and development of the two second languages (Kiswahili and English). Wolff (2011) observes that politics of language leads to the systematic lack of sanctions for non-compliance with existing policies as has been noted above. Cummins (1979a, 1979b, 1981, 2005a) argues that a developed mother tongue is an ideal precondition for easy learning and development of a second language because, especially reading and writing, skills learnt in the first language do not have to be re-learnt. Other researchers also point to this possibility (ADEA, 1996; Baker, 2006). But providing conditions for the development of mother tongues is what the government seems reluctant to do.

6.3.2 Rationale for mother tongues as languages of instruction

I sought to find out the understanding of stakeholders on the main rationale for the use of mother tongues as LoIs. Discussion here also includes the understanding of classroom teachers in addition to MoE 9. The responses are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 : Rationale for Mother tongues as LoIs
_____

Respondent	Rationale
Dq 1	It is to appreciate culture
Dq 2	It is teaching from known to unknown
Dq 3	To not lose their roots
Dq 4	Pupils understand it
Dq 5	Children know it
Dq 6	It is the only one children know
MoE 7	It is for transition
MoE 8	It is to appreciate culture
MoE 9	N/A

_____
Note. Half of the respondents indicated mother tongues are used because they are known well by learners.

The officers also seem to have different views on the main rationale for the use of mother tongues as LoIs. However, these views are captured in the rationale for mother tongues in the KIE syllabus (2012; see Section 1.5.1). Their views could imply that their emphases, whenever they go about inspecting curriculum implementation in schools, would judge the status of use of the languages in light of what they think is the primary significance of these languages in early child education. Some may therefore give in to teachers' and parents' demands for early English which they think

would quicken learning and advancement in acquisition of knowledge. Those who hold the position that mother tongues are just for appreciation of culture may easily think that culture could be appreciated variously and therefore it does not have to be in a language. This is more so today when the pressure for an early learning and use of Kiswahili and English are perceived to be the solution to poor performance in school-based and national examinations. Note that the officer at the headquarters said that mother tongues should be used in order to appreciate culture; this was least expected from a high-ranking officer.

It is not necessarily the case that these officers place primary emphasis on what they said during the interview, but what they said is an indicator of how they view mother tongues when looked at from the general public attitudes to mother tongues in education (see public attitudes in Section 7.3.4.3). In fact, above all justifications, mother tongues should be used in teaching for epistemic access. According to Shohamy (2006), learning challenges occur if the LoI is not a familiar language. Familiar languages in Africa are mainly mother tongues. The responses point to language beliefs. Spolsky (2004) found out that language beliefs have an impact on language policy implementation. This implies that notwithstanding what the policy prescribes, practice may ultimately be determined by what stakeholders believe about mother tongues and second languages. For many teachers and parents in Africa and Kenya in particular, there is an erroneous belief that English is the key to academic success. This was found out by Muthwii (2004) in a study among the Kalenjin community in Kenya.

6.3.3 Practicability of mother tongues as languages of instruction

Teachers' views on practicability of the use of mother tongues to teach are captured in the following excerpt from one of the respondents;

> Resp: These other subjects we use English except Kiswahili. Kiswahili you must talk in Kiswahili, except those difficult words, those you may explain but in mother tongue. You explain it in Ekegusii so that this child knows it so well…
> Qu: Why then don't you teach science in Ekegusii?
> Resp: No, you cannot teach in Ekegusii only those words he/she is supposed to relate because he/she has to know this English. You cannot use Ekegusii only, you explain using that language these children are used with from home…
> Qu: So it means you use Ekegusii (to teach).
> Resp: Yes.
> Qu: But didn't you say you teach science using English?
> Resp: No. It is in English you are supposed to teach because examinations come in English. But you have to explain in your mother tongue so that this learner can understand. That is how

we were told even if it is not in lower only, up to class eight, there are words you must use your mother tongue. Because when you have used it, when this child finds it he/she remembers quickly and relates…

Qu: A subject taught in mother tongue what does it mean?

Resp: That that subject be taught the language the child was born speaking. It is not practical. How can you teach that subject in mother tongue totally? You see like now we teach, ceremonies we teach them, but you must tell them they are ceremonies, circumcision. Then you tell them circumcision is when a child is circumcised. Yes you explain to him/her but we use English. We don't use mother tongue.

Qu: What will using English help these children?

Resp: English helps them, you see examinations, all examinations are set in English, they must be taught in English (Intev MoE 9).

This respondent demonstrates that it is not possible to use mother tongue to teach. Her views are shared by the other teachers in all categories of schools in light of my classroom observation and interviews (see Section 9.6). In fact Dq 1 explains the use of Kiswahili to teach to mean, using Kiswahili to teach the way it is done in Tanzania. This should, according to him, also refer to using Ekegusii to teach content knowledge with concepts laden in Ekegusii terminology. According to the respondent (MoE 9), the impracticality of the use of Ekegusii is anchored on the objective of the teaching which, according to her, is examinations. This relates closely with the discussion in Section 9.5.1 on motivation for the use of English instead of the languages spelt out in the language policy.

The teacher says Ekegusii is only used for explanation. But in a stream of English speech, how does he/she determine that learners have not understood which words and then she explains in Ekegusii? Practically, the restricted environments of use of English that learners in this region are exposed to, many words in English are barriers to effective communication. The motivations for code switching discussed in Chapter Nine corroborate this (see also Section 9.3.1 and 9.4.2 for details of learners' insufficient knowledge). What is impractical to teach in is English because most learners barely understand it. But the erroneous understanding that it is not possible to teach science using Ekegusii would make the teachers lose all motivation to teach in it.

This finding also points to the capability of these teachers' extent of knowledge in especially Ekegusii and English. There is no so much phenomena in lower primary that could not be referred to using a typically Ekegusii word, a borrowed word, or a nativized word. The prominence given to English seems to have made the teachers to equate knowledge and learning to knowledge of English. This attitude is contrary to the findings of various scholars on the practicability of using

a mother tongue to teach (Bamgbose, 2000; Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Wolff, 2006a). Ramani and Joseph (2006) for instance started using Sesotho sa Leboa to teach content at the University of Limpopo in South Africa. The successes of this program and others in the University of Cape Town, University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) and Rhodes University (Kaschula, 2013) where isiXhosa and isiZulu are used demystify the notion of impracticability.

Mother tongues are the languages learners know well. They know the basic vocabulary, meaning, and structure which makes communication possible. The principle in the policy is that learner knowledge should be a resource for further knowledge building. Phenomena should be referred to in the vocabulary the learners know, the one they use in their day-to-day activities. Use of mother tongues is a barrier-free choice that facilitates learning (Save the Children, 2009). This principle is implied in the UNESCO's (1953) call to the use of mother tongues. UNESCO observes that use of mother tongues in education need to be extended. Especially it emphasizes that children need to begin their school in a language they understand very well. One of the most recent and practical cases of use of mother tongues for teaching mathematics is the one going on in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Shale (2015) states that pupils score better in mathematics now that they are being taught in isiXhosa than during years of English instruction.

6.4   Operationalization of policy

Mother tongues and Kiswahili have been allocated the role of LoIs in lower primary in rural and urban schools respectively. The following section presents views of teachers on the use of each of the two languages.

6.4.1   Teaching in Ekegusii

Teachers' feelings on the use of Ekegusii as a LoI are expressed as shown in the following response;

> Qu: What about during mathematics lessons; what do you use Ekegusii for?
> Resp: In mathematics, in fact I use Ekegusii to explain more words which are complicated which are above their standard.
> Qu: What about during science lessons?
> Resp: In science we are free to use any language, but mostly I use English, but I am supposed to use all languages.
> Qu: Do you use any Ekegusii during science?
> Resp: Yes.
> Qu: For what?
> Resp: For clarification.

Qu: What about during social studies?
Resp: Social studies am also free to use any language, but mostly I use English.
Qu: Do you sometimes use Ekegusii to teach?
Resp: Yah. Sometimes it forces me to use because the children are not of the same level. So you have to use all the languages. You mix provided they understand. You are not limited to any language (Intev Sch 3 T).

Qu: Science lessons?
Resp: I use English also but I mix with Ekegusii…
Qu: What language do you use in teaching the other subjects apart from the languages?
Resp: I use English. But also I mix…
Qu: What about MoE officials or dqasos?
Resp: I think they prefer English.
Qu: Why?
Resp: As per the rule, we are supposed to use English as a medium of communication for all the school for uniformity the whole country. But now, also they have put it as a rule that we use Kiswahili for clarification in lower (Intev Sch 1 T).

These teachers' responses are representative of what actually the teachers in the schools understand as the policy provision. The other two have responded similarly. The teachers indicate that Ekegusii, which should be the medium of instruction, is used for explaining vocabulary, clarification, and elaboration during the teaching of non-Ekegusii subjects. It has been indicated, from observation and the interviews (see Chapter Eight), that even in the teaching of Kiswahili and English, Ekegusii is used for the three functions stated here. The teachers use all the three languages, two of which learners barely speak, leave alone understand. These uses seem to be teachers' understanding of what the policy states; Ekegusii should be used after. Secondly, they are allusive of what is discussed in Section 6.3.3; the impracticability of using mother tongues to teach. This, going by the relevant documents that refer to the uses of the three languages, is a 'locally constructed pedagogy'. It is either as a result of teachers' honest conceptualization of what the policy provides for, or it is an 'alternative pedagogy' born out of the 'impracticability' of the actual provision. Alexander (2003) says mother tongues could be used at higher academic levels. It could be much easier then, to use them at elementary levels.

6.4.2   Teaching in Kiswahili

The following excerpts indicate teachers' understanding of the use of Kiswahili in learning.

Qu: What about the other subjects?
Resp: No, we don't use Kiswahili.
Qu: What about English during the teaching of the other subjects apart from the languages?
Resp: Okay, for example you are teaching it is science, it is taught in English but you can explain it in Ekegusii…

Qu: How do you manage to elaborate in Ekegusii?
Resp: You can manage because if you explain something which is difficult in English and they know the language and you explain in that language, automatically they will get the message.
Qu: What, according to you should be the language of instruction in class three? Your class three learners are Ekegusii-speaking, what would you wish be the language of instruction?
Resp: Of course both, English and Kiswahili.
Qu: Why?
Resp: It is the one we are supposed to use in teaching so I must emphasize it to prepare them.
Qu: Prepare them for what?
Resp: For, for class work, for examination. Even though we teach, even though we, if we are allowed to teach in Ekegusii, it is non-examinable, so it won't make any sense (Intev Sch 5 T).

Qu: So do you use any Kiswahili during the teaching of any of the other subjects apart from English?
Resp: Yah. Sometimes I do.
Qu: Why?
Resp: For the learners to understand…
Qu: What about when you teach all the other subjects excluding English?
Resp: In other subjects, I can use Kiswahili but strictly with English, I don't use any other language except English. I only apply teaching aids.
Qu: So in, in all the other subjects except Kiswahili you use English majorly?
Resp: Yah. And sometimes little Kiswahili.
Qu: Why?
Resp: Because in most subjects it is written in English, we only have one subject that is done in Kiswahili and that is Kiswahili.
Qu: So, teaching them in English would help them achieve what?
Resp: To achieve so many things in their life for example if an exam comes, it is easy for them to read and understand and then answer the question. And you know English is an official language. So may be if they will get employment in future they will know how to use an official language.
Qu: What is the language of the catchment?
Res: It is English.
Qu: Mm. Language of the catchment could mean the language spoken in the villages around the school.
Resp: Kiswahili because that one for the learners and the parents it will be easy to communicate. For example a parent may come to school may be talking mother tongue and may be get a child who is not of that tribe. So it becomes difficult, so we have encouraged the use of Kiswahili.
Qu: So what that means is that you teach mathematics using Kiswahili, you teach science using Kiswahili, you teach social studies using Kiswahili, you teach creative art using Kiswahili. That is what it means. Do you teach like that?
Resp: No. We don't.
Qu: Why?
Resp: I told you in such subjects we use English but when there are some difficulties that is the time now we chip in for this mother tongue… That is what we have normally done here (Intev Sch 8 T).

The two teachers, who teach in schools without mother tongue instruction, use Kiswahili for explaining and clarifying. English is the main LoI. Little Kiswahili is used for actual teaching. They seem to have interpreted the policy in light of examinations, language of textbooks and the overall perception of the public on the benefits of an English medium. Teacher Sch 8 indicates that these learners may get into employment in future and need English. This conceptualization of policy is a challenge to the possibility of developing both languages as effective vehicles of knowledge in early child education in Gusii and in Kenya as a whole. This is because research shows that second languages are easily learnt in contexts where the mother tongue is developed as an academic language (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000).

Teachers demonstrate that in spite of barriers in communication (see Section 9.3.1 and 9.4.2), they use English to teach and elaborate using the recommended LoIs as a last resort. The fact that they do not use Kiswahili to teach is practically appropriate; majority of these learners are still learning Kiswahili as a second language. My interpretation of the non-use of Kiswahili is born of two conditions; their limited knowledge of classroom-type Kiswahili (because there is no vocabulary developed in Kiswahili for classroom use) and the fact that it is easy to nativize into Ekegusii than into Kiswahili (majority of teachers were Ekegusii native speakers). The second interpretation fits into what the teachers say; they use little Kiswahili and also use Ekegusii, yet their schools are urban, to explain. This further reinforces the observation that school categorization ignores the language composition of schools and learners. These findings are similar to Djité's (2008) that many countries do not use mother tongues as LoIs. In fact, they use them as last resorts. They disregard the policy but in an interestingly contrary style to what Maalim (2014) found out in Zanzibar where teachers used Kiswahili to teach instead of English. They switched to a barrier-free medium, in the Kenyan case, teachers disregard the policy by resorting to a barrier-free medium to English which is a barrier to communication.

6.4.3 Meaning of teaching in Ekegusii/Kiswahili

Dq 1 (cited earlier) said mother tongue LoI should be used the way Kiswahili is used in Tanzania. The excerpt below presents teachers' understanding of mother tongues as LoIs;

> Qu: That law of language policy in schools in lower primary, what does it require like this school of yours, which language are you supposed to use to teach?

Resp: The language we are supposed to use is the one spoken here. In lower, we are told to use a language a learner understands. Do not use English only or Kiswahili only because that you may find you have not taught this child.

Qu: Does it mean you use Ekegusii?

Resp: Yes.

Qu: But didn't you say you teach science using English?

Resp: No, you are supposed to teach in English because examinations come in English. But you have to explain in your mother tongue so that this child can understand. That is how we were told even if it is not that lower only, up to class eight, there are words you must use your mother tongue. Because when you have used it, this child when he/she finds it, he/she remembers quickly and relates…

Qu: Why then don't you teach science in Ekegusii?

Resp: No, you cannot teach in Ekegusii only those words he/she is supposed to relate them because he/she has to know this English. You cannot use Ekegusii only you explain using the language these learners are used with from home.

Qu: You said that he/she has to know English. He/she knows it that it may do what to him/her?

Resp: You know English is even the examination he is going to do. Like now when you have given a learner a question, you have explained it in Ekegusii, now you find he/she knows so well. Yes even if he/she finds and then you now teach in English only, you find that this learner has understood. You know when we teach you find when you have explained in your mother tongue, this child even if he/she finds that question in English you see that sentence you have said it in your mother tongue, now you find that he/she has also grasped it. Mother tongue, now he/she also knows the sentence is read like this, mother tongue means this…

Qu: What do we mean by mother tongue as a language of instruction?

Resp: That the language you speak you use it to teach people. This one you are speaking.

Qu: Does it mean when you enter class, class three, that language is the only one you speak until you finish?

Resp: No. That is why I told you at the beginning that in the five subjects, you use English except Kiswahili. For Kiswahili you must talk in Kiswahili. When you explain a word learners cannot understand completely even if you explain in Kiswahili itself, then you use mother tongue not English…

Qu: A subject taught in mother tongue, what does it mean?

Resp: That that subject be taught in the language the child was born speaking. It is not practical. How can you teach that subject in mother tongue totally? You see like now we teach, ceremonies we teach them, but you must tell them they are ceremonies; circumcision. Then you tell them circumcision is when a child is circumcised. Yes you explain to him/her but we use English. We don't use mother tongue.

Qu: What will using English help these learners?

Resp: English helps them, you see examinations, all examinations are set in English…

Qu: So can you teach science using Kiswahili?

Resp: No. There is no way you can teach because science, you turn it and start teaching in Kiswahili, you will make these learners be lost because difficult words have come into Kiswahili. You see Kiswahili is fast changing. When you use Kiswahili, this child, because examinations are going to be set in English, so you must use English, but explain difficult words, you explain in mother tongue…

Qu: How can a subject be taught in mother tongue when it is written in English?

Resp: That is why I started by saying that when you teach, you teach in English, you do not teach in mother tongue. You cannot sit and start teaching if it is science, then you start that parts of the body then you write parts of the body (in Ekegusii that is). You write parts of the body, then you explain to the learners that parts of the body means parts of the body. Then

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you explain to them these parts of the body, the senses, you teach them. I mean when you teach them (parts of the body) you use English but you explain in words that you see were difficult for the learners, you explain, not you use mother tongue. You cannot teach in Ekegusii that you are really teaching these learners. You use English.

Qu: Don't they mean that when you teach science you say parts of the body?

Resp: No. That is not what they mean. They have said that you teach in English but you explain in the language that the learner understands. If it is a child of standard one that you are telling about a plant, you tell him/her that that is a tree, have you ever seen a tree? You take them and show them a tree. Now when he/she sees the word plant, now he/she knows that plant is a tree, and tree he/she is used with. But if you tell him/her tree (Kiswahili), again he/she will ask, (in Kiswahili), now what is a tree? That way it is possible he/she will not know because that Kiswahili at standard one he/she has not known it, he/she will be defeated to know what that is because at home he/she uses Ekegusii only... (Intev MoE 9).

These are the views of all the other teachers. The respondent admits they are supposed to teach in mother tongue, but the teaching she refers to is explaining, supposedly, difficult words in mother tongue. The question is how to determine which words the learners did not understand because these learners are still learning the language? She indicates that you teach in a manner that when the examination comes, the learner would remember the sentence and relate it with the explanation you had given in class. This points to the teaching for examinations discussed in Section 9.5.1.1 and not for skill development. She indicates that the learner will relate what he/she heard but not what he/she knows which would expose the children to either guessing or cheating. This renders the tests they take invalid and unreliable because they test knowledge of content and that of language at the same time. It indicates also that because these learners do not know English, they would not participate in dialogic learning. This of course makes teaching to be teacher-centred as found out by Greenfield (2010). This finding also is consistent with Qorro's (2009) that use of English deprives pupils the opportunity of bringing experiences to the classroom.

The teacher incorrectly states that they say you teach in English. I suppose she refers to policy makers or possibly education officers. No policy, circular, or guideline has ever directed teachers to use English to teach content in lower primary since the 1976 recommendations. The latest circular (Appendix D) asks for the development of Kiswahili and English among learners for spoken use both in school and outside. But she further strongly says it is not practical to teach using Ekegusii. Instead of writing the Ekegusii word, 'emeyega' (in a social studies lesson) the Ekegusii for ceremonies, she would write the latter then explain what that means then give notes in English.

This is one of the practices that affects the development of mother tongues and Kiswahili as discussed in Section 7.3.4. But she confesses she does not use Kiswahili in this urban school. So her, and others' choices affect the development of both mother tongues and Kiswahili. She observes that Kiswahili is changing and so the language is difficult for them. She also points out that examinations will not come in Kiswahili. This teacher is representative of all the other class teachers observed and interviewed (and others in Kenya). Her response demonstrates that her understanding is that to teach in Ekegusii or Kiswahili is not practical. But underlying her understanding is the fact that in the 'time of need', the ideal LoIs will not be of help. This conception about mother tongues and Kiswahili confirm that language policies in Africa mostly exist in documents but are not actually implemented according to Bamgbose (1991).

6.5   Concept of predominance

In the Gachathi Report recommendation number one, the word predominant is used. Close synonyms of the word include dominant, main, primary, central, and leading. Two aspects of the concept were sought from the officials; the meaning and determination of use of predominance. Sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 discuss the responses.

6.5.1   Language predominance

Table 6.4 captures the understanding of predominance by each of the nine MoE officials.

Table 6.4 : Meaning of Predominant Language
_____

Respondent	Response
Dq 1	A language common to learners but not all learners-not 100%
Dq 2	It must not be the medium of teaching
Dq 3	A language that is frequently used
Dq 4	One common language of the many languages
Dq 5	A language used by most learners
Dq 6	A language used by many learners
MoE 7	A language commonly used in a school
MoE 8	The only language spoken in a particular school
MoE 9	I don't know

_____
Note. About half the respondents indicated it is a language common to many pupils in a school.

The officers understand the term differently and some incorrectly. Dq 2 responds in a manner suggesting the policy must not be implemented to the letter. All the responses point to a situation

where which language is used, is at the discretion of the stakeholder concerned, and Chapter Nine shows what it is. The implication is that different approaches in the administration and enforcement of the language policy in basic education institutions would be adopted. This is revealed further in the responses on how to determine predominance in Section 6.5.2.

6.5.2 Determination of predominance

I asked the respondents a hypothetical question on classroom composition in relation to choice of LoI. Some of their responses below show their understanding;

> Resp: In a situation where the predominant language is Ekegusii like you have said, that there happens to be one non-Gusii, it is tricky because the objective of education is to capacity build. Isn't it? And bring in what we call holistic development. So this child who is only one can be advised so that the others are not disadvantaged. Because if we go again to institute another policy, it will disadvantage that area. So the best thing is to advise the parent to take the child where the child can benefit well from education and leave the rest continue (Intev Dq 3).

> Qu: …Because if you teach in Kiswahili and the forty have not really mastered Kiswahili and this is a class one category of pupils. Is it not really affecting so many in the process of helping ten?
> Resp: Yah, it could sound like so but what usually happens is that children in an urban setting where you find such kind of a mixed students, they already know Kiswahili. They already know Kiswahili so it does not disadvantage them at all (Intev Dq 4).

> Qu: So…you realize you have forty Ekegusii-speaking children, and five Luo-speaking children in a classroom, how do you choose a language of instruction?
> Resp: You will use the Ekegusii language because this is the majority and because children also learn very quickly when they play, it will not take them long before they grasp the Ekegusii language. Because if you go to another language, you will confuse both the two. A Luo who is there does not know Kiswahili, a Kisii who is there does not know Kiswahili, but he knows the Kisii. So the majority being that they know Ekegusii, is better now you teach Ekegusii known by the majority and very soon because children are very fast in learning and mastering the language, they will get the Ekegusii very quickly and they just go together (Intev Dq 6).

The responses reveal differing positions in the issue of determining predominance and making a choice on LoI. Three perspectives emerge on the choice of medium in a hypothetical classroom with about slightly more than eighty percent Ekegusii-speaking children; the LoI should be Kiswahili, the minority should be advised to look for another school, and Ekegusii should be used. If all these officials apply their understanding in schools in Gusii, I suppose all three perspectives would be operational in schools. Their perspectives bring to question their understanding of the value of L1 in early pedagogy as well as the principle of known to unknown in teaching. Secondly,

the officials are unaware that school contexts may continue to have children from diverse languages but it is possible to use their primary languages to make learning meaningful.

In the context of these responses arises the question, how long would it take a seven-year-old to pick the language of her playmates/peers and classmates? (see Section 3.2.6.3 for peer influence in language acquisition). I doubt that these learners would prefer to speak in Kiswahili during play for the sake of one of their classmates. I doubt too that there is sufficient motivation for this one learner to seek to learn Kiswahili. To assume that Kiswahili would be an ideal LoI in an Ekegusii majority class would be erroneous; both the minority and the majority are learning this language. Evidence in Section 9.3, 9.4 and Chapter Ten demonstrates that majority of standard three learners in Gusii have not developed sufficient BICS in Kiswahili, let alone English, that it could effectively be used as a LoI. Ironically too, Section 6.4.2 has demonstrated that teachers do not use Kiswahili for delivery of content for the reasons cited. The responses also indicate that these respondents do not know the dynamics of language acquisition and learning. This knowledge is key to the process of determining which languages should be used for which roles in classrooms.

6.6   Language of the catchment

This phrase is used in Sessional Paper 14 of 2012 in the same way it is used in recommendation 101 of the Gachathi Report. MoE officials understand it in the ways shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Meaning of Language of the Catchment

_____

Respondent	Response
Dq 1	It is the common language in the classroom, not outside
Dq 2	It is the language all learners understand
Dq 3	The language spoken predominantly around the school, not in school
Dq 4	It is not necessarily a LoI
Dq 5	It is the language, mostly, understood by learners
Dq 6	The language majority of the learners speak
MoE 7	The language used in the villages around the school
MoE 8	It is the language spoken in the local community around the school
MoE 9	It is the language of the people around the school

_____

Note. The responses were divided between language of the catchment as being used in school and outside school.

Both the 1976 policy and Sessional Paper Number 14 of 2012 use the phrase and indicate that a predominant language in the school's catchment area should be used. But Dq 4 points out that it must not be the LoI. The drafters must have contemplated the possibility of diverse settlements in

various places in Kenya because the country is multilingual. They however, provided for the use of a predominant language as a LoI with the following understanding; minority learners by associating with the majority playmates and classmates would soon learn the dominant language and make it possible for the teacher to use it as a LoI (see Angiela [2002] on how Suba children got assimilated to Dholuo speaking and schooling because Dholuo was dominant).

Actually, and possibly, the principle used to place the word predominant in the policy is that of the amount of language input and access. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, children acquire new languages easily in contexts with adequate input. Therefore, five non-Ekegusii speaking pupils staying within the Ekegusii-speaking people would easily acquire Ekegusii due to two reasons; immediate generous input and motivation to learn to be able to play in that language. I doubt a possibility of learning Kiswahili whose chief source of input is the classroom and occasionally outside school. Secondly, skilled and informed teachers know that a learner's language is a resource and so teachers using it would teach towards that end. Finally, teachers would diversify contexts of acquisition and learning of both the dominant medium and the neutral medium to hasten learning that the whole class can gainfully participate in the teaching and learning process. The findings of the situation of policy in this chapter is captured in Wolff (2013). He observes;

> We state an obvious failure of formal education throughout much of Africa, stemming largely from misconceptions about language issues as such, which in turn feed into inadequate and inefficient language policies. This adds to deficits regarding intellectual insights and professional quality on the part of most if not all stakeholders from local teachers and parents up to the highest levels of political decision making (p. 25).

This is the situation that even, possibly, informs the practices discussed in Chapter Eight and and the beliefs discussed in Chapter Nine.

6.7   Summary

This section has presented and analyzed data on how stakeholders understand and by implication apply the provisions of the policy on language use in basic education institutions. The discussion reveals that stakeholders differ in the understanding of each of the key terms used in the policy documents on language use up to standard three. This would, among other implications, lead to a non-uniform implementation of the policy. The next section presents and analyzes data on the development of Ekegusii, the predominant language in schools in Gusii.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEVELOPMENT OF EKEGUSII

7.1   Introduction

This section presents and analyses data on the development of Ekegusii in primary schools in the study schools. It responds to specific research question two which was;

To what extent is Ekegusii developed in schools?

Development of English as a LoI is predicated upon the development of a L1 (Cummins, 1979a, 1979b; 2000). The two aspects of development of a L1 are as a LoI and as a subject of instruction. Logically, development of either has a bearing on the other. For instance, using Ekegusii to deliver a science concept would make a teacher write the concept in Ekegusii on the chalkboard hence developing it as a subject. Ekegusii is the most common language that pupils in Gusii are exposed to (see Section 1.9 for details). For those at the heart of both Kisii and Nyamira towns, Kiswahili is the second common language. Two key thoughts below guide discussion in this chapter;

> Success in learning a foreign language is contingent on a degree of maturity in the native language. The child can transfer to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own. The reverse is also true-a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native tongue. The child learns to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations (Vygotsky 1962, p. 110).

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

A key objective of teaching mother tongues in Kenya is to make them effective languages of instruction (KIE, 2012). The discussion below is therefore based on these expectations. On this issue, Lightbown and Spada (2006) state that programmes that promote the development of the first language at home and at school may be more important for long term success in the second language. This, they say, than when there is an early start in the second language itself. My appreciation of efforts to develop Ekegusii is to the extent that they correspond to Cummins' observation;

> …schools should attempt to encourage minority students to develop their L1 abilities to as great an extent as possible both to stimulate transfer to L2 and to reap the significant personal and more subtle educational benefits of additive bilingualism (1991a, p. 86).

The extent to which this development is achieved by pupils is indicated in their scores in the tests administered (see details in Chapter Ten).

7.2   Development of Ekegusii as a subject

The following are the classroom practices meant to develop Ekegusii as a subject by teachers. Data for this section were obtained from classroom observation, a study of learners' exercise books (from January to July 2014), and interviews.

7.2.1   Oral development

Oral development of a language usually precedes development of other language aspects (see Chapter Three). The oral aspect of Ekegusii is supposedly remarkably developed by the time these learners are in standard three. There are however oral aspects that develop in the formal context of the classroom. The oral aspect is developed by teachers in the rural schools through various means as discussed below.

7.2.1.1 Use of Ekegusii to teach

Teachers in the rural schools use Ekegusii to teach the Ekegusii subject. However, there are occasional minimal code switches as discussed in Chapter Eight. Teachers' use of language in this way provides the learners with an opportunity to interact and learn the oral aspects of the language in formal settings. This use supplements what they learn at home and with peers both at home, in school, and at play. It is another source of vocabulary and provides an opportunity for such aspects like questioning and exclaiming to be developed in the learners in the language. Although none of the teachers confirmed they were taught at TTCs on how to teach mother tongues, their use of the language in teaching would build the learners' oral development in the language. Some research findings point to the claim that the time on task in a particular language has correlations with how much skill is developed in that language (Carroll, 1975; Morrison, Bonyun, & Pawley, 1981). This is moreso true of a mother tongue that these pupils have developed from home and keep developing in play and other contexts. These reports discuss time on tasks in L2 learning but language learning is based on similar underlying principles. This oral use of the language in class would develop their oral literacy but in an academic sense hence facilitating the development of CALP.

7.2.1.2 Teaching of dictation

Dictation is a classroom practice that was common in the four rural schools. I observed that the motivation for this practice was not really to develop the oral skills of the learners, but one of the activities that teachers used to 'cover the time'. Usually, a dictation exercise could serve as set induction but not the main lesson. But in the absence of both learners' textbooks and teachers' guides, this was used. Dictation exercises were also noted across the months from the beginning of the school year in the learners' exercise books. Teachers dictated Ekegusii words which learners wrote and presented for marking. These words in many instances originated from a story the pupils had just listened to or from a list of words a teacher carried to class. The ability to listen and write down the words correctly would gradually develop the learners' listening as well as their writing abilities.

The only limitation observed in this activity is that teachers did not extend it by revisiting the words, diversifying the variety of words in terms of syllable structure and word length, and exploring meanings in a holistic language teaching approach. This would obviously limit the extent of mastery of what it could achieve. I interpreted this lack of emphasis and enriching this activity to teachers' understanding of the mother tongue subject; teachers teach it because it is a subject and not because of its importance in laying a foundation for L2 learning as well as an ideal medium to facilitate epistemic access. This is a position backed by the teachers' responses;

Qu: Why do you teach the Ekegusii subject?
Resp: But it is a must we teach the Ekegusii.
Qu: You teach it as one of the subjects?
Resp: Yes.
Qu: You have no any other reason for teaching it?
Resp: No. Once you are allocated to teach in lower you are supposed to teach mother tongue (Intev Sch 1 T).

Teachers with long years of teaching the subject should have realized that teaching Ekegusii is more than just a subject. This understanding of their teaching of the subject suggests that they do not read the KIE syllabuses that all schools must have as references before any teaching is done. If they read, then their sociolinguistic beliefs prevent them from adequately developing Ekegusii to play this significant pedagogical role. The KIE syllabus give pedagogically sound rationales for teaching the mother tongues one of which is;

> The pupils' ideas and thoughts are in their mother tongue and will continue to be so, long after they have learnt to speak in English. To be encouraged to think for themselves, the pupils must be helped to do so in their own language (KIE, 2012, p. 147; see Section 1.5.1 for details).

If teachers had this understanding, they possibly would teach the subject just like, or better than, they teach the second languages, for figuratively, they would be teaching the second languages. Numerous research reports confirm that developing the mother tongue facilitates the learning and development of second languages as observed by Vygotsky (1962; see also Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000).

7.2.1.3 Teaching of stories, songs, proverbs, and riddles

In all the schools, these form a common source of the oral development of the language. It is only in Sch 2 that there were five story books against twenty-eight pupils that learners read stories from a book. The story books had ten short stories but they were not listed in the Orange Book. Pupils sat in groups of five or six to read in chorus. After that the teacher then re-read but because the copies were not enough, I observed that some just listened as the teacher read, others looked outside and yet others lost interest. Because these stories had been read since January, to some it may have become monotonous. In the other schools, there were no story books. The source of stories was therefore the teacher or the pupils. Teachers told stories and later gave opportunities to learners to tell theirs. Plots in stories provide an opportunity for learners to develop language in dimensions not common in home or play environments. Story structure, characters, style, use of gestures in stories build a learner's oral as well as conceptual development in a language. Stories were supplemented with songs, proverbs, and riddles in the four schools. The latter also have plots and train the learners on the ability to use the language in distinguishing sounds, pronunciation, and performance.

I observed however, that teachers in the rural schools did not make further use of the songs, proverbs, and riddles beyond performance. Songs were usually sung as part of set induction. Proverbs and riddles could usually be lessons on their own. Because teachers did not discuss contents or characters in the songs, proverbs, and riddles, the lessons could be shorter than the lesson's thirty minutes. Teachers asked few comprehension questions after the stories without engaging the pupils further. This lack of further discussion of these genres of learning would deprive learners the opportunity of developing other learning possibilities like critical skills and appreciating character choices in the genres. To enrich performance of the genres, teachers needed

to discuss each performance by identifying characters, specific vocabulary, storyline, etc. This could enrich learner skills beyond the oral aspect. Alternatively, community members or parents could be resource persons in these activities. They could be invited to tell and discuss stories, songs, proverbs, riddles. In addition to enhancing their development of the language, the activity could also build the learners esteem in their association with Ekegusii. An important precursor to word reading ability is ability to use the sounds of the language to process oral and written language (Lesaux, Geva, Koda, Siegel, & Shahanan, 2008). Stanovich and Siegel (1994), for instance, indicate that one's phonological processing abilities have an impact on reading acquisition and comprehension. Phonological processing is important in the acquisition of reading skills (Wagner, Torgesen, & Rashotte, 1999).

7.2.2   Morpho-syntactic development

Morpho-syntactic development is developed in rural schools in the teaching of syllables, words, and sentences. Teachers taught Ekegusii syllables. Ekegusii phonotactic rules dictate having vowel sounds at the end of every syllable. They taught three and four-grapheme syllables and how they combine to form Ekegusii words. Some of those observed are;

mwa mwe mwi mwo mwu	kwa kwe kwi kwo kwu
swa swe swi swo su (Obsv Sch 1)	rwa rwe rwi rwo ru (Obsv Sch 2)
mba mbe mbi mbo mbu	nchwa nchwe nchwi nchwo nchu
nwa new nwi now nu (Obsv Sch 3)	gwa gwe gwi gwo gu (Obsv Sch 4)

These syllables were used to form words by both teachers and learners. Exercises were also given out to the learners to attempt either by being asked to write the words on the chalk boards or in their exercise books. Sentence formation was also used to build learners' morpho-syntactic skills in the language. Teachers instructed the learners to construct sentences using the words constructed from the syllables under discussion. However, like the other skills taught, there was no sufficient time and attention given to these activities. I observed that from January to the end of July, 2014, the number of these activities was not as much as there were activities in the other two languages (see Section 7.2.4.1 for the number of activities).

7.2.3 Conceptuo-semantic development

This aspect of development was developed via two avenues; reading and writing of syllables, words and sentences from the chalk board and answering comprehension questions after a teacher or learner performed a story. Although teachers did not take much time engaging learners in asking and answering questions from stories, the few activities would be significant in developing the learners' understanding and thinking. Teachers did not invest resources for the development of the subject as indicated by one of the teachers;

> Qu: What is the reason for the negative attitude towards Ekegusii as a subject?
> Resp: You know like now I teach in class three, I know very well that when they reach class four they are not going to get this subject there. So I just say that let them just pass time because I know when they reach there, they are not going to handle, they are not going to be tested so I just take it for granted. That is why we are not serious (Intev Sch 1 T).

This could be the reason for not exhaustively discussing stories which formed a main source of activities in classroom teaching of the subject. In all the schools, there was no time that a learner asked a question during the observation activity. This would limit what they could learn because their possible misconceptions were not clarified. A teacher confirmed this trend of learners not asking questions;

> Qu: Learners, from my observation when I sat here, do not generally ask questions during teaching. Why?
> Resp: In fact they don't ask. Even if you were there as a visitor, but they normally they don't ask because their, their brain is limited at this age. But sometimes when you want them to ask, you can make jokes so that, you cheat them so that they can argue. They cannot ask; they have not developed well to ask questions (Intev Sch 4 T).

The average age of her class was eight and half years and it could not be correct that they had not developed to ask questions. Conceptual development starts from the cradle. The fact that these pupils did not ask questions points to another reason for it. Teachers' ignorance of the value of Ekegusii in the response above confirms the finding of UNESCO (2010b) that people want English due to ignorance of the value of mother tongue. Kaschula (1999) observes that there is a need for public knowledge. Efforts in developing Ekegusii as a subject highlighted here were not diverse but in light of the scores presented in Chapter Ten, it held significance; category one schools performed better in reading Ekegusii than in the other two languages. Additionally, they scored better than category two schools in Kiswahili and English in all tests.

Teachers also engaged learners in activities that would enhance their semantic skills. The main activities were reading and writing plural forms of words, opposites of words, and identifying young ones of creatures. This was observed in classroom activities as well as found in the written assignments in exercise books. Teachers could give a list of words which learners copied from the chalk board and then wrote answers for the teachers' marking. I observed that these activities did not bear a lot of variety. In fact the exercises they wrote in their exercise books correlated closely with what they were tested in. I found this out when I took the files of past standard three zonal tests which test the Ekegusii subject. The extent of semantic development of the learners in this language would therefore be limited but somehow significant.

Enriched semantic development activities should have involved discussion of individual clauses and sentences, and longer texts consistent with their age. Discussion of meanings of words in stories, songs, proverbs, and riddles could also enrich this aspect of development. The understanding of meaning is key to comprehension and literacy in general. The teaching in a manner to prepare pupils for examinations confirms Shohamy's (2006) findings in Israel. But her finding was in the teaching of English. In this research, teachers taught with tests in mind for a different reason; as a way to cover the class time in the 'absence' of enough content to teach. The situation could be due to lack of books and the emphasis placed on the acquisition of Kiswahili and English.

7.2.4   Challenges in development of Ekegusii as a subject

Factors that militate against efforts to develop Ekegusii as a subject were observed and deduced from interviews. They were as follows;

7.2.4.1 Teacher factors

These were factors to do with the way the subject is viewed by teachers. In my view, it makes them teach it the way they do as discussed below.

7.2.4.1.1   Attitude to knowledge of Ekegusii

Across the schools, teachers did not seem to emphasize the value of literacy skills in the subject. This was indicated by the few exercises administered, the few exercises marked and the lack of follow-up activities after every Ekegusii lesson. Learners would eventually, without the teachers actually saying it, conclude that the subject may not be very important. This is one reason for the

abolishment of the teaching and use of the subject in some of the 'so-called' peri-urban and urban schools. One respondent said;

Qu: Would you support the use of Ekegusii to teach in standard three?
Resp: Well, that is a controversy the way I may try to put it. I call it a controversy because in the past performance has been associated with the mastering of the language (i.e. English). So going to teach in class three using Ekegusii, I am telling you it is going to, it is not going to augur well. In some circumstances, you may even find the children telling you, 'mwalimu, unaongea lugha mbaya' [teacher, you are speaking a bad language.] (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

The motivation, therefore, for the abolishment is not pedagogically and theoretically founded; it is motivated by societal considerations-performance in examinations. Teaching should be done primarily to impart knowledge and develop skills. Tests are a process of ascertaining the extent to which skills have been developed. Teaching in reference to examinations does not really, develop the desired skills in learners. The fact that learners would tell a teacher,'unaongea lugha mbaya' [you are speaking a bad language] could not be interpreted to mean they say so from information but from being brainwashed to believe so. It also reveals that teachers have an erroneous belief that a switch to the second language medium guarantees mastery of the language faster. Diverse studies have indicated this misunderstanding in which teachers think that a second language would be developed by using it as a LoI. Wolff (2015) calls this reasoning a fallacy. He states that English learning is dependent on quality of teachers and the linguistic habitat of learners; that is if English plays any role in their daily lives outside the classroom and the school compound.

7.2.4.1.2   Preparedness

Teachers have a resource in themselves that they could utilize in teaching the Ekegusii subject. Their teaching experience and the fact that they were born, bred, and schooled in this region (except at TTC) could enable them achieve a lot. No teacher prepared either a lesson plan or a scheme of work for teaching the Ekegusii subject. The teacher at Sch 1 could write sentences or whatever she could teach on a small piece of paper, just like the one in Sch 2. The difference with the one in Sch 2 was that she had five story books which she carried to class. The one in Sch 3 did not carry anything just like the one in Sch 4. What this always led to was a mixing of lesson activities from writing words, to storytelling, to performance of riddles in a single lesson. A second result of this lack of preparedness was not teaching for the allocated thirty minutes. All Ekegusii lessons in the four schools lasted for between seventeen and twenty-two minutes. One of the

possible reasons for such a scenario was that school inspectors rarely come to inspect teachers' work. Secondly, school heads may not be emphasizing the preparation for and teaching of the subject. Thirdly, teachers have come to look at Ekegusii as just a subject. In a situation where there are no written or other resources for teaching, teachers would do a lot to develop literacy skills in any subject. Lack of preparedness leads to less coverage and a failure to effectively assess progress in a teaching/learning programme.

7.2.4.1.3 Volume of learning activities

The number of writing and reading activities in Ekegusii were very few compared with those of both Kiswahili and English, from January to the end of July 2014. The books that provided the data were obtained from specific learners after looking at their class registers (I took books of learners who had not missed school from the beginning of the first term). There were nine, sixteen, seven, and nineteen exercises in schools one, two, three, and four respectively. This was an average of thirteen exercises in about six school months. It is possible that the activities could increase in frequency if the oral and chalk board activities were included. But this does not change the fact of the infrequency of writing when compared to Kiswahili and English in the same period. When asked why there was infrequency of writing in Ekegusii, this is what a teacher said;

> Qu: You give many assignments in English and Kiswahili and not in Ekegusii. Why?
> Resp: They have mastered the Ekegusii, so I want to give the assignments in Kiswahili more than in Ekegusii so that they be acquainted with this and be familiar with Kiswahili and English like they have familiarized in Ekegusii. They already know that (Intev Sch 2 T).

Kombe (2015) had the same finding in Zimbabwe where ECDE teachers said they did not need to teach Shona because the learners already knew the language; they would rather teach English. The teacher's judgement of knowledge of Ekegusii (above) is possibly the oral (BICS) one as opposed to the conceptual (CALP). Her evaluation of these learners may not be based on theory on language learning because even mastery of mother tongue keeps developing for many years after initial acquisition. This points to the fact that teachers do not exhaustively evaluate these learners in the Ekegusii subject. The reasoning that pupils already know mother tongue was one of Muthwii's (2004) findings among the Kalenjin community in Kenya. Other specific factors under volume of learning activities are the two below;

Actual teaching time: The three languages in lower primary are allocated five lessons (of thirty minutes) per a week. Teaching of Ekegusii hardly lasted this long. The recording machine I used showed that on average, lessons lasted for between seventeen and twenty-two minutes. On the other hand, Kiswahili and English lessons could last up to one hour and ten minutes. This was mainly due to the teachers finishing the content they wanted to teach before time allocated. This points to two factors; insufficient content available to be delivered and secondly, lack of adequate preparation.

Teaching of writing: Teachers engaged learners in writing words and sentences in Ekegusii. But from the learners' books, no teacher had the learners write a composition from January to July 2014. There was not even a teacher written model composition. This may not mean teachers never wrote such an essay. It points to the possibility that they did not emphasize this type of writing in Ekegusii. Essay writing requires an extra skill of information organization which must be formally taught and the skill practiced by learner writing. This is what a teacher said on the non-teaching of writing;

> Qu: How many times in a term do you teach learners composition writing?
> Resp: Once in a week.
> Qu: You teach them to write composition in which language?
> Resp: Either in Kiswahili, in English.
> Qu: Why don't you teach in Ekegusii?
> Resp: I have never taught them in Ekegusii.
> Qu: You've never written yourself, or you've never taught them?
> Resp: I have never taught them on how to write it in Ekegusii.
> Qu: Why?
> Resp: Coz in, as they are going to, after this transition from pre-school, I mean from lower primary, they are heading to class four where they will not have that subject (Intev Sch 2 T).

The teacher indicates that teaching writing in Ekegusii would, in a way, be a waste of time for soon the subject would be dropped. Writing is a basic literacy skill; a productive skill that indicates learning progress which a teacher could use to plan their follow-up activities. Lack of writing would inevitably bear on the pupils' ability to develop the skill in the language.

Discussion activities: Allowing pupils to discuss during teaching reveals their weaknesses and strengths and builds in learners, dispositions that teacher-centred approaches do not build. I observed that teachers did not provide opportunities for learners to discuss in groups. Teachers presented the day's activities and all were predictably conducted till the end of the lessons.

Discussion opportunities would possibly develop the learners' BICS in Ekegusii but also in a secondary sense their CALP. Cummins (2000) indicates that this ability in a mother tongue as a LoI is fundamental in the building of similar capabilities in a second language.

7.2.4.1.4   Variety of learning activities

Variety of activities exposes language learners to diversity of phenomena. Every language has words for science, prayer, business, environment, ethics, etc. For a language to develop these conceptual aspects in learners, there should be diversity of activities. In both the exercises learners wrote from January to July 2014 and the classroom activities observed, none touched on issues that could develop a positive attitude towards the learners' culture for instance, except the stories, songs, proverbs, and riddles. There was no activity too taught in Ekegusii that would make the learners acquire ideas on HIV/AIDS, child rights, technology, or integrity. These are issues discussed in Kiswahili and English text books at standard two and three levels. The fact that no books have been written about these issues may have made teachers assume significance of teaching them in Ekegusii. Teachers may also not have read the syllabus on what it says about mother tongues. This was indicated by a response by a head teacher when responding to why they were not using Ekegusii to teach.

> Due to the revision of the curriculum, when vernacular was no longer given any emphasis, we also left it out because there was that introduction of Kiswahili and English and the kikwetu language which also took up the part of Ekegusii, it is a Kiswahili lesson which took up the vernacular lessons. And therefore that is when the vernacular died in schools (Intev Sch 6 Ht).

There has never been revision of the syllabus to change the role of mother tongues since its recommendation in 1976. There has also been no policy substituting any language/subject for Ekegusii. This understanding may have been occasioned by the silence of the MoE when some schools, due to competition to outperform others in tests, may have dropped Ekegusii to invest time in examinable subjects. Lack of variety would ultimately limit the extent of development of learner skills in the language. Theoretically too, this trend would limit the extent to which and possibly the rate at which, the two second languages would develop. Secondly, in the rural schools, classroom labels were mainly in Kiswahili and English. In the eight schools, the number of English labels was higher than Kiswahili labels. In Sch 1 and Sch 2 there was a chart labelled in Ekegusii in each and in Sch 3 there were two old blurred charts in the language. Sch 4 had no charts. Charts in the schools were old and did not seem to have been pasted on the walls for use by the current

learners. This variation in the number of these teaching/learning support materials is suggestive of the teachers' attitude towards the teaching of the language. This is what some of the teachers said when asked why the number of Ekegusii charts was smaller than those in the second languages;

Qu: Why are the charts in English more than ones in Kiswahili and Ekegusii?
Resp: Because these other subjects we are supposed to use only English apart from Kiswahili and Ekegusii. And even when they do the tests, it is written in English. So we want to make them familiar (Intev Sch 1 T).

Qu: Now, most of the charts on the classroom walls are written in English. Why?
Resp: We have encouraged that because sometimes English becomes a problem. So when these learners are free, they go on to these charts, they master may be what they have not understood. That is why they are there. During their free time, they go to them, they teach themselves. So that may be when the teacher comes, it is easy for them now to understand.
Qu: But the ones in English are more than the ones in Kiswahili.
Resp: Yah. That is because the some learners they have a problem with English. So that is why they are so many (Intev Sch 8 T).

The responses suggest that most of their teaching points to their training; these learners need to acquire Kiswahili and English both of which will be used in their tests and ultimately their KCPE. This is a motivation that drives a lot of what teachers do in classrooms as discussed in Section 9.5.1.1. Having almost no chart in Ekegusii is not actually a big deal; it is the implications that matter. For the observer and the pupil, it may imply that Ekegusii does not need this investment. Pupils would gradually come to view the subject as less important. The head teacher Sch 7 indicated that if a teacher spoke in Ekegusii, pupils would tell him, 'you are speaking a bad language'. It is such neglect that possibly, contributes to this.

7.2.4.1.5   Innovativeness

There is apparent lack of innovation by classroom teachers when it comes to materials they could use for teaching and learning. This is suggested by the fact that lack of officially prescribed text books has left the Ekegusii subject poorly developed by standard three. Firstly, by standard three, learners could not be taught syllables; they should have been taught in the other elementary levels just like it is done in Kiswahili and English. In fact, in all the four rural schools, no school was teaching syllables in the other two languages at standard three. Even basic word and sentence construction was done to achieve different lesson objectives but not to develop knowledge of syllables. Innovative teachers could easily find locally available learning materials; old newspapers, bible excerpts, local radio excerpts, realia, community members for learning.

Learners could also be asked to write short stories and compositions to read to the rest of the class. The teaching of basic elements of Ekegusii at standard three implies that the skills being taught would not be sufficient to be a basis for development of the second language (English). The learners' scores in reading point to this possibility (see Chapter Ten). The scores indicate serious pedagogical deficits in both language and content subject achievements in subsequent grades as pointed out by one of the head teachers;

Qu:	You teach upper primary?
Resp:	Yah. I teach upper primary.
Qu:	Have you experienced learners who are not able to read and write well in Kiswahili and English?
Resp:	Yes, in upper primary they are there. Many of them. Yah. That is having poor foundation. After getting poor foundation in the lower classes, they can't express themselves in the upper classes (Intev Sch 3 Ht).

The teacher may not be talking about poor foundation to mean in Ekegusii, but in both Kiswahili and English. Research confirms that among other causes, poor L1 development may have contributed. Bamgbose (2005a) indicates that dropping the mother tongue even in upper primary in the Nigerian experience leads to what he refers to as 'educational failure' evident in poor attainments, high dropout, repeat and failure rates. This is identical to the scores of these standard three learners across the eight schools.

7.2.4.1.6 Teaching for tests

Teachers taught the language aspects discussed in Section 7.1 in reference to zonal tests administered monthly. The content of pupils' written work in their exercise books correlated remarkably with copies of zonal tests administered previously across the four schools. Such teaching approach limits the extent and scope of development of desired skills in the learners. It does not explore new skills nor seek to diversify learning whose overall effect is having learners with little skill in the language to meaningfully engage with knowledge written in the language.

7.2.4.2 *School based factors*

The only school based factor is reading resources. All public schools must purchase books listed in the Orange Book. In this book, there are only two readers for standard two for the Ekegusii subject. The story books at Sch 2 were possibly donated because they were not listed in the Orange Book. This puts schools in a difficult situation when it comes to developing Ekegusii as a subject.

But this lack of resources also reveals teachers' lack of innovation in the preparation and use of teaching/learning materials. Both the class teachers and head teachers of the rural schools admitted having done nothing to the fact that there were no books in the language as revealed in the interviews;

> Qu: Now that there is only one learning material for Ekegusii in the Orange Book, what has your school done to find more material to use to teach the Ekegusii?
> Resp: I even don't know the way forward, it is that which is there now (Intev Sch 2 T).

Lack of books in Ekegusii is a situation whose solution does not seem forthcoming as indicated by a head teacher;

> Qu: There is only one reading material for the subject of Ekegusii in the Orange Book. How have you addressed this problem of lack of a variety of learning materials in the Orange Book for the Ekegusii subject?
> Resp: We have always raised the same but publishers are saying writers of first languages have not come up to write. They are facing a problem of getting writers to write in Ekegusii so that they print.
> Qu: Why don't people write books in Ekegusii?
> Resp: Well, one thing, much as Ekegusii is used as a medium of instruction, most scholars have not taken it serious. The assumption is Ekegusii is known by everyone. Even the person who is teaching, the assumption is, he has materials, he has enough materials for teaching it from his own experience. Yes (Intev Sch 4 Ht).

The assumption that everyone knows the language may not be far from the truth if teachers took the initiative to develop the relevant learning materials. If they refer to the objectives of teaching of mother tongues and adapt the content in both Kiswahili and English books, they could produce relevant materials for use. Krashen observes, 'free reading in the second language makes a strong contribution to advanced second language development, for the development of academic language. Pleasure reading appears to be the bridge leading to academic language' (2002, p. 148). His observation is primarily relevant to the second language. But languages share universals and so what is true of English would be true of Ekegusii. The effect of this lack of books for teaching the Ekegusii subject is apparent. Reading is a source of critical input in developing a language. Language experts recommend wide reading because academic language is found in books. Such reading has been found to develop vocabulary and comprehension skills (Cummins, 2011; Lindsay, 2010).

7.2.4.3 Extra institutional factors

The main factor here is introduction of kikwetu. The MoE recently introduced a subject they refer to as 'kikwetu' (our language). According to the teachers in the urban schools, it was meant to teach aspects of the Kiswahili language that are not taught in the Kiswahili subject. According to some teachers, this could even rival mother tongues in linguistically homogeneous regions. In fact some teachers in Gusii would rather teach Kikwetu than teach the Ekegusii subject. One could not understand why the same ministry could emphasize use of mother tongues and yet introduce books to teach Kikwetu. With teachers often complaining of huge workloads, mother tongues would be the casualties.

7.3   Development of Ekegusii as a language of instruction

Tsui and Tollefson observe that, 'Medium of instruction is the most powerful means of maintaining and revitalising a language and a culture…' (2004, p. 2). This section discusses how Ekegusii is developed as a LoI in both rural and peri-urban/urban schools. The development is more pronounced in rural schools.

7.3.1   Teaching of Ekegusii

This is a basic approach in developing Ekegusii as a LoI and it lays an ideal foundation for use in other subjects. Explaining concepts in a mother tongue faces no barriers to communication because the learners' knowledge of the world is already formed in it. Concepts discussed in mother tongue form a basis upon which subsequent knowledge in another language builds. This is consistent with the principle of known to unknown that should inform learning processes. All the teachers, except occasional code switches discussed in Chapter Eight, taught concepts in the Ekegusii subject using the Ekegusii medium. This was vital in developing the language as a medium of instruction. But as I observed, the fact that teachers did not systematically plan and administer their lessons in a way affected the extent of the development.

7.3.2   Teaching of social studies, religious studies, and life skills

Teachers in the eight schools confirmed that they would explain concepts in the three subjects in Ekegusii. This means that concepts in these subjects would be developed in Ekegusii. This is what a teacher said;

> Qu: Does Ekegusii help you in any way in your teaching or in the developing of reading and writing in Kiswahili and English?

Resp: No. It doesn't. It only helps me in subjects like science and social. When I talk of historical events or some plants which the learners cannot know. So in science, we are allowed to use mother tongue (Intev Sch 8 T).

This was the situation in other schools as indicated in the interviews. It means the use of Ekegusii in these subjects is peripheral contrary to policy expectations. I did not observe the teaching of these two subjects in schools 5 to 8 and did not confirm actual use. I however observed this in the teaching of science and mathematics in rural schools as reported in Chapter Eight. From the teachers' views on tests, I would expect that the amount of use of Ekegusii in social studies would be minimal because it is an examinable subject. For life skills, I expected a half-hearted approach to its teaching hence providing insufficient stimuli to develop the language as a LoI. A class teacher said this concerning the teaching of life skills;

Qu: Why do you teach more using Ekegusii in life skills unlike during mathematics or science?

Resp: There are several reasons for example now, in life skills we don't test these children we just teach them so that they can be able to help themselves, to know the skills which can help themselves in their daily living unlike the other ones. Because when they do the tests or cats or the exam, they need to understand the vocabularies used so that they can read for themselves during the exam (Intev Sch 1 T).

This implies teaching life skills for the sake of doing it. It presupposes a lack of preparation and lack of variety in the life skills lessons. This is what could limit the extent of development of Ekegusii as a medium of instruction.

7.3.3 Clarifying mathematics and science concepts

Teachers stated that they used Ekegusii to clarify or elaborate concepts in mathematics and science. Such use of the language though was shared with Kiswahili hence limiting the scope of Ekegusii. Teachers indicated this as captured in the following excerpts;

Resp: During mathematics lessons it is not very much but some concepts which you want them to get you can use the language which will be easy for them to understand.
Qu: What about during science lessons?
Resp: It is almost the same for other subjects for like the English, social, science you can use mother tongue when you want to convey something which is new to them and if you want to get that they know it in mother tongue you can use the mother tongue language so that they can get what you are saying (Intev Sch 4 T).

Qu: Do you use Ekegusii in English lessons?
Resp: No. But in Kiswahili you may use it and these other subjects like social studies and others. You can use mother tongue.
Qu: So in other subjects, you use Ekegusii to do what?

Resp: To clarify. I use it to clarify a difficult word, to make them understand better (Intev Sch 5 T).

The responses show the use of Ekegusii across all schools. But they also confirm that the use is minimal. This builds the language as a medium but below the optimum levels. It implies that concepts developed in it are piece meal. Overall, it means learners' content knowledge in the specific subjects in Ekegusii would be limited by the end of standard three. Using a mother tongue to elaborate in bilingual contexts has been reported widely in the literature. Maalim (2014) found out that Kiswahili, a mother tongue in Zanzibar, was used to scaffold learning conducted in English. But in the study schools, there was no need of engaging any other language to explain concepts because all pupils and teachers know the language spelt out in the policy. For reasons discussed elsewhere in this report, teachers find it necessary to ignore policy and teach using English (see Chapter Nine).

7.3.4   Challenges in development of Ekegusii as a language of instruction

From observation, interviews, and review of documents, a number of factors militate against the development of Ekegusii as a LoI. They are divided into three as follows;

7.3.4.1 Teacher factors

7.3.4.1.1   Medium of teaching

No teacher from the eight schools uses Ekegusii mainly to deliver content knowledge in mathematics, science, and social studies/religious studies as prescribed by the policy. These are examinable subjects. Use of Ekegusii in any of the non-examinable subjects may not significantly affect the development of the language as a LoI for two reasons; teachers do not take non-examinable subjects seriously and they may not adequately prepare for their teaching. Secondly, time to be spent in teaching non-examinable subjects is usually diverted to teaching examinable ones. This is what a teacher said in regard to non-examinable subjects;

Qu: Do you teach all the ten subjects in the syllabus?
Resp: No.
Qu: Which ones don't you teach?
Resp: Life skills I do teach once, but PE they have to go daily
Qu: What about creative art?
Resp: Even creative art, once for a while.
Qu: Why don't you teach it every time?
Resp: It is even not tested.
Qu: So you don't test it even at the end of the term?

Resp: At the end of the term, it is not tested. Creative art is not tested, even life skills (Intev Sch 2 T).

The limited or non-use of Ekegusii in delivery of content is one of the main ways of not developing it as a LoI. This limits learners' acquisition of knowledge in various aspects in the language. Consequently, it may not be a strong basis for development of L2 in light of the interdependence hypothesis.

7.3.4.1.2   Attitude to Ekegusii responses

In English, Kiswahili, mathematics, and science lessons, learners were observed giving answers in Ekegusii as discussed in Sections 8.2.3.1.1. This could imply they lack the words in those languages. But in all cases, no teacher revisited the learners' answers. A common reaction was asking the learners to say that answer in Kiswahili or in English. In all cases, without the Kiswahili or English answers, the learners kept quiet. This approach deprived the learners of a potential further learning opportunity. It secondly failed to develop Ekegusii as a LoI. By a mere revisit of the Ekegusii answers, the teacher and learners would possibly digress to related phenomena and in the process enrich the learning experience in more than one way. This reaction to Ekegusii responses could be motivated by the intention to have as much exposure to English knowledge for their inter-school tests and for the impending transition.

7.3.4.1.3   Note writing and tests

Teachers taught, supposedly, in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili in all schools but wrote notes on the chalk board in English. This practice is just like testing them in English after teaching them in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili, what Wolff (personal communication, March 18, 2015) refers to as not making sense. By writing notes in English, they supposedly developed English, the language of examinations but ironically, they had to read the tests for the learners before they could answer. Teachers cite textbooks and tests written in English as justification for writing notes in English. The reasoning thrives because MoE does not, seemingly, address the issue of English books and examinations for content supposedly taught in mother tongue/Kiswahili. Tests are set in Ekegusii only in the Ekegusii subject in the rural schools. In the content subjects, they are set in English. This raises validity and reliability issues to question; will the tests test content knowledge or language knowledge? Testing using English points to two possibilities; the content subjects are not taught in the language prescribed (Ekegusii/Kiswahili). Secondly, learners are given teacher

support in the conduct of the tests. MoE 7 confirmed that teachers read for the learners before they write answers in tests in this response;

> You are right. But I think they translate; not what I think, I know they translate. Even here, remember I have told you all subjects are set in English except Kiswahili, that mother tongue in Kiswahili. So they, they translate. They translate for them into Kiswahili. For example a question is set, 'how many types of trees do we have?', for example. He would say, 'miti aina ngapi kunayo' [trees, how many types are there?]. That is what they do (Intev MoE 7).

Secondly, in one of my visits to Sch 5, I found the teacher administering a science test. She read the questions (written in English) followed by the four objective choices and then translated them. Then the pupils could write the answers up to the last question. Her translation was into Ekegusii. Thirdly, on the first day of administering the first set of tests, the teacher at Sch 3 asked that she may read for the learners before they could start. When I asked the reason for the request, she said pupils could not understand on their own at the end of standard three! The non-use of Ekegusii to test learners in content subject affects learners' development of test-type skills in the language. Secondly, it limits the contexts of use of the language. This militates against using and developing Ekegusii as a LoI. The use of English to test content supposedly taught in Ekegusii goes contrary to Save the Children's (2011) maxim who state that tests should be set in familiar language. Wolff (personal communication, March 18, 2015) says it does not make sense to use a language which learners struggle to understand to test their knowledge.

7.3.4.2 School based factors

The main factor in schools is school-based language policies. Both the rural and urban schools have instituted school-based language policies. In all schools, teachers confirmed they had them. This is a response from a head teacher;

> Qu: Do you have a school language policy?
> Resp: Yes the school language policy, we have it. That all pupils should be communicating in English, or Kiswahili. Yes. When they are outside the classrooms, like during break time.
> Qu: What is the objective of your policy?
> Resp: You know we want them to improve in communicating in English or Kiswahili (Intev Sch 2 Ht).

The policies limit the use of Ekegusii both by teachers and learners. This means school assemblies, pastoral programmes, play activities should be conducted in the Kiswahili or English medium. The learners however seem not to take the policies seriously as observed in Sch 8. In one of my visits, I caught up with a group of standard five pupils walking back to school after their lunch break.

They were conversing in Ekegusii and so our exchange was in the language. They were already in the school compound and this was my exchange with one of them as others listened;

> Qu: How are you boys?
> P: We are okay.
> Qu: So! You know Ekegusii?
> P: Yes. We are Abagusii.
> Qu: Teacher, if he hears you, will he not beat you?
> P: No. We speak when a prefect is not near. (Obsv Sch 8).

The fact that this is an urban school points to underlying issues on language policies. Learners do not have diverse exposure to the official languages. Whenever teachers require them to speak them, it amounts to coercion because their repertoire is basically in the mother tongue. It looks like a burden to be required to speak a language they have little input in and one that does not come out naturally especially in free talk and play. Ekegusii would develop if its domains of use are diversified which is not the case in the schools. Teaching and learning is really undermined when the school discourages the use of learners' first language as Cummins et al (2005) observe. They say that it is hard to argue that we are teaching the whole child when school policies dictate learners to leave their language and culture at the schoolhouse door. This finding concurs with Thiong'o's (1986) in which pupils were severely punished for speaking in Agikuyu in central Kenya.

7.3.4.3 Extra institutional factors

Two institutions are a factor in this section i.e. the MoE and the public.

7.3.4.3.1   Ministry of education

The ministry has failed to support the mother tongue education enterprise in the following ways;

Generation of content vocabulary: The policy prescribes mothertongue instruction in rural schools. But the ministry has not been able to organize symposia or a mechanism of generating vocabulary for the development of these mother tongues in content subjects, one of the excuses teachers cite for non-use of mother tongues to teach. For lack of relevant vocabulary in the mother tongue, teachers would rather use the second language. Vocabulary though has been found not to be a hindrance to the use of mother tongues in Africa. Ramani and Joseph (2006), in their University of Limpopo bilingual program, say that terminology will grow in the process of using a language for academic purposes. So actually, lack of vocabulary cited by teachers is not a foremost challenge in mother tongue instruction. Kaschula (2015) observes that it is not vocabulary that is a problem,

the problem is the neo-colonial silenced and oppressed voices and attitudes that embrace English hegemony no matter the intellectual cost.

School classification: Classification of schools to as rural, peri-urban, or urban is haphazard and not based on school-based or class-based linguistic composition information. For instance, the school where MoE 8 is the head teacher is located at a village about seven kilometres from Nyamira Town. It is not neighboured by any institution that has attracted diverse tribal settlements. The churches surrounding it are all local churches ministered by Ekegusii-speaking ministers. The whole school community is Ekegusii-speaking just like are all the teachers and learners as shown in this excerpt;

Qu: Why don't you teach it (Ekegusii) as a subject?
Resp: You know this is in township. In township, we don't teach Ekegusii as a subject, we teach instead, we teach kikwetu [our language] where we teach all those syllables.
Qu: In which language do you speak when you teach kikwetu [our language]?
Resp: Kiswahili. We teach it in Kiswahili.
Qu: What is the language of the learners who come to your school?
Resp: It is Ekegusii. Entirely Ekegusii in fact. We don't have others from outside from other tribes. We only have Kisiis from the local community.
Qu: So what prevents you from teaching Ekegusii as a subject?
Resp: I may not be well versed with that one. Let me just say even me I came and found them being taught like that. I have not really asked why. But I think it is because we are in Township and you see when we are in township it means we should dwell in English and Kiswahili. Lakini [but] in those rural areas, like where the first school I was, we used to teach in mother tongue and they still teach it there. But because this is Township now, tunaiga tu we just [copy]. Ni kama [It is like] we are in town now we should not teach in Ekegusii because we want them to be well versed in English and Kiswahili. That is what I see (Intev MoE 8).

The township the interviewee refers to is a government administrative unit. Currently those units are in the order of region, district, location, sub-location. In her case, township is a sub-location from which Nyamira Town takes after. But because the town is not big, only the central sections have some non-native settlers. This leaves native residents as majority settlers. The MoE has used those administrative boundaries to determine the application of the language policy in basic education institutions. The respondent's school is therefore classified as urban. This scenario has left thousands of learners in the region being taught in Kiswahili and English from as early as standard one even when Ekegusii would be the ideal medium. I interpret this classification of schools this way: It is one way of silently 'spreading' knowledge of the national language and the language of international communication. By having so many Ekegusii-catchment schools not

teaching Ekegusii subject nor using Ekegusii as LoI, they will have other schools emulate this for the sake of the examination and drop the subject too. Secondly, it is an administratively convenient approach for the education officers; lumping schools together this way would make their inspection work and other administrative logistics simple, easy and straight-forward. This is done at the expense of comprehensible education of thousands of learners.

Teacher empowerment: There is no freedom for teachers to determine which language is ideal for them in particular classroom contexts. Whenever a teacher goes to a school designated as urban, they have to teach in reference to the provisions of the policy notwithstanding the classroom composition. An officer said this;

> Qu: So are you suggesting that, how a language of instruction is picked by a teacher depends on their own creativity and understanding of the situation in class?
>
> Resp: I think that is administrative. By the time the teacher is arriving in school that decision has already been made (Intev Dq 4).

To some extent, for teachers this is a relief for it cuts down on their work load (they teach one subject less). This lack of government support could not be coincidental though. It possibly could be rooted in what Adegbija (1994) and Bokamba (1995) refer to as myths for not using mother tongue in education. In our situation the following two myths seem to be the main motivations: Many of the African languages are not developed, so they cannot be used in education; the costs of developing African languages are very high. In the words of Bamgbose (2005a), it is lack of political will.

7.3.4.3.2 Legal support

Mother tongue instruction does not enjoy the force of the law. Apart from its provision in the Gachathi Report (1976) and Koech Report (1999), and Sessional Paper Number 14 (2012), other relevant legal documents do not mention it. Critical documents in this regard are the constitution, the Education Act, and the Children's Act. Specifically, these documents do not make mention of medium of instruction even when they emphasize provision of quality education. This silence could be deliberate when looked at from the politics of English in education in Africa discussed in Section 2.9. All law is contructed in the context of competing socio-political and conomic interests; education commission reports on the other hand explore empirical foundations for their recommendations. This may be the point of departure. Whenever politicians make budget

decisions, expert opinion is often ignored as it is in the case of the mother tongue instruction in Kenya. It would be expected, in light of the significance attached, that the LoI question would be mentioned in these primary legal documents.

7.3.4.3.3   Public ignorance

The public discussed here and in Section 7.3.4.3.4 includes teachers and MoE officers (compare conceptualization of policy in Chapter Six). This is possibly the main reason underlying all the factors that militate against mother tongue instruction. Cummins (1979a, 1979b, 1981, 2000) and Wolff (2013) state that the development of the mother tongue lays an ideal condition for the development of the second languages. Whenever reading and writing skills are developed for instance in Ekegusii, these would transfer to Kiswahili and English. Cummins' research was documented after about thirty years since UNESCO (1953) had stated that learners' first languages should be used in elementary education.

Reiterating the same principle fifty years later, UNESCO (2003) observes that trying to acquire concepts in a foreign language presents the challenges of learning the language and learning the knowledge conveyed in the language. Further research reports in diverse contexts confirm the multiple benefits of using the mother tongue in early education (Baker, 2006; Bamgbose, 2005a; Desai, 2012; Klaus, 2003; Lewis, 1981; Thomas & Collier, 1997). But education stakeholders seem to insist on the second languages motivated by social, economic, and political considerations. This has negatively affected mother tongue instruction in Kenya. The implication of this is that it would deny these learners a strong foundation in the first language upon which development of Kiswahili and English would build. The evidence that this has happened may partly be the reason for the poor scores in reading in the three languages as presented in Chapter Ten.

Theoretically, the efforts put into the development of Ekegusii among learners in the sample schools are significant to their development of literacy in the language itself and in Kiswahili and English in a secondary sense. I observed from the responses in the reading tests that category one pupils are able to respond correctly to questions both at the knowledge and the comprehension levels. This confirms Cummins' (2000) finding. The scores show that category one pupils got higher scores in Ekegusii as compared to scores in Kiswahili and in English, which are given more attention and more resources. As demonstrated in Chapter Ten though, the development is not to the extent as to have very high scores both in the Ekegusii subject and in the other languages.

Efforts put could have developed CALP in Ekegusii to some extent which would transfer to the two second languages. But as indicated, the two other languages do not exhibit scores correlated to this reality (see Chapter Ten).

7.3.4.3.4   Public opinion

Public opinion discussed here is a brainchild of public ignorance discussed in Section 7.3.4.3.3. In January 2014, the MoE made public the language in education policy (that mother tongues should be used as LoIs) details of Sessional Paper Number 14 of 2012. The details relevant to LoIs of the paper were also communicated to relevant educational institutions vide a circular (see Appendix D). The following excerpts taken from The Daily Nation (one of the two main daily newspapers in Kenya) were part of the public responses;

> …What studies have been conducted to conclude that teaching in mother tongue will add value to the learning process for children below class four? At a time when Kenyans are trying to become more detribalised and cohesive, this hearkening back to the policies that failed to work in the 1960s is curious indeed, unless, of course, patriotic fervor has taken the upper hand… (Anonymous reader, Daily Nation [DN], 27.01.14, p. 5).

> …We are meeting with the curriculum developers at the KIE and we will sure raise the dangers of adopting such kind of policy…I don't see how this will promote the national cohesion… (Kenya National Association of Parents [DN, 27.01.14, p. 5]).

> …The policy is not applicable in view of technological advancements and the push for national integration…it would be difficult to implement…We are asking the ministry to abandon it. We think it was prepared by the old men and women at the ministry who are eager   to   push   for directives not in tandem with current happenings… Where will we get the teachers to teach in mother tongue? There is no training for teachers to conduct instructions in local languages… (Kenya Union of Post-Primary Teachers Association-KUPPET [DN, 27.01.14, p. 5]).

> …If you would like to promote local languages, then they should be taught as subjects and the two national languages remain for instruction…If a teacher from up-country is sent to Tana River County, for instance, how will you expect him or her to teach in a local language he or she does not understand?... (Kenya National Union of Teachers-KNUT [DN, 27.01.14, p. 5]).

> …More critically, such a policy will further lower the learning outcomes in most public   schools, which are already lagging behind private schools… (Centre for Research and Development [DN, 27.01.14, p. 5]).

The responses by the persons (general public, teacher unions, and non-language researchers) above are basically due to ignorance of the following aspects. Firstly, of the research done to confirm teaching in mother tongue as the most effective medium. Actually, key international organisations have invested millions of dollars in conducting research that has, among other things, confirmed

that mother tongues are the best way to dispense knowledge. Other scholars in Africa and beyond have confirmed this in various research projects (Alexander, 1999a; Bamgbose, 1991, 2005a; Cummins 1981, 2005b; Desai, 2012; Ramani and Joseph, 2006; Shale, 2015; UNESCO, 2010b; Wolff, 2006a, 2006b; 2011). Secondly, ignorance that speaking/using many languages has never caused national disunity. A case in point would be Somalia which has one language yet it went into civil war.

Thirdly, ignorance of where the policy has worked. How do they think Japan, Germany, Korea, Sri-Lanka educate their children? For instance, Germany teaches English as a second language but teaches content knowledge in German up to university (Wolff, personal communication, March 18, 2015). Fourthly, ignorance of the impact of technology on pedagogy in relation to media of knowledge impartation; has the evolution of the ipad made it easier to teach photosynthesis independent of language? Finally, ignorance of the place of language as a subject and language as a LoI. Education will not make sense as long as the language of teaching presents a barrier to learning. Shohamy (2006) states that challenges occur if learning is not done using a mother language. Save the Children (2009) found out that one of the major causes of children failing in schools is the use of unfamiliar languages in teaching. In spite of the huge possibilities for the use of mother tongues in education, the public in Kenya are ignorant. Their ignorance would be the cause of poorly implemented programs in schools. Parent unions represent parents and teacher unions represent teachers and these are two key stakeholders in education. Their erroneous understanding and beliefs would actually be part of the reason for the poor implementation of mother tongue provisions.

The findings in this chapter indicate an ineffective development of mother tongues in education in Kenya hence speaking to a lot of research findings in Africa. Mother tongues in South Africa, Cameroun, and Ethiopia, for instance, face a similar situation as reported by Banda (2009), Bobda, (2006), and Smith (2008) respectively. The results of such situations have been consistent dropping out of schools due to failure. On the opposite end of the pendulum have been reported studies in which mother tongues have been developed leading to comprehensible learning and reduced drop out rates. Such cases include Tanzania and Nigeria (Qorro, 2009; Bamgbose, 2005a) and lately in the Eastern Cape in South Africa as reported by Shale (2015).

Qorro (2009) confirms that the use of Kiswahili in Tanzania in Primary education has led to high scores in content subjects unlike when the same subjects have been tested in English. Students testify that whenever Kiswahili is used, they understand and enjoy their learning. Maalim's (2014) study in Zanzibar corroborates Qorro's findings in Tanzania Mainland. In Nigeria, the Yoruba Experiment is one of the classic references in respect of the development and use of an African language in education (Bamgbose, 2000, 2005a). The Tanzanian and Nigerian experiences are a rebuke to governments in Africa who have only signed international charters on the respect and use of mother tongues for school education and have actually instituted language in education policies in support of mother tongues, but who do not seem committed to implement the provisions in full. Desai (2012) demonstrates that to use mother tongues in education has multiple advantages more so in facilitating acquisition of the second language and learning content knowledge. It has been observed that the medium of instruction is the most powerful means of maintaining and revitalizing a language (Tsui & Tollefson, 2004). Schools in Kenya could maintain and revitalize mother tongues if they implement the mother tongue instruction policy. On the question of to which of two uses African languages should be put, Wolff (2002) says;

> When we wish to expand the use of indigenous African languages in terms of wider domains of use, we are forced to accept these languages not only as media of instruction, but also as subjects of instruction throughout the whole educational system. To de-link medium and subject of instruction is a gateway to the failure of the whole enterprise (pp. 143-144).

It has been demonstrated in this Chapter that efforts are put to develop Ekegusii as a subject and as a medium of instruction. The extent to which this has contributed to development of literacy is suggested by the scores in both Ekegusii and the other two languages as presented and discussed in Chapter Ten.

7.4   Summary

This section has presented data and analysis on the development of Ekegusii as a subject and as a LoI. It shows that effort is put to develop the language in both rural and, partially, in urban schools. But teacher, school-based, and extra-school factors militate against efforts put to develop it adequately. The efforts put are, unsystematic, and inconsistent; they are not based on knowledge of both theoretical and pedagogical significance. The next section presents data and analysis of classroom language use by teachers and pupils in the schools.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CLASSROOM LANGUAGE ROLES

8.1   Introduction

This section presents and analyses data on classroom language roles in various subjects. Features of the language so used are also presented and analyzed. Data for this section were obtained by observation and interviews. The data respond to specific research question three which was;

What are the roles of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?

Majority of the pupils in the sample (actually 326/330) came from Ekegusii speaking homes and their first language is Ekegusii. It is the main language of the home, the playground, the market, the church, etc.

8.2   Language roles

Teachers are the principal sources of information in early primary education in Kenya. This section presents and discusses data on how teachers use the three languages in the teaching of five subjects grouped into three; Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and two content subjects-mathematics and science.

8.2.1   Ekegusii

The subject is allocated five lessons of thirty minutes each per a week. This translates to a lesson per a day. In most schools, it is usually one of the first three lessons to be taught. This is how the various languages are used during its teaching;

8.2.1.1 Use of Ekegusii

8.2.1.1.1   Delivery of content

Teachers introduce, develop, and conclude their lessons using Ekegusii. The fact that all the teachers and learners are Ekegusii speakers and live in an environment where it is used every time makes its use easy.

8.2.1.1.2   Teacher-learner interaction

Teachers use Ekegusii whenever they engage learners in class activities. In addressing individual learners and in giving directions in classroom activities, teachers use the language. This also

applies to learners addressing teachers in instances like seeking for permission to go for calls and reporting loss of personal items. In my observation, communication of the learners with the teachers during the Ekegusii lessons was the most interactive. I attributed this to the fact that the language has no communication barriers because of their knowledge of the language. Jokes, loud laughter, and light moments were common in Ekegusii lessons.

8.2.1.1.3   Learner-learner interaction

Learners use Ekegusii in communication among themselves in class. This is in instances like requesting for biros, asking for sitting space, seeking for assistance in learning activities, and general interaction. As L1 speakers of the language, this is a medium they use spontaneously. In the eight schools, this use was observed. Except in Sch 7 and Sch 8 which had two Luo-speaking learners each, all the other schools had Ekegusii-speaking learners. During my observation and test administration in rural schools and test administration in peri-urban and urban schools, I observed that learners interacted mainly in Ekegusii. Wells (1999) citing Vygotsky observes that use of L1 allows learners to work within their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). This use of Ekegusii is common among standard three pupils in spite of school language policies for use of Kiswahili. The indication is that enough Kiswahili had not been acquired for spontaneous communication. Additionally, the use of English to teach would therefore be inappropriate.

8.2.1.1.4   Note writing

Teachers wrote notes on the chalkboard in Ekegusii. It is for Ekegusii and Kiswahili subjects that teachers write notes in Ekegusii and Kiswahili subjects respectively. The use of Ekegusii in the teaching of Ekegusii is done according to the prescription of the policy. This success in its use could be attributed to the fact that all learners and teachers in the rural schools are native Ekegusii speakers. Learner participation is therefore made easy which promotes learning. In all the eight schools, there are language policies that encourage the use of Kiswahili and English. However, from my observation, learners freely used Ekegusii among themselves. In one of my visits to Sch 8, I caught up with a group of standard five pupils in the school compound walking back to class from their lunch break talking in Ekegusii. This was my exchange with one of them (in Ekegusii) as others listened;

Qu: How are you boys?
Ps: We are okay.

Qu: So! You know Ekegusii?
Ps: Yes. We are Abagusii.
Qu: Teacher, if he hears you, will he not beat you?
Ps: No. We talk when a prefect is not near (Obsv Sch 8).

Ekegusii is, therefore, a language used among pupils in rural schools in interacting among themselves and also widely in use by upper primary pupils in peri-urban and urban pupils for whom school language policies prescribe use of Kiswahili and English. The use of the language by upper primary pupils would suggest more common use amongst the younger ones. The scenario also presents the tension existing between school authorities' imposition of use of Kiswahili and English by learners whose world is composed in another code. It suggests that learners have no motivation to use the two new languages and secondly, school systems have not created contexts where such development and use of the languages could thrive. For instance, no school has learners listen to weekly KIE radio teacher programmes, none buys daily newspapers and none had its pupils registered with the Kenya National Library Services (KNLS) situated in Kisii Town. The furthest school in the Gusii region is only about one hour's drive to the town. This use of Ekegusii by both teachers and learners even in upper primary was pointed at by one respondent. Confirming the fact that circumstances force the use of Ekegusii, this is what she said;

> …even in eight, you know the policy is that we use English in upper, but you find in eight (referring to standard eight), a teacher is trying to put something, like in science, and it is not coming, so he puts even in vernacular (Intev MoE 7).

A final reason for the common use of Ekegusii among these pupils is the relative disparity in input among the three languages; Ekegusii has the highest input due to its use in many social contexts as shown in Chapter One and Chapter Five. Kiswahili comes second, and English last. Chapter Three demonstrates that language acquisition depends primarily on exposure to adequate input. The restricted contexts of use of Kiswahili and English limit the ability of these pupils to use it as spontaneously as they did in Ekegusii.

8.2.1.2 Use of Kiswahili and English

The two are second languages that learners mainly acquire in the school context. They are used as follows;

8.2.1.2.1   Salutation

Both Kiswahili and English are used for salutation in a kind of alternating style in rural schools. The salutations seem to have been obtained from what Kiswahili books prescribe as standard salutation styles and from school mottos. The common Kiswahili salutation in use was;

T:	Hamjambo wanafunzi?	[How are you pupils?]
Ps:	Hatujambo sana mwalimu shikamoo.	[We are fine teacher. How are you?]
T:	Marahaba kaeni.	[I am fine sit down.]
Ps:	Asante sana mwalimu.	[Thank you so much teacher.]

Salutations in English bear school mottos. For instance, the salutation in Sch 1 was 'strive to excel'. So the salutation would go as follows;

T:	Good morning class?
Ps:	Good morning teacher. Our school motto is strive to excel.
T:	Sit down.
Ps:	Thank you teacher (Obsv Sch 1).

In the rural schools, the teachers could use either the Kiswahili or English version of the salutation during Ekegusii lessons. In Sch 4, an Ekegusii salutation was common. It was;

T:	Abana!	[Pupils!]
Ps:	Omworokia!	[Teacher!]
T:	Mbuya more?	[Are you okay?]
Ps:	Mbuya mono omworokia.	[It is very okay teacher.]
T:	Ikaransa.	[Sit.]
Ps:	Mbuya mono omworokia.	[Thank you teacher] (Obsv Sch 4).

I interpreted the use of Kiswahili and English salutations during Ekegusii lessons to be the teachers' objective of drawing the learners' attention to the use of the two official languages whose knowledge Sessional Paper Number 14 of 2012 encourages. Secondly, the salutations are used in the Ekegusii subject class spontaneously because they had been routinized. This is moreso because apart from the Ekegusii subject, Ekegusii is used in no other subject as a LoI. In a setting where the policy provides for separation of languages, use of more than the specific language would have no rationale.

8.2.1.2.2   Applause

Both Kiswahili and English are used interchangeably in applauding learners across the rural schools during Ekegusii lessons. The following excerpt indicates this.

T: Ben batebie ngo erieta kwarigete.	[Ben tell them the word you wrote.]
Ps: Omong'ina.	[Omong'ina.]
T: Very good! Mpigie makofi [Kiswahili].	[Very good! Clap for him.] (Obsv Sch 1).

A common applause that is used in all schools is the one sang in English as shown in the following excerpt. After a story telling session about a mother and a daughter and a step-daughter, this is how a learner was applauded after answering a question from the story.

T:	Abanto imbarenga bare ase omogano?	[How many people are there in the story?]
Ps:	Batato.	[Three.]
T:	Ning'o oitete Birantina?	[Who killed Birantina?]
Ps:	Ing'ina moke.	[It is her step-mother.]
T:	Ninki omogano oyo ogotwegeria? (Silence). Ee? Alex.	[What does this story teach us?] [(Silence). What? Alex.]
P:	Titoba ne' ribero.	[We should not be envious.]
T:	Inaki mokomotebia?	[What do you tell him?]
Ps:	Well done well done; try again another day; a very good boy! (Obsv Sch 3).

I do not know a standard applause rhyme in Ekegusii but I would expect the teachers to even translate the English one and use it during Ekegusii lessons. In all the schools, I observed that teachers used the expressions, 'very good, good, fair' to comment on pupils' written work in the Ekegusii exercise books. As a way of building the language, the teachers could simply translate the English expressions and use them to comment. Use of expressions from other languages in an Ekegusii lesson in this way deprives the learners of an opportunity to build the knowledge they already have in it. The learners need to know what the expressions very good, good, fair, well done, etc, are called in Ekegusii because they are not common terms in contexts outside the classroom. This finding alludes to Probyn et al's (2002) finding that in Africa, teachers switch to the English medium earlier than the policies prescribe. Actually, these uses of Kiswahili and English in Ekegusii lessons could not be attributed to ordinary code switching; the pattern was observed across the rural schools.

8.2.1.2.3   Chalk board titles

English is used to write the routine chalk board titles in Ekegusii lessons except in Sch 4. During Ekegusii lessons, the three teachers would, for instance, write STD 3, MOTHER TONGUE, 15.7.14. Only the Sch 4 teacher writes Ekegusii as a subject but also did not use the Ekegusii word

for STD. The teacher at Sch 4 used Ekegusii in writing the subject which I interpreted partly, to be due to her long experience in teaching lower primary and therefore having understood the value of developing the language or just as a routine practice. Obfusifying the word Ekegusii in 'mother tongue' deprives learners the opportunity of knowing and associating themselves with 'Ekegusii' as their mother tongue.

8.2.1.2.4   Drawing teachers' attention

Learners in the rural schools used the word 'teacher' repeatedly to draw their (teachers') attention when they wished to answer questions. After a question, pupils raised their hands and flapped their fingers to be appointed to answer a question. This also happened in Kiswahili, English and the content subjects. The use of both Kiswahili and English in Ekegusii lessons is an index to the sociolinguistic profiling of languages in this region. In the use of Kiswahili and English for salutation is suggested a process of induction of the learners to the styles of official communication in the schools or in public offices. In the Sessional Paper, teachers are asked to use mother tongues as LoIs but also ensure that lower primary children know Kiswahili and English. It states;

> National and County Education Boards shall encourage the use of the two official languages, Kiswahili and English, both in and out-of-school as provided for in the constitution of Kenya (MoE, 2012; see Appendix D).

The section quoted is in reference to language policy in basic education institutions. The use of both languages for applause points to the fact that teachers may not be aware of their roles as creators of teaching learning resources. In this case they would easily translate the English version to both Kiswahili and Ekegusii and use them accordingly. The use of non-Ekegusii titles on the chalk board points to the fact that teachers do not mind what impressions they create in the learners by using English expressions during Ekegusii lessons. Learners may be made to think there is no Ekegusii equivalent of 'standard', 'mother tongue' and 'date'. This would also suggest that the subject is not taken and taught with the rigour needed in a process of imparting knowledge and developing the language for academic use. But these uses could also occur as a result of routine. The use of English to draw attention of teachers would be a sign that teachers have not taught the pupils on the right expression to use further reinforcing the observation of their attitude to the teaching of the language. They also seem to accept this because to them English is what they ultimately need. It is L1 use in L2 classrooms that is pedagogically significant for it enhances comprehension and learning of the L2 (Cook, 2001; Tang 2002). The reason is that the L2 system

has not fully developed and the L1 scaffolds the process of learning it. Use of L2 expressions in L1 classrooms therefore would be used to achieve different aims other than pedagogical ones. In the classrooms studied, this could include drawing attention of the learners to the two other 'important' languages.

8.2.2 Kiswahili

Kiswahili is taught as a subject from standard one. The following are the ways the three languages are used during Kiswahili lessons.

8.2.2.1 Use of Ekegusii

Ekegusii is used in the following ways;

8.2.2.1.1   Learner responses

Learners use Ekegusii in responding to questions asked in Kiswahili when, it seems, they do not know the correct Kiswahili words. This is a feature observed and recorded in all rural schools as shown below;

T: Mtu asiyesikia huitwaje? Simeon.	[(Kiswahili) A person who does not hear is called what?]
P: Omotiino.	[(Ekegusii) Dumb.]
T: Omotiino? Kwa Kiswahili. Aska.	[Dumb? (Kiswahili) In Kiswahili. Aska.]
P: Kiziwi.	[Kiswahili for such a person.]
T: Sawa. Na asiye na meno? Felix.	[(Kiswahili) Okay. And he/she who has no teeth?]
P: Ekeng'uuro.	[Ekegusii for space left after losing teeth.]
T: Hapana. Mwingine.	[(Kiswahili) No. Another one.]
P: Nyariansa.	[Ekegusii for a person who has lost teeth.]
T: Jibu kwa Kiswahili.	[(Kiswahili) Answer in Kiswahili.] (Obsv Sch 1).

Another instance in which pupils responded in Ekegusii during a Kiswahili lesson was observed as shown in the following exchange;

T: Leo tutasoma juu ya ajali. Juu ya?	[(Kiswahili) Today we will study about accidents. About?]
Ps: Ajali.	[(Kiswahili) Accidents]
T: Ajali ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) What is an accident?]
P: Chigaari chigotwomana.	[(Ekegusii) Vehicles colliding]
T: Hiyo ni kusemaje?	[(Kiswahili) That is saying what?]…
T: Bangi ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) What is bhang?]
P: Esigara.	[(Ekegusii) cigarette]
T: Esigara ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) Esigara is what?] (Silence) (Obsv Sch 4).

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The use of Ekegusii is part of the confirmation that pupils in the four schools were still learning the Kiswahili language. The pupils seem to understand the language but do not have vocabulary for some phenomena. They, by implication, could not be ready for the use of a second language for teaching for it would affect effective communication. Krashen (1985) indicates that in learning a second language, input is important. He says that pupils need a lot of reading in the second language because it is in books that there is academic based vocabulary. As discussed in Chapter Five, all the schools did not have libraries and even course books were shared among three to five pupils. From the excerpts, the pupils did not respond when the teachers asked them to say those things in Kiswahili and in this way, opportunities for learning were lost.

8.2.2.1.2   Learner-initiated communication

Learners used Ekegusii whenever they wanted to report something to the teacher. This was except when they were seeking for permission to go out for a call (teachers have given them an expression for this). If they were reporting misbehaviour or asking for information on classroom activities, they used Ekegusii. This was a pattern evident across all rural school as shown in the excerpts below;

T: Bila kelele. Bila kelele. Sivyo?	[(Kiswahili) Without noise. Without noise. Not so?]
P: Mwarimu oyo ogoaka abande. (Another adds.)	[(Ekegusii) Teacher, this one is beating others.]
P: Agotebia oyonde amang'ana amabe.	[(Ekegusii) He tells another one bad words.]
T: Aya. Tunyamaze.	[Okay. Let us keep quiet] (Obsv Sch 2).

The second instance of the use of Ekegusii in Kiswahili lessons was observed as shown below;

P: Mwarimu oyo okoria amapera amagundo.	[(Ekegusii) Teacher, this one is eating rotten guavas.]
T: Nani?	[(Kiswahili) Who?]
P: Nick.	[Nick.] (Obsv Sch 3).

With the Kiswahili system not fully developed, the learners seem to find it easy to voice their communication using their mother tongue. The use is spontaneous and unrehearsed. Teachers seem to accept this pattern of language use possibly due to their knowledge of learner weaknesses in this aspect. This pattern was also observed during the administration of tests in Sch 5, Sch 6, and Sch 7. In these peri-urban and urban schools, teachers admit that teaching in Ekegusii makes the pupils understand as indicated by a head teacher;

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So it is better whether they know because the school has the policy of Kiswahili and English, this Ekegusii should come in because those children of Ekegusii or the Kisiis will understand better and you also give other tribes that may be within the school environment, if there are children from other ethnic groups, you can also explain after some research why was this done (Intev Sch 8 Ht).

The pupils in the instances cited were aware they were studying Kiswahili and the expectation was that they use Kiswahili. But they instead use what they are able to use. Teachers did not however, use the incidences to correct them or tell them the Kiswahili equivalents. One way of developing two languages according to Cummins is dual writing where children could be asked to supply mother tongue equivalents of second language expressions which would enrich both languages. Teachers would not have caused any harm to the learning of Kiswahili if they translated expressions pupils cited into Kiswahili.

8.2.2.1.3   Learner-learner interaction

Ekegusii was the medium of interaction among learners both in class and outside. This was done except when the teachers warned them of consequences of continued use especially in class. All the schools had language policies which required lower primary to speak in Kiswahili and a bit of English (see Section 7.3.4.2). There was however, some room for them to use it (Ekegusii) and teachers seem to insist this should be during Ekegusii lessons. This however does not seem to work in most cases. Whenever a teacher would say 'stop speaking in mother tongue', pupils kept quiet instead of possibly resorting to Kiswahili/English. Learners looking at pictures and talking about them would keep quiet hence miss positive literacy experiences. There is a possibility of use of Ekegusii in the manner it is used in Kiswahili lessons (in rural schools) in the peri-urban and urban schools in the study. This is indicated by responses obtained in the interviews. MoE 7 is the head teacher of a school classified as urban and these are her words;

Qu: What problems does your school face in trying to develop reading and writing in Kiswahili and English?
Resp: Remember these are second languages; the child comes from home having the first language. Therefore being a second language, they find it difficult to adopt it. That is why I have told you we are trying to encourage them to speak in it. The more you speak in a language the more fluent you are... So speaking enables them to be fluent in it. Yah (Intev MoE 7).

The admission that learners in this 'urban' school have difficult learning Kiswahili and English points to the fact that a majority, if not all of them, have Ekegusii as a mother tongue (in fact she indicates this in her response) and would easily provide answers in Ekegusii in situations when a

relevant Kiswahili or English word 'failed' to come to mind. These uses of Ekegusii in Kiswahili lessons points to significant conceptual facts. They confirm that for these learners, their Ekegusii system is advanced and could be a ready resource for knowledge development as compared to Kiswahili. It further indicates that the Kiswahili system is, at standard three, underdeveloped. This would mean their Kiswahili (especially the 'urban' ones) skills up to this level may not enable them use the language for learning content subject successfully if it is used as a LoI (just because their initial language system is different). Though they are able to use it in oral communication to some extent, its knowledge in conceptual terms does not match that of Ekegusii which is a language they use amongst themselves and at home. Knowledge of Ekegusii is confirmed by one of the head teachers. To the question why pupils tend to answer questions in Ekegusii even when the subjects are not taught in Ekegusii, this is what he said;

> This is the language they have grown in from childhood and I think they have perfected speaking in Ekegusii than the Kiswahili and English (Intev Sch 6 Ht).

These pupils' use of Ekegusii in the Kiswahili subject is an indicator of what choices teachers need to make in teaching especially when teaching content subjects. It indicates that the appropriate medium should be one that enhances communication and allows learners to interact with knowledge freely.

8.2.2.2 Use of Kiswahili

Kiswahili is taught as a subject in lower primary in rural schools and used as a LoI and taught as a subject in urban schools. Teachers in the rural schools seem to adhere to this policy by using the language to teach the Kiswahili subject. This could be attributed to the fact that, Kiswahili being a fellow (to Ekegusii) Bantu language, teachers assume it is easily understood by the learners. Secondly, the MoE pressure that a teacher should prepare these pupils for the two media from standard four onwards, seems to motivate its wide use. If pupils do not attain standards sought for in English by the end of standard three, at least they will have tried in Kiswahili. Motivation to keep each of the languages separate as the teachers are told does not seem to be a motivating factor. This is implied by the way they use the three languages in English lessons (see Section 8.2.3) against the requirement that no language should be used to teach another language. This is what one of the dqasos said in relation to the relationship of Ekegusii and Kiswahili which supposedly makes Kiswahili easy for the learners. It is a view shared by other stakeholders;

You know Kiswahili is, is used more than English around and you know Ekegusii being Bantu, there are words which are related. Like you talk about water, maji [(Kiswahili) water]. Ekegusii a child may say amache [(Ekegusii) water], and in Kiswahili maji [(Kiswahili) water]. Sasa unaona hiyo [(Kiswahili) Now you see that], that one comes very closely related. Yah (Intev Dq 2).

Research supports the claim that closely related languages are learnt easily than otherwise (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Genesee, Geva, Dressler, & Kamil, 2008) giving credence to the officer's claim that learning Kiswahili could be easier for elementary learners (see relationship of Ekegusii and Kiswahili in Section 3.2.7). But according to the interdependence hypothesis, both languages must be effectively taught for the second language learning to be supported. Actually the LTH explains it thus; the second language must attain some threshold before it can draw knowledge from the mother tongue. The scores presented in Chapter Ten, in some way, point to the possibility that both Kiswahili and English had not reached adequate threshold levels to benefit from mother tongue knowledge by the end of standard three. I attribute this here, and elsewhere in this thesis, to limited contexts of input of these two official languages.

8.2.2.3 Use of English

There is no use of English in classroom teaching during Kiswahili lessons except occasional code switching. The main reason seems to be the fact that the learners at this level have not mastered English to be able to take instructions in it. Teachers seem to be aware that it would make communication difficult. This non-use was captured in the interviews where teachers confessed that learners have not mastered the language as shown in the following excerpt. To the question, 'In which subject do you conduct remedial activities, this is what a teacher said;

English tends to be difficult for them. I can't even, I can't do remedial in Ekegusii because they have already known. Kiswahili the same. So I tend to take much time in English for they have a negative attitude towards it so that they can change the attitude now in learning (Intev Sch 2 T).

A similar view was observed by a head teacher. Responding to the question of challenges they face in developing literacy in English, this is what she said;

Remember these are second languages; the child comes from home having the first language. Therefore being a second language, they find it difficult to adopt it (Intev MoE 7).

The headteacher confirms that pupils in this school have a mother tongue as the first language yet his school is classified as an urban school. But significantly, both excerpts indicate that pupils at standard three had not really acquired enough English that could be depended upon as a means of

interaction in learning. But as discussed below, the same schools used English to teach content knowledge (see the reasons for use of English in Section 9.5.1).

8.2.3 English

Mastery of English is the target of the Kenyan education system by the end of standard three. Sufficient mastery of the language by the end of standard three is assumed going by the early-exit bilingual model adopted. Teachers in lower primary are therefore under pressure to ensure that learners are able to use English for learning in the subsequent grades. The MoE demands that English should be taught in English just like Kiswahili and mother tongues should be taught in Kiswahili and mother tongues respectively. The following are the various roles of the languages in classroom interactions.

8.2.3.1 Use of Ekegusii

8.2.3.1.1   Learner responses

Learners across the four rural schools, and possibly the other four as demonstrated in Section 8.2.3.1.1, use Ekegusii to answer questions in English lessons when they are not able to answer in English. This often follows long silences or repetition of the questions by the teachers as shown below;

T:	In.	[In]
Ps:	In.	[In]
T:	Ndani. Ee? (Holding a padlock)	[(Kiswahili) In. What?]
	What is this? (Pupils mumble)	[What is this?]
	Ee? Hii ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) What? What is this?]
Ps:	(Some) Kiburi.	[A corrupted Kiswahili form (kufuli) of padlock.]
T:	Kinaitwaje kwa Kiingreza?	[(Kiswahili) What is it called in English.]
P:	Ekebuuri	[(Ekegusii) padlock.]
T:	Alex kinaitwaje?	[Alex (Kiswahili) what is it called?]
P:	Padlock.	[Padlock] (Obsv Sch 3).

A similar instance was observed in another school as shown below;

T:	What is a nest? (Silence)	[What is a nest? (Silence)]
	What is nest? (Silence)	[What is nest? (Silence)]
	They have forgotten.	[They have forgotten]
P:	Egeswa.	[(Ekegusii) nest.]
T:	What is that in English? (Silence)	[What is that in English?] Silence (Obsv Sch 1).

The pupils seem to understand some of the concepts taught but they are unable to express those concepts in the desired medium. The fact that they are able to answer correctly indicates this. Unfortunately, though, the teacher asks the English expression which the pupil could not say. A learning opportunity was lost because the teacher did not explain it either in English or the mother tongue. Actually, the pupil had translated the word correctly. This reveals the teacher's ignorance when it comes to teaching for bilingualism. The principle of keeping languages separate was noble and is supported by literature but occasionally, mixing could be pedagogically significant than otherwise. There is an indication in this excerpt (and others above) that the learners could be developing CALP before BICS in both Kiswahili and English; this is indicated by their giving correct responses (in Ekegusii) to questions asked in either Kiswahili or English.

8.2.3.1.2   Miscellaneous classroom management

Teachers across the four schools seem to allow the use of Ekegusii for two other functions: Register calling and using it to give out assignments and other classroom instructions. Whenever register calling coincided with an English lesson, a teacher would start with the formalities of an English lesson then interrupt it with a five-minute break for marking the register. Teachers seemed less bothered with the Ekegusii responses. Giving out assignments or any other instructions was often done in Ekegusii. These two aspects are demonstrated in the excerpts below;

Register calling/responses

```
T:      I want to know those who are not present today.
        Intagete komanya baria batacha rero.
        [(Ekegusii) I want to know those who did not come today.]
        Kera omonto ategerere erieta riaye. John.
        [(Ekegusii) Everybody listen to his/her name.]
Ps:     Absent.                     [Absent.]
T:      Erick.                      [Erick.]
P:      Noo inde.                   [(Ekegusii) There I am.]
T:      Janet.                      [Janet.]
Ps:     Taiyo.                      [(Ekegusii) She is not here.]
T:      Samson.                     [Samson.]
Ps:     (Ekegusii) Baserigwa chibeesa.  [They were sent away for money.] (Obsv Sch 1).
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Giving instructions/assignment

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T:      Uses of A and?                          [Uses of A and?]
Ps:     An.                                     [An.]
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T:	Rigereria igaiga. Uses of A and what?	[(Ekegusii) Look here. Uses of A and what?]	
Ps:	An.	[An.]	
T:	We are going to see where we use these words.		
	Abamura baria inchwo moikaranse igaa.	[(Ekegusii) You boys come sit here.]	
	Sukia ekerogo kiaino magega.	[(Ekegusii) Move your seat backwards.]	
	Baria bare magega aria inchwo eke.	[Those who are at the back come to this one.] (Obsv Sch 2).	

Teachers seem to treat register calling and giving classroom instructions as peripheral as far as language and literacy learning is concerned. They do not therefore adhere to the policy in the teaching of English to exclusively use English. Learners' responses in Ekegusii during English lessons confirm that the learners' pools of knowledge at this level are advanced in Ekegusii. This foundation of knowledge, creatively tapped, could serve a useful purpose than require learners use a medium they demonstrate, by their answers, they do not master (this is especially important in teaching of content subjects). Allowing them give answers without punishing them (I did not observe a teacher do this) may build the learners esteem in that they will have used their heritage language. The process of calling names, responding to them, and giving classroom management instructions in this language may not really affect their learning of the language because these are peripheral activities. This finding speaks to one by Lin (2008) in which case code switching was used for other classroom management functions. Auerbach (1993) also found out that L1 is used in L2 classrooms for; classroom management, discussion of cross-cultural issues; instructions or prompts; explanation of errors; and assessment of comprehension.

8.2.3.2 Use of Kiswahili

Kiswahili is supposed to be taught as a subject. Its use during the teaching of English was as follows;

8.2.3.2.1 Delivery of content

Kiswahili is used for the teaching of English. I observed each of the four teachers using Kiswahili to teach the English subject. Two examples below show how this was done. A teacher was teaching the preposition 'on' the content of which she explains in Kiswahili as indicated in this excerpt;

Ps:	Makofi (pupils clap).	[(Kiswahili). Claps.]
T:	Enough. Hiyo imetosha.	[Enough. (Kiswahili) That is enough.]
	The book is on the table. Yes.	[The book is on the table. Yes.]

Kitu chochote iwapo umewekelea	[(Kiswahili) Anything if you have placed]
kutoka juu hivi hata kama ni kabati	[on top like this even if it is on a cupboard]
ukiconstruct sentence unaanza,	[when you construct a sentence you start,]
the book is on the table,	[the book is on the table,]
the duster is on the cupboard,	[the duster is on the cupboard,]
the piece of chalk is on the table,	[the piece of chalk is on the table,]
the pen is on the?	[the pen is on the?]
Ps: Table.	[Table] (Obsv Sch 3).

The use of Kiswahili to teach English was confirmed from the interviews. To the question, 'What do you use the Kiswahili language for during English lessons?' this was the response from one of the teachers;

> In fact we are not supposed to mix the languages, but because these kids are very young and we need them to understand more, that is why we mix so that they can understand well. Because in school also they are supposed to use Kiswahili (Intev Sch 1T).

In the observation, the teacher is using Kiswahili to explain what 'on' is. In this way, she is using one language to teach another one as do the other three teachers. They are using the first L2 to teach the second L2. This presents difficulty in comprehension because the learners' BICS and CALP in Kiswahili have not developed sufficiently to enable the learners engage in classroom discussion. This may make development of CALP even more difficult for a majority of the learners in this environment. The performance in English as presented in Chapter Ten echoes this possibility. Cummins (2000) also states that languages should be kept separate in their teaching.

8.2.3.2.2   Scaffolding

Kiswahili is used as a scaffold, using translation, in the teaching of English. This is illustrated in the following excerpt. The teacher was teaching vocabulary one of which is the word 'assembly'.

> T: Another word is the assembly. Can you say assembly?
> P: Assembly.
> T: Every morning before we come to class, where do we go? (Silence). Ee? (Silence). Before we come to class, where do we go? We go to assembly. That is our assembly ground (she points to the assembly point). It is there, mahali tunakusanyika asubuhi, tunaimba [the place we gather in the morning, we sing] we sing, tunaomba, [we pray] we pray. That is the ground we call assembly. Let me construct my sentence first before you construct yours. There are many flowers at the assembly. Can you repeat after me?
> Ps: There are many flowers at the assembly (few finish to the end).
> T: At the assembly ground.
> P: At the assembly ground.
> T: Again. There are many flowers.
> Ps: There are many flowers.

T: At the assembly ground.
Ps: At the assembly ground.
T: Can you now make your own sentences using the word assembly. Make your sentences, tunga [construct] sentence yako [your sentence]. Naomi, tunga sentensi ukitumia jina [Naomi construct a sentence using the word] assembly. Make your sentence using the word assembly. (Silence). Tumeelewa sasa [We are together now]. Assembly ni huko mahali tunasanyika asubuhi, huko tu. Huko mahali tunasanyika ndio tunaita [is there the place we gather in the morning, just there. There the place we gather is the place we call] assembly. Amos (Obsv Sch 2).

The use of Kiswahili in the teaching of English is not limited to rural schools. Teachers in both peri-urban and urban schools also use it. This is captured in an interview with one of the teachers. This is what she said to the use of Kiswahili during the teaching of English;

> May be when I want them to understand better. Sometimes when I use English, you ask a question and you get that they are not answering. That is when I use Kiswahili. So that I may see whether they have understood (Intev Sch 5 T).

Use of Kiswahili to elaborate English at class three suggests that the learners are not sufficiently prepared for the English medium as a language of learning. It indicates that the learners, on entry to standard four, would not independently interact with knowledge in content subjects. The fact that teachers may not always able to attend to all pupil learning needs points to a possibility of these learners underachieving, in the subsequent grades, not only in the language subject, but also in the content subjects. This finding confirms what Wolff (2015) observes as one of the problems with the teaching of English in Africa; teachers are not able to teach English well to facilitate its acquisition.

8.2.3.2.3   Learner engagement

I observed that whenever a teacher had completed the content segment of the lesson, they started going round the classroom seeing and marking learners' work. The language of interaction was Kiswahili. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt;

T: Utaandikia yangu na unirudishie saa hii kabla sijatoka [You will write with mine (biro) and return it to me before I leave]. Good handwriting. Mambo ya kufuta futa [Issues of rubbing rubbing] I don't like. Nani yule amemaliza [who is that that has finished]?
P: Mimi [me]
T: Kuja hapa nikutume [Come here I send you]. Come, come. Chukua kitabu chochote ufanye kazi kijana, andika hata hapa. Umesikia [Take any book you do work boy, write even here. Have you heard]?
P: Ndio [Yes].
T: Hiyo ni nini unatafuna [What is that you are chewing]? Toa kwa mdomo [Remove it from the mouth]. Toa haraka [Remove quickly]. Wacha kuangalia kazi ya mwingine [Don't look

at another's work]. Wale ambao wamemaliza wakimbie nje na warudi [Those who have finished run out and come back] immediately. Hii ni nini [What is this]? Follow instructions. Sasa kama hii imeanza na /e/ umetumia /a/ [Now if this one has started with /e/ you have used /a/]. Umepata [Have you got it]? Imeanza na /o/, ungetumia 'an'. [It starts with /o/, you should have used /a/]. Umesikia [Have you understood?] (Obsv Sch 4).

Teachers, sure that learners do not understand many things in English, resort to a remedial style of teaching after lesson presentation. In addition to checking on the mechanics of the learners writing, they also use the time to re-teach but this time in Kiswahili. This is pragmatically the right thing to do. But, Kiswahili is also a second language that the learners are still acquiring. It is questionable the level of success this approach brings. One may be tempted to say that the learners are able to respond when the teacher asks questions in Kiswahili. But conversational language (BICS), it is known from research, does not presuppose academic/conceptual knowledge needed to interact and acquire knowledge in classroom settings. But this also indicates that if pupils are being taught in Kiswahili during English lessons at standard three, then they are not ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four onwards. Wolff (2011) points out that three years are not enough for pupils, especially in Africa, to be assumed to have acquired the language (English) that it could be used for learning.

8.2.3.2.4   Elaboration

Kiswahili is used during the teaching of English to elaborate what has already been taught. A teacher was teaching the meaning of 'my best subject' and in the following excerpt is shown how she used Kiswahili to elaborate;

T: Mother tongue is my best subject.
Ps: Mother tongue is my (few finish it).
T: Again.
Ps: Mother tongue is my (few finish it).
T: Mother tongue is my best subject.
Ps: Mother tongue is my best subject.
T: Yaani ile ambayo unafanya vyema [I mean the one in which you do well]. Ukifanya mtihani unapata Mother tongue umepata ninety marks [When you do an examination, you find that mother tongue you have got ninety marks]. So that is your best. Unapata unafanya vizuri umepita [You find you have done well you have passed]. Ukifanya zote hiyo ndiyo umefanya vizuri [If you do all that is the one you have done well]. That is my best subject. Mother tongue is my best subject. I want you to make your own sentences using the word subject (silence). Can you use the word subject and make your own sentences? Make your own sentences using the word subject (silence). Meshak.
P: Kiswahili is our best subject (Obsv Sch 3).

Supporting this observation is the interview response obtained from another teacher who indicated that Kiswahili is used during the teaching of English (other teachers too confirmed that they used Kiswahili during the teaching of English to elaborate);

> Qu: Do you sometimes use Kiswahili during the teaching of English?
> Resp: Yah.
> Qu: What do you use it for?
> Resp: The English tends to be difficult to them so, for them to understand much better, you have to use Kiswahili for them to understand (Intev Sch 4 T).

Teachers use Kiswahili to elaborate English in contravention of the requirement at this level; no language should be used to teach another. It seems it is a choice difficult to dispense with because the need for mastery of English is urgent; they need the language for learning from standard four. Rather than revert to Ekegusii, which will soon not be used, they choose the lesser evil (the use of Kiswahili another second language the learners are still learning) just not to lose out on both of them. It is not expected that such a use would be desirable in their circumstances. With their mother tongue not developed to an extent to conceptualize phenomena effectively, their Kiswahili would be expected to be poorer and their English poorest. The issue here really may not be 'English tends to be difficult' as the teacher observes, but the foundation upon which it is building. A developed mother tongue promotes the learning of second languages in what is called cross linguistic transfer (Genesee, Geva, Dressler, & Kamil, 2008). In addition, these teachers face another challenge; of lack of enough reading materials. Development of the second language depends on sufficient exposure from both oral and written sources. None of the schools had reading resources and this lack could partly account for the pattern of scores reported in Chapter Ten.

8.2.3.2.5   Confirmation

Kiswahili was used to confirm from the pupils if they had understood what the teachers had been teaching. Often, this attracted a 'ndio' (yes) response from the learners. During English lessons, it was a common trend across rural schools. An example from one of the schools illustrates this use;

> T: Sawa. Tumeelewana?   [Are we in agreement?]
> Ps: Ndio.   [Yes.]
> T: Ee?   [Really?]
> Ps: Ndio.   [Yes.]
> T: Tumeelewana?   [Are we in agreement?]
> Ps: Ndio.   [Yes.]
> T: What is this am carrying? [What is this am carrying?]
> Ps: (Some) bag.   [Bag.] (Obsv Sch 2).

Learners response with a 'yes' response may not be a proof of having understood. There are two possible reasons for this response. Firstly, it is a routine phrase teachers use and learners know the 'favourable' response is 'yes'. Secondly, the pupils know if they said 'no', the teacher would possibly ask why they had not been listening. The 'yes' response did not necessarily indicate understanding taking it from what happened during class assignments.

8.2.3.2.6   Giving instructions

Instructions on what the learners were supposed to do during English lessons were commonly given in Kiswahili. In cases where it was done in English, it was repeated in Kiswahili as shown in this excerpt;

> Can you close mathematics books? Vitabu vya hesabu funga vyote [Books of mathematics, close all of them]. Funga vyote [close all] books, funga vyote [close all]. Hata kama ni ya [Even if it is for] English funga [close]. Omega, funga kitabu [close the book]. Wacha kurudisha, utarudisha baadaye [Don't return, you will return later]. Mtarudisha vitabu vya hesabu baadaye, kwa sasa funga kitabu cha hesabu, ni wakati wa kiingreza [You will return books of mathematics later, for now close book of mathematics, it is time for English]. It is time for English. Yes it is time for English. Sit upright, angalia hapa [look here]. Wewe [You] Prisca sasa nini hiyo unafanya [now what is that you are doing]? Angalia hapa [Look here]. Leo tunaenda kuangalia majina matatu mafupi sana, majina matatu [Today we are going to look at three very short words, three words.] (Obsv Sch 3).

Teachers use Kiswahili because it elicits immediate responses; the learners do what is instructed. Such instructions are not cognitively demanding and secondly they are routine. The fact that they understand them must not be a sign of command of the language. Use of Kiswahili is also a confirmation of the fear that teachers have of the learners not being able to take instructions in English which should be the medium of instruction in this subject.

8.2.3.2.7   Learner responses

In cases where learners did not have an English word for an answer, they used Ekegusii/Kiswahili. Teachers did not seem to have a problem with this although they did not make this way of answering a subject of discussion. They neither followed up to say the answer was wrong or if it was right to use. The following excerpt taken from an observation shows how learners responded;

T:	Who is a barber?	[Who is a barber?]
P:	Oyokogingira etukia	[(Ekegusii) He/she who cuts hair.]
T:	Who is a driver?	[Who is a driver?]
P:	Oyokogendia, anaendesha gari.	[(Ekegusii) He who drives, (Kiswahili) He drives a car.]

T:	Who is a nurse?	[Who is a nurse?]
P:	Yule anatibu wagonjwa.	[(Kiswahili) He who treats the sick.]
P:	Yule anaangalia wagonjwa.	[He/she who watches over the sick.]
T:	Who is a postman?	[Who is a postman?]
P:	Analeta barua.	[He/she brings letters.] (Obsv Sch 1).

In an interview with the head teacher of the school, such use was confirmed. To the question 'In which medium do learners respond to most questions?' this is what he said;

> Kiswahili and mother tongue because they interrelate. It is easy because Kiswahili and mother tongue almost relate very closely and it is used almost everywhere so they find it much easier to understand and so they kind of respond to these two languages faster than they do in English (Intev Sch 1 Ht).

Teachers seem to accept this trend of learning from the way they react to these answers. From a practical view, it works and response to questions is one sign that learning indeed took place. But the questions that are left unanswered are when will the pupils be able to respond in English? When will they be able to learn in English? This use of Kiswahili in teaching was pointed out by one of the qasos as captured in the following excerpt;

> In lower primary, English is taught as a subject in the rural but explained in Ekegusii. In the town like this town, it is just taught like English as a language. But in some schools, you find it is taught and it is explained in Kiswahili which is like the language of the catchment area in the urban (Intev Dqaso 6).

Kiswahili and Ekegusii seem indispensable in the teaching of the English subject in both the rural and urban schools. There are two possible reasons for this trend; a poor development of Ekegusii upon which learning of second languages would build, which is the mother tongue of more than ninety-seven percent of the learners. Secondly, lack of English teaching resources. None of the eight schools in the study had a school library. For those who had book stores, none had more than five copies of grade level readers for the English subject. The use of Kiswahili in English lessons shares features with what Auerbach (1993) says an L1 should be used for in an L2 classroom; negotiation of the syllabus and the lesson; record keeping; classroom management; scene setting; instructions or prompts; and assessment of comprehension. But the use of Kiswahili in an English classroom in schools in Gusii is pedagogically incongruent because it (Kiswahili) is also a language the learners are still learning. The fact that learners speak the language does not presuppose sufficient mastery as to be used like a mother tongue. Conceptual demands in a language used for learning are higher than those for communication. The separate language principle is also broken because in both sets of schools, the use of Ekegusii/Kiswahili is not

systematic. This would affect the acquisition of English and the consequent development of literacy in the language.

8.2.4 Mathematics and science

The two should be taught in Ekegusii and Kiswahili in rural and urban schools respectively. The following are the uses of the three languages in their teaching.

8.2.4.1 Use of Ekegusii

Ekegusii should be used to teach all subjects except the two second languages. In the teaching of science, Ekegusii is peripherally used in such instances as drawing the attention of a learner or asking a misbehaving learner to stop. This is done in spite of all the learners in the rural schools being able to speak and understand the language so well. In the interviews, a teacher confirmed this non-use of Ekegusii in the teaching of mathematics and science.

> Resp: In mathematics, in fact I use Ekegusii to explain more words which are complicated which are above their standard.
> Qu: What about during science lessons?
> Resp: In science we are free to use any language, but mostly I use English, but I am supposed to use all languages (Intev Sch 1 T).

The policy does not allow teachers to use any language in teaching science. In case it did, then it could apply to mathematics which is also a content subject. Teachers do not use Ekegusii possibly because of its perceived little value in the education of these children in both standard three and the subsequent grades (see Section 9.6 for motivation for the non-use). Secondly, teachers do not possibly invest time to understand the concepts they teach first before they teach. The non-use of Ekegusii for content delivery or other learning functions was also because of the upper primary expectations as noted in the interview with a head teacher;

> You know if you only teach in Kikisii [the Ekegusii language], and let's say Kiswahili, then when they get to standard four, how will they be going about the let's say for example the passages in the text books? How will they be able to read? So they must have had practice from lower primary especially in standard two three as they come then they have their transition now to standard four kuendelea mpaka [(Kiswahili) continuously up to] standard eight (Intev MoE 8).

For learner-initiated communication in both mathematics and science, the learners were observed using Ekegusii and occasionally Kiswahili as it was also observed in the teaching of English. The excerpt captures the practice of disregard of language policy. Halai and Rea-Dickens (2013) had the same finding in Tanzania where against government policy, teachers used Kiswahili in order

to make learners understand. Ironically, teachers in this study disregarded the policy and chose a language that would make learning difficult. In a research conducted in Kenya, Jones and Barkhuizen (2011) found out that teachers used English arguing that if they started using it early, the better. This brings out the misunderstanding among teachers and parents about English taught as a subject and its use as a LoI. Shohamy (2006) and Save the Children (2011) state that use of unfamiliar languages presents barriers in classroom communication and it is one of the causes of poor performance in schools.

8.2.4.2 *Use of Kiswahili and English*

The two second languages are used during science lessons in the following ways;

8.2.4.2.1   Delivery of content

Two scenarios present themselves in the use of Kiswahili and English in the teaching of both mathematics and science: Sch 1T and Sch 3T used more Kiswahili and less English and Sch 2T and Sch 4T used less Kiswahili and more English in both subjects (this variation may have been coincidental). The use of both languages in the teaching of English is discussed in Section 8.2.3.2 indicating that any English written subject is taught using these two languages. The two excerpts below illustrate this variation;

T:	Sawa [Okay]. Tuendelee [Let us continue]. Kuna wale ambao hawajui vile [There are those who don't know how] numbers zinaandikwa kwa majina [are written in words]. Writing numbers in words. Kwa mfano, kuna hii nambari [For example, there is this number] (writes number on the chalk board). Ambayo ninaandika hapa kwa ubao [That I am writing here on the chalk board]. Hii ni [which] number gani [is it]?
Ps:	(Some pupils) twenty-three.
T:	Sio kila mtu anaongea [Not everyone speaks]. Ukiongea unainua mkono, kisha mwalimu anakuchagua kisha unajibu swali la mwalimu [If you speak you raise up your hand, then the teacher picks you then you answer the teacher's question]. Yes Ivonne.
P:	Twenty-three.
T:	Amepata? [Has she got?]
Ps:	Ndio. [Yes]
T:	Pigia yeye makofi [Clap for her] (the pupils clap). Sasa nataka mtu mmoja wenu aniandikie [Now I want one of you to write for me] twenty-three in words. You write twenty-three in words. Florence (the pupil comes forward write). Andika hapa juu [write up here]. Andika kubwa kidogo waweze kuona [Write a bit big that they may see]. (After the pupil writes). Amepata [Has she got]?
Ps:	Ndio. [Yes] (Obsv Sch 3)

This is contrasted with the following excerpt;

T:	Can you open your exercise books where you wrote yesterday? (Pupils open their books. A pupil is heard telling another one 'igoro inkwarigete' [Yesterday you did not write]). Sitaki kuona mtu akiongea [I don't want to see a person talking]. Open where you wrote yesterday. I want you to count the numbers you wrote yesterday. Count from number one to eighty. Can you start (the pupils count from number one to eighty). Now I want us today to arrange from the smallest to the? (Silence) largest. Small means something you can be able to hold and large means something bi?
Ps:	Big.
T:	Are we together?
Ps:	Yes.
T:	Now I want us to arrange these numbers. Which number is this? (Teacher points at numbers ten to one downwards. Pupils read them loud as the teacher points at them). I want us to arrange from the smallest. Which is the smallest number amongst these?
Ps:	Three.
T:	So we start by writing three here. Then followed by?
Ps:	Four (Obsv Sch 2).

A common feature in both the mathematics and science lessons is the exclusive use of Kiswahili and English to deliver content. Unlike in life skills or creative art subjects whose knowledge is not tested, teachers take the risk of using Kiswahili and English in the teaching of mathematics and science. If they fail to have the learners master English the main LoI after standard three, they will at least have developed the national language, Kiswahili. This use points to teachers' attitude to the policy in place regarding the use of languages of the catchment. It is also an indication of a misunderstanding between teaching a language as a subject and using it as a LoI. Barely a year, the government had restated the policy on language use in lower primary (see Appendix D). The critical attitude to the policy was captured in the interview with one of the head teachers as shown in the following excerpt;

Qu:	What does the government school language policy require of a school like this one in standard three?
Resp:	What the government policy requires is that the language of instruction should be vernacular or the language of the catchment. That is the government policy. But again that one does not apply… Okay, incidentally again, as much as the government is trying to say that the language of instruction should be the language of the catchment area, that very government has not set exams to meet the needs of that particular area. So it is a contradiction at times (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

The motivation for this use then would be that examinations both local and national are set in only two languages; Kiswahili and English. It is in this sense that the policy is irrelevant according to the teachers. Their sentiment though contradicts what the prologue to the latest primary school syllabus says about mother tongues;

> The pupils' ideas and thoughts are in their mother tongue and will continue to be so, long after they have learnt to speak in English. To be encouraged to think for themselves, the pupils must be helped to do so in their own language (KIE, 2012a, p. 147).

In the literature, the most compelling reason for the use of mother tongues in teaching content is because pupils have their experiences and knowledge in the language. Actually, it should be exploited by teachers as a framework upon which new knowledge builds. For a language to be used as a LoI, stakeholders should answer the following questions in the affirmative, according to Fasold (1984): Do the prospective students know the language well enough to learn effectively through it?; would the proposed choice be consistent with overall nationalist aims; and are the language itself, the material written in it, and the number of people able to teach in it adequate for use at the proposed level? Actually, Ekegusii would satisfy the criteria. It is instead disregarded, a situation I attribute to beliefs and attitudes as discussed in Chapter Nine.

8.2.4.2.2 Learner engagement

In both mathematics and science, Kiswahili is the main medium whenever teachers engage learners in marking their work after lesson presentation. It takes the same pattern common in English as demonstrated above. Teachers tend to do this as a confirmation of their awareness that learners struggle with the two languages used in the delivery but at least they are better off in Kiswahili. This was reflected in the interviews with the teachers. Each confirmed that their learners could understand Kiswahili. But as a second language, theoretically the pupils need more years to master the language that it may be used for instruction. It may need a longer time in this context in which Ekegusii is not well developed. The fact that the pupils could speak in Kiswahili may have made them think that that was knowledge. They were partly right; the social aspect of language referred to as BICS develops faster in environments there is input. But CALP, the abilities in a language needed in learning, take much longer. Teachers seem not to understand the difference between pupils' use of Kiswahili orally and their actual academic ability in the language. The scores in Chapter Ten reflect a contrary trend; pupils' knowledge of Kiswahili, the scores suggest, is still low.

In English, mathematics, and science, teachers use English and Kiswahili to teach. This practice is in disregard of the policy but in a pattern in the opposite of many studies that have indicated teachers adopting different languages from the ones in the language policies. In Zanzibar (Maalim, 2014), in Rwanda (Andersson & Rusanganwa, 2011), teachers disregarded English and used

Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda to make learning possible. In the case of the teachers in this research, teachers disregarded policy and used difficult languages to teach. However, a similar finding was reported in Kenya in a study conducted in multilingual classrooms in Eastern Kenya where teachers used English instead of respective mother tongues/Kiswahili (Nyaga, 2013).

8.3 Features of classroom language

Data presented in this section are on the features that the languages used in classroom interaction bear. There are three languages used in classroom interaction as presented in section 8.2. However, these are not used as individual languages per se. The common features that characterize these language uses are mainly code switching and translation as presented and discussed below.

8.3.1 Code switching

The meaning, functions, and significance of code switching is discussed in Section 4.2.3.1. This section presents data on the functions of code switching as used in classroom interaction in the schools. The discussion below points out the instances and possible reasons for the code switching.

8.3.1.1 Functions of code switching

Code switching was evident minimally in the teaching of Ekegusii and Kiswahili and very common in English, mathematics and science lessons. There were no notable instances of code switching observed in Kiswahili lessons. This could be attributed to the assumption that the pupils already knew Kiswahili and needed no elaboration using another medium. Almost all the respondents confirmed that learners already understood Kiswahili by this level as captured in this excerpt;

> Kiswahili language is a common communication language between teachers and pupils themselves. Since it is a national language, it is commonly used and easily grasped by pupils (Intev Sch 6 Ht).

Kiswahili is the first L2 that most pupils learn in school. But its accessibility is common as compared to English because, among other contexts, they hear it on local radios, sometimes at local churches, and in the local market centres visited by non-Ekegusii-speaking itinerant traders. In the teaching of Kiswahili, teachers seem to use exclusively Kiswahili. Instances of code switching are therefore few. However, knowledge of Kiswahili in the sample schools is a claim I contest in this thesis, in light of my personal experience as a native of Gusii, theory on conditions

of acquisition of second languages, and the scores the pupils obtained in the tests as presented in Chapter Ten. The following are the functions of code switching observed.

8.3.1.1.1   Phase-changing technique

Classroom lessons could be roughly divided into introduction, body, and conclusion. In the introduction there is the salutation and register calling; in the body there is set induction and the day's content presentation; in the conclusion there is assignment administration, and conclusion. In between these is class discipline management. Each of these classroom time phases attracts different language choices in the study schools one of which is introduction-body code switching. This type switches from Kiswahili to Ekegusii or English to Ekegusii (observed during Ekegusii lessons only) as shown in the following excerpt;

T:	Hamjambo?	[(Kiswahili) How are you?]
Ps:	Hatujambo sana mwalimu; shikamoo mwalimu.	[(Kiswahili) We are fine teacher. How are you?]
T:	Marahaba kaeni.	[Fine. Sit.]
Ps:	Asante sana mwalimu.	[(Kiswahili) Thank you very much teacher.]
T:	Ni wakati wa somo la?	[(Kiswahili) It is time for which subject?]
Ps:	Ekegusii.	[Ekegusii.]

T: Ekero togosoma, intarabatebia morigie ebitabu, emokoratiga amasakara ayio [(Ekegusii) When we read, before I tell you to look for books, you leave those papers first]. Chinsa echi n'Ekegusii togosoma [(Ekegusii) This time it is Ekegusii we read]. Eric ing'ai are [(Ekegusii) where is he]? Igoro inabaete egasi mochi gokora, homework [(Ekegusii) Yesterday I gave you work you were going to do]. Ingasi ki eria nabaete [Which work was that]?
Ps: nga [the syllable nga]
 (Obsv Sch 1).

Teachers do the salutation using Kiswahili and English. They do not however, do this during either Kiswahili or English lessons by starting with Ekegusii then switching to the two languages. This trend is an indication of the teachers' attitude to the mother tongue: Nothing would go wrong if another language is used in an Ekegusii lesson; the majority languages are priority. When the teachers use the two languages in an Ekegusii lesson, they are building the two and not the current subject.

8.3.1.1.2   Sign of acceptance of majority language forms

Ekegusii in rural schools is taught in Ekegusii. However there are instances of code switching that point to language dynamics in this trilingual classroom environment. The following is a list of some of the common code switches;

Mpigie makofi.   [(Kiswahili) Clap for him/her.]
Nani amemaliza?   [(Kiswahili) Who has finished?]
Very good!   [(English) Very good!]
Kora correction.   [(Ekegusii) Do correction.]
Mokore homework eyio.   [(Ekegusii) You do that homework.]
Tubora page fifty-one.   [(Ekegusii) Open page fifty-one.]
Ondikere amarieta ten.   [(Ekegusii) You write for me ten words.]
Etopic ya rero, 'abaibi'.   [(Ekegusii) Topic of today, 'thieves'.]
Rusia ebitabu bia mother tongue.   [(Ekegusii) Remove books of mother tongue.]
Moriike handwriting engiya.   [(Ekegusii) You write good handwriting.]
Riika chisyllable echi.   [(Ekegusii) Write these syllables.]

Almost all the Kiswahili/English forms in the expressions above would have Ekegusii equivalents. Teachers instead choose other codes. I interpret this as a way of entrenching forms of the majority languages. Little effort would be required to use the relevant words in the cases cited but teachers use the majority language forms. It seems, for them, that the forms used are already acceptable and known by the learners. A second reason for this use is the trilingual abilities the teachers have; it is easy for them to code switch, sometimes unintentionally.

8.3.1.1.3   Preparation for tests

In the eight schools, pupils sit for an average of three tests per subject per a term. There are class teacher administered tests, zonal tests, and divisional tests for lower primary pupils. Both zonal and divisional tests are set by panels of teachers. These tests, contrary to the LoI, are set in English apart from those in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. There is no known policy asking teachers to set tests in English for content subjects supposed to be taught in Ekegusii/Kiswahili. Zonal and divisional tests are competitive tests because performance of each school is analyzed and schools ranked. Key words in content knowledge are therefore emphasized in the teaching. For this reason, teachers teach with tests in mind occasioning such a type of code switching as shown below;

T: Ear. Then we have sense of? (Silence). Tasting. Sense of?
T & Ps: Tasting.
T: We use our tongues. Everybody where is your tongue? Can you touch your tongue? Okay. We use it in tasting. Unapika mboga, unataka kusikia kama chumvi imeingia kwa chakula

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[(Kiswahili) You are cooking vegetables, you want to hear if there is salt in the food]. Utatumia nini? [(Kiswahili) What?] (Silence). Utatumia nini?

Ps: (Two) tongue.

T: Tongue? Utatumia tongue ama utatumia sikio? Utatumia tongue[(Kiswahili) You will use tongue or ear? You will use tongue]. You will use the to?

Ps: Tongue (Obsv Sch 2).

The teacher is teaching the sense of taste in a science lesson. The key words are sense, taste, and tongue. Though the teacher switches from English to Kiswahili, she does not switch these words though there are commonly known equivalents in both Ekegusii and Kiswahili. She could be expected to switch to Ekegusii the prescribed LoI or if not, the national language Kiswahili. She does neither; these are the possible terms in the forthcoming tests. Teaching in preparation for English tests instead of impartation of knowledge is common. This is supported by interview responses as shown in the one below;

Qu: But didn't you say you teach science using English?

Res: No, it is English you are supposed to teach in because tests come in English. But you have to explain in your mother tongue so that the child can understand] (Intev MoE 9).

The teacher confirms that tests come in the medium of English compelling them to teach using that medium. A head teacher concurred with this rationale in the following response;

Qu: Would you support the use of Ekegusii to teach in class three?

Resp: Well, not really. You know in class three is when they are transiting to the next class, therefore when they get to the next class they find it difficult to. Secondly, you know all subjects are taught using Ekegusii, but exams are set using English (Intev Sch 4 Ht).

Teaching for tests has been reported widely in the literature. For instance, in Israel, teachers have been reported to use code switching in a manner to prepare learners for testing (Shohamy, 2006). This is common in Kenya where high scores in tests are treated as a sign of knowledge.

8.3.1.1.4   Pupil involvement

This usually comes in switching from English the difficult medium to Kiswahili which teachers say learners understand. In these cases, learners could respond to teacher stimuli. The following observation illustrates this;

P: Skin.

T: Mliangalia [(Kiswahili) You looked at] skin? (Silence). Skin yake inakaa aje [(Kiswahili) of his looks how]? Yes Davin.

P: Face.

T: Uliangalia face [(Kiswahili) You looked at]?

P: Agoteeba anyinyierete [(Ekegusii) He says that his face is frowning].
T: (Teacher and pupils laugh). Wewe! Ee? [(Kiswahili) You! Really?] Anyinyierete [(Ekegusii) He is frowning]? Rigereria igaiga [(Ekegusii) Look here]. Wewe niangalie [(Kiswahili) You look at me] inyinyierete igo nindwarete [(Ekegusii) If I am frowning, so am I sick]? Yaani omonto kero anyinyierete igo narwarete [(Ekegusii) You mean if a person is frowning is he/she sick]? Ee? Ntebie bono ninki mwarigereria [(Ekegusii) Really? Tell me now, what did you look at] (pupils shout all manner of things in Ekegusii). Abwate oborwaire bwaki [(Ekegusii) He has which disease]?
P: Bwa leprosy [(Ekegusii) Of leprosy.] (Teacher and other pupils laugh)
T: Leprosy? Leprosy? Ee? [(Ekegusii) Really?]
Ps: Ee [(Ekegusii) Yes.]
T: Hata mmepima mkaona ameugua ugonjwa wa [(Kiswahili) Have you even examined him and seen he is suffering from] leprosy? Hawa ni madaktari, wanapimia macho... Ee? [(Kiswahili) These are doctors, they examine using eyes…Really]? Niko na madaktari darasa la tatu. Wanapimia nini [(Kiswahili) I have doctors in class three. They examine using what]?
Ps: Macho [(Kiswahili) Eyes] (Obsv Sch 3).

The lesson was being delivered in English just before this instance. By using Kiswahili and a bit of Ekegusii, the teacher seems to have achieved two intents; to involve the learners and secondly, to relieve tension that accompanies communication in a medium not yet mastered by learners. This has stimulated the learners and made them participate in the learning process. In the subsequent interviews, teachers, both in the rural and urban schools confirmed that learners at this level participate more if the medium is not English as shown in the following excerpt;

Qu: In which language, from your experience, do learners actively participate in classroom activities? Is it when you use English or when you use Kiswahili or when you use Ekegusii?
Resp: When I use English they participate averagely, but when you use mother tongue the most of them tend to participate (Intev Sch 4 T).

Teachers are aware of the result of using English in teaching; pupils would barely understand. They are also aware of ways of making learners participate which is changing the code of communication. The use of Kiswahili is a pragmatic approach for the learners are made to participate. It seems that learners at this level, on their own, may not read knowledge written in English and gain skills because books do not code switch. This means these learners need a teacher constantly in order to progress which is not always guaranteed. The country as at the end of 2014 had a teacher deficit of 80,000 (according to teacher unions), most of whom in primary schools. This is a further indication that availability of books may not ultimately solve low grade level literacy which has been repeatedly documented. It is ironical that teachers in this study chose to code switch in mainly monolingual classrooms.

8.3.1.1.5   Elaboration

In most cases, this was use of Kiswahili to elaborate content just discussed in English. The following excerpt is an example of such use;

> T: Mother tongue is also another subject. Listen to the teacher's sentence. Mother tongue is my best subject. Can you repeat after me?
> Ps: Mother tongue is (they are not able to finish).
> T: Mother tongue is my best subject.
> Ps: Mother tongue is my (few finish it).
> T: Again.
> Ps: Mother tongue is my (few finish it).
> T: Mother tongue is my best subject.
> Ps: Mother tongue is my best subject.
> T: It means the subject you do well above all subjects. The one you score higher marks is best. Yaani ile ambayo unafanya vyema. Ukifanya mtihani unapata mother tongue umepata ninety marks. So that is your best. Unapata unafanya vizuri umepita. Ukifanya zote hiyo ndiyo umefanya vizuri. That is my best subject. Mother tongue is my best subject... Can you use the word subject and make your own sentence? Make your own sentence using the word subject (Obsv Sch 4).

The teacher is elaborating the phrase 'my best subject' to the learners. She explains it in English. To say it in a more comprehensible medium, she says it in Kiswahili. She then continues with English. Teachers confirmed that using the other two media (Ekegusii and Kiswahili) to elaborate is common in the eight schools. This is what one of them said;

> Qu: What do you use the Kiswahili language for during English lessons?
> Resp: To explain some words which they don't get.
> Qu: The ones they don't understand in English?
> Resp: I can explain in Kiswahili and if they don't get you can extend to Ekegusii.
> Qu: Does that apply to all the other subjects?
> Resp: Yes (Intev Sch 5 T).

Another one concurred with her;

> Qu: What about when you teach all the other subjects?
> Resp: When I teach the other subjects, I may, I can use Kiswahili because I find that they understand better when we use Kiswahili.
> Qu: So what language do you use to teach all the other subjects except the languages?
> Resp: I use English mostly but I can mix it with Kiswahili (Intev Sch 7 T).

This repeat of content in another medium is a pointer to the deficits in the code used first. It looks justifiable to do this. But it also presents questions of why the situation is so and for how long it would remain. Yevudey (2013) confirms the same finding in a study conducted in Ghana.

8.3.1.1.6   Developing English

In this function, teachers seem to be motivated by three factors. Firstly, the tests are written in English (see Section 9.5.1). Secondly, the change of medium to English from standard four onwards and the fact that books are written in English. The following excerpt illustrates it;

T: So a library is a collection of books, mahali kuna vitabu vingi [(Kiswahili) a place there are many books]. A library is a collection of?
Ps: (Few) books.
T: If you want mathematics books, you can go to the library, if you want English books, you can go to the library, science books, where you can find them is the library. If any story books, you can find them in the library. Our school has got a library. Ukiangalia kwa ile [(Kiswahili) if you look at that] corner, kuna mlango umeandikwa [(Kiswahili) there is a door written] library. Mmewahi ingia huko [(Kiswahili)]? That is what we call a library. It is a collection of books, mahali kuna vitabu vingi vya kusoma [(Kiswahili) a place there are many books of reading]. Hapo ndio tunaita [(Kiswahili) That is where we call]?
Ps: (Few) library.
T: Library. Tutunge sentence ya kwanza kuhusu library halafu mtatunga zenu. Our library is big, kumaanisha ni kubwa. Our library is?
T& Ps: Big.
T: Yaani, library yetu ni kubwa. Sasa nataka kila mtu atunge sentensi yake akitumia jina library. Use the word library to make your own sentence. Use the word library to make your own sentences. (Silence). Our library is a collection of books, mahali kuna vitabu vingi. Tuko nayo, tuko na bahati tuko na library, mmewahi enda huko. Can you make your sentences using the library? (Silence). For example our library is very big. Our library is very big. Make your own sentences using the word library. Ivonne.
P: Our library is clean (Obsv Sch 3).

The Kiswahili equivalent of the word library is 'maktaba'. The teacher does not however mention it in the long explanation. Her intention is to build the English of the tests, of text books, and of the coming medium from standard four. This teacher knows how important English could be, as understood in her practice and context. She is keen to teach the word in the important language.

8.3.1.1.7   Filling lexical gaps

This was in the language a teacher was using at a particular time. The following list of uses illustrates this;

T: Unataka nani aandike ucopy? (English) (Obsv Sch 1).
        [You want whom to write you copy?]
T: Kwa sasa tutasonga mbele kidogo lakini kumbuka kufanya revision na kusoma number hizi nimewaandikia (mathematics; Obsv Sch 1).
        [For now we move ahead a bit but remember to do revision and to read the numbers I have written for you]
T: Mospererie ingo. Rigereria buna akoriika morore gose inkonyoora are. (English) (Obsv Sch 2).

[(Ekegusii) Spell for him. Look how he writes and see if he will get]

T: Hujamaliza kazi yako. Enda ufanye correction. (English) (Obsv Sch 2).
[You have not finished your work. Go and do correction]

T: Wale ambao wamemaliza wakimbie nje na warudi immediately (science). (Obsv Sch 2).
[Those who have finished to run out and come back immediately]

T: Ee. Chini kwa mfano, chini ya mti, chini ya kitanda, chini ya meza, chini ya desk (English) (Obsv Sch 2).
[Yes. Under for example, under a tree, under a bed, under a table, under a desk]

T: Si imekudisturb? (English) (Obsv Sch 3).
[Has it not disturbed you?]

T: Kitu chochote iwapo umewekelea kutoka juu hivi hata kama ni kabati, ukiconstruct sentensi unaanza hivi. (English) (Obsv Sch 3).
[Anything if you put it on top this way even if it is a cupboard, if you construct a sentence you start this way]

T: Wewe si kusema watu wapige kelele, bali nilisema wafanye nini? Kuna kazi hapa exercise tunafanya (mathematics) (Obsv Sch 3).
[You, I did not say people make noise but I said they do what? There is work here exercise we are doing.]

T: Sawa. Sasa leo tunaelekea topic ingine tunaita health education. Tunaita aje? (Science). (Obsv Sch 3)
[Okay. Today we move to another topic we call health education. Tunaitaje?]

T: Huwezi kufanya kazi hii kama haukufanya ya jana. Nitajuaje umejua kucount? (Mathematics). (Obsv Sch 4).
[You cannot do this work if you did not do yesterday's. How can I know you have known to count?]

T: Ungeanzia seven, then fourteen then twenty. Ungearrange tu hapa vizuri na hii ufanye hapa. Sasa ukicopy unipe nisahihishe, nitasahihisha nini? (Mathematics). (Obsv Sch 4).
[You should have started with seven, then fourteen then twenty. You should have arranged just well and this you do here. Now if you copy and give me to mark, what will I mark?]

The language in use in each of the above instances of code switching is Kiswahili but the teachers use code switched forms. The words ucopy, imekudisturb, ukiconstruct, kucount, ungearrange, ukicopy all bear Kiswahili and English forms. The Kiswahili forms are verb forming affixed to English verb forms. The word 'mosipererie', for instance, is an Ekegusii-English form. 'mo' is the object; 'siper' is the nativized spelling form of spell and 'rerie' is the Bantu ending for action done to somebody. The phrases 'kufanya revision', 'ufanye correction', 'warudi immediately', 'chini ya desk', 'hapa exercise' and 'topic ingine' are mostly Kiswahili forms succeeded by English forms. The English forms are used to fill gaps apparently left by lack of Kiswahili equivalents in the circumstances. But my interpretation of this type of language use is not really that relevant equivalents are 'far' in the teachers' memories. The use is occasioned by the adoption of the two languages as instruments of education. Secondly, teachers have not invested time to find relevant Kiswahili/Ekegusii equivalents of the English forms, possibly because it may not avail much; English is the LoI.

Code switching is common in bilingual and multilingual classrooms. Rashka, Sercombe, Chi-Ling (2009) say that it is used due to linguistic insecurity, topic switch, for affective reasons, for socialising functions, for repetitive functions, for metalinguistic functions, and for classroom management. In her research in Kenya in multilingual classrooms, Nyaga (2013) found out that teachers also code switched to fill gaps in lexis immediately unavailable for use in a speech event. Multilingual environments would demand such a technique. The schools in the current study however neglect the use of the mother tongue as a resource and use Kiswahili and English in classroom interaction. It is a choice that may have serious pedagogical implications because the learners at standard three do not already have a fully developed language system of the three languages in their environment. Halai and Karuku (2013) state that code switching can advance learning but Pereira (2010) observes that teachers often use it without prior planning. To use it appropriately, Pereira says, the technique should be well thought-out, judiciously, and in a well-structured pattern. Halai (2009) states that the best way to maximize the potential of the technique is to have it in language policies.

8.3.2 Translation

In the study schools, there is evidence, both from classroom observation and interviews, of use of this technique in classroom teaching and learning. In most incidences, translation is as a result of code switching.

8.3.2.1 Functions of translation

8.3.2.1.1   Facilitate understanding

Because learners have not mastered the language at standard three, teachers engage in translation to make what they have said in English to be understood. This applies both in subject content and in test exercises administered. I observed in the rural schools that teachers translated content information delivered in English into Kiswahili. In most cases, questions asked in English were translated into either Kiswahili or Ekegusii and learners were able to respond. Lack of understanding in English is captured in the following excerpt;

> T: We can see buildings. What have we used to see the things? (Silence) Tumetumia nini [(Kiswahili) What have we used]?
> Ps: Eyes.
> T: How many of you know a cow? An animal known as a cow? (Silence). How many know a cow, ni wangapi wanajua ng'ombe [(Kiswahili) how many know cows]? Ni kumaanisha

hamuelewi lugha nyingine [(Kiswahili) Is it to mean you do not understand another language]? Nikitumia Kiswahili ndio mnaelewa [(Kiswahili) When I use Kiswahili is when you understand]?

Ps: Ndio [(Kiswahili) Yes].

T: Ni wangapi wanajua ng'ombe [(Kiswahili) How many know cows]? (Several pupils raise up their hands). Ng'ombe ni mdogo au mkubwa [(Kiswahili) A cow is small or big]?

Ps: Mkubwa [(Kiswahili) Big] (Obsv Sch 2).

The teacher tries to explain a concept in English which learners seem not to be following. When she asks if it is Kiswahili they understand, they say yes. The following excerpt shows how translation is used to make what has been said in English to be understood.

T: Gestures. Iwapo unaongea lakini hutumii mdomo wako [(Kiswahili) In case you speak but you are not using your mouth]. You can use other parts of your body to communicate. Unaweza kuongea na mtu bila kutumia mdomo na sauti [(Kiswahili) You can speak with somebody without using the mouth and sound]. Kwa mfano, nikifanya hivi, ninamaanisha nini [(Kiswahili) For example, if I do this, what do I mean]?

Ps: (Some) nyamaza [(Kiswahili) Keep quiet.]

T: In English? (Silence) Ee? [(Kiswahili) What?]

Ps: (Some) keep quiet.

T: Kila mtu afanye hivi [(Kiswahili) Everybody do like this]. What does this one mean?

Ps: (Two) keep quiet.

T: Ee? [(Kiswahili) What]?

Ps: Keep quiet (Obsv Sch 3).

When the teacher translates the English content into Kiswahili, the learners seem to understand and respond. Translation as a technique was confirmed by class teachers interviewed. For instance, this is what one of the teachers said;

Qu: Usually, you translate from which language to which one?

Resp: Okay, if it is English, you can translate it to Kiswahili. If it is Kiswahili, to Ekegusii.

Qu: Why do you translate?

Resp: For them to understand. To get the message. To pass the information (Intev Sch 5 T).

A common practice of translation was also noted during observations. Both during teaching and during tests, teachers translate the instructions to either Kiswahili or Ekegusii. This however did not happen during my administration of the tests because I administered them in person. In one observation instance in Sch 4, after the teacher had had them read a comprehension text in English, the learners could not answer the questions until the teacher translated all of them. Even with translation, it is not all learners who were able to respond correctly. On one of my visits, the teacher at Sch 5 was administering a science test. She read the question and translated it into Ekegusii. She then read the objective choices one after the other and translating them. She then asked the learners

to write the answers. This went on until the learners finished the test. I brought up this issue during the interview and this was her response;

Qu: I saw you during the exams, guiding the learners on how to go through the exam. Why did you do that?
Resp: Okay, sometimes there are those who don't know how to read completely. So I, for them to understand, I read for them so that they get what they are being asked.
Qu: A teacher told me in another school yesterday that in fact if learners are read for, and translated for....
Resp: (Interrupting researcher) they will score everything.
Qu: They will score everything, really!
Resp: Yes. At least, most, 90% of them will score over ninety. But if you leave it, for those who don't know how to read, they can't get anything (Intev Sch 5 T).

Teachers reading and translating questions for learners in tests was confirmed by MoE 7;

Qu: You told me those schools in the rural areas set exams in mother tongue. Why don't those schools set all the CATS in Ekegusii, because that is the medium of instruction?
Resp: You are right. But I think they translate; not what I think, I know they translate. Even here, remember I have told you all subjects are set in English except Kiswahili that mother tongue in Kiswahili. So they, they translate. They translate for them into Kiswahili. For example a question is set how many types of trees do we have for example. He would say, 'miti aina ngapi kunayo' [(Kiswahili) Trees types how many are there]. That is what they do (Intev MoE 7).

The said teacher was translating English instructions into a medium the pupils understood without which they would find it very difficult to attempt the test on their own. This was the last term of the year and in the coming January, they would be in standard four and use English to learn all subjects. Schaffner (1988) points out that translation facilitates comprehension. For the schools in the sample, the use of translation could actually be uncalled for because almost all the pupils were monolingual just like the teachers. Translation from English to Kiswahili or Ekegusii in the transition class points to various reasons for the practice; teachers disregarded the policy to teach in English in the first place. Secondly, by the end of standard three, the learners had not acquired English which they needed for learning from standard four. Finally, they could continue to need translation in the subsequent grades for them to cope with learning. This confirms Wolff's (2011) observation that three years is not enough in the developing of English for use as a LoI. In America and Canada, immigrants generally need between five to seven years to acquire CALP in English (Cummins, 2000). Note that in America, immigrants have a lot of exposure to English than the case in Kenya.

8.3.2.1.2   Developing English

In instances where a teacher used a word in another medium or a learner responded in a different medium, teachers had the tendency of using an English equivalent as shown below;

Ps: Utasikia njaa [(Kiswahili) You will feel hunger].
T: Sasa wengine [(Kiswahili) Now others] they eat so that they cannot get hungry. Wengine wanakula wasije wakasikia njaa [(Kiswahili) others eat that they may not feel hunger]. Hiyo ndiyo sababu nzuri ya kula [That is a good reason to eat]. Unakula usisikie njaa, unakula usigonjeke, nini tena [You eat you don't feel hunger, you eat you don't get sick, what else]? Yes Rasugu.
P: Tamu [(Kiswahili) Sweet].
T: Ee? [(Kiswahili) What]
P: Tamu [(Kiswahili) Sweet].
T: Yeye anasema anapenda tamu [(Kiswahili) He says he likes sweet]. Lakini nauliza hivi, hakuelewa swali [(Kiswahili) But I ask like this, he did not understand the question]. Kwa nini unakula [(Kiswahili) Why do you eat?] Mwingine ameniambia asisikie njaa, mwingine ameniambia asipokula atagonjeka [(Kiswahili) Another has told me that he may not feel hunger, another has told me if he does not eat he will get sick]. You can get sick when you don't eat well. Na wengine kwa nini mnakula [(Kiswahili) And others why do you eat?]
P: (Shouting) tuwe na afya [(Kiswahili) To have health].
T: Mwingine hapa amesema awe na afya [(Kiswahili) Another one here has said to have health], so that you can be in good health. Mwingine tena [(Kiswahili) Another one] (silence)…Unaweza kubeba mtungi?
Ps: Hapana [(Kiswahili) No].
T: Oo, unakula ili upate nguvu [(Kiswahili) Okay you eat so that you get energy], to get energy. To get?
Ps: Energy (Obsv Sch 4).

The teacher is discussing reasons for eating with the learners. They respond in Kiswahili and the teacher promptly translates those words into English. Mastery of those words therefore would prepare them for tests. Nyagah (2013) had a similar finding in multilingual classrooms in Kenya. The translation that teachers engaged in however was generally haphazard without sound pedagogical rationale. Properly meditated before its actual use, it could be a powerful means of building the three languages.

8.4   Summary
This section has presented and analysed data on language roles in classrooms indicating that language choices favour English the second language at the expense of the recommended LoIs. The features of language use are mainly code switching and translation both of which studies confirm are characteristic of multilingual classrooms. The next section presents data and discusses the motivation for use of the three languages for particular roles in classroom interaction.

CHAPTER NINE

MOTIVATION FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE USE

9.1   Introduction

This section discusses findings on motivation for and against use of Ekegusii/Kiswahili and English in classroom teaching. It responds to specific research question four which was;

> *What motivates the use of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?*

The language policy in basic education institutions implies that content knowledge should be delivered in familiar languages as the learners are still learning the prospective LoI. However, as discussed below, teachers use various languages for various functions in contravention of the policy. The discussion here is on practices in the three categories of schools. In this study, the classification is referred to as category one (rural), category two (peri-urban), and category three (urban) schools based on their proximity to town centres (see Chapter Five for the criterion of classification). Discussion in this section is critical of what one scholar said in reference to his research in Kenya;

> …Decisions on language use in a particular society are almost invariably subordinate to, or a reflection of, underlying political and social values and goals. Even in the educational domain, pedagogical considerations, while relevant, are seldom primary in influencing decisions relating to the use of particular languages as media or subjects of instruction, and this is to be expected… (Gorman, 1974, p. 397).

Discussion commences with motivation for use of Ekegusii, the pupils' mother tongue.

9.2   Ekegusii

Ekegusii is the mother tongue of about more than ninety-seven percent of all the learners in the eight schools. However, it is in the rural schools (category one) that Ekegusii is taught as a subject. Its teaching is done using Ekegusii except for occasional code switches as discussed in Chapter Eight. I observed that teachers used Ekegusii in the teaching of the subject motivated by the following factors;

9.2.1   Teachers' and learners' knowledge

All teachers and learners were Ekegusii-speaking people making the use of Ekegusii a most appropriate LoI. This is the language that does not present any communication barriers in learning.

I observed that during Ekegusii lessons; learners responded more; volunteered to demonstrate concepts on the chalk board more (e.g. writing words or sentences on the board); and told stories, proverbs, and riddles more than in any other subject (see Section 8.2.2.1). In story telling sessions during the Ekegusii subject, learners were more engaged than in any other subject observed. I however observed that although the riddles and proverbs they performed were repeated session after session, the learners were always excited to perform them. Some of the proverbs and riddles they performed had been written in their exercise books earlier on.

9.2.2 Language of tests

Zonal tests test the subject in Ekegusii. I observed in the teachers' files that the class-based and zonal tests they had taken were written in the language. This is a further possible motivation for the use of the language. This motivation is however, implied from the reason for teaching the content subjects in English when the language of instruction should be Ekegusii (see Section 9.5.1 for motivation for use of English). The use of Kiswahili and English in salutation during Ekegusii lessons does not alter this motivation. This use may have developed due to the need to induct these pupils to official forms of salutation in public places in a bid to build Kiswahili the national and co-official language as well as the official language English. This may look a priority after Sessional Paper Number 14 of 2012 (see Section 6.1 for details) directed schools to encourage use of the two languages. This possibility is what a head teacher may have referred to. Responding to the objective of their school language policy, this is what he said;

> Ee ([Kiswahili] Yes), it is the government policy. We can't avoid it. It is policy of the government, we cannot avoid it. Yah, we can't avoid it. 'Umewekwa minyororo, ee umewekewa pingu' [(Kiswahili) you have been chained, yes you have been handcuffed] (Sch 3 Ht).

The head teacher says that one is in chains to imply that teachers are under the pressure to ensure the acquisition of these languages succeeds. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, high scores in tests and national examinations in Kenya has, in recent times, been emphasized, possibly at the expense of effective learning and acquisition of skills. Pressure for the acquisition of Kiswahili and English could negatively affect the development of mother tongues and consequently, the two second languages. In the teaching of subjects written in the English medium, teachers shifted to English to prepare pupils for examinations; use of Ekegusii in the teaching of the Ekegusii subject could serve a similar purpose. The second motivation for this use of Kiswahili/English expressions, as noted in Chapter Eight, is due to the routinization of these expressions as a result of the school

system and the role these languages play in official contexts. Teaching for examination has been reported in many contexts for instance in Israel where Spolsky (2004) reports that teachers taught in anticipation of examinations.

9.2.3 Policy prescription

The language in education policy in rural schools prescribes the use of mother tongues to teach all subjects. Ekegusii therefore is the LoI for the Ekegusii subject. From my observation however, policy could be a secondary motivation. Primarily, it is used because neither the teachers nor the learners have nothing to lose; the subject will soon be dropped and the stakes of test results of Ekegusii are not high compared to other subjects. On the value attached to Ekegusii, a class teacher said;

> Qu: Now that there is only one learning material for Ekegusii in the Orange Book, what has your school done to supplement?
> Resp: We have not done anything and even ourselves we don't even follow.
> Qu: Why?
> Resp: We have a negative attitude towards this subject.
> Qu: What is the reason for the negative attitude towards Ekegusii as a subject?
> Resp: You know like now I teach in class three, I know very well that when they reach class four, they are not going to get this subject there. So I just say that let them just pass time because I know when they reach there, they are not going to handle, they are not going to be tested so I just take it for granted. That is why we are not serious (Intev Sch 1 T).

This confirms that though the policy prescribes its use, teachers place little value on its development. This attitude is reflected in other sections in this report.

9.3 Kiswahili

Kiswahili should be taught as a subject in rural schools (from standard one) but in the others, it should also be the LoI. In its teaching in rural schools, the variety of language use is limited to two languages; Ekegusii and Kiswahili as discussed in Section 8.2.2. Ekegusii is used mainly by pupils during the teaching of the Kiswahili subject. Section 8.2 demonstrates how learners use Ekegusii and how teachers use the Kiswahili language. This is in spite of teachers in the interviews indicating that in the teaching of Kiswahili, they use only Kiswahili. Teachers from the other schools also indicated they use the Kiswahili language to teach the Kiswahili subject only. This possibility could be higher in the non-rural schools given that they do not teach the Ekegusii subject and the fact that the learners do not know enough English (see Section 9.4.2) to allow for an

English-Kiswahili code switching. Three basic motivations emerge from the way learners and teachers use language during the teaching of the Kiswahili subject in the rural schools.

9.3.1   Insufficient knowledge

It is shown that in concepts learners do not know (in Kiswahili), in learner-initiated communication, and in learner-learner communication, learners use Ekegusii in classrooms in the eight schools as discussed in Section 8.2. These are the main contexts of language use by learners in classroom interaction. In occasions teachers asked a question and learners did not seem to have answers in Kiswahili, they responded in Ekegusii. They used Ekegusii to have a teacher's attention and used it amongst themselves. The learners already knew school and classroom rules. Their use of Ekegusii was most probably due to their insufficient knowledge in the LoI in use. The evidence for this is the silence that attended class sessions whenever a teacher demanded an answer in Kiswahili as shown in the following excerpt;

T:	Leo tutasoma juu ya ajali. Juu ya?	[(Kiswahili) Today we will study about accidents. About?]
Ps:	Ajali.	[(Kiswahili) Accidents.]
T:	Ajali ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) What is an accident?]
P:	Chigaari chigotwomana.	[(Ekegusii) Vehicles colliding.]
T:	Hiyo ni kusemaje?	[(Kiswahili) That is saying what?]…
T:	Bangi ni nini?	[(Kiswahili) What is bhang?]
P:	Esigara.	[(Ekegusii) Cigarette]
T:	Esigara ni nini?	[(Ekegusii) Cigarette (Kiswahili) is what?] (Silence) (Obsv Sch 4).

I observed that the learners' silence in such situations were not acts of indiscipline but a demonstration that they did not have the words to express the concepts in question. In peri-urban/urban schools, learners used Ekegusii among themselves during my administration of tests. Whenever I could ask them a question or ask for their attention in Ekegusii, they promptly responded. This was the situation in spite of teachers' and head teachers' insistence that they did not allow them to speak in Ekegusii. If a teacher was addressing a learner in Kiswahili and really insisted on the language, the learner could respond in segments of the exchange and keep quiet in others in the three categories of schools. The intermittent silence could be a pointer to lack of correct expressions to use to respond in Kiswahili. According to Cummins, it is frustrating for learners to fail to express their intelligence, feelings, ideas, and humour on account of lack of a medium of expression (Bagunywa, 2006; Cummins, 2007). Unfortunately, this situation that

forces learners to miss opportunities to express themselves is created to achieve supposed success in the learning process.

The silence further points to the fact that the language system in which a lot of these learners' knowledge is constructed is Ekegusii. It explains why their answers in it were so spontaneous. These learners' knowledge of Kiswahili (though related to Ekegusii, see Section 3.2.7 for the relationship) could not be to the extent Ekegusii had developed in their systems. Cummins (2000) says that the knowledge of the L2 needed to interact in class takes at a minimum five years. Kiswahili may probably take shorter. But learners' silence in these contexts points to the possibility that it is not sufficiently developed to sustain effective learning in it at their level. I have, in this thesis, attributed low Kiswahili knowledge in Gusii to limited input. The main input is in the schools. Gusii is not a place you hear people speaking in Kiswahili in many of the shops, churches, and markets. Even in a majority of school staffrooms, teachers speak in Ekegusii but would address a pupil entering the offices in Kiswahili. I have indicated in Section Eight that there are high chances that pupils in Gusii develop CALP first and BICS later in both Kiswahili and English.

9.3.2 Presumption

Teachers in the rural schools use Kiswahili exclusively to teach the Kiswahili subject. Those in the other schools also indicated so. This is what the policy prescribes. Providing a lot of exposure of these learners to Kiswahili is significant for its development. However, it could be instructive to occasionally revisit learner responses in Ekegusii and build more from this foundation. This exclusive use of Kiswahili is presumptive; standard three learners could effectively learn in Kiswahili. The reason for this was suggested by teachers and dqasos as shown in the following excerpts;

> Qu: You have a language policy, you have told me about it. Why have you given English so much time?
> Resp: We did so because we found out more subjects are tested in English and considering the fact that Kiswahili is also widely spoken from home, we said we should give English more time because it is rarely spoken than, than Kiswahili (Intev Sch 5 Ht).

> Qu: What about the role of Kiswahili in lower primary in schools in your territory?
> Resp: Kiswahili is treated as a second language alongside English and because this community being Bantu, Kiswahili is learnt faster than the English. So it will also boost the learning of English as the learners progress (Intev Dq 5).

Their assumptions are based on the understanding that Ekegusii and Kiswahili belong to the Bantu family of languages, making its knowledge easy to acquire. This is evident in the fact that some pupils could sustain simple day-to-day conversation in Kiswahili. But this, according to Cummins (2000), should be expected; in related languages, conversational skills in the second language will have tremendously developed after two years of exposure. But this must not be mistaken for academic language development. Academic language development would need overt instruction to develop. With a diminished knowledge of Ekegusii (due to limited teaching), this relationship may not be assumed to facilitate a lot in inter language transfer (see the scores in Chapter Ten).

The knowledge that these learners could easily acquire is in phonologically related, nativized, and borrowed vocabulary such as amache, omwana, omote, genda, and takuna whose equivalents in Kiswahili are maji, mwana, mti, enda, and tafuna (to refer to water, child, tree, go, and chew). The other elements of the language could actually remain undeveloped unless there is wide and regular exposure to the language in diverse contexts. Their assumption however may be correct to some extent; exposure to Kiswahili is wider than the one of English. In Gusii, other contexts in which the learners are exposed to the Kiswahili language include occasionally in churches, in local markets, on Kiswahili radio stations in addition to the classroom. These terms could be easy for the learners. But what about the terms in the sentences in Table 9.1 that do not have any semblance to Ekegusii and contextually limited?

Table 9.1 : Kiswahili Clauses with Unrelated Lexical Items in Ekegusii
_____

Kiswahili	Gloss
Amefia kichakani	He/she has died in a bush
Acha mipango ya kufichua washukiwa	Stop plans to expose suspects
Kasisi amewahukumu wenye dhambi sugu	The priest has judged hardened sinners
Kuimba ni kipawa kutoka kwa Mola	Singing is a talent from the Lord

Note. Most of the Kiswahili items are not daily, playground terminology.

The teachers' assumption is however supported by research. In closely related languages, transfer of concepts and knowledge is much easier as is the case between Spanish and English. This relationship may be analogous to the one between Ekegusii and Kiswahili. Research suggests that introducing reading in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili may benefit both languages. (Cummins, 1979b; Wagner, 1998). But I contest this transfer in Gusii on account of the amount of exposure these pupils have to Kiswahili. Their scores in the tests in Chapter Ten, in a way, confirm my

contestation. Their exposure could have built, to some extent, their BICS, but not to the extent that Kiswahili, leave alone English, could be used as an effective LoI, not even for the so called urban schools.

9.4   English

In the teaching of English, the use of Ekegusii is peripherally used as discussed in Chapter Eight. There is, however, more extensive use of Kiswahili in English subject lessons as discussed in Section 8.2.3.2. Learners using Ekegusii to give responses in English lessons is motivated by insufficient knowledge of English just like it is discussed for Kiswahili in Section 9.3.1. They seem to know the concepts under discussion, but they do not have sufficient knowledge of the LoI to use it to interact with the teachers. Language use during the teaching of English was possibly motivated by two factors;

9.4.1   Learner tension

Ekegusii is used in English lessons in register calling and for giving instructions (see Section 8.2.3.1). As shown in Section 9.4.2, teachers know that learners' knowledge in English is insufficient. Tension attends communicative situations with language barriers. To lessen the tension in English classrooms, teachers use Ekegusii for the reasons stated. They do this acknowledging that register calling and giving instructions would not interfere with content. This is the opportunity the learners have to freely express themselves. Tension starts with the real delivery of content in a medium learners could not cope with. This is the unfortunate situation Cummins points to.

9.4.2   Insufficient knowledge

Kiswahili is used in English lessons for more functions than even English itself as discussed in section 8.2.3.2. This is possibly because teachers know that learners' knowledge of Kiswahili is sufficient to be able to interact effectively with knowledge in the classroom. The use of Kiswahili also is motivated by teachers' understanding that learners' knowledge of English is insufficient to be used as a LoI. I observed that questions asked in English were always followed by learner silence in the rural schools as shown in this excerpt;

> T: How many of you know a cow? An animal known as a cow? (Silence). How many know a cow, ni wangapi wanajua ng'ombe [(Kiswahili) how many know cows]? Ni kumaanisha hamuelewi lugha nyingine [(Kiswahili) Does it mean you don't understand another

language]? Nikitumia Kiswahili ndio mnaelewa [(Kiswahili) when I use Kiswahili is when you understand?]

Ps: Ndio. [(Kiswahili) Yes.]

T: Ni wangapi wanajua ng'ombe [(How many know cows]? (Pupils raise up their hands). Ng'ombe ni mdogo au mkubwa? [(Kiswahili) A cow, is it small or big?]

Ps: Mkubwa. [(Kiswahili) Big].

T: A cow is a big a? (Silence) animal. How many of you have seen an elephant even in pictures? I know you have never seen it. How many have ever seen an elephant? An elephant is a wild a? (Silence) animal. Ni wangapi wanajua elephant ama ndovu [(Kiswahili) How many know elephant or elephant]? Mmewahi kuiona kwa picha [(Kiswahili) Have you ever seen it on a picture?]

Ps: Ndio. [(Kiswahili) Yes.]

T: Ni mnyama mdogo sana ama ni mnyama mkubwa [(Kiswahili) Is it a small or big animal?]

Ps: Mkubwa [(Kiswahili) Big]. (Another shouts) Ni mnono [(Kiswahili) It is huge] (Obsv Sch 2).

This was a science lesson and the teacher was teaching about the use of eyes to see big and small things. The silence observed does not really suggest that learners did not know all the words in the sentences. For instance learners know cows and elephants. The problem could be knowledge of cows and elephants in the middle of other words for example in: How many of you know a cow; a cow is a big a…?; How many of you have seen an elephant even in pictures?; An elephant is a wild a…? Teachers' understanding that learners' knowledge of English is insufficient motivates the use of Kiswahili in English lessons. Actually, in the excerpt above, the pupils answer in the affirmative when the teacher asks if they understand when she speaks in Kiswahili instead of English. This understanding is not limited to teachers but other stakeholders like head teachers as shown below;

Qu: From your experience, in which medium do learners ask or respond to most questions in lower primary?

Resp: Most learners in lower primary could prefer to respond, even if they have grasped a point in Kiswahili or English, they quickly respond in Ekegusii than the other languages.

Qu: Why do you think that is so?

Resp: This is the language they have grown in from childhood and I think they have perfected speaking in Ekegusii than the Kiswahili and English (Intev Sch 6 Ht).

Note that I made it clear at the beginning of my interviews with the teachers that my research was in reference to lower primary, especially standard three. All their responses therefore were given with this in mind. Teachers confessed that English questions are difficult for the learners to comprehend and so they need a different medium. This is what a teacher said;

…even if you instruct them in Ekegusii they do faster than in English. Sometimes if you read a question and not even translate, they stare at you, stranded they even don't know what you mean ((Intev Sch 2 T).

Teachers confessed this a few days before these learners transited into the exclusive English medium. This knowledge of teachers is backed by various research findings in various places. The knowledge of a second language (English) to the extent that it could be used as a LoI has been found to take a minimum of five years (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000, 2007; Wolff, 2013). By the end of standard three, these learners will have studied the subject for three years. With challenges like lack of materials cited by teachers, the time needed may be longer. The implications of low proficiency in English is apparent; poor literacy attainments in both English and content subjects. It could make schooling very difficult for some learners who go to school daily yet they do not understand classroom instruction. Against this reality, teachers still have the reasons to burden pupils more and teach content knowledge in English. This confirms what Qorro (2009) thinks is part of the reason for the use of English as LoI; misunderstanding between English as a subject and English as a LoI. The two are different; English could be acquired by being taught as a subject as Qorro indicates. She further notes that this misunderstanding makes parents put pressure on schools to use English. But, unfortunately, the results of such a course of action is disastrous to otherwise capable learners; mass failure (see Chapter Ten) and dropping out of school. In the words of Joseph and Ramani (personal communication, May 15, 2015) the pupils are not actually dropouts, but 'pushed-outs'; school systems, by choice of media of instruction, push them out.

9.5   Content subjects

The language in education policy prescribes use of mother tongues to teach all subjects except Kiswahili and English in rural schools. Schools in peri-urban/urban settings should use Kiswahili in teaching all subjects except the teaching of English. This presupposes Ekegusii and Kiswahili as the languages to be used to teach content. It further assumes availability of relevant terminology, in the two languages, of most phenomena. Actually, terminology need not be available before the use of a mother tongue to teach as Ramani and Joseph (2006) have demonstrated. In case it is thought important to have terminology, the assumption is that teachers could invent, coin, or nativize to make learning possible. Content subjects observed were mathematics and science. Others for which I sought information (through interviews) on the language used in teaching in the eight schools were social studies, religious studies, creative art, and life skills. The LoI in these

content subjects in the eight schools is English instead of Ekegusii or Kiswahili as prescribed in the policy.

9.5.1 Use of English

It is in the teaching of content subjects that variation between language policy and practice is conspicuous. In lower primary, English should only be taught as a subject in all schools. However, I observed and found out from interviews that English is the LoI in all schools. Code switching and translation in chapter eight exist because of this disparity. Scholars observe that policies are one thing and implementation is another. It could be assumed that teachers have adopted English as a preparatory mechanism just before standard four in the last two terms of standard three. To confirm this possibility, I unofficially observed standard two teaching in some of the eight schools. Secondly, I observed standard three classrooms in January 2015 (phase two observation). In both instances, I found out that use of English to teach starts much earlier; in standard one. The following section discusses the motivation for the use of English to teach content knowledge. The motivations below exist against the backdrop of multiple research reports that argue for the use of mother tongues to teach content knowledge (Afolayan, 1976; Bamgbose 2005a; Cummins, 2000; Desai, 2012; Shale, 2015; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Wolff, 2006, 2011).

9.5.1.1 Tests and examinations

Content subjects are supposed to be taught in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili in the study schools. This presupposes use of these languages in testing. Failure to test in a language learners understand is unreasonable according to Wolff (personal communication, March, 18, 2015). Contrary to this expectation, tests and examinations are set in English in content subjects. Since the policy was instituted in 1976, there has not been any directive from the MoE in reference to the use of English in testing content subjects. When schools started testing subjects taught in mother tongue/Kiswahili in English, is a subject of research. In the eight schools, tests except in Ekegusii/Kiswahili are in English. Stakeholders cite examinations as a major reason. The common tests learners write at lower primary in the study schools are teacher-based, zonal, and divisional ones. In upper primary, they drop zonal ones and adopt divisional and district-wide tests. Teachers from all categories of schools cite this as a reason for the use of English as shown below;

> Qu: From the list of pupils whose tests I marked, all of them are Abagusii. Would you support the use of Ekegusii as a medium of instruction in standard three?

Resp: Mm, I wouldn't support it because the exam that they are doing is not written in Ekegusii. So we are not encouraging it in school because if we encourage it, then the pupils will not be able to answer the questions. So, actually we don't want it to be spoken in school…we want them to speak in English and Kiswahili because the exam is not set in Ekegusii. So we shall disadvantage them if we allow them to speak Ekegusii in class and even the teachers. So we don't allow in school (Intev Sch 5 Ht).

This respondent insists on the use of English not because of its pedagogical significance, but for the sake of understanding and answering school-based, zonal, and divisional tests administered every term. They would rather the learners performed very well in the tests than really acquiring the skills presupposed in the national syllabus including the ability to read and write; developing national cohesion; and the ability to appreciate issues like pollution, HIV/AIDS, and corruption. I interpreted this urgency on the fact that after the zonal and divisional tests, schools are ranked. So, no school head or teacher would want to be ranked last with the embarrassment it comes with during the official public release of these results. The argument that they do not want to disadvantage the learners in examinations is the very thing achieved by the adoption of English at this stage in light of research reports on the acquisition and learning of a L2. Qorro (2009) states when mother tongue is banned, the teaching alienates the learner, deprives them of their cultural identity, and, worst of all, many would fail in their education. Teachers' motivation for the use of English in teaching is, to some extent, justifiable in the Kenyan context where certificates seem to hold more significance than hands-on skills. This was pointed out by one of the MoE officers;

…we are so much exam-oriented and it is because Kenya is a community of the best, the prowess of anybody will be in line with the quantity of certificates that that person has without considering the holistic development of the child or the talent of the child… But the truth is that if we have a false start in mother tongue, the false start continues up to class eight. And that is why you have heard of the Uwezo Report, the PRIMR. They talk about poor back grounding and we have come to establish that the back grounding is because we introduce foreign languages at lower level as opposed to nurturing the child from his/her own language and then as the child grows, we introduce other new concepts (Intev Dq 3).

The use of English is however beset by challenges of lack of sufficient contexts of use and poorly resourced teaching programmes. A prerequisite of success in the acquisition of English is sufficient input where there is natural communicative input outside of the classroom (Krashen, 2002). The fact that national literacy levels are generally low in Kenya (see Chapter Four) which this study confirms (see Chapter Ten) could partly be attributed to the language issue. Educational failure, according to the Yoruba experience, arises from a mismatch between subject matter and the language of instruction (Bamgbose, 2005a). Bamgbose further states that deferring the use of

English as a medium until learners acquire adequate competence of English may lead to better performance. In the long run, poor performance is the result as demonstrated in Chapter Ten. In a research conducted in Tanzania, Mwinsheike (2003) found out that students performed better in science when examinations were written in Kiswahili than when written in English.

9.5.1.2 Transition

By the end of standard three, English would have been taught as a subject for three years. It is assumed this is sufficient time a learner needs to know the language that he/she may use the language for learning. Teachers are therefore under pressure to ensure this is possible. Using English to teach does not start from standard three as the transition class. I observed and interacted with other teachers and found out that in standard two, and standard one, content knowledge is also delivered in English in content subjects, barely two years from the learners' entry to school. Some of the teachers' views were as follows;

> Qu: Is there any other reason why you emphasize Kiswahili and English?
> Resp: Yah. For example I handle class three. So to prepare them to class four, because there is no mother tongue in class four, I need to handle them well. I prepare them fully so that they can be able to join the other class with ease because they don't use mother tongue in these other subjects and they don't mix. So I have to put emphasis in those subjects (Intev Sch 1 T).
> Qu: The lower classes are not doing a national exam any time soon. Why did you also rule out the use of Ekegusii for them?
> Resp: That is the foundation. As much as they don't do a national examination in lower, that is where the foundation for KCPE that later is laid. So in the event that they master the English language from lower classes, they will find transition a little bit easier (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

Teachers use English to teach in spite of their knowledge that these pupils have insufficient knowledge of the language to manage learning effectively. It is a contradiction because their approach may not produce the desired results. Today (in Kenya), examinations are high stake events and no teacher would want to have their classes or schools ranked last as indicated above. The passing of examinations is not glorified because learners would succeed in their education, but because teachers would have had a name and public attention. MoE task forces have repeatedly reported that competition for better ranking had led to nation-wide mal-practices, especially massive cheating in KCPE and KCSE, leading to the banning of ranking by the Cabinet Secretary of Education in 2014. Public pressure led parliament to oppose that ministerial decision. This is the dimension that the wish for better grades takes.

One of the possible effects of this trend is that development of desired skills enshrined in the national goals of education would not be achieved. It could always lead to rote-learning and emphasis on question-answer methods of teaching in which teachers code switch to acquaint learners with examination-type terminology. Teachers confirm that at standard four, the learners are not really ready for an English medium, but they nonetheless, teach using it in standard three and from standard one. This suggests that neither Ekegusii (see Chapter Seven) nor English (see Section 9.4.2) and possibly Kiswahili (see Section 9.3.1) is adequately developed by standard four. This is an educationally precarious situation to be in for these learners. Cummins states that;

> Simply put, students whose academic proficiency in the language of instruction is relatively weak will tend to fall further and further behind unless the instruction they receive enables them to comprehend the input, both written and oral, and participate academically in class (2000, p. 175).

Teachers confirmed this;

> Qu: In the tests I administered recently learners performed poorly in reading. Why do you think this was so?
> Resp: Mostly in English, the learners don't like it. Reading, even a two-line comprehension, and am yet to discover why is because of English. They tend to have the negative attitude towards English subjects as a whole now…even if you instruct them in Ekegusii they do faster than in English. Sometimes if you read a question and not even translate, they stare at you, stranded they even don't know what you mean (Intev Sch 2 T).

The fact that these learners are not able to respond to English questions unless translated for should have made teachers across schools to seek for change of approach to make learning more meaningful. That learners need another medium to understand English communication in standard four defeats the effort put to improve English by starting early. This use of English, whatever its supposed significance for use from standard four onwards, is injurious to the essence of having them in school.

9.5.1.3 Text books

In spite of policy, two government-affiliated publishing houses and all other private publishing houses, publish content subject books in English for all the levels including for pre-unit. This trend seems to motivate teachers to use English to enable learners use it to learn content. Mbaabu (1996a) refers to this scenario as hypocritical on the part of government. The following excerpt indicates this motivation;

Qu: What is your objective in requiring them to speak in the two languages?

Resp: We normally would want to see that a child who has attained the age of beginning class four to class eight, are encouraged to speak in the two languages because this one would also help them in the perfection of either reading and writing the two languages. That is the main reason as to why we could want to reinforce the use of these two languages unlike the vernacular which they do not use in any examination or in any books that they are reading currently (Intev Sch 6 Ht).

The MoE has however not explained why books for content subjects are written in English yet policy prescribes use of mother tongues to teach. It may be the government's intentional silence to see the dropping of languages of the catchment to provide an opportunity to strongly entrench the official languages in school communication. It would seem economical for them to manage two languages than more than forty-two languages. But as the situation in other contexts has shown, the cost of their non-use is always higher than anticipated (Banda, 2009). With English books in all subjects therefore, is assumed more exposure to English. This is an understanding that works against what it purports to enhance (Philipson, 1992). One cardinal principle of second language acquisition is regular exposure to the language. In Kenya, this is not guaranteed. Qorro (2004) says that the English medium of teaching is difficult for many teachers in Africa, yet this is the main source of input for majority of learners.

9.5.1.4 Policy

Six interviewees wanted the use of English because they know that is what the policy says. This is demonstrated in the following response;

Qu: Now, what does the government school language policy require of a school like this one in class three?

Resp: I think, class three, all subjects except Kiswahili, the children should be taught in English apart from Kiswahili and mother tongue. The children should be taught in English. Yes. English language should be applied in all subjects apart from Kiswahili and mother tongue. Yes. (Intev Sch 2 Ht).

This motivation applies to teachers across the three categories. This belief may have arisen due to three possible factors; the policy became operative in 1976 which is thirty-nine years since. Most of the teachers in the service today had not started teaching by then and so they do not know the actual provisions of the policy. Secondly, government silence on the provisions of the policy for a long time. It would not be unexpected that government would from time to time remind teachers about the policy because of its significance in early child education. The government does not

enact policies whose significance it has not considered adequately. Thirdly, teachers do not familiarize themselves with information about the practice of their profession. Research findings keep changing beliefs and practices in all professions. To be ignorant of this new information puts practitioners at the risk of applying out-dated principles hence failing to achieve expected organizational goals.

Head teachers of primary schools attend regular workshops both locally and nationally on issues of curriculum implementation. The climax of these is the yearly Kenya Primary School Heads Association (KEPSHA) conferences usually held in the city of Mombasa which are usually addressed by scholars from various sectors. The fact that it is head teachers who hold this belief is significant as far as implementation of the policy is concerned. Currently, the ministry holds head teachers of primary schools as managers in charge of implementation of the curriculum. Their beliefs and knowledge therefore would, to a greater extent, inform practice in the schools. This belief, not based on fact, obviously negatively, affects policy implementation in regard to LoI. Fourthly, the emphasis on the knowledge of English as facilitative to performance and success in learning may have become truth by constant repetition. To talk about learning success without English therefore sounds strange. It has been pointed out that one reason for non-implementation of language in education policies is ignorance of the teachers on what the policies state (Hong, 2008). Chapter Six indicates that this ignorance of policy provisions is wide-ranging; even dqasos demonstrated ignorance.

9.5.1.5 Government attitude

The government seems to offer lip service to the issue of LoI which teachers have now come to label as a contradiction. This, according to the teachers, has left various schools adopt their own LoIs based on their school-based language policies and the wish to be ranked highly in inter-school tests. Most of the school language policies prescribe the use of Kiswahili and English with emphasis on English. Progressively, schools have adopted English as the LoI. This is what one of the head teachers said (compare their responses with the discussion in Chapter Six on conceptualization of policy).

> …Okay, incidentally again, as much as the government is trying to say that the language of instruction should be the language of the catchment area, that very government has not set exams to meet the needs of that particular area. So it is a contradiction at times… The government can give directives which the government itself is not able to follow down…

> And number two, not all directives given by the government are practical…For example, the government said or rather gave a directive that children should be taught using a vernacular, but that very government does not request KNEC to set an exam in Ekegusii. So personally I find it a contradiction… They don't actually come to the ground to see actually what is there. Yet these are the very people again who will come up tomorrow and say can you explain why you did not register a good mean (score)? Can you show cause why you cannot be disciplined by having so many failures?... (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

Teacher cites two aspects of government's luke-warmness; it has not set examinations using the mother tongues and in the event of poor performance, it punishes teachers responsible for those schools or classes. For the first one, the teachers are on the right because setting examinations in the mother tongues would strengthen them. On punishment, the government errs by penalizing teachers on account of terminal performance that does not measure all the domains of learning; cognitive, affective, and psychomotor.

These teachers' sentiments also indicate that firstly, they do not understand the process of language and literacy development. Why would they talk of language of examinations when lower primary school children have between five and seven years to write their first national examination? It would be expected that if the learners' first languages and English are properly developed, the learners would have attained sufficient mastery of English to be able to write the KCPE examination successfully. But their insistence on the language of examinations is a revelation on the premium placed on the inter-school tests which, according to them, prove which school is working hard. Secondly, their claim on books reveals the abdication of responsibility on the part of teachers. It would be expected that because teachers deal with learners in class on a daily basis, they would be partners in the preparation of teaching and learning materials (for mother tongues) for lower primary using locally available materials. To place full responsibility on the government is inexcusable.

The government's lip service to issues of language policy and use of mother tongues to teach is not inadvertent; it is informed by behind-the-scenes non-pedagogical and non-theoretical considerations. Bamgbose (2005a) calls it lack of political will to break away from the colonial policy and practice of limiting mother tongue education to lower primary classes. According to Kembo-Sure, '…it is the financial and political factors that seem to support the retention of the foreign languages as official and mediums of instruction' (2009, p. 87). According to Bamgbose and Kembo-Sure, therefore, the so called luke-warm approach is intentional and meant to achieve

certain non-pedagogical ends but at the expense of learners' 'incomprehensible learning'. One of the possible results of this approach to literacy development, as it is practised in the sample schools, is indicated in the low scores reported in Chapter Ten.

9.5.1.6 Beliefs

The understanding that practice makes perfect makes teachers use English. The following responses indicate this;

> Qu: The lower classes are not doing a national exam any time soon. Why did you also rule out the use of Ekegusii for them?
>
> Resp: That is the foundation. As much as they don't do a national examination in lower, that is where the foundation for KCPE that later is laid. So in the event that they master the English language from lower classes, they will find transition a little bit easier (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

> Qu: Don't you think they are assuming they have five years to learn English and Kiswahili before KCPE?
>
> Resp: But you know everything starts with practice. As the child comes to school, he should be practicing in that language that he is supposed to sit for the exam papers. But if you leave somebody, ni kama tunasema [(Kiswahili) it is like we are saying],'tori gokumba mote ekero obeire omonene' [(Ekegusii) you do not bend a tree when it is fully grown]. Insaa okoyochakera gotiira gotiira [(Ekegusii) Down here you start up up]. So to me I believe, it is good when they start the use of the language at lower stages before they come to this upper primary (Intev MoE 8).

The motivation to teach early is underlain by the main motivation; performance in examinations and not really mastery of the language per se as suggested by these responses. The teachers do not see five to seven years coming as sufficient to develop the English proficiency needed for the examination. According to them, passing the KCPE examinations in five years to come needs a foundation at lower primary. This notion is, in light of many research reports, based on a wrong understanding of L2 learning. The reading scores presented in Chapter Ten and the ones reviewed in Chapter Four confirm that these learners have had a false start as far as prioritizing language acquisition and learning is concerned. This believe is contrary to research findings that put the minimum time a learner needs to acquire enough mastery of English to use it in learning literacy at five to seven years (Cummins, 1981, 2007; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Wolff, 2013). By standard three, these learners would have had instruction of English as a subject for about four years. In the references above, it is assumed the learners have a lot of teaching and learning support and materials as well as input outside classrooms to take five years to be ready to use English to learn content knowledge.

In the study schools, all class teachers and head teachers cited lack of books as one of the biggest challenges to the teaching of the two second languages. In my observation, Sch 1 had between five and six pupils sharing an English textbook; Sch 2 and Sch 3 had between four and five; Sch 4 had three sharing a text book; there were only eleven pupils in standard three in Sch 4. No school had grade level readers in any of the three languages. This indicates the extent to which the development of the language would have reached by the end of standard three. The reading scores analysed in Chapter Ten depict this low level of knowledge of English by the end of standard three. To be able to develop their writing abilities, learners must be encouraged to write extensively both in their L1 and L2 (Cummins, 2007) an opportunity that is lacking as pointed out in Chapter Seven.

9.5.1.7 Global opportunities

There is a feeling that teachers are teaching and preparing learners for the outside world. My interpretation of this sentiment is that underlying it is the feeling that Ekegusii is not 'big' enough to bear knowledge worth teaching. This was indicated from a teacher's argument about the language. This is how he responded to the question on his wish for the LoI in standard three;

> Qu: What about you?
> Resp: Now from my end, I would of course wish to teach these children in a language they understand but the circumstances under which we are handling these people and realizing that we are preparing them for the world, I would wish to teach them in a language that will assist them get access or rather accepted into the world. And that is either Kiswahili or English (Intev Ht 7).

I revisited the question later in the discussion by asking what could be done to Ekegusii, which is used in rural schools to teach and as a subject. This is what he said;

> According to my own thinking, the issue of use of a policy like for example learners should learn using the language of the catchment area and particularly Ekegusii, that thing should be abolished. Why? We are no longer doing Ekegusii exams, we are thinking as Kenyans, and not only thinking as Kenyans, we are thinking globally. And because Ekegusii has not developed enough to be able to make a mark let's say in the world level, it would be a waste of time getting into a language that is not getting us anywhere (Intev Ht Sch 7).

This teacher seems to hope that today's children would go to seek for jobs outside the country in his other response;

> …And again taking into account the kind of children we are preparing, it is sad that when you find the government telling us that upon graduation from a given university, we are encouraged to go out and look for jobs. Can you imagine a case like a Kenyan child who has been taught in Ekegusii going to work in America? Am I going to speak in Ekegusii in America? Actually the world has

gone global and we need to think globally. So thinking in Ekegusii, is like we are being limited. This is a personal wish (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

His sentiments are common among other teachers. His views however reveal a lot about what teachers think about language development. By calling Kiswahili and English languages of the world, he forgets that a few decades ago, Kiswahili did not enjoy the status it enjoys; its current status was due to decisions to develop it which could be done for the other mother tongues. The same applies to English which bears vocabulary from many languages including from Kiswahili itself. But underlying this argument is his reference to examinations. His views concur with the reasoning that Ekegusii would kill the learning of Kiswahili and English discussed in Section 9.6.1.

From research, children whose mother tongues are not used for early instruction are the ones who keep repeating classes and also drop out (Bamgbose, 2005a). His hope therefore is not feasible because these children would possibly not get quality education to look for jobs outside their country. His argument on going to speak in Ekegusii in America is also based on the erroneous understanding of both the role of L1 in L2 learning and the supposed negative effect L1 could have on L2 acquisition and learning. In addition, he did not know the difference between teaching of English as a second language and having it used as a LoI. This reasoning was found in Tanzania by Temu (2005). There, some stakeholders believed that English is a global language and so everyone needed to know it. The ability to be global however needs an education that makes the learners independent thinkers which the use of English LoI in Africa does not guarantee in light of research findings (Qorro, 2009).

9.6   Non-use of Ekegusii/Kiswahili
The language policy requires teachers to use Ekegusii or Kiswahili as LoI in the schools. But they instead used English. This section discusses the motivation for the non-use of Ekegusii or Kiswahili. From the discussion in Chapter Five, all the eight schools in the study could effectively use Ekegusii/Kiswahili as a LoI. The following were cited as the motivations for the non-use of Ekegusii or Kiswahili;

9.6.1   Effect on Kiswahili and English
Teachers feel that the use of Ekegusii to teach would kill the acquisition and learning of Kiswahili and English. This is why they would wish not to use it as a LoI. Their feeling is indicated by the following excerpt;

Qu: Now, the constitution of Kenya states that the state shall promote the development and use of indigenous languages, in our case here it is Ekegusii. How do you think this school can help the government to achieve this goal?

Resp: Our school? Our school can't contribute because we are not using it now. May be if it is, I don't think. But if it is used as a medium of instruction, but for me I discourage it. It will kill the two languages, Kiswahili and English completely (Intev Sch 2 Ht).

Qu: What is your wish for the language of instruction in class three?

Resp: …But when it comes to the communication, it (Ekegusii) should be minimum, it should be minimal. Because if we can advocate Ekegusii, to be used, may be in expressing certain words in English, science aaa, I think, aaa, the standard of that English should be, will come down (Intev Sch 4 Ht).

These teachers' argument is anchored on the English of examination and textbooks discussed elsewhere in this thesis. If a language would kill another one, then it is the two new languages that would kill Ekegusii because of the multiple roles assigned them and not vice-versa. To say that they need to know science in English is contrary to the principle of pedagogy of teaching from the known to the unknown. Their thinking that by using English the learners would know English to use it to learn from standard four onwards is confirmed in the contrary by the same teachers. Class teachers and head teachers responded in the negative to the question of whether learners were ready for the English medium on entry into standard four as shown by this response;

Aa, I don't think so. In standard four, still these pupils at least need mother tongue. At least it should be there so that the connection between English and mother tongue can go on well. At least you must explain because if these pupils have not learnt English so well, you don't expect them to get that language because they are using mother tongue in the other class. So you need to introduce them slowly, slowly so that by the time the year ends, now they are acquainted to English. Yah (Intev Sch 3 Ht).

This position is contradicted by research that states that L1, when it is well developed, facilitates the learning and development of L2 in this case Kiswahili and English. Cummins states, '…Those who have strong L1 academic and conceptual skills when they start learning English tend to attain higher levels of English academic skills…' (2000, p. 24). This however has to be in a situation where learners have opportunities to use oral and written English. These opportunities for learners to use English are minimal from my life as a native of Gusii, my observation and the interviews, presupposing difficulty in the learning of the language. It also points to the possibility that most learners may not be able to use English for learning from standard four onwards as teachers pointed out. In fact L1 proficiency, when promoted, is at no cost to the learners' academic development in English in light of diverse research reports (Baker, 2006; Bamgbose, 1984; Cummins & Corson, 1997). Note that the use of English starts from standard one, yet by transition to standard four,

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learners have not mastered English to use it to learn. This trend should have provoked relevant stakeholders to change tact. But to date, there seems to be no solution except the old clarion call: English and more English!

9.6.2 Linguistic heterogeneity

This view was held by class teachers and head teachers of Sch 5, Sch 7 and Sch 8. In Sch 5, there was no pupil from another tribe in lower primary at the time of the research i.e. June to the end of January 2015. In the whole school, the head teacher confirmed that they had a Luo-speaking pupil who had joined and sat for her KCPE in the year 2013. In Sch 7, there were two Luo-speaking pupils in standard three and the head teacher confirmed there were a Maasai and Kikuyu in standard eight in the previous year. In Sch 8, there were two Luo-speaking pupils in standard three. The head teacher said that in the whole school of more than six hundred pupils, the number of non-native Ekegusii-speaking pupils was about five percent in 2014 translating to 33 pupils unevenly distributed across the classes. This is what one the teachers said on the non-use of Ekegusii;

> And we also discourage them because this is a mixed school (to refer to pupils from other tribes). So it is not easy for them to use mother tongue (Intev Sch 8 T).

But this reason serves as a mere excuse. In the same subject in the interview, the same teacher said they are allowed to use mother tongue in science and social studies, contradicting the non-use of Ekegusii on account of non-Ekegusii speaking learners;

> Qu: Does Ekegusii help you in any way in teaching content or in the developing of reading and writing in Kiswahili and English?
> Resp: No. It doesn't. It only helps me in subjects like science and social. When I talk of historical events or some plants which the learners cannot know, so in science, we are allowed to use mother tongue (Intev Sch 8 T).

How could she use mother tongue if the school was mixed? A head teacher responded as follows to the question of how Ekegusii was used in his school;

> Qu: Now, what is Ekegusii used for in your school?
> Resp: The language used here, we actually use Kiswahili because we have mixed children. Yah, we don't have one tribe here. They are mixed from various tribes. So the common language we use here is Kiswahili and English (Intev Sch 5 Ht).

I went further to ask what a teacher would do if they were discussing a cultural event (e. g. circumcision) among the Abagusii;

Now, because we have, as I have already said, we have different races, tribes in the same class and you are teaching about circumcision, and you know in every tribe they do it differently, so the only thing that can help you is actually using the illustrations because the other tribe may not understand what you are explaining in your Ekegusii language. So you have to use some illustrations so that they can understand even those ones. The other tribes can also understand what you are saying because Ekegusii alone cannot help now. You will be confusing the learners even more (Intev Sch 5 Ht).

To strive to use illustrations and other means just for the sake of two learners who may not understand is hypocritical. Teachers know that you can explain to the non-Ekegusii speaking in Kiswahili after explaining to the others in Ekegusii. The non-use of Ekegusii according to him in not really based on the fact that there are mixed tribes of pupils taking it from the statistics he gave and the current composition of the standard three class. This was revealed in a later question in the interview on if they could use Ekegusii in a class where there were only Ekegusii-speaking pupils;

Qu: What about in class three where all pupils are Ekegusii-speaking currently?
Resp: Even that I don't accept it because they will forget the English language and go to Ekegusii and you know they are approaching standard four. So if you continue using Ekegusii in class three, when they reach in standard four, they want you to continue with the same language which you were using in class three and you will find it very difficult for them to answer questions and even to give them instructions (Intev Sch 5 Ht).

The underlying motivation revealed by this response is that schools are majorly motivated by mastery of English and the standard four English, which is also the English of examinations. But for their choice of use of English to find a strong rationale, they attach other convincing reasons to back their choices. This reveals the fact that teachers have firstly not interrogated critically the ministry's rationale for the policy. Secondly, teachers have succumbed to the pressure of performance without which they should justify their continued stay in their positions. Thirdly, it indicates that teachers do not update their professional knowledge. This is an unfortunate trend because knowledge bases keep shifting following new research findings.

9.6.3   Lack of terminology

Some teachers do not want to use Ekegusii because, according to them, it does not have enough terminology to refer to certain concepts. Ekegusii cannot adequately bear knowledge. This position was stated as shown below;

Qu: Why?
Resp: In some subjects there are concepts which you cannot be able to inform the learners on Ekegusii. For example science, there are some things which you cannot be able to tell the

learners in mother tongue. So you have to use English. In most cases English. So mother tongue I don't think if it can apply (Intev Sch 2 T).

His justification was supported by head teachers;

Qu: Why don't you support Ekegusii?
Resp: Ekegusii is you know there are certain terminologies, if they can use Ekegusii language, in expressing or explaining certain concepts, in fact it cannot bring the meaning. More especially during testing, they, I usually stress these teachers to use the simplest and even use diagrams, pictures, yah to enable, or certain objects to enable these children to understand. Yes (Intev Sch 4 Ht).

The teachers do not seem to know that there is no phenomenon that cannot be referred to using any human language. Referents need to be nativized or borrowed from another language just like English has borrowed from such languages as Latin, Greek, and Kiswahili. The notion that a teacher could use simple English is also erroneous; academic language has a higher cognitive demand however simple it may be (Cummins, 2000). Finally, the use of pictures does not make teaching simple; pictures are interpreted using a language. But citing lack of vocabulary, it has been demonstrated, is a mere excuse to develop English for the sake of examinations. This motivation is based on one of the myths that Obanya (1999) discusses, that have left African languages underdeveloped.

This position is further a sign of ignorance of the fact that human languages are capable of expressing scientific and philosophical ideas and that they exist in a polyglot world of mutual borrowing (Kishani, 2001; see Bamgbose, 2005b on cooperative effort to develop materials and terminology between teachers and other stakeholders). The same finding has been published in a research conducted in South Africa by Greenfields (2010) where mother tongues are not supported as languages of education due to their supposed lack of terminology. The reason is due to ignorance of how other countries deal with terminology. They are not aware that Japan, with its expertise in technology, does not teach wholly in English. Secondly, it has been demonstrated in South African Universities, and elsewhere, that any subject can be referred to using any of the languages of the world (Bamgbose, 2005a; Kaschula, 2013; Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Shale, 2015). This thinking is refuted by an African scholar. He states;

It is currently common knowledge amongst linguists that no language is inherently incapable of incorporating modern science and technology. One thing which the contemporary Asian experience demonstrates is precisely this. None of the Asian economic dragons of today are

developing on the basis of colonial languages, and yet we know too well that only four to five decades ago some of them were colonies like their African counterparts (Prah, 1998, p. 6).

9.6.4 Parents' preference

Both head teachers and class teachers confirmed that parents' wish was that Ekegusii should not be used as a LoI. This was indicated in the exchange below;

> Qu: What about parents?
> Resp: Well, parents will equally have a similar share because they know that the purpose of taking their children to school is for them to get knowledge, get into better schools and get better jobs. I don't think whether there is a parent who would comfortably want the child to be taught in Ekegusii when he knows that that child is going to be tested in English…Which is actually an indication that, depending on the level of awareness of the parent, they would wish to see their children taught in a national language. A language that can make their children get nationally (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

Parents' wish for the use of English is not based on fact but on their aspirations for their children. It is generally thought that if the children know English soon in life, it would guarantee them passing their national examinations and later guarantee jobs. The source of this rejection of Ekegusii is not a recent phenomenon. As early as 1974, Whiteley documented it and subsequent studies have shown that most parents prefer the use of English to teach their children because, according to them, it is the language of success. Their attitude may be honest, but it is based on a misunderstanding. Research confirms that if children are given the opportunity to be bilingual, they would develop more awareness of language (metalinguistic abilities) in addition to having advantages in learning additional languages. This parental attitude is shared with teachers as demonstrated by one of the head teachers. His response below indicates that teachers have brainwashed learners to the extent that they would not want a teacher to teach them in Ekegusii;

> Qu: Would you support the use of Ekegusii to teach in standard three?
> Resp: Well, that is a controversy the way I may try to put it. I call it a controversy because in the past performance has been associated with the mastering of the language. So going to teach in class three using Ekegusii, I am telling you it is going to, it is not going to augur well. In some circumstances, you may even find the children telling you, 'mwalimu, unaongea lugha mbaya' [teacher, you are speaking a bad language] (Intev Sch 7 Ht).

This response is born of uninformed negative attitudes towards mother tongues which Afolayan (1976) observes is the main challenge for progressive language policies. These attitudes arise, partly, due to the fact that parents have not been educated about the educational value of using the language understood by their children (Kaschula, 1999; Makalela, 2009). Mother tongue is a potential resource when developed (Ruíz, 1984). Cummins (2001a) observes that mother tongue

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development in the school helps develop not only the mother tongue but also children's abilities in the majority school language. He further points out that bilingual children perform better in school when the school effectively teaches the mother tongue and, where appropriate, develops literacy in that language. On the contrary, when children are encouraged to reject their mother tongue and, consequently, its development stagnates, their personal and conceptual foundation for learning is undermined. This may be the possible consequence of most learners in standard three who cannot answer a question in English unless it is translated as pointed out earlier. Both Probyn (2009) and Plüddemann (2002) had the same finding in South Africa.

9.6.5 Knowledge of mother tongue

Another reason for the non-use of Ekegusii in the schools is that learners already know enough of the language from home. This is enough to give room to the other languages. This, like the other reasons, is just a cover-up for the real reasons for the non-use. This is what a respondent said;

> Qu:	What does it require?
> Res:	That in lower primary, they should use more of Kiswahili and English but we don't penalize anyone using the mother tongue. But in upper, strictly we want them to use English and Kiswahili. Because these are people who have talked enough mother tongue and don't need it, they won't need it anywhere when it comes to examinations. Yes (Intev Sch 1 Ht).

This assumption is based on the fact that teachers do not, any longer, recognize the significance of teaching from the known to the unknown. Society has made them believe that the knowledge of English is the solution to all problems to do with teaching and learning and examinations. This finding speaks to another finding in a research conducted in Kenya by Muthwii (2004) in which respondents indicated that pupils were already fluent in their mother tongues and so they no longer needed them. In addition, the same respondents added that if allowed to use mother tongues, they would not take their studies seriously. One wonders what motivates children taught in their mother tongues in China, in Korea, in Britain, in Sri-Lanka to take their studies seriously.

9.6.6 Impracticability

Teachers feel that teaching in Ekegusii is impractical as indicated in the following response;

> Qu:	A subject taught in mother tongue, what does it mean?
> Resp:	That that subject be taught in the language that child was born speaking. It is not practical. How can you teach that subject in mother tongue totally? You see like now we teach, ceremonies we teach them, but you must tell them they are ceremonies; circumcision. Then you tell them circumcision is when a child is circumcised. Yes you explain to him but we use English. We don't use mother tongue. (Intev MoE 9).

MoE 8 also dismissed the possibility of teaching content using Ekegusii. This was part of her response;

   Qu: What does the education language policy require of a school like this one in lower primary?

   Resp: You know they have been emphasizing much we use mother tongue, which means we should be teaching in Ekegusii. Did you not hear sometime they were saying so?

   Qu: Why were they saying that?

   Resp: Yaani [You see] I think they believe that if you teach in the child's own language, then the child will be able to understand better.

   Qu: Do you believe in that?

   Resp: I don't believe in that because if you teach somebody in his own language, then how will he/she acquire these other mediums of communication let's say English or Kiswahili?... Because even the national exams are set in English and Kiswahili. And here you are teaching in Ekegusii, then how will they get to understand?

This belief is not because Ekegusii as a language is inherently incapable of transmitting knowledge, but according to the two, it is based on two factors; ignorance on second language acquisition and consequently, the need to practice and prepare for examinations five years in advance. This finding is contrary to wide research on the subject of using mother tongues to teach. In her research in Tanzania, Qorro (2009) has indicated that when pupils are taught in Kiswahili (their mother tongue), they understand more and score highly. Maalim (2014) confirms the finding in a study in Zanzibar. Actually, the same findings have been confirmed consistently and frequently as indicated in other sections in this report.

9.6.7   Ignorance

The various excerpts referred to in the discussions above point to ignorance of the principle underlying classification of schools into rural and urban. The principle (in drafting of the language policy) contemplated the possibility of multilingual classrooms in the course of time due to the multilingual nature of the country. This would call for use of a neutral language of instruction. This is because use of any of the languages represented would unduly priviledge it and possibly (due to unintelligibility of the languages represented), make learning difficult or impossible. Otherwise, the principle of known to unknown in teaching is supposed to apply in all teaching. Both the MoE officers (see Chapter Six) and teachers seemed to think that town schools with or without linguistically heterogeneous classrooms must use Kiswahili. This is why the classification itself seems to include linguistically homogeneous schools among urban schools.

MoE 7 says that 'this is a cosmopolitan school' yet she also confirms that the pupils in her school are Ekegusii speakers. This ignorance, coupled with other factors like language beliefs, is to the detriment of the development of Ekegusii and the implementation of the language in education policy in general. The use of Kiswahili, therefore, for instruction in urban linguistically homogeneous classrooms, which is combined with English as discussed in Chapter Eight, presents a triple challenge for the pupils; struggling to understand Kiswahili, struggling to understand English, and struggling to learn new knowledge. The discussion of findings in the tests presented in Chapter Ten indicates that these conditions could be, to some extent, responsible for the poor scores in Kiswahili and English for the urban school pupils.

The reasons advanced for the use of English and the non-use of Ekegusii/Kiswahili in teaching in the study schools have been referred to as just myths most of which are due to ignorance and socio-political considerations. Wolff (2013) states it strongly that English is not the best medium to be used as the only medium of instruction in schools, not at the primary, not at secondary, and not even at university level. The reasons have been advanced elsewhere in this thesis. But the two compelling motivations are that it needs at least five years of learning for a second language to be used as a LoI in optimal conditions which in Africa could be longer (Wolff, 2013). Secondly, the linguistic ecology in which African children live and socialize is deficient of a generous exposure to English; this is compounded by African teachers who are not ideal models of teaching the language (Qorro, 2009; Wolff, 2013).

9.7   Summary

This section has presented and analysed data on the motivation for the use and non-use of various languages in teaching and learning. Use of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, or English in teaching is governed by, among other things, perceived learners' knowledge or lack of knowledge of the particular language, the language of both current tests and the terminal KCPE examination. The next section presents data and analysis of learner scores in reading comprehension tests.

CHAPTER TEN

READING SCORES

10.1   Introduction

This section presents data and analysis of learner scores in the three languages across the three school categories. This chapter responded to specific research question five which was;

> *To what extent are pupils literate in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English by the end of standard three?*

Three hundred and thirty pupils formed the sample but not all of them sat for each individual test as shown below. The frequencies below capture those who wrote the individual tests. Frequency tables from which the figures below were generated are in Appendices Q5, Q6, and Q7.

10.2   Frequencies of pupils and schools

In addition to the sample discussed in Section 5.3.3, pupils were the sample from whom data for this chapter were obtained. Gender in the sample and representation in terms of school categories are discussed below.

10.2.1 Gender

Figure 10.1 captures the sample in terms of gender. The percentage of girls in the sample was 46.1 while that of boys was 53.1 %. The variation in percentage is possibly due to girls' involvement in household chores. In families with little children and poor parents, it is most likely girls could be asked to stay behind and look after them as parents go out to fend for the family. Secondly, in cases where school factors like use of a second language which they do not understand well, girls are likely to avoid school because of the embarrassment which attends being seen as weak pupils. Thirdly, some female pupils were aged twelve and thirteen yet they were still in standard three (sometimes due to repetition). In case of onset of adolescence with the attendant physiological changes, these might find it difficult to attend school regularly especially when they come from poor families. Finally, the perception that a boy child needs education more than a girl child could be another reason.

The distribution of pupils in terms of gender

46.1

53.1

■ Boys ■ Girls
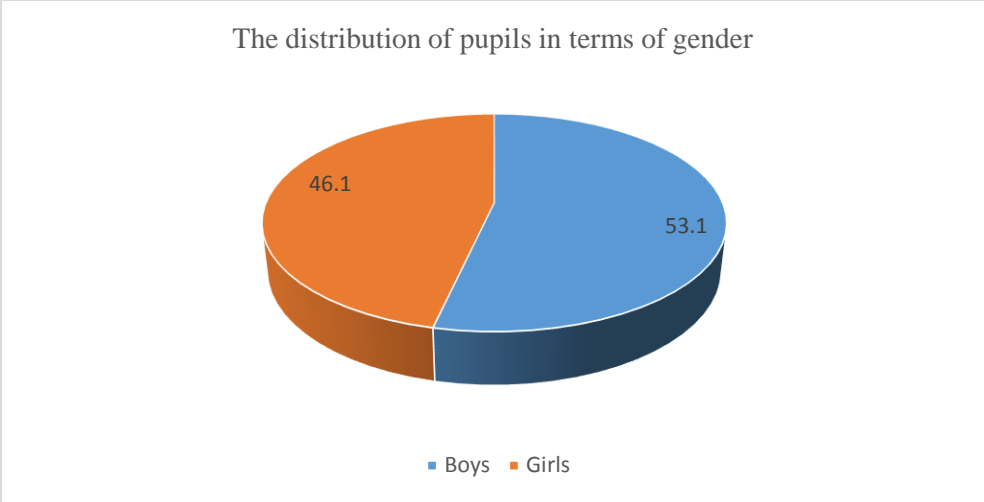
Figure 10.1 Sample according to gender.

There is a 7-point difference in percentage representation between boys and girls.

10.2.2 School categories

There were three categories of schools. Figure 10.2 shows that they were represented by 34.2%, 37.9%, and 27.9% for category one, category two, and category three respectively. School category one is underrepresented (it had four schools) which I attribute to two factors. Due to poverty, many pupils find it difficult to attend school regularly. Secondly, in order to improve mean standard scores in interschool tests, schools make pupils repeat classes (schools insist on above average grades at all levels). This implies standards one and two are usually overpopulated in most of these category one schools. Category two had the highest percentage. They fall in between category one and category three settlements. Many people from the Abagusii community have settled in these catchments as labourers in nearby towns hence increasing the population. The percentage of category three seems ideal going by average enrolment standards in public schools in Kenya. Sch 7 had 36 pupils and Sch 8, 56 pupils. Fifty-six pupils in a town setting is not uncommon in Kenya.
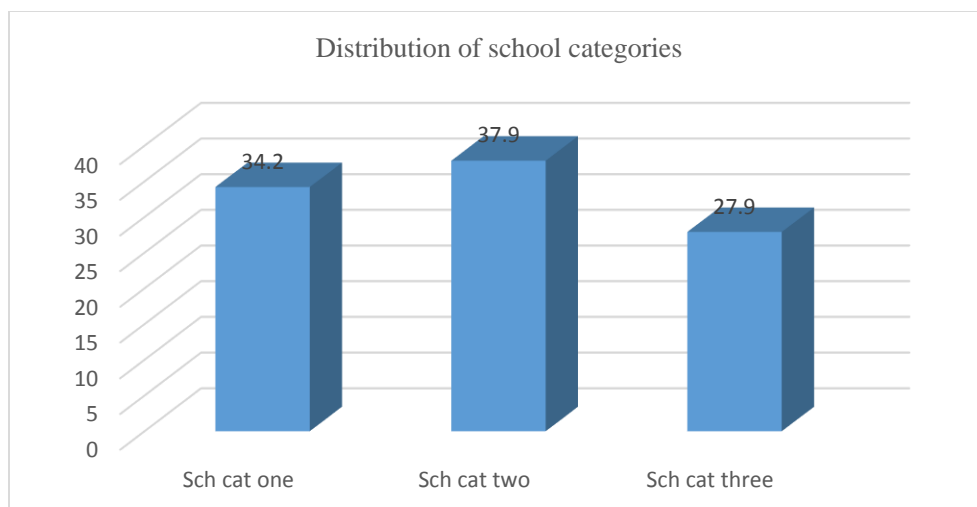
Figure 10.2. Sample according to school category.

10.3 Test scores

Presentation of scores is done in order of school category starting from category one. Knowledge tests (one and two) preceed comprehension tests (one and two). This is done in the order of Ekegusii, then Kiswahili and finally English. The sub-questions that this section responded to are;

  a. *What percentage of pupils scored 0-2 marks in each of the tests in each language across the three school categories?*
  b. *What percentage of pupils scored 3 or more marks in each of the tests in each language across the three school categories?*

In the presentation, Ekegusii knowledge tests are referred to as CAT 1, 7; comprehension tests as CAT 2, 8. Kiswahili knowledge tests are referred to as CAT 3, 9; comprehension tests as 4, 10. English knowledge tests are referred to as CAT 5, 11 and comprehension tests as CAT 6, 12. Category one took Ekegusii tests which the other two did not take. This implies that all categories took CATS 3/9, 4/10, 5/11, 6/12.

10.3.1 Category one (rural schools)
Their scores were as follows;

10.3.1.1Ekegusii knowledge tests (CAT 1 and 7)

Frequency of scores in these tests are as shown in Figure 10.3 and 10.4. Scores indicate that in Ekegusii knowledge one, 60.3 % of the pupils scored 2 marks and below. In Ekegusii knowledge two, 82.7 % of the pupils scored 2 marks and below. The average score was 71.5 %.
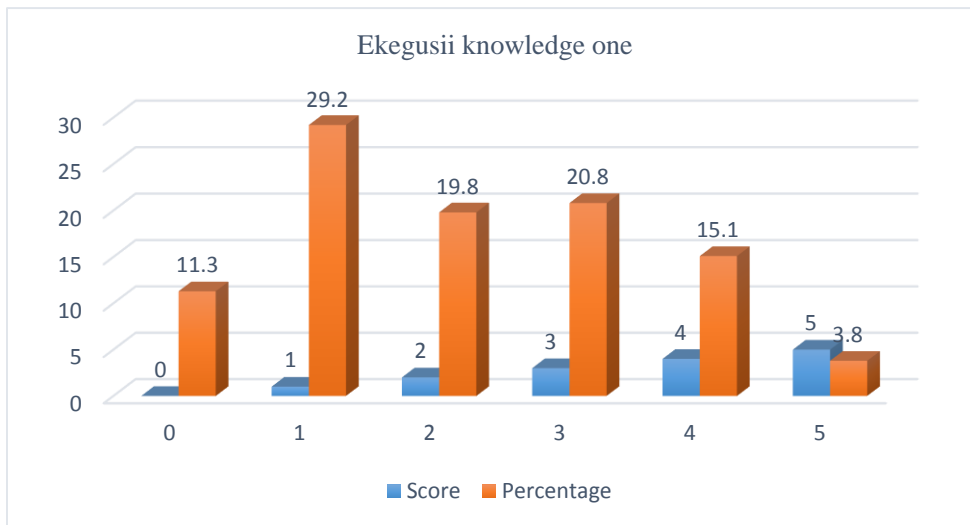
Figure 10.3. Category one distribution of scores in Ekegusii knowledge one (CAT 1).
Each score is represented. One mark was scored by the highest number of pupils.

Figure 10.4. Category one distribution of scores in Ekegusii knowledge two (CAT 7).
One mark was scored by the highest number of pupils.

Averagely, 28.55% scored 3 marks and above and the rest 2 and below indicating that a majority of pupils have difficulty in reading recall questions from a standard three level comprehension passage in Ekegusii. But this is better than the percentages of those who scored 2 marks and below in both Kiswahili and English. The scores indicate that pupils, though not adequately taught Ekegusii as a subject and language of content learning (see extent of development in Chapter

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Seven), the fact that it is a language they know well facilitates acquisition of reading skills (Cummins, 2000). But the 28.55 % of those scoring 3 marks and above is low in case the language could be in use beyond standard three.

10.3.1.2 Ekegusii comprehension tests (CAT 2 and 8)

Scores for comprehension tests are shown in Figures 10.5 and 10.6. In the first comprehension test, 83.9% scored 2 marks and below and 91.3% in test two. Averagely, 87.6 % of the pupils scored 0-2 marks.
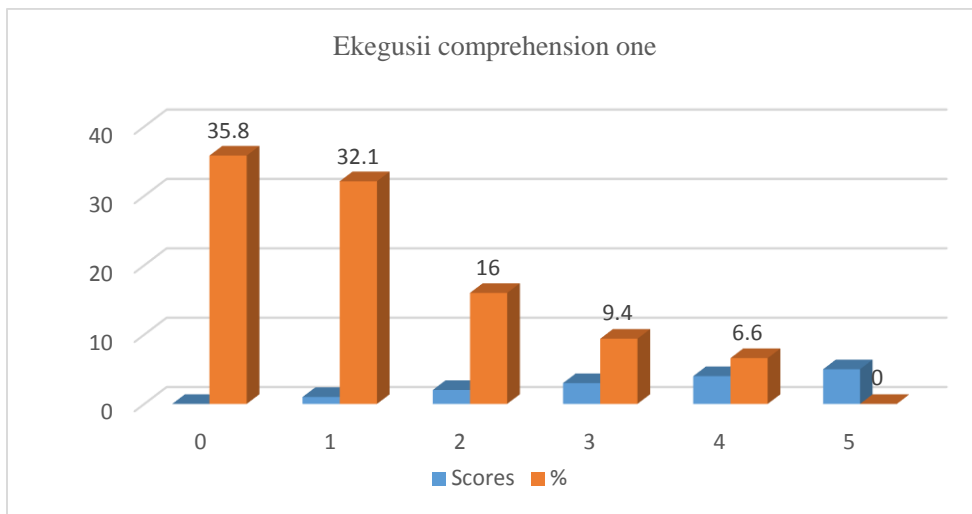
Figure 10.5. Category one distribution of scores in Ekegusii comprehension one (CAT 2)
Zero was scored by the highest number of pupils.

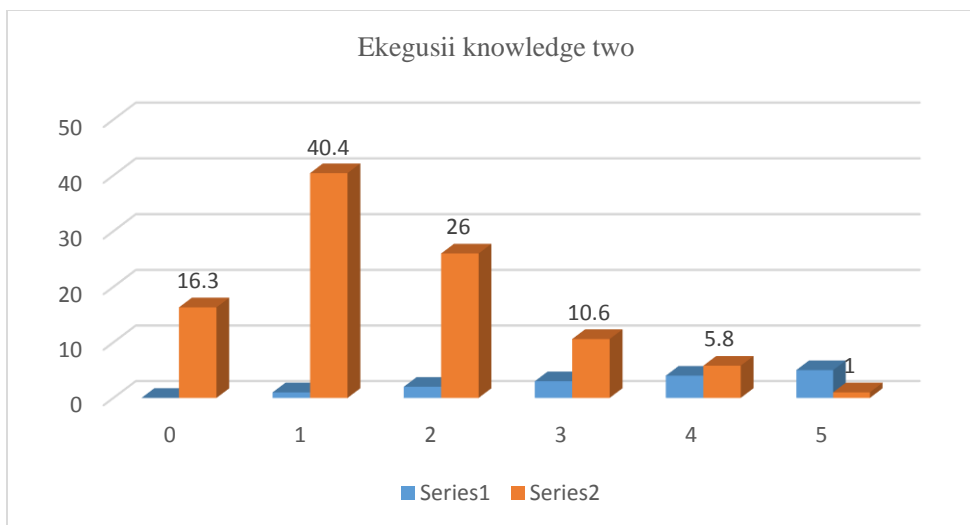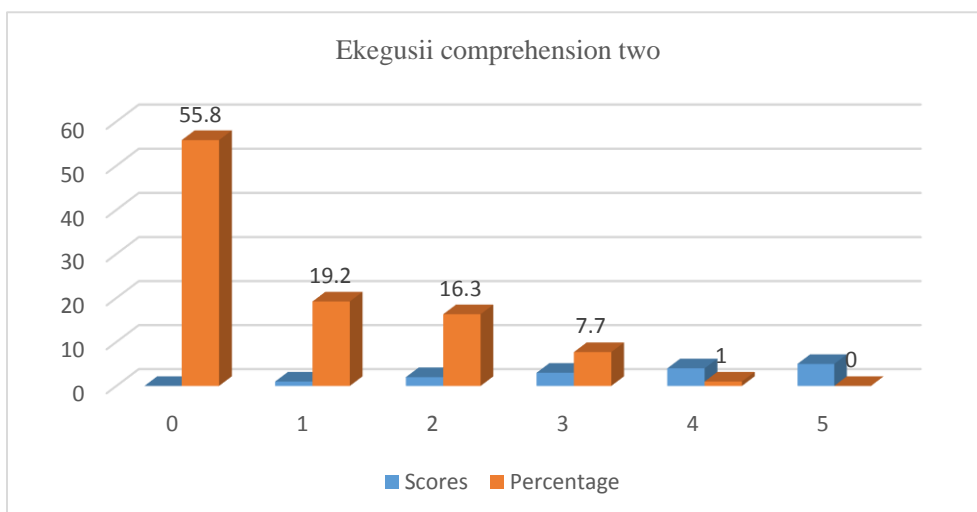*Figure 10.6. Category one distribution of scores in Ekegusii comprehension two (CAT 8).*

Zero was scored by the highest number of pupils.

The four Ekegusii tests indicate that a majority of category one pupils have low reading literacy skills but with better abilities in knowledge skills as compared to comprehension skills. A number of factors could be attributed to this scenario; there are no Ekegusii textbooks or readers; teachers do not give out and follow up on assignments in the subject; and teachers know that the subject would be dropped on transition-this could be reducing efforts to teach the subject (see other possible factors in Chapter Seven and Chapter Nine). It is even possible these low reading skills may have transferred from Kiswahili and English in what is referred to as crosslinguistic transfer (Ayeomoni, 2006). These are the subjects emphasized and heavily resourced.

Research shows that skills can transfer both from the mother tongue to the second language and from the second language to the mother tongue (Cummins, 2000). As shown in Table 10.1, those who, on average scored 2 marks and below in both skills in Kiswahili and English are more than those in Ekegusii. In Kiswahili the averages were 71.95 % and 99 % for knowledge and comprehension skills respectively. This is indicative of the challenges pupils experience in learning new languages especially with a neglected mother tongue as in this case. Mother tongues have been known to facilitate learning and after effective learning, the skills could transfer to subsequent languages (Cummins, 1979b, 2000, 2005b; Desai, 2012; Krashen, 1985; Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002). This is however, with a precondition of adequate teaching and exposure to the second languages as well as the first one.

10.3.1.3 Kiswahili knowledge tests (CAT 3 and 9)

Scores and frequencies for Kiswahili knowledge one and two are as shown in Figure 10.7 and 10.8. In the first test, 69.9% scored 0-2 marks and 30.1% scored 3 marks and above. In Kiswahili knowledge two, 74.0 % scored 2 marks and below and 25.9% scored 3 marks and above. On average, 71.95 % of the pupils scored 2 marks and below in the knowledge tests.
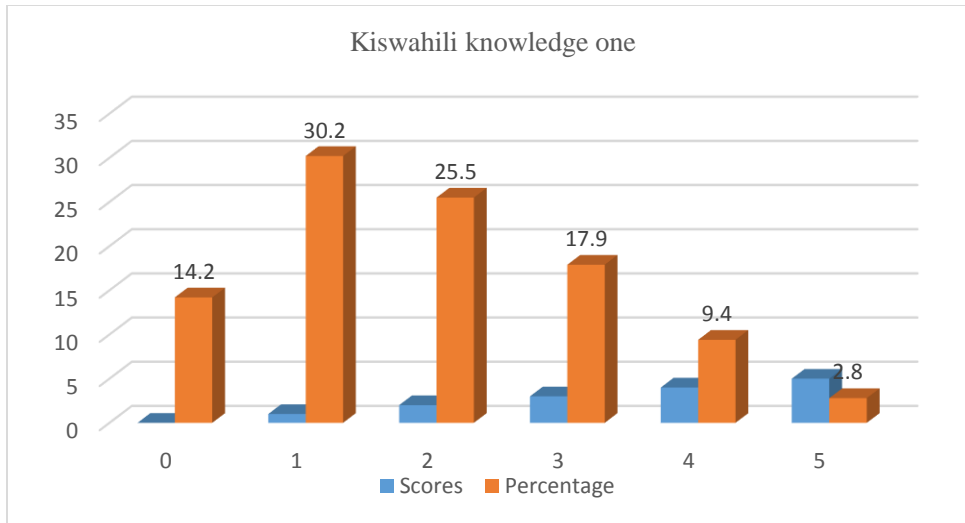
Figure 10.7. Category one distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge one (CAT 3).
One mark was the commonest score.
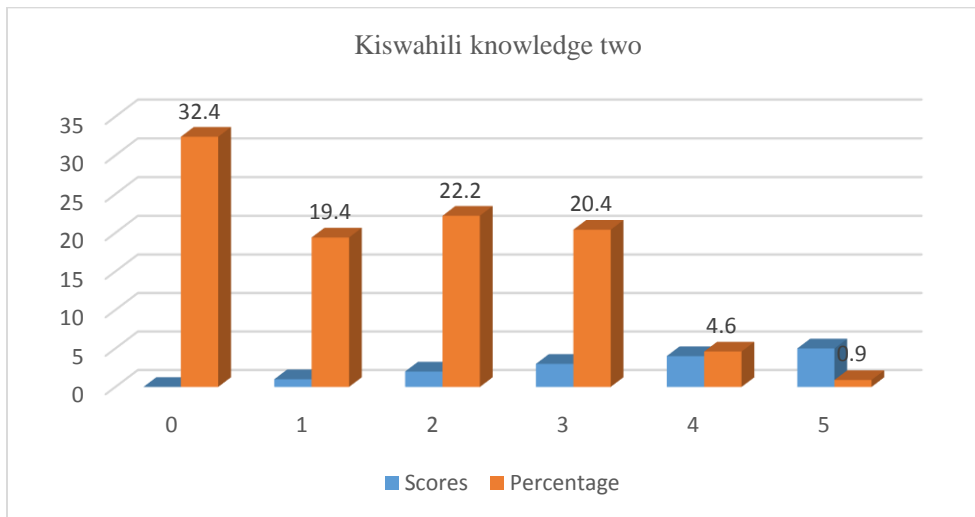
Figure 10.8. Category one distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge two (CAT 9).
Zero was the commonest score.

10.3.1.4 Kiswahili comprehension tests (CAT 4 and 10)

Frequency of scores in Kiswahili comprehension one and two are captured in Figure 10.9 and 10.10. In the first one, 100% of the pupils scored 2 marks and below. In the second one, those who scored 2 marks and below were 93.5% while those who scored 3 marks were represented by 1.9 %. The average percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below in the two comprehension tests was 99 %.

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Figure 10.9. Category one distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension one (CAT 4).
Zero was the commonest score with no scores above 2 marks.

Figure 10.10. Category one distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension two (CAT 10).
Zero was the commonest score with no scores above 3 marks.

These scores indicate that these pupils had not mastered basic reading skills in Kiswahili by the end of standard three. The possible causes of this trend, against the perception of some stakeholders, is the limited exposure to Kiswahili. Most of them have school as the only source of input. Krashen (1985) indicates that in second language learning, the amount of input is critical. Secondly, their poor mastery of Ekegusii reading skills could be a second cause. As discussed in Chapter Seven, Ekegusii is not given adequate attention as a basis upon which subsequent

languages could build as hypothesized by Cummins (Cummins, 1979a, 1979b, 2005b, 2008a; see Section 4.2.2.3 for the ideal extent of L1 development). This huge percentage of learners may experience difficulty in the subject in subsequent grades. On the other hand, mastery of comprehension skills is a critical achievement for standard three pupils transiting to standard four; they need language to read and learn more of the national language. They seem to have more difficulty in comprehension than in knowledge skills. Some possible causes are a poorly developed mother tongue; it is taught casually in readiness for transition. This, according to the interdependence hypothesis, shortcircuits interlinguistic transfer expected in bilingualism and biliteracy. In instances where a mother tongue is developed, the second language is equally developed because the skills in the first language do not have to be relearned.

A second possible factor is the lack of adequate reading materials in Kiswahili. I observed in the schools that during Kiswahili lessons, between three and six pupils shared a textbook and this was only during the lesson. This would make it difficult for these pupils to carry these textbooks to their homes for further individual reading. This would result to further limiting linguistic stimuli for these pupils who do not usually speak Kiswahili both outside class and outside school. It is however noted that Ekegusii subject which had no textbooks and is actually neglected had a less percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below. This suggests that even little overt development of a mother tongue in classroom insruction has significant effect in reading skill acquisition.

10.3.1.5 English knowledge tests (CAT 5 and 11)

Frequency of scores for English knowledge one and two are presented in Figures 10.11 and 10.12. In test one, 92.5 % of the pupils scored 0-2 marks and 7.5 % scored 3 marks and above. In test two, 84.8 % scored 0-2 marks and 15.3 % scored 3 marks and above. The average of those who scored 2 marks and below in the knowledge tests was 88.65 %. This percentage is higher than the one in Ekegusii knowledge (71.5 %) and Kiswahili knowledge (71.95 %).
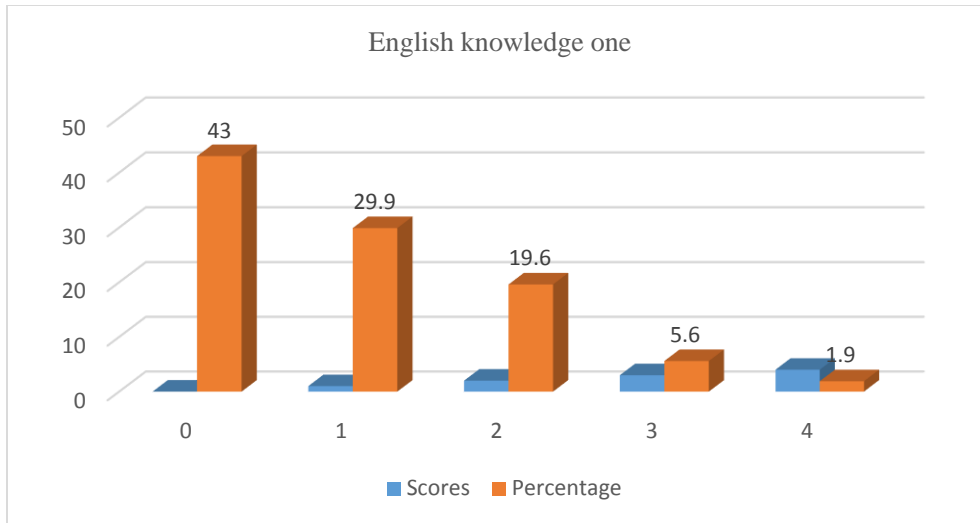
Figure 10.11. Category one distribution of scores in English knowledge one (CAT 5).
Scores bear a descending trend up the 1-5 marks scale with no 5 marks score.
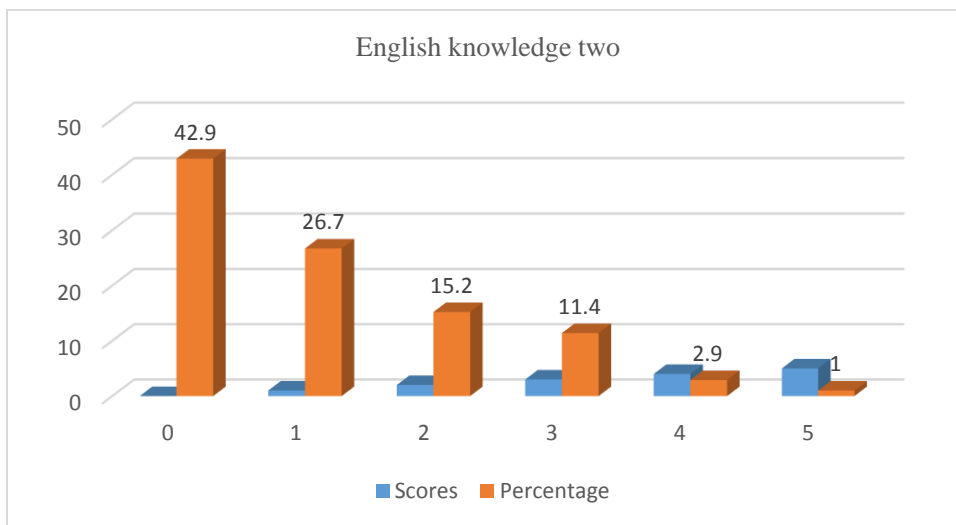
Figure 10.12. Category one distribution of scores in English knowledge two (CAT 11).
Scores bear a descending trend up the 1-5 marks scale.

10.3.1.6 English comprehension tests (CAT 6 and 12)

Figure 10.13 indicates that those who scored 2 marks and below were 99.1 % in test one and 0.9 scored 3 marks. Figure 10.14 indicates that 98.1% scored 0-2 marks. Those who scored 2 marks and below were 98.1 %. The average percentage for test one and two of those who scored 0-2 marks was 98.6 %.
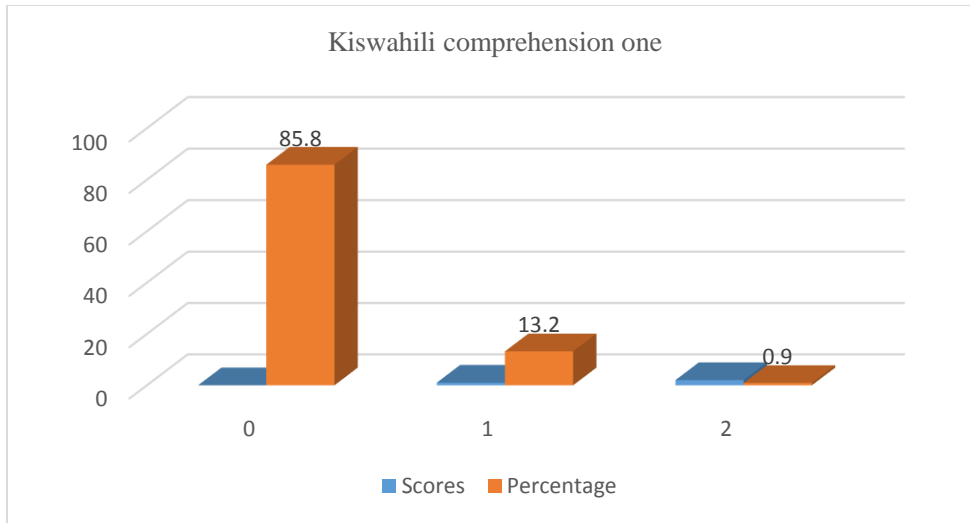
240
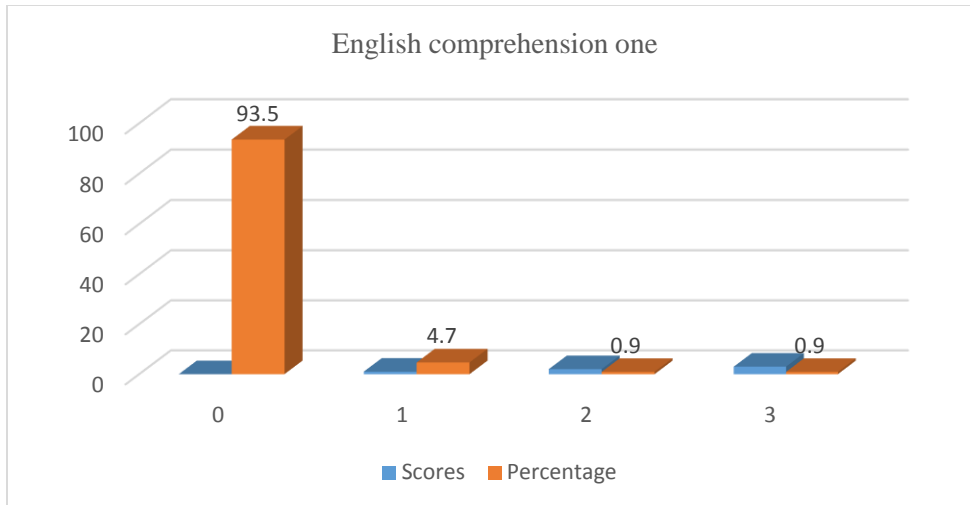
Figure 10.13. Category one distribution of scores in English comprehension one (CAT 6).
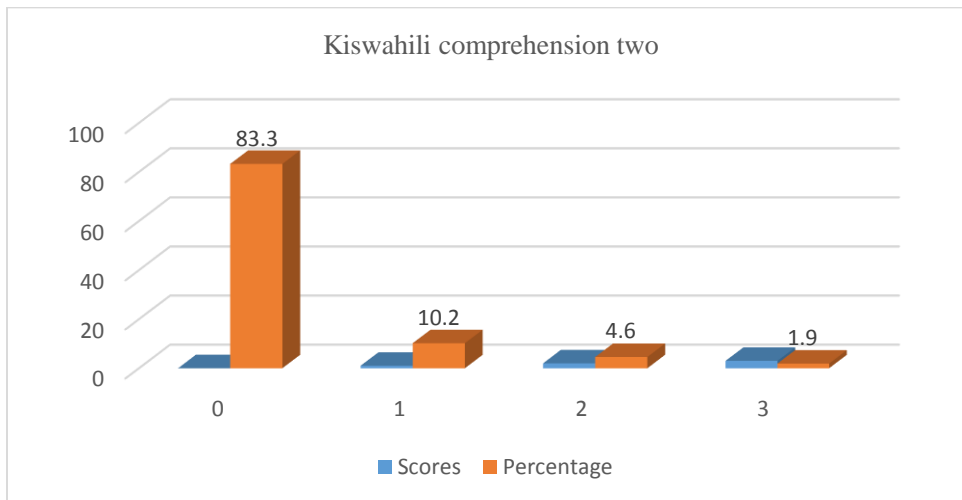Zero was the commonest score. There were no scores above 3 marks.
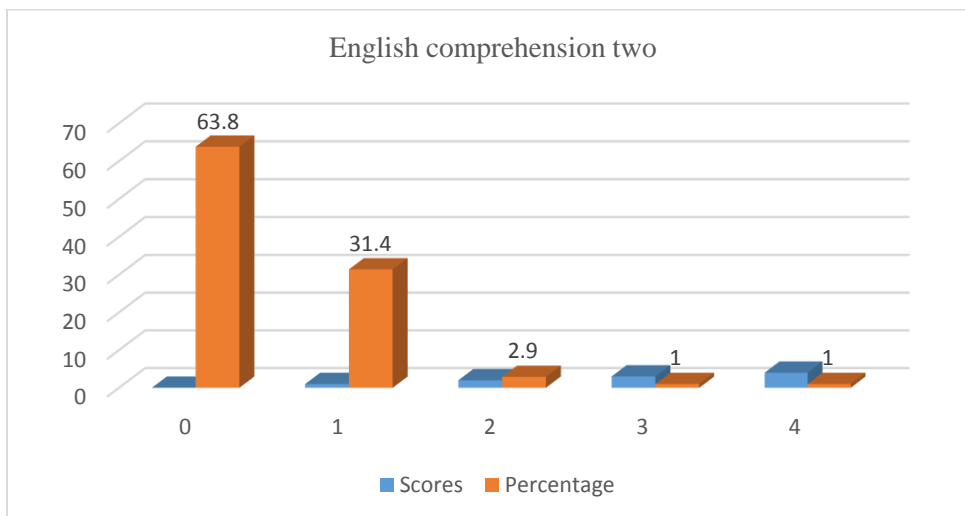
Figure 10.14. Category one distribution of scores in English comprehension two (CAT 12).
Scores bear a descending trend up the 1-5 marks scale.

In terms of knowledge skills, English is the least developed as compared to Ekegusii and Kiswahili. The same factors, lack of reading resources and a poorly developed Ekegusii, could be possible reasons for this scenario. In addition, English is the most limited in contexts of use for these pupils; its exclusive context of input is the classroom. On the other hand however, English has longer classroom airtime because (see Chapter Eight for its uses) it is used as the LoI, presupposing more input. The use of English in classroom teaching is beset by barriers in communication; pupils

confirmed that they do not understand when their teachers spoke in English. The percentage sample who scored 2 marks and below was higher in English comprehension than in Ekegusii comprehension skills in spite of the resources dedicated to the development of the former and the neglect attending development of the latter. Teachers confirmed in the interviews that English is difficult for the pupils. This difficulty could be compounded by the haphazard code switching and translation which is common in classroom teaching (see Section 8.3.1 for the observed uses of code switching). Secondly, the two related languages (Ekegusii and Kiswahili) which ideally could be the source of transfer are also poorly developed. Another possible cause is what Qorro (2009) says is the African teachers' inability to teach English effectively.

Acquisition of English for standard three pupils in Kenya is the ultimate objective of lower primary education. Efforts put in the development of English in a way draw away any efforts in the development of mother tongues. As noted above, these findings (in English literacy) speak to findings by other research in Kenya: SACMEQ (2001); Uwezo Kenya, 2010, 2012, 2013; KNEC (2010; 2014); and Ayora (2014). From these findings, it is suggested that the government has not achieved its objectives of developing English among pupils transitting to standard four in rural schools. The scores further indicate that the pupils may not independently interact with knowledge in English; they will need a teacher to teach in English and code switch/translate before they could grasp the knowledge. Another implication is that those who may drop out of school at this level would be barely literate in the three languages because they might not have school-type input in the languages. As pointed out by Uwezo Kenya (2013), a majority of these pupils would have to continue developing basic literacy skills in the grades four, five, and six. This is a negative trend in their learning taking into account that their terminal primary school examination done in standard eight is in English. Some experts (Wolff 2010) have argued that it is better to develop mother tongues so that in case a pupil drops out of school, he/she would be a better farmer or better in any other trade.

I attribute this scenario to factors discussed above: English is not adequately resourced; and development of Ekegusii is inadequate. Contrary to this, research indicates that input is critical (Krashen, 1985) and successful development of the L2 depends on a developed L1 (Cummins, 2005b). Research has confirmed this relationship (L1/L2) in diverse places and at different times

(Cummins et al, 1984; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Verhoeven, 1991; see Section 4.3 for other studies).

So far, the scores indicate that reading is easy in Ekegusii than it is in Kiswahili and English. Figures 10.15, 10.16, and 10.17 show pupil X's scores in the three languages in test one.
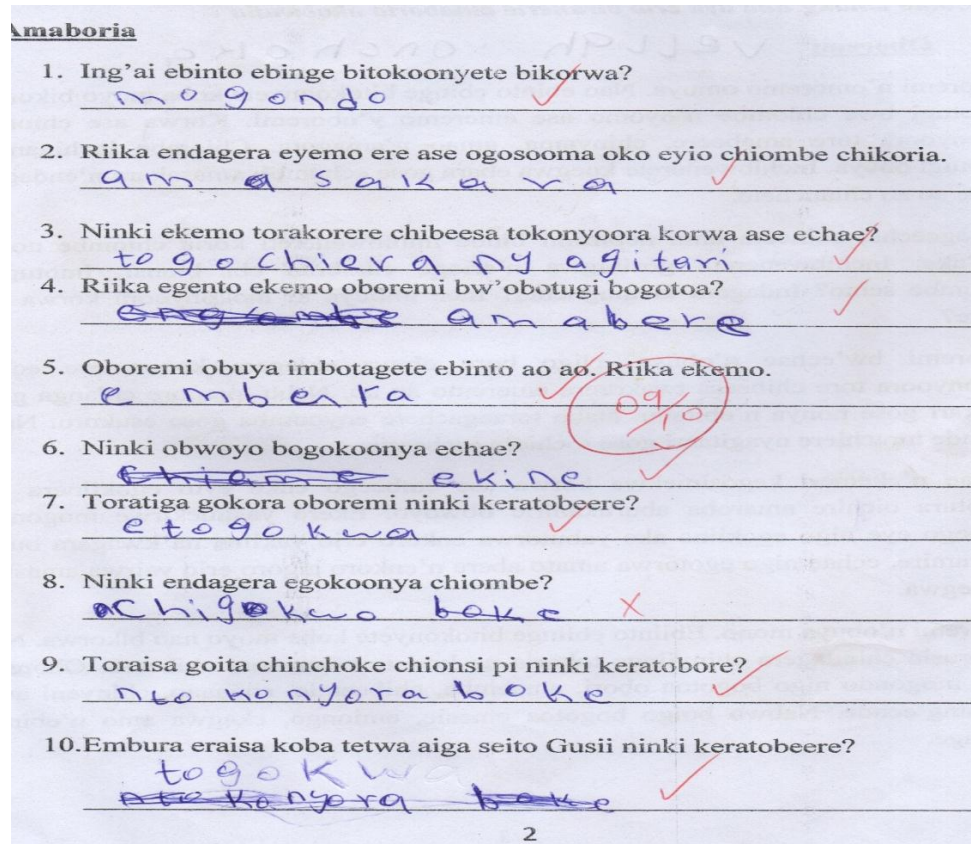
Figure 10.15. Pupil X's Ekegusii answers.

The pupil's answers are characterized by lack of punctuation and capitalization across the three languages. This could be excused given that standard three is an elementary level. The figures indicate that the pupil could learn a lot if content knowledge was taught in Ekegusii which the pupil is able to read well. This is suggested by two factors; the scores are 9, 2, and 0 for Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English respectively; most of the responses in Kiswahili and English are irrelevant indicating that the pupil may not have understood the questions. This finding is critical of literacy studies in Africa, and in Kenya, which measure literacy in English only. Pupils like X above could be labelled illiterate in English, yet they already have a lot of skill in reading in their mother tongue (compare the scores with those in category two and three in Sections 10.3.2 and 10.3.3).

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2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.

Ina pendeza ✗

3. Miche ni nini?

Udogo Bonareri ✗   02/10

4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?

Pendeza lli wapate maua ✗

5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani?

Ime pamba ✗

6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?

wanaa nini ✗

7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu?

Kutosha ✗

8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua?

bustani ✓

9. Maji husaidiaje maua?

mimea ✗

10. Somo hili linatufunza nini?

masomo ✗

Figure 10.16. Pupil X's Kiswahili answers.

1. Where was Simba stealing food from?

Mother ✗

2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?

dog ✗

3. Who knocked Mosooti down?

sta flat ✗   00/10

4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital?

injection ✗

5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home?

two ween ✗

6. How can motorcycles help us?

knocked ✗

7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him?

was Boora ✗

8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti?

cameto ✗

9. Why was Mosooti transferred to the District Hospital?

ward with ✗

10. What do we learn from this story?

bread ✗

Figure 10.17. Pupil X's English answers.

10.3.2 Category two (peri-urban schools)

Category two schools comprised of Sch 5 and Sch 6. They are located between category one and category three but with a predominantly Ekegusii catchment both inside and outside school (see Section 5.3.3.1 for their profile). The following are their scores.

10.3.2.1 Kiswahili knowledge tests (CAT 3 and 9)

Figure 10.18 shows 93.6 % scored 0-2 marks while 6.4 % scored 3 and 4 marks in test one. In test two, Figure 10.19 shows that those who scored 2 marks and below were 80.1 % and those who scored 3 marks and above, 19.8 %. The average percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below in the two tests is 86.85 %.
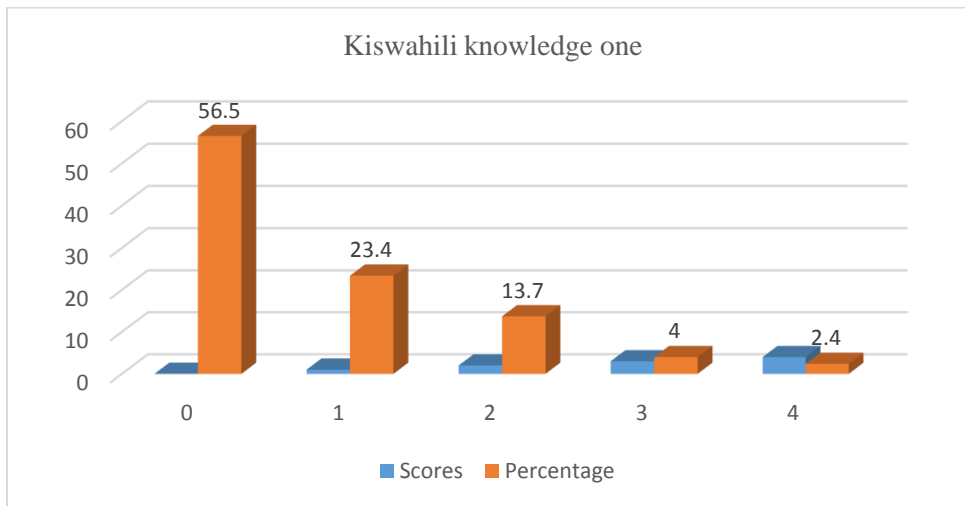
Figure 10.18. Category two distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge one (CAT 3).
Scores had a descending pattern up the 1-5 marks scale.
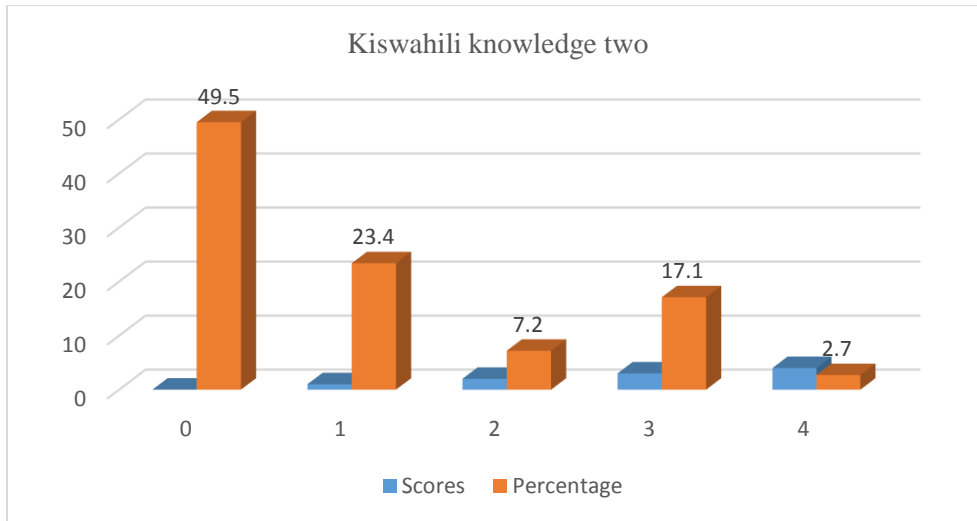
Figure 10.19. Category two distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge two (CAT 9).
No pupil scored 5 marks.

10.3.2.2 Kiswahili comprehension tests (CAT 4 and 10)

Score frequencies are presented in Figure 10.20 and 10.21. In test one, 100% of the pupils scored 2 marks and below. In test two, 99.1 % scored 0-2 marks and 0.9 % scored 3 marks. The average score of those who scored 2 marks and below was 99.55 % while the average of those who scored 3 marks was 0.45 %.
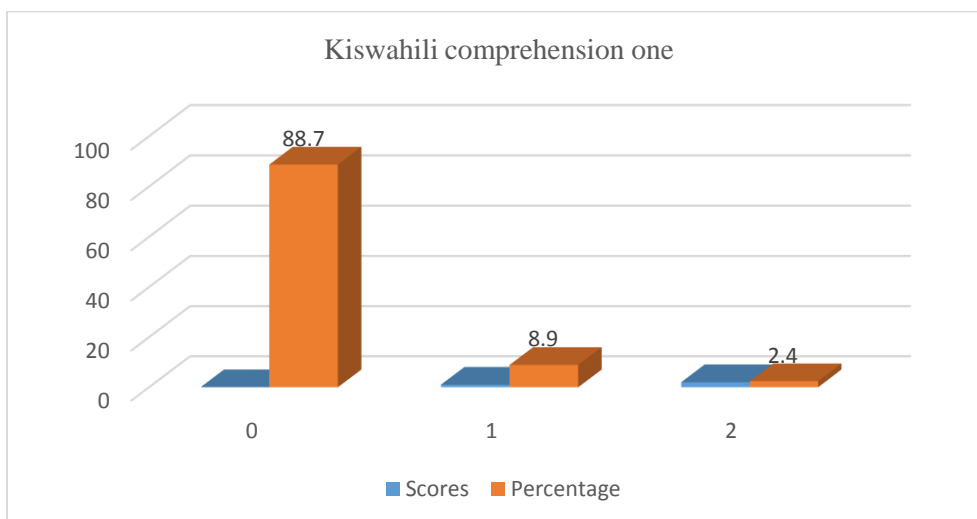
Figure 10.20. Category two distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension one (CAT 4).
There were no scores above 2 marks.
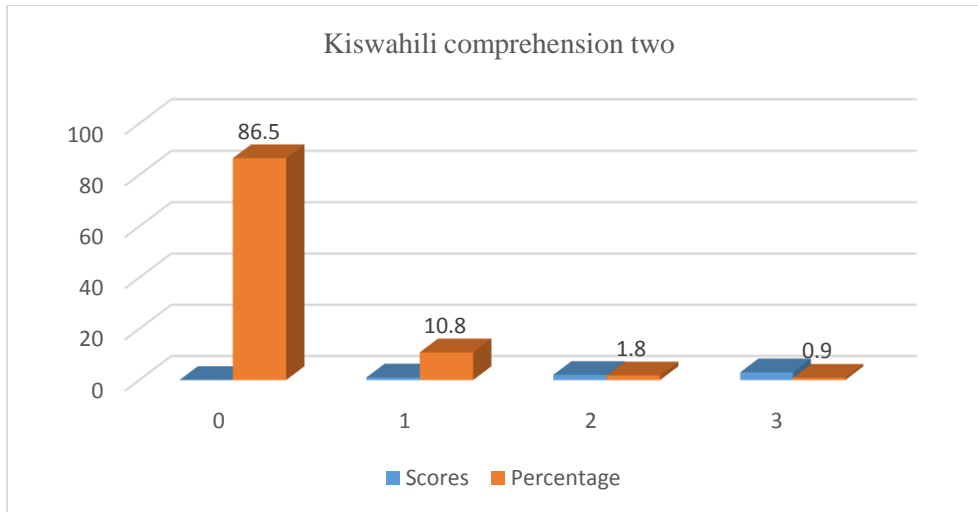
Figure 10.21. Category two distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension two (CAT 10).
There were no scores above 3 marks.

For pupils in this category, Kiswahili is treated as their mother tongue instead of their actual one. Ekegusii is neither a subject of instruction nor a LoI in spite of all pupils being Ekegusii native speakers. It is assumed that this could improve Kiswahili for two reasons; there is more Kiswahili input because Kiswahili for them is the LoI. Secondly, school language policy prohibiting the use of Ekegusii would lessen Ekegusii's 'bad influence' on Kiswahili and English. But these scores indicate a contrary trend. There are possible reasons to explain this; the pupils' developed Ekegusii is discarded with its potential to influence development of Kiswahili. Consequently, Kiswahili seems to take long to develop because the schools enforce it but they do not provide enough contexts for input. Children therefore seem to be struggling with a language system new to them. Using it to deliver content presents a double set of stimuli; learning the language and conceptualizing knowledge in the language. Its use from standard one should have improved the scores. These scores in knowledge skills contradicts the common believe that the typological relationship between Ekegusii and Kiswahili could support development of Kiswahili even without the children's foundation in their mother tongue (category one pupils scored better here).

On the comprehension skill, category one pupils were slightly better than category two pupils by a 0.55% difference. The reasons advanced for the scores in the knowledge skill could apply in this skill too. The difference (0.55%) is marginal but significant; category two schools start off with Kiswahili LoI from standard one. There is a possible negative effect on the non-use of mother

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tongue among pupils in category two. Scores in both knowledge and comprehension among category two pupils further suggest that these pupils would transit to standard four with low reading abilities in Kiswahili which teachers indicated they used to clarify concepts after teaching in English. Their Kiswahili is supposed to transfer abilities to English (Cummins, 2000). This could not be possible with the low scores and taking it from the scores for English discussed below. It points to a possibility that these pupils would have their basic literacy skills developed from standard five and six as predicted by the findings by Uwezo Kenya (2012, 2013). The fact that there was almost 100% failure in the comprehension section points to the fact that the pupils have difficulty in the process of acquiring comprehension reading skills. This finding also indicates that Kiswahili had not been developed as an effective LoI in this category of schools.

10.3.2.3 English knowledge tests (CAT 5 and 11)

Score frequencies for test one and two are presented in Figures 10.22 and 10.23. In test one, 100% scored 0-2 marks. In test two, 93.7% scored 0-2 marks and 6.3% scored 3 marks. The average of those who scored 2 marks and below is 96.85 % compared with 88.65 % of category one pupils.
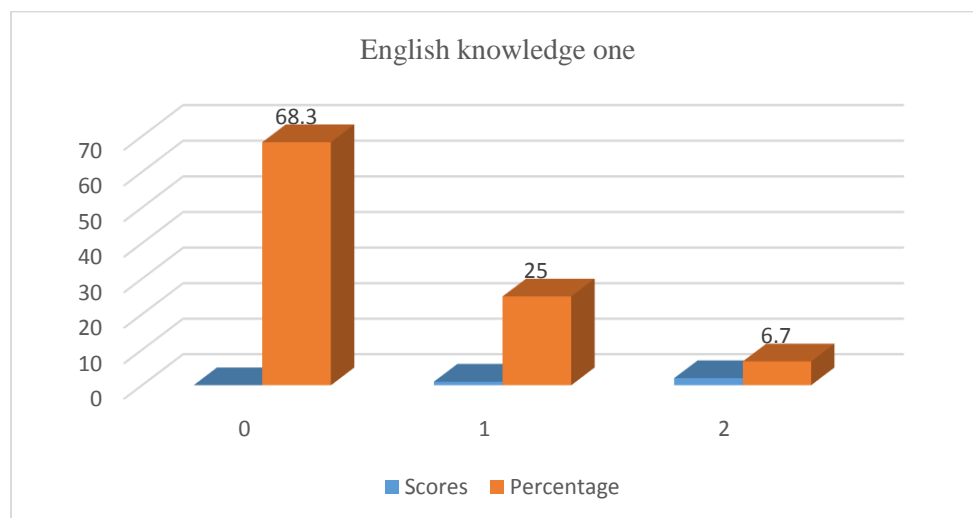
Figure 10.22. Category two distribution of scores in English knowledge one (CAT 5).
The commonest score was 0.
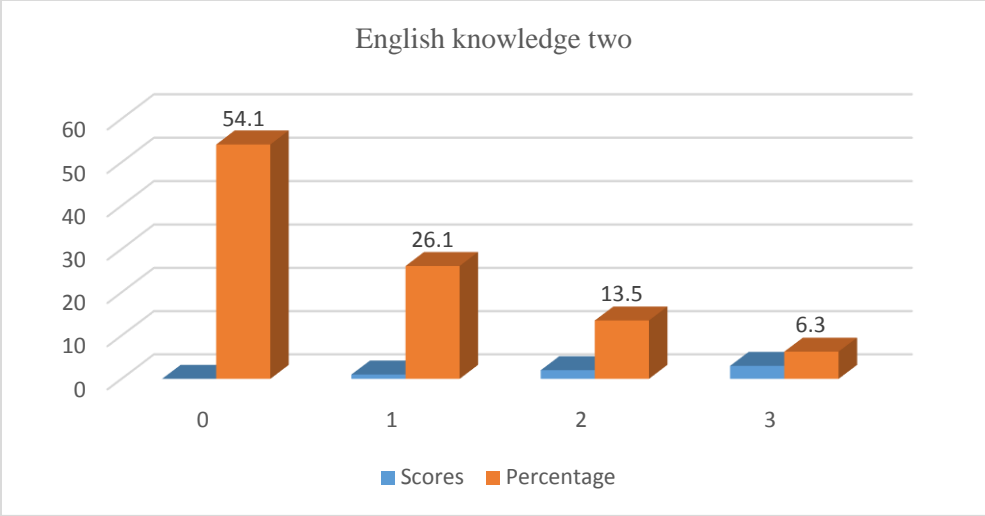
Figure 10.23. Category two distribution of scores in English knowledge two (CAT 11).
No pupils scored above 3 marks.

10.3.2.4 English comprehension tests (CAT 6 and 12)

Score frequencies in test one and two are presented in Figures 10.24 and 10.25. In test one, 100 % of the pupils scored 1 mark and below. For test two, 100% of the pupils scored 2 marks and below. The average percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below is 100 % compared to 98.6 % of category one pupils.
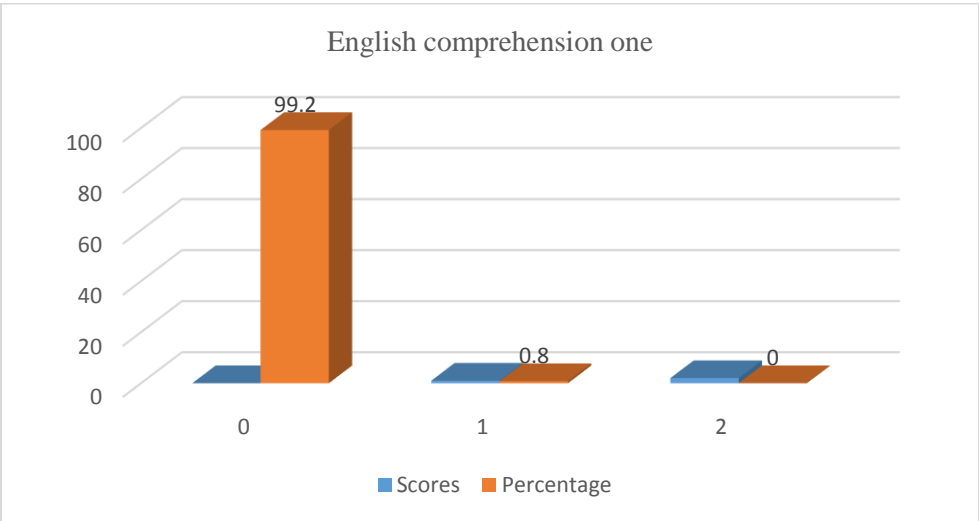
Figure 10.24. Category two distribution of scores in English comprehension one (CAT 6).
Almost all pupils scored 0.
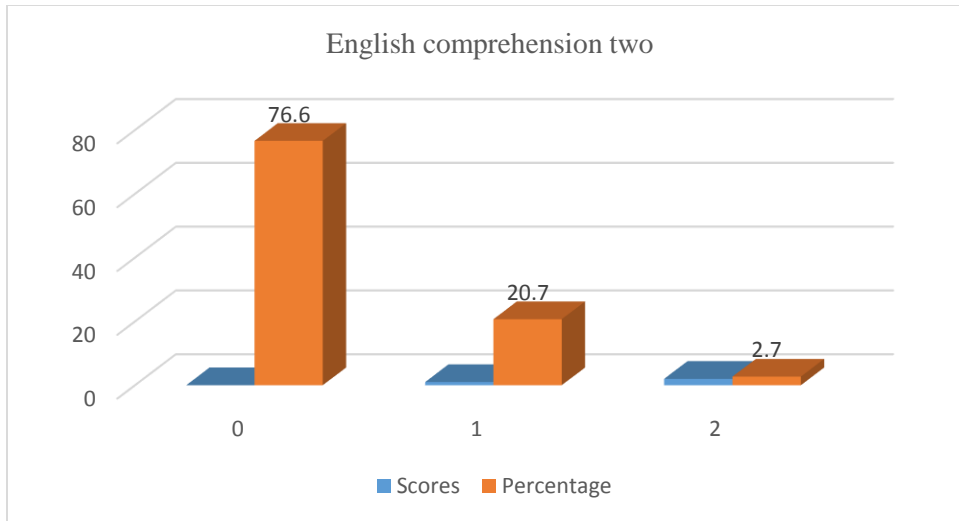
Figure 10.25. Category two distribution of scores in English comprehension two (CAT 12).
Majority of the pupils scored 0.

English knowledge skills are basic skills. The findings indicate that a majority of the learners have low knowledge skills in the reading of English. This should be looked at from the fact that these pupils have been taught the subject from standard one and the language has also been used as a LoI for an equivalent period. Category one pupils have 'better' pass rates as compared to category two. The scores in both skills indicate that pupils deprived of a mother tongue might be taking longer to master basic literacy skills in English. So far, category one pupils, with some background in Ekegusii, score better in both Kiswahili and English as compared to category two pupils. Further, it seems the typological closeness between Ekegusii and Kiswahili may not significantly make literacy development easy in Kiswahili when the mother tongue is neglected; the former should be taught as rigorously as English is. The findings further confirm my position on the use of Kiswahili in the so called urban schools in Kisii and Nyamira Counties and elsewhere in Kenya. Up to 98 % of public schools in the Gusii region could use Ekegusii as the LoI because the environment is predominantly linguistically homogeneous. Current school classification (rural, peri-urban/urban) inexcusably changes the linguistic status of schools from linguistically homogeneous to linguistically heterogeneous. This has a negative effect to early literacy development.

In category two, pupils scored 'better' in Kiswahili than in English as shown in the scores of pupil Y in Figures 10.26 and 10.27.
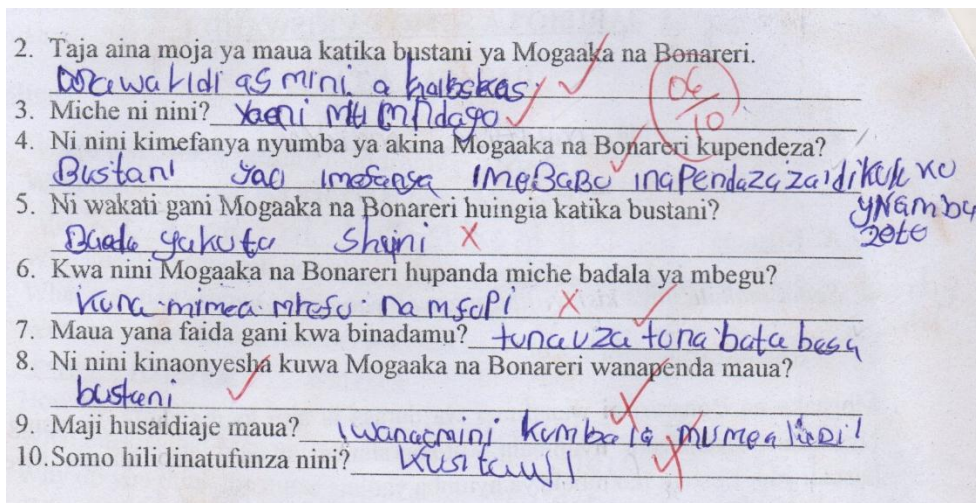
Figure 10.26. Pupil Y's Kiswahili answers.
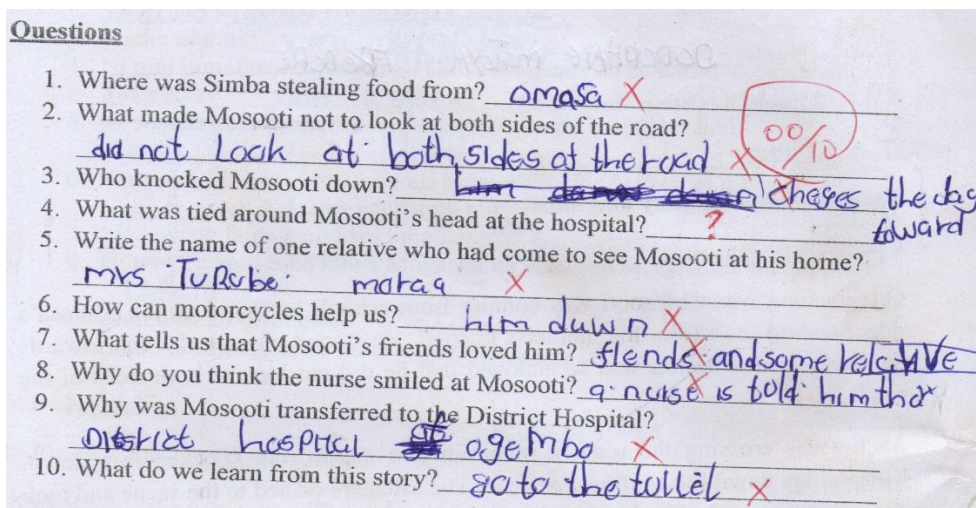
Figure 10.27. Pupil Y's English answers.

Pupil Y, from Sch 6, scored 6 marks in Kiswahili and a 0 mark in English. The responses in the English test indicate that the pupil did not understand the questions further suggesting that the pupil had not mastered reading in English. This trend is consistent with pupil X and Z scores in Sections 10.3.1 and 10.3.3. On transition to standard four, this pupil would be taught and tested exclusively in English in all subjects except Kiswahili. Possible failure would lead to repetition or dropout yet if taught and tested in Kiswahili, the pupil could continue with education till the end. This further supports the use of a language pupils know well in classroom teaching. But, note that pupil X scores highly in Ekegusii compared to pupil Y (whose mother tongue is assumed to be

Kiswahili). Pupils X, Y, and Z were top scorers in Ekegusii and Kiswahili and their scores indicate that there is a problem with English LoI. This further calls for a reconceptualization of literacy in Kenya and Africa where literacy censuses assess English literacy. In literacy reports, the three pupils could be labelled as poor or below average in reading skills.

10.3.3 Category three (urban schools)

Category three comprised of Sch 7 and Sch 8. They are located near market/town centres (see Section 5.3.3.1 for their profile).

10.3.3.1 Kiswahili knowledge tests (CAT 3 and 9)

Score frequencies for test one and two are presented in Figures 10.28 and 10.29. In test one, 53.8% scored 0-2 marks and 46.1% scored 3 marks and above. In test two, 67.5% scored 0-2 marks and 32.5% scored 3 marks and above. The average for 2 marks and below in knowledge tests is 60.65 %.
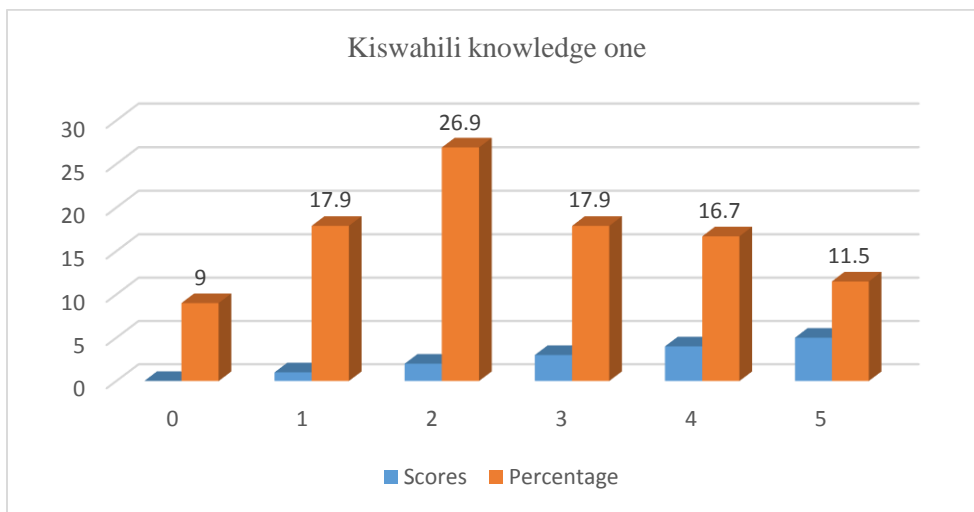
Figure 10.28. Category three distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge one (CAT 3).
Two marks was the commonest score.

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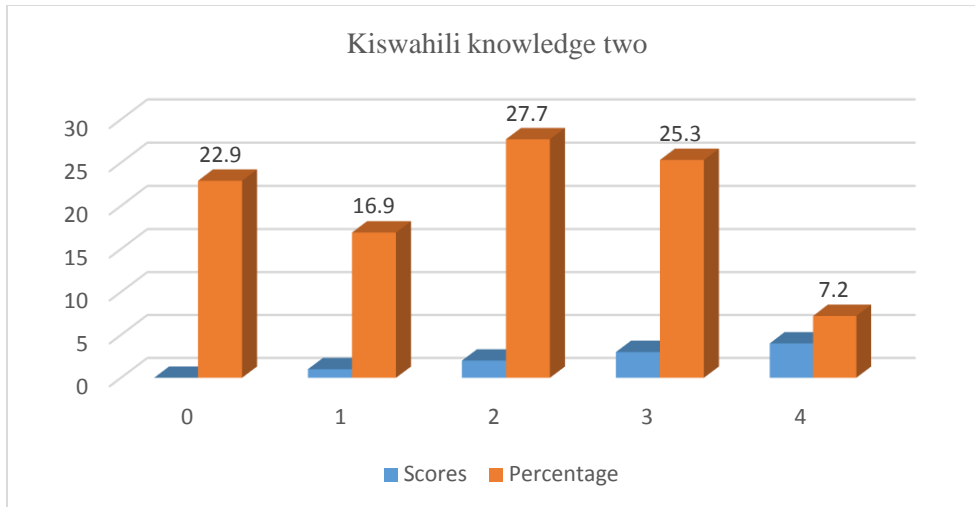
Figure 10.29. Category three distribution of scores in Kiswahili knowledge two (CAT 9).
There was no 5 marks score. Scores were almost evenly distributed across the 1-4 mark scores.

10.3.3.2 Kiswahili comprehension tests (CAT 4 and 10)

Score frequencies are presented in Figures 10.30 and 10.31. In test one, 98.7% scored 0-2 marks while 1.3 % scored 3 marks. In test two, 92.7% scored 0-2 marks and 7.2% scored 3 marks and above. The average for 2 marks and below was 95.7 %.
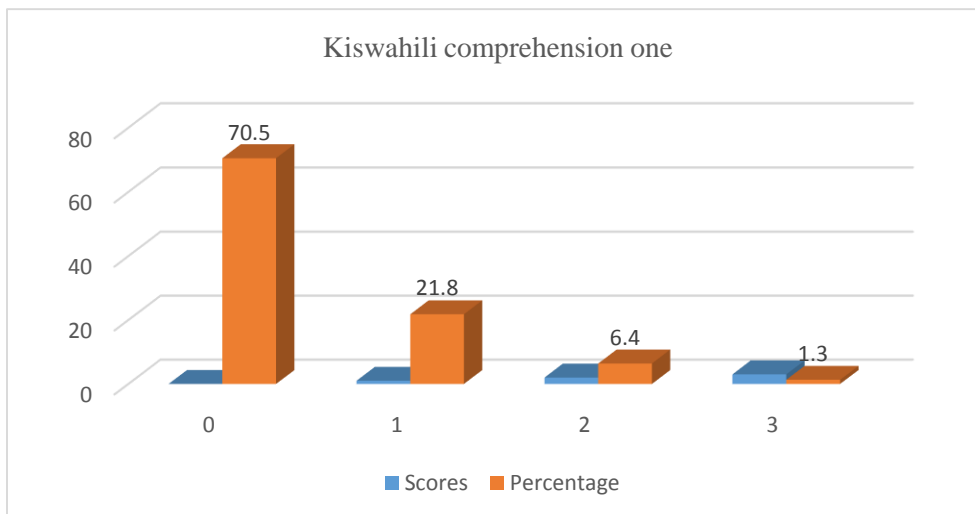
Figure 10.30. Category three distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension one (CAT 4).
Zero mark was the commonest score. There were no scores above 3 marks.

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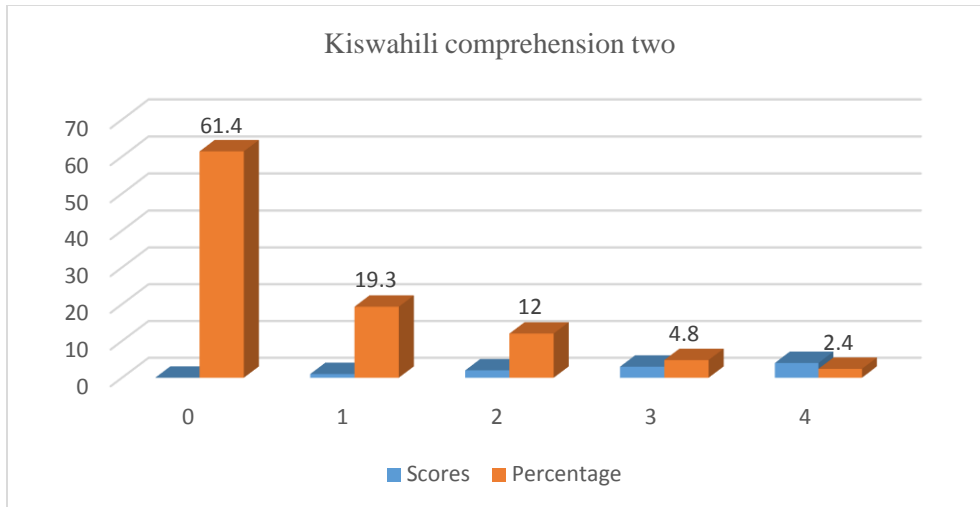
Figure 10.31. Category three distribution of scores in Kiswahili comprehension two (CAT 10). Scores had a descending pattern across the 0-5 marks scale. No pupil scored 5 marks.

The average percentage of pupils who scored 2 marks and below in the knowledge tests was 60.65 %. While this is better than category one (71.95 %) and category two (86.8%), the figure of those pupils who scored 2 marks and below is still too high considering that for them, just like for category two, Kiswahili and English are the languages of instruction and also taught as subjects from standard one. The high percentage of pupils scoring below 40 % is significant taking note of the fact that this is a basic skill. Two factors could account for this scenario; many of the pupils are still acquiring Kiswahili which is not their mother tongue nor a playground language. Secondly, consequent to the first factor, the supposed exposure to Kiswahili is not sufficient. It is erroneously, assumed by some stakeholders that because these schools are situated close to the Central Business Districts (CBDs) of the two main centres of Kisii and Nyamira, therefore the Kiswahili input is high. But compared with the other two categories, category three has a higher pass rate. I attribute this to the fact that the schools are located close to the two town centres and so interaction with Kiswahili speaking people is more compared to the other two. Secondly, people settled close to these two town centres could own such gadgets like radios, television sets, and also access newspapers which could be other sources of input. Thirdly, these children could be coming from working class families and parents could support their learning through extra tuition and provision of books. For such children, schools enforcing policies for use of Kiswahili could be easier compared to the other two categories. This finding further speaks to findings by Nzomo, Kariuki,

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and Guantai (2001) which found that, though marginally, pupils from small towns scored better in a second language (English) as compared to pupils from rural settings.

On comprehension, the average percentage of pupils who scored 2 marks and below was 95.7 %. This is compared to 99 % in category one and 99.55 % in category two. This shows that category three pupils are ahead of category one and category two pupils in Kiswahili comprehension just like in knowledge skills. The factors responsible for scores in knowledge skills above could apply for comprehension skills. For these learners, the fact that Ekegusii was not developed, Kiswahili starts developing as an alternative language system. They have therefore to develop a wide Kiswahili vocabulary first before they could be able to develop CALP and be able to learn using it (Kiswahili). The scores further confirm Cummins' hypothesis that the extent to which L2 literacy develops depends on the extent of development of L1. In this case, the low Kiswahili scores could be as a result of a poorly developed Ekegusii.

These findings indicate that the level of exposure to Kiswahili of pupils in urban schools in Gusii is significant but inadequate. This makes the use of Kiswahili as a LoI inappropriate and therefore a communication and pedagogical barrier for a majority of the pupils. For this category too, it means that a majority of them would have to continue learning basic literacy skills in the language as they transit to upper primary. Meanwhile, a lot of their academic progress would have to depend on rote-learning because the LoI would still be being acquired and developed. These findings further contradict the common belief that Ekegusii is very close to Kiswahili and the latter should therefore be adopted as a LoI in Gusii in order to improve standards; adequate overt instruction would be needed in developing both the Kiswahili language itself and literacy in it.

10.3.3.3 English knowledge tests (CAT 5 and 11)

Score frequencies for test one and two are presented in Figures 10.32 and 10.33. In test one, 70.5 % scored 0-2 marks and 29.5 % scored 3 marks and above. In test two, 84.3 % scored 0-2 marks and 15.6 % scored 3 marks and above. The average percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below was 77.4 %.
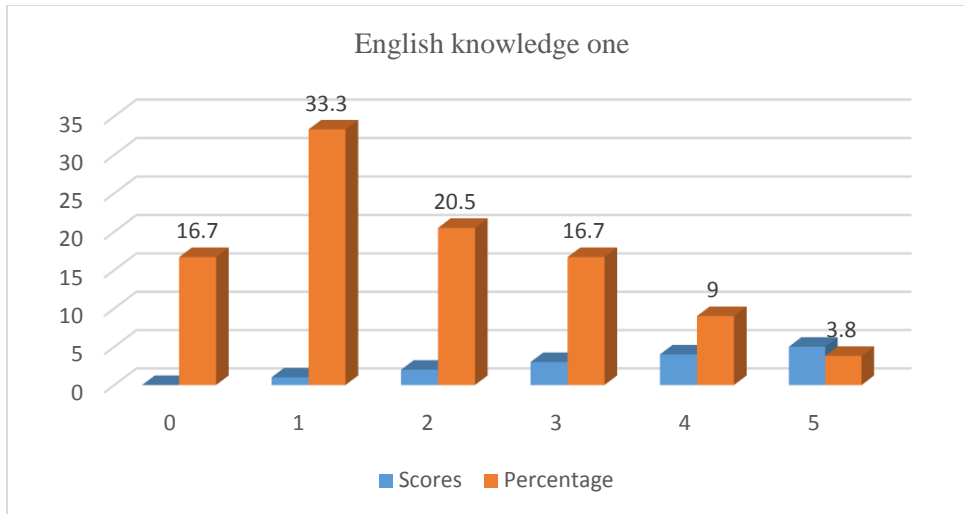
Figure 10.32. Category three distribution of scores in English knowledge one (CAT 5).
One mark was the commonest score.
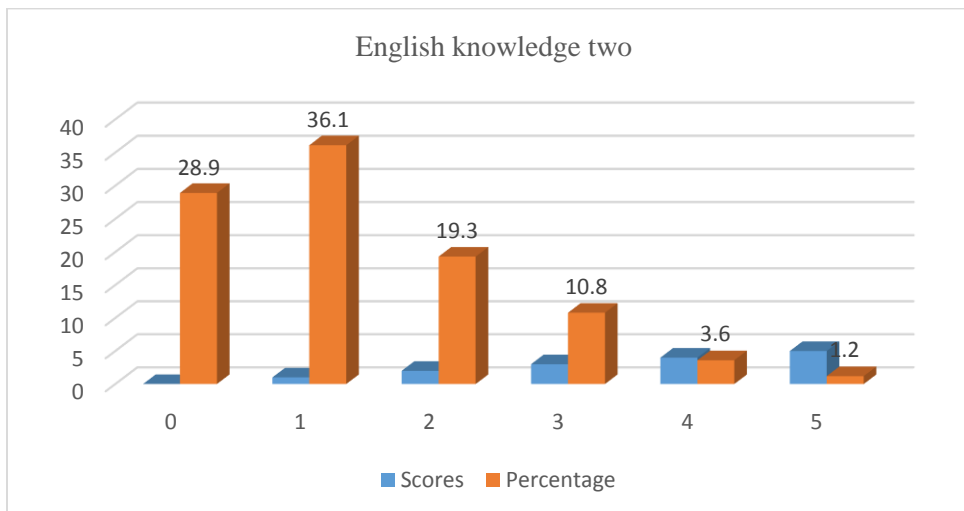
Figure 10.33. Category three distribution of scores in English knowledge two (CAT 11).
One mark was the commonest score.

10.3.3.4 English comprehension tests (CAT 6 and 12)

Score frequencies for test one and two are presented in Figures 10.34 and 10.35. In test one, 92.3 % scored 0-2 marks and 7.7 % scored 3 marks and above. In test two, 96.3 % scored 0-2 marks and 3.6 % scored 3 marks and above. The average of those who scored 2 marks and below was 94.3 %.

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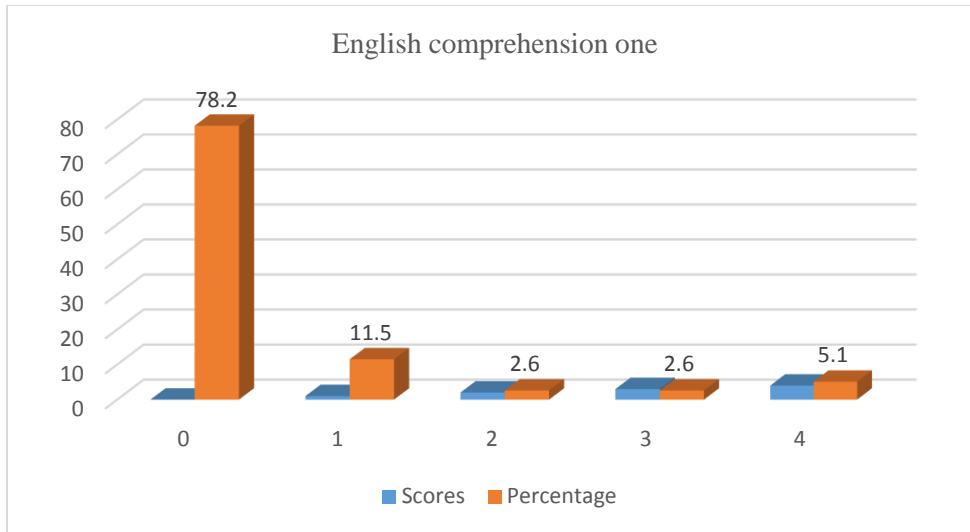
Figure 10.34. Category three distribution of scores in English comprehension one (CAT 6).
Zero was the commonest score. 1-4 marks were marginally scored. There was no score of 5.
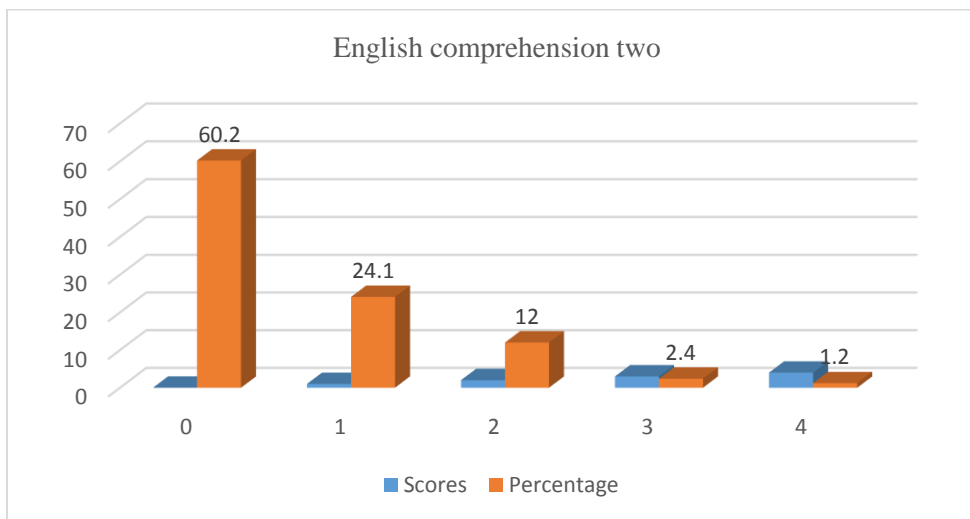
Figure 10.35. Category three distribution of scores in English comprehension two (CAT 12).
Zero was the commonest score.

On knowledge skills, the average percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below is 77.4 % compared to 88.65 % in category one and 96.85 % in category two. Category three scored better by having a lower percentage of those who scored 2 marks and below. Teachers in these schools teach in English and in case of need elaborate in Kiswahili. This, supposedly, exposes pupils to more English. This exposure could explain the seemingly better percentage of those who scored 3 marks and above. Another reason could be the exposure these pupils could be having to such

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sources of input as as newspapers, television, radio, and other multimedia gadgets as compared to pupils in the other categories. These children could also be coming from working class families who could support their learning by providing books and other learning resources. On comprehension, the average percentage of pupils who scored 2 marks and below was 94.3 % compared to 98.6 % in category one and 100 % in category two. Category three is better than category one by a 4.3 point margin. But for a language taught as a subject and used as a LoI, the percentage score of those who scored below 2 marks is too high. The pupils are learning two second languages with restricted exposure. The fact that Ekegusii is not developed means that they have to develop BICS and CALP in Kiswahili then find sufficient skill to transfer to English.

These findings suggest that most of the learners in category three, just like in categories one and two, would have to struggle learning in English from standard four onwards. This is in addition to reading to learn on their own. Given that English is the LoI from standard four, these findings imply that a majority of learners may have to lag behind in learning, repeat classes, or even drop out. English scores in this study are the ones that speak specifically to the Uwezo Kenya (2012, 2013) findings which indicate that a majority of learners could not read standard two level texts. The findings in this study show that pupils from rural, peri-urban, and urban settings have insufficient literacy skills to facilitate reading to learn in English. This study traces the cause to a poorly developed mother tongue for a majority for whom it would have been suitably used as a LoI and consequently form a basis for the development of Kiswahili and English literacy. Figures 10.36 and 10.37 show how pupil Z scored in Kiswahili and English in the tests.

2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.
   mawaridi ✓

3. Miche ni nini?
   miti midogo ✓   07/10

4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?
   bustani yao ✓

5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani? ✓
   wanaporudi nyumbani kutoka shuleni

6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?
   Badaa ya kutumia mbegu ✗

7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu?
   yana faida ya kupendeza ✓

8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua? ✓
   sababu mogaka na Bonareri hupenda maua

9. Maji husaidiaje maua?
   ili ishike na kupendeza ✓

10. Somo hili linatufunza nini?
    somo hili linatunza ✗ *tupande maua*

Figure 10.36. Pupil Z's Kiswahili answers.

Questions

1. Where was Simba stealing food from?
   mother.s kitchen ✓

2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?
   he did not look at both sides of The ✗ *Road*

3. Who knocked Mosooti down? ✓   05/10
   a man who riding a motorcycle

4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital?
   a bandage tied around his head

5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home?
   omari Boora nyanchoka mochiemo and bochaberi

6. How can motorcycles help us?
   he knocked him down ✗

7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him?
   his friends and some relatives ✗

8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti? ✗
   he told him that it was time for his injection

9. Why was Mosooti transferred to the District Hospital?
   he was not bleathing well

10. What do we learn from this story? ✗
    iam learn about omosas dog

Figure 10.37. Pupil Z's English answers.

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Pupil scores indicate that either Ekegusii and or Kiswahili was performed better than English in category one and category two schools. The trend is observed in category three schools in the scores of pupil Z as shown in Figures 10.36 and 10.37. Pupil Z scored 7 marks in Kiswahili and 5 marks in English. A conspicuous feature of English responses is irrelevance which suggests that the pupils may not have understood the questions. An ideal language of instruction in this case also could be Kiswahili. The trend of scores across the three languages points to a possibility that most of the pupils who are forced to repeat classes or drop out are actually, capable of completing their education if they were taught in a medium they understand. This pattern of scores speaks to Maalim's (2014) findings in Zanzibar in which high school students scored highly when tested in Kiswahili but dismally in English. Scores of pupils X, Y, and Z in Ekegusii and or Kiswahili and English are critical to literacy studies in Africa, and moreso in Kenya, which measure literacy in English only. The pupils could be labelled illiterate in English, asked to repeat or even drop out of school yet they already have a lot of skill in reading in their mother tongue/Kiswahili.

From this analysis, it is apparent that majority of pupils-from rural, peri-urban, and urban schools-by the end of lower primary, do not possess adequate reading literacy skills in any of the three languages they interact with. Reading literacy skills in English would enable them to use the language for learning (the means and standard deviations presented in Appendices Q2, Q3, and Q4 depict the same pattern as indicated above). Comparatively however, the pupils do better in the knowledge aspect of skills. The comprehension skill is scored poorly which I attribute to the difficulty in developing it due to barriers erected in teacher-learner communication by the use of two new languages.

In terms of subjects, Ekegusii is performed better as compared to Kiswahili and English among category one pupils. This is in spite of the neglect it suffers by not being adequately resourced. This is followed by Kiswahili and then English. The possible reason for the difference between Ekegusii and the two, could be pupils are asymmetrically exposed to the three languages outside classrooms; Ekegusii is commonest, then Kiswahili, then English. Kiswahili is also performed better than English in both category two and category three schools due to possibly, a similar factor. But, ironically, for the two latter school categories, English has more classroom 'airtime' because teachers use it to teach content subjects. The findings suggest then that because English is not common in other social contexts, then however much time is given to its instruction, scores

would still be low. This would be explained by the interdependence principle. The L1 knowledge and intuitions that learners bring to class build the pool of the language system. If it is developed, it is, figuratively, developing Kiswahili and English but exposure to the two languages should also be adequate (Cummins, 1979a, 1979b, 2000, 2005b).

In terms of school categories, it is significant to note that category one schools outperformed category two schools in terms of pupil percentage scoring 3 marks and above in all the Kiswahili and English tests (see Table 10.1 for the percentages). This was the case even though in category two, Kiswahili is used as the mother tongue suggesting that contact with Kiswahili has been longer at least in the classrooms. This supposedly, provides a generous exposure to Kiswahili and English. This finding suggests that a mother tongue, even with inadequate development in school settings, bears significant influence in the acquisition of literacy in second languages as compared to a so called 'second mother tongue' in this case Kiswahili. This finding is consistent with Cummins' (1998) in which he indicates that L2 skills of children in bilingual programmes equal or exceed those of children taught in an L2 in spite of the time spent in that second language.

Wong-Fillmore (1991, cited in Holmarsdottir, 2009) says that there are three necessary factors for the learning of a second language. Firstly, learners who realize they need to learn the second language and are motivated to do so. Secondly, presence of speakers of that second language who know it well to provide learners with access to the language and the help they need for learning it.

Table 10.1 : Pupil Scores (%) in 0-2 and 3-5 Ranges in the Tests

_____

0-2

	Eke knw	Eke com	Kis knw	Kis com	Eng knw	Eng com
Cat. one	71.5	87.6	71.95	99	88.65	98.6
Cat. two	N/A	N/A	86.8	99.55	96.85	100
Cat. three	N/A	N/A	60.65	95.7	77.4	94.3

3-5

	Eke knw	Eke com	Kis knw	Kis com	Eng knw	Eng com
Cat. one	28.55	12.35	28	0.95	11.4	1.45
Cat. two	N/A	N/A	13.1	0.45	3.15	N/A
Cat. three	N/A	N/A	39.3	4.25	22.55	5.65

_____

Note. Category two pupils had the highest percentages of those who scored 0-2 marks (equivalent to 0-40 %,), in both knowledge and comprehension skills in Kiswahili and in English. Cat., Eke, knw, com, Kis, Eng, stand for category, Ekegusii, knowledge, comprehension, Kiswahili, and English. Category two pupils had the least percentages of those who scored 3 and above marks (equivalent to at least 60%) in both knowledge and comprehension skills in Kiswahili and in English.

Finally, a social setting which brings learners and the second language speakers into contact frequently enough to make language learning possible. She points out that if any of the three factors is missing, learning a second language may be very difficult if not impossible. None of the factors applies, per se, to the context of learning Kiswahili and English in Gusii and in most parts in Kenya. A summary of the percentage scores in the ranges 0-2 and 3-5 are presented in Table 10.1.

The findings in the percentage scores analysed in this section speak to other similar studies conducted in Kenya especially in English. The findings of SACMEQ (2001), Uwezo Kenya (2009-2013), KNEC (2010), and Ayora (2014) all point to poor English literacy across the country at the end of standard three. The findings are an indication that academic achievement of most pupils in Kenya could not be optimum due to the fact that they struggle to learn the medium of education as well as content knowledge concurrently. The yearly KCPE results could be an indicator that hundreds of thousands of pupils finish their primary education without having mastered the language of instruction nor the content taught. This is indicated both by the small percentage of pupils who score above 50 % in the English paper and of those who score above 250 marks out of the possible 500 marks in that national examination (see the 2013 scores in Section 1.5.3).

The scores for categories one and two are significant in relation to the interdependence hypothesis. The former outperformed the latter in both Kiswahili and English in both the average passes and mean scores (see Appendices Q2, Q3, and Q4). This happened even when the latter supposedly had a headstart in Kiswahili and English from standard one. These findings confirm the theory and also speak to other findings in Africa including Desai's (2012) in South Africa and Yoruba's Six Year Project in Nigeria (Bamgbose, 2000). Cummins (2007) states that the key to literacy engagement for learners of English is connecting what they know in their L1 to English. This is what school categories two and three ignore by the use of Kiswahili and English from the first day children enter standard one. The consequence of the situation depicted by the scores in the three languages has been captured in the words of a Germany scholar. Commenting on the situation of primary education in Africa which prioritizes English LoI, he says;

> As the situation is now, primary school leavers tend to have wasted a lot of time and effort through class repetitions (if they don't abandon school altogether), and they have only rudimentary if any knowledge of the official language (not enough to function in it to any social or economic benefit). By not being able to master the foreign language MoI, they fail the final exams or perform rather poorly in usually all subjects…by clipping their mother tongue competence and, thereby, impeding the natural development of their cognitive and intellectual potentials, they have gained no linguistic,

practical, and intellectual skills that would allow them to become better farmers, gardeners, herdsmen, craftsmen, small scale traders, etc (Wolff, 2006a, p. 7).

The trend of low literacy in English across the country is confirmed by KNEC;

> …language seems to be a major obstacle to examination performance. Candidates do not seem to understand what questions ask of them and when they do, they lack the linguistic facility to express themselves effectively (KNEC Reports, 1989, 1994, cited in Kembo, 2002, p. 68; see also Section 1.5.3 for KCPE performance in 2013).

10.4   Summary

This section discusses the results of reading comprehension tests taken by pupils in the study schools. In Kiswahili and English, category one pupils performed better than category two in both percentage passes and mean scores. Category three pupils performed better than the first two in percentage passes and mean scores. The next section presents the summary, recommendations, suggestions for further research, and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

11. SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, AND CONCLUSION

11.1   Introduction

This section presents a summary of the findings in addition to recommendations for action by relevant stakeholders. There are also suggestions for further research and the conclusion.

11.2   Summary of findings

This study set out to determine the extent of literacy skills developed among pupils by the end of standard three in Gusii of western Kenya. It was to respond to the following research questions;

a. How is the Kenyan language in education policy in basic education institutions conceptualized by relevant stakeholders?

b. To what extent is the Ekegusii developed in schools?

c. What are the roles of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?

d. What motivates the use of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in classroom teaching and learning?

e. To what extent are pupils literate in Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English by the end of standard three?

11.2.1 Conceptualization of language policy

The findings indicate that stakeholders have varying understanding of various provisions of the language in education policy in basic education institutions. The varied understanding is in respect to the classification of schools, mother tongue instruction and operationalization of the language of instruction, the concept of language predominance, and the concept of the language of the catchment. Stakeholders' varied understanding implies varied implementation of the language in education policy in different districts and across different schools. It further implies different emphases on the provisions of the policy. Overall, the outcomes of the process of implementation would be as varied as the number of interpretations of the policy and consequently, the intention of the policy drafters would, possibly, not be realized.

11.2.2 Development of Ekegusii

There are efforts towards development of Ekegusii both as a subject and as a language of instruction. The efforts include teaching of stories, songs, dictation, sentence writing, and use of the language to teach Ekegusii itself, clarify concepts in social studies, religious studies, mathematics, and science. The efforts are however beset by challenges including a total lack of books, poor teaching programs, and poor teacher attitudes. Others are; the non-use of the language as a language of instruction per se, writing of teaching notes in English, using English in testing content subjects, school-based language policies, lack of logistical support from the MoE, and public opposition to mother tongue instruction. The implication of this, in light of the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, is that acquisition and development of literacy in Kiswahili and English would be negatively affected and hence delayed. This is because development of conceptual and literacy skills (in a second language) is more effective if the skills are first developed in a mother tongue. Bilingual programmes that continue using a mother tongue as a subject and as a language of instruction are known to promote sustainable literacy abilities in second languages. The effect of ineffective development of Ekegusii was indicated by below average scores in reading in the tests.

11.2.3 Classroom language use

Teachers use the three languages, Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English, for various functions but not according to the language in education policy. Instead of the use of Ekegusii and Kiswahili for instruction for rural and urban schools respectively, the main language of teaching is English. Ekegusii and Kiswahili are used for peripheral functions, for instance, for classroom management and elaborating content delivered in English. Ekegusii is mainly used by pupils in responding to some of teachers' questions, reporting to teachers, and for learner-learner interaction. In instances Kiswahili is used for instruction, it is used alongside English. The use of the three languages leads to code switching and translation. Code switching is, among other things, used to prepare the pupils for tests, involve pupils in learning, elaborate concepts, and fill lexical gaps. Translation is used to facilitate learning and develop concepts in English. The consistent code switching and translation observed is haphazard which would negatively affect both the learning of the second languages as well as developing any of the languages in use as an effective language of instruction.

11.2.4 Motivation for language use

Different language uses in classrooms, especially in using English to teach instead of Ekegusii or Kiswahili, were found to be motivated by various factors. English is used to teach because, among other things; it is a language of tests and examinations, it is the language of instruction from standard four, and it is the language of textbooks. Ekegusii, on the other hand, is not used because; it could negatively affect the development of Kiswahili and English, some schools claim linguistic heterogeneity, it does not have the relevant terminology, parents do not want it, and pupils already know the language. The motivations make teachers ignore the policy. According to Cummins (1979a, 1979b, 2000, 2005b), the development of the mother tongue, is in figure, developing the second languages because language abilities transfer. The trend in the study schools could, in light of the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, negatively impact on the acquisition and learning of Kiswahili and English and subsequent literacy development would not be attained to the extent expected and at the time anticipated.

11.2.5 Reading scores

The extent of literacy abilities in reading was the indicator of the outcomes of the various uses of language in schools especially developing them as effective LoIs. Scores across the three language subjects indicate that Ekegusii is performed better than Kiswahili and English for category one schools but majority of pupils scored below 40%. In categories two and three, Kiswahili scores are better than English scores. However, it is indicated that the percentage of category one pupils who score 3 marks and above in both Kiswahili and English is higher than that of category two schools and below that of category three schools. In all school categories, the knowledge skill was performed better than the comprehension skill. Conspicuously, a pupil who scores highly in Ekegusii, scores lower marks in Kiswahili and lowest in English in category one. The same applies to category two and three in which high scorers in Kiswahili score lower marks in English. The scores indicate that standard three pupils across the three school categories are barely literate in the essential skill of reading comprehension. This indicates their lack of readiness to have English be used as a medium of instruction from standard four. A further implication is that majority of these pupils will attain poorly across the curriculum in which English is the language of instruction.

11.3   Recommendations

In connection to the findings, I suggest the following steps in the Kenyan context of elementary literacy development.

11.3.1 Language in education policy

I recommend the following steps to address varied understanding of language policy and its implementation. The MoE should hold stakeholders' workshops to educate them on the intended meaning of the language policy. The stakeholders should be mainly quality assurance officers and teachers (for parents, there will be need for public education to change attitude towards mother tongue education). This should be followed by intensified inspection of schools to ascertain effective implementation. The education of these stakeholders should, if possible, be conducted by university lecturers well versed with the concepts of language/literacy learning and bilingualism and biliteracy. One outcome of this education should be to reclassify schools not as rural or urban but based on linguistic homogeneity and linguistic heterogeneity. The second outcome is the empowerment of schools to determine the language of instruction in elementary education based on linguistic homogeneity or otherwise. Further to this, the relevant ministry should consider a redraft of the language policy to have mother tongues be used as media of instruction for longer than the case today.

11.3.2 Development of mother tongues

I recommend that the MoE spearheads efforts to develop mother tongues by implementing recommendation 15.6 sub-section number 15.3.16 of the Koech Report (1999) that states that government should provide materials for the teaching of mother tongues through Jomo Kenyatta Foundation and Kenya Literature Bureau. The recommendation had been made by the Gachathi Report (1976). This should be by having the publishing houses publish the first batch of reading materials. Secondly, the government should introduce a course in Teacher Training Colleges that teaches mother tongue instruction for prospective teachers; emphasis should be on bilingualism and biliteracy development. Thirdly, in liaison with county governments, let the MoE encourage the writing of language-specific storybooks and other learning materials for schools. Fourthly, let schools include in their school-based language policies time for the use of mother tongues to strengthen them alongside other steps to effectively develop them. Finally, the government should hold a massive civic education on epistemic significance of mother tongues. This should be done

by government paying for airtime in the many local language radio stations in Kenya so that parents and the public could be educated on this significance. This effort could change the negative institutional and public attitudes towards mother tongues.

11.3.3 Literacy assessment studies

All literacy assessment studies conducted in Kenya did not assess the mother tongue factor. In future studies by any of the national organisations like KNEC, Uwezo Kenya, SACMEQ, or any other research agency, I suggest that they include mother tongues as variables in addition to assessing literacies in those mother tongues. Secondly, and urgently, government should put measures to ensure that English is resourced adequately and taught well.

11.3.4 Bilingualism and biliteracy development model

Currently, public attitudes and supporters of English do not support mother tongue instruction. As an initial approach, I propose a bilingual-biliteracy model for rural and urban schools. The models are anchored in a lot of research reports that support bilingual approaches as the ideal to early literacy development as captured in Bamgbose's view below. Bamgbose's view has been supported by wide and diverse research both in Africa and elsewhere (ADEA, 2006; Bamgbose, 2005a; Collier & Thomas, 2002; Cummins, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1989, 1992, 1996; 2000, 2007, 2008a, 2009a; Lindholm, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; May & Hill, 2003; Ramani & Joseph, 2006; Ramirez, Pasta, Yuen, Billings, & Ramey, 1991; Shale, 2015; Thomas & Collier, 2002; Wolff, 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2011, 2013; etc).

> Early childhood education, in a multilingual situation is characterized by a variety of practices including the use of one language for initial literacy only, biliteracy, mother tongue based literacy, dual or multilingual medium, etc….Whichever model is adopted, the minimum requirement is that every child should be taught in his her mother tongue or a language that the child already speaks by the time he or she enrols in the primary school…it is a linguistic requirement related to concept formation and the technicality of coding and decoding of symbols as well as a psychological requirement related to the cultivation of self-confidence, self-worth and identity (2005b)

Linguistically homogeneous schools could use English to teach mathematics, science and physical education and use mother tongues to teach social studies, religious studies, creative art, and life skills. In linguistically heterogeneous schools, mathematics, science, and physical education should be taught in English, while social studies, religious studies, creative art, and life skills should be taught in Kiswahili. This hybrid approach could be tentative as stakeholders assess the

merits of the approach. Secondly, it will provide time for terminology development and capacity building in addition to dealing with public attitude as mentioned above. The mother tongue/Kiswahili models suggested should be adopted up to at least standard five. Further to this, books for content knowledge should be written in both Ekegusii and Kiswahili to serve in the teaching of various subjects as suggested. The approach will, in light of research, ensure comprehensible learning and dialogic and learner-centred learning. Importantly, it will positively the learning and acquisition of English.

11.4   Suggestions for further research

Future research should study English literacy among the Kiswahili speakers at the Kenyan coast in light of the interdependence hypothesis. Results of such a study could be significant in the Eastern Africa context because the language enjoys support from both the public and governments. Findings from such a study could be reference in future policy on universal Kiswahili education. Secondly, research should be conducted to determine the methodology of teaching Kiswahili and English in elementary education across the country. Findings from such a study could be significant to MoE's policy on the development of these two languages; the former as a national language and both as official languages. Thirdly, research should be conducted to determine the extent of spread and predominance or otherwise of Kiswahili and English in all parts of the country. Findings from such a study could be reference for education officials in identifying schools as either rural or urban. The current rural-urban dichotomy used to determine languages of instruction in schools is inexact and haphazard.

11.5   Conclusion

Development of trilingual literacy in Kenya depends on two key conditions; a generous exposure of the pupils to each of the three languages; and proper teaching of each of them. This study indicates, of the first condition, that majority of the pupils in rural areas have a generous exposure to their mother tongues by the time they join school and throughout primary education. Exposure to the two other languages, moreso English, is restricted and limited. Of the second condition, findings indicate that their teaching is inadequate and poor in quality. The PRIMR Report echoes the puzzle in the language of instruction question in the country;

> The language of instruction remains a complex issue for the Kenyan education system. Any attempt to scale up PRIMR activities without resolving this issue is likely to increase complexity during the implementation. The DFID PRIMR study…will provide evidence as to the

effectiveness of mother tongue compared with a basic instructional support program (The Primary Math and Reading (PRIMR) Initiative Report, 2014, p. 58).

The findings of this research indicate that literacy levels in the three languages are below average in rural, peri-urban, and urban schools. Low literacy skills in mother tongues has been observed before and this research confirms this;

> …there is a general observation that the children are not all fully literate in the mother tongues at the end of standard three. If mother tongues were to be taught up to standard five, then we can be certain that they are literate enough (Mbaabu, 1996a, p. 19)

English literacy skills have not been better either and findings in this study confirm this too;

> The evidence is that a single-minded focus on English in Kenyan primary school education is not yielding strong learning outcomes. While prioritising English as the language of instruction has indeed resulted in children who are better at pronouncing English…their mastery of the English language is inadequate for them to understand what they are reading. The data suggest that three years of using English as the predominant language of instruction can impart basic skills in decoding and recognising words, but not the level of English language mastery necessary to understand the meaning of those words (Piper, Shroeder, & Trudell, 2015, p.15).

On significance of the mother tongue in early school literacy development, Thomas and Collier state;

> The strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement (2002, p. 7).

A poorly developed English, which is the main language of instruction from standard four, would not only affect achievement in the language, but also all the content subject areas. KCPE results across the years point to this trend; hundreds of thousands of students (about two-thirds on average) score below 50% in all subjects. Efforts to provide free education, providing books (written in English), employing more teachers, introducing regular tests, introducing the kikwetu subject, and cutting down on the number of subjects, do not seem to change the trend of poor literacy skills throughout primary school. By prioritizing English in early education, poor achievement trends echo the words of one scholar who observed that;

> A foreign language-i.e. a non-indigenous language which is not used outside the classroom, for day to day communication within the speech community-lacks the subjective characteristics requisite for viability as a national medium of education (Trappes-Lomax, 1990, p. 47).

The use of a comprehensible medium for developing knowledge in learners holds high possibilities in the education of primary school children in Kenya. China, Korea, Japan, German, France,

Norway, and others, offer education in languages spoken by their people and the results are obvious. The Kenyan early child education system is in a crisis; varied understanding of the language policy by the relevant stakeholders is a costly omission for practice is informed by knowledge. The half-hearted support to mother tongues has not made the learning of English better nor improved achievement in content knowledge for many years. Above all, prioritization of English confirms Bagunywa's observation that;

> …Any attempt to use a foreign language as a medium of instruction, at least in the early grades of the primary school, is bound to have a detrimental effect on the child's mental development-that is, his ability to think. His natural desire for spontaneous self-expression is greatly interfered with…the African child simply cannot be expected to verbalize his childhood experiences in a foreign language…such a language may have no idiom for expressing his experiences…he cannot talk intelligibly about the ritualistic ceremonies he attends…In this way, his thinking is retarded; his imagination is dulled; his confidence is weakened and his native wits remain unsharpened (2006, pp. 39-40).

Diverse incontestable research evidence across the world indicates that developed mother tongues and bilingual approaches are a sure foundation in the teaching/learning of preferred second languages, developing literacy skills, and in building knowledge in learners. Findings in this research confirm the claims of Cummins' theory; a poorly developed mother tongue negatively affects the learning of a preferred second language and acquisition of literacy skills in both languages. My thesis, in light of the findings of this study, is that unless Kenya supports the use of mother tongues in education, meaningful academic achievement for children of the majority poor in rural and informal urban settlements, may not be realized. The trend of poor literacy skills could be reversed by deliberate efforts and initiative by the ministry of education. Recommendations made in this report and those by other studies could be adopted in the process of education reform. Findings in this report indicate that majority of standard three learners transitting to standard four have inadequate literacy skills in mother tongues, Kiswahili, and English; this is a poor foundation for further language learning, literacy development, and acquisition of content knowledge in upper primary.

11.6 Summary

This section presents the summary of the main findings and also presents recommendations to policy makers in reference to the findings. It also suggests areas for further research.

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The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya

Peter N. Mose

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

of

Rhodes University
Grahamstown, South Africa

Supervisor: Prof. Russell Kaschula
Co-Supervisor: Dr. Dion Nkomo

Volume II: Appendices
December 2015

Contents

Appendix A

Introduction letter

SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES • P.O. BOX 94 GRAHAMSTOWN • Tel: +27 466038222
• Fax: +27 466038960 • email: r.kaschula@ru.ac.za

NRF SARChI Chair: Intellectualisation of African Languages, Multilingualism and Education

12 May 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that Mr. Peter Mose, a Kenyan national, is a full-time doctoral student under my supervision as part of my SARChI Chair. His student number is: 14M8561.

He will shortly be travelling to Kenya in order to gather data for his PhD thesis. Thereafter he will return to South Africa in order to collate and write up his data/thesis.

Kindly assist Mr. Mose to obtain the necessary documentation and permits.

Sincerely,

Professor Russell Kaschula

SARChI Chair: Intellectualisation of African Languages, Multilingualism and Education

_____

www.ru.ac.za

Research permit

NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

16th June, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/2481/1802

Peter Nyakundi Mose
Rhodes University
SOUTH AFRICA.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"The development of trilingual literacy in primary school in Kenya,"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Kisii and Nyamira Counties** for a period ending **31st December, 2016.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, Kisii and Nyamira Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

SAID HUSSEIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Kisii County.

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Nyamira County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001: 2008 Certified

Source: National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI), 2014

Appendix B2

Research permit forwarded by Kisii County commissioners

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

16th June, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/2481/1802

Peter Nyakundi Mose
Rhodes University
SOUTH AFRICA.

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SAID HUSSEIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Kisii County.

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Nyamira County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001: 2008 Certified

Source: NACOSTI, 2014

3

Appendix B3

Research permit forwarded by Nyamira County commissioners

**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
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When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

16th June, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/2481/1802

Peter Nyakundi Mose
Rhodes University
SOUTH AFRICA.

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On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

**SAID HUSSEIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Kisii County.

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Nyamira County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001: 2008 Certified

Source: NACOSTI, 2014

Map of Kenya

Source: KNBS, 2013

Map of Kisii and Nyamira Counties

Source: KNBS, 2013

Appendix D

MoE circular on use of languages of the catchment

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
State Department of Education

Telegrams: "EDUCATION" Nairobi
Telephone: Nairobi (020) 318581
Fax No: 254-2-218378

EDUCATION SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 30400 – 00100
NAIROBI

When replying please quote

Ref: QAS/A/2/IA (156)   30th January, 2014

ALL COUNTY DIRECTORS OF EDUCATION

ALL DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICERS

RE: LANGUAGE POLICY IN BASIC EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

The attention of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology has been drawn to reports appearing in both electronic and print media that the Ministry has introduced a new language policy where the medium of instruction is local languages. The Ministry wishes to make the following clarifications;

a. That the language policy is not new and has been in force for over three decades.

b. The Report of the National Committee on Education Objectives and Policies of 1976 commonly referred to as the Gachathi Report recommended under section 6.2.4; Language of Instruction:

   Recommendation 101
   To use as a language of instruction the predominant language spoken in the schools' catchment area for the first three years of primary education.
   Recommendation 102
   To introduce English as a subject from primary 1 and to make it supercede the predominant local language as the medium of instruction in primary 4.

c. Sessional Paper No. 14 of 2012 on Reforming Education and Training Sectors in Kenya under section 2.10 recommends that, "*National and County Education Boards shall encourage the use of the two official languages Kiswahili and English both in and out-of-school as provided for in the Constitution of Kenya (2010). The language of the catchment area (Mother Tongue) shall be used for child care, pre-primary education and in the education of Lower Primary children (0-8 years). Sign language, Braille or other appropriate means of communication shall also be used in the delivery of education to learners with special needs. For schools*

located in metropolitan areas such, Kiswahili shall be adopted as a language of the catchment area".

THE LANGUAGE POLICY

In lower primary (Pre-school to Standard III) all subjects should be taught in Mother Tongue except English and Kiswahili which should be taught in English and Kiswahili respectively. However, in areas where diverse language groups coexist, Kiswahili and English are used as the medium of instruction in lower primary.

In upper primary (Standard IV – VIII), the medium of instruction is English in all subjects except Kiswahili which should be taught in Kiswahili.

RATIONALE

Use of the Mother Tongue for teaching in lower primary has a number of advantages:-

1. The use of first language ensures a smooth transition from the home to school environment.

2. Learning theories backed by research have revealed that children learn faster when they are introduced to concepts in their first language (Mother Tongue), as they are able to learn from known to unknown.

3. Indeed most of the concepts introduced in lower primary like matching, sorting and identifying shapes and sizes are a continuation of activities that form part of the child's play environment.

By a copy of this circular therefore, the County Directors of Education and District Education Officers are required to sensitize Headteachers of Primary schools and all stakeholders on the content of the language policy.

Kiragu Wa Magochi, MBS
Ag. EDUCATION SECRETARY

Copy to:
Cabinet Secretary	-	MOEST
Principal Secretary	-	State Department of Education
Principal Secretary	-	State Department of Science and Technology
Secretary	-	Teachers Service Commission
All Directors of Education		
Director	-	Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development
Public Relations Officer	-	MOEST
Secretary	-	KUPPET
Secretary	-	KNUT
Secretary	-	KEPSHA
Secretary	-	KESSHA

Source: MoE, 2014

Ekegusii vowel chart
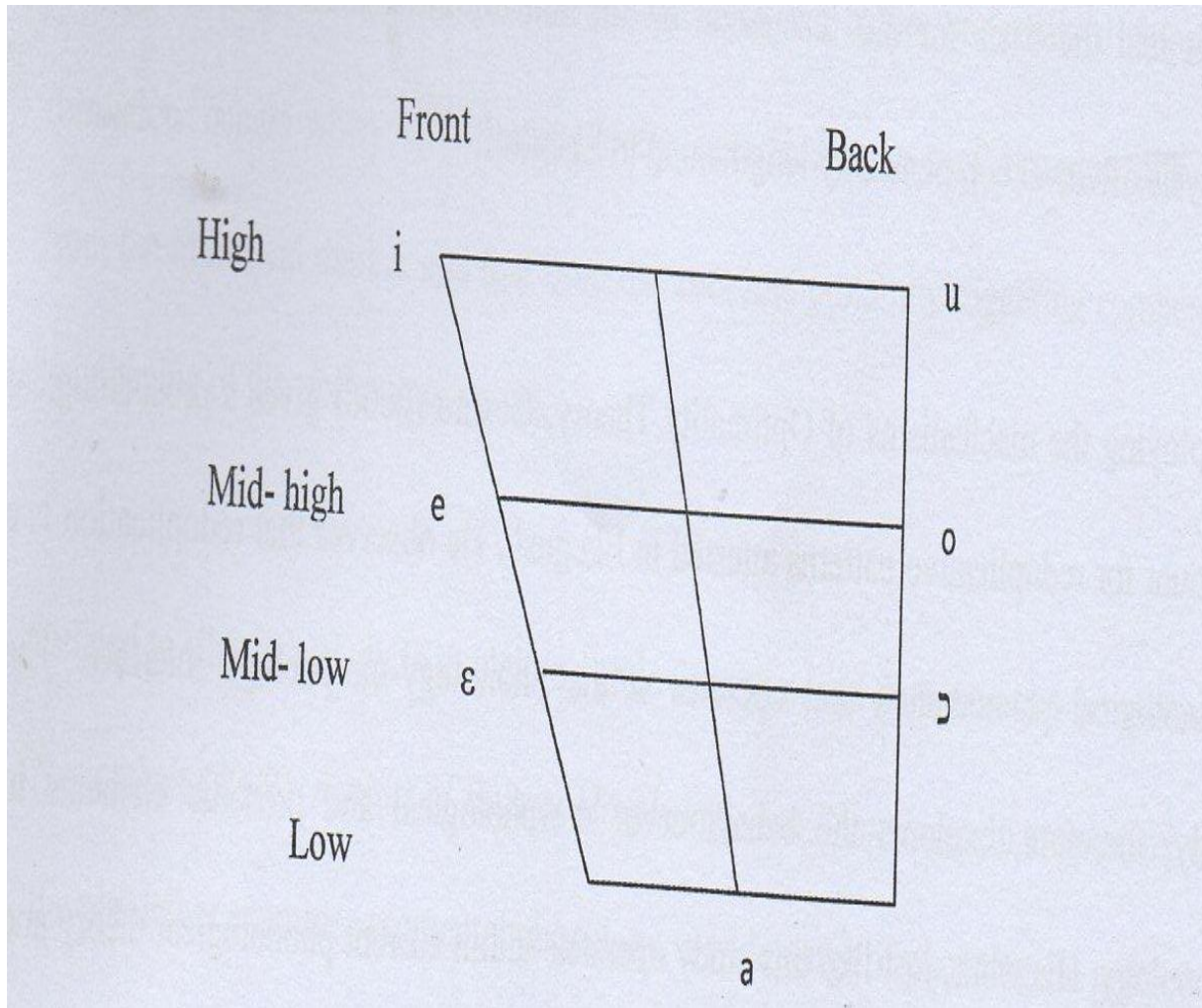
Source: Komenda, 2012, p. 28

Ekegusii consonant chart

Manner of articulation	Place of articulation				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	post alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Nasal	m	n	ɲ		ŋ
Plosive		t			k
Fricative	β	s			γ
Affricate			t∫		
approximant				j[j]	[w]
Trill		r			
Prenasal	mb,mm	ns,nn,nt,nd	nt∫		ŋk,ŋg

Source: Komenda, 2012, p. 127

Kiswahili vowel chart
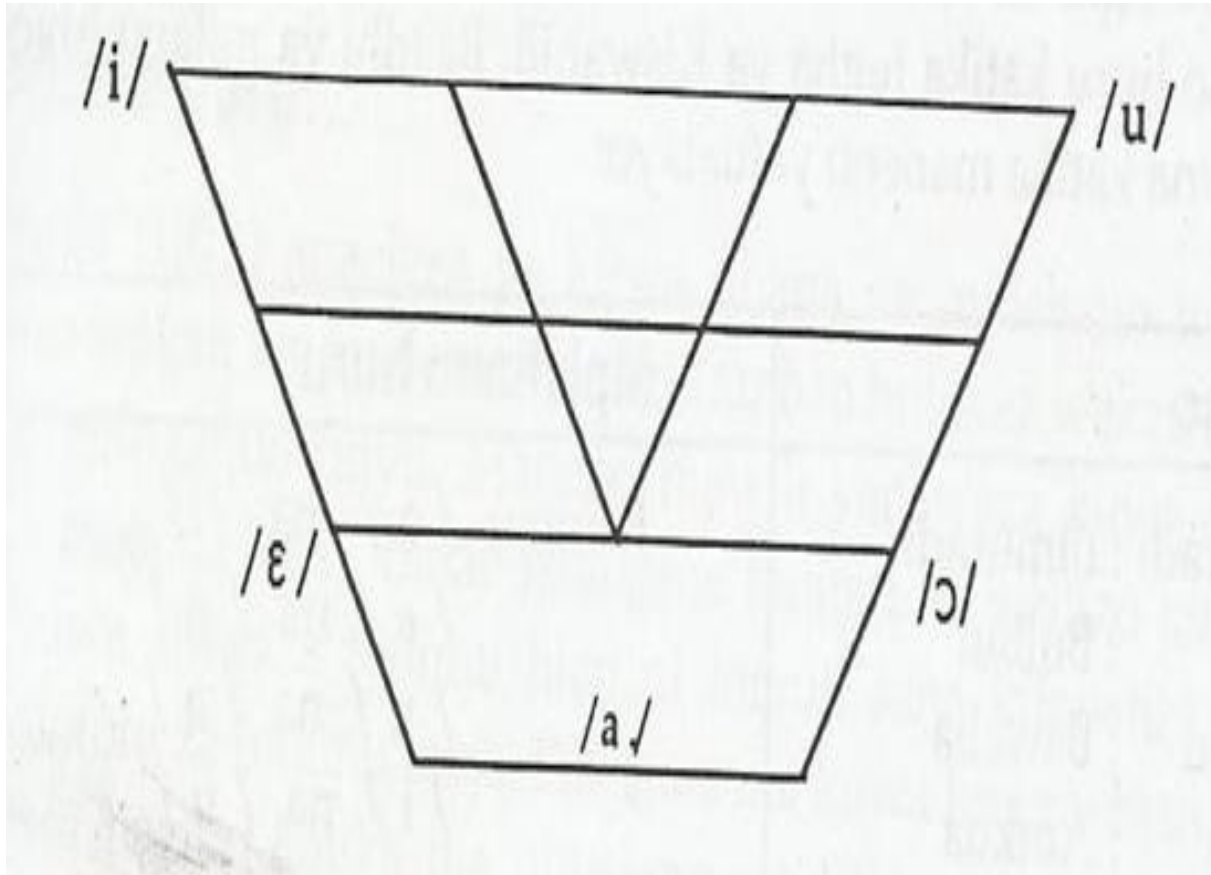
Source: Mgullu, 2010, p. 66

Appendix F2

Kiswahili consonant chart

Aina	Midomo	Midomo na Meno	Meno	Meno na Ufizi	Ufizi	Kaakaa gumu	Kaakaa laini	Glota	Jumla
1. Vikwamizwa		fv	θ ð	ʃ	sz		x ɣ	h	10
2. Vizuiwa	pb				td		kg		6
3. Nasali	m				n	ɲ	ŋ		4
4. Vizuiwa Kwamizwa						tʃ ɟ			2
5. Kitambaza					l				1
6. Kimadende					r				1
							Konsonanti		24

Source: Mgullu, 2010, p. 69

12

English vowel chart
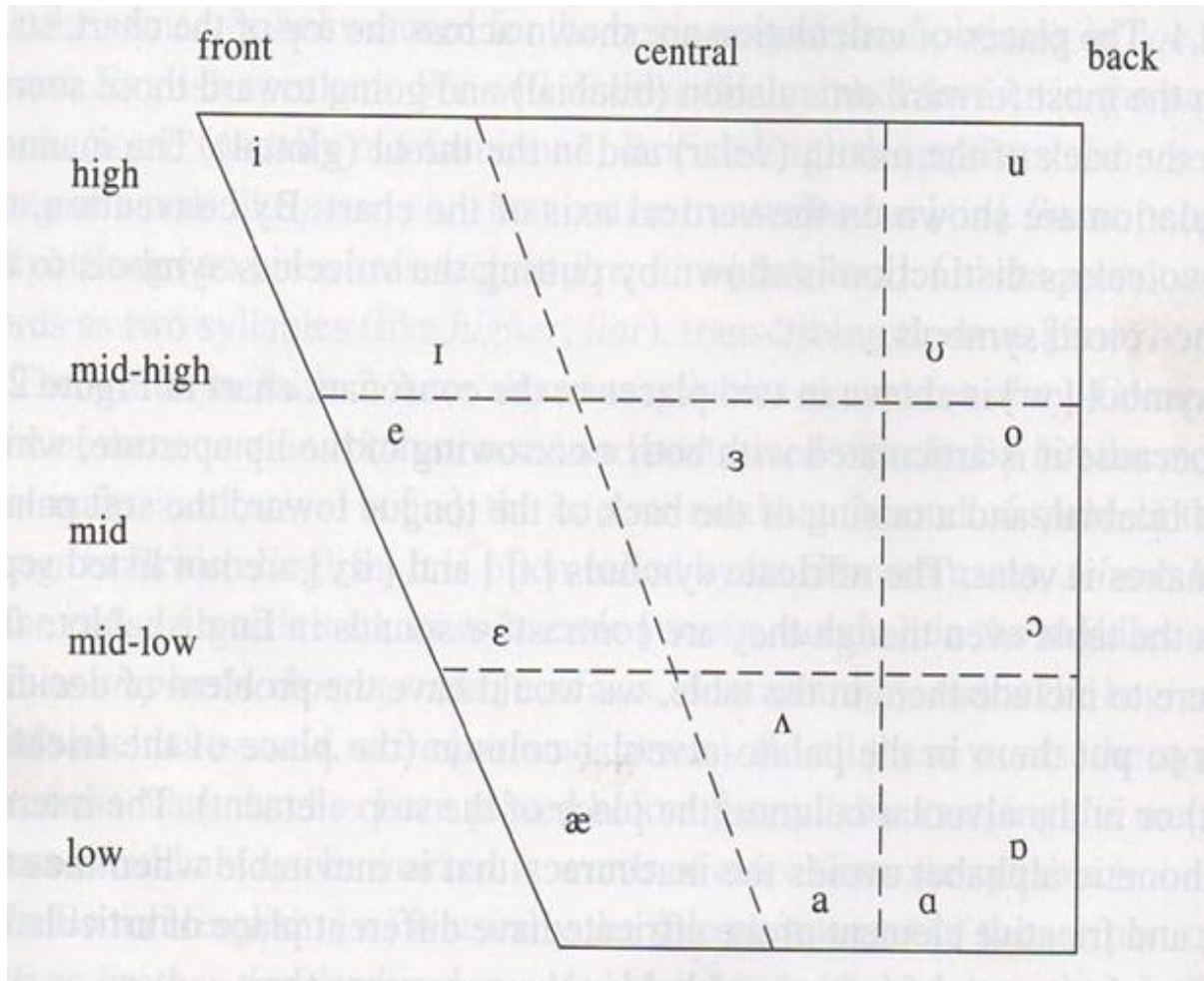
Source: Ladefoged and Johnson, 2011, p. 44

Appendix G2

English consonant chart

Manner of articulation	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
nasal (stop)	m			n			ŋ	
stop	p b			t d			k g	ʔ
fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
(central) approximant	(w)			r		j	w	
lateral (approximant)				l				

Place of articulation

Source: Ladefoged and Johnson, 2011, p. 43

14

Consent form for category one teachers

CONSENT FORM: CLASS THREE TEACHERS (CATEGORY ONE SCHOOLS)

You are requested to participate in a research activity to be carried out by Peter N. Mose, a candidate at the School of Languages at Rhodes University, South Africa. The research is carried out towards an award of a PhD degree. The study is titled, *The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya*. You have been selected to participate as the teacher in standard three in this school.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to find out how teachers at lower primary teach towards the development of literacy skills in three languages: Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English.

CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

If you would be willing to participate in this study, the researcher asks you to;

i.   Allow him to sit in your class to observe and audio record Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English, mathematics, and science lessons as you teach.
ii.   Allow him to analyze some documents and learning materials you use in your work.
iii.   Allow him to administer reading tests in the three language subjects to the class three pupils.
iv.   Allow him to hold an interview with you after all the other research activities. The interview will be audio recorded for transcription and analysis purposes.

RISKS

There is no risk of any nature to your and your learners' participation in this research. Any information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No information will be given to or disclosed to any persons whatsoever. The identities of the school, yours and that of the learners will be confidential throughout the research and afterwards; each will be referred to using pseudonyms. Your identities will remain coded in case findings of this research will be published in scholarly journals or in books.

BENEFIT TO RESPONDENTS

There will be no direct monetary or other benefit in participating in this activity. Findings from the study may only be used by relevant stakeholders to support the development of literacy in the languages used in schools for instruction purposes.

FREEDOM TO WITHDRAW

You have the freedom to participate in this study up to the end. You also have the freedom to withdraw your cooperation at any time. The decision to answer or not some or all questions during interviews is yours.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In case you have any questions or something you want to be clarified about this research, be free to contact the following persons;

  i.   Researcher: Peter N. Mose, pmose61@yahoo.com, +254721878266
 ii.   Supervisor: Prof. Russell Kaschula, r.kaschula@ru.ac.za
iii.   Co-Supervisor: Dr. Dion Nkomo, d.nkomo@ru.ac.za

COMMITMENT BY RESPONDENT

I……………………………………………………………….having read the contents of this form and having sought clarification from the researcher hereby accept to participate in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw or participate until the end of the exercise.

Signature……………………………Date……………………….Cellphone number……………….

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I…………………………………………………………….. hereby declare that I have had the respondent read all the conditions of participation in this study and that I have clarified all issues raised. I am without doubt persuaded that the respondent will participate out of informed consent and voluntariness.

Signature……………………………Date………………………..Cellphone number………………

Consent form for category two and three teachers

CONSENT FORM: CLASS THREE TEACHERS (CATEGORY 2 AND 3 SCHOOLS)

You are requested to participate in a research activity to be carried out by Peter N. Mose, a candidate at the School of Languages at Rhodes University, South Africa. The research is carried out towards an award of a PhD degree. The study is titled, *The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya*. You have been selected to participate as the teacher in standard three in this school.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to find out how teachers at lower primary teach towards the development of literacy skills in three languages: Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English.

CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

If you would be willing to participate in this study, the researcher asks you to;

   i.   Allow him to administer reading tests in Kiswahili and English to the class three pupils.
   ii. Allow him to hold an interview with you after all the other research activities. The interview will be audio recorded for transcription and analysis purposes.

RISKS

There is no risk of any nature to your and your learners' participation in this research. Any information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No information will be given to or disclosed to any persons whatsoever. The identities of the school, yours and that of the learners will be confidential throughout the research and afterwards; each will be referred to using pseudonyms. Your identities will remain coded in case findings of this research will be published in scholarly journals or in books.

BENEFIT TO RESPONDENTS

There will be no direct monetary or other benefit in participating in this activity. Findings from the study may only be used by relevant stakeholders to support the development of literacy in the languages used in schools for instruction purposes.

FREEDOM TO WITHDRAW

You have the freedom to participate in this study up to the end. You also have the freedom to withdraw your cooperation at any time. The decision to answer or not some or all questions during interviews is yours.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In case you have any questions or something you want to be clarified about this research, be free to contact the following persons;

i.   Researcher: Peter N. Mose, pmose61@yahoo.com, +254721878266
ii.   Supervisor: Prof. Russell Kaschula, r.kaschula@ru.ac.za
iii. Co-Supervisor: Dr. Dion Nkomo, d.nkomo@ru.ac.za

COMMITMENT BY RESPONDENT

I……………………………………………………….having read the contents of this form and having sought clarification from the researcher hereby accept to participate in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw or participate until the end of the exercise.

Signature…………………………Date……………………….Cellphone number……………….

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I……………………………………………………… hereby declare that I have had the respondent read all the conditions of participation in this study and that I have clarified all issues raised. I am without doubt persuaded that the respondent will participate out of informed consent and voluntariness.

Signature…………………………Date………………………..Cellphone number……………….

Appendix H3

Consent form for all head teachers

CONSENT FORM: HEAD TEACHERS

You are requested to participate in a research activity to be carried out by Peter N. Mose, a candidate at the School of Languages at Rhodes University, South Africa. The research is carried out towards an award of a PhD degree. The study is titled, *The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya*. You have been selected to participate as the head teacher of this school.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to find out how teachers at lower primary teach towards the development of literacy skills in three languages: Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English.

CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

If you would be willing to participate in this study, the researcher asks you to avail yourself, at a time to be agreed upon, for a face to face interview preferably in your office. The interview will be audio recorded for transcription and analysis purposes.

RISKS

There is no risk of any nature to your and your school's participation in this research. Any information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No information will be given or disclosed to any persons whatsoever. The identities of the school and yours will be confidential throughout the research and afterwards; you will be referred to using pseudonyms. Your identities will remain coded in case findings of this research will be published in scholarly journals or in books.

BENEFIT TO RESPONDENTS

There will be no direct monetary or other benefit in participating in this activity. Findings from the study may only be used by relevant stakeholders to support the development of literacy in the languages used in schools for instruction purposes.

FREEDOM TO WITHDRAW

You have the freedom to participate in the interview up to the end. You also have the freedom to withdraw your cooperation at any time. The freedom to answer or not some or all questions is yours.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In case you have any questions or something you want to be clarified about this research, be free to contact the following persons;

  i.   Researcher: Peter N. Mose, pmose61@yahoo.com, +254721878266
  ii.   Supervisor: Prof. Russell Kaschula, r.kaschula@ru.ac.za
  iii. Co-Supervisor: Dr. Dion Nkomo, d.nkomo@ru.ac.za

COMMITMENT BY RESPONDENT

I…………………………………………………...having read the contents of this form and having sought clarification from the researcher hereby accept to participate in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw or participate until the end of the exercise.

Signature…………………………Date………………………Cellphone number……………….

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I………………………………………………………… hereby declare that I have had the respondent read all the conditions of participation in this study and that I have clarified all issues raised. I am without doubt persuaded that the respondent will participate out of informed consent and voluntariness.

Signature…………………………Date………………………..Cellphone number……………….

Appendix H4

Consent form for MoE staff

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH: MoE STAFF

You are requested to participate in a research activity being carried out by Peter N. Mose, a candidate at the School of Languages at Rhodes University, South Africa. The research is carried out towards an award of a PhD degree. The study is titled, *The Development of Trilingual Literacy in Primary Schools in Kenya.* You have been selected to participate as an officer of the Ministry of Education in Kenya.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to find out how teachers at lower primary teach towards the development of literacy skills in three languages: Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English.

CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

If you would be willing to participate in this study, the researcher asks you to avail yourself, at a time to be agreed upon, for a face to face interview preferably in your office. The interview will be audio recorded for transcription and analysis purposes.

RISKS

There is no risk of any nature to your participation in this research. Any information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No information will be given to or disclosed to any person whatsoever. The identities of your office and yours will be confidential throughout the research and afterwards; you will be referred to using pseudonyms. Your identities will remain coded in case findings of this research will be published in scholarly journals or in books.

BENEFIT TO RESPONDENTS

There will be no direct monetary or other benefit in participating in this activity. Findings from the study may only be used by relevant stakeholders to support the development of literacy in the languages used in schools for instruction purposes.

FREEDOM TO WITHDRAW

You have the freedom to participate in the interview up to the end. But you also have the freedom to withdraw your cooperation at any time. The decision to answer or not some or all questions is yours.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In case you have any questions or something you want to be clarified about this research, be free to contact the following persons;

i.   Researcher: Peter N. Mose, pmose61@yahoo.com, +254721878266
ii.   Supervisor: Prof. Russell Kaschula, r.kaschula@ru.ac.za
iii. Co-Supervisor: Dr. Dion Nkomo, d.nkomo@ru.ac.za

COMMITMENT BY RESPONDENT

I…………………………………..having read the contents of this form and having sought clarification from the researcher hereby accept to participate in this interview. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw or participate until the end of the exercise.

Signature…………………………Date………………………Cellphone number……………….

DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I………………………………….. hereby declare that I have had the respondent read all the conditions of participation in this study and that I have clarified all issues raised. I am without doubt persuaded that the respondent will participate out of informed consent and voluntariness.

Signature…………………………Date………………………..Cellphone number……………….

Appendix I1

Interview guide for category one teachers

INTERVIEW GUIDE: TEACHERS (CATEGORY ONE SCHOOLS)

Welcome to this interview. Please respond to the questions below based on your knowledge and experience as a classroom teacher. You are free to ask for clarification in case a question is not clearly understood.

1. What is the mother tongue of the learners in class three?
2. Which language do you use in teaching each of the subjects you teach?
3. Why do you teach the Ekegusii subject?
4. In which other ways do you make learners develop their Ekegusii language and skills apart from classroom teaching?
5. Now that there is only one learning material for Ekegusii in the Orange Book, what has your school done to supplement?
6. You have not given learners many assignments in Ekegusii as you have done in Kiswahili and English. Why?
7. How do learners perform in classroom tests in each of the subjects you teach?
8. Which subjects do pupils like?
9. Do you use code switching, translation and Sheng in your teaching?
10. From your experience, to what extent are standard three learners ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four?
11. Why don't learners generally ask questions during teaching and learning?
12. Why are most of the charts on the classroom walls written in English?
13. Why do you use English rhymes/phrases to applaud learners even when the subject is Ekegusii or Kiswahili?
14. How many times in a term is your teaching work assessed?
15. Are you a member of Kenya National Library Services?
16. What problems face the teaching and learning of the language subjects?
17. The constitution of Kenya (2010) states that the state shall promote the development and use of indigenous languages. How do you think schools can help the state actualize this intention?

Appendix I2

Interview guide for category two and three teachers

INTERVIEW GUIDE: TEACHERS (CATEGORY TWO AND THREE SCHOOLS)

Welcome to this interview. Please respond to the questions below based on your knowledge and experience as a classroom teacher. You are free to ask for clarification in case a question is not clearly understood.

1. What is the mother tongue of the learners in class three?
2. Which languages do you use in the teaching of each of the subjects you teach?
3. Do you use Ekegusii in your teaching or for any other purposes?
4. Do you use code switching, translation and Sheng in your teaching?
5. How do pupils perform in classroom tests in each of the subjects?
6. Which subjects do pupils like?
7. From your experience, to what extent are standard three learners ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four?
8. Why are most of the charts on the classroom walls written in English?
9. How many times in a term is your work assessed?
10. Are you a member of Kenya National Library Services?
11. What problems face the teaching and learning of the language subjects?
12. The constitution of Kenya (2010) states that the state shall promote the development and use of indigenous languages. How do you think schools can help the state actualize this intention?

Appendix I3

Interview guide for category one head teachers

INTERVIEW GUIDE: HEAD TEACHERS (CATEGORY ONE SCHOOLS)

Welcome to this interview. Please respond to the questions below based on your knowledge and experience as both a head teacher and a classroom teacher. You are free to ask for clarification in case a question is not clearly understood.

1. How are Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English languages used in your school?
2. What does the government school language policy require of a school like this one in standard three?
3. Do you have a school language policy?
4. Which criterion do you use to assign a teacher to teach at the lower primary?
5. There is only one reading material for the subject of Ekegusii in the Orange Book. How have you addressed this problem of lack of a variety of learning materials in the Orange Book for the Ekegusii subject?
6. How does your school promote the knowledge of Ekegusii outside the classroom for lower primary pupils?
7. From your experience, in which medium do learners ask/respond to most questions in lower primary?
8. From your experience, to what extent are standard three learners ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four?
9. How many of the following teaching materials does your school, on average, have for class three for each of the subjects? Textbooks, readers, dictionaries, bibles, atlases.
10. How many times do you assess teachers' work in a term?
11. Is your school a member of the Kenya National Library Services?
12. In January this year, the government reminded primary schools to use languages of the catchment to teach in lower classes. Have you been able to implement it? How? Why not?
13. The constitution of Kenya (2010) states that the state shall promote the development and use of indigenous languages. How do you think schools can help the state actualize this intention?

Appendix I4

Interview guide for category two and three head teachers

INTERVIEW GUIDE: HEAD TEACHERS (CATEGORY TWO AND THREE SCHOOLS)

Welcome to this interview. Please respond to the questions below based on your knowledge and experience as a classroom teacher. You are free to ask for clarification in case a question is not clearly understood.

1. How are Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English languages used in your school?
2. What does the government school language policy require of a school like this one in standard three?
3. Do you have a school language policy?
4. From your experience, in which medium do learners in lower primary ask/respond to most questions?
5. From your experience, are standard three learners ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four onwards?
6. How many of the following teaching materials does your school, on average, have for class three in each of the subjects? Textbooks, readers, dictionaries, bibles, atlases.
7. How many times do you assess teachers' work in a term?
8. Which criterion do you use to assign a teacher to teach at the lower primary?
9. Is your school a member of the Kenya National Library Services?
10. In January this year, the government reminded primary schools to use languages of the catchment to teach. Have you been able to implement it?
11. The constitution of Kenya (2010) states that the state shall promote the development and use of indigenous languages. How do you think schools can help the state actualize this intention?

Appendix I5

Interview guide for MoE staff

INTERVIEW GUIDE: MoE STAFF

Welcome to this interview. Please respond to the questions below based on your knowledge and experience as a Ministry of Education official. You are free to ask for clarification in case a question is not clearly understood.

1. What role do Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English play in lower primary in schools in your territory/ your school?
2. What does the education language policy require of schools in your territory/your school in lower primary?
3. What challenges face literacy development in early child education in your territory/your school?
4. What is meant by the following terms/phrases in language in education policy in basic education institutions in Kenya? Language/medium of instruction; predominant language spoken; language of the catchment area; school's catchment area; metropolitan areas; peri-urban areas; urban areas; local languages; mother tongue; mother tongue as a language of instruction; a subject taught in mother tongue; Kiswahili as a language of instruction; Kiswahili and English as media of instruction; diverse language groups.
5. Does the education policy prescribe teaching of mother tongues as subjects in lower primary?
6. How can a subject be taught in Ekegusii/Kiswahili when it is written in English?
7. Are you enforcing the education language policy in basic education institutions in your territory/your school?

Appendix J

Observation guide

OBSERVATION GUIDE

The following aspects were observed during classroom observations

1. Teacher language choices (and possible contextual reasons) during teaching

    Use of mother tongue; use of Kiswahili; use of English; use of code switching; use of translation.

2. Learner behaviour aspects observed during learning

    Responding to teacher's instructions; answering questions; asking questions; consulting other learners and language used; volunteering to demonstrate a point to the whole class or tell a story during teaching; and use of various languages.

3. Aspects observed before and when learners took tests

    Learners consulting the teacher for clarification; learners copying others' work; learners finishing within time allocated; learners finishing after time allocated; learners finishing all the questions; learners not finishing all questions; learners unable to answer any questions.

Appendix K

Document analysis guide

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

The following documents were analyzed:

1. Ministry of Education circular (30.01.2014)

2. Education commission reports

3. KIE syllabus

4. Orange Book

5. Wall charts

6. Learners' exercise books

Test one-Ekegusii
AMATEMWA AMATANG'ANI Y'EKEGUSII
EKERASI GIA GATATO
Erieta_____   Esukuuru_____
Egeka: Ensa eyemo   Chitariki_____

Ogosooma (okoigwa)

Sooma amang'ana aya akobwatia erio oiranerie amaboria are inse yaye.

Oboremi

Ebinto ebinge bitokoonyete ebikorwa ase oboremi. Obotugi bwe chiombe n'oyomo ase emeremo y'oboremi. Chiombe echigotoa amabeere, chinyama, amao n'amaguta. Inchibwenerete koegwa ebara gose echumbi, amasakara nechindagera chinde. Imotugete chiombe seino? Indagera ki mogochia? Imbuya ki mokonyoora korwa ase chire?

Oboremi bw'echae n'obuya ekiagera korwa ase echae inkonyoora tore chibeesa twakorera emeremo ao ao. Nabo toragore chianga gose esukari gose ebitaabu. Nabo toraagachere enyoomba gose esukuuru, gose tochiere nyagitaari. Echae koyamire, nigo egotorwa amato abere n'enkoro erio yairwa amasiini gosiegwa. Nebwenerete gosiarerwa obwoyo kera omwaka.

Oboremi n'obuya mono. Oboremi bwa mogondo nigo bogotoa obori, amaemba, chibaando, chinyeni amo neching'eende. Nabwo boigo bogotoa emesie, emiongo, n'ekagwa.

Oboremi bw'obotugi nabwo bogotoa chinyama, chinswe, amabeere amo n'obooke. Obooke nigo bokoroisigwa ne chinchoke echio chikonyunyunta ebisiicha chiamenterania ebinto biinde. Oboremi obuya nigo botagete embura eisaine, omobaso oisaine, amo n'amaroba akwama endagera buya.

Amaboria
1. Ing'ai ebinto ebinge bitokoonyete bikorwa?
2. Riika egento ekemo oboremi bw'obotugi bogotoa.
3. Riika endagera eyeemo ere ase ogosooma oko eyio chiombe chikoria.
4. Ninki ekemo torakorere chibeesa tokonyoora korwa as'echae?
5. Oboremi obuya imboganetie ebinto ao ao. Riika ekemo.
6. Ninki obwoyo bogokoonya echae?
7. Toratiga gokora oboremi ninki keratobeere?
8. Ninki endagera egokoonya chiombe?
9. Toraisa goita chinchoke chionsi pi, ninki keratobore?
10. Embura eraisa koba tetwa aiga seito Gusii, ninki keratobeere?

Appendix L2

Test one-Kiswahili

<div align="center">

JARIBIO LA KWANZA LA KISWAHILI

DARASA LA TATU
</div>

Jina_____   Shule_____

Muda: Saa moja   Tarehe_____

Kusoma (ufahamu)

Soma makala haya kisha ujibu maswali yanayofuata.

<div align="center">

Bustani yetu
</div>

Mogaaka na Bonareri ni wanafunzi wa darasa la tatu katika shule ya msingi ya Nyamira. Wanaporudi nyumbani kutoka shuleni mwao, wao hungia kwenye bustani yao.

Bustani hiyo ina mimea mbalimbalii. Mogaaka anapolima udongo, Bonareri hunyunyizia maji mimea yote. Wao wanaamini kuwa kila mmea ni lazima unyunyiziwe maji ya kutosha.

Akina Mogaaka na Bonareri pia hupanda mbegu za maua. Kwenye bustani yao kuna maua kama mawaridi, asmini na haibiskasi. Maua hayo ni ya rangi tofauti tofauti za kupendeza. Ili wapate maua na mimea ya kupendeza, wao hutumia mbolea.

Mara kwa mara badala ya kutumia mbegu, wao hutumia miche, yaani miti midogo au michanga sana. Miche hii hupandwa robo ya urefu wake na kutiwa mbolea na kunyunyiziwa maji ya kutosha. Bustani yao imeifanya nyumba yao kupendeza zaidi kuliko nyumba zote za majirani zao. Je, wewe unayo bustani nyumbani kwenu?

Maswali
1. Mogaaka na Bonareri wanasoma wapi?
2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.
3. Miche ni nini?
4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?
5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani?
6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?
7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu?
8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua?
9. Maji husaidiaje maua?
10. Somo hili linatufunza nini?

Test one-English

ENGLISH TEST ONE
STANDARD THREE

Name_____   School_____
Time: One hour   Date_____

Reading (comprehension)

Read the following story and answer the questions which follow.

At the hospital

One evening Mosooti found Simba, Omosa's dog, stealing food from his mother's kitchen. He started chasing the dog towards the main road. Mosooti was so annoyed that he did not look at both sides of the road.

As he was crossing the road, a man riding a motorcycle knocked him down. Mosooti lay down. Villagers rushed and took him to a Health Centre but the dresser at the centre advised that Mosooti be transferred to the District Hospital.

Mosooti was taken to a hospital ward with many beds. A bandage was tied around his head. A nurse came to Mosooti and smiled at him. He told him that it was time for his injection. She pulled out the syringe and fixed a needle on it. The injection was not too painful. Mosooti had to stay in hospital for two weeks. He was lucky to be alive.

When he and his mother arrived home, his friends and relatives came to see him. Among his friends was Boera. The relatives were Nyanchoka, Omari and Boora. They bought him fruits, sugarcane and bread.

Questions
1. Where was Simba stealing food from?
2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?
3. Who knocked Mosooti down?
4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital?
5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home.
6. How can motorcycles help us?
7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him?
8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti?
9. Why do you think Mosooti was transferred to the District Hospital?
10. What do we learn from this story?

Appendix L4

Test two-Ekegusii

AMATEMWA A KABERE Y'EKEGUSII

EKERASI GIA GATATO

Erieta_____   Esukuuru_____

Egeka: Ensa eyemo   Chitariki_____

Ogosooma (okoigwa)

Sooma amang'ana aya akobwatia erio oiranerie amaboria are inse yaye.

Emebasokano ase chibaara

Emebasokano emenge nigo egokorekana ase chibaara. Abagendia abange tibari kogendia chigaari buya. Abande nigo okonyoora batindete ase okonywa amarwa gose enyasoore. Abagendia bande naboborimo bategerete obogendia ase chisukuuru. Abande nigo bare n'erang'o y'okonyoora chibeesa.

Chigaari chinyinge chikobogoria abanto nigo chisaregete. Ekero chigaari echio chiasarekire tichiri korigererigwa na korosigwa n'amakanika.

Chibaara chinde nigo chisaregete. Ekero ebaara ere embe, igo ebwenerete omogendia korigereria boronge ekero akogendia. Nigo ebwenerete agendie egaari ng'oora tabaisa konyoora omobasokano gose gosoa ase chingoro.

Abasigaari baria bakobeera ebaara kworokereria chigaari imbare namamocho. Nabwo bagotiga abagendia bakora amamocho y'ebaara buna okogendia chigaari ase orogendo rwa igoro gose kogendia chigaari ekero batindete.

Amaboria
1. Ing'ai emebasokano emenge egokorekanera?
2. Riika egento ekemo gekogera emebasokano yaaba ase chibaara.
3. Amakanika imbanto ki?
4. Ninki omogendia abwenerete gokora ekero ebaara ere embe?
5. Imamocho ki abasigaari bebaara babwate?
6. Ninki gekogera abagendia baminyokia chigaari bwango?
7. Ninki gekogera abanto bageenda esukuuru kwegera obogendia bwe chigaari?
8. Oranyoora egaari yaiyeirie abanto, ninki orakore?
9. Ninki abagendia bakogendia chigaari kibatindete babwenerete gokorerwa?
10. Amang'ana aya ninki agotwegeria?

Test two-Kiswahili

JARIBIO LA PILI LA KISWAHILI
DARASA LA TATU

Jina_____   Shule_____

Muda: Saa moja   Tarehe_____

Kusoma (ufahamu)

Soma ujumbe ufuatao kisha ujibu maswali yanayofuata.

Garimoshi safarini

Safari ya garimoshi iliharibika. Garimoshi liliacha njia ya reli na kupinduka. Watu wachache walikufa. Baada ya muda, mabasi yakaja. Mabasi hayo yaliletwa kuwasaidia wasafiri wa garimoshi. Wasafiri hao wakaanza kupakia mizigo yao katika mabasi. Mabasi yangewapeleka huko walikokuwa wanaenda.

Kulikuwa na bibi mmoja katika ajali hiyo. Ajuza huyo alikuwa na mjukuu wake na mzigo mzito. Wasafiri walikuwa wakishindana kupanda mabasi. Kila mmoja alikuwa akipigania nafasi ya kuingia. Ajuza huyo hakujua afanye nini kati ya kubeba mzigo au kumchunga mjukuu wake. Hakuweza kufanya yote hayo kwa pamoja. Aliogopa kumpoteza mjukuu au kuupoteza mzigo wake.

Kulikuwa na manamba wawili katika basi moja. Mmoja wa manamba hao alikuwa kijana. Aliwasaidia wasafiri wengi kwa kuwabebea mizigo yao na kuwapandishia kwenye basi. Barobaro huyo aliitwa Masha. Masha alimuona ajuza akiwa na wasiwasi. Papo hapo akambebea mzigo wake yule ajuza na kumwekea kwenye basi. Ajuza alichuruzikwa na machozi!.

Maswali
1. Kwa nini safari ya garimoshi iliharibika?
2. Mabasi yaliletwa kwa kazi gani?
3. Ajuza alikuwa na shida gani?
4. Ajuza walikuwa na nani?
5. Ni nani alimsaidia ajuza?
6. Kwa nini wasafiri walishindana kupanda mabasi?
7. Ungekuwa ajuza, ungebeba mjukuu au mzigo?
8. Kwa nini ungefanya hivyo katika swali nambari saba (7)?
9. Kwa nini ajuza alichuruzikwa na majozi?
10. Kisa hiki kinatufunza nini?

Test two-English

ENGLISH TEST TWO
STANDARD THREE

Name_____   School_____

Time: One hour   Date_____

Reading (comprehension)

Read the following passage and answer the questions which follow.

The driver

Mr. Manduku is a truck driver. He carries goods from Mombasa to Nairobi and then to Kisumu. He carries many things in his truck. Sometimes he transports foodstuffs like potatoes and maize. At other times he carries car spare parts.

Last year Manduku drove a petrol tanker. He says that driving a tanker can be very dangerous. He had to drive very slowly and very carefully because tankers can turn over easily and catch fire. Mr. Manduku drives his truck during the day. When it gets dark, he parks it in any town along his way. He either hires a room in town or he sleeps in the truck.

Last month he drove a huge truck which carried eight cars. He was transporting the cars from Mombasa to Busia. The journey took him five days. He saw many people on the way. They waved at him and he waved back cheerfully.

Questions
1. When does Mr. Manduku drive his truck?
2. How many days did Mr. Manduku take from Mombasa to Busia last month?
3. Mr. Manduku drives to and from various towns. How many are the towns?
4. Why did Mr. Manduku drive the petrol tanker very slowly and carefully?
5. Write down one thing that Mr. Manduku transports.
6. What are spare parts used for?
7. Write down one problem that you think Mr. Manduku faces as a truck driver.
8. Why do you think Mr. Manduku does not drive when it is dark?
9. What do you think a petrol tanker carries?
10. What do we learn from this story?

Sample interview-category one teacher

<u>Interview: Teacher school one</u>
<u>Date: xx/xx/14</u>
<u>Venue: Class three room</u>   <u>Time: 08:55 am</u>

Thank you for your time, welcome to the interview

Qu: From your experience, in which medium do learners ask/respond to most questions?

Resp: They respond to Kiswahili because they prefer it more than other languages…

Qu: What challenges do learners face in learning to read and write in the three language subjects?

Resp: The challenge they get is that they mix. They get confused because in mother tongue you use 'chinuguta' (letters) in Kiswahili you get 'silabi'(syllables) and in English we use sounds. So when they come to blending the words, it becomes a problem. Even in class three I have that problem, because some of them even now they are not able to read the words properly like the word flower now. They can just start with 'flo' instead of flower; so they get confused. Even the sounds, they are not consistent themselves because sometimes we say it is 'a' it is 'e' so they get confused there.

Qu: From your experience, are standard three learners ready for the exclusive English medium from standard four?

Resp: I think as per now they are ready because they can understand even though they have slight mistakes or spellings, and even pronunciation, they can make at least simple sentences or they can understand when you talk to them. They can understand even if they don't respond well. They cannot construct sentences well but they can understand.

Qu: Does that mean that teachers will not need to use Kiswahili and Ekegusii as the pupils transit to standard four up to eight?

Resp: The mistakes they make some of the teachers they just go and assume that these children are ready. So they start lecturing, they use for example other subjects which are not languages they use only English. The children cannot understand and they are young and they are of different categories so they need to use sometimes mother tongue. They can understand and if they see that everybody is getting the language, they are supposed to mix…

Appendix M2

Sample interview-category three head teacher
<u>Interview: Head teacher school 7</u>
<u>Date: xx/xx/14</u>
<u>Venue: Head teacher's office</u>   <u>Time: 12.50 pm</u>

_____

Thank you so much, welcome to this interview.

Qu: What is the Ekegusii language used for in your school?

Resp: Well, Ekegusii language of currently, we don't use Ekegusii language currently. The school policy that was initiated a few years ago, ruled out the use of Ekegusii.

Qu: Why did you rule it out?

Resp: You see the performance of our kids in exams as far as national exams are concerned, was so poor and the national exams are set in English. So we thought that by abolishing the use of Ekegusii we would have even encouraged these people to struggle to learn in English…

Qu: What does the government school language policy require of a school like this one in standard three?

Resp: What the government policy requires is that the language of instruction should be vernacular or the language of the catchment. That is the government policy. But again that one does not apply.

Qu: So which one would you have applied in your case?

Resp: Now this is urban, this is peri-urban. And because it comprises of not only Kisiis, that is why we are stressing on Kiswahili.

Qu: So in occasions when you don't have a pupil in a class who comes from a different tribe, do you use Ekegusii?

Resp: (Interrupting) it has never come into our mind that we are using Kiswahili because there is somebody here who cannot be able to understand this. No. This is a school policy. Actually our motto is 'language for excellence'.

Qu: So have you found it easy to implement the policy of English and Kiswahili?

Resp: Well, to some extent. Like ever since we started stressing that one, we have always remained at the mean of 250 and above…

Appendix M3

Sample interview-dqaso two

Thank you so much officer for your time, welcome to the interview.

Qu: What role does Ekegusii play in lower primary in schools in your territory?

Resp: Okay. Aa Ekegusii is what we could refer to as catchment language for some schools especially in the rural schools. But in urban schools it is a bit different. So Ekegusii, is, is taught as a mother tongue, that is the official language, I mean subject which is in the curriculum and also it is used Ekegusii is used for the teaching of other subjects. It is the medium of instruction. So, that is the role but for standard one, two, and three there is time always, a lesson, a period each day for teaching of mother tongue.

Qu: What is the main reason for the use of Ekegusii as a medium of instruction?

Resp: Well, you know teaching you move from the known to unknown. When children come from home, they are able to speak in Ekegusii. So that is the first language which they have to learn, be fluent in so that it can be used for the teaching of other subjects. That is the reason.

Qu: Why is it taught as a subject?

Resp: To make it, you know when they come from home, they are not able to write in Ekegusii nor are they able to read in Ekegusii. So reading as a skill has to be developed in that language and then aa writing also as a skill has to be taught in the subject. So it is felt that it is important that Ekegusii should be mastered to some level so that they can be able to move to other languages, other subjects. But at the same time, English is taught as a separate subject and Kiswahili the same is taught as a separate subject. But mother tongue as a subject is also taught in the same way. Writing skills and reading skills have to be developed and mastered before they leave lower classes.

Qu: What about Kiswahili?

Resp: Yah. Kiswahili in schools especially in the urban areas like Kisii town, really aa people come from different communities. Kiswahili is used as, as a medium of instruction, it is also used as a, taught as a subject itself…

Sample classroom observation-Ekegusii (school four)

<u>School four</u>
<u>Ekegusii lesson</u>
<u>Date: xx.xx.2014</u>

T: Hamjambo?

Ps: Hatujambo sana mwalimu, shikamoo mwalimu.

T: Marahaba kaeni.

Ps: Asante sana mwalimu.

T: Ni wakati wa somo la?

Ps: Ekegusii.

T: Ekero togosoma, intarabatebia morigie ebitabu, emokoratiga amasakara ayio. Chinsa echi n'Ekegusii togosoma. George ing'ai are? Igoro inabaete egasi mochi gokora, homework. Ingasi ki eria nabaete?

Ps: Nga.

T & Ps: Nga, nge, ngi, ngo, ngu (they state them as the teacher writes them on the chalkboard).

T: Rigereria ango eye ero inaki ekorokwa?

Ps: Ng'a.

T: Ee?

Ps: Ng'a.

T: Ee?

Ps: Ng'e?

T: Ee?

Ps: Ng'i?

T: Ee?...

Sample classroom observation-Kiswahili (school one)

<u>School one</u>
<u>Kiswahili lesson</u>
<u>Date: xx.xx.2014</u>

___

T: Ni wangapi hawajamaliza? Ee? Mtamaliza baadaye. Ni wakati wa Kiswahili. Ni wakati wa Kiswahili. Ni nani alivuta mistari pale?

Ps: (Some): Ni Josek.

T: Ni wewe? Nilisema mistari hakuna haja ya kuvuta. Mmesikia? Ee? Simameni tuimbe kidogo.

T & P: Ni maua shule yetu ni maua maua ni maua… (Learners are not able to sing it to the end) Mmenidanganya kabisa.

Ps: Nitampata mwalimu Sarah, Sarah ndio ufunguo wa kufungulia shule yetu ya xxxxxx

T: Hapana nimekataa. Nimekataa?

Ps: Kabisa.

T: Tukienda darasa la kwanza tutamkuta mwalimu Sarah (Sarah), Sarah ndiye ufunguo wa kutufungulia shule yetu. Basi basi.

Ps: Tukienda darasa la kwanza (la kwanza) tutamkuta mwalimu Sarah (Sarah) Sarah ndiye ufunguo wa kutufungulia shule yetu. Ni maua shule yetu ni maua, ni maua shule yetu ni maua (maua).

T: Aba nabwo bangokirie. Haya tiga torore bono buna (two boys have been picked to come to the front of the class to dance to the tune).

T & Ps:Tukienda darasa la kwanza (la kwanza) tutamkuta mwalimu Sarah (Sarah) Sarah ndiye ufunguo wa kutufungulia shule yetu. Ni maua shule yetu ni maua, ni maua shule yetu ni maua. Ni maua shule yetu ni maua, ni maua shule yetu ni maua (there is laughter and excitement over the dancers' performance)…

Sample classroom observation-English (school three)

T: Tunaenda kuangalia majina matatu in, under, on. Wewe, ningependa muangalie hapa. What is this?...

T: Where is the duster now?

Ps: The duster is on the table.

T: Where is the duster now?

Ps: The duster is on the table.

T: Where is the duster now?

Ps: The duster is on the book.

T: The duster is on the book.

Ps: The duster is on the book.

T: Where is the duster again?

Ps: The duster is on (they stop saying where it is).

T: Ee?

Ps: The duster is on the cupboard.

T: Abande mbaroo bagoteba ng'a it is on the kabati. Not kabati. It is on the cupboard. It is on the?

Ps: Cupboard.

T: It is on the?

Ps: Cupboard.

T: Yes. What is this?

Ps: (Some) it is a book.

T: When it is a bit far from you, you say that is a book…

Sample classroom observation-mathematics (school two)

School two
Mathematics lesson
Date: xx.xx.2014

T:	Good morning class three?
Ps:	Good morning teacher, welcome. Our school motto is better your best.
T:	Very good. Sit down.
Ps:	Thank you teacher.
T:	Now it is time for maths. It is time for what?
Ps:	Maths.
T:	Maths. Wale ambao wako pale nyuma wasonge mbele. Wale wameketi nyuma songa mbele ndio mtaweza kusikia vizuri. Before we start writing, what is the date today? (Silence). Leo ni tarehe ngapi?
Ps:	Twenty-seven.
T:	Twenty?
Ps:	Seven.
T:	Seven. Now we are going to do what we call counting. Doing what?
Ps:	Counting.
T:	Now we are going to count these numbers. Who can count for me these numbers? You raise up your hands. Nancy, nihesabie.
P:	One, two, three…..ten.
T:	Very good. Mpigie makofi (pupils clap). Can all of you count from this one? (Silence). Can you count all of you?
Ps:	One, two, three…ten.
T:	Now from ten, where do we move to?
Ps:	(Two pupils) eleven…

Sample classroom observation-science (school two)

<u>School two</u>
<u>Science lesson</u>
<u>Date: xx.xx.2015</u>

T: We use the eyes to do what?

Ps: To see.

T: So we use a sense organ known as what? (Silence). Eye. Known as what?

Ps: Eye.

T: And this is where we are going to dwell our lesson in. Sense of sight or sense of seeing. So we use eyes to see. We use eyes to do what?

Ps: Eyes to see.

T: Now look at our classroom, what can you see? (Silence). Now can you close your eyes? Close your eyes everybody. Close. Everybody close your eyes except me. Onald nimesema macho yafungwe, kila mtu afunge macho yake. What can you see? (Silence). Mnaona nini? (Silence). Hakuna kitu. Sivyo? Na mkiyafungua?

Ps: Tunaona.

T: Mnaona nini? Nyang'au nitakuchapa. Mnaona? What do you see? Yes.

P: Chairs.

T: What else can you see?

P: Desk.

T: Yes.

P: Table.

T: Now let me ask you a simple question, what did you use to see the desk?

Ps: (Two) eyes.

T: Do we have a visitor in our class? (Silence). Tuko na mgeni darasa letu?...

School one pupils taking a test

School five pupils taking a test

Appendix O3

School eight pupils taking a test

Sample marked script-Ekegusii (category one)

<u>Amaboria</u>

1. Ing'ai ebinto ebinge bitokoonyete bikorwa?

   mogondo   ✓

2. Riika endagera eyemo ere ase ogosooma oko eyio chiombe chikoria.

   am a sakwa ✓

3. Ninki ekemo torakorere chibeesa tokonyoora korwa ase echae?

   to go chieva ny agitari ✓

4. Riika egento ekemo oboremi bw'obotugi bogotoa?

   ~~Gegiambe~~ amabere ✓

5. Oboremi obuya imbotagete ebinto ao ao. Riika ekemo.

   e mbenra ✓   09/10

6. Ninki obwoyo bogokoonya echae?

   ~~Ekiombe~~ ekine ✓

7. Toratiga gokora oboremi ninki keratobeere?

   etogokwa ✓

8. Ninki endagera egokoonya chiombe?

   ochigokwo boke   X

9. Toraisa goita chinchoke chionsi pi ninki keratobore?

   nto konyora boke ✓

10. Embura eraisa koba tetwa aiga seito Gusii ninki keratobeere?

   togo kw ~~konyora~~ ~~boke~~ ✓

2

Sample marked script-Kiswahili (category one)

2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.

Ina Pendeza X

3. Miche ni nini?

02/10

ndogo X   Bonareri

4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?

Pendeza Ili wapate maua X

5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani?

Ime pamba X

6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?

w anaamini X

7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu?

Kutosha X

8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua?

bustani ✓

9. Maji husaidiaje maua?

mimea X

10. Somo hili linatufunza nini?

masomo X

Sample marked script-English (category one)

<u>Questions</u>

1. Where was Simba stealing food from?

   ~~ded~~   m o t h e r   ✗

2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?

   d o g   ✗

3. Who knocked Mosooti down?   ⁰⁰/₁₀

   ~~sea~~ f l a t   ✗

4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital?

   i n j e c t i o n   ✗

5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home

   t w o   w e e n   ✗

6. How can motorcycles help us?

   k n o c k e d   ✗

7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him?

   w a s   B o o r a   ✗

8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti?

   c a m e t o   ✗

9. Why was Mosooti transferred to the District Hospital?

   w a r d   w i t h   ✗

10. What do we learn from this story?

    b r e a d   ✗

2

49

Sample marked script-Kiswahili (category two)

03/10

2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.
   Busitani kuna maua inango bendez zuri. X
3. Miche ni nini? _mimea_ X
4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?
   Busitani na maua. ✓
5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani?
   _____ ? _____ X _____
6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?
   wowote waku panda mimea X
7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu? _ya kukinga nyumba_ X
8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua?
   Bustani ✓
9. Maji husaidiaje maua? _maua yasi kauke_ ✓
10. Somo hili linatufunza nini? _____ X _____

Sample marked script-English (category two)

<u>Questions</u>

1. Where was Simba stealing food from? *Omosais* X

2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?
   Scared X ⁰⁰/₁₀

3. Who knocked Mosooti down? *Flat* X

4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital? *Visitag* X

5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home?
   fruit X X

6. How can motorcycles help us? *Nyanjoka*

7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him? ?

8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti? ?

9. Why was Mosooti transferred to the District Hospital?
   ?

10. What do we learn from this story? ?

Appendix P6

Sample marked script-Kiswahili (category three)

2. Taja aina moja ya maua katika bustani ya Mogaaka na Bonareri.
   Kupendeza X

3. Miche ni nini?
   hupandwa X   01/10

4. Ni nini kimefanya nyumba ya akina Mogaaka na Bonareri kupendeza?
   Kisha X

5. Ni wakati gani Mogaaka na Bonareri huingia katika bustani?
   Bonareri X

6. Kwa nini Mogaaka na Bonareri hupanda miche badala ya mbegu?
   Mimea X

7. Maua yana faida gani kwa binadamu?
   AZ vizuri X

8. Ni nini kinaonyesha kuwa Mogaaka na Bonareri wanapenda maua?
   AZuri X

9. Maji husaidiaje maua?
   Mimea X

10. Somo hili linatufunza nini?
    Mogaaka X

2

Sample marked script-English (category three)

<u>Questions</u>

1. Where was Simba stealing food from?

    road   X

2. What made Mosooti not to look at both sides of the road?

    Simba   X

3. Who knocked Mosooti down?   01/

    scene   X   /10

4. What was tied around Mosooti's head at the hospital?

    bleeding   X

5. Write the name of one relative who had come to see Mosooti at his home?

    Nyanchoka   √

6. How can motorcycles help us?

    hospital.   X

7. What tells us that Mosooti's friends loved him?

    kitchen   X

8. Why do you think the nurse smiled at Mosooti?

    $ _Chiinen_   X

9. Why was Mosooti transferred to the District Hospital?

    A _nurse_   X

10. What do we learn from this story?

    Mosooti   X

2

Appendix Q1

Overall mean scores

			Descriptive statistics		
Test	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. dev
CAT 1	106	0	5	2.10	1.380
CAT 2	106	0	4	1.19	1.212
CAT 3	308	0	5	1.57	1.439
CAT 4	308	0	3	.20	.491
CAT 5	305	0	5	.94	1.132
CAT 6	305	0	4	.15	.604
CAT 7	104	0	5	1.52	1.123
CAT 8	104	0	4	.79	1.040
CAT 9	302	0	5	1.38	1.301
CAT 10	302	0	4	.34	.746
CAT 11	299	0	5	1.00	1.120
CAT 12	299	0	4	.42	.702

Appendix Q2

Mean and standard deviation-category one

			Descriptive statistics		
Test	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. dev.
CAT 1	106	0	5	2.10	1.380
CAT 2	106	0	4	1.19	1.212
CAT 3	106	0	5	1.87	1.295
CAT 4	106	0	2	.15	.385
CAT 5	107	0	4	.93	1.012
CAT 6	107	0	3	.09	.401
CAT 7	104	0	5	1.52	1.123
CAT 8	104	0	4	.79	1.040
CAT 9	108	0	5	1.48	1.308
CAT 10	108	0	3	.25	.628
CAT 11	105	0	5	1.08	1.207
CAT 12	105	0	4	.44	.692
Valid N (listwise)	95				

Appendix Q3

Mean and standard deviation-category two

Test	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. dev.
		Descriptive statistics			
CAT 3	124	0	4	.73	1.007
CAT 4	124	0	2	.14	.410
CAT 5	120	0	2	.38	.611
CAT 6	120	0	1	.01	.091
CAT 9	111	0	4	1.00	1.228
CAT 10	111	0	3	.17	.484
CAT 11	111	0	3	.72	.926
CAT 12	111	0	2	.26	.499
Valid N (listwise)	104				

Mean and standard deviation-category three

			Descriptive statistics		
Test	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. dev.
CAT 3	78	0	5	2.50	1.484
CAT 4	78	0	3	.38	.699
CAT 5	78	0	5	1.79	1.361
CAT 6	78	0	4	.45	1.040
CAT 9	83	0	4	1.77	1.262
CAT 10	83	0	4	.67	1.025
CAT 11	83	0	5	1.28	1.172
CAT 12	83	0	4	.60	.883
Valid N (listwise)	69				

Appendix Q5

Score frequency-category one
   (i)   Ekegusii knowledge tests

Knowledge one (CAT 1)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	12	3.6	11.3	11.3
1	31	9.4	29.2	40.6
2	21	6.4	19.8	60.4
3	22	6.7	20.8	81.1
4	16	4.8	15.1	96.2
5	4	1.2	3.8	100.0
Total	106	32.1	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 7)

0	17	5.2	16.3	16.3
1	42	12.7	40.4	56.7
2	27	8.2	26.0	82.7
3	11	3.3	10.6	93.3
4	6	1.8	5.8	99.0
5	1	.3	1.0	100.0
Total	104	31.5	100.0	

   (ii)   Ekegusii comprehension tests

Comprehension one (CAT 2)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	38	11.5	35.8	35.8
1	34	10.3	32.1	67.9
2	17	5.2	16.0	84.0
3	10	3.0	9.4	93.4
4	7	2.1	6.6	100.0
Total	106	32.1	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 8)

0	58	17.6	55.8	55.8
1	20	6.1	19.2	75.0
2	17	5.2	16.3	91.3
3	8	2.4	7.7	99.0
4	1	.3	1.0	100.0
Total	104	31.5	100.0	

(iii)   Kiswahili knowledge tests

Knowledge one (CAT 3)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	15	13.3	14.2	14.2
1	32	28.3	30.2	44.3
2	27	23.9	25.5	69.8
3	19	16.8	17.9	87.7
4	10	8.8	9.4	97.2
5	3	2.7	2.8	100.0
Total	106	93.8	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 9)

0	35	31.0	32.4	32.4
1	21	18.6	19.4	51.9
2	24	21.2	22.2	74.1
3	22	19.5	20.4	94.4
4	5	4.4	4.6	99.1
5	1	.9	.9	100.0
Total	108	95.6	100.0	

(iv)   Kiswahili comprehension tests

Comprehension one (CAT 4)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	91	80.5	85.8	85.8
1	14	12.4	13.2	99.1
2	1	.9	.9	100.0
Total	106	93.8	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 10)

0	90	79.6	83.3	83.3
1	11	9.7	10.2	93.5
2	5	4.4	4.6	98.1
3	2	1.8	1.9	100.0
Total	108	95.6	100.0	

(v)   English knowledge tests

Knowledge one (CAT 5)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	46	40.7	43.0	43.0
1	32	28.3	29.9	72.9
2	21	18.6	19.6	92.5
3	6	5.3	5.6	98.1
4	2	1.8	1.9	100.0
Total	107	94.7	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 11)

0	45	39.8	42.9	42.9
1	28	24.8	26.7	69.5
2	16	14.2	15.2	84.8
3	12	10.6	11.4	96.2
4	3	2.7	2.9	99.0
5	1	.9	1.0	100.0
Total	105	92.9	100.0	

(vi)   English comprehension tests

Comprehension one (CAT 6)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	100	88.5	93.5	93.5
1	5	4.4	4.7	98.1
2	1	.9	.9	99.1
3	1	.9	.9	100.0
Total	107	94.7	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 12)

0	67	59.3	63.8	63.8
1	33	29.2	31.4	95.2
2	3	2.7	2.9	98.1
3	1	.9	1.0	99.0
4	1	.9	1.0	100.0
Total	105	92.9	100.0	

Appendix Q6

Score frequency-category two

    (i)   Kiswahili knowledge tests

Knowledge one (CAT 3)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	70	56.0	56.5	56.5
1	29	23.2	23.4	79.8
2	17	13.6	13.7	93.5
3	5	4.0	4.0	97.6
4	3	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total	124	99.2	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 9)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	55	44.0	49.5	49.5
1	26	20.8	23.4	73.0
2	8	6.4	7.2	80.2
3	19	15.2	17.1	97.3
4	3	2.4	2.7	100.0
Total	111	88.8	100.0	

    (ii)   Kiswahili comprehension tests

Comprehension one (CAT 4)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	110	88.0	88.7	88.7
1	11	8.8	8.9	97.6
2	3	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total	124	99.2	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 10)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	96	76.8	86.5	86.5
1	12	9.6	10.8	97.3
2	2	1.6	1.8	99.1
3	1	.8	.9	100.0
Total	111	88.8	100.0	

(iii)   English knowledge tests

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Knowledge one (CAT 5)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	82	65.6	68.3	68.3
1	30	24.0	25.0	93.3
2	8	6.4	6.7	100.0
Total	120	96	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 11)

0	60	48.0	54.1	54.1
1	29	23.2	26.1	80.2
2	15	12.0	13.5	93.7
3	7	5.6	6.3	100.0
Total	111	88.8	100.0	

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(iv)   English comprehension tests

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Comprehension one (CAT 6)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	119	95.2	99.2	99.2
1	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total	120	96	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 12)

0	85	68.0	76.6	76.6
1	23	18.4	20.7	97.3
2	3	2.4	2.7	100.0
Total	111	88.8	100.0	

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Appendix Q7

Score frequency-category three

(i)   Kiswahili knowledge tests

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Knowledge one (CAT 3)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	7	7.6	9.0	9.0
1	14	15.2	17.9	26.9
2	21	22.8	26.9	53.8
3	14	15.2	17.9	71.8
4	13	14.1	16.7	88.5
5	9	9.8	11.5	100.0
Total	78	84.8	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 9)

0	19	20.7	22.9	22.9
1	14	15.2	16.9	39.8
2	23	25.0	27.7	67.5
3	21	22.8	25.3	92.8
4	6	6.5	7.2	100.0
Total	83	90.2	100.0	

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(ii)   Kiswahili comprehension tests

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Comprehension one (CAT 4)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	55	59.8	70.5	70.5
1	17	18.5	21.8	92.3
2	5	5.4	6.4	98.7
3	1	1.1	1.3	100.0
Total	78	84.8	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 10)

0	51	55.4	61.4	61.4
1	16	17.4	19.3	80.7
2	10	10.9	12.0	92.8
3	4	4.3	4.8	97.6
4	2	2.2	2.4	100.0
Total	83	90.2	100.0	

(iii)   English knowledge tests

Knowledge one (CAT 5)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	13	14.1	16.7	16.7
1	26	28.3	33.3	50.0
2	16	17.4	20.5	70.5
3	13	14.1	16.7	87.2
4	7	7.6	9.0	96.2
5	3	3.3	3.8	100.0
Total	78	84.8	100.0	

Knowledge two (CAT 11)

0	24	26.1	28.9	28.9
1	30	32.6	36.1	65.1
2	16	17.4	19.3	84.3
3	9	9.8	10.8	95.2
4	3	3.3	3.6	98.8
5	1	1.1	1.2	100.0
Total	83	90.2	100.0	

(iv)   English comprehension tests

Comprehension one (CAT 6)

Score (marks)	Frequency	Percent	Valid %	Cumulative %
0	61	66.3	78.2	78.2
1	9	9.8	11.5	89.7
2	2	2.2	2.6	92.3
3	2	2.2	2.6	94.9
4	4	4.3	5.1	100.0
Total	78	84.8	100.0	

Comprehension two (CAT 12)

0	50	54.3	60.2	60.2
1	20	21.7	24.1	84.3
2	10	10.9	12.0	96.4
3	2	2.2	2.4	98.8
4	1	1.1	1.2	100.0
Total	83	90.2	100.0	