

Language in Education Policy and Practice in
Post-Colonial Africa:

An ethnographic case-study of The Gambia

Caroline Samantha McGlynn

September 2013

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of East London

Abstract

This thesis examines the interaction between the language in education policy and classroom practices in The Gambia, West Africa. This examination takes place against a background of current and vigorous academic debate regarding policies for language in education and the learning and teaching of students, particularly in post-colonial countries.

Using an ethnographic case study this thesis builds on the analysis of more than 38 hours of data collected during classroom observations of 10 teachers in three schools. Conversational interviews were held with 10 teachers and field notes from all observations were produced. Stimulated recall interviews were held with four teachers. The findings of this research suggest that the language in education policy currently in use in The Gambia is regularly subverted by the teachers and students in order to meet the pragmatic and pedagogic needs of the classroom. It was noted that the local languages were used differently in the urban sites, where evidence of a language amalgam was recorded, when compared with the rural sites, in which a phenomenon of serial monolingualism was observed. The impact of historical, political and cultural norms also affected the language in all the sites in the study.

The thesis argues that there is an observable subversion of the language in education policy and different language practices are present as a result of heteroglossic conflict (Bakhtin 1981). The conflict is caused by the imposition of a monolingual language in education policy on a multilingual community. The findings reveal that the teachers and learners have developed a repertoire of pedagogic techniques, some of which are geographically specific, in order to present a demonstration of effective teaching and learning.

In answering the research questions this thesis demonstrates that local languages do have a place in classroom interactions and that a reconsideration of the current English Only policy would be appropriate. There are few studies of language use in classrooms in The Gambia. This research therefore makes a significant contribution to this literature and to the ways in which language use is theorised.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is presented in memory of Peter W Martin, a kind and gentle man who generously shared his knowledge and passion for language with me.

This work has only been made possible through the support, guidance and knowledge of so many people. My thanks go to my supervisors, Dr John Gray, at the Institute of Education, for being the sane voice of reason and Professor Jean Murray, University of East London, for your confidence in me. I recognise that during this long process my colleagues at UEL and beyond have helped celebrate my successes and listened to my woes time and time again and I am thankful to you all. It is with gratitude I remember the late John Holmes, founder of the BAAL Language in Africa Special Interest Group, providing an opportunity to meet and debate with interesting and interested colleagues.

To my colleagues in The Gambia, I thank you for your participation and generosity of time, knowledge and experience. This work is for you and for future generations. I hope it makes a difference.

To the glamorous ladies of the Breakfast Club, thank you for talking nonsense and keeping me grounded.

Finally, there are not enough words to thank my wonderful mum and the McGlynn family in the UK for their unending emotional support and belief that I can complete. Thanks are also due to the Jabai family in The Gambia, for welcoming me into your lives and providing hospitality, friendship, guidance and knowledge.

Mbe kanula durong.

Abbreviations and Glossary

Abbreviation	Full Meaning
EO	English Only
GE	Gambian English
LF	lingua franca
LiE	Language in Education
LoI/MoI	Language of Instruction/Medium of Instruction
LL	Local Language
LWC	Language of wider communication
MT	mother tongue
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RQ1, RQ2, RQ3	Research Question 1, 2, 3
SBE	Standard British English
sfE	Straight for English

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	The Research Problem and its Significance for the Field	1
1.2	Genesis of the Study.....	6
1.3	Epistemological Position.....	10
1.4	Aims of the Research	13
1.5	Contextual Information	14
1.5.1	Languages	15
1.5.2	Education	17
1.6	Structure of the Thesis.....	20
Chapter 2	Literature Review Language of Instruction Policies in Post-Colonial Contexts	25
2.1	Introduction	25
2.2	Historical Perspectives	26
2.3	Types of Language Policy.....	27
2.3.1	Exoglossic.....	27
2.3.2	Endoglossic.....	28
2.3.3	Plurilinguistic.....	28
2.3.4	Diglossic	29
2.4	Case Studies	29
2.4.1	Tanzania.....	30
2.4.2	Eritrea.....	31
2.5	Declaration without Implementation of Policies.....	33
2.6	Maintaining the Status Quo.....	34
2.7	Arbitrary Policy Making	38
2.8	Conclusion.....	39
Chapter 3	Literature Review Language use in Post-Colonial Classrooms.....	41
3.1	Introduction	41
3.2	Asymmetrical Talk.....	43
3.3	Limiting Linguistic Output	45
3.3.1	Choral Responses.....	46
3.3.2	Repetition.....	48
3.3.3	Initiation, Response, Feedback/Evaluation.....	49
3.4	The Use of ‘Other’ Languages	51
3.4.1	Functional Code Switching.....	52
3.5	Classroom Materials and Wider Access to the Language of Education	59

3.5.1	Materials	59
3.5.2	Wider Access to the Language of Education	60
3.6	Conclusion.....	60
Chapter 4	Research Design.....	62
4.1	Introduction	62
4.2	Research Paradigm and Approach	62
4.3	Initial Research Design	67
4.4	Pilot Study	68
4.4.1	Consent	68
4.4.2	Availability of documents.....	69
4.4.3	Representation of Data.....	69
4.4.4	Recording Equipment	70
4.5	Final Research Design.....	70
4.5.1	Participant Observation.....	72
4.5.2	Observer’s Paradox	75
4.5.3	Field notes	76
4.5.4	Informal Interviews/Conversations.....	79
4.5.5	Structured Interviews	80
4.5.6	Stimulated Recall	80
4.6	Selection of Schools and Negotiating Access	82
4.6.1	School Selection.....	82
4.6.2	The Sample	85
4.6.3	Lesson Selection	94
4.7	Ethics.....	95
4.7.1	Anonymity of Individuals and Institutions	96
4.7.2	Power in Interviews	97
4.7.3	Reciprocity	97
4.7.4	Parental Consent	98
4.8	Conclusion.....	98
Chapter 5	Process of Data Analysis	100
5.1	Introduction	100
5.2	Levels of Analysis.....	100
5.2.1	Incidental Analysis.....	101
5.3	Research Question One	103
5.3.1	Lesson Outlines.....	103
5.3.2	Coding.....	104
5.4	Research Question Two	107

5.5	Research Question Three	108
5.6	Transcription and Translation	109
5.7	Conclusion.....	109
Chapter 6	Using Local Languages in the ‘English Only’ Classroom.....	111
6.1	Introduction	111
6.2	Understanding the Classroom Observation Data	112
6.3	Findings.....	115
6.3.1	Classroom Management.....	116
6.3.2	Content in Local Languages	123
6.3.3	Pedagogic Intervention	126
6.3.4	Pastoral Care	136
6.4	Conclusion.....	140
Chapter 7	Local Responses to National Policies	142
7.1	Introduction	142
7.2	Serial Monolingualism vs Linguae Francae.....	143
7.3	Parallel Bilingualism and Rapid Switching	155
7.4	Amalgamation/Urban Vernaculars.....	158
7.5	Discussion	163
7.6	Conclusion.....	164
Chapter 8	Macro Community Influences on Micro Community Language.....	166
8.1	Introduction	166
8.2	Local Area History	167
8.3	Cultural Influences on Discipline.....	172
8.4	Praising Practices	183
8.5	References to the President	184
8.6	Hierarchy and Greetings.....	185
8.7	Monologues and Storytelling	189
8.8	Economic Vignettes	193
8.9	Conclusion.....	195
Chapter 9	Discussion Chapter	197
9.1	Introduction	197
9.2	Pragmatic and Pedagogic Responses	198
9.2.1	Pragmatic Divergence	199
9.2.2	Pedagogic Divergence	201
9.3	Regional Responses.....	206
9.3.1	Interlocutor Dependent Language Use in Rural Schools.....	206
9.3.2	Urban Amalgams	207

9.3.3	Semi Urban Lingua Franca	210
9.4	Cultural Identity/Perpetuation of Norms	211
9.4.1	History.....	212
9.4.2	Punishment and Praise	214
9.4.3	Elders	215
9.4.4	Economics.....	216
9.5	Conclusion.....	216
Chapter 10	Conclusions.....	220
10.1	Introduction	220
10.2	The Research Questions and Responses.....	220
10.3	Summary of the Thesis	222
10.4	Strengths and Limitations of the Research	225
10.4.1	Context Specific Research and Generalisability	225
10.4.2	Ethnography	226
10.4.3	The Sample	227
10.4.4	Processing of Data	228
10.5	Further research	229
10.6	Contribution and Concluding Remarks	231
Chapter 11	Reference List	235

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1	An illustration of The Gambia, showing some of the main towns and surrounding Senegal. (http://wwp.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/africa/gambia/map.htm)	15
Figure 1.2	Comparison of Gambian and English School Systems	19
Figure 1.3	Percentage of Children Attending Levels of Education In The Gambia...	20
Figure 4.1	Application of Methods to Research Questions	72
Figure 4.2	Continuum of types of participation after Spradley (1980:58)	73

Table of Tables

Table 4.1	Negotiation of Access Timeline	84
Table 4.2	Breakdown of the Sample.....	94
Table 5.1	The eight codes used in response to RQ1 are:	104
Table 6.1	Balinsaa Primary School - Urban	112
Table 6.2	Fankoo Bantaba School – Semi Urban	113
Table 6.3	Baakoo Kunda School – Rural.....	113

Table 7.1 Linguistic Multiplicity of Observed Teachers	146
Table 7.2 Languages Spoken by the Ten Teachers in the Study	146
Table 7.3 Baakoo Kunda Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires	148
Table 7.4 Fankoo Bantaba Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires	148
Table 7.5 Balinsaa Primary Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires	149
Table 7.6 Breakdown of extract 7.3.....	153
Table 7.7 Breakdown of Extract 7.4	154
Table 7.8 Breakdown of Interaction at Extract 7.5.....	156
Table 7.9 Breakdown of Interaction at Extract 7.6.....	158
Table 8.1 The number of switches from English to local languages observed at Balinsaa Primary.....	169

Table of Extracts

Extract 5.1	106
Extract 5.2.....	106
Extract 6.1	116
Extract 6.2.....	118
Extract 6.3.....	118
Extract 6.4.....	118
Extract 6.5.....	119
Extract 6.6.....	120
Extract 6.7.....	121
Extract 6.8.....	122
Extract 6.9.....	123
Extract 6.10.....	124
Extract 6.11.....	125
Extract 6.12.....	127
Extract 6.13.....	128
Extract 6.14.....	130
Extract 6.15.....	131
Extract 6.16.....	131
Extract 6.17.....	132
Extract 6.18.....	133
Extract 6.19.....	134
Extract 6.20.....	134
Extract 6.21.....	135
Extract 6.22.....	136
Extract 6.23.....	137
Extract 6.24.....	138
Extract 6.25.....	139
Extract 6.26.....	139
Extract 7.1.....	150
Extract 7.2.....	151

Extract 7.3	152
Extract 7.4	153
Extract 7.5	155
Extract 7.6	157
Extract 7.7	160
Extract 7.8	161
Extract 7.9	162
Extract 8.1	169
Extract 8.2	172
Extract 8.3	173
Extract 8.4	174
Extract 8.5	175
Extract 8.6	175
Extract 8.7	175
Extract 8.8	176
Extract 8.9	176
Extract 8.10	177
Extract 8.11	177
Extract 8.12	178
Extract 8.13	179
Extract 8.14	179
Extract 8.15	180
Extract 8.16	180
Extract 8.17	181
Extract 8.18	181
Extract 8.19	182
Extract 8.20	182
Extract 8.21	182
Extract 8.22	183
Extract 8.23	185
Extract 8.24	187
Extract 8.25	187
Extract 8.26	188
Extract 8.27	189
Extract 8.28	191
Extract 8.29	192
Extract 8.30	193
Extract 8.31	194
Extract 8.32	194

Table of Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview with Mr Camara, DoSE, Co-Ordinator for National Languages, Retired Teacher, 26th January 2009	248
Appendix 2 Teachers Experience	250
Appendix 3 Classroom Descriptions	251
Appendix 4 Research Site Information.....	254
Appendix 5 Sample of Urban School Transcript.....	256
Appendix 6 Sample of Semi-Urban School Transcript	286
Appendix 7 Sample of Rural School Transcript	322
Appendix 8 Mr Fatty Stimulated Recall Interview	346
Appendix 9 Mr Camara Stimulated Recall Interview.....	373
Appendix 10 Mr Kujabi Stimulated Recall Interview	380
Appendix 11 Mr Touray Stimulated Recall Interview	387
Appendix 12 Interview Schedule for Pre-Observation Interviews	412
Appendix 13 Lesson Outline	413
Appendix 14 Illustration of Transcriber During Text Production	415
Appendix 15 BK2Aa/b/cGRADE6SES	416
Appendix 16 BP4MbGRADE6SCI	440

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Research Problem and its Significance for the Field

There is a long running academic debate concerned with which languages should be used in education in post-colonial countries. Researchers such as Brock-Utne (2005a), Tollefson (2002a), Vavrus (2002), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) among many others have reviewed the relationship between policy and practice in different post-colonial contexts. Specifically in terms of British ex-colonies, Mazrui comments that ‘in virtually every former colony of the British, English has continued to serve as the medium of instruction’ (2002:269) and that is certainly true of The Republic of The Gambia (hereafter The Gambia¹), the context in which this study is focussed. The Gambia’s education policy (2004-2015) suggests that English, French and one national language are to be used as medium of instruction during the first years of lower basic education (grades 1-4) (IBE.UNESCO 2010/11). Despite this, adherence to the post-independence policy of straight for English (sfE) and English Only (EO) remains the de facto situation. This is evidenced in official documentation, for example this statement on the Educational System of The Gambia by the Embassy of the United States in Banjul, accessed on 26th July 2013, which states, ‘The sole official language of instruction throughout the Gambian educational system is English’ (banjul.usembassy.gov). In addition, I have collected extensive anecdotal evidence during conversations and interviews with teachers and head teachers who are unwilling to admit using other languages in their lessons and schools.

English, however, does not have a place in social interactions, local commerce, or local domains such as health centres in The Gambia and consequently the first time it is encountered by the majority of children is on the first day of school. This is not an uncommon situation, for example, Tucker (1998) suggests that more children in the world, especially those in the developing world, are taught through their second or subsequent language, for all or part of their education, than through their first

¹ Note that it is usual to write ‘The Gambia’ with a capital ‘T’ and I have followed this convention throughout this thesis.

language. Yet for many years international agencies such as UNESCO (cited by Barton 1994) and the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1953 (cited by Wardhaugh 1987), as well as contemporary African scholars including, among others, Kembo (2000) and Alidou (2004), claim that cognitive and affective development occurs more effectively in a language that the learner knows very well. This also contrasts with the western norm where the majority of people experience monolingual education which corresponds to a dominant language used in the community. The assumption of many people who have not encountered multilingualism is that everyone lives in a 'simple and single cultural identity' (Byram 1998:100), for many that simplicity relates to use of a single language.

Many prominent researchers involved in the language of instruction debate have recently called for serious research looking at actual classroom language (see for example, Brock-Utne 2005a, Ferguson 2006b and Arthur 2001). Education and language researchers recognise that the language used in classrooms plays an important role in preparing young people for employment and community participation. In post-colonial contexts where the language of government and law is often the language of a colonising power, access to this code equates with access to knowledge and to the power of the state, without which it is impossible to take an informed part in political processes such as elections. Therefore the question of which language should be used in the classroom is of both political and social concern.

Currently there is no adequate assessment of the situation in The Gambia and there is a need for a survey of the entire education system, including language but also to review aspects of assessment, retention, attainment levels and gender equality. As West African researcher Bamgbose (2000) has pointed out there is a tendency for non-government organisations (NGOs), aid agencies and even governments (as discussed in chapter 2) to introduce well-meaning strategies without planning, policy formation or consistency. A full review of each context is necessary to ensure the education that is delivered is in the most appropriate language. As Yenendé (2005) intimates many African countries face the similar challenge of finding an alternative to the European monolingual inheritance for their education systems. But, *similar* does not mean *same* and there should not be an assumption that one solution will be suitable for all contexts. This thesis aims to take the first step in the review of the

Gambian education situation with a critical exploration of language use in classrooms in multilingual areas of the country.

This thesis discusses the ethnographic case study of language in education policy and practice in The Gambia, West Africa. This research is unique in that it reviews the data through a Bakhtinian heteroglossic lens and a social constructionist perspective. The social constructionist approach acknowledges that there is not one authoritative reality and therefore the voices of the Gambian teachers, as well as the researcher have been included in the interpretation and discussion of the data. The majority of educational research, particularly in post-colonial contexts, relies solely on the interpretation of the researcher. This research is also unique in that the locality of the study, The Gambia, is under researched in terms of language and education, particularly the diversity of locations used in this research.

The significance of this particular study is two-fold. To raise awareness of language use that exists in classroom practice in order to assist policy makers in The Gambia to design language in education policies based on actual classroom data. This study will also contribute to the continuing academic debate about language in education policies in post-colonial contexts. As researchers provide context specific research from currently un, or under, researched areas a holistic picture of classroom practice will be available to allow teacher trainers and policy makers to make informed decisions about classroom practice. The findings of this study provide a unique contribution to the language in education debate by highlighting the peculiarities of a small nation previously unresearched in terms of language and education (Chapters 6 and 8) and by exposing the opposing linguistic responses by urban and rural dwellers in response to their particular situation (Chapter 7).

Language is an important factor in education, not least because of its role in linking the past and the future. Language connects speakers with the past and the cultural heritage of their ancestors, but it also links to the future and, hopefully, to economic development and security (Tollefson 2002b). This is particularly significant in the developing world where education itself has, as Lotherington (1998:65) suggests, ‘competing ... motives of economic development and cultural maintenance’. In the case of African countries, one language cannot achieve both roles causing a

heteroglossic conflict as recognised by Bakhtin (Dentith 1995). In the case of many post-colonial contexts it would appear there is a centrifugal pull of indigenous languages to link with the past and tradition, while many believe possession of a European language is the only way to progress and compete in increasingly English dominated business and finance sectors resulting in a centripetal pull towards modernity.

The notion that having proficiency in a European language will lead to economic advancement and social mobility appears to be strong in many parts of Africa. Myers-Scotton suggests that ‘English remains more identified with upward social mobility’ (1993a:122) than indigenous, local languages, because it is the language of the international community and is prominent in the international mass media. For many the only way to acquire the necessary language skills to achieve upward mobility is through education. Gee (1994:181) agrees that becoming literate, in any language but especially in an international language, ‘lead[s], if not to general cognitive consequences, then to social mobility and success in society’. However, this comes with the caveat that access to literacy does not automatically lead to ‘social success’ or reduce ‘minority disenfranchisement’ (Gee 1994:190). Research in Bolivia discovered only a small percentage of the population achieved social advancement through formal education; however, schooling and being able to speak Spanish were still ‘perceived as the route to social mobility’ by Bolivians (Hornberger and Lopez 1998:208). Gambian teachers also see education as ‘an escape from marginalisation and poverty’ (Jessop and Penny 1998:395) as literacy and numeracy skills are increasingly valued by employers. Indeed, Probyn (2006:6) quotes Soudien who goes as far to suggest that proficiency in a European language, particularly English, is replacing race as a contemporary marker of status. The need, however, is not just to ‘know’ the language in an educational setting, but to become sufficiently proficient in the language in order to interact with others using the language for business and development. However, Hopson (2005), writing about Namibia, believes that the current methods of teaching and learning English will not lead to the proficiency needed for economic advancement.

Despite this perceived need by Africans to succeed in European languages the academic consensus surrounding the language of education debate is determinedly

pro-indigenous language, particularly for the early years. Brock-Utne (2005b) echoes Kembo (2000) as she quotes Galabawa 'If one wants to overcome poverty people must be allowed access to knowledge in a language they understand' (2005:69).

Despite several African countries declaring a language in education (LiE) policy that promotes indigenous language use for the early years, the language in the classroom is often English or another European language. Thondhlana (2002) has recognised that English is the 'de facto' language in Zimbabwean classrooms from grade one despite the policy stating indigenous languages are to be used until grade four. There are several reasons for this, the first is the previously mentioned 'economic well-being' (2002:33) associated with English, the concern with whether students are prepared for the switch to English at grade four and finally the pragmatic issue of teachers' fluency in community languages. The placing of teachers in schools is arbitrary in many countries, including Zimbabwe and The Gambia, and therefore a teacher may be posted to a community where they do not speak the local language. They therefore have to rely on the national lingua franca, often English, to communicate. The Gambia changed its language policy during the course of this study to include the oral use of indigenous languages in the first three grades, but it also has an arbitrary posting policy for teachers and therefore faces a similar situation to that in Zimbabwe.

There are other issues which affect achievement in school that appear to be related to the issue of language in education. The Gambia, as with many other African nations, has an urban/rural dichotomy and this has often been advanced as a reason for educational discrepancy (discussed further in chapter 2). Wardhaugh (1987) has stated that African children living in towns have better access to education in English and to schooling in general than children in rural areas. This is supported by several writers including Molosiwa (2005). One finding of her study in Botswana suggests that in addition to lower standards of living, poorer economic situations and limited possibilities of mobility there are fewer opportunities for 'informal learning' (Molosiwa 2005:188) such as those offered by access to mass media. Gonzales, (1998) noted that most rural dwelling students in the Philippines do not achieve a satisfactory level known as CALP (Communicative Academic Language Proficiency) (Cummins 1999) but those in the more affluent, urban areas do usually manage to reach this standard. However, it is important to note that the language in classrooms

in the Philippines is Filipino, a national language, not a European language. This could indicate that there may be other issues, not necessarily related to the language of education, that cause rural children to be less successful than their urban peers. Ferguson (2006a) suggests that poorly paid and unmotivated teachers coupled with a generally weak attitude towards schooling, noted in this study through staff lateness, absence and unpreparedness for lessons, may also affect achievement levels. These issues have been highlighted in The Gambia by Darboe, a reporter for the national newspaper The Point (Darboe 2008) who mentions specifically the poor working conditions in rural areas. In addition, a report by the IRIN, part of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (IRIN 2008) talks of lack of knowledge of trainee teachers, high levels of staff absenteeism and few career development opportunities, all of which contribute to the low standards in Gambian schools. Tollefson (2002b) concurs and includes additional practical considerations such as availability of materials and class sizes as reasons for the rural child's lack of achievement. It is therefore apparent that an enforcement of an indigenous language policy may not resolve all the challenges associated with education in developing countries.

In addition to the linguistic and practical considerations for the lack of educational achievement recognised, particularly in the rural areas, there are political reasons for the restricted progress. As Tollefson (2002b) suggests dominant groups realise that much of their power is maintained because of the limited number of people who can communicate at high levels in an international language. Allowing more people to access the language of power through relevant education, or increasing the power attached to indigenous languages, by their use in education, law and media for example, the linguistic and economic advantage of the elite group will be reduced (discussed further in chapter 2).

1.2 Genesis of the Study

As a mature student of linguistics and education, I took many of the unique opportunities offered by the University of East London during my undergraduate studies, including the chance to be part of the annual fieldtrip to The Gambia. It was during these fieldtrips, and subsequent interaction with the literature, that I became

aware of the debate concerning the language in education in post-colonial contexts. My first trip was in 2002. I experienced unexpected situations with the ultimate result of having my prejudiced and stereotypical ideas of a developing country overturned. In a technologically advanced society, such as Britain, a great deal of *knowledge* comes through the media, especially television, film and the Internet. This was particularly true of my knowledge of developing countries. Repeated images of natural disasters and conflicts meant my expectation on my first trip to The Gambia was to witness a country in crisis. I expected extreme poverty, hunger and sadness. However, The Gambia did not conform to the stereotype of an African country popularised in the British media. The country appeared peaceful with a seemingly democratically elected government at first encounter. Over time I did become aware of a lack of media freedom and persecution of political adversaries to the current incumbent. These facts are recognised by Amnesty International but are not widely publicised in the international media (www.amnesty.org). UNCTAD (2012) has identified The Gambia as one of the 48 least developed countries in the world. Consequently the poverty, high infant mortality rate, low life expectancy and low literacy levels means life opportunities for many people are limited and, it would appear, the situation is not likely to change in the near future.

As a result of my studies in sociolinguistics I was interested in the languages of The Gambia, particularly in the power and prestige of each language. However, the fieldtrip itinerary included many educational institutions and I became interested in the workings of the Gambian education system. My studies had introduced me to the concepts of language *and* education, however, at this stage they were two separate concepts, unrelated in my mind. As Byram (1998:100) has pointed out it is common for people with a ‘monocultural identity which coincides with the national identity’ to assume everyone is in a similar state, that is, living, learning and working in a single language and identity. In particular I had not yet given thought to difficulties encountered by students who did not speak the language used in the classroom. It was some time before I became aware of the possibility to use an indigenous or local language in education.

As my undergraduate studies progressed and reading of literature developed my understanding I became aware that the language used in the classroom has a powerful

and profound effect on the pupils' learning. Having spent my first fieldtrip to The Gambia observing education *and* language separately I now recognised that Gambia's sFE and EO language policy was not the only option available. I became interested in language as it works *in* education; particularly in the use of the language of a post-colonial power in the education system of developing countries, where the overwhelming majority of students do not speak that language outside of the classroom. In The Gambia the number of first language speakers of English is minimal and is made up of two main sections of society. The first are members of the families of the political elite who speak standard Gambian English. The others are immigrant populations; the Aku minority ethnic group who live in Banjul and speak a pidgin English considered 'broken' by the local community and Krio speakers (an English based Creole) from Sierra Leone as well as immigrants from European countries.

A visit to an adult literacy project in a rural village practically demonstrated some of the issues discussed in the academic literature. In contrast to the lessons I had observed in government schools the women of the SutoKonding literacy project were learning to read and write, for the first time, in Mandinka, their mother-tongue, and they were exceptionally successful. Despite having had no formal education as children they were able to read and write very quickly. They were also able to use their new skills immediately for the benefit of their community, by keeping records of the births and deaths in the village and negotiating better prices for their produce. The women of the project were benefiting from appropriate education based on their own starting situation. Rather than insist the women conform to the English only education policy applicable to schools, their syllabus had been designed to be germane to their daily lives and thus was delivered entirely in Mandinka.

Recognising how this alternative to the mainstream education policy had positively affected the learning of the women caused a second shift in my own thinking. From initially being interested in language *and* education as two separate entities, through to language *in* education and how the two concepts were interrelated, I finally became concerned with language *for* education. In particular I was interested in how the choice of one language code over another can make the difference between relevant and accessible education, which positively contributes to individuals and

communities, and education that diminishes opportunities and constrains creativity. The overriding challenge now ‘foreshadowed’ (Walsh 1998:223) in my mind was how to use language so that children’s education is as fulfilling and purposeful as it is for the women of SutoKonding while also allowing them to compete in a world where English dominates in business (see for example the work of Tollefson 1991 and Brock-Utne 2005b). As will be seen in chapter 2 this is a critical issue.

Subsequent visits to The Gambia and continued reading of the literature relating to the language in education debate have revealed that there are several arguments against a simplistic, universal switch to local language education. Indeed perusal of the literature relevant to education in a non-native language in several other settings indicates that such a move would be naïve and not in the best interests of many people involved in the education system. The findings of various studies in post-colonial education systems across the globe are discussed in chapter 3.

Up to this point my interpretations were based on informal observations and unstructured discussions with local teachers and linguists. Very little academic work relating to either education or language in The Gambia has been published. A recent positioning paper by Juffermans and McGlynn (2009) outlines the sociolinguistic profile of The Gambia which includes substantial statistical information regarding the languages, the number of speakers, the domains they are used in and their vitality. Also in 2009 McGlynn and Martin produced a paper outlining tensions in a single science lesson caused by the use of language. Until these recent publications there were few authoritative papers regarding either language or education. Haust’s (1995) PhD thesis uncovered practices of code switching in several areas of The Gambia and suggested an internal conflict between Wolof and Mandinka, two of the majority indigenous languages that has proven to be very accurate. However, as Haust’s data was collected from free language domains, that is those without a prescribed language policy, I could not garner a great deal of information from it. Jessop and Penny’s (1998) paper discussed teachers’ attitudes to their vocation and the reasons why Gambians join and leave the teaching profession. This has proven useful in understanding the challenges faced by the teachers in the schools, but it did not focus on language, rather issues of economy, training and so on. The majority of published work about The Gambia revolves around the intervention of aid agencies and NGOs,

health issues and tourism. Although interesting in developing an understanding of the context these papers do not offer a response to the questions that remain. This thesis therefore goes some way to meeting the need for research about language in the specific context of Gambian classrooms.

1.3 Epistemological Position

As social constructionist research this study adds significantly to the body of knowledge already available about the language in education policy and practice from a specific, cultural and historical context. As will be noted in the literature review chapters (2 and 3) there is considerable literature on the policies that have led to specific language scenarios and the purpose of local languages in classroom contexts. This research adds to that body of knowledge. I have constructed the reality that I present here based on significant interaction, through ethnography, with the research sites and the participants in the study. I have included the voices of the teachers and other Gambians and have listened to their opinions during the data collection and interpretation of the data.

Gergen points out that ‘for any state of affairs a potentially unlimited number of descriptions and explanations is possible’ (1999:47). I agree with Gergen’s perspective and therefore present the findings of this research as one interpretation of the data. The words I have chosen, whether subconsciously or with consideration, portray my account of the events based on my beliefs, values and interests. However, the thickness of the descriptions I provide, the transparency of actions and the richness from the ethnographic experience ensure this study is reliable and valid. I concur with Burr’s (2003) assertion that social constructionist research is not about being objective or identifying indisputable claims of truth and that ‘absolute objectivity is an impossibility’ (Burr 2003:152).

Throughout my research and reading I struggled to find a theorist who resonated with my understanding of the language situation in The Gambia and my findings. Several theorists came close, with Pennycook’s amalgamation of languages (2007) and Hyme’s (1972) Communicative Competence resonating closely with the use of local languages in creative ways, particularly with regard to research question two (RQ2,

Chapter 7). Despite this resonance the ideas of Pennycook and Hyme's did not fully correspond with my experience of language in pedagogic situations, as they are more focussed on social and free domain situations. In particular their concepts were unable to explain the purpose of local languages in the classroom (RQ1, Chapter 6; see page 14 for the research questions in full).

One of the experiences PhD students have to get used to is explaining their research *in a nutshell*. It was during one of these brief articulations of my study that I recognised the theorist whose work was most relevant to my own. Whenever asked about my research I would talk of the *imposition* of the English language, the community languages, and the *conflict* felt by teachers and learners who negotiated this complicated and convoluted language situation on a moment by moment basis. When I heard myself repeat this several times I recognised I was using the discourse of Bakhtin's heteroglossia.

Much of Bakhtin's work focussed on the use of heteroglossia in literature and the effect on the characters, readers and narrative. However, Bakhtin was also aware of heteroglossia in the speech of individuals communicating in everyday contexts.

Unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but is in essence posited [*zadan*] – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. But at the same time it makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystalizing into a real, although still relative, unity – the unity of reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language “correct language”.

Bakhtin 1981:270

According to Vice (1997:19) heteroglossia has two distinct forms. The first is ‘social languages’ within a single national language, for example the distinct geographical dialects heard in the UK in relation to the national language of Standard English. The second is ‘different national languages within the same culture’, such as the language

situation in South Africa or Switzerland for example. In both versions of heteroglossia there is conflict. In the first version the conflict is between the speakers of each dialect and the imposition of a national language, usually a standard form. This is demonstrated through the perpetuation of non-standard grammar and vocabulary in spoken varieties. In the second situation, conflict manifests as the domains of one variety are encroached upon by another or other languages, for example, if one language becomes the choice of media output or education to the exclusion of others. In The Gambia it is possible to see both forms of heteroglossia in action.

The complexity of heteroglossia is that it is both ‘variable ... and ... constant’ (Vice 1997:18). This means that within the constant notion of *a* language there are changes that cause the language to evolve. Consequently, from a historical distance, it is possible to see the social and form changes, but as one *lives* in the language changes are virtually imperceptible, as such the language appears constant. The use of Wolof as a more dominant lingua franca is becoming apparent in the urban and trading areas of The Gambia (Juffermans and McGlynn 2009). Speakers of the other indigenous languages, particularly Mandinka, are aware of this shift and occasionally take action in reducing the impact on their personal language use, such as refusing to speak Wolof or to acknowledge when others speak it. Others, of course, embrace the use of the lingua franca and this is seen in the other form of heteroglossia. If one considers English to be the imposed national language and the local languages the *dialects* within it then both versions of Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossic conflict can be recognised.

The language of education is far more sterile than that used in less formal domains. By sterile I mean more considered, closer to the national standard and mostly devoid of individual peculiarities. This is because of the prescription of strict policy within this specific domain. Bakhtin states (1981:271) ‘the centripetal forces of the life of language, embodied in a “unitary language,” operate in the midst of heteroglossia’. Busch and Schich (2007:21) also make this observation stating ‘plurality of voices and styles are allowed in public media but in schools a ‘monolingual habitus’ is continued’. Formal education is ‘impervious to heteroglossia’ (Busch and Schich 2007:21) and other forms of non-sanctioned language because of the centripetal force

of imposed policy. Language in education must meet the standards not of the immediate interlocutor but of a distant examiner. Being able to produce language that meets these imposed standards is a requirement not only of written work and examinations. As will be noticed in the data (Chapter 8.3) using the *wrong* language in style or code, can be ‘sanctioned by social exclusion and school failure’ (Busch and Schich (2007:221).

Bakhtin (1981:272) writes ‘Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work’. Indeed, in this specific context there does appear to be a genuine centrifugal push against this centripetal ideal of education through monolingualism. This will be demonstrated throughout this thesis as discrete episodes of creative and often innovative language are produced to meet immediate and pedagogical needs in opposition to the policy. For example, the use of discrete local languages in the classroom for specific purposes (RQ1, Chapter 6), the use of blended local languages and lingua franca (RQ2, Chapter 7) and for the perpetuation of cultural norms and practices (RQ3, Chapter 8) forms part of the push against imposition.

Burr (2003:158) states that ‘all knowledge is provisional and contestable’ and indeed dependant on the opportunities available to the researcher during their time in the specific context. I was fortunate to be offered what I considered to be open access to the community but I am aware that the people of the communities I researched were the gate-keepers of my access. I therefore present this research not as a full and final account of classroom language in these particular classrooms in these schools in The Gambia, but as a Bakhtinian interpretation of the data, informed by my experiences and knowledge of the country and people and also the experiences and knowledge of the participants in my research.

1.4 Aims of the Research

The aim of the investigation is to consider the language used by teachers and students in lower basic classrooms in multilingual areas of The Gambia, West Africa. Not all areas of The Gambia are multilingual, that is inhabited by peoples of more than one ethnic and language group, and therefore this study focuses only on language use in schools

that have a student body made up of more than one language group. This means that although individuals within the community may be monolingual there are several languages used in the school and village or area. Using a small-scale ethnographic case study close attention will be paid to three research sites. The limited number of sites as well as the small number of teachers who will be observed and interviewed does mean there is a limitation to the generalisation of this study. However, by identifying the realities of language use in the classroom it will be possible to ascertain the influences on language choices made by teachers and students. Rural areas differ from urban areas on many levels including for example, employment opportunities and the organisation of housing. In addition, in the rural areas there is little use of English in the community as there is no access to newspaper or television media and few visiting tourists. Finally, The Gambia has a strong traditional history and this would appear to be at odds with an educational system based on the British example. Therefore this study aims to discover the varieties of language used in the classroom and for what purposes; whether societal differences and disparity in wider access to the language of education, English, impacts on classroom language practices and how cultural practices in the macro community are reflected in the school context.

Emerging from the over-arching aims are three specific research questions:

1. For what purposes are local languages used in the classroom?
2. How does the language used in the urban school differ from the rural school?
3. How do historical, political and cultural factors affect language practices in the classroom?

1.5 Contextual Information

As I approached this study I recognised the dearth of contemporary literature regarding my context of interest and worked with another researcher to produce a positioning paper (Juffermans and McGlynn 2009). This established a comprehensive profile of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in The Gambia. In addition, government documents, historical texts and the knowledge of Gambian nationals and colleagues have been used to complete this section.

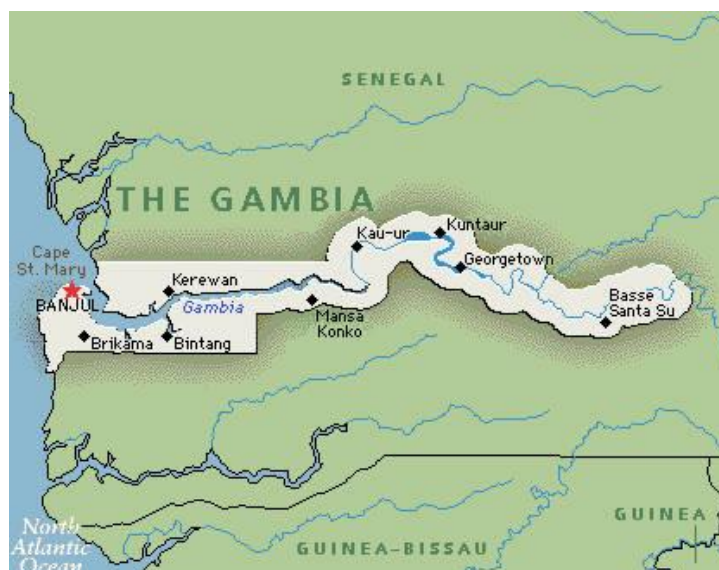


Figure 1.1 An illustration of The Gambia, showing some of the main towns and surrounding Senegal. (<http://www.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/africa/gambia/map.htm>)

The Gambia is the smallest of the mainland African countries, approximately half the size of Wales, and is completely surrounded by Senegal except for a small coastline on the Atlantic coast. This geographical domination by Senegal often leads to the area being referred to as ‘Senegambia’ and, indeed, there are many significant links between the two countries. Despite its small size The Gambia is culturally, ethnically and linguistically diverse.

1.5.1 Languages

Despite its small size and population there are approximately ten living languages in use in The Gambia (Gordon 2006), nine indigenous languages and English which is the official language of the country. The most widely spoken indigenous languages, as first languages, are Mandinka (41%), Fula (19%) and Wolof (15%) (Gambia Bureau of Statistics 2006). Due to the proximity to Senegal, a former French colony, French is also heard in the trading areas of The Gambia and Arabic is used for religious purposes and in the elongated formulaic greeting ritual.

The variety of English used, Gambian English (GE), has significant phonological and lexical differences to British English (see Peter and Wolf 2003). Although it has been suggested by Peter and Wolf (2003) that the number of people speaking English as their second language can be approximately correlated to the literacy rate, in actuality most Gambians do not speak fluent English. Gambian nationals do not use English

among themselves except in an official capacity, for example in government and legal settings. However, research conducted by Peter and Wolf (2003) revealed code-switching and code-mixing between English and the indigenous languages. Most of the code-switches that take place in social speech are formulaic phrases, numbers and a growing number of product and international company names, for example, iPod and Nike. New technology or products introduced to the country tend to retain the European name rather than be assigned a local language label, for example 'mobile' and 'Internet café'.

Mandinka is the language of the rulers of the past, making it a prestigious language in terms of historical value to the country (Sonko-Godwin 2003). It is the majority language of the rural areas and, as can be seen from the statistics, the most frequent first language of the indigenous population. However, it is possible this may change in the not too distant future. While there are no empirical studies to defend this supposition it has become apparent to both researchers and Gambian nationals that the domains and geographical areas in which Wolof is now used are extensive and increasing (cf Juffermans and McGlynn 2009).

Wolof is the majority language of surrounding Senegal and is used as a language of wider communication; performing a function similar to that of a lingua franca between peoples of different language groups particularly in the urban area of Banjul and the trading towns. Therefore, although it is the first language of fewer people in The Gambia, the majority of urban dwelling Mandinka and Fula speakers have Wolof as a second language. Peter and Wolf (2003) suggest, in their study of the Gambia, that Wolof may eventually challenge Mandinka as the most frequently used lingua franca, and possibly become the most widely spoken first language amongst Gambians because of the strong influence of Senegalese Wolof. In addition, the inevitable increase of urban children growing up as balanced bilinguals in their mother tongue and the language of wider communication, Wolof, will reinforce its prestige.

Wolof and Mandinka have been described as 'competing' (Haust 1995). However, a peaceful acceptance of each indigenous group's culture, language and religion is a source of national pride and often referred to in literature and media information about the country. As will be discussed throughout this thesis this outward

presentation of acceptance does not extend to exogenous languages, particularly those of previous colonial rulers. In addition, local people are aware of shifting domains of indigenous language use and tension can be witnessed in some inter-ethnic interactions.

Juffermans (2006) has used the expressions ‘visual’ and ‘aural’ to describe a European and indigenous language dichotomy. Until very recently only English and Arabic were ‘seen’; that is all written materials, signs, posters and graffiti are in English with a few Arabic notices while indigenous languages were not publicly visible. Handwritten notices, especially on gates to compounds and shops, are often in Arabic, although English does also feature highly in this mode; especially where Gambians are displaying their allegiance to a football team. However, recent, successful advertising campaigns by the major mobile telephone companies have used indigenous language words or phrases. For example, Africel used the Wolof phrase jere jef meaning *thank you* while Gamcel, the national operator, has used both Wolof and Mandinka². The Wolof slogan Yaay Borom, literally meaning *it’s your own*, was a catchphrase from a television and poster campaign while the concept of conference calls was referred to as **Kafo**. This is a term based on the organisation systems in Mandinka villages, for example, a village youth organisation is referred to as the youth **kafo**, while women’s groups are **kafo muso**. As a small point of interest the English term ‘youth’ has been accepted into the Mandinka language but the concept is different to that of British youth, in particular the difference is in the sex and age of said youths. Gambian youths are young men to the age of 40 years whereas the British youth would be young men and women up to the age of mid 20s. The use of indigenous languages, particularly Wolof, in advertising, illustrates growing prestige and acceptance in public domains.

1.5.2 Education

English is the language of education in The Gambia from nursery to tertiary levels. Recent moves by the government have been made to use indigenous languages for the first few years of education but this is not yet in place (Bah 2006). Towards the end of this study, after data collection and analysis but during the writing up of the thesis,

² Note that throughout the thesis, including in transcripts, Wolof utterances are indicated by underlining and Mandinka utterances are depicted in bold

there was an announcement regarding the amendment to the language of education policy. Teachers received official permission from the Ministry of Education, via a party political broadcast by the ruling party, the APRC (2006), to use local languages in the early years of lower basic education (grades one to three). Teachers were now allowed to use local languages in their verbal delivery of lessons. The announcement suggested this change will allow children to assimilate the information more quickly and be able to link learning to experiences outside of the school environment, however, there is no evidence this has been tested by empirical research. In addition, the five main indigenous languages, Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Serahule and Jola are to be introduced as core subjects from grade four to tertiary level. This will involve students learning to read and write in the local language that is used in their area. For multilingual areas all languages used in the community will be offered as subjects and students will be able to choose which language they study from upper basic onwards. Although some trial materials and teacher training facilities were produced for the experimentation period, the Coordinator for National Languages was unable to give a time scale for their universal production (see appendix 1 for a transcript of the interview with the Coordinator for National Languages, Mr Camara).

Data referred to in this study is from the situation before the change in policy, in addition, all data are from grades five and six and therefore should not be immediately affected by the amendment aimed at the lower grades. For the purposes of this study it should be assumed that the straight for English and indeed English Only policy was still in place. Ramifications of the change in policy will be considered in the conclusion to this thesis (chapter 10).

The government education system follows a 6:3:3 programme. This translates as nine years of standard, compulsory education; six years at lower basic school, starting from age seven, and three years at upper basic school. This is then followed by three years at senior secondary school if a minimum standard is reached in the Gambian Basic Education Certificate Examination, which is taken at the end of year nine. The levels correspond to British education levels of key stages one to four (see figure 1.2). The culmination of senior secondary school is the sitting of school leaving examinations called West African Senior School Certificate Examinations (WASSCE) similar to the British General Certificate of Education (GCSE).

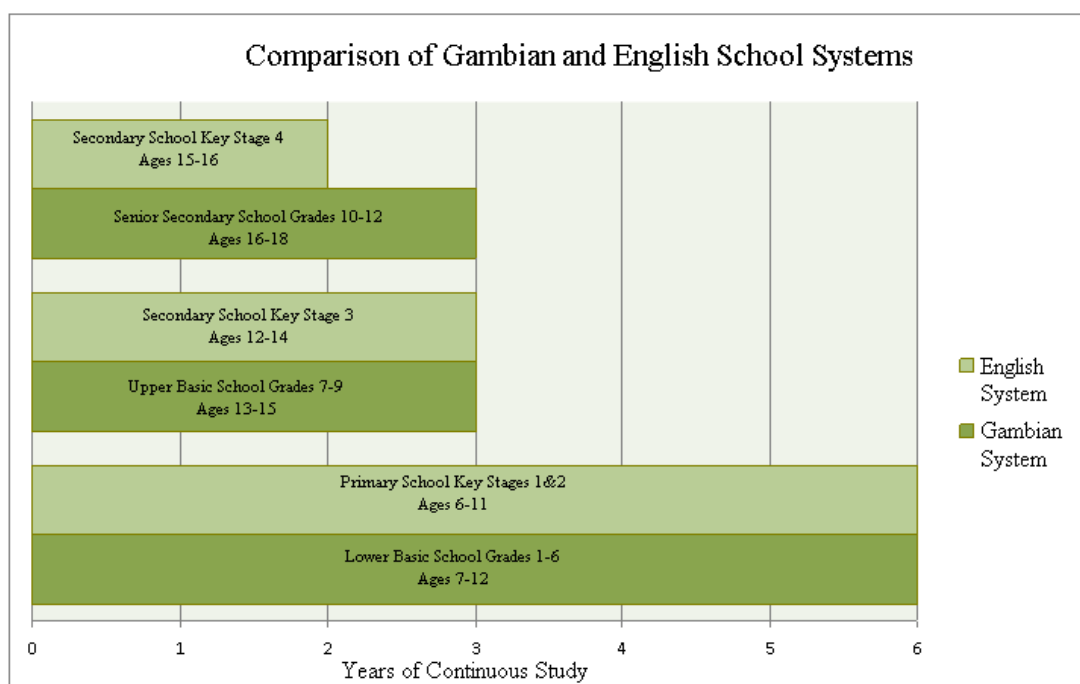


Figure 1.2 Comparison of Gambian and English School Systems

Education at any level is not compulsory in The Gambia; however enrolment during the lower levels of schooling is significant. Statistics produced by the Central Statistics Department from the 2003 census reveal that 62.5% of children attend lower basic schools, from ages approximately seven years to 12 years; while 32.5% attend upper basic school and 7.9% go on to study at Senior Secondary level (age 16+) (see figure 1.3). It should be noted that it is common for children to miss a year of school, often on more than one occasion, because of familial circumstances or lack of funds. Therefore ages of children in particular grades, or series of grades, are often referred to as ‘approximate’ in official documentation and this convention has been followed throughout this thesis. However, statistics also reveal 33.3% of Gambian children and 45% of rural dwelling girls, aged seven and over, have never attended school. Most rural villages only have a lower basic school although some larger villages have an upper basic school which serves several surrounding areas. There are very few senior secondary schools outside of the capital city of Banjul and the surrounding urban area.

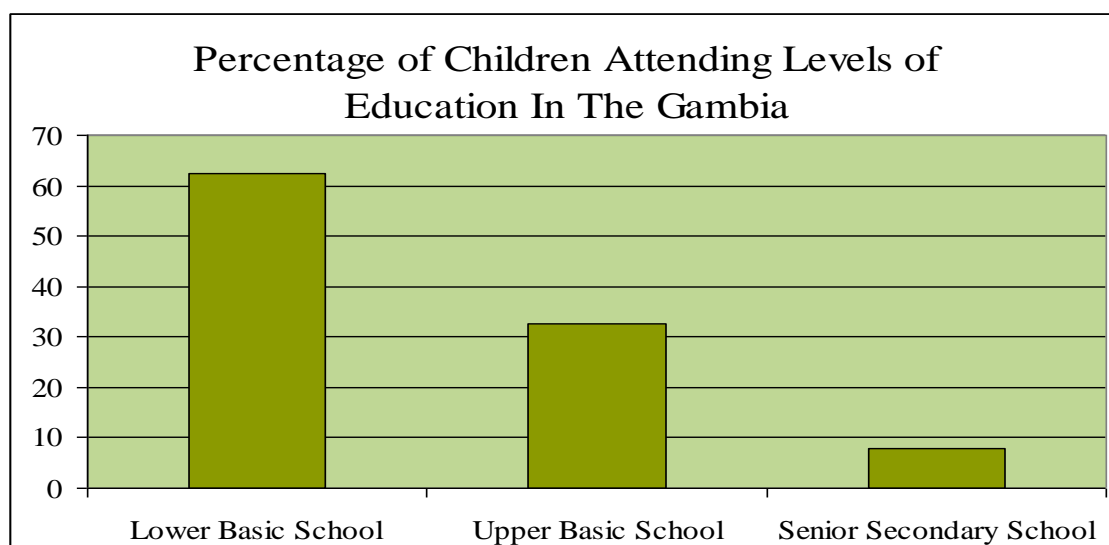


Figure 1.3 Percentage of Children Attending Levels of Education In The Gambia

In recent years there has been an increase in the enrolment and retention of girls to school, particularly at the lower levels. There are two main reasons for this. The first is because of a general expansion in education infrastructure during President Jammeh’s administration, thus more villages have a lower basic school, giving more children, both boys and girls, the opportunity to attend. The second reason is because the school fees of all girls are now met by the Jammeh Foundation for Peace (JFP) thus relieving families of the obligation of paying for education for girls who leave the family compound on marriage and therefore do not contribute to the financial wealth of the family. The JFP is the charity of the first lady of The Gambia and has as its principle goal ‘to effect a substantial and sustainable improvement in the quality of life of all communities in the Gambia, by providing support in the sectors of Education, Health, Agriculture, Women and Youth Development’.

(www.jammehfoundation.gm accessed online 25th February 2008).

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 are a literature review of two complementary aspects of the language in education debate. Chapter 2 aims to contextualise the current language in education policies in post-colonial Africa and the reasons for their instigation. Therefore the discussion is of literature from pan-African research, with some reference to literature from other contexts where a representation from Africa is not available. The chapter reviews the historical perspective to the complex situation and

the choices available to newly formed governments following the end of the colonial period, and in particular who have become the beneficiaries of the policies (Tollefson 2002a&b, Alidou 2004, Ferguson 2006 and Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). This is followed by an overview of the types of language policy in place in various contexts in Africa. The policies tend to fall into one of four categories: exoglossic, preference for an external language; endoglossic, preference for a single indigenous language; plurilinguistic, the promotion of several indigenous and possibly one or more exoglossic language; and finally diglossic, which is the deliberate creation of a diglossic, or two language, situation. This is followed by brief case studies of two countries, Tanzania and Eritrea. These contexts were chosen as they each instigated opposing language in education policies, Tanzania chose an endoglossic policy while Eritrea instigated a plurilinguistic policy. The chapter concludes with the continuing challenges faced by the post-colonial governments, including the complexities involved with implementing a change to policy, maintaining the status quo and introducing policies without recourse to context specific research.

Chapter 3 is the second literature review chapter and brings together a body of literature concerned with the practice of teaching in post-colonial contexts. It became clear during the reading of the literature that there were several practices that appeared in various contexts. These form the focus of this chapter and includes asymmetrical talk, the limiting of linguistic output, including Chick's safe-talk (1996) and the use of choral responses, repetition and a reliance on the initiation, response, feedback (IRF) technique (Bellack et al 1966). This is particularly relevant to this study as it is expected that the teachers in The Gambia will use some of the techniques identified in other contexts. The chapter continues with a look at the use of 'other' languages in the classroom, that is those that are in contradiction to the language in education policy, including code-switching. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how not having extra-curricular access to the language of education negatively affects achievement.

Chapter 4 is the methods chapter and relates the details of this study. The ethnographic approach, social constructionist viewpoint and Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia are discussed along with the initial research design, the pilot study, the final research design, practicalities of negotiating access, ethics and data collection.

The data was collected from three geographically diverse areas of The Gambia through audio-recorded participant observations, field notes, conversational interviews and stimulated recall interviews. Eight classrooms, four grade five and four grade six, were observed as they were taught by a total of 10 teachers, four regular grade five teachers, four regular grade six teachers and two senior masters who were covering classes. A total of over 38 hours of audio recordings were made, transcribed and translated. Stimulated recall interviews were conducted with four teachers.

Chapter 5 provides an audit trail from the data through the analysis process and leads to the final analyses presented in chapters 6, 7, and 8. In order to answer the three research questions different approaches to the data were taken. For research question one, ‘for what purposes are local languages used in the classroom?’, the observation data from the classrooms was broken down into sections and analysed according to the function of the language. For research question two, ‘how does the language used in the urban school differ from the language used in the rural school?’, instances of similar interactions from the data collected in the urban and rural schools were compared. The data from all three schools was then reviewed holistically in order to respond to the third research question, ‘how do historical, political and cultural factors affect language practices in the classroom?’.

Chapter 6 is the first of three findings chapters and forms the response to the first research question (RQ1), ‘for what purposes are local languages used in the classroom?’. By extrapolating extracts from the data an interpretation of the teachers’ purposes for subverting the imposed official language of education policy into a local language, demonstrating the heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981) situation of these classrooms, can be made. This chapter identifies that the purposes for the use of local languages in the schools studied are varied and significant. The purposes include classroom management, content delivery, pedagogic intervention, including one to one teaching, and pastoral care. All the phenomena noted in the research sites are supported with examples from the data. The overriding finding is that teachers rely on local languages to link home with school, and to consolidate their position as members of the community and to ensure gaps in cognitive ability are bridged.

The second findings chapter (Chapter 7) considers research question two (RQ2) ‘How does the language used in the urban school differ from the language used in the rural school?’. By considering the language use in the urban school and comparing it to language use in the rural school statements regarding the centrifugal push against the dominant policy can be made. The findings indicate a prevalence of *linguae francae*, and possibly the embryonic emergence of an urban vernacular or amalgam, in the urban school compared with serial monolingualism in the rural school in this study. In both sites parallel bilingualism, the use of consecutive local languages, and rapid code switching, particularly between *linguae francae*, was noted. Again, all phenomena are supported with examples from the data, and the overwhelming understanding coming from this analysis is that the purpose of using language for communication far outweighs the requirement to adhere to the monolingual policy.

The final findings chapter (Chapter 8) is in response to RQ3, ‘how do historical, political and cultural factors affect language practices in the classroom?’. Analysis of English and local languages suggests cultural influences and centripetal pressures on classroom language in the sites studied. This chapter is separated into sections supported with extracts from the data and starts with a discussion of local area history and the centripetal impact of policy on the classroom. This is followed by a discussion of several cultural influences that constitute centrifugal pushes against the policy. These influences include the greeting process that is influenced by status and respect, oral traditions, including storytelling, discipline and praise and references to the economy.

Chapter 9 brings together the findings from the three previous chapters and discusses how they contribute to the complicated language in education situation in The Gambia. The findings are discussed in relation to Bakhtin’s theory of heteroglossia, and the forms of language peculiar to this context, such as the serial monolingualism and urban vernacular. The responses from the stimulated recall interviews are included in the first section, which discusses the pedagogical and pragmatic divergence from the language in education policy. The historical, political and cultural findings are also discussed in relation to the concept of heteroglossia and the conflict between past and present.

The conclusion (Chapter 10) summarises the thesis reiterating the salient points and the implications of the findings. The usefulness of the research in relation to the language of education policy and practice in The Gambia is discussed as well as the contribution to the wider academic debate about language in education policy and practice. This chapter suggests areas of the study where flaws or limitations, in design or conduct, have been recognised. In addition, areas for further research to aid in the understanding of this study or to further develop the understanding of the language and educational situations in The Gambia and beyond are suggested. Finally, suggestions for changes to the current policy are made. These suggested policies may appear idealistic but are proposed with full understanding of the complexities outlined in chapter 2 and the current political and economic situation of The Gambia.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Language of Instruction Policies in Post-Colonial Contexts

2.1 Introduction

A decision was made to separate policy from practice during the literature review process in order to illustrate the unique issues that are within each concept.

Obviously, the two cannot be fully separated as practice should inform policy and policy directly affects practice as alluded to several times in this chapter.

Chapter 3 therefore discusses how language is used in the classrooms of post-colonial contexts while this chapter gives consideration to the policies that have affected, and continue to affect, the daily task of teaching and learning.

The majority of current language of instruction (LoI) policies have been in place since the end of the colonial period³. The political independence achieved by the majority of African countries in the 1960s did not necessarily lead to educational and economic independence (Alidou 2004); indeed many nations are still dependent on their colonial occupier for educational and economic aid. Africa has always been a continent of ‘extreme heterogeneity’, but since the colonial period, which saw the continent fought over by various European nations, it is also a continent of ‘arbitrary borders’ (Wright S. 2004:69). The ensuing unique ethnolinguistic make-up of each country resulted in complicated decision making for the novice policy makers once the colonial powers departed. Tollefson (2002 a:4/5) posits that there is an assumption that policies are introduced for positive purposes; including to ‘enhance communication’ and to ‘encourage feelings of national unity’. However, it can also be suggested that some language in education (LiE) policies currently in operation in sub-Saharan Africa benefit an elite minority and are, according to some literature, detrimental to the vast majority of the people. Indeed, introducing unsuitable language policies can lead, and has led, to desperate consequences resulting in disenfranchised people and conflict (Tollefson 2002b).

³ Note that in most literature the terms language of instruction/education and medium of instruction/education are used synonymously

As will become apparent in this chapter there are three main reasons for the continued use of a European language as LoI in post-colonial classrooms. These reasons are; widespread multilingualism, limited corpus planning (including orthography) for indigenous languages and the need for languages of wider communication that could allow Africans to engage with the international world (Alidou 2004:202). However, many African states have low school attendance and literacy levels which suggest the policy is not fit for purpose. According to Ferguson (2006a:192) ‘radical changes in policies ... is unlikely in the near future’, not least as an overriding issue with changing MoI policies is that the costs are immediate and significant while the benefits are undefined and distant (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). As Pennycook (1994) points out those countries with a colonial link to English are unable to consider disengaging with the involvement with the language as it is so embedded in significant domains such as education, media, law, politics and business.

This chapter discusses several issues surrounding choosing, maintaining and changing MoI policies. The chapter starts with a brief recognition of historical perspectives followed by a general overview of the types of policy currently in operation in post-colonial contexts and continues with brief case studies of two specific contexts. After a critical look at why the majority of newly independent states chose to keep the European language of their colonial past, focussing on the attitudes to indigenous languages, an examination of recent policy change announcements and the process of implementation is discussed. The final section suggests future policies be made with consideration of the needs of the community and those involved in teaching and learning on a daily basis as a primary focus.

2.2 Historical Perspectives

During colonial rule of developing countries it was commonplace for the European power to impose a language policy that introduced European languages into the occupied country (Pennycook 2002). However, long before the end of the colonial period, calls were made for a promotion of ‘vernacular language’ education. ‘Vernacular’ is a term often used in Africa and by Africans to refer to the indigenous language used in an area. For example in The Gambia children are sometimes disciplined for speaking ‘vernacular’ when they speak Mandinka, Wolof or other

indigenous language, in class. The 1953 the Phelps-Stokes Commission reported that the education children received in their own language would be of more value to the indigenous population than the European language education (Wardhaugh 1987). Even if the Phelps-Stokes commission findings were largely ignored, a full decade before the independence of many African countries, UNESCO produced a report stating that literacy work is 'best carried out in the vernacular' (Barton 1994:5). Despite this recognition by respected forces that learning in the indigenous language would be of more benefit to the local communities, officials in the newly formed governments often chose to continue education in a European language. The reasons for this decision are discussed further in section 2.6.

Although, as suggested by Ferguson (2006a) a change in MoI is unlikely in the near future, the world conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 also called for indigenous language education. Among other strategies recommended to provide 'socially equitable and culturally relevant' education and encourage 'effective learning' was the promotion of the use of African languages in formal basic education (Alidou 2004:203). It can therefore be assumed that the benefits of indigenous language education are recognised at higher levels of government. Despite this there appears to be a reluctance to reconsider language policies.

2.3 Types of Language Policy

According to Adebija (2000) there are four main categories of language policy, with the majority of African countries adopting one of the policies.

2.3.1 Exoglossic

The language policy promotes an exoglossic language and offers no support for endoglossic languages. This is the situation in The Gambia, where the policy results in promotion of English coupled with the active discouragement of local languages in the classroom. Roy-Campbell (2003) suggests this choice is often made because governments assume that monolingualism, education through one language, is the only way for children to become proficient in a language and that the policy is made following a dichotic choice between a European language or an African language. However, this assumption is often based on the experience of colonial imposition

rather than empirical evidence and may also account for the reason why code switching is considered ‘dysfunctional’ (Wei and Martin 2009:117). The majority of modern political units, countries or self-governing-areas, are linguistically diverse, and therefore the concept of one nation one language, upon which colonial education was designed is very rare (Tollefson 2002a).

2.3.2 Endoglossic

There is a promotion of one endoglossic language over all other endoglossic and exoglossic languages. This type of language policy is rare as many newly independent states felt that the ‘selection of one African language over another would have created dissent’ (Roy-Campbell 2003:88). However, in Tanzania KiSwahili was chosen as the language of education and promoted above both the languages of all other indigenous ethnic groups and English. This is discussed more fully in section 2.4.1. Note that the modern convention dictates that Swahili is the noun relating to the tribe of people while KiSwahili is the language of those people.

2.3.3 Plurilinguistic

Some countries chose a policy which promoted several majority endoglossic languages as well as one exoglossic language. This is the situation in Nigeria where Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are all used in education as well as English. However, it should be noted that policies that encourage promotion of African languages are often met with negative attitudes by African scholars ranging from ‘silent scepticism’ to ‘outright derision’ (Mazrui 2002:276). The scholars are fearful that their status in the international arena will be reduced if they are reliant on indigenous languages rather than a world language. Many parents also believe their children need to learn a world language and push for schools to teach in English or other European language. As identified by Hailemariam, Ogbay and White (2011:3) parents are fearful that MT teaching is in fact ‘imprisoning’ their children in a local language and want languages of wider communication or world languages to be used in schools. The resistance to plurilinguistic policies is sometimes demonstrated through scholars and politicians arguing against their imposition of such, however, once in place resistance is often displayed by parents through avoidance of indigenous language schools. This results in children either not attending school at all, or parents spending large sums of money on private, European language, schools.

2.3.4 Diglossic

The fourth category is the deliberate creation of a diglossic situation. An endoglossic language, or languages, may be used for primary education, local (vernacular) press, lower level judicial procedures and so on while an exoglossic language would be used for higher levels of education, national newspapers, high court procedures and governance. This suggests a level of acceptance of the multilingual situation but levels of hierarchy are clearly demarcated with the European languages holding prestige in the majority of domains.

Most Anglophone countries in Africa use one or more indigenous language for the first three or four years of primary education and then switch, usually at the start of grade four, to English. The exceptions to this pattern are Zambia and The Gambia which both adhere to a straight for English policy. Ghana has also recently changed its policy from the use of an indigenous language in early years to a straight for English programme. Lusophone and Francophone countries more commonly use the European language from grade one, with the exception of Mozambique which is currently reviewing its policy following an experimental bilingual education programme (Ferguson 2006a).

In order to more fully recognise the benefits and challenges of policy the next section will consist of brief case studies of two countries that do not form the primary focus of this research. A full case study of each area is beyond the remit of this thesis, however, consideration of different policies and their impact on the distinct contexts will assist in understanding the complexities of policy development.

2.4 Case Studies

The purpose of this section is not to discuss all possible LoI scenarios but rather to present two brief synopses illustrating the complexities associated with different policies. The first outlines Tanzania's LoI policies from independence, while the second illustrates Eritrea's opposing approach to the issue. These case studies were chosen to be highlighted as they represent two extremes of the continuum of responses to the LoI debate. Ultimately, Tanzania has opted for a single indigenous

language and Eritrea has chosen to accommodate all of the indigenous languages in its policy. Despite the different attitudes the outcomes appear similar.

2.4.1 Tanzania

Brock-Utne (2005b) states that KiSwahili is spoken by 95% of the population of Tanzania as a first or second language. Vavrus (2002) does not give an exact figure although he concurs that the majority of Tanzanians speak KiSwahili in addition to ethnic languages. KiSwahili can therefore be considered a language of wider communication (LWC) or 'language of intranational communication' (Vavrus 2002:375).

After independence, the incoming president, Nyerere recognised KiSwahili as a unifying language and chose it as the language of instruction for primary education throughout Tanzania. It was also designated as the language for business and government and was promoted by all political parties. The use of KiSwahili as LoI did affect some minority language use, in that KiSwahili became a more dominant language in areas where it had not been present before. Despite this, possibly, predictable outcome, a trilingual system of early years mother-tongue (MT) education followed by instruction in the national language (KiSwahili) with any international language taught as a subject was not considered by Nyerere's government. Indeed, throughout the 1960s and 1970s several declarations were made expanding the use of KiSwahili into both secondary and tertiary levels of education; however the implementation of these changes to the policy did not take place.

One policy change that was implemented, however, was the 1982 declaration by the Presidential Commission on Education which stated that 'English will be the medium of education at all post primary levels' (Tanzanian Ministry of Education 1984:21 cited by Vavrus 2002:376). KiSwahili was to remain as the LoI in government maintained primary schools and be taught as a subject in post-primary schools. English was to be taught as a subject from grade three. In 1995 the amount of time dedicated to English in the post-primary curriculum was increased and it was taught as a subject from grade one. English remained the LoI for all post primary classes. Despite the majority of the population having KiSwahili in their language repertoire its use in government schools did not prove to be the unifying force Nyerere

anticipated. Instead it became divisive with those families who could afford to selecting English medium private primary schools for their children (Wright, S. 2004). Indeed many parents continue to put themselves under enormous financial hardship in order to facilitate attendance at English medium institutions in the belief that European languages hold the key to social upward mobility and an English medium primary education will better prepare their children for later grades. In this way it can be recognised that language of instruction policies can create, perpetuate or complicate existing, social and economic inequality (Tollefson and Tsui 2008).

2.4.2 Eritrea

In contrast to Tanzania's 'one nation one language' ideology Eritrea took a more plurilinguistic stance with a mantra of 'national unity with linguistic diversity' (Dutcher 1998:261). More specifically there was a positive promotion of MT education through a plurilinguistic policy (see section 2.3.3). The policy included provision for MT or community language use for delivery of lessons in primary school with national languages (Arabic and Tigrinya) and English taught as subjects at primary level and beyond. Dutcher (1998) suggests there were three reasons why the Eritrean government elected for this policy. The first reason was the belief that by using the MT in the classroom students would be able to understand the content of the lessons, the second that it would be easier to promote culture in a classroom context and finally that students would be able to grow in confidence.

Which language to use as the medium of instruction was left to discrete communities to decide and in practice most communities did not in fact choose to educate their children in their own MT. Most communities decided against the most dominant language of the local community or the MT of the majority of children in a school in favour of teaching through a national language. One reason for this is the social and economic prestige that is associated with the language, referred to as cultural capital by Bourdieu (1984). Most of the minority languages spoken in Eritrea are associated with rural areas and subsistence farming while national languages, which are necessary for non-manual labour, are associated with urbanisation and upward mobility (discussed in section 2.6). Consequently the majority of schools in Eritrea have either Arabic or Tigrinya as the language of instruction. Several minority languages are not represented in the school system at all because parents and the

general community do not see the value of education in that language. This point is reinforced by Yenendé's work in Guinea Conakry (2005) where, despite a MT teaching programme being instigated after independence, enrolment in school was very low. Parents could not see the benefit of an education in their MT and were unable to afford private, French medium education. Consequently, many children simply did not go to school.

There is a human resource issue with the ambitious LoI policy in Eritrea. The majority of teachers are from the Tigrinya speaking ethnic group and there is a major shortfall of teachers from other language groups. Once this is coupled with the traditional, almost entirely oral teaching methods in Eritrean classrooms a challenge becomes evident. Consequently, although officially minority languages can be the LoI, fulfilment of the policy depends on a school's ability to locate teachers fluent in oral teaching traditions such as talk, repetition and rote learning, in the language required. The announcement of policies without consideration of the practical implications is not confined to Eritrea and this is discussed more fully in section 2.7.

Fyle (2000:67) suggests before policies are proposed by governments the 'functional needs' of the people are considered. Both MT and international languages are needed for specialised purposes with very few people within a community needing full literacy in them. In many African societies, including The Gambia, the MT is used for daily oral communication usually within a fairly closed community and is rarely written. Equally, an international language is used for business and politics and very few people will need a high level of literacy as few enter these arenas. One caveat with Fyle's argument is that if national politics is conducted in an international language then anyone not sufficiently proficient in that language is effectively alienated from participation in their country's governance. In addition, if the international language is not taught in schools how is it possible to identify those with an aptitude for the subject and who the ability to progress in the language. However, Fyle's (2000) suggestion that focus should be on the lingua franca, either a national language such as Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Jola or Serahule in The Gambia, or a LWC, such as Mandinka or Wolof, is worth considering further. Literacy in this language has functional benefits for a larger number of people; conducting local business and inter-village communication and accessing health care and local politics for example.

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) point out there are few LWCs in multilingual settings and by focussing on fewer languages the practical issues identified with Eritrea's plurilingual policy and the divisive outcome of Tanzania's monolingual policy may be avoided.

2.5 Declaration without Implementation of Policies

It has been suggested that language policies are the 'systematic formulations' of a language planning process (Gottlieb and Chen 2001:4). Ideally, policies are 'explicit, embodied in laws, regulations and guidelines' (ibid). However, this is often not the situation in sub-Saharan African states. As discussed in the previous sections language policies were often implemented by new governments without recourse to research or language planning processes. In addition Wright (S 2004:82) has identified 'discrepancies between formulated and implemented policies', that is amendments to policies have been articulated by authorities but have not been put into practice. Bamgbose (2000) concurs that in many African states policies are proposed and written up but are not implemented.

Kamwendo (2008) identified six major reasons for the delay in introducing a MT LoI policy in Malawi, some of which have been extrapolated and discussed here in application to other contexts.

Many of the newly formed independent states suffered from periods of political unrest with whole governments, individual ministers and responsibilities of ministerial departments changing frequently. The replacement process interrupts the administration linked to implementation, and indeed may even halt projects if there is a change of ideology, for example when whole governments are substituted. Linked with this is the human resource issue of ministers and civil servants operating outside of their discipline and therefore not recognising the urgency or implications of the policy, equally not comprehending the ramifications of not fully implementing the policy.

One challenge with ensuring policies are fully implemented is disseminating the information adequately. Much of sub-Saharan African is in difficult terrain and

remote from the seat of government, which impedes communication. Written communication is unreliable and slow, and therefore many communities rely on information being passed by word of mouth. A situation of political Chinese-whispers ensues which can lead to some schools not receiving the information at all, while others may receive only a partial or inaccurate interpretation of the policy.

Finally, possibly the most relevant reason for policies not being implemented is a lack of human and material resources. Changes to LoI policies involve teacher training, updating of teaching materials and methods and a publicity programme. Countries that rely on significant numbers of unqualified teachers may not have processes in place for in-service teacher training and may have to entrust newly qualified teachers from teacher training colleges to disseminate policy amendments. A MT LoI policy depends on having teachers from all language groups included in the policy. As seen in the Eritrean case study (section 2.4.2) this is not always feasible.

The result is that new policies, especially ones that include reference to indigenous languages, are considered and even proposed by government departments for education. However, as seen with the Tanzanian case study, they are not always followed through to practice at a national level. Alidou has intimated that the declaration without implementation of indigenous languages in a mainstream education scenario equates to a 'long-term educational experiment' (2004:195).

2.6 Maintaining the Status Quo

The continued use of a European language is wide-spread in post-colonial countries. Wardhaugh (1987) suggests several reasons for the perpetuation of the languages of the former colonial power in post colonial societies, including the instigation of institutional structures, progress and modernisation, unification and, finally, maintaining the power held by a significant minority of elites.

Prior to colonisation many of the domains in which the European language is now used did not exist in a formalised institutional incarnation. Most African states have retained the European language in the areas of education, law, media and health. These concepts existed prior to colonisation, but not in recognisably European form.

Therefore as the structure of the institutions was imposed by the colonial powers so the language was also. Post-independence the institutions were maintained and it appears, almost by default, that the European language for those domains was also retained. However, it should be recognised that European languages, particularly English and French, are associated with modernisation and progress, especially with regard to education and technology. In many countries the ex-colonial power has business interests and offers continued financial assistance and nationals are aware of the need to speak the European language in order to access educational, business and financial opportunities. In addition, although the majority of Gambians are Muslim there is a Christian influence, a religion usually pursued in English, from European and Christian African immigrants.

There were practical considerations that had to be made by the incoming governments of the newly independent states, many of which were politically unstable (Wardhaugh 1987). Adegbija (2000) points out that no indigenous language in West Africa is spoken, as a first language, by more than 50% of the population of a country. This means that choosing an indigenous language to be promoted as a national or official language is politically and ethnically charged. Language beliefs are ‘heavily influenced’ (Trudell 2007:553) by the values and beliefs of a community. For the most part in Africa European languages, including English, carry a prestige that is ‘rooted in both their historical role and their current value as world languages’ (Trudell 2007:558).

Maintaining the European language negates the need to promote an indigenous language and thus avoid interethnic conflict, especially as promotion of one language usually means neglect of another or others. Kaplan and Baldauf point out that many indigenous languages are ‘stigmatized’ (1997:125). The suggestion is that the indigenous languages carry associations of belonging to people of a lower socioeconomic class. This can be seen particularly with languages used by rural communities that are then associated with subsistence farming and poverty. Although, attitudes can also be more rudimentary and even emotional; ‘if I don’t like you I won’t learn your language’ (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:135). However, the European languages chosen for educational purposes are not necessarily ‘socioeconomically neutral’ (Ferguson 2006a:184). They are the first language, or a

dominant language within the linguistic repertoire, of wealthy urban elites, made up of “been tos”, to use a Nigerian term meaning returning members of the diaspora, and families powerful during the colonial period. This group are usually urban residents who have western belongings such as a television, books and access to newspapers, and European language speaking friends and family to provide a speech community in which to learn the language. Again, however, the choice appears to have been dichotomically based; either one African or one European language to be used in education. Education in all of a country’s indigenous languages was often discounted as unworkable due to costs of production of materials, the standardisation of orthography and corpus development for minority languages (Wright, S. 2004). Although, as stated by Roy-Campbell (2003) African languages had previously been used for teaching and learning, and questions why they are considered as unusable in modern education.

The governments of newly independent states, which were often military regimes, tended to make decisions that were based on ideology and the imposition of ideals rather than any empirical research or understanding of the situation (Bamgbose 2000) (see chapter 10.5). Rhetoric at the time was of ideals of unity and solidarity and firmly against diversity and linguistic pluralism. Governments pushed through monolingual policies based on the one nation one language European pattern, which as noted before, is now an antiquated, unrealistic situation. Therefore, despite the ‘emotional caveats’ (Wright, S. 2004:72) associated with the language of the former dominating power, many newly independent governments opted for a policy based on a European language as the resultant heterogeneity of choosing African languages did not correspond with the notion of a single national identity (Wright, S. 2004).

It may seem that the continued use of an ex-colonial language after independence appears a rational choice when consideration is made of the challenges faced by the newly independent governments, however, it should not necessarily be regarded as a ‘fair’ choice. The general population of developing countries recognise that individual members of the community who become fluent in a European language are often more financially secure. Many ‘schooled children’ have left their village to find secure employment in the urban areas (Trudell 2007:555). They are able to access education, non-manual employment opportunities and are more likely to be aware of

schemes and interventions offered by internal and international aid agencies. In other words their linguistic ability converts to financial and status advantage, or to cultural capital as expressed by Bourdieu (1984). Fluent speakers of the European language often held high administrative and business positions during colonisation and were able to use these skills and contacts to remain as the country's elite leaders and advisors following independence, thus retaining elite status for their families. However, these 'elite' officials recognised their position of leaders of a new democracy would be tenuous if everyone had equal access to power. By continuing the use of the language of power in education it appears that governments are allowing all its citizens the opportunity to gain access to the power. However, the majority of the population of a poor country does not have equal access to education.

Many rural communities, universally recognised as the poorer communities in developing countries, do not have access to resources that make education less challenging. These include access to local and international print and electronic media, books and additional reading materials and to fluent speakers of the target language other than their teachers. Governments often make language of instruction policy based on their knowledge of the education context in the geographical area surrounding the seat of government, thereby excluding the rural population from consideration during policy making. Few make policies based on practice or empirical research (Bamgbose 2000), which is why contextual research, such as the one undertaken here could impact future policies.

In addition, rural communities have another concern regarding education. As well as being aware of successful students, who have travelled to the urban areas to gain employment (Trudell 2007), rural parents will know of many 'unsuccessful' students who did not achieve satisfactory results and remain, unemployed, in the village. Parents are concerned that educated children will not want to work on the land or take a labouring position, or in the case of girl children, will not want to marry a local spouse.

2.7 Arbitrary Policy Making

Much has been made in this chapter of the seemingly arbitrary decisions made by governments regarding the LoI. In this instance arbitrary is used to mean that policies regarding the LoI were not made strictly on consideration of the teaching and learning environment. Sonck (2005:37) states that LoI and LiE policies are ‘pedagogical not a political issue[s]’, however, as pointed out by Ferguson (2006a:179) educational case reform, especially in relation to language policy is often ‘trumped’ by political agendas. As Byram (1998) discusses, the seldom articulated but frequently recognised use of education curricula by governments perpetuate a particular social groups’ perception of the world. This is usually the dominant social group, with political control. Sonck (2005) continues by citing Miles (2000) that language planning and policy making should be neither ‘social engineering nor political gamesmanship’ and implores governments to participate in ‘sober stock-taking’ of linguistic realities (2005:49). This echoes Fyle’s (2000) argument for policies to consider the functional needs of the people (2000) (Chapter 3). Although, as recognised by Tucker (1998), it is difficult to ascertain reliable numbers and distribution of speakers for many parts of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa, which complicates accurate policy making, but does not excuse arbitrariness.

In addition to not being fully conversant with the linguistic situation or needs of language users prior to policy making Ndayipfukamiye suggests the classroom realities are ‘also overlooked’ (1996:39), particularly those classrooms in rural areas. Tollefson (2002b) suggests that policies will not succeed unless they address the challenges faced by teachers, and as the majority of African classrooms are verbal, as illustrated in the next chapter, the LoI affects every aspect of teaching and learning as well as socialisation and play activities (Tollefson and Tsui 2008). However, Wei and Martin (2009) point out that policies imposed from above often differ from practice. Indeed Martin’s (2008) research in classrooms in Brunei illustrates that teachers, and not governments, make and implement classroom policies, including those related to language. Thus although the national policy is passed centripetally, the local situation is centrifugally enacted. This is illustrated by the creative ways teachers and learners use language in the classroom (see chapters 3 and 6) and consequently the micro communities’ practice often usurps the national policy.

Van Lier (1996a) and Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005) have pointed out that rural dwelling children have different needs to the urban learner. In particular policy makers should recognise that the rural learner rarely has the LoI in their repertoire of languages (Van Lier 1996a), and in the case of a European language it is not usually familiar in their community either. However, there are other differences which impact teaching and learning.

While poverty does exist in urban areas, lower standards of living and economic realities may mean the rural child cannot afford the equipment and uniform to attend school. There are fewer opportunities for travel in the rural areas, due to difficult terrain and expensive transport, the rural child therefore also has limited access to others who have travelled. Finally, opportunities for informal, but curriculum enhancing, learning are reduced in the rural areas, such as being able to access libraries, cultural events, mass media and so on. As Tollefson (2002b) points out in an ideal world language in education policies would be supported by pre-school, extra-curricular and post graduation use. However, if students are unable to use their school language in other domains, or perceive a need for its use post graduation, at whatever level that may be, then their enthusiasm for engagement with that language may not be as strong as it need be for successful language learning. For the rural child, who has limited exposure to the European language before, during and post education the motivation for learning is limited.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the complexities surrounding choosing and changing LoI policies in post colonial contexts. The fragility of many sub-Saharan African governments and their continued reliance on colonial partners as financial benefactors adds to the challenge of progressing change in education. Despite frequent verbal acknowledgement of the need for change by government departments implementation of change is rarely seen to a conclusion. In addition, policy and practice do not necessarily correlate. We will see in the next chapter how classroom actors subvert language policies collaboratively, effectively introducing a 'de facto bilingual medium' (Ferguson 2006a:180) by employing code switching and choral responses,

among others techniques, in order to achieve, or appear to achieve, teaching and learning. However, these unsanctioned teaching techniques do not ease the disparities caused by the policies. In order to generate appropriate policies a full review of the current language situation of a context is necessary, including language use, domains, numbers and dispersal of speakers and attitudes towards each language and its speakers. As Merritt et al (1992) suggest 'a better picture of any single situation, or socialising institution, will contribute to the general knowledge that is needed by policy makers and those responsible for planning social and economic development'. For that purpose this thesis is concerned with the language use in three specific institutions in The Gambia. The next chapter continues with a review of practice in various post-colonial contexts before focussing on the Gambian context.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

Language use in Post-Colonial Classrooms

3.1 Introduction

British colonial occupation was responsible for the introduction of education as a formal institution into The Gambia and the establishment of western teaching methods including the use of English as the language of education. According to Bangbose (2005) pre-colonial teaching and learning relied on oral tradition methods such as: memorising and recalling information, solving riddles, reciting verses, singing, phonetic exercises, tongue twisters and storytelling. Duff (1996), in her study of Hungarian education, indicated how changing the language of instruction in educational settings changes the teaching methods. She discusses how, following the introduction of dual language schooling in Hungarian and English, students lamented the loss of an oral revision technique called *Felelés*, where they present information they have recalled from a previous lesson. *Felelés* could be classed as a typically Hungarian speech event in a similar way that oral storytelling is recognised as being typically African. With the introduction of European languages into African schools the indigenous teaching techniques as well as many of the indigenous languages were lost (see www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas for a listing of endangered and extinct languages). Although, as can be seen in this chapter, some traditional teaching methods, such as repetition and rote learning, appear to have been retained in some post-colonial contexts.

The neglect of indigenous languages, which is a symptom of their not being used in education and other institutional domains, results in the speakers of those languages being disadvantaged. For example, Kube-Barth (2009:104) has indicated that since French became the official language in Cote D'Ivoire indigenous languages are used 'less and less in everyday communication'. Webb and Kembo-Sure argue that unless more indigenous languages are used in the economic processes of a country then 'the majority of citizens will remain outside the mainstream of economic life' (2000:8). As Gergen (1999) noted institutions such as science, religion, government and, possibly most notably, education, were designed to be of benefit to the users of those institutions. Unfortunately, where the business of the institutions is conducted in a

non-indigenous language, the majority of the indigenous language speaking population are excluded. In many cases the institutions have not produced the expected benefits and have, in some cases, produced dis-benefits, such as pupil under-achievement. Academic standards, and particularly the assessment process, has been extensively researched by a team from Bristol University. The findings of the SPINE project (www.bristol.ac.uk/spine) demonstrates that when assessments are presented in the appropriate language children are able to demonstrate more clearly what they know and understand about the content of the subject.

In many parts of the world the language of instruction is frequently the language of an ex-colonial power, often, although not limited to, French, English and Portuguese. This is sometimes from the first year of education, as in The Gambia (see 1.4.2). More common however, is the use of an indigenous language in the early primary years with a transition, usually at grade four, to the ex-colonial language in upper primary or secondary levels of school (Ferguson 2003). Tucker (1998) has suggested that many more children are educated through a second or subsequent language for all or part of their schooling than are taught through their first language throughout. Comprehending this fact means recognising that teachers and learners have to develop strategies in order to overcome the challenges of teaching and learning in an unfamiliar language.

This chapter brings together a body of literature concerning language use in post-colonial contexts where, as discussed in chapter 2, the issue is of political significance because of the chasm between practice and policy. While not an exhaustive compilation of all available literature, this collection of works reflects the classroom language used in several post-colonial contexts, with an obvious bias towards those representing African realities, and considers the similarities in operation and resolutions to challenges that have evolved.

There are a number of themes that emerge from the literature. The most prevalent of which is asymmetrical talk (in 3.2) in which the classroom talk is dominated by the teacher. Dominance by the teacher results in a limiting of student input into the teaching and learning environment. This occurs on two levels; the quantity of input and the pedagogic quality of input. Both aspects reduce opportunities and need for

pupils to produce responses which are cognitively challenging. Several methods of reducing linguistic input by students are discussed in section 3.3. One such method is a technique known alternatively as Initiation/Response/Feedback (IRF) or Initiation/Response/Evaluation (IRE) (3.3.3) on which teachers, not only in African settings, often rely heavily. This technique limits children's responses to specific 'slots' within the didactic talk of the teacher but also limits the amount that can be said. In many contexts, including the UK, the use of the IRE/IRF supports the need for checking, and possibly even meeting, learning outcomes in an efficient way. However, as will be illustrated by the literature the 'response' in the IRF/IRE sequence in post-colonial studies is rarely more than a single word.

Several texts that discuss post-colonial classroom experiences deliberate on the use of languages other than the prescribed medium of instruction by either the teacher or the pupils. The use of 'other' languages, meaning any code that is not endorsed by policy, is discussed in section 3.4. Of particular interest are the reasons suggested by researchers for the changes in code. Although each country or community should be considered as individual and unique in terms of investigation there appear to be recurrent explanations offered for switching codes across contexts. What I shall refer to as 'functional' code switching, that is the teacher or student changes code depending on the function of their talk, is discussed in section 3.4.1. There are three significant functions which I will discuss under the general labels of pedagogical, practical and social switching.

Throughout the themes explored here the issue of difference between urban and rural areas is noted. This is extrapolated and discussed in further detail in section 3.5. It should be noted that the governments that introduce policies are usually located in urban areas (cf Chapter 2.7), and therefore the specific issues that concern rural communities, for example access to the MoI and school materials and text books, are often overlooked.

3.2 Asymmetrical Talk

The term asymmetrical talk relates to the difference, both in terms of quantity and quality, of contributions by the teachers and the students. Considering the number of students in classrooms in post-colonial situations is often fifty plus, the input from the

student body would be expected to be significant. However many researchers documenting actual classroom practices have stated that the teacher dominates much of the talk time in the classroom.

There are, of course, several periods of classroom discourse when teachers in all contexts dominate the talk. For example, in his discussion of foreign language classrooms Walsh (2006:55) suggests that ‘... teachers’ language should not be regarded as ‘uncommunicative’ if their pedagogic goal is to provide a detailed grammar explanation necessitating a lengthy contribution and very little learner involvement’. In a similar way, in primary classrooms, there are times during a lesson when lengthy instructions or explanations are required by the teacher and the role of the student in these instances is to be receptive rather than contribute to the talk.

The concern of researchers in post-colonial contexts is not that teachers’ contributions are lengthy for pedagogic reasons but rather the asymmetrical talk is the result of issues of language proficiency and the need to reduce the instances of unscripted or unplanned talk. It is recognised that ‘student participation is now seen by educators around the world as crucial to effective language learning’ (Ndayipfukiyame 1996:40). As the children in post-colonial contexts, where the medium of instruction is a foreign language, have to learn the language as well as the content of the lesson their active participation is necessary to ensure learning takes place.

Several methods of inhibiting student output, both in terms of amount of speech and the cognitive demands of the talk, have been articulated through the literature. Mets and van den Hauwe (2003) talk of how teachers ‘mask’ the language difficulties in the classroom, while others have used the term ‘safe talk’ (Chick 1996). There are three main purposes for using ‘safe talk’, which is Chick’s term for teachers limiting students’ verbal participation in the classroom: to hide poor English (or other European language of education), hide lack of understanding of content and to maintain an illusion of teaching and learning. There are a series of strategies used, consciously or unconsciously, by teachers to maintain the illusion of successful teaching and learning and competent language use. Teachers must at all times preserve the cultural expectation that teachers are infallible, and this would especially

affect the young and unqualified teachers that are frequently posted to rural schools. Students contribute to the façade by participating appropriately in the strategies used by teachers to constrain language use.

The methods include involving students in individual, and consequently silent, activities for example copying from the board. This practice is discussed more fully in section 3.5. The other strategies for reducing the linguistic output of students reported by Mets and van den Hauwe (2003) rely on teachers manipulating their use of language so that answers to questions are both limited and predictable; for example requesting single lexical item responses in the form of noun labels, yes or no answers, sentence completion or requiring students to repeat answers already given. Individual students may answer this type of questioning; however, many researchers have reported that the questions are also frequently answered chorally with the teacher treating the student body as one respondent (discussed more fully in section 3.3.1). Ultimately what teachers are attempting to achieve by limiting linguistic output by students is the absence of free, unplanned talk that puts immense pressure on the teacher as the language role model. By controlling the language the teacher is able to maintain the illusion of being a competent language user. However, as Arthur points out, teachers are frequently not language users, but rather ‘language knowers’ (1994:96). As use of the language of education is not functional in other domains in the community the teachers’ speech is not dynamic and spontaneous as that of a frequent user of the language would be. Indeed Gonzales (1998:201) has suggested that the English of people who do not use it actively becomes simplified or subject to ‘infantilism’. Therefore the teachers create strict boundaries around the language use so that they appear competent language users but in some cases they cannot speak the language outside of the boundaries set by the curriculum and recurring interactional features of classroom discourses. It is therefore in the teachers’ interests to limit the linguistic output of students in classrooms where the LoI is an exoglossic language.

3.3 Limiting Linguistic Output

This section will demonstrate the limitations on linguistic output using short transcript examples from relevant studies to illustrate the concepts as they are discussed.

Statistics from several African classrooms have identified the amount of ‘talk’ uttered by teachers and clearly show the level of dominance by teachers in various contexts. Ackers and Hardman (2001) reported that in a Kenyan grade six maths class 55% of the time was taken with teacher only talk but this figure was as high as 70% in science classes of the same age group. These statistics coupled with the discovery that 35% of responses to teachers’ questions were choral, that is the majority of the class responded in unison, means that very little attention is given to individual student’s comprehension of the lesson. Fuller and Snyder Jnr (1991) also noticed a difference between lessons depending on subject. They identified that three quarters of the questions asked by teachers in the Botswana classes they studied were closed, that is requiring just one or two word answers, but that this was reduced in both maths and English classes and also in lessons where text books were available. Despite the reduction of closed questions in these lessons they still report that ‘a good deal of time’ (Fuller and Snyder Jnr 1991:292) was spent on choral recitation.

3.3.1 Choral Responses

Choral recitations, or choral responses, have been identified in the majority of post-colonial contexts where research data is available. Indeed some researchers have suggested that ‘choral’ talk has its root in the traditional talk of formally oral cultures (Arthur 1996, McGlynn 2008). It is recognised that memory in primarily oral cultures operates differently from that in literate societies (see Ong, 1982 and 2002 for a comprehensive discussion). One of the techniques used as an aide memoire is chorusing on the part of the audience in a traditional storytelling event. At pertinent moments in the story, usually on a verbal or paralinguistic cue from the narrator, the audience will call out to intensify the story or supplement the narrator’s monologue. The speech event that is traditional storytelling is not too distant from a predominantly didactic classroom arrangement in terms of orator and audience. Therefore for students in a culture with high oral residue (Ong 2002) to respond chorally to verbal or paralinguistic requests from the teacher may be a culturally embedded practice for remembering facts and figures.

Having made that suggestion, however, it should be noted that some researchers have identified that many of the choral responses children utter are not pedagogical responses. Rather, they are responding to a ‘ritualistic pseudo-checking’ (Arthur

1996:22) that they are following the lesson. The unmarked response to the ‘pseudo-checking’ questions, which are usually similar to “do you understand?” or “are you following?”, is “yes” (see extract two in section 3.3 for an illustration where the pseudo-check is “do you remember now?”). To respond negatively to a pseudo-check breaks the illusion that effective teaching and learning is taking place. However, it is not completely unheard of for a class to respond “no” to a pseudo-check as recorded by McGlynn and Martin (2009). In this instance the check was that the students understood a term used by the teacher and as previously suggested a “do you understand” check would normally attract a positive, choral “yes” by the students. Suggestions put forward by the authors for this out of the ordinary response revolve around the topic of the lesson, which was sexual health, the age of the class, approximately 12-15 years (grade 6), and the persona of the teacher, which was entertaining, comedic, confident and bordering on risqué. It has been suggested that the unmarked response simply indicates attention to the teacher rather than participation in the class, however, the negative, marked response from the Gambian students in this lesson indicates that they were indeed paying full attention and were prepared, under the right conditions, to indicate they did not understand the content of the lesson.

Choral responses reduce the pressure on individual children to be able to produce a linguistically correct response as the teacher is treating the student body as a collective participant. Many times the children are chorally responding to a pseudo-check or to repeat an answer given previously by the teacher or an individual student. Indeed Pontefract and Hardman (2005) identified that 99% of all the teachers’ questions in their study in rural and urban Kenya were closed and the majority of those received a single word choral response. However, there are occasions when the chorus response appears to work in what I call a *correct out of chaos* process, this works a little like a multiple choice situation. A teacher will ask a question, usually a closed question and is looking for a particular answer. Several children, usually those with greater linguistic skills, will then call out an answer and the student body as a collective will decide which is the correct answer and chorus it until the teacher acknowledges the answer is right or wrong. Therefore, it is possible that only one child has the correct answer, but the students have chosen this as their collective response and offer it as the answer without knowing how the individual child arrived

at the answer or indeed if he or she is actually correct. In this way, those children with greater linguistic skills who are able to formulate an answer in the MoI are pushing the lesson forward to the detriment of those children who are merely ‘copying’ the chosen answer.

Choral, formulaic responses are common in many domains especially with regard to greetings. Children also respond chorally to formulaic questions, and here clearly the level of understanding can be called into question. Sonck’s (2005) research in Mauritius illustrated that although the children in classrooms were able to articulate the greetings and answers to the formulaic questions asked by the teacher they were actually unaware of the meaning of the words. When the questions were asked out of usual sequence the children continued to chorus the answers as if there had been no change to the sequence. The use of formulaic chorusing can become so embedded that any departure from the norm can cause confusion. Bunyi (2005) witnessed a situation in a Kenyan classroom when another class teacher interrupted the lesson. The children stood and waited for the visiting teacher to initiate the greeting sequence, however, instead of greeting in English he greeted the children in KiSwahili. The children were confused and had to be gently reprimanded by their own class teacher in their first language, Gikuyu, “riu ona mutingienda kugeithania?” (“now you don’t even want to greet?”) (Bunyi 2005:134). Frequent repetition of the same information means that some of the answers to questions become formulaic and there is no guarantee that the children are fully aware of the meaning behind the words they are uttering.

By responding to questions as a collective respondent or by reproducing formulaic or ritual utterances the appearance of participation is maintained. For children who are struggling linguistically with the demands of the lessons choral responses offer a way to ‘mask’ (Mets and van den Hauwe 2003) their difficulties and ‘save face’ (Chick 1996).

3.3.2 Repetition

Repetition is the repeating of single words, phrases or sentences by students, either chorally or individually, at the request of the teacher. When children do respond to a teacher’s question with the correct answer they are often asked to repeat it, usually

chorally, several times. Bunyi (2005) identified that the number of times children are asked to repeat information depends on their age, with younger children repeating phrases as many as nine times, while at standard (grade) four it was more usual for students to repeat two or three times. It has been suggested that teachers request students to repeat answers in preparation for examinations so that children will have ready prepared answers and therefore not be concerned with grammatical structuring of answers during examinations. However, it is equally likely that the repetition is to allow students extra processing time and to reduce 'inconsistency errors' (Merritt et al 1992:113).

Although in some instances it is difficult to comprehend the immediate pedagogic value of the repetition exercise there may be a more general need to slow the lesson to allow less able students to catch up or indeed to change the tempo of the lesson, as illustrated by Bunyi (2005) in this extract (3.1) from a standard (grade) one class in Kenya. The teacher pretends not to hear the answer from the individual student (S) and asks for the answer again. Some more students, indicated on the transcript as SS, join in the answer and again the teacher pretends not to hear. This continues until the answer to the original question has been given four times and all students are participating in the final loud and enthusiastic version.

Extract 3.1

T: The plural of pencil is?

S: Pencils

T: Ii?

SS: Pencils

T: Eh?

SS: Pencils

T: Eh?

SS: Pencils

(from Bunyi 2005:138)

3.3.3 Initiation, Response, Feedback/Evaluation

Repetition is also used in the initiation, response, feedback/evaluation sequence (IRF/E). This was first identified by Bellack et al (1966) who referred to it as solicitation and response and is recognised as a mainstay of classroom discourse in many contexts, particularly those in the west.

The IRF/E sequence has three parts, two of which are uttered by the teacher and one part is completed by an individual student or chorused by a group of students. This already creates an asymmetrical discourse ratio of 2:1. However, there are more limitations than the sandwiching of the student input between the gap created by the teacher. The answer to the question is already known and no alternative is accepted to fill the gap. Therefore the teacher is dominating and the student, or students, are merely following the lead. It has been suggested that students find this type of exchange unfulfilling as it is not part of a conversation but rather a predictable gap filling exercise (van Lier 1996b). The predictability of the IRF/E sequence is clearly illustrated by the next extract (3.2) from a rural grade five classroom in Burundi, where the medium of instruction is French (shown here with English translation):

Extract 3.2:

Key: T= teacher, PS = chorused pupil response

<p>T: le rez de chassée . le rez de chassée . le rez de chassée . bon . a partir maintenant du rez de chassée on commence maintenant . compter le nombre d'étages . ici nous disons . on dit</p> <p>PS: premier étage</p> <p>T: premier étage . et puis?</p> <p>PS: deuxieme étage</p> <p>T: deuxieme étage . et puis?</p> <p>PS: troisieme étage</p> <p>T: troisieme étage . ainsi de suite</p>	<p>T: the ground floor . the ground floor . the ground floor . right . now . from now on we start . counting the number of floors . here we say . people say</p> <p>PS: first floor</p> <p>T: first floor . and then?</p> <p>PS: second floor</p> <p>T: second floor . and then?</p> <p>PS: third floor</p> <p>T: third floor . and so on</p> <p>(from Ndayipfukamiye 1996:44)</p>
--	--

The asymmetrical nature of the IRF/E is performed not only in the number of turns interlocutors have but also the length of utterance. Teachers' initiation sequences are often convoluted questions that require a single word response as illustrated by Ackers and Hardman's data (extract 3.3).

Extract 3.3

Key: T = Teacher, P = Pupil, P (chorus) = choral response

T: one more thing I will give you the coat belongs to Stephen isn't it (*reads*) 'Is this your coat Stephen, I feel sure it must be yours' so the personal thing what

the coat belongs to Stephen so it is called as girls' dresses boys' hats miners' lamps do you remember standard 5 junior English

P (chorus): yes

T: give me the part of speech

P: apostrophe

T: apostrophe is what apostrophe is the punctuation mark to show possession isn't it then we use the apostrophe which is the punctuation mark to show the possession then we learnt these words under possessive nouns so you remember possessive nouns possessive nouns do you remember now

P (chorus): yes

(from Ackers and Hardman 2001: 253)

Although this extract clearly illustrates teacher dominated classroom talk there is one very clear demand for an answer. This is provided by a single pupil who says "apostrophe" which the teacher accepts and moves the lesson on. The extract also contains two examples of 'pseudo-checks' and the corresponding "yes" choral response discussed in section 3.3.1.

Both extracts (3.2 and 3.3) also contain instances of another phenomenon regarding the IRF/E sequence which is the little or no feedback, either positive or negative, or evaluation. In this and other similar instances it would appear that teacher's repetition of the response followed by either another question, for example "and then?" in extract 3.2, or a continuation of the lesson, as in extract 3.3, indicates a correct answer. It would also appear that the articulation of a correct answer by students is taken as an indication that the lesson can move on. Checking to ensure all children understand the lesson up to that point may be completed using a 'pseudo-check' as in "do you remember now?" (extract 3.3) to which a choral "yes" would be expected and in this case received, however, evidence of cognition is not required from individual students allowing them to hide in the chorus.

3.4 The Use of 'Other' Languages

According to Lin (2005) the use of more than one language code in classrooms in Hong Kong is a local, pragmatic response to the language policy implemented by the government and serves a variety of purposes, including; educational and sociocultural and 'linguistic brokering functions' (2005:46). In other words code switching is used to close the comprehension gap caused by using a non-native language as the medium of instruction as well as to negotiate the social environment. Other researchers have noticed that teachers can be not only pragmatic but perhaps even unconscious in their

everyday negotiation of classroom language. Arthur (1996:21) suggested that teachers use their 'professional and personal instincts' to inform their classroom code switching, while Merritt et al (1992:107) have suggested teachers make 'moment to moment' choices regarding their language use. Although in some cases it is possible to suggest that professional experience is informing language choice in many developing countries the level of teacher training and a reliance on unqualified teachers would indicate that this is not always possible. It is beyond the remit of this thesis to consider the quality of teacher training although it was often mentioned by both qualified and unqualified teachers during this study and is frequently referred to as an issue in the literature.

Among linguists, code switching is recognised as a useful pedagogic resource that has become such a widespread phenomenon that Ferguson (2006a) suggests it creates an unofficial bilingual education situation. Ndayipfukamiye (1994:91) goes as far as stating it plays a 'crucial role' in classroom interactions and Probyn (2006:2) suggests that many teachers are able to use code switching and other linguistic resources in a 'skilled and responsive way'. Despite this recognition among academics in many countries it is not seen as a legitimate teaching tool. Sonck (2005) spoke of both teachers' and students' hesitance to admit using Creole in Mauritian classrooms because of its low status amongst users. Indeed, many Mauritians do not consider Creole a 'proper language' (2005:41), and parents have exerted tremendous pressure in some schools to retain the European languages (English and French) despite recent Governmental moves to introduce mother-tongue (Creole) teaching for young children.

3.4.1 Functional Code Switching

It would appear that teachers do try to maintain the use of the official language of education in the classroom as instances of code switching are used to illustrate departures from the interactional norm. This situation has been discussed as having quite negative effects on the teachers. For example, Probyn (2006) suggests in some cases teachers are 'smuggling' non-validated languages into the classroom causing conflict and personal tensions to teachers who subvert the language of instruction policy (see also McGlynn and Martin 2009).

This section reviews the use of other languages, that is, codes not prescribed by the language in education policy, in classrooms in post-colonial contexts. The section has been separated into three significant functions of switching codes, however, it is inevitable there will be some overlap between functions, and indeed examples may illustrate more than one function. However, the separation has been made to demonstrate how the choice of codes may be made with consciousness and consideration of the students' needs by the teachers.

3.4.1.1 Pedagogical switching

This term refers to the use of alternative language codes to aid comprehension of the lesson. Teachers in this study regularly articulated that they switched codes to aid those students who were not following the lesson and indeed several studies show that teachers teach through a strategy of code switching. This includes work completed by Brock-Utne (2005a) in Tanzania where she identified that teachers switch between KiSwahili and English in an attempt to help children understand the lessons. While code switching relieves the immediate pressure of comprehension and allows children to understand the content of the lesson it also sends a message that students do not have to learn the language of instruction as important parts of the lesson will be repeated several times and the teachers will eventually complete an 'interlingual reformulation' (Arthur 1996:24). This is relaying the same information both in the official language and a language that students can understand. Knowing that the information will eventually be relayed in the local language allows students who do not have a strong command of the language of education to be passive in their learning; they are simply waiting for the teacher to address them in a language they comprehend.

The use in KwaZulu of the minimal Zulu prefix 'i' to indicate an utterance of importance is about to be said is one way in which code switching is used pedagogically in a high school situation (Addendorf 1996). It alerts students, in an overt way, to listen carefully and perhaps to focus more intently on the content of the lesson for that section. This would assist those students who are not as comfortable with the language of education and who would otherwise be waiting for the interlingual reformulation. However, Addendorf also witnessed some provocative uses of code switching in an attempt to engage students in a discussion in an English

lesson. The teacher used Zulu to ask “‘sikhona isihogo?’ (is there hell at all?)’ (Addendorf 1996:394), thereby giving the students permission to break from the English only policy by which they are also constrained. Addendorf reports the question led to a lively Zulu discussion in which the majority of students took part.

This heightened level of interaction was also reported by Brock-Utne (2005b) during lessons which were conducted entirely in the local language. While not strictly code switching in that the entire class was held in Kiswahili, it was compared to a lesson on a similar topic, delivered to the same grade of students but conducted in the official language of education, English and therefore illustrates how the use of an alternative code affects education. Brock-Utne (2005b) followed a project that involved the teaching of geography and biology to two grade one classes. The lessons were taught by the same teacher but one class was taught, and had access to materials, in English, while the other received tuition and materials in KiSwahili. In the KiSwahili classroom there was more interaction, both between students and teacher and between students. Again it would appear that once the constraints of using a foreign language had been removed the learning environment became more dynamic and interactive.

3.4.1.2 Practical switching

Code switching for practical purposes covers many areas of classroom discourse that are considered neither pedagogic nor social. Boyle (1997), for example, lists discipline, instructions, announcements, explaining vocabulary and language rules among the practical uses of Chinese languages in Hong Kong. Perhaps one of the most practical purposes for switching codes is to ease pressure on speakers and negotiating the immediate language situation. Teachers admitted during Bunyi’s (2005) study in Kenya that they were simply unable to maintain English all the time. As the study took place in a monolingual area of Kenya, where the community language is Gikuyu, the pressure on teachers to maintain the illusion of being a competent English language user is immense. This is intensified as they are surrounded by people who do not have the same constraints upon them, for example pupil to pupil interaction was almost always entirely in Gikuyu. It is possible to imagine a situation, especially during free or unplanned talk, where the teachers do not have sufficient vocabulary to complete the interaction. De Klerk (2006) identified that on occasions a code switch followed a marked pause on the part of Xhosa

speakers who were conversing in English. The pause could be created by the speaker searching for appropriate vocabulary or grammatical formulations in English and after failing to produce the necessary language resorts to switching to a more familiar code. This situation also occurs in classrooms, where the pressure to maintain English (or other foreign language) usage is undeniable, and the switch to a local language would be one way to resolve ‘immediate communicative difficulties’ (Ndayipfukiyame 1996: 35).

One area where communication difficulties need to be addressed immediately is during the messages and information disseminated during school assemblies. Several teachers and translators were asked about this specific speech situation during this study and recalled the practice of immediate translation so that younger students were able to understand the information. This practice involved the head teacher, or senior staff member, addressing the student body in English. This was then immediately followed by the deputy or another member of staff recounting the messages in the most dominant of the local languages, in the case of The Gambia that was usually Wolof in the urban areas and either Mandinka or Fula in the rural areas (see Juffermans and McGlynn 2009 for a full discussion of the linguistic situation in The Gambia).

Several researchers have identified the use of code switching in the process of discipline within the classroom. For example, Swiggart (1992:87) comments that the head teacher in one urban school used a ‘marked code’ of plain Wolof to both discipline students and engage in humour. The unmarked code in urban Senegalese classrooms is an amalgam of French and Wolof, or what is sometimes referred to as urban Wolof (see chapters 7 and 9 for a discussion of urban vernaculars and amalgam languages). To speak in plain Wolof would be remarkable as it is likely to be the home language of many students. Its use in discipline therefore would be to remind students of the links between home and school behaviour. The South African teachers in Probyn’s (2006:10) study declared that during discipline routines “they [the students] respond to you more if you say it in Xhosa” while Bunyi (2005) noticed that discipline in Gicagi, a monolingual area of Kenya, took place in Gikuyu, the community language with no educational currency in the school. This is remarkable as both English, as the prescribed language of education, and KiSwahili, the national

language, both have official status in the classroom while Gikuyu has none. The reason for switching to the community language may be to assert the fact that the teacher was first and foremost a member of the community with the right, and indeed obligation, to discipline the children for the benefit of the community or as articulated by Probyn (2006) simply that children responded more if the discipline occurs in a local language. Perhaps there is an indication of the reason for switching during discipline in the Johnson (1985) data (extract 3.4) as quoted by Lin (1996):

Extract 3.4

Key: **bold** = Cantonese *italics* = English translation. Punctuation as original.

24 how about you?

25 Oh, **neih meih jou hou hah? Chahn Gwai-hou. Laahndi-wo. Neih ne? Neih leuhng go jouh matyeh? Hah? Mhgeidak-jo dou yauh ge me! Hah? Gung fo dou yauh mh geidak jouh ge me? Hah? Neih leuhnh go jouh matyeh?**

Oh, you haven't done it eh Chahn Gwai-hou. So lazy. And you? You two why? What? Forgotten? How can that be? Eh? Is there such a thing as forgetting to do homework? What? You two what do you think you're doing?

(from Lin 1996:64)

In this extract the teacher is giving the children, Chahn Gwai-hou and two of his fellow students, what Johnson refers to as a 'tongue lashing' (Lin 1996) in Cantonese. By its very nature this type of discourse is emotional and free-flowing, hence the short, sharp phrasing. It is exactly this type of unplanned speech that teachers appear to be avoiding by maintaining tight boundaries on classroom language (see the discussion regarding limiting linguistic output at 3.3). It could therefore be said that the use of local languages in discipline routines revolves around the competency levels of the teachers and the unconscious nature of emotional linguistic output.

It would appear that the medium of instruction affects the amount and nature of discipline in the classroom. Brock-Utne (2005b) reports a much higher incidence of what European educationalist might consider degrading or humiliating discipline in the English medium classroom in Tanzania, for example students being made to stand until a correct answer was given and openly ridiculed for their incorrect responses. Meanwhile in the KiSwahili only classroom there was less need for discipline throughout the lesson. It may be that the teacher was able to maintain control of the class more easily in the local language or indeed that the children were more engaged in the lesson and therefore needed less discipline. It is equally possible that the

permanent reminder of their cultural responsibilities through the use of their national language in the classroom resulted in better behaviour.

3.4.1.3 Social switching

Code switching for social purposes includes switching to indicate the speaker's membership of a particular language group and consequently membership of the community, to establish or maintain relationships and to perpetuate community norms or standards of behaviour.

Makoni and Meinhof (2004) have made the assertion that school language is usually 'unmixed', that is teachers use one code or another. This is in contrast to the 'urban vernaculars' which are the community language of many school children and are made up of an amalgam of languages. An illustration of an amalgam of languages is made by Swiggart (1992) in her paper discussing urban Wolof in Dakar, Senegal, which is an unprescribed combination of French and Wolof (see also chapter 7 RQ2). The use of an amalgamated language gives the speaker the opportunity to add their identity to the utterance. For example, in the urban Wolof example a speaker may choose to add more French vocabulary or constructs to invoke his identity as an educated person while using more traditional Wolof vocabulary identifies him primarily as a Senegalese national. Further still, a member of a minority language group has the opportunity to add lexical items from their own language in order to portray their identity as a member of a particular tribe. It would therefore be possible for an urban Wolof speaker to manipulate their language in the classroom to identify more closely with others, or indeed to create distance between members of different language groups for example. However, as the defining feature of an amalgamated language is its non-prescribed nature it is also not standardised and therefore children who are exposed to the freedom of an amalgamated language may find it difficult to conform to the expectations of a standardised language, such as plain Wolof or French.

Using the local language of the students, whether an amalgam or not, sends a variety of possible messages. Several researchers have argued that switching to a local language reduces tension and adds humour to lessons (cf: Swiggart 1992, Addendorf 1996, McGlynn and Martin 2009). However, these instances of social connection

through language are often marked because they are not the norm in the classroom. For most classroom activities the official language of education predominates and the use of local languages is remarkable because of their limited occurrences but profound effects. The humorous use of a local language for example creates a social bond while using local language idioms or narratives calls upon a shared social history.

Ndayipfukiyame (1996) identified that the code switching in Burundi classrooms was between French and the local language, Kirundi, depending on the orientation of the talk. French was used almost universally for lesson content but learner orientated talk, that is talk addressed directly to the learners and relates to their experiences outside school, was almost always in Kirundi. It is possible that the teachers switch to the local language in order to discuss students' experiences as the talk is freer and less planned than other syllabus related talk. However, it is also possible that teachers use the local language in order to identify with the students' experiences as they have similar memories from their own childhood. In this way the norms of existence of the community are perpetuated through generations and teachers are able to use their local language to link the experiences of the community with the content of the text book (see chapter 8).

Performing greetings correctly is an essential part of communication in almost every society. Although outside of the classroom greetings are conducted in the local language Bunyi (2005) identified that in Kenyan classrooms it was not the local community language that was used but the official language, English, and the national language, KiSwahili, and it was likely that the formality of the classroom imposed this language choice. However, as the greeting rituals are also performed chorally the use of the official and national language, which is also taught as a subject, is a way of presenting the learning that has taken place. The greeting ritual is repeated whenever visitors, internal or external to the school, enter the classroom and is an opportunity for students to display their proficiency in the official language.

3.5 Classroom Materials and Wider Access to the Language of Education

The reliance in post-colonial classrooms on a teaching technique known as ‘chalk and talk’ (Fuller and Snyder Jnr 1991:275), where the only resources in the classroom are the chalkboard and the teacher, results in a didactic learning environment with limited interaction as discussed in 3.2. However, there are other ramifications of the ‘chalk and talk’ environment.

3.5.1 Materials

Several researchers have lamented the difficulties of securing sufficient materials for rural schools. Indeed Arthur (1994) realises that one of the most significant reasons for the teacher to be the only resource in the classroom is because the challenging terrain and distance from trading towns means that rural schools have tremendous difficulty in obtaining materials even when they are produced in sufficient quantities. This situation is not only found in rural Africa. Gonzalez (1998), reflecting on the situation in Peru, identified that schools with motivated teachers who had access to resources such as mass media were able to engage in effective teaching and learning. However, those schools with scant resources were not able to achieve the same standards. Bamgbose (2005) also conceded that fee paying English medium private schools in Nigeria were able to achieve high standards because the children came from elite families who had additional access to the medium of instruction outside the classroom. Most of the children at the school had access to television and radio as well as reading materials and spoken English at home. Schools that are able to provide facilities that others cannot, including students from well-resourced homes, attract better qualified and more motivated teachers, as evidenced by the case studies in Peru and Nigeria.

On a practical level in the classroom, particularly in under-resourced rural classrooms, teachers will resort to producing texts themselves in the form of written notes on the blackboard or copying directly from their teaching manuals or limited text books. Therefore the official language of education becomes the only form of ‘literary modality’ (Merritt et al 1992) in that it is the only language that is delivered in written form. However, the use of written local languages is also problematic. In some areas

there has been resistance to using an indigenous language in written form as historically the lack of materials available has resulted in students viewing using local languages in education as encompassing them in a 'linguistic prison' (Roy-Campbell 2003:93). That is students are able to read and write in the language but limited materials mean they read the same literature repeatedly, leading to stagnation and boredom. Lack of resources then is a concern both within the greater context of the language of education debate and in which language to produce resources as well as the practical arrangements of ensuring plentiful supply and distribution.

Finally, pedagogically there are issues with having few resources in the classroom and surrounding community. As previously, briefly, mentioned the practice of having students copy work from the board results in a silent activity. While it appears to be a pragmatic response to lack of text books, the actual cognitive challenge of copying is limited and the practice is ultimately a time-filling exercise during which little interaction occurs and therefore does not challenge the language capabilities of teachers and pupils.

3.5.2 Wider Access to the Language of Education

Lack of resources, in the form of text books or access to media, results in the teacher being the sole source of knowledge in the classroom. This means there can be little in the way of challenging or questioning the teacher's knowledge. Students do not have the opportunity to research any of the information presented during lessons and cannot question the teacher as they do not have any other source of authority (Arthur 1994). It could then be considered that the lack of text books and other materials that would enhance the learning experience of the children in effect aids teachers in their attempts to limit unscripted or unplanned talk.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the language use in post-colonial classrooms by illustrating the complexities of language choice through various research. As demonstrated, research has consistently shown that the official language dominates in the post-colonial classroom but that there is a significant place for indigenous or local languages. The range of activities for which they are used demonstrates the genuine

need for teachers and learners to engage in local language interactions. This is even more necessary when there is limited access to texts, of any genre or language, and speech is one of the few resources freely available.

Whatever the official policy teachers and learners make a de facto policy for each school, or even each classroom (Martin 1996). This is particularly true when LIE policies are arbitrary and unsuitable. The literature in chapter 3 and the findings of this study, as we shall see, suggest that although teachers and learners try to adhere to the policy, they also use language creatively in order to resist the imposition of a policy that is not fit for purpose. The rest of this thesis looks specifically at The Gambian context and how teachers and learners use language in relation to the policy.

The next chapter introduces the research design for this study. The practicalities of the fieldwork are also covered in depth, as this goes some way to explain the complications that teachers in developing countries contend with on a daily basis.

Chapter 4

Research Design

4.1 Introduction

This chapter opens with a discussion of the research paradigm and approach (4.2) that was followed throughout the study. This is followed by a brief outline of the pre-pilot study research design, discoveries made during the pilot study and the subsequent changes made and the final research design. The data collection is discussed in section 4.5, while the analysis processes are in chapter 5. The decision to separate the analysis to a discrete, brief chapter was because the data were reviewed differently for each research question.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:213) argue that ‘without detailed cultural descriptions and narratives the substantive or formal theoretical statements would be empty’. However, to include all the information necessary to give the reader a complete account of the research sites would result in a very protracted document. Some information is included in chapter 1, but some statistical and cultural information is attached as appendices. These include details of the teachers’ experience (appendix 2), classroom descriptions (appendix 3) and information about the research sites (appendix 4).

4.2 Research Paradigm and Approach

This research is firmly bound in the interpretive paradigm which ‘strive(s) to understand and interpret the world in terms of its actors’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000:28). The research was undertaken using an ethnographic approach. This was chosen because of the claim by researchers that ethnography gets ‘closer to social reality than other methods’ (Hammersley 1992:44). Hammersley (1992:51) continues with the statement that the ‘aim of social research is to represent reality’, but not necessarily to reproduce it. Indeed from a social constructionist perspective an absolutely accurate and objective reproduction of reality is ‘an impossibility’ (Burr 2003:152) and that the same event may be presented and discussed differently by different researchers. Hammersley (1992) makes the point that every representation of reality will come from a perspective that makes some phenomena more pertinent,

but no more important, than others. In this case the representation of reality comes from Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia and therefore areas of conflict are overtly recognised and considered.

Defining ethnography is difficult due to the different expectations held by researchers. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:1) have summarised some previous researchers' expectations of ethnography and suggest three recurring themes: those who view ethnography as the 'elicitation of cultural knowledge' such as Spradley (1980); a 'detailed investigation of patterns of social interaction', such as Gumperz (1981) while others, such as Lutz (1981) suggest it is a holistic analysis of societies. Despite the common themes within the definitions even this limited summary recognises conflicting emphasis of ethnographic research. This research is aligned squarely with Gumperz's view of ethnography as investigating patterns of social interaction. He suggests that ethnographic insight is gained through 'long-term, first hand immersion in strategically selected fieldwork situations' (Gumperz 2001:215) and applied to the collected data in order to hypothesise about the intentions of the actors.

Different disciplines have used ethnography to study communities. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:43) illustrate this by identifying that anthropologists traditionally study 'small-scale, 'face-to-face' societies and local collectives (such as 'the village)'. The Chicago School studied various geographical communities, such as the slums, but also socially organised communities such as the city gangs. This study continues the tradition of ethnographic research into discrete communities. Here the community under investigation is the micro-community of the school within a village setting (macro-community). This adds a complication to the study as the micro-community cannot be studied in isolation of the macro. The actors in the school setting, although physically isolated from the village during school hours remain members of, and socially and emotionally attached to, the macro-community. This theme is explored further in chapter 8 (RQ3).

Ethnography was chosen for this study because it allows a focus on a 'discrete location' (Pole and Morrison 2003:16), in this case a school and surrounding community as well as everyday activities. One of the significant benefits of ethnography is the emphasis placed on being 'on site' (Creese 2010: 144) and the

resultant context specific data. Ethnographic research produces valuable descriptions of contexts that cannot be garnered by other techniques. It is the presence of a researcher in a situation for an extensive period that produces the understanding which makes the descriptions possible. Another of the major benefits of ethnography is, what appears to be, the '*permission*' to use a range of data collection techniques as deemed necessary by the researcher and the context. Indeed, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000:146) whether a tool is appropriate for use in ethnographic research is decided purely on its 'fitness for purpose'. Ethnography was the most appropriate choice for this study as it meant I would be able to stay in the discrete research sites and observe the same teachers with the same groups of children repeatedly. The use of conversational interviews were particularly suitable as talking is a national pastime in The Gambia. I decided to use the stimulated recall method as I believe it is necessary to allow the teachers to contribute to the discussion, and also to allow them to see what happens to the raw data once it has been collected. This was done through the presentation of transcripts to the teachers and discussing the content with them.

Ethnography, as an approach, has received criticism principally in relation to three key areas: 'imprecision', 'subjectivity' (Pole and Morrison 2003:15) and generalisability. Imprecision relates to the non-scientific descriptions produced, which can receive complaints of lack of rigor. However, ethnographers try to deliver rich, vivid descriptions, often referred to as 'thick' (Geertz 1973) in order to fully expose the social reality of the participants and phenomena. The complaint regarding subjectivity is that findings are the result of interpretation by the researcher and consist of personal opinion based on anecdotal evidence and are, therefore, little more than journalism (Pole and Morrison 2003:15). The stance taken in response to this criticism is that ethnography does not need to meet the demands of the natural sciences, belonging as it does to the separate camp of thought, interpretivism. The humanistic approach to ethnography, (see Goffman 1961, Brewer 2000) sees people as 'active, creative, insurgent and knowledgeable' (Brewer 2000:22) and it is these attributes that are under investigation during ethnographic research. This understanding is supported by the social constructionist approach discussed in chapter 1. In addition, it should be noted that all research, whether positivist or interpretivist in design, is affected by the individual interpretations and decisions of the researcher

regarding what to research, what methods to use, what questions to ask and of whom or what to ask them.

Another criticism of ethnography, as an approach, is the lack of generalisability of the findings to a wider community (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000:157). As Hammersley (1992:85) points out the ‘goal of any research is to provide information that is not only true, but which is also of relevance to issues of human concern’. With a specific situation, such as classrooms within unique communities, the findings cannot be generalised to other situations. Indeed with the small sample of classrooms observed as part of this research any claims of generalisability even within the context have to be cautious (see section 10.4). The purpose of this research is not to generalise findings from this context to others, although similarities may be recognised in other contexts, but to add to the general understanding of classroom discourse in multilingual, post-colonial settings. By contributing to the already significant literature concerned with the wider issue of language in post-colonial contexts, understanding is improved and cumulative generalisations can be proposed.

In other words ethnographic research does not attempt to present a ‘scientific and objective account’ but rather offers an account of a context that incorporates the subjective reality of the participants who ‘constitute and construct the social world’ (Pole and Morrison 2003:5). Indeed, ethnography has been shown, perhaps most holistically through the work of the Chicago School (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983), to lend itself to the study of the structures, interactions and layers of cultural knowledge which shape many locations, communities and social groups. It is this understanding of the multiple layers of communities that is a strength of ethnography.

It is recognised that in order to undertake ethnographic research ‘the researcher has to be accepted by the individuals or groups being studied’ (Bell 1999:13). As a white, monolingual, Christian female entering a black, multilingual, Muslim, patriarchal society my integration was not likely to be subtle and my level of acceptance was never going to be that of a Gambian researcher. I was also aware of the history between The Gambia and Britain and felt the ‘burden of representation which is bound up with a history of racial oppression’ (Knowles 2000:57). Hammersley (1992) criticises outsider ethnography explaining that it is direct experience of a

phenomenon that gives understanding of it, this suggests that an outsider is likely to deliver a less full representation than an insider. Roy-Campbell (2003:83) suggests that African, in this case Gambian, researchers would be able to produce ‘insights that may escape scholars unfamiliar with the intricacies of the local context’. However, Hammersley (1992:143) goes on to say that as ‘all knowledge is a construction’ and, as a social constructionist I believe no one constructed reality has superiority over another, all representations of a situation are valid. One important aspect of social constructionist research is the inclusion of voices from participants of the research and this is one way to mitigate the insider/outsider conundrum with a view to making the construction of reality more authentic. I believe this is important to allow for a balance of views and to go some way to mitigate the critique of outsider narrative. In this study the voices are included overtly in the data through the information gathered via stimulated recall and through the experiences of those who contributed to the translation and transcription process. I state again that ‘absolute objectivity is an impossibility’ (Burr 2003:152), however, as an outsider I believe I have been able to bring forth areas of discourse that an insider may have dismissed as *uneventful*.

Unfortunately, due to the unpredictable political hierarchy in the country, a Gambian researcher would not receive permission to study and would be unlikely to raise criticism about a government based institution such as education. On an academic level I believe it is possible for ‘outsiders’ to undertake research in exotic locations, indeed it could be said the ‘*less* familiar you are with a social situation, the *more* you are able to see the tacit cultural rules at work.’ (Spradley 1980:62 original emphasis). Bridges (2002) also suggests we do not consider the insider/outsider debate to rest on a dichotomy, as researchers may meet some of the criteria for being an insider even though they are an outsider. In my situation, once I was in the schools, despite the differences, I became a ‘partial insider’ as I worked in education, had teaching experience and participated in the daily routines of the school staff.

In the communities my position was decidedly ‘outsider’. As, despite having visited the country a number of times and having many Gambian friends, I was frequently referred to as a ‘toubab’, a Wolof word literally meaning stranger, but now used to mean visitor, usually a white tourist. Notwithstanding my knowledge of the country I adopted a personal style of ‘acceptable incompetence’ (Lofland and Lofland 1984:38).

Lofland and Lofland (1984) suggest this leads to the researched community accepting incompetence or ignorance of particular topics or traditions and humouring extended questions as they recognise the need of the visitor to be taught. Most teachers and community members recognised the gaps in my cultural knowledge and were happy to build on my knowledge by providing detailed answers to questions and offering information that they thought would be helpful. People were particularly keen to help me learn Mandinka, one of the local languages. I carried a small note-book with me and, when people gave me information or language, I would ask if I could write it down. I would then show my interlocutor the book so they could see what I was writing. During several of these exchanges I was told “**iteh katakang**” *you are trying* and consequently given greater latitude with the language and general questions. This regular activity also meant I established a ‘note taker’ role (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:22) and therefore people expected me to write things down throughout the day.

4.3 Initial Research Design

My initial research design was to audio record observations of grade five and six teachers from three schools. The schools are based in three geographically different areas of The Gambia; one in the urban area, one in the semi-urban area and one in the rural area. At least one grade five and one grade six teacher in each school was to be observed and lessons audio recorded. It was decided to observe in the upper grades of lower basic schools as the children would already have received instruction in the official language for several years. Prior to the observations structured interviews regarding statistics of the classroom and teachers’ qualifications will be conducted. It was decided that during the observation period the researcher will live in the macro-community, with the teaching staff or within close proximity. During this time conversations will be used as a research tool, field notes will be made and any available documents will be collected. Following the classroom observations the audio recordings will be transcribed and, where necessary, translated. The researcher will then return to the schools with the audio recordings and transcripts and conduct stimulated recall interviews with the observed teachers.

4.4 Pilot Study

It has been suggested (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:28) that ethnography cannot be 'programmed' and is instead 'replete with the unexpected'. Pole and Morrison (2003) also indicate that restricting researcher influence on the location and participants, as is the case with ethnography, results in the researcher being necessarily 'reactive rather than proactive' (2003:11) and this in turn limits the extent to which planning ahead can be useful. Despite this some aspects of the research can be planned and practised in advance with a view to mastering them and thereby minimising any negative affects during fieldwork. To this end a limited pilot study, to practise and refine observation and note taking techniques and to test the practicalities of data collection, was undertaken in September 2006.

Due to travel and time constraints it was decided to observe several classrooms in one urban school that would not form part of the main research programme scheduled for January 2007. Access was negotiated and permission received from the headteacher to observe for two days. Due to student examinations being conducted permission was only granted for observations to be conducted in grades four, five and seven.

Following this observation period several concerns regarding practicalities within the research design were recognised. The concerns relate to consent, availability of documentation, representation of data and recording equipment.

4.4.1 Consent

During the arrangements for the pilot study only the headteacher, the 'gatekeeper' (Homan 2002:23) had been approached for permission to observe in the classrooms. The headteacher made decisions for, and gave consent on behalf of, the individual teachers who were to be observed. When I arrived for the observation period I realised that the teachers had not been asked for permission and were not aware of my presence in the school. They had therefore not given consent that was 'voluntary, free from coercion and under undue influence' as recommended (Homan 2002:26). Hammersley (1992:147) notes that when consent is received from the 'top of an authority hierarchy' those in lower positions may feel obliged to consent. Consequently, I decided that in future, during the research proper, I would receive

permission not only from the head but also all teachers to be observed prior to my attending their classes. In practice this meant obtaining permission from the headteacher to attend the school and then arriving at the research sites in advance of the observations and spending time with teachers in their on-site accommodation or near the campus in order to explain the process and gain informed consent.

4.4.2 Availability of documents

It was felt that reference to documents and records would enhance the research in terms of adding statistics, and thus enable a more complete picture of the education system as a whole. It has been suggested that one advantage of using documents in education research is their availability, at low cost and their factual content (Lincoln and Guba 1985). However, it must be recognised that this is not always the case. During the pilot study it was recognised that, as The Gambia remains a predominantly oral culture, written documentation does not have the same value and uses as in the British education system. A limited number of official documents from the government and statistics office was available but documentation available at school level proved to be inconsistent in terms of content, availability and completion. Therefore it was decided that documents would be collected and analysed wherever it was possible to do so, in order to add to background information.

4.4.3 Representation of Data

Prior to undertaking the pilot study I had designed an observation schedule based on interactions between actors. However, during the first observation I realised this was not appropriate within the Gambian context. This is due to the volume of monologic teacher talk and small amount of participation and interaction by the children. Therefore, while in the classroom, I had to decide on a new way to document the data. A 'timed observation' process was also quickly discounted for similar reasons; if happenings or events were recorded every two minutes, for example, I would anticipate my notes would likely contain only the code for '*monologic teacher talk to whole class*'. In addition the resultant data would be more quantitative and it was felt the temptation to watch the clock, rather than the classroom, would result in missed data.

I therefore decided to write narrative style observation notes, which although more demanding would allow a more complete picture to be recorded. This was because I was able to use the time the teacher was talking to notice additional actions, reactions and movements by the children. This method is discussed more fully in section 4.5.3.

4.4.4 Recording Equipment

Before the pilot study I gave consideration to the practical arrangements for recording the lessons. Knowing there was limited access to electricity and computer equipment, I decided to use a traditional battery powered tape recorder. My consideration of the lack of power and the necessity for small, discreet equipment overlooked some other factors which became obvious once in the field.

If placed too close to the children during the observation the recording included lots of noises of unimportant activity (pencil sharpening, page turning and so on), however, if it was too close to the teacher I could not easily and inconspicuously change the tape. A playback of the first observation revealed the recorder only collected the teachers' voices when they faced the machine, if the teachers faced the chalkboard, moved around the classroom or were in any way not directly in front of the recorder, their voices were lost. I therefore purchased a small, battery powered digital recorder with a personal microphone. This equipment was tested in a UK classroom and produced a very clear audio capture of lessons.

The findings of the pilot study altered the research design slightly in that any reliance on the availability of consistent documentation was ruled out. There were amendments to some of the practical elements. In particular the need to ensure informed consent was received from the teachers was highlighted.

4.5 Final Research Design

Ethnography can incorporate several data gathering techniques. Seedhouse (2005:89) suggests that the 'data collection procedures in ethnography are eclectic by principle'. It is the freedom to choose from a large selection of data collection techniques that is one of the appealing features of ethnography. Duranti (1997:121) goes as far as to suggest that 'one should feel free to use what seems to work for one's goals' which is

liberating for a researcher constrained in so many other ways due to the challenging physical conditions and lack of facilities. However, the reliance on what have been referred to as ‘basic’ (Spradley 1980) traditions of collecting data, such as observation, has been described both as ethnography’s strength and weakness. People regularly make sense of their surroundings using observation and are therefore accustomed with the process, even if subconsciously. However, it requires extreme focus to observe familiar situations and notice subtleties that are usually unconscious. Regardless of its method of collection, it is introspection on the data that brings meaning to the findings. While this process is subjective it is a ‘tool all of us use to understand new situations and to gain skill at following cultural rules.’ (Spradley 1980:57). The use of tools peculiar to the natural sciences, experiments and questionnaires for example, would not reveal the subtleties of behaviour noticed during observations or allow participants the opportunity to discuss their language during stimulated recall interviews.

There are some instruments that are more typical to ethnographic research than others, including participant observation, audio and/or video recordings, field notes, documentation analysis, diaries and interviews. Each instrument must be considered within each specific study to test for its ‘fitness for purpose’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000:146). Consideration must be given to the anticipated benefits of using each technique weighed carefully alongside the possible disadvantages, including ethical considerations of the effects on the participants, and limitations to ensure each is the most appropriate tool to answer the research question. It was decided that participant observation, field notes, conversational interviews and stimulated recall would be used to answer the research questions (see figure 4.1). This was because most of the data was to come from the classroom, via participant observation and field notes, allowing me to witness the classroom language as it occurred. This data could then be discussed during conversations and stimulated recall interview with the teachers in order to contextualise the data. The data collection techniques are discussed more fully in sections 4.5.1 to 4.5.6.

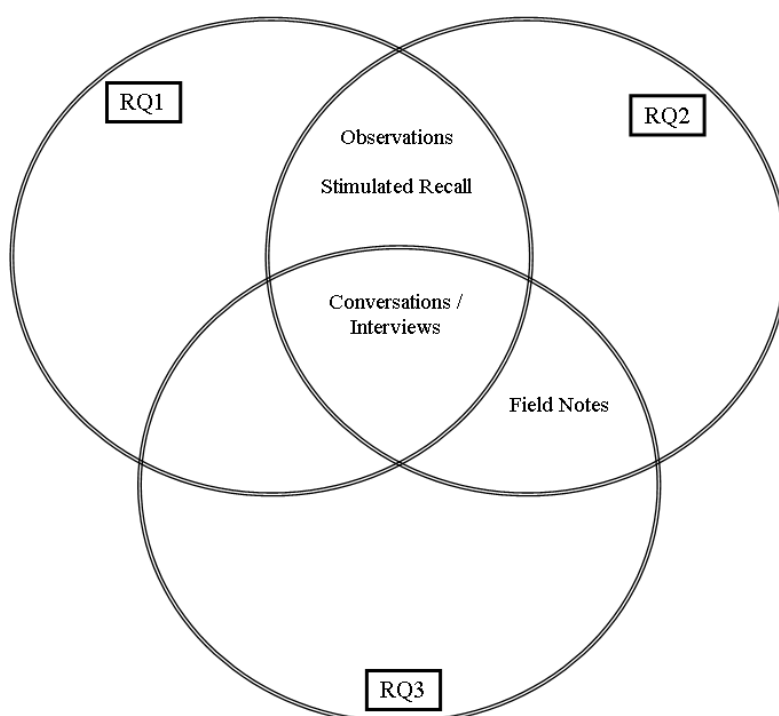


Figure 4.1 Application of Methods to Research Questions

A total of 38 hours, 12 minutes and 52 seconds of observations was undertaken in 36 lessons, conducted by 10 teachers, in 3 schools. These were all transcribed and translated. The full inventory of lessons observed can be seen in chapter 6 (tables, 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) and a sample of transcripts can be found at appendices 5, 6 and 7. These transcripts were chosen as samples as they were the classes from which the majority of the extracts in this thesis were taken. Four teachers participated in stimulated recall interviews; these interviews were transcribed and are located at appendices 8-11.

4.5.1 Participant Observation

As chapter 3 has shown, the majority of studies researching classroom language in post-colonial contexts are ethnographic studies and include participant observation as one of the data collection methods. Indeed Dewalt and Dewalt (2002:2) mention that for many researchers participant observation is the ‘foundation method for ethnographic research’. Of course, in actuality it is one of several methods available to an ethnographic researcher and therefore serious consideration should be given to its use in the specific context of each study.

One of the major considerations is the level of participation for the researcher. Denscombe (1998:150) suggests several levels of participation, from total participation through participation in the normal setting to participation as observer. Total participation means the identity of the researcher is hidden from all participants, resulting in effectively covert observations. This level was not an option for my study for practical reasons. Although white, female teachers are present in The Gambia they are usually Voluntary Services Overseas or Peace Corp Volunteers and their presence is negotiated and anticipated by the community before their arrival. They also stay in the same community for an extended period, often more than a year. This is very different to my anticipated arrival and duration of stay and therefore total participation, and covert observation, was not viable.

The next level, participation in the normal setting, allows for an already active member of a group or community to begin to formally observe a phenomena or situation with the purpose of the observation known only to a few ‘gatekeepers’ (Pole and Morrison 2003:26) who understand and support the research. Again this was not an option as I was not an existing, active member of the group. Therefore, using Denscombe’s (1998:150) levels my participation in the setting was that of ‘observer’. Within the role of ‘observer’ however, there are levels of participation, illustrated by Spradley (1980:58) again through a continuum (figure 4.2).

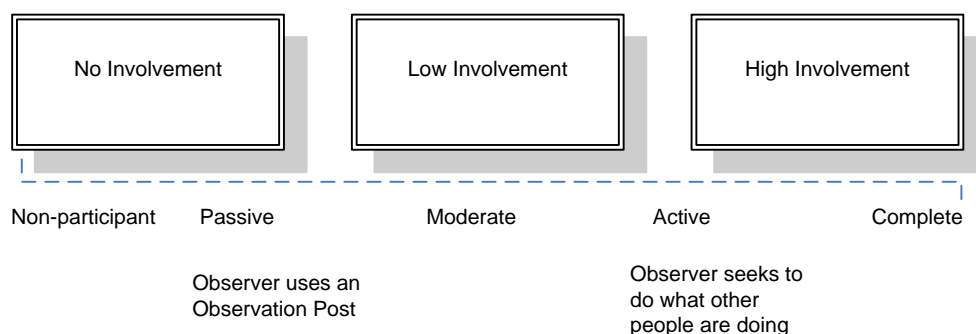


Figure 4.2 Continuum of types of participation after Spradley (1980:58)

Using Spradley’s (1980) continuum (figure 4.2) my involvement alternated between the three levels of involvement throughout the observation process. When observing

the teacher during classes I would sit in one position, an Observation Post, and remain passive while writing narrative observation notes. However, if the class was working on a task and the teacher was no longer talking, or, as happened frequently, left the room for the children to complete the task unaided, I would move around the class to evaluate any language the children were producing. In order to do this without disturbing the children, I would take on the role of teaching assistant, helping the children and encouraging them to stay on task. This would be classed as a moderate level of involvement. On occasion I would abandon the observation process and actively take part in the activities that were occurring in the classroom. This high involvement would be restricted to times when the teacher asked for my participation or to create a more relaxed atmosphere, for example during singing lessons. Occasionally it was decided that by participating in an activity the experience would be more fully understood than through observation alone and on those occasions I engaged in active participation. Using both a participant and non-participant stance allows for a researcher to be 'subjectively involved in the setting as well as to see the setting more objectively.' (Creswell 2005:212).

There are many advantages to using participant observations in educational research. First and foremost is the access it provides to rich 'lived experiences which incorporate but transcend language.' (Amit 2000:12). By being a participant observer a researcher can see movement and unspoken interactions that compliment verbal communication. Activities and situations can be witnessed in 'naturalistic settings' (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002:2) first hand and, where necessary, questions raised with the actors after the event. Minor events may be picked up by a human participant observer that could possibly be missed if a recording device was set up and left to capture the events. On the other hand, events can be obscured from human view as simply as hidden from a stationary camera. Indeed, there is no guarantee that the observer will see everything that is important during a particular observation period as, as pertinently acknowledged by Pole and Morrison, (2003:27) 'observers cannot be everywhere'. This could impact on the research as some instances are significant despite only occurring once; because an event is not replicated in other contexts, or even in the same classroom, does not mean it is not important. These critical events, as discussed by Wragg (1994), indicate that some non-routine incidents can be

revealing thus putting pressure on the observer to make note of everything possible during an observation.

There are several arguments highlighting the challenges of participant observation but ultimately, observation is the ‘opportunity to listen, watch, record ... what they [the actors] say and do in specific educational settings and time frames’ (Pole and Morrison 2003:20). This was regarded as important for this study as the influences on language can be both, or indeed either, subtle and diverse. Without observing the actors first hand during the lessons and making extensive notes the teachers’ language output would not be explainable. Participant observation was therefore seen as a fundamental element to this study.

The heavy reliance on observations as the dominant data collection technique did mean that the final analysis may be biased to my own perspectives (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000). For this reason the data was returned to the teachers and stimulated recall interviews were conducted (section 4.5.6). This adds an element of what might be termed authenticity to the data thus improving the robustness and validity of this research. The teachers’ valuable input forms an important part of the discussion (Chapter 9). The voices of the native speaker translators are also included in the analysis and on the data transcripts (section 5.6).

4.5.2 Observer’s Paradox

A great deal has been written about the observer’s paradox in which the presence of an observer might have an effect on the situation under observation (see Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000, Edwards and Westgate 1994, among others). Once the fieldwork is complete it is difficult to comprehend how the activity may have been acted out if the observer had not been there.

In The Gambia observations form part of teacher training and therefore teachers are familiar with the observation process. Indeed, in this study, it appeared to be the trainee and recently qualified teachers, those most recently formally observed, who were least affected by the process. However, this does not detract from the fact that being observed is a stressful situation and may result in artificial behaviour due to the

stress of being '*on show*'. It is the observer's responsibility to reduce potential stress as much as possible.

Following issues with informed consent highlighted during the pilot study (see section 4.4.1) I decided to arrive at research sites a couple of days before the observations were to begin. This gave me time to get to know the community and the staff on an informal basis before observing formally. I would stay in, or close to, the teachers' accommodation and would eat, do chores and socialise with them. When not observing I would often participate in lessons, either team-teaching, that is working with the teacher to co-construct the lesson, or supporting individual children's learning. This created a situation of 'reciprocal vulnerability' as described by Edwards and Westgate (1994:87) intended to encourage feelings of collegiality and reduce stress.

During observations I tried to reduce the paradox by assimilating as much as possible into existing classroom arrangements. Despite usually being offered the teacher's chair I always sat in the same seating as the children. Whenever possible I would set up the recording equipment before the lesson started so that most of the children were unaware of its presence. This also meant the teacher was involved in various classroom management activities, calling the register, distributing text books and so on before teaching actually began and consequently the microphone was usually forgotten.

The stress and artificiality of being observed can never be completely eliminated however, I believe that the actions I took to relieve the stress associated with observations were successful as teachers were always very accommodating; before, during and after the observations. Several of the teachers made candid comments during the follow up interviews which also demonstrates a level of trust and familiarity (see appendix 8 stimulated recall interview with Mr Fatty).

4.5.3 Field notes

The use of field notes is common in ethnographic research and as such it was felt an appropriate tool to use in this context. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995:13) suggest that field notes are a 'distinctive resource for preserving experience close to the

moment of occurrence and, hence, for deepening reflection upon and understanding of those experiences'. Being able to reflect on experiences, especially after the event, has facilitated continued engagement with the data. In addition, the field notes have aided comparison of similar situations in order to reflect on linguistic content. It has been acknowledged that spending long periods of time in other cultures 'dissolves initial perceptions' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:13) and therefore recourse to initial responses to situations is invaluable.

The importance of writing field notes with as much detail and as soon after events as possible is recognised (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995), however, this should not inhibit the researcher from interacting with the community or observing events. Jackman (cited by Sanjek 1990) suggests being involved with experiences is important too. Sometimes, it is only by being part of an event that the researcher can fully grasp the emotions and atmosphere of an event. Indeed during the course of this research it was decided in some situations to stop writing and simply observe or participate in a particular activity. It was felt that relationships and understanding could be deepened by participating in activities, for example dancing with the women during celebrations. Equally I was able to show respect for religious or cultural events by suspending the note taking role.

Once field notes have been written it is possible to reflect on the event later and add additional notes. I chose to add later notes in a different colour to the original writing in order to identify subsequent notes clearly when analysing the data. By reflecting on this process I can see that on occasion the initial notes were often hurried and incomplete. However, they were sufficient to remind me of the events and allow for reflective recall to be added to the original field notes. Other additions to the field notes have occurred as understanding has developed. There have been occasions when an event was not fully witnessed or understood but later discussions or experience of a similar event have brought comprehension and this has also been written into the notes. In this way I did not see the notes written in the field as complete, but rather an ongoing, reflective process that leads to a deeper understanding with each reading, reflection and addition.

4.5.3.1 Narrative Observation Notes/ Classroom Field Notes

It was originally planned to complete an observation schedule for each classroom observation and field notes for periods away from the classroom to record auxiliary details about the school and the macro community. In addition a personal diary was to be kept to record personal thoughts and attitudes and social events unrelated to the research. However, following the pilot study, amendments were made to this design (see section 4.4.3) and narrative style observation notes were made in classes. I continued to make field notes about the macro society and other points of interest but as the two contexts are intricately melded the edges of distinction became blurred. Therefore, this research discusses ‘observation notes’ and ‘field notes’ synonymously.

The use of narrative style observation notes allowed me to record additional information about student responses which were often lost to the recording equipment because of distance from the microphone or the child’s quiet voice. It also allowed space to record other activities during the teacher’s talk, for example, external influences on the classroom, student behaviour and so on.

Unfortunately there are disadvantages to narrative observation notes. The major difficulty was the sheer length of lessons while seated in hot and often uncomfortable conditions. In addition, many of the classrooms were very large, and it simply was not possible to observe all areas at the same time. Despite the fact that for the most part the children were stationary there were many occasions when movement was noticed, but the *activity* was already over and had to remain unrecorded. On a similar note I was situated at the back of the classroom, facing the same direction as the children, therefore facial expressions, student to student interactions and minor movements were not always observable.

The observations at Baakoo Kunda (the rural school) were conducted four months after the observations at the urban (Balinsaa Primary) and semi-urban (Fankoo Bantaba) schools due to teachers’ conscription to election duties in January 2007 (see section 4.6.1). Although the same procedures were followed it was recognised during the transcription process the accompanying field notes were more detailed and focussed on the observation in question, containing richer information than previous sites. Field notes can never record all of the details and even several months later

events that *jog the memory* can lead to details being added into the field notes. Although it should be noted that no written account could contain all the information that make up an event, indeed, Gomm and Hammersley (2001) suggest that ‘even the richest ethnographic account is, ... , a gross over-simplification’. This is discussed further in chapter 10.4.

4.5.4 Informal Interviews/Conversations

It is important to tailor interviewing techniques to the individuals or communities to be studied (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). ‘Conversation is a basic mode of human interaction’ (Kvale 1996:5) and it could be said that in The Gambia conversation is a national pastime. Most areas do not have electricity and therefore electronic entertainment is not available and sun sets at approximately 7pm each evening after which any reading or written work is not possible. Consequently, it is common for people to group together and talk. As I arrived at the research sites some days before the observations were to take place, I was in an ideal situation to participate in informal interviewing (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). During leisure time I would help the teachers with chores and join in conversations. Kvale (1996:8) states that conversation is ‘an ancient form of obtaining knowledge’ and ‘through conversations we get to know other people, get to learn about their experiences, feelings and hopes and the world they live in’ (Kvale 1996:5). As identified by Wilson (1991:24/25) people construct their interactions in relation to their ‘relevant biographies and identities’ as well as the present discussions, and ‘connections to prior occasions and prospective future ones’. This type of conversational interview gave access to unmarked talk and opinion, but does present some issues for the researcher.

In The Gambian context all participants are expected to contribute to the conversation. I was therefore expected to answer questions about my everyday life, and also answer some questions which under ideal situations I would not have divulged, for example my opinions on various world events and leaders, which may sway opinion. In addition, norms of engagement dictate that interruption and overlapping speech are acceptable which made active listening very difficult and I initially found it very challenging to keep up with the conversations. It was also physically and mentally demanding to sit on the floor for many hours trying to participate in a fast moving

conversation while actively listening to everything and trying to recall important sections of the conversations to write up as field notes later.

The conversation events were physically and mentally tiring however I felt they were necessary as this type of informal interview can provide ‘powerful evidence’ (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002:123) if similar concerns are raised repeatedly by different interlocutors. The conversational interview reveals what is important to each community. It must be recognised, of course, that unlike a structured interview, a researcher cannot force questions, as topics ‘emerge from the immediate context’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000:271), but if an issue is not raised it does not mean it is unimportant. For example, despite the unspoken understanding that negative opinion about the government is not aired in public several issues with the education system were raised. However, sometimes other problems or activities overshadowed our common interest of education and formed the major topic of discussion. The issues raised during the conversations were important to help me recognise the overarching complexities of the education system and the daily challenges the teachers faced. I was then able to use the stimulated recall interviews (see section 4.5.6), conducted after the observations, to focus on language use.

4.5.5 Structured Interviews

Immediately prior to each observation standardised open-ended interviews (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000:271) regarding the make-up of the class cohorts were conducted with the teachers. The information obtained related to student numbers and gender breakdown, ethnic and language groups for the children and qualifications, languages and length of service for the teachers. This statistical information was used to contextualise the language of the classroom. The interview schedule for these short, formal interviews was based on that used by Belay et al in Eritrea (2007) and can be found at appendix 12. Teachers recognised this as a formal part of the research and answered the questions concisely and efficiently.

4.5.6 Stimulated Recall

The stimulated recall interviews were analysed to respond to RQ1. As Mann (2010:8) suggests ‘all interviews are unavoidably meaning-making ventures’ and these interviews were used specifically to understand the reasons behind the uses of

languages from the teachers' perspectives. They therefore add to the authenticity and validity of the research as they bring the teachers' voices into the findings and form an extensive part of the discussion in chapter 9.

Stimulated recall has been used extensively in second language research studies. It is an introspective research tool that can be used to 'prompt participants to recall thoughts they had while performing a task.' (Gass and Mackey 2000:17). The technique involves playing a video or audio recording to the practitioner to facilitate reflection of practice. It has been suggested that the reflection process should occur as soon as possible after the initial teaching event, for example, Bloom (1954 cited by Gass and Mackey 2000) suggested that recall attempted 48 hours after an event is 95% accurate. There is an obvious caveat with this methodology in that the stimulated recall interviews in this study took place several months after the initial observation. However, the observations, by a non-government observer, were unusual events in the teachers' schedules and therefore memorable. I also started the stimulated recall interviews by reminding the teachers of the day, including details of the subject and topic they taught. All the teachers were able to provide additional information that indicated their memory of the event was solid.

A second, more unexpected issue with the stimulated recall technique related to availability of the teachers. Despite the time span between observations and stimulated recall interviews being less than a school term several of the teachers were unavailable for follow up interviews. One of the trainee teachers from the urban area had left the profession completely and one of the rural trainee teachers was on a course at the college. When I arrived at the semi-urban school one of the teachers was very ill with malaria and the other was deputising for the head teacher in another part of the division. The senior masters who had been observed providing support for trainee teachers in the urban and rural schools had been posted to alternative locations. I was therefore only able to complete stimulated recall interviews with four of the ten teachers. Fortunately, there was at least one participant from each school, with two from the semi-urban school. In addition, again quite fortuitously, the teachers who participated in the stimulated recall sessions were the ones who had produced the most variety of languages during the observations. Hammersley (1992:138) states, about general interviews but holds true for stimulated recall as well,

that participants' 'judgements will be shaped by the circumstances of their work'. As a result the teachers were very candid in their responses to my questions, and also about other topics they felt were important. I believe the data is important, valuable and relevant despite the low number of participants (see Chapter 10 .4).

A formal schedule was not set for the stimulated recall interviews as by this time the teachers were familiar with me and it was felt that introducing a level of formality would inhibit their responses. However, as Mann (2010:10) suggests all interviews are in some ways 'set up' to include explanations and general rapport building. I started each stimulated recall interview with a general discussion about developments in the teachers' lives and careers since we last met and then reminding them of the observation day. All teachers were able to recall the event. I then directed attention to the current process by asking whether they agreed with the work of the translators, again this was a way of asking for their input into the process. I hoped for a co-construction (Mann, 2010) of understanding of the use of local languages so prepared by highlighting sections of LL use that I wanted to discuss on my copy of the transcript. Clearly, this means that areas I wanted to talk about were the primary focus. However, as can be seen from the teachers' engagement with the process their input did take a different direction on occasion. Specific areas of the recordings were played and this was followed by a discussion of the motivations for language choice and purpose of switching codes. The stimulated recall interviews can be found in appendices 8, 9, 10 and 11. The relevant sections from the stimulated recall interviews, including the interviewer's question and the teachers' responses are included in the discussion chapter (Chapter 9). All teachers accepted the offer of a copy of the transcript of their lessons.

4.6 Selection of Schools and Negotiating Access

4.6.1 School Selection

As an outsider it was decided that assistance from a locally based, non-governmental organisation (NGO) was necessary to identify and negotiate access to suitable research locations. I was assigned an associate from GamWorld Education Link (hereafter GamWorld) who assisted with practical arrangements and organised introductions where necessary. GamWorld is an organisation that matches Gambian

and European educational institutions for mutual benefit. Their operation links primary and secondary schools, further education colleges and universities and also supports teachers who are posted to The Gambia with VSO.

GamWorld was given explicit criteria regarding the characteristics of the schools needed for this study. It was requested that schools must be government maintained, co-educational and willing to allow observations of grades five and six. In addition the sites were to be located in multilingual areas or villages: one in the urban conurbation, one in a rural village and one in a semi-urban village. After reading Macaulay's (2004) account of challenges faced when undertaking fieldwork in extreme conditions I also stipulated some practical considerations. Each site must be accessible by public transport and be able to host me in teacher or local accommodation. Once schools were identified they were formally approached through the relevant school board in September 2006 (see table 4.1).

The head teacher of the urban school (pseudonym Balinsaa Primary referred to as BP) was happy to be included in the research process but required permission from the Minister of Education before they would commit. This communication was received after I had left Gambia following the pilot study. As permission for the research had already been received from the minister, GamWorld contacted the ministry on my behalf to request a formal letter. The minister requested a further meeting with me before he would write to the school and this was therefore arranged for the first day I arrived in Gambia in January 2007 for the observation period. Once permission was received GamWorld was able to negotiate access to immediately follow the observation weeks arranged for the semi-urban (Fankoo Bantaba, FB) and rural schools.

The semi-urban school (FB) responded to the initial letter very positively and I was able to meet the headteacher and several staff members in September 2006 while in The Gambia for the pilot study. Unfortunately GamWorld had difficulty contacting a rural school. I therefore made personal contact with a Gambian philanthropist who I had met on several previous occasions and knew to have an interest in a rural school (pseudonym Baakoo Kunda BK) that matched the criteria. Fortunately he was able to arrange suitable observation access. However, due to the late notice and the limited

teacher accommodation, arrangements were made to stay in the family compound next to the teachers' accommodation.

Table 4.1 Negotiation of Access Timeline

	September 2006	October 2006	November 2006	December 2006	January 2007
Urban	First school identified and contacted; refusal to participate. Second school identified and contacted	Second school agrees to participate pending approval from Minister of Education	Minister of Education contacted by GamWorld. Requests meeting with researcher		Meeting held with Minister and approval given. Urban school agree to participate Observation week held third week in January
Semi-Urban	Identified and contacted. Respond enthusiastically and visited by GamWorld volunteer and researcher				Observation period 1 st week in January
Rural	School identified and initial contact made.	GamWorld continue to try to make contact	GamWorld continue to try to make contact	Second school identified through researcher personal contacts.	Observation period arranged for second week in January but clashes with local elections and postponed to May 2007

Due to election activity in The Gambia during January 2007 I was unable to observe the rural school as scheduled. A large number of staff were recruited to assist the Independent Election Committee for administration duties which is common practice in rural areas where levels of literacy are low and people need assistance during the election period. Although disappointed not to complete the research in the initial time scale it did mean I was able to discuss arrangements directly with the headteacher and negotiate a return visit in May 2007.

4.6.2 The Sample

The sample is made up of three government maintained schools; one in the urban area, one in an area described as semi-urban and one in the rural area. The schools are all in multilingual villages or areas and are co-educational. Despite these similarities there are differences between the schools and the geographical areas in which they are situated. A full description of each school is included below and further information is included in appendix 4. Not all information relating to the sites can be included and expanded upon for ethical reasons to avoid identifying sites but as much pertinent information as possible has been included.

The teachers that were observed were not *chosen* specifically, they were the regular teachers of grades five and six. Note that the majority of Gambian teachers are male and any female teachers are usually posted to lower grade classrooms. In both the urban and rural schools trainee teachers were in post and they were supported by experienced teachers. This was a regular arrangement and not organised for the research. As can be seen from the chart in appendix 2 the teachers have varying degrees of training and experience.

Gambian schools are built to be practical and cost effective, there are very few adornments and even glass in windows is a luxury. There are, however, variations between each school's arrangement of their environment, the prominence they place on different routines and procedures and the resources they have. In addition, teachers arrange their classrooms to support their own teaching methodologies. For this reason a full description of the school and the economic situation of the surrounding area; language use in the environment; teachers' languages, teaching methodology and qualifications; classroom arrangement, including the number of pupils, and the resources available is necessary.

4.6.2.1 Balinsaa Primary School

The school is in an area of the country called the Tourist Development Area (TDA). This has been designated by the government as an area to be developed to encourage tourism in The Gambia. The area includes the traditional tourist quarter of the beach and immediate locality but has been expanded to include a large market and

surrounding suburb. Therefore within the immediate locality of the school there are many shops, restaurants, bars, internet cafes, self-catering apartments and hotels which are frequented by tourists, the predominately European expatriate community and wealthy Gambian citizens. Transport links within the area and to other parts of the country and West Africa are good. This means that the area attracts Gambian migrants from all over the country who come to work in the tourist and supporting industry. The majority of men in the area will express their occupation as ‘business’ which involves any and all activities, from moving supplies around the market with a wheelbarrow to supplying offices with stationary and the importation of goods from neighbouring countries. It would appear the Gambians in this area are very creative with their skills and contacts in order to make money. However, this means there is no income security this impacts on the school and its population.

The children at BP are from the poorer families in the area with children from more affluent families going to fee-paying non-government schools. Many children arrive ill prepared for lessons without pens, pencils, exercise and text books. During the observation period several children were turned away for not wearing the correct uniform.

The school has a very large student population of 3200 children and each individual class is also large. The school is in such close proximity to the adjacent primary school that if a child were to reach out of the window in each school they would be able to touch hands. This created a noisy environment as the noise from the two schools collided. The migration of people from all over The Gambia and neighbouring countries means that all the languages of The Gambia are represented in the school and surrounding area. However, the school is in a Mandinka settlement area (see section 8.2) and Wolof is the dominant language of nearby Senegal, and therefore the majority of the children are from Mandinka or Wolof families. Speakers of the minority languages are usually able to speak and understand Mandinka and Wolof.

BP Teacher Profiles and Classroom Descriptions

Mr Bojang, is a teacher with 19 years classroom experience, who is also a teacher trainer and mentor for unqualified staff at the school. He lives very close to the

school and is recognised by staff and pupils as both a senior teacher and respected member of the community. Mr Bojang listed his language as English, Mandinka, Wolof and Jola (his ordering). Mr Bojang was observed teaching a sexual health lesson to grade six pupils which was a dynamic and exciting delivery of a serious topic. He used monologues and narratives rather than textbooks and the chalkboard.

Mr Fatty is a trainee teacher with three months classroom experience and no formal training and taught the grade 6 class of 72 children. He taught from the front of the class and was often frustrated by the children, who were outspoken and energetic. Mr Fatty often focussed on discipline and was the only teacher seen to use corporal punishment. Mr Fatty taught in the morning therefore I spent time with him during the morning break and lunchtime. He lives some distance from the school and cycles for more than an hour each way to reach the school, he past my residence on his journey and would sometimes visit. This meant our relationship was informal and relaxed, as can be evidenced from his very candid stimulated recall interview (appendix 8). Mr Fatty speaks English, Mandinka, Fula and Bambara fluently while he claims to have only a small proficiency in Wolof.

The grade 6 classroom in which Mr Fatty taught is a large square room with one external wall with large trellis-type windows. The children sat on benches that were fixed to the tables and designed to seat two students although there were at least three and sometimes four children at each desk. The benches lined three of the walls facing inwards creating a horseshoe shape; the fourth wall housed a large chalkboard. There were three rows of benches in the centre of the room facing the chalkboard. The children were gender segregated with the girls occupying seats on the left of the classroom and the boys on the right nearest to the window. The walls were bare apart from faded, hand-drawn posters of life-cycles and the human skeleton and a recently written A4 poster stating 'no vernacular'. There was also a small amount of football related English graffiti.

Mr Sanneh taught the grade five class of 43 pupils. He is a trainee teacher with two months classroom experience and no formal training. He is the youngest member of the observed teachers and had only recently completed grade 12. As he only taught in the afternoon Mr Sanneh was not present for coffee breaks and lunchtimes, as a result

he was reserved in my presence. He would always teach from the front of the class and relied very heavily on text books and chalk and talk. Mr Sanneh speaks English, Serer and Mandinka fluently with a limited proficiency in Wolof and Fula.

The grade 5 classroom is in the oldest part of the school and is in a severe state of disrepair. Despite being a very large room desks are huddled towards the front of the class as the concrete floor is badly damaged with a crater approximately six inches deep and several feet wide toward the back. This classroom is in a single storey structure of four classrooms with very low ceilings and several long, low, concrete trellis windows. The height of the room coupled with the low windows meant the classroom was always dark, especially towards the end of the day as lessons finished at 6.15pm.

4.6.2.2 Fankoo Bantaba School

This school is in the lower river division, approximately 60 miles from the capital and an hour's drive from the nearest big town. FB is a medium sized, very poor village that relies on fishing, gardening and farming with many families making the daily trip to markets in the next town and Banjul to sell produce. Transport links to major towns are good, although at busy periods there is often a long wait for vehicles. During discussions with the head teacher he described the school as 'semi-urban'; his description of semi-urban included good communication and transport links with the major towns and some modern technology, such as a telephone and solar electricity, but local adherence to traditional (rural) way of life, fishing and agriculture.

The school is large and shares its compound with the upper basic school (grades 7-9), although they have separate recreation sites. Only children from the village immediately surrounding the school attend and there are 430 children on the register. The school has solar panels which provide electricity and has received three computers from a European aid agency, although only the school secretary uses them. The school also benefited from other interventions such as dedicated school hall and a feeding programme. There is reasonably new staff accommodation within the school compound, however there it is not sufficient and therefore several staff live in rented accommodation in the village. There are two classes for each grade (except for grade one which has three) and therefore four teachers were observed.

FB Teacher Profiles and Classroom Descriptions

Mr Camara taught a grade 5 class of 44 children. He is a young teacher in his final year at Gambia College and has been teaching at FB for four years. He speaks Mandinka and English fluently and also includes Fula and Jola in his repertoire. Mr Camara lives on site and is a dynamic and proactive teacher and has introduced many clubs into the school, including scouts, Red Cross and choir. Mr Camara planned interactive and child centred lessons for his class, encouraged his class to sing at every opportunity and, with the support of the head teacher created exciting and unique learning activities. For example, his class cooked several ethnic and celebratory dishes to support their learning about the ethnic communities in their country.

This classroom is a square room with concrete trellis windows along one side wall. The wall adjacent to the door is dominated by a large chalkboard. The desks are set out in groups and the walls are decorated with several of Mr Camara's hand drawn posters, aide memoir of recently covered topics and children's work. Mr Camara would initially teach from the front of the class then attend each group to teach to the group or on a one-to-one basis when necessary.

Mr Kujabi is another grade 5 teacher with 39 students. He is also a young, recently qualified teacher with five years experience. Many members of his family are also teachers and he takes pride in his profession. He claims to be fluent in four languages; English, Mandinka, Jola and Wolof, while he has a lesser knowledge of Fula and Manjago. Mr Kujabi lives in the village but his family live in the next big town and therefore he travels frequently between the two areas. We often travelled together and consequently have an informal relationship.

His classroom has the same design and structure as Mr Camara's class and was also laid out with desks in groups and educational, hand drawn posters on the wall. However, there is a difference in the attitude to teaching. Mr Kujabi's class is characterised by its calmness and the hush and stillness that envelops the room. Mr Kujabi taught from the front using a soft voice, hardly more than that used for conversation at close quarters. On the recordings I have used the term 'classroom noise' to indicate when pupils were working or teachers were writing on the board,

however, in the recordings of Mr Kujabi's teaching this is a misnomer as there was silence during working time.

Mr Jallow's grade 6 class contained 44 pupils. He is a mature man who has been teaching for 26 years and has been qualified for 18 years. He has been at FB for eight years and is well respected in the area. He is a very religious man who spends a great deal of time with the Islamic teachers; he also runs the adult literacy classes for women in the village. He lists his languages as Fula, English, Mandinka and Jola, he has a limited proficiency in Wolof. Mr Jallow lived in the village, and this coupled with his religious and extracurricular commitments our relationship was respectfully professional.

Mr Jallow's classroom was part of the grade five and six block and was closest to the compound gates. During the observation period several visitors to the school passed Mr Jallow's room and entered to greet him, including the women who entered the school grounds to collect water and sell food to the children during break time, thus indicating his respected position within the community. Internally the layout is traditional with all desks in rows facing the front of the classroom, there were a few faded posters on the walls. Mr Jallow taught from the front and had a strict attitude, for example, children were not allowed to speak out of turn or move from their seats. It appeared that the rules in this classroom were well established and respected as Mr Jallow did not need to administer any discipline beyond minimal verbal warnings. The overwhelming characteristic of this classroom was of working within the rules.

Mr Saïdy is the senior teacher at the school and has been qualified for 15 years and been at FB for ten years. He teaches the grade 6 class which has 41 students. He listed English as his most fluent language, followed by Mandinka and Wolof. When pressed he said he spoke a small amount of Fula. Mr Saïdy lived in the staff quarters, next to my accommodation and we spent time together in the evenings, with much of our conversation revolving around our being a similar age with families and children. We also shared food and facilities and therefore developed a friendly relationship.

Mr Saïdy's classroom is next to the headteacher's office and is part of the grade five and six block. The children sat at desks positioned in rows facing the chalkboard. Mr

Saidy is a quietly spoken and has a reserved personality and this is demonstrated through his teaching practice. He taught from the front and often sat while talking. This classroom is characterised by the regular student to teacher interactions. Mr Saidy asked many questions during his teaching and children were encouraged to respond to questions. One teaching technique Mr Saidy used regularly was to ask questions with several answers and to allow children to 'call out' the answers in order to create a list.

4.6.2.3 Baakoo Kunda School

Baakoo Kunda school is in the Central River Division, approximately 180 miles inland and about two hours drive from the nearest big trading and industrial town of Basse. The village is located on the 'south road', that is running south of the River Gambia but has very poor transport links.

The village is very poor in both monetary and facility terms; there is no health centre or electricity, access to water is limited and there is only one telephone in the village. The owner of the land the school is built on is a Gambian philanthropist and pays for the boys' school fees (fees for all Gambian Lower Basic school girls are paid for by the Jammeh Foundation), and provides uniforms and writing materials for all the children. He also works to attract aid from outside agencies to provide additional resources. A recent contribution from an international aid agency has paid for staff accommodation, which allows the school to attract and retain teachers; a feeding programme so all children have breakfast and a hot meal each day; and playground equipment to encourage younger students to come to school. The attraction of playground equipment and a pump well that can be used out of school hours brings the community into the school compound and encourages parental participation in enterprises such as the school garden. The garden is used to provide fresh fruit and vegetables to complement the feeding programme and any surplus crops are sold locally to provide an income for the school. The school is locally managed by a group of governors made up of villagers, school staff and religious leaders. As a consequence of the interventions listed above and the support of the local community 100% of school age children in this village attend school. There are 224 children in the school, 95 boys and 129 girls. The languages of the community are Mandinka and Fula and

there is a small Ballanta community in close proximity and uses the sparse village facilities, including the school.

As in the urban school, the teachers in grades five and six in BK school were both male trainee teachers, however, both teachers had attended Gambia College and had significantly longer classroom experience. Mr Touray had two years experience while Mr Yaffa had one. They were supported in their classes by Mr Bah, the deputy head, teacher trainer and mentor.

BK Teacher Profiles and Classroom Descriptions

Mr Bah is the deputy head of the BK school and was responsible for the school during the observation period as the headteacher was supervising exams at the the upper basic school. Mr Bah had been at the school for two years and had six years experience, although he had only qualified two years previously. Mr Bah listed his languages as Fula, Mandinka, English and Wolof and said he spoke a small amount of Jola. Mr Bah taught one full and one partial lesson during the observation period. He spent a great deal of time in the classrooms observing the trainees.

Mr Touray had a class of 34 grade 5 students, comprising 23 girls and 11 boys. He had been at BK for almost a year when he was observed. He had been teaching for two years and was in the final stages of qualifying from Gambia College. His teaching style was very child friendly, and he was the teacher who used his personality and languages the most during the lessons. He would encourage children and would accept questions and answers in the children's own languages and then reformulate into English. There was a lot of talk in the class. Mr Touray was a popular teacher and the children would often spend time with him, playing sports and telling stories, outside of the classroom. He listed his languages as Mandinka, Wolof, Fula and English with a small knowledge of Serrehule and French.

Mr Touray's classroom is a large rectangular room with two internal walls and two external walls. The external walls have very high, concrete, trellis windows. The desks are arranged in three rows of five columns; four have three double desks and one column has two double desks. The desks are clustered together creating a lot of space between the children and the walls. Each desk is occupied by only one or two

children and there are several spare desks at the back of the room. The boys have the desks furthest from the chalkboard

The teacher's desk is very large and dominates the front of the class, there is a cupboard containing a small number of text books. Across the front wall is a large, non-functional chalkboard, with two smaller chalkboards in front. The large chalkboard has not been used for some time due to lack of blackboard paint. The two smaller ones are in poor condition.

A previous trainee teacher was an accomplished artist and he painted the major ethnic groups of the country on one wall and a coat of arms poster. Other adornments included a list of academic achievements of the children and a notice board with hand drawn posters.

Mr Yaffa taught 18 grade six children, made up of 10 boys and eight girls. He is a trainee teacher who had received some instruction from the teacher training college. He listed his languages as Mandinka and English. His teaching style involved a lot of repetition and his classes were extremely fast paced and loud.

Mr Yaffa's grade 6 classroom is a large, dark, rectangular room with high, concrete trellis windows. The classroom is wired for electricity, but the area is not yet 'electrified' so none is available. The children sit at five groups of two or three double desks. There are several broken desks piled up either side of the room, however, there is also a lot of space surrounding the desks. Mr Yaffa has a large desk at the front of the room. On top of the desk is a small, portable chalkboard and there is a large chalkboard on the wall. There is a single cupboard. An artist had painted several new pictures on the walls in this classroom, including some dramatic depictions of the slave trade and what happens to drug users. There is also a notice board at the back of the class with some hand drawn posters on.

Table 4.2 Breakdown of the Sample

Country	Regions/areas	Schools	Classrooms	Teachers		
The Republic of The Gambia, West Africa	Urban Area/ Tourist Development Area	Balinsaa Primary (BP)	Grade Six	Mr Bojang (senior master)		
				Mr Fatty Trainee teacher		
			Grade Five	Mr Sanneh Trainee teacher		
			Semi-Urban Area/Lower River Region	Fankoo Bantaba (FB)	Grade Six	Mr Saidy
	Mr Jallow					
	Grade Five	Mr Kujabi				
		Mr Camara				
	Rural Area/Central River Region	Baakoo Kunda (BK)			Grade Six	Mr Bah (senior master)
						Mr Yaffa Trainee Teacher
	Grade Five		Mr Touray Trainee Teacher			

4.6.3 Lesson Selection

During the observation process I observed grades five and six. In the semi-urban school there were two classes for each grade and I spent one day with each class. The urban school had several classes for each grade and I was therefore attached to one teacher for grade five and one for grade six. This school operated a double shift

system and I therefore spent mornings with grade six and afternoons with grade five. In the rural school there was one class for each grade and I was therefore able to spend two days with each teacher.

The subjects that were observed were dictated by the existing timetable. Schools were asked not to change the schedule to accommodate the observation process. On one occasion Mr Camara at Fankoo Bantaba was expected to participate in an area sports committee meeting and the school arranged for a deputy to attend rather than disrupt the observations. However, on other occasions teachers did leave their classes to attend to additional responsibilities and other teachers took over the class. For example, Mr Bah, the deputy head and teacher trainer in the rural school agreed to be observed while Mr Touray attended a sports meeting (see table 6.5). This of course adds the caveat that the covered lessons may not be delivered in the same way as by the regular class teacher (see chapter 10.4), however, following the regular schedule and practices of the school gives a more holistic overview of the children's learning experience. A full list of observed lessons is shown in tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

I did not observe physical education (PE) and religious instruction (RI) classes. PE classes were not observed because of the practical issues of observing and recording in a large outside area where the children were not in close proximity. RI classes in The Gambia are instruction in the Islamic faith and focus on teaching Jumm'an (communally recited prayers) and rituals such as ablution. These classes were delivered almost entirely in Arabic by a religious scholar not a teacher.

4.7 Ethics

Throughout the research I was aware that ethics was not something that could be compartmentalised into a simple section or chapter in the thesis. Ethical research is more than following university guidelines, which cannot encapsulate all eventualities, and is instead 'a way of working that you, the research community and the language community think is appropriate' (Bowern 2008:148). Pring (2002:115) refers to 'virtuous' researchers with a 'respect for persons'. I agree with many ethnographers, including Pring (2002) and Duranti (1997), that ethics is more a way of being and that knowledge of 'social sensibilities' (Duranti 1997:102) must inform the appropriate

behaviour in each situation. As McNamee (2002:11) suggests ethics is ‘not ... grounded in duty or consequence but in character’. Duranti (1997:102) continues the theme of consequence when he states that ‘respect for our hosts’ sensitivity should always override our desire for “good” data’. In preparation for fieldwork, during fieldwork and during the writing up process I have followed my own moral conscience as well as prescribed ethical considerations. As this research was conducted primarily in schools and in the presence of children the BERA ethical guidelines (BERA 2011) were followed. Using this code of conduct some ethical considerations were anticipated, or discovered during the pilot study (see section 4.4.1), and they are discussed in this section.

4.7.1 Anonymity of Individuals and Institutions

The Gambian government often receives criticisms regarding issues of human rights practices and abuses (cf Amnesty International 2013). In situations such as this, even where governmental approval has been received, it is important to protect the identities of individuals and institutions and guarantee, as far as is possible, that there are no negative consequences for the participants. To this end all teachers have been given pseudonyms based on a list of common names in The Gambia. This would equate with names similar to Smith, Jones, Baker and so on in the UK. In addition the names of the schools were also fabricated to resemble existing school names. The use of ‘primary’ is often used to form part of a school name, and many others are named after the village they are in, with ‘kunda’ being the word for ‘place’ and appearing in many village names. Only facts relevant to the research have been included in descriptions, and these are usually applicable to many different schools. Headteachers and teachers were assured of their anonymity before consent to participate was requested.

Throughout the data I have used a convention to indicate children’s names that are included as part of the interaction. As can be seen from the extracts the convention is made up of the child’s first name plus the word *Surname*, for example in extract 7.5 line 65 Mr Fatty is searching for “*Binta surname*”. This indicates that the speaker, in this case Mr Fatty, used the child’s full name to refer to them, rather than just a first name. In The Gambia there are a small number of given names and family names. In any one class there would be several girls called Binta, Fatou (Fatoumata) and Isatou

and several boys called Lamin, Malang and Mohammed. Common surnames include Fatty, Touray, Yaffa and Bah. It is therefore very common to refer to people by both their first and family names and I felt it necessary to follow this convention in the transcription of the data. Therefore, although I have not changed the children's first names as there is no possibility of them being identified from that alone, I could not include the surnames as well as it may lead to identification.

4.7.2 Power in Interviews

I was aware of the power relationships within my interactions that changed throughout the process and in relation to the activity. As a woman in a patriarchal society I had less power than my colleagues in certain situations. Specifically in social settings I would defer to the *female* stance which often allowed me access to conversations without being expected to participate. However, because of my level of education and professional position, and because my presence was sanctioned by the government I was aware of the power relations in other situations. When observing the teachers or team teaching I was considered a colleague and the power relations appeared equal. However, during the stimulated recall interviews it was clear that there was a power difference which put me in the elevated position. As Kvale (2007:14) states, 'the research interview is a specific professional conversation with a clear power asymmetry between the researcher and the subject'. This could result in the participants effectively giving answers that the researcher wants to hear rather than completely honest answers to the questions. However, research interviews could also produce a situation in which the participant is stimulated by the interest of someone with professional authority and *power* and be open to the process (Kvale 2007). This was seen in the interview with Mr Fatty where he was keen to discuss his own agenda with a non-invested professional (see appendix 8).

4.7.3 Reciprocity

The schools or individual teachers were not offered payment for participation in the research in advance of the study. However, in exchange for hosting me I donated everyday materials for example; chalk, pens, pencils, footballs and exercise books. These items, which would normally have to be provided by the teachers and families could be considered 'mundane assistance' (Lofland and Lofland 1984:34&40). I requested the items be distributed after my departure so that there was no question of

the 'gifts' influencing teachers' participation or children's behaviour. It is of note that for the semi-urban and rural schools obtaining these small items was problematic because of the expense and difficulty in travelling to the towns, therefore, their value was far more than their monetary worth.

I also offered to undertake administration tasks, extracurricular clubs and so on during my free time. As well as an opportunity to reciprocate for the hospitality and access these activities allowed me closer interaction with auxiliary staff and teachers from other grades and thus gain a more holistic view of the school.

4.7.4 Parental Consent

Parents in The Gambia do not participate in the education process; letters are not sent home and there are no parents' meetings. I was concerned that parents would not have the opportunity to voice concerns or ask questions because of the cultural practice of remaining distant from the school. I therefore took the opportunity of my early arrival at research sites to walk around the village or area and meet with parents and children. I informed as many as possible that I would be observing in the school the following week and if they had questions the headteacher would happily talk to them. Although this is not the same as receiving informed consent from the parents I believe the expectations of the parents were in fact exceeded as many indicated that they had no knowledge or interest in the happenings in the school. As far as I am aware none made any formal visits to the schools to enquire about my presence.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has followed the research process from the stance of the researcher to the initial research design, amendments and final research design. This includes the justification for ethnography as a research approach and for each of the methods used for data collection. Ethnography was used primarily for its focus on discrete locations and its flexibility. The ability to spend so much time outside of the classroom with the participants contributed significantly to the understanding of the classroom context. Also outlined in this chapter is the moral stance of the researcher and the practical steps taken to ensure this study remained ethical at all times.

The three analysis chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) were informed by the three research questions. Each question demanded a different approach to and analysis of the data. Considerations of the analysis process are included in the next brief chapter.

Chapter 5

Process of Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

As seen in the diagram in chapter 4 (figure 4.1) data collected by different methods was used to respond to each question. For research question one (RQ1) the classroom observations, stimulated recall and conversations were analysed. The observation data and stimulated recall interviews were analysed again, comparatively, together with field notes and conversations to respond to RQ2. Analysis of observations, field notes and the content of informal conversations formed the response to RQ3.

Throughout the analysis applied to the observation data, outlined in this chapter, a Bakhtinian lens has revealed a constant, but sometimes concealed, conflict between the imposed language of education and the local languages. This conflict consists of the centripetal pull towards English and the centrifugal pull of community, history and tradition towards local, indigenous languages. This is discussed in the chapters discussing the data (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) and also the discussion chapter (Chapter 9). The data has been analysed on several occasions and with each reading or consideration new phenomena have been identified. This chapter details the analysis process, giving an outline of the levels of analysis to which the observation data was subjected.

Information obtained through the pre-observation and conversational interviews was used to situate the observation data. The observations were the principal data collection technique and produced a vast amount of data. The data from the stimulated recall interviews added the participants' voices to the study.

This chapter first discusses the incidental analysis of the data, followed by the systematic approaches to the data analysis.

5.2 Levels of Analysis

The analysis of ethnographic data is a long process not restricted to one moment in time. The data was subjected to several periods of systematic analysis as each

question was addressed separately. The next section (5.2.1) outlines the level of analysis which I have termed *incidental* analysis. Incidental analysis occurs during the execution of another task, for example, transcription. This is followed by details of the systematic analysis (5.3, 5.4 and 5.5).

5.2.1 Incidental Analysis

5.2.1.1 Observation

In common with many ethnographic researchers I felt myself begin to analyse the observation data during and immediately after collection. I became aware of connections with data collected from other sites or teachers and also with the data I had read about in the literature. During observations I would make notes to myself in the margins of field notes to remind myself to compare the data with other contexts recalled from the literature or other data from this study. This meant that when I came to analyse the data in a more formal and systematic manner I had aide memoires for areas that seemed particularly important at the time of observation.

5.2.1.2 Transcription

One of what I believe to be the strengths of this research is that I personally transcribed all the audio recorded observations and stimulated recall interviews. This led to an intimate knowledge of the data which meant that when I reviewed transcripts I could *hear* the language being used in context. This, in turn, has enabled subtleties, such as sarcasm and disapproval, recognised at the time of observation and commented on in the field notes to be indicated on the transcripts. The creation of the transcription text gave me an opportunity to recognise themes or connections and anomalies that may not have been noticed by a non-involved transcriber. The transcription texts became a constructed reality as they were created from an originally oral text, based on my understanding of what I heard and understood from the context (Kvale 2007). As I knew in advance the purpose of the transcripts I was able to construct them to be fit for purpose, by including information from the field notes and pre-observation interviews where necessary to ensure context was overt. I chose to be as faithful as possible to the original text, which has resulted in some instances where the language appears inaccessible, however, at the time the meaning was completely clear. This is an issue with transcribing verbatim including all false starts and corrections and the communicative competence of the speakers should not

necessarily be called into question. Decisions about which paralinguistic information or spelling conventions to use had to be made and I have tried to be as consistent as possible and faithful to the original text while still producing a transcript that is usable for the analysis of the data.

5.2.1.3 Translation

Incidental analysis also took place during the translation of local languages in the data. During the translation process it was noticed that there were occasions when lack of one to one correlation between the local languages and British English meant some of the suggested lexical choices from the translators was not appropriate. My knowledge of the pedagogic context and the specific topics during data collection meant that I was able to reject the input as unlikely. I did mitigate these occurrences by always having several translators present in order to arrive at a *negotiated meaning* where there was any initial disagreement. Meanings were often debated because there was no direct translation into English and idioms and formulaic phrases are open to interpretation, translations were therefore constructed from the group's knowledge. The debates that occurred during the translation process led to a deeper understanding of the teachers' possible intentions. It was also useful to get others' views on individual situations as the translators were able to offer historical and social insights. Although in my position as 'big interpreter' (Kvale 2007:15) I did hold overriding privilege in interpretation of meaning once discussions were ended.

This series of incidental analyses led to the creation of notes and comments regarding areas to examine further or thoughts regarding links with literature. This in turn led to a deeper insight once the data was analysed systematically as I was able to refer to the previous notes and comments, both my own and those made by translators, to inform analysis decisions.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the systematic data analysis process in detail, starting with the analysis of the data to respond to RQ1.

5.3 Research Question One

The first process of systematic data analysis was influenced by the three part process of ethnographic micro-analysis (Erickson 1992). Ethnographic micro-analysts look ‘very closely and repeatedly at what people do in real time as they interact’ (Erickson 1992:283). This involved listening to the recorded lessons several times while following the transcripts. An outline of each lesson was then created and critical incidents listed, coded (5.3.2) and collated into categories. The categories were then reduced to two themes. As a form of incidental analysis notes were also made regarding possible responses to RQ2 and RQ3.

5.3.1 Lesson Outlines

Each lesson, having been transcribed and translated, was reduced to a lesson outline (see appendix 13). This is a synopsis of the events that occurred during the observation. It is not a detailed, line by line analysis but rather a list of occurrences with corresponding line numbers. For example part of the lesson outline for a grade 5 maths lesson at the rural school, Baakoo Kunda, reads:

LL L114 - 131 child at board & receives instructions in Mandinka
LL L132-259 T/S interaction, examples on board LL instruction
L259-266 Ballanta/Fula? Probs with translation (METHODS)
LL L267-333 More examples on board, T/S interaction
NB L312-313 Swearing Mandinka D/R
L333 - 392 Set task LL for C/M (rulers)

The codes in this short example are:

LL = local language usage;
T/S = teacher student interaction;
C/M = classroom management.
D/R = Discipline and reprimands

As can be seen from the example the lesson outline also includes *notes to self*. For example, *L259-266 Ballanta/Fula? Probs with translation (METHODS)* contains the reminder to reflect on the issues with the translation process, and consider if they impact on the methods.

This process helped to clarify each lesson by enabling me to focus on significant events and chunks of information rather than individual lines, thus enabling a

discourse analysis. Becoming fully aware of the themes that occur in the lessons meant that I was able to link incidences that occur in other lessons or sites. At this stage I was able to identify phenomena that would later become active codes, for example sections of lessons might be categorised as giving instructions (see table 5.1 for a full list of codes). Additionally, I was also able to recognise differences between urban and rural language (RQ2) and some of the historically, politically or culturally informed language (in response to RQ3) in the lessons.

5.3.2 Coding

The coding process was lengthy and initially very slow. I did not use a system of ready prepared codes from previous studies as I was analysing unique data from a unique context. Therefore, although I recognised some phenomena from previous studies I needed a unique coding system. The process I decided on is similar to that used in Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967), but included a large dose of ‘common sense’ regarding what was ‘important’ in the data (Corbin & Strauss 2008:71). The codes were chosen to afford a function or reason to use a LL in order to answer RQ1. As already mentioned some possible codes had been identified through the outlining process but it was through systematic coding that the final collection of codes was amassed.

As I read through the first lesson to be coded I wrote several words against the LL use including, for example, classroom management, local language teaching, discipline and reprimands. A list of eight codes in response to RQ1 was established (see table 5.1) as well as a list of ‘others’ that did not occur sufficiently frequently to be included in the fixed codes list. These were then reviewed individually.

During the coding notes were written regarding specific phenomena. For example, teachers frequently repeated their instructions three or more times when given in English but less frequently when they were given in a local language. These were then followed up later.

Table 5.1 The eight codes used in response to RQ1 are:

Code	Label	Identifying Features	Category	Theme
C/M	Classroom Management	Organisation of class; moving furniture and children, issuing books, sending messages and other similar activities.	Classroom management	Pragmatic Divergence
C/U	Checking Understanding	Clear request for information back from the children. Open or closed question. A formulaic question that children respond to with information	Pedagogic Intervention	Pedagogic Divergence
D/R	Discipline and Reprimands	Individual or class reprimand, discipline includes physical punishment.	Classroom Management	Pragmatic Divergence
D/T	Direct Translations	Use of local language to explain an English term. NB this code was later sub-divided into Direct Translation Give (DTG) and Direct Translation Quest (DTQ) and is discussed below.	Pedagogic Intervention	Pedagogic Divergence
I	Instructions (Teaching & Learning not Classroom Management)	Clear instructions regarding processing of a learning exercise or homework.	Pedagogic Intervention	Pedagogic Divergence
LLT	Local Language Teaching	Any significant period of teaching in LL that was not translated from or into English at the time of delivery.	Content in Local Language	Pedagogic Divergence
Pastoral	Pastoral Care	A stepping out of the teacher mode into a training or community member role	Pastoral Care	Pragmatic Divergence
PC	Pseudo checking	A move by the teacher to 'check' understanding that does not actually require a response by the students.	Pedagogic Intervention	Pedagogic Divergence

I also wrote several notes about direct translations (D/T). It became apparent that the D/Ts followed two patterns. One was for the teacher to give a label to an item and this was recoded as DTG (Direct Translation Given). This often, although not always, took the form of a DT *sandwich*, usually with the formula English/Mandinka/English as in this example from Fankoo Bantaba (extract 5.1):

Extract 5.1

194 **Mr Jallow:** watermelon OK **saroo** *melon* watermelon

FB2Mgrade6EngMat

The second pattern for a D/T was similar but was a way of checking the understanding of the children by encouraging them to give a local language gloss for a particular word. This has been referred to in monolingual settings as a label quest (Heath 1983) and was therefore recoded as DTQ (Direct Translation Quest). An example can be seen in this extract, also from Fankoo Bantaba (extract 5.2):

Extract 5.2

438 **Mr Kujabi:** yes what is a thunder storm

439 **Pupil:** **sang feteng** *thunder clap*

440 **Mr Kujabi:** OK in in our language we call it . **sang feteng** *thunder clap* yes
441 there was a terrible thunder storm . three . it rained very heavily
442 and it was very windy you know what this windy

443 **Pupil:** **fonyo** *wind*

444 **Mr Kujabi:** huh?

445 **Pupils:** **#fonyo** *wind#*

446 **Mr Kujabi:** **#OK # fonyo baa** *big wind* it was very windy

FB3Mgrade5QuantAptVerbAptEng

Although both examples contain a direct translation from English into Mandinka their form is very different. In the first example, D/TG, the direct translation is **given** by the teacher, in the second D/TQ, the teacher **questions** the children for the translation. For this reason the original code D/T (direct translation) was sub-divided into label giving D/TG (extract 5.1) and label quest D/TQ (extract 5.2).

The D/TG format appears to be used when there is a simple direct translation and is delivered in a matter of fact way with no subsequent comprehension check. Other

examples in the data include D/TGs for chair and soap. All examples were of concrete and common nouns.

The D/TQ appears to be used for more abstract concepts. The quest is directed towards the pupils and their explanation is then embellished by the teacher. This could be seen as a way of linking the children's experience of the world with the text or lesson content. However, the example in extract 5.2 demonstrates the difficulty of defining abstract concepts regardless of language. There is a semantic difference between a thunder storm and a thunder clap. Equally a single gust of wind is different from windy weather. This example has been analysed as part of the systematic analysis and is discussed more fully at extract 6.17 (Chapter 6).

During the coding process a list of *others* was also kept. These were the instances of language use that I found particularly interesting but that did not fit into the original categories. At the end of the coding process these sections were considered individually. At this stage it was discovered that 'praise' occurred frequently and has been included as part of the response to RQ3 (see section 5.5).

The stimulated recall interviews were also analysed to respond to RQ1. The interview was to ascertain the reasons behind the uses of language from the teachers' perspectives. This is discussed in chapter 9.

5.4 Research Question Two

In response to RQ2 I identified similar instances on the lesson outline. The lesson outlines were re-examined for themes or connections between classes, for example board work during maths lessons or reading comprehension classes. In these instances the unit of analysis was larger than individual clauses or utterances (Coulthard 1985) but were sections of text that perhaps included whole interactions. These sections were then compared to discover similarities in and differences between the language use. For example, I became aware during the analysis of the urban school lessons that labels were often given in two local languages but I had not been aware of this during analysis of the rural school observations. I also used the

information from the interactions identified in the lesson outlines to complete the language table at 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5.

The formal interviews and conversations were reviewed to complete the teacher's linguistic profiles (table 7.2). The final discussion of RQ2, how the language used in urban school differs from the semi-urban and rural schools, is a comparison of itemised phenomena and includes themes such as serial monolingualism, lingua franca, parallel bilingualism, rapid code switching and the amalgamation of language. These are discussed in chapter 7.

5.5 Research Question Three

Following the systematic discourse analysis to respond to RQ1 and the comparative analysis to respond to RQ2 the data was reviewed a holistically to answer RQ3, by this I mean the sections were collated and reviewed within the context of understanding of the social situation. Recurring non-educational themes from the data were identified. These included; greetings, social discipline, family economy/monetary issues/waste, monologues, reference to animals, swearing and hierarchy. Some labels related to actual instances of languages, for example greetings between teachers and other adults were a frequent occurrence in the lessons. Other labels were given to types of talk, monologues, or more discreet references within a lesson, for example the references to family economy, money or waste.

A review of the *others* codes from RQ1 caused reflection on the classroom practice of praise and specifically 'clapping'. Clapping can feature as part of praise but either can appear independently of the other. The decision to include praise and clapping as part of the response to RQ3 rather than RQ1 was made during analysis of a mathematics lesson at Fankoo Bantaba where the teacher led the class in a form of praise singing, normally associated with revered cultural figures, for example the president, or the main actor in a social event, such as the bride at a wedding. It was decided that the clapping that occurs in many lessons is a reflection of social, rather than pedagogical practice. This is therefore discussed further in chapter 8.

5.6 Transcription and Translation

A total of 38 hours, 28 minutes and 46 seconds of observations were audio recorded, one recording was corrupt and therefore, as stated in chapter 4, 38 hours, 13 minutes and 52 seconds were transcribed by the researcher. The transcription of the recordings was initially made using Transcriber software, which is a software package that allows the sound file to be listened to while the transcription is typed up. An illustration of use of Transcriber during text production can be seen at appendix 14. Following the transcription the files were exported to Word and repackaged to ensure ease of reading.

Translation between local languages and English occurred as necessary and was provided by Gambian nationals. The Gambian nationals were not paid for their time or assistance; however, hospitality was offered and occasionally accepted. During these social occasions, where a meal was shared, some of the translators admitted feeling emotional at hearing the recordings from the school and reminisced about their own school experiences. These experiences were not recorded but the personal and emotional discussions provided me with a deeper understanding of the data.

Sometimes sections of speech could not be easily translated into English because, as identified by Alexander (2000:439) there is no such thing as a 'literal translation', or alternatively the translators suggested it was because of the 'non-expressivity' of English. Having several translators present meant the teachers' literal and intended meanings could be debated. What emerged from the debates was, as I suggested earlier, a *negotiated meaning*, which means that no one person had ownership of the translation. In addition, an understanding, based on native speaker knowledge of the language and my own knowledge of the context of production, was reached. Some sections of indigenous language speech were not transcribed because of what the transcribers described as "confused speakers" or "weak Mandinka/Wolof". This is discussed further in chapter 7 and chapter 10 (10.5)

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly outlined the analysis processes that were applied to the data in order to assist with understanding the findings chapters that follow. The data was

systematically analysed three times. An ethnographic micro-analysis followed by discourse analysis was completed for RQ1. Similar events were then reviewed comparatively for RQ2. The cultural aspects indentified in the data set were then analysed in relation to the impact on language. The next three chapters are the responses to the research questions starting with research question one; for what purposes are local languages used in the classrooms? (Chapter 6).

Chapter 6

Using Local Languages in the 'English Only' Classroom

6.1 Introduction

This chapter details the analysis and discussion of the data in relation to research question one (RQ1); for what purposes are local languages used in the classroom? As discussed in chapter 1, English dominates the language in the classroom for various social, historical and political reasons, most notably because the teachers adhere to a language policy that endorses English only (EO). Therefore the use of local language as described in this chapter should be considered the 'marked' talk of the classroom. That is, local language is not a common feature of classroom discourse in The Gambia, although the instances are significant in terms of social coherence and pedagogy. As Tollefson (2002b:334) points out 'policies are not likely to be successful if they fail to consider the specific challenges that teachers confront in their daily lives'. Therefore the interactions discussed in this chapter are in response to the specific challenges faced by the teachers and learners in this context, often in direct opposition to the policy.

It could be considered, then, that the EO policy is not as comprehensively implemented as the policy itself dictates. There are several incidences of local language use detailed in this chapter and possible explanations for their use have been suggested throughout. Clearly, it is not possible to say with absolute guarantee why a particular local language was used for a particular purpose at any given time but my interpretation is informed by ethnographic experience of the context and discussion with other participants present at the time. The instances of local language have been grouped into categories and there are several extracts discussed within each category. It is not the purpose of this chapter, or indeed this thesis, to reproduce every instance of local language use that occurred during the observations, rather this chapter suggests reasons for the use of local languages within the classroom interactions.

As will be seen from the instances illustrated below there is possibly more than one function for each of the local language scenarios. While it may be convenient to give an instance of code switching a functional label there are usually other social

connotations to the switch that are perhaps more subtle but equally interesting. Therefore the discussions here focus on those over-arching categories which have been sectioned into classroom management, content in local language, pedagogical intervention and pastoral care.

This chapter starts with a brief account of the data set and an explanation of how to interpret the data as it is presented (6.2). Following this the findings are outlined and appear in sections relating to classroom management (6.3.1), delivering content in local languages (6.3.2), pedagogic intervention, which includes one to one teaching and responding to specific pedagogic circumstances (6.3.3), and pastoral care (6.3.4). Each section contains several extracts in support of the discussion.

6.2 Understanding the Classroom Observation Data

At this stage it is relevant and necessary to include some practical information regarding the data. As stated previously, a total of 38 hours, 13 minutes and 52 seconds of observations was recorded and transcribed. These occurred in 36 lessons, conducted by 10 teachers, in 3 schools. The inventory of observations can be seen in tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

Table 6.1 Balinsaa Primary School - Urban

Teacher	Date	Grade	Subject	Length
Mr Fatty	Monday 29/01/07	6	English Social and Economic Studies Maths	4:03:53
Mr Fatty	Wednesday 31/01/07	6	Social and Economic Studies Maths	2:58:51
Mr Sanneh	Wednesday 31/01/07	5	English Maths Science	2:49:36
Mr Fatty	Thursday 01/02/07	6	English Maths	1:37:50
Mr Sanneh	Thursday 01/02/07	5	English Maths Quantitative Reasoning	2:15:37
Mr Bojang	Thursday 01/02/07	6	Science	0:55:48
TOTAL				14:41:35

This table shows the subjects taught by each of the urban school teachers during the observation week. As can be seen from the table some lessons were very long. In

particular it is noted that the trainee teachers, Mr Fatty and Mr Sanneh, were expected to teach for several hours with short, erratic breaks from the classroom.

Table 6.2 Fankoo Bantaba School – Semi Urban

Teacher	Date	Grade	Subjects	Length
Mr Saïdy	Monday 08/01/07	6	English Science Maths	1:45:35
Mr Jallow	Tuesday 09/01/07	6	Maths Verbal Aptitude English Maths	3:54:14
Mr Kujabi	Wednesday 10/01/07	5	Quantitative Aptitude Verbal Aptitude English	3:28:14
Mr Camara	Thursday 11/01/07	5	Population and Family Life Education English Maths Singing	4:25:40
TOTAL				13:33:46

This table shows the subjects taught by each of the semi-urban school teachers. Again the teaching sessions were very long, and contained more than one subject, punctuated by adhoc teacher absence. There was an official morning break during which children played outside and teachers retired to the headmaster's office. No classes were observed on Friday 12th January as after assembly the children took part in a regular school cleaning activity in which I participated before leaving for the next research site.

Table 6.3 Baakoo Kunda School – Rural

Teacher	Date	Grade	Subject	Length
Mr Touray	Tuesday 08/05/07	5	English Maths	2:07:25
Mr Bah	Tuesday 08/05/07	5 6	Maths Social and Economic Studies	1:54:16
Mr Touray	Wednesday 09/05/07	5	Maths	1:14:42
Mr Yaffa	Thursday 10/05/2007	6	Maths English	2:37:12
Mr Bah	Thursday 10/05/07	6	Population, Family and Life Education	0:48:22
Mr Yaffa	Friday 11/05/07	6	Maths	1:15:34
TOTAL				9:57:31

Table 6.3 shows the subjects taught by each of the rural school teachers during observations. Due to reasons outlines in chapter 4 the observations at Baakoo Kunda

were conducted four months later than those in the urban and semi-urban sites. A reduced period of observations took place on Wednesday 9th May due to observer sickness. On Friday 11th May an assembly, school cleaning activity and observance of Friday prayers meant only one lesson was conducted. This was the only lesson that was delivered especially for observation. It is usual for all the children to participate in the school cleaning activity, but the head teacher arranged, without my prior knowledge, for the grade six children to have a maths lesson, taught by their regular teacher, for my benefit. It is not known how much notice Mr Yaffa had of this arrangement or whether this was a new lesson or a repeat of one previously given.

There are several extracts throughout the findings chapters and the codes that follow the extracts relate to the data collection process. An explanation here will reduce the need for cross referencing to the tables. The identification codes are made up of six pieces of information:

1. Site code: either BK for Baakoo Kunda, the urban school, FB for Fankoo Bantaba, the semi-urban school, BP for the rural school, Balinsaa Primary.
2. Day code: 1 for Monday, 2 for Tuesday and so on.
3. Session code: M for morning and A for afternoon.
4. Sequence: Occasionally the recordings were interrupted or stopped, usually at the request of the teacher or for a practical reason, on these occasions a lower case initial appears after the M or A to indicate the order of the observation.
5. Grade code: The grade has been written out in full so that there can be no mistaking it with the day code.
6. Subject code: A full list of lesson codes and subjects can be found in table 6.4. Note that it was common for more than one lesson to be taught in a single session.

An example of a full code is FB3MGrade5Mat which means the data was collected at Fankoo Bantaba School (FB), on a Wednesday morning (3M), from a grade 5 class who were studying maths (MAT); while data labelled BK4AaGrade6Sci is taken from Baakoo Kunda school (BK) and is the first of at least two recordings taken on a Thursday afternoon (4Aa) while the grade 6 children were studying science.

Table 6.4 Lesson subject code

Code	Subject
ENG	English
MAT	Maths
POPFAM	Population and Family Studies
QUANTAPT	Quantitative Aptitude (number problems and puzzles)
SCI	Science
SES	Social and Environmental Studies
VERBAPT	Verbal Aptitude (word problems and puzzles)

The local languages used during the lessons are indicated by different fonts and the English translations are included in italics immediately after the local language. As discussed in chapter 1 the English used in The Gambia (Gambian English) differs from Standard British English (SBE) on levels of phonology, lexis and syntax. Therefore there are occasions when a note has been added against an English phrase or statement to indicate where the meaning is different from SBE. The key to the local languages and other transcription codes is as follows:

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = FULA

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

/kɛstion/ = pronunciation information

. = short pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

6.3 Findings

Analysis of the data has revealed a small number of over-arching categories into which the incidences of local language usage can be organised. The categories are broad and, as discussed earlier, it is difficult to partition the data into a single code. Therefore, even though a specific category has been applied to a section of the data it is possible that under different analysis criteria a different category could be applied. The categories are classroom management (section 6.3.1), content in local languages (6.3.2), pedagogic intervention (6.3.3) and pastoral care (6.3.4).

The category of classroom management includes instances of talk that facilitate and support the teaching and learning process but do not include any content knowledge. Content in LL means subject rich content was delivered in one or more LL. The section on pedagogic intervention includes examples of teachers using local language to facilitate teaching and learning, but is different to delivering content in local languages. The main difference is that the pedagogic intervention appears to happen in response to student feedback or awareness on the part of the teacher that there has been a lack of comprehension, whereas delivering content seems to occur when either the teacher lacks vocabulary or phrasing in English or when the content is so culturally entrenched in the Gambian society that the unmarked choice of language at that specific time is the local language. Finally pastoral care covers aspects of classroom discourse that are concerned with student welfare and result in the teacher taking on a community mentor or counsellor role.

6.3.1 Classroom Management

This section includes examples and discussions of local language teacher talk that surround the teaching and learning process. As has already been mentioned the majority of teaching took place in English but several significant interactions during each lesson are not directly related to teaching. These non-teaching language events were sometimes conducted in local languages.

Teachers often gave clues that work was about to start by switching to a local language immediately before classes started. This could be interpreted as a cognitive transition from community to classroom. The children conduct all their activities in the community in their local languages but their classroom activities almost exclusively in English. Therefore some indication of the change of code to match the change in domain, which is symbolic rather than physical, seems both logical and appropriate.

Extract 6.1

12 **Mr Touray** Ebou Surname . you come and share some text and text book here
13 [classroom noise 35 seconds] {clears throat} [classroom noise 15
14 seconds] open your text books to page . fifty four {clears throat}
15 [classroom noise 11 seconds] **membeh jakasiring wobulajeh** *leave*
16 *the one that is mixed up* [classroom noise 36 seconds] {clears throat}
17 **mbatung nghe assist domanding** *let me assist you a little eh page*

18 fifty four open page fifty four **text booksulo mangbeteh yaa** *text*
19 *books are not good* [classroom noise 11 seconds] **fifty four**
20 **ayemunefojeh because akableh** *at fifty four what does that say*
21 *because it is removing [meaning the page is missing] huh? the date OK*
22 *the date [classroom noise 4 seconds] should be eight not twelve deh*
23 *there [classroom noise 8 seconds] page fifty four ntonya asafeh what I*
24 *have said is true write it [classroom noise 6 seconds] mmm how many*
25 *of you have not got text books mojoleh masoto how many of you have*
26 *not got text books . hmm [classroom noise 4 seconds] OK I think you*
27 *have to join others [classroom noise 6 seconds] Luice Surname alibeh*
28 **ya sotoleh bang** *do you all have it [classroom noise 3 seconds] nyimg*
29 **sofutaleh** *this is ridiculous is very serious you know [classroom noise*
30 *5 seconds] Morri [name] you join others . join these people [classroom*
31 *noise 15 seconds] we are going to exercise um er thirteen B where you*
32 *are going to make a sentence from the table first we are going to recall*
33 *what we have done yesterday*

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

As can be seen in the extract above the teacher, Mr Touray, switches between Mandinka and English frequently as he arranges the class before commencing the lesson. This appears to have a dual purpose. The first is to connect the ‘outside’, that is the community, to the ‘inside’, that is the school, where they are expected to function in English. By switching between the local languages, in this case Mandinka and English, a period of transition occurs. There are tasks conducted in English which precede this interaction, for example the welcome greeting and taking the register; however, they are formulaic in nature and therefore the children are able to manage the linguistic demands. This has resonance with Sonck’s (2005) study in Mauritania. Sonck suggested that although the children were able to complete the ritualistic greetings they were actually unaware of the meanings of the words. In a similar way the formulaic greetings and register process in this Gambian classroom seems to proceed with full participation but possibly limited cognition on the part of the children. It would appear the second purpose of the amount of local language in extract 6.1 is to ensure the children at least start the lesson together. During the observation process it became apparent that some children were not able to maintain the academic and/or linguistic demands on them and were ‘left behind’ once the content of the lesson started flowing. This is illustrated in the transcripts by the frequent lament of teachers that “you are not following”, said to children who were not keeping up. My field notes indicate this was said to both individual children and the whole class as in the example below (extract 6.2).

Extract 6.2

1076 **Mr Fatty:** one . you add . you bring down eight then four and two six one . yes
1077 one six eight . plus . plus . plus what . plus four . how much you have
1078 . hey you are not following . what are you talking . who are those talking
1079 at the back there

BP3MbGrade6Mat

In the extract below (6.3), Mr Fatty is aware that some students have completed the set task and are waiting to move to the next subject. He is still involved in marking the books from the previous lesson and indicates this with a short switch into Mandinka, requesting the students to wait for him. The use of Mandinka may also have been to exclude me from knowing that he was asking students to wait for him while he conducted an administrative task.

Extract 6.3

234 **Mr Fatty:** yes I don't know **iparetaleh English huh iparetaleh OK barri eman pareh follo**
235 *are you ready with English are you ready OK but I am not ready yet sit down I did*
236 *not ask you to write OK now . any question . any question [said forcefully]*

BP4Ma2Grade6Eng

Other classroom management activities, that are not directly related to teaching, involved classroom organisation and school business matters. For this teachers would often employ local languages. It would appear one of the reasons for the use of the local language was to ensure the task was completed by children accurately, as giving instructions solely in English could not guarantee the task had been fully understood. As can be seen in extract 6.4 significantly more information is given in the local language instruction than in the original English instruction.

Extract 6.4

387 **Mr Touray:** Ebou Surname clean the blackboard [classroom noise for 7
388 seconds] **ali bondi aning date nyin . nkor do nisponge landi ye**
389 **nyindota woleka seneya** *take out the English and date put the sponge*
390 *down this other one is more better* [classroom noise for 65 seconds]

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

At other times the switch into local language appeared to be for swiftness. Several times during the observations children would be sent with messages to teachers elsewhere in the school and the instructions were usually given in the local language. In these instances to use the local language meant little time and effort was expended in giving the instruction and therefore did not detract from the lesson. In addition, the

children would be familiar with running errands and taking messages in their local language as part of their chores in the community and to continue the practice in school would ensure the message was received in full. As messages were rarely written teachers seemed to understand that to ask a child to remember the instruction of who to go to and where as well as the content of the message in English was too demanding.

The following extract is an illustration of a child being sent on an errand with the teacher's instructions in both English and Mandinka. There are several possible reasons for this including the age of the child as this was a grade six class but also the presence of the observer. At this early stage in the lesson I was still present at the front of the class, very close to Mr Fatty and the messenger. I had asked Mr Fatty how long a younger child was to be kept in the grade six classroom as punishment that prompted the call for the grade two teacher. It is possible therefore that Mr Fatty used both codes so that I would recognise he was responding to my question but also so that the messenger would understand the task. Indeed, although Mr Fatty uses relatively little Mandinka the child responds to clarify his task in the local language.

Extract 6.5

- 28 **Mr Fatty:** are you ready . OK just rush to Rohey Surname [teacher's name]
29 Rohey Surname **tah afo yeh ko** *go tell her* tell her to come ..
30 **Pupil:** **nga fayeh Mr Fatty ko yeh tah** *can I tell her Mr Fatty said you go*
31 **Mr Fatty:** **ha** *yes* [classroom noise 13 seconds] keep quiet [classroom noise 6
32 seconds]

BP3MbGrade6Mat

The following extract (6.6) is another example of classroom administration where local languages appear to be used for a specific reason. Before the lesson started Mr Fatty found some papers on his desk and asked me if they were mine. I responded negatively so he questioned the class about the unidentified papers. As can be seen from line 49 he refers directly to me in his question to the children. One child responds in Mandinka but as can be seen from the translation he has difficulty in making himself understood. Mr Fatty then switches to Fula to continue to question the child about the papers. The switch in code was obvious at the time of the observation as the comment from field notes, in brackets, suggests.

It would appear then that Mr Fatty uses the local language, starting with Mandinka, to obscure that he was talking about me. What is interesting is that the child responded in Mandinka despite his lack of competence, as illustrated by the confused sentence, and with the knowledge that Mr Fatty also speaks Fula. This may illustrate the level of prestige associated with Mandinka, but also Martin (1996) noted that students often took their cue of which language to use by following the teacher's example. As the school is in a Mandinka settlement area (see chapter 8.2) and the teacher is from the Mandinka ethnic group it would be the unmarked choice of local language to switch into. The switch to Fula by Mr Fatty in line 52 suggests he recognises the cognitive strain on the child to speak Mandinka and therefore accommodates him to complete the interaction and overcome the immediate communicative difficulties (Ndayipfukiyame 1996).

Extract 6.6

- 47 **Mr Fatty:** #so since he is not there # so we just continue [classroom noise 43
 48 seconds] hey sit down sit down [classroom noise 10 seconds] **jomaleh**
 49 **nying tujang toubab musonding leh yeh nying tujang** *who left this*
 50 *thing here is it the small white lady who left it here*
- 51 **Pupils:** **jomah booku kerang bang** *who is it where they put the books in*
- 52 **Mr Fatty:** PAPER OMBOWADI DOH PAPER DOH *who put that paper there* [teacher
 53 has realised child is Fula so has changed code]
- 54 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 55 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 56 **Pupil:** HUMBO *what*
- 57 **Mr Fatty:** OPAPERJO HUMBERWADI MOGO *that paper who owns it*
- 58 **Pupil:** MI ANDER *I don't know*
- 59
 60 **Mr Fatty:** hmm

BP3MBGrade6MAT

The above extracts illustrate several switches for pragmatic purposes; however switches for emotional and social reasons were witnessed elsewhere in the data. The use of local languages was particularly prevalent during interactions that concerned discipline. The following extract is the start of an extended interaction concerning a younger child who has been put into Mr Fatty's grade six class by his own teacher to await discipline. The eight year old child had been missing from school and home for several days and had been brought to school by his mother to be disciplined by the senior master. His teacher, a female, brought him into the classroom and on being

told that the senior master, Mr Bojang, was not available she left the child in the care of Mr Fatty. The young child was visibly distressed and the extract contains comments from field notes that indicate the physical nature of the discipline.

Extract 6.7

- 376 **Female T:** don't allow him to go out [girl pupil calls out loudly to friends]
377 **Mr Fatty:** OK no problem sit here . sit down . under the chair there [Mr Fatty and
378 the female teacher force the child to sit] togel togel fee togel sit tokbi
379 *sit down sit down here sit down sit on the chair*
- 380 **Female T:** boy sit
381 **Mr Fatty:** togel sit
- 382 **Female T:** SIT DOWN **atcha** *come on* [common phrase used to children and
383 animals who are in the way] sit down kneel down **atcha** *come on*
384 {slap} [female teacher slaps the child on the back] local language
385 [undecipherable as she leaves the room and continues to talk to the
386 child]
- 387 **Mr Fatty:** no dugana dugana dugana sobe yala dugana *he will not go out he will*
388 *not go out he will not go out I swear {by the will of God} he will not go*
389 *out* number eight keep your mouth shut what are you laughing is it
390 funny .. number eight [classroom noise 4 seconds] yes Sara Surname
391 number eight [classroom noise 5 seconds] Sara read number eight

BP3MaGrade6SESMAT

Both Mr Fatty and the female teacher use a mix of English and Wolof to address each other and the child. The Mandinka term ‘**atcha**’ is used by all ethnic groups. Perhaps what is most interesting here is Mr Fatty’s opening choice of language code, Wolof, in line 378. He would not have known, prior to this incident, what the child’s first language is but it is possible the pleas of the child were in Wolof. What is known is that the female teacher’s first language is Wolof and Mr Fatty may have switched to her language as she was visibly very angry at the events taking place. In her emotional state Mr Fatty may have thought it best to accommodate her language rather than insist on using his own first language despite its local prestige.

The second interesting point in this extract is the use of ‘sobe yala’ *by the will of God* (line 387). This is the only example in the corpus of any of the indigenous languages being used to ‘swear’. In this predominantly Muslim country the default language for both praising and swearing is Arabic and there are many instances of ‘**bilahé**’ *I swear* throughout the corpus. It is unclear why Mr Fatty used the Wolof in this instance but as the situation was emotional, additionally indicated by his reaction to a member of

his own class in line 389, it may have affected his regular linguistic patterns. However the use of this very uncommon vocabulary also gives an indication of the high level of Mr Fatty's fluency in Wolof.

The next extract (6.8) shows the use of 'bilahe' *I swear* during another episode of discipline, this time in the rural school, Baakoo Kunda. Mr Bah disciplines a small group of boys, including one called Farato, almost entirely in Mandinka. The Wolof insertion at the end of the statement (line 329) is a formulaic clause ending that carries no lexical meaning but is rather an indicator of the end of that person's turn. It is seen more frequently in statements made in Wolof and its use here is remarkable simply because Mr Bah, the majority of the children and the statement are all Mandinka. Indeed there are no first language speakers of Wolof in the class. Lin (1996) suggested that language used during discipline exchanges is emotional and therefore unchecked which may explain the insertion of the Wolof and also the incompleteness of the sentence (line 331).

Extract 6.8

327 **Mr Bah:** one more example hey [tut] **bilahe wolahe ali tara sinola la jangdeh**
328 **ning nying funtidah Farato alna lilah groupo ning na muta alibeh**
329 **kunilaleh mota fo lalehyeh ali sino jerek** *I swear continue on sleeping*
330 *if this (what is being taught) goes out of your head Farato [name] if I*
331 *catch you you will wake up and nobody will tell you [warning to*
332 *Farato and his group of friends who are not paying attention that if*
333 *they continue sleeping they will not understand and no-one will help*
334 *them]* [classroom noise 10 seconds]

BK2MbGrade5MAT

As with previous studies (cf for example Probyn 2006) the teachers in this study indicated that they got more attention from the children if they disciplined in local languages. This may also explain the use of local language for humorous purposes. Swiggart (1992:87) comments that teachers in Senegalese classrooms use a 'marked code' for both discipline and humour (see section 3.4.1.2). In Gambian classrooms any use of local language is marked and therefore likely to receive more attention than the unmarked use of English. Extract 6.9 illustrates one instance where a brief humorous exchange took place in Mandinka and also includes notes from the follow up interview.

Extract 6.9

22 **Mr Camara:** [classroom noise for 12 seconds] XXXX [undecipherable local language]
23 [classroom noise for 22 seconds] **ali kang jelleh minela muneketa bi nfana keta**
24 **toubabo leti bi** *why are you laughing at me what happened today I am also a*
25 *toubab* [Mr Camara later explained that the children were laughing at him
26 because of the microphone, saying that he was a ‘toubab’. Mr Camara enjoyed the
27 joke] [classroom noise for 9 seconds]

FB4MGrade5POPFAMENG

‘Toubab’ is a Wolof word that is used by Gambians of all ethnic groups to refer to tourists and other visitors. Gambian children frequently call out ‘toubab’ to white people as they pass. Although this practice is encouraged in very small children it is considered derogatory to call a regular visitor, or someone who is visiting to help a community, a ‘toubab’. On many occasions school children were disciplined for calling me a ‘toubab’. Gambians of all ages often make fun of Western visitors because of the number of accessories they carry when they travel around the country. Security personnel in particular are keen to make comments along the lines of “this toubab has all in her bag” when checking luggage. It is the type of ‘toubab’ who has many accessories and pieces of equipment that the children and Mr Camara are referring to in the joke.

The various extracts in the classroom management category appear different but there is a connection. The link that runs through the extracts seems to be one of accommodation of others’ linguistic needs and of meeting the immediate demands of the speech event rather than defer to any matters of prestige or superiority. This concurs with the suggestion by Harlech-Jones (1995:202) that languages should be used ‘freely’ in the classroom in order to maximise communication and learning rather than meet the demands of an imposed language. These pragmatic, social and emotional reasons for switching code were not the only times local languages were heard in the classroom. The next section illustrates the use of local languages in the teaching of content, a direct subversion of the English Only policy at this level.

6.3.2 Content in Local Languages

As already expressed the majority of teaching in the Gambian classrooms observed occurred in English. However, it was noticed on a small number of occasions that some content was expressed using extended periods of local language. The content was neither preceded nor followed by an English translation. This phenomenon did

not occur frequently but the topics which were covered in a local language suggest the teachers were teaching for a greater understanding than that needed for examination purposes. Rather they were educating the children to become full and active members of adult society with a comprehensive knowledge of their responsibilities.

During a monologue about the organisation of the government Mr Bah switched to Mandinka a small number of times without giving a translation into English (see extract 6.10). This may be because the content of the Social and Economic Studies (SES) lesson is so culturally entrenched in Gambian society that a translation was not necessary. The children are being taught about their role in the election process. By using the majority language of the community, Mandinka, Mr Bah is ensuring the children are aware of their responsibilities.

In addition, the SES lesson was presented by Mr Bah as a monologue, in that he spoke uninterrupted for the whole lesson. Although there were two short breaks in the recording where he attended to additional duties Mr Bah spoke for extended periods; one section of the recording lasted for 47 minutes and 22 seconds without him handing over the floor. This concentrated linguistic output would have put significant cognitive strain on Mr Bah, despite his competence in English, and it is possible that the switch into Mandinka, his first language, was simply to reduce the cognitive demands on both him and the students for a few moments. The cognitive demand on teachers is discussed by Bunyi's (2005) in relation to her research in Kenya, where teachers admitted they were simply unable to maintain English all the time.

Extract 6.10

33 **Mr Bah:** [classroom noise 4 seconds] and er out of this seven nominated you
34 have the one we call the attorney generals [classroom noise 8 seconds]
35 the attorney generals chamber the attorney general is the judiciary head
36 office it is the area that is responsible of **kityoolu bela kunti dula**
37 **menka kityo teh fanna membeh atelebeh loring ka kityo kuntu** *the*
38 *office responsible for all courts the office that judge the office that*
39 *judge all courts* . attorney generals high chambers it is the attorney
40 generals chamber that is the highest level alright those also is part of
41 the cabinet . they form cabinet like in terms of government rules

BK2AbGrade6SES

After a short break in the recording where Mr Bah attended to some headmaster duties he returned and continued the lesson. This time he very quickly switched into Mandinka to make an extended point (extract 6.11).

Extract 6.11

3 **Mr Bah:** you going [classroom noise 3 seconds] get back get back get back ..
4 right we continue on alright after discussing about all the members that
5 are represented we d. that is elected members five elected chiefs seven
6 nominated and er the deputy speaker and the speaker which forms the
7 complete cabinet **n'luu lemu molute mennuyeh mansa kunda**
8 **cabineto form aleh kateh fiye diptelu menyeh sefu lulu kamenu**
9 **tombong kakafu dipiteh nyadi er mansa kunda nyingkang mo**
10 **warowula bejeh presidendanwo fawoleh kawolu tombong karreh**
11 **ning karreh ning karreh ning karreh nyawolu letah nyakafundi**
12 **jeh aning Deputy Speaker minka deyamu mansa kunda toyalah**
13 **neebe meetingo lah minka deyamu aning memu deyamulah**
14 **nomanlang ko ala deputy nomalang ko** *these are the people that*
15 *form the parliament cabinet those are the people you vote for (MPs)*
16 *five chiefs selected that person to be part of the MP again government*
17 *seven people the president himself selected those ones this one this one*
18 *this one this one are the people we have taken (to be part of the*
19 *member of parliament) and deputy speaker who speaks in the name of*
20 *the government when they are having meeting and the deputy speaker*
21 *his deputy deputy* alright this are the people that form a cabinet plus
22 attorney generals **nyadi banco bella kitti bunda minka kakeh banco**
23 **bella kitti bunda ti kittio menka keh banco kang ila nyatonko** *what*
24 *the whole country's courthouse that this the whole country's*
25 *courthouse the whole court that happened in the country their leader .*
26 alright that is what we call the attorney generals chamber **ning lodula**
27 *that is the one responsible* they are the ones responsible now what we
28 want to discuss about is the cab er we have already seen the nature of
29 cabinet alright

BK2AcGrade6SES

This overt departure from the policy might be said to meet an immediate pedagogic need. It is not known whether the content of this class features in examinations but there is a current rhetoric by the government that the election process should be open to people who have previously been excluded on grounds of access to both the language of politics and the physical access to polling. This is in response to interventions from the Independent Election Commission which has overseen several recent elections. Therefore the study of politics and government is a significant part of the lower basic education curriculum with the purpose of encouraging future generations to participate in the election process. However, if this curriculum was

delivered entirely in English as prescribed it would be unlikely to impact the voting statistics to any significant degree. Therefore the use of LL here is a centrifugal resistance against the government designed curriculum that is not fit for purpose in the rural areas, despite its direct and fundamental affect on future generations.

There are several other instances of shorter switches into local languages that occur throughout the corpus which appear to have a pedagogic purpose and these are explored below. The next section looks more closely at the possible reasons for the brief, intermittent switches which pepper the language of the classroom.

6.3.3 Pedagogic Intervention

As with the switches discussed in the classroom management section the possible pedagogic reasons behind some switches are many and varied. Teachers often utilised local languages to assist and encourage children; for example they would provide guidance for classroom based activities and encouragement for children who were unsure of their ability. One to one teaching, either in response to a question or after a teacher has noticed a child has not understood something, would often occur in local languages. On a whole class level teachers would give a local language gloss for vocabulary they know the children had not come across before, sometimes encouraging the pupils to provide the gloss themselves in a bilingual label quest.

Perhaps one of the most transparent indicators of a teacher's comprehension that using the local language will aid a child's learning came from an interaction in the urban school that does not actually contain a code switch. Immediately before the exchange documented in the extract below (6.12), Mr Fatty had tried, unsuccessfully, for several minutes to help a child recognise which part of speech in a sentence indicated possession. He asked "which language do you speak?" suggesting that he would switch to that language to aid the teaching and learning process which until this point had taken place entirely in English. The child's first language is Serer, a minority language in The Gambia spoken by only 3.1% of the population (results of 2003 census Gambia Bureau of Statistics 2006). Field notes mention Mr Fatty's resignation, the tone of which can also be heard on the audio recording, when he admits he cannot speak Serer and therefore is unable to switch to the child's language. After this brief exchange Mr Fatty resumes whole class teaching, later returning to the

child to conduct one to one teaching in English again. This episode is similar to the findings of Brock-Utne's (2005b) research in Tanzania regarding recognition on the part of teachers that it is sometimes necessary to use a local language to aid comprehension. Extract 6.12 also illustrates an individual teacher's willingness to switch to support a student and the frustration caused by lack of knowledge of the relevant language. In this extract it appears the centripetal force was too strong for Mr Fatty to resist and he maintained use of English apparently in the absence of a more pedagogically sound alternative. It is possible that once Mr Fatty has more experience or training he will be able to meet the needs of children like Abdoulie more effectively.

Extract 6.12

- 465 **Mr Fatty:** so then what make the book to be your own now . that is your book . [writes on
466 board 'that is your book'] that is your book . yes that is your book what make the
467 book to be your own now I'm asking you . what m. word can you show me huh
468 that signifies the book belongs to you because its already your own huh? what
469 make the book to be your owner to be to be your own look . at the board . that is
470 your book huh that is your book hmm? the book belongs to you now is that clear
- 471 **Boy Pupil:** yes
- 472 **Mr Fatty:** which language can you speak Mandinka or Wolof . Wolof
- 473 **Boy Pupil:** Wolof
- 474 **Mr Fatty:** Jo Jola?
- 475 **Abdoulie:** XXXX
- 476 **Mr Fatty:** hmm?
- 477 **Abdoulie:** Serer
- 478 **Mr Fatty:** Serer OK the book I cannot speak Serer the book is your own now you
479 understand that so which word make the book to be your own what word can you
480 show me that make the book to be your own because we says that adjunct.
481 possessive adjectives shows the ownership of something

BP1MbGrade6ENG

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly given the multilingualism and the teacher deployment policy in The Gambia, lack of knowledge of particular local languages is common within the teaching profession. Although the majority of teachers I have met speak several local languages in addition to English, many articulated concerns about being posted to areas of the country where they were unable to speak the language of that particular community. The posting of teachers in The Gambia has been fairly arbitrary in the past in that no consideration was given to matching the language ability of the teachers to the languages of the community. It was therefore possible

for a teacher to be posted to a monolingual village without being able to communicate in that language. This was particularly common with the minority languages of Fula, Serer or Serahule. Recent changes to the language of education policy means that local languages can be used in the classroom for the early grades (one to three). I asked Mr Camara, Co-Ordinator for National Languages at the State Department for Education, about the implications of the change to the language of education policy on the posting of teachers. He indicated that some additional thought would have to be given to the situation but as there were very few minority language speaking teachers the current posting practices were likely to continue for some time (Mr Camara, personal communication, 26th January 2009).

In areas where the language groups are more homogenous, for example in the semi-urban school, Fankoo Bantaba, where the majority of staff and pupils are fluent in both community languages, Mandinka and Fula, switching into a local language is not commented on. The following extract (6.13) shows Mr Camara (no relation to the Co-Ordinator for National Languages) teaching on a one to one basis in the local language. This exchange takes place after Mr Camara has set a task for children to prepare a presentation on the topic of ‘keeping clean during puberty’. The children were already in reasonably large groups of eight to ten and each child was expected to contribute to the presentation with one child nominated to speak to the class at the end of the preparation time. While the children were working on their presentations Mr Camara moved around the room advising individuals and groups. As can be seen from the extract Mr Camara first asks the child what happens when they sweat. In recognition that the child has not understood he restates the question in Mandinka. The child responds to this question which unfortunately was not collected by the microphone worn by Mr Camara, however, the inclusion of the word ‘smell’ appears to be an echo of the child’s response. Mr Camara then repeats the child’s answer in Mandinka, provides an English gloss and then repeats a similar form in Mandinka before moving on to another group. In this way he has utilised the child’s local language to extract knowledge from the child and translated it into English thus giving the English vocabulary for knowledge already possessed.

Extract 6.13

300 **Mr Camara:** if you sweat . you stay like that what will happen . hmm? what will happen .

- 301 for example if you sweat what will happen **ni tarata munakaki?** *if you sweat*
302 *what will happen ni tarata ekakinyadi if you sweat how do you behave*
303 **Pupil:** child answers in local language [undecipherable]
304 **Mr Camara:** **ekanora** *you will smell* you will smell **foyaenora durong** *you must smell* OK so
305 this are some of the things

FB4MGrade5POPFAMENG

In his role as whole class teacher Mr Camara rarely used local languages, however it was noted that as he travelled around the classroom when children were engaged in group, pair or individual work he regularly switched into local language. A similar point was also noted by Brock-Utne (2005b) who observed that when teachers in Tanzanian classrooms employed group work in the classroom the teachers and students immediately switched into KiSwahili, perhaps suggesting that teachers and learners are prepared to subvert the policy but not openly. Brock-Utne (2005b) continues to suggest that teachers avoided being asked questions as that might expose their lack of fluency and vocabulary in the official language. During the evenings teachers would plan their lessons, and admitted to avoiding question and answer periods as much as possible. Teachers also repeat their lessons year on year, as the prescribed curriculum rarely changes and teachers consequently practise the language specific to each lesson. Therefore, when delivering content the teachers will be more comfortable with the language demands upon them, but it is when teachers are engaged in unplanned dialogue, for example, answering questions or one to one teaching, that their language proficiency is challenged and may explain the reliance of local language in these instances.

The next illustration is similar to extract 6.13 in that the teacher is speaking to an individual child, in this case while they attempt to work out a sum on the chalkboard. Mr Touray is encouraging a child who has come to demonstrate their competence at the chalkboard in front of the class and, importantly, the observer. Mr Touray appears to recognise the child's hesitancy and encourages using the child's first language, Fula (indicated in the transcript by small caps). At the same time field notes reveal that another child, seated close to the chalkboard, is sniggering about the first child's delay. Mr Touray reprimands this child in their own language, Serahule (double underlined), and continues his focus on the child at the board.

This double switch is interesting because the local languages are used consecutively to encourage and reprimand. It is perhaps even more remarkable because neither Fula nor Serahule are Mr Touray's first language. Indeed during his pre-observation interview Mr Touray listed Fula as the third of his four 'fluent' languages and commented that he knew only a small amount of Serahule (see table 7.3).

Extract 6.14

209 **Mr Touray:** hey . the sign in between nine and seven . come and show me the sign
210 here OSIGNI MBOYIATO ARHOLAN MBAH NDAH ARNDIKAH *the sign you*
211 *are seeing there come and show me the sign* . these two sign . hey
212 kangko mo munandiga *who understands it here* huh? UNO WITEY *what*
213 *is your name* [possibly meaning the name of the sign] what is the name
214 of that sign
215 **Pupil:** greater than

BK3MGrade5Mat

Mr Touray uses the majority language, Mandinka, regularly to encourage students as in the next example (extract 6.15). In this English lesson the children had been set a task to complete sentences by choosing sections from different columns in a table; that is they had to choose the first part of the sentence from column one, the second from column two and the final section from column three in order to compose complex sentences. In response to the request for her to read her sentence aloud a girl child stumbles over her words. Mr Touray uses first English and then Mandinka to ask her to repeat the sentence. It is possible the use of Mandinka is to fill a vocabulary gap in that Mr Touray may be aware the child does not know the meaning of the word 'repeat'. However, it seems more likely that the switch to Mandinka is a form of encouragement; a way of showing that he is 'on her side' and wants her to do well. Unfortunately, despite the encouragement, the child is unable to complete the task fully and another child is asked to complete the sentence. At this point it should be acknowledged that the observation process is stressful for the students as well as the teacher and while the children seemed to be relaxed and behaving 'normally' the pressure of performing in front of a stranger may have affected the child's linguistic output (see chapter 4).

Extract 6.15

- 125 **Girl Pupil:** she is going to the . go to . er I am going to the England
 126 **Mr Touray:** can you repeat that sentence **afo again bang** *say it again*
 127 **Girl Pupil:** when she finish school . she

BK2MaGrade5ENGMAT

The most prevalent use of local language for pedagogic intervention was the giving and searching for labels. This usually took the form of ‘label giving’, a term I have used for glossing an English word into a local language without further explanation. That is to say that label giving is a vocabulary boosting activity; the children are already familiar with the concept or item in their own language and simply need to have the English term matched with the local language equivalent in order for them to understand. Throughout the corpus there were also several label quests (Heath 1983), in which the teacher requests the correct label for an item or concept from the students. This was frequently in the language of education, English, but some were also conducted bilingually using the local languages (Martin 1996). This is demonstrated in the extract below (6.16) where Mr Bojang gives a bilingual label for the English word ‘sore’. He does this in both Mandinka, **baramor** *wound*, and Wolof, bundow *pimple*.

Extract 6.16

- 296 **Mr Bojang** so
 297 this why I said it's a very dangerous sickness .. what happen . the first
 298 symptoms of syphilis . is warts sores on the genitals . you know sore
 299 **baramor** *wound* kum bundow . ka bundow moi gena rek nga bona ko
 300 whether gorr or jigaen muneh ka tart bundow nga bona ko ni rek *a*
 301 *pimple . the pimple just comes out you pierce it whether man or woman*
 302 *and it becomes a little wound you pierce it like this* and it start itching
 303 and eventually you have a sore . whether you genitals you know genital
 304 organs ahh do you know genital organs

BP4MbGrade6SCI

During this sexual health lesson, which is part of the science curriculum, Mr Bojang asks a rhetorical question “you know sore?” (line 298). Without waiting for a response from the children he glosses the word “sore” in Mandinka as “**baramor**”. He then goes on to give a graphic description of the type of sore he is referring to in Wolof. During this description he uses the Wolof word “bundow”. The translators involved in this section explained that the two words, “**baramor**” and “bundow” are semantically very different. The Mandinka word “**baramor**” means a deep wound

that would usually require medical attention and would take some time to heal, whereas the Wolof word “bundow” means a very small pimple that will heal quickly once the small amount of infection is pushed out. Therefore, although Mr Bojang gives two local language glosses for the English word “sore” they are not synonymous and therefore the children who are speakers of the different languages will have different opinions of the severity of the condition (see appendix 16).

In the next extract (6.17) Mr Kujabi conducts a bilingual label quest, as explained in chapter 5, that also results in a semantic anomaly.

Extract 6.17

- 433 **Mr Kujabi:** yes uproot to uproot to move it huh? all the trees were uprooted . two says there
 434 was a terrible thunder /tunder/ storm you know what is a thunder storm
- 435 **Pupil:** yes
- 436 **Mr Kujabi:** huh?
- 437 **Pupil:** yes
- 438 **Mr Kujabi:** yes what is a thunder storm
- 439 **Pupil:** **sang feteng** *thunder clap*
- 440 **Mr Kujabi:** OK in in our language we call it . **sang feteng** *thunder clap* yes there was a
 441 terrible thunder storm . three . it rained very heavily and it was very windy you
 442 know what this windy
- 443 **Pupil:** **fonyo** *wind*
- 444 **Mr Kujabi:** huh?
- 445 **Pupils:** **#fonyo wind#**
- 446 **Mr Kujabi:** **#OK # fonyo baa** *big wind* it was very windy so you arrange the sentence which
 447 one should come first if number one if number . three should come first you write
 448 one . after number after the sentence ah? if number . two should come second you
- FB3MGrade5QuantAptVerbAptEng

While explaining a task Mr Kujabi reads several sentences that need to be put in the correct order to make a short narrative. He reads “there was a terrible thunder storm” (line 434). When questioned about the meaning one child replies (line 439) with the Mandinka **sang feteng** which literally means *thunder clap* and Mr Kujabi agrees that the Mandinka for thunder storm is indeed **sang feteng**. However, there is a semantic difference between a thunder clap, which is a single occurrence of thunder, and a thunder storm, a period of meteorological unrest. In a similar way there is a difference between the connotations evoked with the phrase “very windy” (line 441) and “big wind” (line 446). As with the thunder example, very windy indicates a

period of windy weather that lasts for some time, a situation such as the Harmatton winds that often sweep across Western Africa, whereas “big wind” or **fonyo baa** in Mandinka may mean just one strong gust, possibly occurring as part of a period of very windy weather.

This type of semantic challenge came to light during an English lesson in the urban school. Mr Sanneh was reading a traditional tale about a character familiar to the children called Gandoki. The children were interested and engaged during the reading and were later called upon to answer comprehension questions about the story. It became clear during the comprehension task that the children did not know the meaning of the word “weapons” and Mr Sanneh gave the Mandinka gloss **jorango** (extract 6.18). During the translation process the Gambian nationals translated this as *weapon* but with a caveat. They explained that the word literally means materials or tools but in the context of the story, with which they were also familiar, it means the tools of war, in other words, a weapon. Unfortunately Mr Sanneh did not give this explanation during the lesson. It is possible, therefore, that the children who did not know what the word weapon meant may not have grasped the full English meaning from the term **jorango**.

Extract 6.18

488 **Mr Sanneh:** which word . weapons . you don't know weapons . weapons are arms ..
489 arms .. oh **jorango** *weapon* { word means materials/tools but in this
490 context he means the tools of war = weapon }. you know that we use
491 vernacular [classroom noise 63 seconds] if you are ready bring your
BP3AaGrade5EngMat

The suggested purpose for this final example of a label quest is different to those offered above. The cognitive strain on teachers and pupils to maintain the use of English has been mentioned in other sections within this chapter and also in the work of Bunyi (2005) among others in chapter 3. In extract 6.19 Mr Fatty asks for a label in the local language for an item of furniture. It is quite clear that the majority of the class are able to respond accurately as they would have been familiar with the word “chair” in both English from their first grade in school and in their native languages from much earlier. It is suggested therefore that the reason for this bilingual label quest is actually a distraction from the intensity of the lesson. Mr Fatty had been teaching the subject of possessive adjectives for a significant period at this time. The

children had found the subject difficult and Mr Fatty, a trainee teacher with no formal training and only three months experience, was clearly finding the lesson challenging. I suggest that the few seconds taken to complete this label quest were a subconscious move to create some linguistic space in an otherwise linguistically intense lesson.

Extract 6.19

291 **Mr Fatty:** #what is a chair yes#
 292 **Boy Pupil:** #me me me# ah togue togue chair chair #yea this look#
 293 **Mr Fatty:** #Surname no no this is# this is a chair
 294 **Boy Pupil:** #yes#

BP1MBGrade6Eng

The final type of pedagogic intervention discussed here is the encouragement for children to use their local languages to express their comprehension of a topic. This is similar to the label giving or quest discussed above but is more than a one word gloss. Pupils are required to translate their understanding from English to their local language. In the normal process of the classroom knowledge is displayed in English but in extract 6.20 Mr Touray clearly encourages a child to respond in her local language.

Extract 6.20

183 **Girl Pupil:** when I am finish school I am going to big house
 184 **Mr Touray:** live in a big house .. when I .. when she huh? OK when she finishes
 185 school . she is going to live in a big house . is that what is correct when
 186 she finishes school . she is going to live in a big house . [Mr Touray
 187 writes on board as speaks] when she . finishes . when she finishes
 188 school .. she is going . to live . in . a big house what does that means in
 189 Mandinka **wor koto mumineti Mandinka kangnoto** *what is the*
 190 *meaning of that in Mandinka* when she finishes school she is going to
 191 [pron gonna] live in big house yes Kaddy [girl's name] what does that
 192 mean in your local language **a koto mu mineti in Mandinka** *what is*
 193 *the meaning of this in Mandinka* . huh? **a koto mumineti in**
 194 **Mandinka** *what is the meaning of this in Mandinka* . yes
 195 **Girl Pupil:** #very faint # **XXXXXXXXX karambungo XXXXXXXXXXXX school**
 196 **Mr Touray:** #uh # yea **ningna karambungo mbitaa seela bung**
 197 **baa kono** *when I finish school I will go live in a big house* OK **mbitaa**
 198 **terla bung baa leh kono** *I will be in a big house* YES . who will give
 199 an a another example from this box here . from the last box let
 200 someone give us example from the last box here . yes Jerhannah [girl's
 201 name] .. [coughs] . hmm

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

This was not an isolated incident as Mr Touray repeated the practice several times during the English lesson. Perhaps Mr Touray is prepared to subvert the policy because of his own personal confidence, extended linguistic repertoire or, on a more practical level, the knowledge that he is physically distant from the seat of government and therefore unannounced observations are not a possibility.

Extract 6.21

- 235 **Mr Touray:** going to travel around the world . what does that means in Mandinka
236 **wor koto mumineti** *what is the meaning of that* . if they do well at
237 school they are going to travel round the world yes
238 **Girl Pupil:** [faint in Mandinka]
239 **Mr Touray:** **duniya taamola** *travel the world* OK travel around the world . this
BK2MaGrade5EngMat

This final practice amalgamates several of the pedagogic reasons for code switching, including encouragement, vocabulary building and drawing on knowledge already possessed in the local language. It would appear in these instances that Mr Touray is aware of the ability of his students to understand the content and that the difficulty is with the demonstration of that knowledge in English. Arthur (1996) also comments on the need for students to display their knowledge in the official language, and that failure to do so often results in discipline. Mr Touray appears to prefer a more supportive approach to translating the students' knowledge from their community language to school language, thus reducing the need for discipline and providing encouragement and recognition for the learning that has been displayed.

The next section discusses language that, although used in the classroom, is not classroom based. Throughout the course of the school day teachers have to take on many roles and one of the most predominant in Gambian classrooms is the role of community elder. In the Gambia a common expression for the upbringing of children is 'training'. Children who have been well 'trained' behave well, know their responsibilities and respect their elders. It is the duty of all responsible adults within a community to 'train' children and the next section (6.3.4) includes examples of language from teachers in their role as community elder and 'trainer'.

6.3.4 Pastoral Care

One of the most interesting uses of local language in the classroom occurred when teachers stepped out of their teaching role and became members of the community. They appeared to do this for several reasons including training, advising and disciplining the children and sharing local knowledge and practices.

On several occasions teachers would assert their identity as elders of the community, a role which commands greater respect and assumes greater responsibility than that of teacher. The enactment of ‘community member’ is often, although not always, portrayed with an avuncular style. By which I mean there is often some gentle teasing of the children (see extract 6.22 lines 427&428) and warmth that western observers, myself included, might associate with a mature family member interacting with a younger family member.

In extract 6.22 Mr Touray takes on the role of community member when he purchases some fruit from a child during the lesson. In The Gambia, particularly in the rural areas, many children raise money to add to the family economy by gathering fruit or firewood from the bush and selling it to adults in the community. On this particular day a girl had brought a large bowl of cashew fruit into the class with the intention of selling them to teachers and her peers during the morning break. However, before break time Mr Touray saw the bowl and asked if the fruit was for sale. He does this in Mandinka, marking quite clearly that he has stepped out of his teacher role and is now a ‘customer’ of the young entrepreneur. Unfortunately the microphone did not collect the girl’s response however Mr Touray’s next action is to give instructions to another child to buy a small bag of groundnuts (peanuts) from the sellers just outside the school in order to get change to give to the girl selling the fruit. What is interesting here is that he uses the errand child’s home language, Fula, to give the instruction despite the probability that the child would have a sound competence in Mandinka. One suggestion for this switch is for swiftness and clarity as discussed earlier (section 6.3.1).

Extract 6.22

425 **Mr Touray:** us to what? **nyilu dun dunto tah lehmu fo sorry talem** *what about*
426 *these are they for borrowing [to take and pay for later] or are they a*
427 *gift . huh?* **nying mu italiti eyeh nying bundi mungtoleh na cashew**

- 428 **muso** *where did you get this from my cashew lady* [girl had brought in
 429 a large box of cashew fruits] OK GETTE GOTO ANANI . GENDE GIARTE
 430 GENAWALA KARKOTARANSU .. HMM JOLE JARTE .. MIFALA JORNO O
 431 GOTO *you take one you hear . buy groundnut fifty butut one each*
 432 *twenty five .. hmm groundnut how much .. I want to give one to the*
 433 *other person* [classroom noise 22 seconds Mr Touray hums to himself]
 434 haa . you know this [addresses Caroline] .. cashew nuts
 435 **Caroline:** yea?
 436 **Mr Touray:** yea . its nice . yea . let me bring water [classroom noise 13 seconds]

BK3MGrade5Mat

One of the major responsibilities of elders of the community is to pass on social norms and this is especially true of the next extract (6.23) which illustrates Mr Bojang, the senior master in the urban school, explaining a phenomenon common in The Gambia. During the sexual health lesson one of the grade six boys questioned why some women never have any children. Children are important in The Gambia and to have a large number of children elevates a family to a position of status. To be infertile is viewed very negatively with many women ostracised by their family and friends if they fail to conceive. Mr Bojang spent a significant amount of time talking around the subject and eventually suggested he had answered the question in line 228. He then reiterates briefly in Wolof the phenomenon before giving advice about how to manage the situation if the boys were to marry an infertile woman.

Extract 6.23

- 226 **Mr Bojang:** so because of that erm I can not fert. erm there is no fertilisation taking
 227 place and then no pregnancy . Alieu [pupil's name] . that's your que
 228 that's your answer . you will see a man cu hamneh ku musa am dom
 229 *who you know who has never had a child* you will also see a woman
 230 cu hamneh musa am jurr *who you know has never conceived* is normal .
 231 so you the boys if you have a woman you are with your woman for
 232 five years you don't have a child don't leave that woman don't divorce
 233 the woman go and do testing if the problem is you you don't have to
 234 talk to the woman if the woman wants to stay with you well the woman
 235 will stay with you . if the woman say anyway I need a girl I need a
 236 child I have to go and marry someone else the woman will go and
 237 marry . if the problem is on the woman you as a man . don't leave your
 238 woman discuss with your woman you want a child if your wife can
 239 allow you to marry a second wife so you can have a child marry the
 240 second wife and your first child if it's a girl name that girl after your
 241 first wife there will be peace in your house [Mr Bojang gives two
 242 handed thumbs up to the class] you get me clearly

BP4MbGrade6Sci

Later in the same lesson Mr Bojang steps out of his teacher role again to give advice about contraception. During his monologue about sexual health conducted almost entirely in English there is a brief switch into Wolof. This mix of English and Wolof would mean that the children receive a very clear message regarding avoiding pregnancy. As a predominantly Muslim country both sex before marriage and contraception are taboo and it is both remarkable that Mr Bojang included this information in his lesson and that he did so in Wolof, the first language of the majority of the students in the class. To include the information in English would mean it was part of the lesson prescribed by the Department of Education but, it could be suggested, by using one of the majority local languages Mr Bojang is assuming his role as a community elder to give advice that the children are likely to both understand and heed. This would suggest the tensions in the classrooms are not only between languages but also in subject content. Many of the children in this grade 6 class were beyond puberty and therefore Mr Bojang was in the conflicting position of delivering the curriculum and advising about personal safety.

Extract 6.24

432 **Mr Bojang:** know .. boys and girls .. the best way if there is XXX if you don't want
433 to have any of these diseases if you cannot say no to sex use a condom
434 .. if you cannot say NO . use a condom because some of you are
435 donkeys you cannot say no to a man or no to a woman anybody ku
436 nyow rek ana wah *anybody who just comes let's do it* please use a
437 condom balaa ngen birr *before you get pregnant* before you'll be
438 pregnant and before you have any s. of this sickness use a condom if
439 you cannot say no if you are Mr Yes or Miss Yes use a condom .

BP4MbGrade6Sci

The information about sexual health is of particular importance in the urban school where Mr Bojang was giving his advice. The children in this grade six class were far more mature and socially aware than the grade six children in the other two sites. The proximity to the tourist area with its corresponding access to western, particularly European, attitudes and practices may be one reason for their insight. Many of the elders in the community lament the changes to the young people as a result of the tourism, particularly as the tourist area expands and the separation between tourist and indigenous population becomes blurred. Many are concerned with young people attending nightclubs and the beaches which tourists frequent as it is well known that some tourists are looking for a sexual interaction while on holiday. Not all cases

where the teachers step out of their teaching role and into their elder of the community role are as vital as sexual health warnings but do relate to social norms all the same.

In extracts 6.25 and 6.26 Mr Touray reminds children of the correct way to drink water. In houses and institutional buildings drinking water is kept in large jars and is taken out by dipping a cup into it. Therefore, for very practical reasons, whenever someone wants to drink they should move away from the area where others are sitting or working to ensure drips from the outside of the cup do not splash them or papers.

In the first of these two extracts (6.25) on the subject Mr Touray gently reminds the child to move away. However, when the second child commits the same offence soon after the response is more dramatic and forceful (extract 6.26).

Extract 6.25

391 **Mr Touray:** hey hey hey keep quiet keep quiet keep quiet
392 its time for maths [classroom noise for 12 seconds] hey **nyin bucketo**
393 **landi .. nimanbete minna yetakoma alikane ming tablolokan** *put*
394 *this bucket down .. if anybody want to drink go behind don't drink at*
395 *the table* [classroom noise for 38 seconds]

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

The use of the profanity in the second reference to drinking water (extract 6.26) is highly unusual. Having visited Gambia many times over many years, and travelled to many parts of the country I have been conscious of the very low level of swearing by all members of the community.

Extract 6.26

622 **Mr Touray:** find . the total distance hey **bidongo fucking landi waay** [classroom
623 **noise 2 seconds]** **mulobeh diamoula ibeh bindongo mingkang**
624 **[classroom noise 3 seconds]** **iteh mang fengno fokapareh ibeh**
625 **diamoula** *put down the fucking bottle [classroom noise 2 seconds]*
626 *people are talking and you are drinking from the bottle [classroom*
627 *noise 3 seconds]* *you are not very clever [you don't know anything]*
628 *and you are talking* [classroom noise 5 seconds]

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

To hear a teacher swear in this way is noteworthy because of his responsible position within the community, the young age of the children and the lack of swearing in general use. Its use here added severity to the warning over and above that portrayed through volume, intonation and language.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings of the analysis in response to the question ‘for what purposes are local languages used in the classroom?’. In brief it has been identified that the teachers in this study use local languages for many and varied reasons, including; classroom management purposes, to deliver content and for pedagogic intervention and pastoral care. It is impossible to say, with any guarantee, why teachers used a particular local language at a particular time, however, suggestions have been offered.

The switch into local language for classroom management purposes appears to be for practical purposes. That is to ensure the task was completed in accordance with the teacher’s wishes and for swiftness. However, there were occasions where it is possible the switch into a local language was to exclude the observer from the activity, this was particularly possible during interactions that involved discipline. The local language that was used to deliver content seemed to occur for more social or cultural reasons. Teachers appeared to deliver content that was of social value, for example during the SES classes, in the local languages, while completing the broader demands of the curriculum in English. This was evidenced in extracts 6.10 and 6.11 in which Mr Bah advises students of hierarchy within the government of the country, while the content as laid out by the syllabus was delivered almost entirely in English. The pedagogic intervention category contains switches into local language that appear to occur for far more individual reasons. The extracts in this section illustrate teachers changing code to address the immediate learning needs of the class or individual students. Finally the category described as pastoral care contains examples of local language used for both social and personal reasons. Teachers changed codes to fulfil their duties as community elders or leaders, a role that in Gambian society takes precedence over that of teacher.

Despite placing the switches into the four categories it has been acknowledged throughout that the reasons for switching can only be alluded to and not declared unequivocally. One of the reason for this is that in many of the extracts there appear

to be several reasons for switching into a local language and they have therefore been classified using only the most plausible reason for changing.

Some instances of language change echo previous studies conducted in post colonial contexts, particularly those of Brock-Utne (2005a), Arthur (1994, 1996 & 2001) and Bunyi (2005) among others, and reference has been made to them as appropriate.

Where literature is not available to support suppositions recourse has been made to knowledge of the context as outlined in the opening chapter of this thesis, and where necessary, Gambian nationals who have contributed to understanding through translation and recollection of their own experiences.

The next chapter will discuss research question two, how does the language used in the urban schools differ from the rural schools?, showing that there is a difference between the language in different geographical locations.

Chapter 7

Local Responses to National Policies

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings in relation to the second research question; How does the language used in the urban school differ from the rural school? There is a vast difference between the living arrangements in the urban and rural areas of The Gambia and consideration is given here to whether this impacts on the language in the classroom. In this chapter I will identify that there is a propensity for the teachers in the urban school to use a small number of *linguae francae*, while teachers in the rural school in this study tended to use multiple discrete languages depending primarily on the interlocutor.

All countries produce a language in education policy. Many developing countries have complex, and therefore expensive to implement, language policies. Until very recently The Gambia had a very simple policy of straight for English and English only. However, the recent change to a policy that incorporates the use of local language as medium of instruction from grades 1-3, followed by English MoI and LL subject classes has proved to be complex. While levels of literacy and limited community use of English indicates the previous policy did not produce desirable results, implementation of the new policy has been slow to nonexistent. All of the teachers I asked believed they were only ever allowed to use English in the classroom and in all the schools I have been in I have never seen, in practice or listed on a timetable, a local language lesson. Therefore the assumption of a policy of sE and EO exists among all stakeholders in education, with the exception of a few politicians.

As discussed in chapter 2 language policies are often made by the ministers of a government based in an urban area of a country. Even in a small country, such as The Gambia, there are differences between urban and rural areas. Not only is the industry and economy different, but there are significantly different attitudes to education and western influences on traditional life (see discussion of extract 6.24). Government ministers rarely travel to the rural areas and therefore the unique challenges faced by teachers and learners in rural areas are not catered for in policies.

This chapter considers how the discrete micro communities of this study, the schools, have responded to the national ‘*one size fits all*’ policy. The analysis of the data suggests a difference between language use in urban and rural classrooms, reinforcing the argument for empirical research in each context to assess the language environment before applying policies. In this chapter the most common patterns of interaction noticed in the data are discussed first. In section 7.2 the use of multiple but separate languages in the rural area is contrasted with the urban practice of resorting to a lingua franca. This is followed in section 7.3 with a discussion of the urban practice of parallel bilingualism (Gafaranga 2006) in the *linguae francae*, a practice not observed in the rural areas. Consideration is then given to the evidence which suggests an emerging phenomenon, that Makoni and Meinhof (2004) have termed language amalgam (defined below) also known as an urban vernacular (Mc Laughlin 2009) (section 7.4). Instances of language amalgamation are few in this study for reasons discussed in section 7.4, but it is worthy of further investigation (see Chapter 10.5).

As outlined in chapter 4 (section 4.2) this is an ethnographic and, therefore, an interpretative study using qualitative research methods. Quantitative data has been limited to the collection of numerical details concerning the languages spoken by individual teachers or in particular schools in order to illustrate the prevalence of a range of languages and the difference between urban and rural language use. This information has been presented in charts where appropriate.

7.2 Serial Monolingualism vs Linguae Francae

My data, gathered during several visits to The Gambia, indicates individual schools respond differently to the national policies. In the rural school more individual languages are used as opposed to the urban school where reliance on a small number of *linguae francae* (LF) is noted. The presence of many more languages and dialects in the urban context, due to internal and regional (West African) migration makes it potentially linguistically more vibrant than the rural communities which have a smaller number of languages in the village community. However, I have noticed during recent visits that minority groups in the urban area rely on LF and rarely engage in conversation outside their family compound in their first languages. This

suggests a centripetal force from the majority language uses and appears to have forced the minor languages into very specific limited domains. In the rural areas conversational participants use each of the community languages in an appropriate way depending on domain, purpose of interaction and interlocutor. As in a diglossic situation (Ferguson 1959) the rules of engagement are known to members of the speech community. Not all members of the speech community are fluent in all of the languages, but their presence in regular, everyday interactions means that the majority of interactions are conducted without recourse to a LF.

To clarify, serial monolingualism is the use of discrete language codes employed based on the linguistic strengths of the interlocutors whereas lingua franca is the use of a single, community accepted code regardless of the linguistic strengths of the conversational partner. In practice in the urban setting where speakers of several languages are engaged in an interaction the default lingua franca of either Mandinka or Wolof would be used, even when interlocutors are able to acknowledge some of the other persons' languages. In the rural areas interlocutors will use the language codes of the other person wherever possible, or, if it were not possible, each would maintain their own language code and engage in parallel bilingualism (Gafarnaga 2006; see section 7.3). The serial monolingualism system works in the rural area as there are fewer discrete codes and each would be frequently used in the community, so there would be significant understanding of the interlocutors' code even when production of that code is not always possible.

The rural use of '*serial monolingualism*', as I have come to recognise it, is possible in classroom contexts because of what I have termed as the '*linguistic multiplicity*' of the teachers. This multiplicity, the presence of several languages in a repertoire, is often the result of teachers being posted to communities with different languages. Therefore, it has been my experience that long serving teachers often have numerous languages in their personal repertoires. Worth noting here is that some of the unqualified and newly qualified teachers in this study also have rich linguistic repertoires acquired through association with a variety of languages in their home communities.

In order to illustrate this point, the linguistic multiplicity of the teachers in this study has been summarised in several charts. The information in the charts came from the teachers during a general survey type interview (see appendix 12) which was undertaken immediately prior to the observations. The teachers were asked “which languages do you speak?”. They were not asked to list the languages in a particular order or to indicate proficiency, although some teachers did indicate some levels of ability. It is important to note that all the information regarding language proficiency is self-reported and therefore open to interpretation. For example, none of the teachers mentioned Arabic in their list of languages but several were observed speaking it and all used it for greetings, religious purposes and included formulaic phrases in their unguarded speech. In addition, Mr Yaffa, a young, unqualified teacher in the rural school, declared only English and Mandinka but was observed speaking a third language, Wolof, on at least one occasion. Another rural teacher, Mr Touray, who claimed knowledge of six languages, was also observed speaking an amalgam of languages (see extract 7.8 and discussion at 7.4) including one which was not listed in his repertoire. The reason for this under-reporting may be misunderstanding of the question. The teachers may have interpreted the question “which languages do you speak” as meaning either, ‘in which languages are you fluent?’, or, ‘in which languages do you regularly communicate?’. If this is the case then in addition to the examples illustrated above there may be other cases of the teachers being able to use languages that they did not self-report and were not captured during the observations. However, the underreporting may also be simply an oversight or relate to issues of ethnic identity. For example, using a language for religious observance may not be considered by the teachers as being able to speak the language, as perhaps *speaking* suggests a spontaneity and creativity rather than repetition and conformity. Although inter-ethnic conflict is rare in The Gambia there is prestige associated with some languages and reluctance to align with others because of social status which sometimes results in inter-ethnic aversion. Some ethnic groups, and therefore their languages, carry the stigma of being associated with rural dwelling which connotes subsistence farming, traditional practices, poverty and lack of education. Another example of a language having a negative association is with the Jola language. Opponents to the president, who is a Jola, may refuse to acknowledge use of this language. The Jola community in Gambia is small and therefore association with the president is presumed for all Jola speakers.

Bearing all these caveats in mind the following tables illustrate the linguistic multiplicity of the teachers as collected. The first illustrates the number of languages spoken by the teachers (Table 7.1). It should be noted here that Mr Yaffa, the teacher who declared two languages and had only been teaching for three months at this time and was completing his first teaching placement, was observed code switching into Wolof on at least one occasion. Wolof is not a community language in the village or part of Mr Yaffa’s declared repertoire, however, it is a dominant language in Brikama, where the teacher training college is situated and where Mr Yaffa had recently spent a significant period of time studying and engaged in training. Assuming the Wolof influence came from spending time in Brikama suggests that it would be interesting to monitor Mr Yaffa’s personal language repertoire over his teaching career.

Table 7.1 Linguistic Multiplicity of Observed Teachers

Number of Languages	1	2	3	4	5	6
Teachers with this number of languages	0	1	0	3	4	2

The next two tables illustrate the multilingualism first by language (7.2) and then by individual, although for ease of location the individuals have been grouped together in their schools (7.3, 7.4 and 7.5). Ten teachers were interviewed.

Table 7.2 Languages Spoken by the Ten Teachers in the Study

Language	Number of Speakers	Comments
Mandinka	10	4 teachers listed Mandinka first. 1 teacher listed only Mandinka and English in his repertoire, but used Wolof on one occasion in his teaching.
Fula	8	1 of the teachers claimed ‘small’ Fula
Wolof	8	2 of the teachers claimed ‘small’ Wolof
Jola	5	2 of the teachers claimed ‘small’ Jola
Serahule	1	1 of the teachers claimed ‘small’ Serahule
Serer	1	
Manjago	1	
Bambara	1	

Language	Number of Speakers	Comments
Balanta	1	
English	10	1 teacher did not list English in his repertoire but obviously spoke fluent and proficient English. 4 teachers listed English first; 3 of those put Mandinka second. 1 teacher listed only Mandinka and English in his repertoire, but used Wolof on one occasion in his teaching.
French	1	1 teacher claimed 'small' French

Table 7.2 illustrates the number of speakers of each language; note the proficiency comments made by the teachers have also been included. The phrase 'small' in Gambian English is ubiquitous and has many meanings; in this instance I have interpreted it to mean speaking the language less well than others in the linguistic repertoire. From this table it is clear that the majority of teachers are familiar with the three dominant indigenous languages; Mandinka, Fula and Wolof, with several minority languages also represented. The three schools are geographically spread throughout the country and therefore this information may have implications for using the dominant indigenous languages as media of instruction as a national policy (see discussion in chapter 10). If the government was able to guarantee its teaching staff are sufficiently fluent with the dominant languages it could make national policies that could be adapted regionally.

The next three charts: 7.3 (Baakoo Kunda, rural school), 7.4 (Fankoo Bantaba, semi-urban school) and 7.5 (Balinsaa Primary, urban school), illustrate the languages used in the communities (row one) and those observed in the schools (row two). These are then mapped with the teachers' individual repertoires in the lower half of the chart. These charts clearly illustrate that in the rural and semi-urban school more languages are used in the school than are represented in the community, but in the urban school far fewer languages were witnessed in the classroom than are present in the community.

Table 7.3 Baakoo Kunda Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires

Baakoo Kunda - Rural School									
Community Languages	Mandinka	Fula	Ballanta						
Languages Observed	Mandinka	Fula	Ballanta/Fula Amalgam	English	Wolof	Serahule	Arabic		
Mr Bah	Mandinka	Fula		English	Wolof			Jola	
Mr Touray	Mandinka	Fula		English	Wolof	Serahule			French
Mr Yaffa	Mandinka			English					

Interestingly in 7.3 (above) there are two unqualified teachers, each on their first teaching placement, with vastly different linguistic repertoires. The Ministry of Education does not consider the linguistic repertoires of individual teachers when allocating positions, but clearly Mr Touray would be able to assimilate more readily into a monolingual Fula or Serahule community than Mr Yaffa for example.

Table 7.4 Fankoo Bantaba Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires

Fankoo Bantaba - Semi-Urban School									
Community Languages	Mandinka	Fula	Jola	Karoninka					
Languages Observed	Mandinka	Fula (x1)			English	Wolof (x1)	French/English/Mandinka Amalgam (x1)	Arabic (x1)	
Mr Camara	Mandinka	Fula	Jola		English	Wolof			
Mr Kujabi	Mandinka	Fula	Jola		English	Wolof			Manjago
Mr Jallow	Mandinka	Fula	Jola		English				
Mr Saidy	Mandinka	Fula			English	Wolof			

Table 7.4 (above) illustrates the linguistic profile of Fankoo Bantaba, the semi-urban school. Of particular interest here is the absence of Karoninka in the classroom and indeed from the repertoires of the individual teachers, some of whom have been living and working in Fankoo Bantaba for many years. Karoninka is a minority language in The Gambia but has a significant population in Fankoo Bantaba, the majority of

whom are Christian. Unfortunately the absence of Karoninka, even unofficially, in the classroom and the teachers' lack of use may not bode well for its maintenance as a vibrant language (Ferguson 2006a).

Table 7.5 Balinsaa Primary Community Languages, Observed Languages and Teacher Repertoires

Balinsaa Primary – Urban School												
Community Languages	Mandinka	Wolof	Fula	Jola	Serer	Serahule	Karoninka	Manjago				
Languages Observed	Mandinka	Wolof	Fula (x1)						English			Mandinka/Wolof
Mr Bojang	Mandinka	Wolof		Jola					English	Ballanta		
Mr Fatty	Mandinka	Wolof	Fula						English		Bambara	
Mr Sanneh	Mandinka	Wolof	Fula		Serer				English			

As can be seen in 7.5 there are a number of community languages. In fact it is likely that this list, created from discussions with community elders and teachers, is actually incomplete. The urban area receives migrants from all over The Gambia and the West African region and therefore it can be anticipated that many more language groups are present in the area, including Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa speakers from Nigeria and Krio speakers from Sierra Leone. However, each of the migrant groups is likely to be numerically small and therefore may not be recognised by the major language speakers. The small numbers and tendency to stay together in kinship groups means migrants rarely use their first language outside of their immediate family compounds.

In the rural areas, the rich linguistic resource illustrated by tables 7.3 and 7.4, often the result of teachers having been previously posted to monolingual villages, allows for teachers to accommodate students' first language should the need for a switch from English arise. The urban teachers were no less multilingual; having between four and five languages each, however, the patterns of interaction in the town conforms to different norms.

The larger and far more diverse urban population means that conversational partners are much less secure in attributing a first language to their interlocutors. There were

several instances in the urban data of teachers asking about a student's first language during the course of a lesson. In the extract below, 'Abdoulie' is having difficulty comprehending the concept of possessive pronouns. Mr Fatty, an inexperienced, trainee teacher asks which of the *linguae francae*, Mandinka or Wolof, Abdoulie speaks, possibly to enable him to switch codes to facilitate the learning process. He even suggests a minority language, spoken by other children in the class but not by Mr Fatty which suggests the practice of using other minority language speaking students as interpreters during the teaching and learning process. After some mumbled exchanges Abdoulie acknowledges Serer as his family's first language and, as a recent migrant, does not appear to have acquired a *lingua franca*. Serer is a minority, rural only language with very few speakers in The Gambia and carries negative connotations of rural dwelling. Mr Fatty cannot speak Serer (see table 7.5) which he admits at line 478. In this instance he does not switch codes but continues his one to one teaching in English (see extract 7.1).

Extract 7.1

- 472 **Mr Fatty:** which language can you speak Mandinka or Wolof . Wolof
- 473 **Boy Pupil:** Wolof
- 474 **Mr Fatty:** Jo Jola?
- 475 **Abdoulie:** XXXX
- 476 **Mr Fatty:** hmm?
- 477 **Abdoulie:** Serer
- 478 **Mr Fatty:** Serer OK the book I cannot speak Serer the book is your own now you
 479 understand that so which word make the book to be your own what word
 480 can you show me that make the book to be your own because we says that
 481 adject. possessive adjectives shows the ownership of something

BP1MbGrade6Eng

Without advance knowledge of the interlocutor's preferred language it is necessary to open a conversation, after the initial greeting in Arabic, in a language that the interlocutor will be able to engage with. For this reason the majority of interactions in the urban classroom were conducted in the government dictated school language of English, or Mandinka or Wolof as the local *linguae francae* (cf Juffermans and McGlynn 2009). In the extract below (7.2) Mr Fatty came to his desk and found a

stack of papers that did not belong to him. He addressed a child seated close to the desk. Notice how the interaction starts in Mandinka, the local language dictated by the area the school occupies, but continues in Fula once Mr Fatty realises the child cannot respond accurately in Mandinka (line 51). To an outsider there is no indication of how Mr Fatty knew the child was a Fula speaker, perhaps there was some clue in the pronunciation, the syntax or vocabulary of the child's confused utterance at line 51 that identified the pupil as a Fula speaker (the comment in line 52/53 was added during the transcription process following discussion of the field notes with the translator). Although the mystery of the papers' ownership was not resolved the conversation was managed competently in Fula.

Extract 7.2

- 48 **Mr Fatty:** hey sit down sit down [classroom noise 10 seconds] **jomaleh**
 49 **nying tujang toubab musunding leh yeh nying tujang** *who left this*
 50 *thing here is it the small white lady who left it here*
- 51 **Pupil:** **jomah booku kerang bang** *who is it where they put the books in*
- 52 **Mr Fatty:** PAPER OMBOWADI DOH PAPER DOH *who put that paper there* [teacher
 53 has realised child is Fula so has changed code]
- 54 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 55 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 56 **Pupil:** HUMBO *what*
- 57 **Mr Fatty:** OPAPERJO HUMBERWADI MOGO *that paper who owns it*
- 58 **Pupil:** MI ANDER *I don't know*

BP3MbGrade6Mat

This was the only local language interaction that was not in either Mandinka or Wolof observed during more than ten hours in the urban classrooms. By switching into Fula, in this instance, it could be suggested that the teacher's principle concern was facilitating communication and expediting the task. This resonates with the multiple language use in the rural area, where switching languages appears to facilitate communication rather than to index ethnic or linguistic identity. The cultural identities of individuals in the relatively small and more intimate rural villages are already known to others and therefore projection of identity does not appear to be the overriding motive.

The two extracts below illustrate something of the ‘multiple monolingualism’ of the rural area. Mr Jallow, a mature and experienced teacher has been teaching in Fankoo Bantaba for many years. His age and status mean he is well-respected in the village and especially in the school. I was due to observe Mr Jallow on the first day of observations; however, on the preceding day he received an injury and had to visit the health centre. Consequently, I observed him when he returned to work and, in addition to his classroom practice, I was also able to observe the community’s concern regarding Mr Jallow’s injury. What is clear is the ‘interruptability’ (van Lier 1996a:373) of these lessons, which as van Lier points out is a characteristic of the rural schools he encountered and means anyone can come into the class and talk to the teachers. Extract 7.3 shows Mr Jallow being greeted by a visitor to his classroom who has come with the express intention of asking after his health and well-being. The exchange is entirely in Mandinka and Arabic and a breakdown of the interaction follows the transcript extract (7.3) in table 7.6.

Extract 7.3

- 564 **Mr Jallow:** **alhamdulillah abefisi yakang** *thank God it's getting better*
- 565 **Visitor:** **yea Morrow yarra nying fengketaleh bilahe . fo ibuka borrow mala**
 566 *yea my man then then this thing is serious by God . don't you apply*
 567 *medicine*
- 568 **Mr Jallow:** **nga som somo lehma barri nga pengo fanang taleh** *yes I applied*
 569 *'som somo' [a medicated water that people wash with] and I took an*
 570 *injection too*
- 571 **Visitor:** **keba koto nying barramo keta janing abe kendealah akemah .**
 572 **alamo abarrako bolla . moyeduwa kairola . inshallah salige muta**
 573 **kwor ibe hakilo tulah** *elderly people when you have a wound it is*
 574 *difficult to heal . may it heal quickly . let's pray for peace . if God wills*
 575 *it you have to be very careful with ablution [washing before prayers]*
- 576 **Mr Jallow:** **hani nkah taimami leh nying lunli kono** *no these days I pray without*
 577 *ablution*
- 578 **Visitor:** XXX
- 579 **Mr Jallow:** **ha ha** *yes yes*

FB2AGrade6MatVerbApt

Table 7.6 Breakdown of extract 7.3

Line Number	Speaker	Language
564	Mr Jallow	Arabic Mandinka
565 - 567	Visitor	Mandinka Arabic Mandinka
568 - 570	Mr Jallow	Mandinka
571 – 575	Visitor	Mandinka Arabic Mandinka
576 – 577	Mr Jallow	Mandinka
578	Visitor	Utterance undecipherable
579	Mr Jallow	Mandinka

Extract 7.4, which took place a few minutes later, is with another adult who has come for the same purpose of enquiring after Mr Jallow’s health. Extract 7.4 is conducted in Fula, Arabic and English and table 7.7 details the breakdown of languages in the extract.

Extract 7.4

- 696 **Visitor:** XXX
- 697 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH . NOBE TONG *I'm fine . they are there* [greet another adult]
 698 very good .. MBAH WADI DOH DUMANE JONI *hope it's getting better now*
- 699 **Visitor:** local language undecipherable
- 700 **Mr Jallow:** **alhamdulillah** *thank God*
- 701 **Visitor:** TANAFALA [ritual greeting] *hope everything is OK*
- 702 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH *I'm fine*
- 703 **Visitor:** TANALA *how are you*
- 704 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH *I'm fine*
- 705 **Visitor:** **yea alhamdulillah** *yea thank God*
- 706 **Mr Jallow:** ah **alhamdulillah** *thank God* hmm . you are just coming
- 707 **Visitor:** yea very good [classroom noise 1 seconds]

FB2AGrade6MatVerbApt

The breakdown of the interactions in tables 7.6 and 7.7 illustrates the linguistic make-up of each interaction. In the example of extract 7.4 Arabic, Fula and English are used.

Table 7.7 Breakdown of Extract 7.4

Line Number	Speaker	Language
696	Visitor	Utterance undecipherable
697 – 698	Mr Jallow	Fula English Fula
699	Visitor	Utterance undecipherable
700	Mr Jallow	Arabic
701	Visitor	Fula
702	Mr Jallow	Fula
703	Visitor	Fula
704	Mr Jallow	Fula
705	Visitor	English Arabic
706	Mr Jallow	Arabic English
707	Visitor	English

Again, from an outsider’s view, there was no indication of which language each speaker could use in terms of dress or other ethnic markers, and therefore Mr Jallow was using his local knowledge to ensure he spoke the correct language to each of his interlocutors. It is interactions such as this that illustrate the creativity of people to use their local knowledge to solve local problems (Canagarajah 2002; Belay et al 2007). This is particularly illustrated by the use of English in extract 7.4. In the rural areas few people can use English and therefore the minimal English insertions may have been included to acknowledge the visitor’s competence in the official language. It is unfortunate the microphone did not capture all of the visitors’ contributions, however it is clear that Mr Jallow and the visitors were able to conduct their interaction in an appropriate language for all.

7.3 Parallel Bilingualism and Rapid Switching

Rapid switching between the local *linguae francae*, in the urban area, or local languages in the rural areas was also noted as a response to the multilingual situation. Gafaranga (2006) related that in some situations people are able to communicate while speaking separate and non-mutually intelligible codes. With the majority of urban dwellers being exposed to both Mandinka and Wolof on a daily basis in a variety of domains there is significant comprehension of the ‘other’ language even if the interlocutor is not fluent. Therefore it would be possible for a Mandinka speaker to be able to understand a Wolof utterance even if they were not able to produce a full Wolof response, and of course vice versa. The next extract (7.5) illustrates a situation in which Mr Fatty is reprimanding a student for not sweeping the classroom adequately before the start of the class. It is usually the girls’ responsibility to sweep the classrooms and in this particular school they are set into teams who take turns to sweep each day.

Note the translator comments in line 62 in the extract below (extract 7.5) which seem to illustrate that the child was trying to speak Mandinka but not making herself clear. This section was translated by a London dwelling Gambian national. He speaks both Mandinka and Wolof fluently but always separately depending on his interlocutor. The translator’s comment that the child cannot speak Mandinka well is not supported by their later use of Mandinka (line 75). I therefore suggest that the child was using some Mandinka vocabulary but was also mixing with another language to create a fast paced urban vernacular (see section 7.4). My reason for this suggestion is that at the point of delivery Mr Fatty, an urban dwelling fluent speaker of Mandinka and Wolof, had no difficulty in understanding the utterance. However, Mr Fatty’s reaction to the child’s utterance was to reply to the student in Wolof. It should also be noted that the written transcript does not allow for representation of the speed of the interaction. I would describe these exchanges as rapid and certainly, each utterance was delivered without hesitation.

Extract 7.5

62	Pupil:	XXX [translator comment: not clear because the child cannot speak
63		Mandinka well and therefore translation is not possible - gist is: I think we just
64		swept the day before yesterday]

- 65 **Mr Fatty:** ane Binta Surname *where is Binta Surname . huh? . where is Binta*
 66 *Surname . and who else . and who else*
- 67 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 68 **Mr Fatty:** **aning jama . aning jama** *and who . and who*
- 69 **Pupil:** man nekanah debaleh mom muneh dubaleh lek majoko Tako Surname
 70 *I was sweeping and she said she will not sweep then I gave it to Tako*
 71 *Surname*
- 72 **Mr Fatty:** wow *yes*
- 73 **Pupil:** hei do Tako Surname *it's not Tako Surname*
- 74 **Mr Fatty:** where is Tako Surname
- 75 **Pupil:** **mojamaleh fanang markeh** *a lot of people also did not do it*
- 76 **Mr Fatty:** **fo ibeh lekah classo fitta everyday** *is it that they all sweep the class*
 77 *everyday*
- 78 **Pupil:** keidubaleh kenanke tamdubaleh *this one did not sweep and this one*
 79 *also did not sweep*

BP4MA1Grade6Mat

Table 7.8 illustrates the breakdown of the interaction in extract 7.5. The breakdown reveals the three *linguae francae* were used at different stages, although only Mr Fatty used English. I suggest, based on my observations, that although English is the language of the classroom the children only use it during lesson time, for learning, and as this is a disciplinary interaction the young people did not incorporate English.

Table 7.8 Breakdown of Interaction at Extract 7.5

Line Number	Speaker	Language
62 - 64	Pupil	Mandinka (possibly Mandinka/Wolof amalgam)
65 - 66	Mr Fatty	Wolof; English
67	Pupil	Not picked up by microphone
68	Mr Fatty	Mandinka
69 - 71	Pupil	Wolof
72	Mr Fatty	Wolof
73	Pupil	Wolof
74	Mr Fatty	English
75	Pupil	Mandinka
76 - 77	Mr Fatty	Mandinka
78 - 79	Pupil	Wolof

One possible explanation for the use of different languages is the expected audience for each utterance. Mr Fatty is a Mandinka, and therefore his first language is Mandinka, with Wolof his second language. It is possible the pupil to whom he was speaking is also a Mandinka, and therefore utterances that were between themselves, such as at line 68, 75 and 76 were in Mandinka. Those utterances that either involved the calling to or identification of other students or were intended to be heard by other students were in Wolof, such as at line 65, 69, 73 and 78. This could suggest that the pupil was trying to signify linguistic affinity with Mr Fatty in order for him to be more sympathetic to her and not blame her for the unswept classroom. Alternatively Wolof is gaining more domains of use and superiority as a lingua franca (Juffermans and McGlynn 2009) and it is likely therefore that more group interactions will be conducted in Wolof rather than the language of the individual speakers within the group, even if, as in this case the speakers have a shared first language.

The next extract, 7.6, is from the most rural school, Baakoo Kunda, and illustrates rapid switching by a single speaker from one language to another dependant on interlocutor. Analysis of this extract indicates that Mr Touray changes his language according to the interlocutor. He starts by addressing one small girl in Mandinka as she reveals she has cashew fruits for sale. He then inserts the ubiquitous English ‘OK’ before switching to Fula to request another child to go to the groundnut sellers at the school gates in order to get some small coins so he can pay for the cashew fruit. He then starts to offer me a cashew fruit to eat in English. As with the previous switching in the *linguae francae* (extract 7.5) this interaction takes place without hesitation or pausing, suggesting that the serial monolingualism illustrated in section 7.2 is not only used for complete conversations but also within single interactions that include interlocutors from several language groups.

Extract 7.6

425 **Mr Touray:** us to what? **nyilu dun dunto tah lehmu fo sorry talem** *what about*
 426 *these are they for borrowing [to take and pay for later] or are they a*
 427 *gift . huh? nying mu italiti eyeh nying bundi mungtoleh na cashew*
 428 **muso** *where did you get this from my cashew lady [girl had brought in*
 429 *a large box of cashew fruits] OK GETTE GOTO ANANI . GENDE GIARTE*
 430 *GENAWALA KARKOTARANSU .. HMM JOLE JARTE .. MIFALA JORNO O*
 431 *GOTO you take one you hear . buy groundnut fifty butut one each*
 432 *twenty five .. hmm groundnut how much .. I want to give one to the*

- 433 *other person* [classroom noise 22 seconds Mr Touray hums to himself]
 434 haa . you know this [addresses Caroline] .. cashew nuts
- 435 **Caroline:** yea?
- 436 **Mr Touray:** yea . its nice . yea . let me bring water [classroom noise 13 seconds]

BK3MGrade5Mat

The multiplicity of Mr Touray is pronounced in this extract, as, as can be seen from the breakdown in table 7.9, he uses several languages with his students. He then addresses me in English only, even though he is aware that I can speak the Mandinka necessary for this interaction.

Table 7.9 Breakdown of Interaction at Extract 7.6

Line Number	Speaker	Languages
425 - 434	Mr Touray	English, Mandinka, English, Fula, English
435	Caroline	English
436	Mr Touray	English

7.4 Amalgamation/Urban Vernaculars

Amalgamations, or urban vernaculars are languages that develop out of complex language contact situations (see the discussion at 9.3.2). Mc Laughlin (2009) suggests that there is a usually a connection with a past colonial language, although the urban vernacular is neither the colonial language nor the official language of the country. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:41) have proposed that the use of ‘mixed’ languages is one of the ways in which African people have responded to new patterns of multilingualism. They describe the ‘mixed’ languages as codes that arise from intense language contact as a result of urbanisation, industrialisation and rural to urban economic migration. Indeed, Myers-Scotton (1982:122) suggests it is ‘urbanisation and not region or even population which sets the pattern [of language use]’. In her study of Nairobi Myers-Scotton (1982) identified the patterns of contact with the rural area by people who had migrated to the urban area for economic reasons. She noted

that urban dwellers maintained strong links with ‘home’ (1982:123) in the rural areas and often have social networks in the urban area that included ‘ethnic brethren’ (1982:127), people from the same rural area and thus speaking the same language. This describes the urban area of The Gambia, and the first language maintenance patterns, exactly. Makoni and Meinhof (2004:82) indicate that the use of ‘unmixed forms are an exception’ and that linguistic amalgamation is the norm in such communities. Mc Laughlin (2009) suggests that urban dwellers in a linguistically vibrant milieu create a new language by amalgamating their original ethnic and professional languages signified respectively by their mother tongue and official language. The recognition of urban vernaculars, or amalgamated languages, in many African cities reinforces the creativity of language users, perpetuating the long recognised phenomenon of language *growing* to fill the needs of the people who speak it. Urban vernaculars, then, have a connection with creoles in that they are born of necessity. In the urban situation it is economic necessity which presents the need for a lingua franca, in this case an amalgam, that works for all people.

The circumstances identified as necessary for the development of an urban vernacular, intense linguistic contact, are present in the area immediately surrounding the urban school in this study. Although both Mandinka and Wolof are used independently as *linguae francae* the amalgamation of both languages, with the addition of English vocabulary, is becoming more common in the market place and other public areas. During the observation process there were a number of instances where an utterance incorporated both of the local *linguae francae*, Mandinka and Wolof, and some included English or another language as well.

In the extract below (7.7) Mr Fatty had been teaching a class when Mr Bojang, the senior master, entered with some British tourists. The tourists had come to see the classroom and in exchange for a tour of the school had brought sweets for the children. Mr Fatty, a young, unqualified and inexperienced teacher, took the opportunity to complain to his mentor about the behaviour of some of the children. Both Mr Bojang and Mr Fatty have Mandinka as their first language. Notice the comments made by the Gambian nationals during the translation process (lines 1246-1248, 1250-1251, 1254-1256) which indicates that the language was not ‘pure’, in that it was neither Mandinka nor Wolof, but still understandable at the point of delivery.

Indeed, it also suggests that the speakers of the languages are able to recognise the borrowing of vocabulary items from one language to the other, suggesting that the amalgamation process follows a long process of shift.

Extract 7.7

- 1243 **Visitor:** hello [female tourist greets children] [classroom noise 45 seconds]
- 1244 **Mr Bojang:** **siying tembah nying classokono** *right now in this class*
- 1245 **Mr Fatty:** yea they were some were causing noise you know **nying moloo**
1246 **ifarowta bakeh** *these people they are too rude* [NB '**ifarowta** is a
1247 common Wolof insertion in Mandinka, Mandinka for 'rude' is
1248 'kulubalyiah'] **luntungli lehbeh class walatina mumpareh kadiamo**
1249 *there are guests in the class that's why I don't want to talk*
- 1250 **Mr Bojang:** **barri mbehibeh leh bialah . abullahrek** [NB **rek** is Wolof but is
1251 increasingly common in urban Mandinka] *but I will send them all out .*
1252 *leave it*
- 1253 **Mr Fatty:** **funyato** *till later*
- 1254 **Mr Bojang:** **abullarek funyato** *leave it till later* [conversation is difficult to follow
1255 but gist is that Mr Fatty and Mr Bojang will send people out of class
1256 for disruption]

BP3MbGrade6Mat

This phenomenon of amalgamating languages to create a vernacular unique to a particular urban setting has been discussed in several contexts (cf Mc Laughlin 2009; Makoni and Meinhof 2004) but is relatively unexplored in classroom settings when compared to other phenomena such as code switching. Makoni and Meinhof, (2004:82) suggest that school language is in fact 'unmixed', that is, the varieties of languages spoken in educational settings are generally not influenced by other languages. Although, as can be seen in chapters 3 and 6 (RQ1) code switching does appear to be a useful classroom tool. Indeed, Viruru's (2001) ethnographic study in India illustrates that even very young children are able to create and use complex communication systems, such as amalgams. Viruru (2001:42) suggests that the local languages were used interchangeably and became so mixed that 'distinguishing between them or even noticing that so many of them were being used seemed irrelevant'.

Given the diverse personal linguistic resources of some of the teachers in the study (see tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5) it is perhaps not surprising to note that language amalgams were used in the classroom. Mr Touray amalgamated languages on at least one occasion during the observations at the rural school, Baakoo Kunda, despite literature suggesting it is an urban only phenomenon (see extract 7.8). The school is based in the Central River Region (see chapter 4) in an area where the Mandinka and Fula languages are commonplace and there is also a small community of approximately 180 Ballanta speakers. The notes in the extract were made during the translation period. This section was presented to several translators at different times but none were able to decipher the utterances. During a social gathering to greet the visiting wife of one of the translators I asked some members of the Gambian diaspora, who were not part of the original translation team, to listen to the section. The first part of the utterance “SA AHALI *if you say* nine is greater than HALA ON LAST NUMBER *say the last number*” is Fula and had been previously translated. A Serahule speaker suggested some of the words were Serahule but she could not identify them all, a Fula speaker also recognised some words as did a Mandinka speaker. As identified in the notes this section was also raised with Mr Touray during an interview after the translation period. At first he did not recognise himself as the speaker of the utterance but then suggested some words were Fula and some Ballanta. Unfortunately, Mr Touray was also unable to translate the section. It seems likely then that, although there was no communication breakdown at the time, the actual meaning of this section will remain unknown. This reinforces the comments made by translators regarding several of the extracts where amalgam seems to have been used. At the time of delivery, in a face to face situation, there was no breakdown of communication or need for repair, outside of the immediate context comprehension is difficult if not impossible. It also suggests the fluidity of the grammar of the new vernaculars which is an exciting area of further research (Chapter 10.5).

Extract 7.8

258 **Mr Touray:** SA AHALI *if you say* nine is greater than HALA ON LAST NUMBER *say the*
259 *last number* . Local language [Ballanta/Fula?? local language NB several
260 translators were unable to decipher this section or even recognise the
261 language, some thought it was Fula but were unable to translate it despite
262 being Fula speakers. Mr Touray was questioned about this during his
263 interview and he also couldn't identify what was said in this section. He said
264 he didn't speak Ballanta well but 'picked up' a few words from teaching

265 the Ballanta children. He thought there were some Ballanta words in
266 the section but also some Fula words.]

267 **Pupil:** nine

268 **Mr Touray:** hhuh

269 **Pupil:** is

270 **Mr Touray:** hhuh

271 **Pupil:** greater than seven

272 **Mr Touray:** again

273 **Pupil:** nine . is . greater than seven

BK3MGrade5Mat

The single instance of amalgam recognised in the semi-urban data (extract 7.9) is interesting because it contains two European languages, English and French (line 186), in the utterance as well as Mandinka. The teacher who uttered this phrase is Mr Camara who declared five languages in his repertoire (table 7.4), although he did not mention French. Mr Camara has not lived in an urban environment apart from a few months when he was enrolled at the teacher training college. Urban Gambian Wolof, in both the urban conurbation of Banjul and the surrounding areas, and Basse, does have a small proportion of French vocabulary. For details of the Wolof language in Senegal see the work of Swigart (1992) and Mc Laughlin (2009). However, Wolof does not feature in the extract and Mandinka does not have French vocabulary. Having said that this village is only a short distance from the Gambian/Senegalese border where Wolof is the national language and the official language is French. Wolof is also the most common trading language between Gambian and Senegalese traders and therefore, although not present in this particular utterance, Senegalese Wolof, with its significant proportion of French vocabulary, could be present in the community.

Extract 7.9

258 **Mr Camara:** [classroom noise 6 seconds] [another teacher comes into the class] yes
259 [visitor says something] ah no not **Kujabi fenke pouri aye tarajeh**
260 [visitor says something] . **fenke beng yalebe** *I have assigned Kujabi to*
261 *be there . somebody is at our place today* [meaning Caroline]
262 [classroom noise 25 seconds]

FB4AGrade5MatSin

Although very brief I would suggest this section is amalgam rather than code switching because of the number of languages involved in the utterance.

Unfortunately, this was the only section identified in the data from the semi-urban context and it is therefore difficult to make any concrete suggestions regarding its use. The purpose of its inclusion here is to simply highlight the fact that the suggestion that amalgamation of languages to create meaningful utterances is an urban phenomena may need to be monitored as it is possible it is more wide-spread.

7.5 Discussion

The findings in this chapter illustrate the various ways in which participants in classrooms negotiate the English Only national policy. It is evident that the classroom participants do not adhere to the policy all the time and have found creative ways in which to navigate the complex multilingual situation, including use of *linguae francae* in urban settings compared with the serial monolingualism, dependant on interlocutor or domain, noticed in the rural settings. Switching codes in the form of parallel bilingualism was common in all contexts, as was the use of amalgam, although both these responses were noticed far more frequently in the urban area.

The number of instances of each phenomenon in each setting may not appear significant, however, it should be remembered that the use of any of the local languages is not condoned in the classroom, where all of this data was collected, and therefore the language is more prescribed than naturally occurring speech. Therefore any use of LL is a resistance to the imposition of sanctioned language. Recent visits to urban Gambia have revealed the phenomenon of amalgamation is now recognisable in communal areas such as market places and *bantaba*⁴. The amalgamation phenomena is recognised among the people that my use of pure Mandinka, learnt in the rural areas, has become so marked that I am questioned where I learnt the language and often advised to learn Wolof to support the Mandinka. This suggests that the language of the urban area, particularly where language is unprescribed by policy, would be interesting to research (Chapter 10).

There were also several sections of local language in the data that the translators who worked on the project were unable to decipher, often suggesting that the speaker was

⁴ Bantaba are communal meeting places, and are dedicated to discuss community business, social events and for young people to 'hang out'

“confused” or the language was not “pure” and therefore could not be translated. However, it should be noted that the majority of translators had been living in the UK for several years and their language has not developed in the same way as the community in urban Gambia. It is possible therefore that the number of incidences of each phenomenon is greater than that currently recognised in the data. In hindsight it would have been of value to return to the sections of speech that were unable to be translated with a current urban dwelling translator to re-evaluate the language.

What is perhaps most noticeable about the examples here is that although it sometimes caused confusion during transcription and added complexity to the translation process there is no record of any communication breakdown at the point of delivery. In other words, the participants involved in the interaction continued the conversation without interruption and with apparent full understanding of the meaning intended by the speaker. The purpose of all communication is to be understood and it is evident the teachers and learners in this study were skilled at using all their linguistic resources to ensure effective communication.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the analysis of data in response to the research question ‘How does the language used in the urban schools differ from the rural schools?’. The data clearly illustrates that there are different patterns of interaction in the rural area and the urban area, each a centrifugal push against imposition of the government policy. The data from the rural school shows a propensity for the use of discrete languages based on the domain, function or interlocutor. The majority of the people have proficiency in all the community languages and are able to conduct their daily interactions in the language appropriate for the purpose. In the urban area the pattern is overwhelmingly for the use of a lingua franca, which is usually one of the more dominant local languages, Mandinka or Wolof. However, there is evidence of an emerging phenomenon of language amalgamation, or the development of an urban vernacular. Although this phenomenon has been recognised in many urban African and other post colonial contexts its use in an educational setting has not been commented on elsewhere. The instances of amalgamation in the data set are minimal but it has been recognised in

other contexts that school language is generally unmixed. It must of course be remembered that as the language in education policy is for English only any use of local language is not condoned in the classroom and therefore its use is marked.

The next chapter is the final of the three findings chapters and illustrates the historical, political and cultural influences on the language (RQ3).

Chapter 8

Macro Community Influences on Micro Community Language

8.1 Introduction

This final findings chapter considers research question three and discusses themes relating to the historical, political and cultural influences on the languages and practices in the classroom. It is important to consider these influences as language is the central means by which we carry ‘the past into the present and to create the future’ (Gergen 1999:62). This consideration illustrates how important language is to create present realities and maintain cultural norms. As Gergen (1999:72) continues ‘... our traditions of discourse constitute a background from which our current constructions of world and self cannot escape’. Language is not only a link with the past and cultural heritage it is also a link to the future and economic progression. This dichotomy is starkly portrayed through language in post-colonial contexts. The indigenous language, or languages, is often viewed as the link with the past, but the opportunities and possibilities for the future are very much seen as being properties of the world languages, in particular English. As a consequence I have tried to discuss the themes in this chapter as sensitively as possible. I recognise that the language practices I have observed are not simply classroom based but are influenced by a long history to which I have not had access and future aspirations which are fuelled by a reality to which I am not party.

The three overriding themes of history, politics and culture are inter-related and have been discussed as such; however specific sections of data have been used to illustrate the different influences on the language. Each influence discussed was noted in all three of the sites, and therefore can be said to have affected the languages in all the classrooms where observations took place, although for brevity not every example has been recounted here. Thompson (1992:2) suggests that every interaction holds information about social structure and the ‘state of society up to and including the point of the interaction’ but also that the interaction ‘perpetuates’ that knowledge into the future. For this reason it is important to view the interactions not only from a synchronic perspective in order to consider how the single interaction and relationship has been affected, but also diachronically to consider historical influences and future ramifications of the practices.

This chapter starts with local area historical influences on the languages which are particularly relevant to the urban area and contrast with the different situations in the rural areas (8.2). This is followed by a discussion of some of the specific cultural influences on the language used in the classroom, including the use of ‘symbols’ (see section 8.3) and other disciplinary sanctions and practices. Praise in the classroom also appears to be culturally defined and this is discussed in section 8.4. Praise for the president is a frequently observed aspect of Gambian education and section 8.5 briefly explores this phenomenon. Greetings and respect for elders and those in elevated social positions are a feature of daily interactions and some classroom based instances of this are discussed in section 8.6. The discourse patterns of elders and highly respected individuals contain some specific features and this is particularly noticeable in the practice of extended monologues (section 8.7). A recurrent theme of the monologues and vignettes presented by class teachers concerned local or familial economies and this is explored in section 8.8.

8.2 Local Area History

In the urban area in particular it is possible to recognise a prestige given to the language of the first settlers of a suburb. The conversation interview data suggests that this language, which is not necessarily one of the major indigenous languages, becomes a local lingua franca for that immediate area. For example, if an area was first occupied by Fula speakers who built compounds and a community in the vicinity then Fula would be the lingua franca of that immediate area. These areas vary in size and are referred to by local people as ‘ends’. Using the correct language is especially important on entry to a family compound, where after the initial Arabic greeting of *Aasalaamu alaikum*, further greetings are conducted in Fula. The neighbouring area of compounds may have been established by Serahule people and therefore Serahule would be heard in the vicinity despite being a minority language at national level. It is possible that the communal spaces around the compounds, markets and small shops for example would use one of the more encompassing *linguae francae* of the urban area which are Wolof and, to a lesser extent, Mandinka (cf Juffermans and McGlynn 2009), but interactions in the language of the particular ‘end’ also take place. This demonstrates a heteroglossic conflict in action below the level of English versus LLs.

This is a conflict between dominant LLs, those operating as LFs, and minority LLs, those confined to very specific domains.

In the rural areas the villages are usually monolingual, in the ethnic language of the people, however, there are bilingual and multilingual villages which appear to either have demarcated language group areas or be completely integrated. In the most rural village used in this study the language groups are separated so that people live in a Mandinka, Fula or Ballanta area. The speakers share facilities and common ground: the market, mosque, playing fields and the school, but each language group has its own bantaba (meeting place) for community meetings and alkalho (community leader). The semi urban school is in a multilingual village that is completely integrated. The speakers of the many languages represented live side by side and even share compounds. There is one bantaba and one alkalho for the whole village. In both the rural and semi-urban villages the process of serial monolingualism as outlined in chapter 7 (RQ2) is practiced. I have noticed that there appears to be less linguistic conflict in the rural areas, although extensive research of more domains would be necessary before conclusions could be drawn.

In this study, the findings indicate that the urban language practices impact on the language of education as the local lingua franca, of the area the school is in, holds some prestige in the playground and also during discipline and pastoral care activities, as identified in chapter 6. As discussed in Juffermans and McGlynn (2009) Wolof is the more usual lingua franca in the public urban areas, and certainly all teachers encountered in the urban area were proficient in Wolof. However, table 8.1 clearly demonstrates that the majority of switches into a local language evidenced in the urban school, where the school occupies land in a Mandinka settlement area, or 'end', were from English to Mandinka.

Table 8.1 The number of switches from English to local languages observed at Balinsaa Primary

Balinsaa Primary School – Urban Area					
Speaker	Switches to Mandinka	Switches to Wolof	Switches to Arabic	Switches to Mandinka/Wolof Mix	Switches to Fula
Teacher	49	13	5	2	1
Senior Master	21	10			
Pupils	16	6			
Visitor	1	1			
Caroline	2	0			
Total	89	31	5	2	1

In extract 8.1 Mr Fatty switches to Fula when he realises the child he is addressing is having difficulty using Mandinka. As dictated by the local area traditions Mr Fatty begins the interaction in Mandinka, but clearly the child is not a fluent speaker and is having difficulty responding to the question (line 51). As discussed in chapter 7 (extract 7.2) Mr Fatty switches to Fula, the child's first language to expedite the interaction. What is perhaps most unusual about this interaction is that the expectation would be for the conversation to have been continued in the other dominant local lingua franca, Wolof, before resorting to a child's mother tongue. To an outsider there was no indication that the child was a Fula speaker, but with his local knowledge Mr Fatty was able to recognise the child's linguistic strengths and the interaction was then held successfully in Fula. Note the comment in square brackets (lines 52 & 53) was added during the transcription process from field notes taken at the time of the observation.

Extract 8.1

- 47 **Mr Fatty:** #so since he is not there # so we just continue [classroom noise 43
48 seconds] hey sit down sit down [classroom noise 10 seconds] **jomaleh**
49 **nying tujang toubab musunding leh yeh nying tujang** *who left this*
50 *thing here is it the small white lady who left it here*
- 51 **Pupil:** **jomah buku kerang bang** *who is it where they put the books in*
- 52 **Mr Fatty:** PAPER OMBOWADI DOH PAPER DOH *who put that paper there* [teacher
53 has realised child is Fula so has changed code]

BP3MBGrade6Mat

The interaction at 8.1 indicates that although there is the requirement to follow local language practices according to area there is also a response to individual communication needs. The need for meaningful, uncomplicated interaction appears to override any other convention (see discussion at 3.4.1.2 and the work of Ndayipfukiyame 1996).

It is also possible that the use of the local languages used in the 'ends', coupled with the *linguae francae* and English language use in the classrooms has contributed to the developing urban amalgamation. This is discussed more fully in chapter 9.

The language of the classroom is affected by the local politics as indicated above and also national politics. Primarily, the language of instruction is dictated by the government through the language of education policy (see chapter 2).

The predominance of English could be interpreted as a direct response to the historical colonial occupation by Britain. When independence was achieved by The Gambia in 1965 a decision was made to keep the colonial language of English for use in government, law, education and media. This decision was imposed by the government without democratic discussion with the people. The discussion of why previously colonised nations maintain the language of the former colonial power has been extensively discussed in literature which addresses the history and politics of such states⁵.

The most significant reason given for retaining the European language was, in effect, to maintain the status quo (Pennycook 1994). That is, the elite, who acted as administrators for the former colonial power continued to occupy powerful positions following independence. In the specific context of The Gambia, where several languages claim varying levels of prestige, there was also consideration regarding which of the local languages should receive the recognition of being made an official language. Mandinka carries prestige as the language of the former royal elite and the majority language (in terms of first language speakers) of The Gambia. However, Wolof is the majority language of Senegal, The Gambia's nearest neighbour, trading partner and political ally. 80% of the population of Senegal speak Wolof and it has

⁵ For literature specific to the colonisation and emancipation of The Gambia see Faal 1997, Gailey 1964, Wright D.R. 2004

become the lingua franca in the trading towns in The Gambia. In addition, as recognised by Juffermans and McGlynn (2009) the domains in which Wolof is used are increasing in the urban areas and when in doubt regarding the linguistic repertoire of an interlocutor it is more common to start an urban conversation in Wolof, a situation predicted by Haust (1995). On the other hand, Fula is the second most common first language in The Gambia and is also a major language found in most West African nations. This makes it particularly useful for individuals who travel, and, as it was also mooted as a language of the African Union, may have political uses in the future. Finally, Jola is the first language of the President of the country, who having taken control by military coup could have imposed his own language as the official language of the country. This complicated scenario resulted in The Gambia, as with many other African countries which achieved independence in the 1960s, choosing to retain a European language as its official language rather than elevate any of the indigenous languages, and therefore ethnic groups, over the others. In the case of The Gambia there is also a continuing fiscal connection to the British government and therefore there may have been, and continue to be, political pressure to appease a major benefactor. In doing so however, English speaking elites of all ethnic groups were privileged.

The reasons for the retention of the European language as the official language following independence were, it will be recalled, discussed in chapter 2. However, it is important to add here that, in addition to the considerations made for official language, there were specific claims made with regard to the use of a colonial language in the specific domain of education. The use of a world language, such as English, was seen as necessary to allow the recently independent country to produce adults who would be able to compete, in business, on an international level. The production of new materials in up to five local languages was seen as both expensive and time consuming. Consequently the de facto language of education policy is one of 'straight for English' (sfE) and 'English Only' (EO) despite the pretence of policy amendments. This means that teaching and learning occurs in English only from grade one, which, as the data discussed in chapter 6 demonstrates, all classroom participants adhere to for the majority of time in the classroom.

8.3 Cultural Influences on Discipline

There is a cultural overlap, of British institution and Gambian society, in the daily enforcement of this language in education policy. The Gambian education system is based on the British system but several cultural influences from Gambian society and traditions have become part of school practices. In the next extract (8.2), Mr Touray, one of the rural school teachers, threatens to issue the ‘symbol’. The symbol is a cow or goat skull tied onto a long string and worn around the neck. It is heavy, dirty and usually smells. In addition ‘symbols’ are frequently adorned with bells and rattles to ensure that attention is drawn to both the ‘symbol’ and the wearer when they move. The ‘symbol’ is given to children who speak a local language in the classroom to wear as punishment. During this particular incident Mr Touray had set a writing task for the children to complete and while they were working at their desks the noise level kept rising. The noise was from children talking in their local languages while they were working. As can be seen from the extract Mr Touray places the responsibility for identifying the noise makers on a student but also issues the threat that those identified will wear the ‘symbol’. Throughout the observation period for this study and during my return visits to the schools this is the only time I have witnessed the use, or threat of use, of the ‘symbol’, however, at least one has been visibly present in all the classrooms I have attended. Many of the translators recounted wearing a symbol at school or teasing others who were forced to wear it.

Extract 8.2

551 **Mr Touray:** hey keep quiet [classroom noise 30 seconds] hey Ebou
 552 Surname . if anybody disturb there write his or her name . **meng diah**
 553 **moota atorsafeh menoo mangtareh saferolah** *write the names of*
 554 *those who talk and the ones not writing* [classroom noise 6 seconds]
 555 **amari yitah symboltah sayi sayi sayi** *the person goes and takes the*
 556 *symbol* [cow’s horn worn to show child has used local language in
 557 class] now now now [classroom noise 4 seconds] hey

BK3MGrade5Mat

Despite the presence of the ‘symbol’ its use is very rare. Sometimes the sanction for speaking a local language in the classroom is for the teacher to confiscate a child’s lunch money, resulting in the child being hungry for the afternoon classes. The pot of ‘vernacular money’ (extract 8.3 line 974) is returned to the children at the end of the day.

Extract 8.3

- 974 **Mr Sanneh:** hey go out together where is the vernacular money . where is the . they
975 are telling me they don't see any money . she don't want to keep it just
976 give it to me .. I will eat it [expression meaning he will spend it on
977 food] {Caroline laughs}
- 978 **Pupil:** I am hungry
- 979 **Mr Sanneh:** count them all [classroom noise 15 seconds] only five delasis .. XXX
980 eat this burro nyebe *bread and beans* [classroom noise 17 seconds] just
981 go .. yea go .. hey go out and come back quickly Alhagie go and buy
982 half burro and nyebe *bread and bean paste* four delasi and one ice
983 [classroom noise 5 seconds] yes and one ice very well . Abdoulie
984 Surname

BP3AaGrade5EngMat

In this extract Mr Sanneh has given one child his own bread and beans left over from breakfast (line 980) and given another child some money (not from the vernacular money) to buy food for children who do not have lunch for reasons other than being disciplined. This suggests that this teacher considers the welfare of his students as important, and this may be indicative of a more general tendency as similar pastoral care incidences were noted. This suggestion immediately brings into contrast the conflict between the school discipline practice of removing food (line 974) and the community responsibility of providing food (line 980).

More frequently the admonishment to stop speaking a local language and to speak in English is a public verbal admonishment as illustrated by Mr Bojang in the next extract (8.4 line 582). The boy pupil was presenting his understanding of the content of a science lesson to the rest of the class, and was standing at the front of the room. As can be seen by the overlap in lines 581 and 582 the child had spoken just one or two words when Mr Bojang interrupted with the reminder to speak English (line 582). At line 584 the children in the class are 'cheering'. The translators suggested this to be both a mixture of delight at the boy's embarrassment, suggested at line 583, and also encouragement. Certainly the feeling at the time was one of solidarity and the boy did go on to successfully complete the task.

Extract 8.4

578 **Mr Bojang:** ah? .. yes can I have somebody . yes [classroom noise 10 seconds
579 cheers and clapping] now OK if you want to hear if you want to get
580 him very clearly listen to him

581 **Boy Pupil:** XXXX #deigne wara gis XXXX *we have to see*

582 **Mr Bojang:** #in English in English

583 **Boy Pupil:** ah

584 **All:** #cheering #

BP4MBGrade6Sci

In The Gambia physical punishment is widely used as a reprimand for a range of misbehaviour. In two of the communities, where I lived during the data collection process, children are beaten for one-off serious misdemeanours or for repeated minor misbehaviour. So although the education system is based on the UK system, which now prohibits physical punishment, this cultural practice is still followed. It is usually the duty of an older male relative to beat a child for a serious offence and for a female relative to reprimand for minor offences, which may, or may not, include physical discipline. This cultural practice is reflected in the data collected in the schools. Physical discipline, or threats of it, was common in two of the three schools, the urban school Balinsaa Primary and Baakoo Kunda in the rural area. In the semi-urban school the head teacher had eradicated beatings from the classroom and other sanctions were used to reprimand children, such as staying behind after classes to water the school gardens, not being allowed to buy ‘ice’ (a small bag of flavoured frozen water eaten as a sweet treat), or having to sit in the headmaster’s office.

During the transcription process I had found it particularly disturbing to transcribe a maths lesson in Balinsaa Primary because of the amount of physical discipline that had occurred. I recall being disturbed during the observation process despite Mr Fatty warning me of what was to come. As indicated in the field notes (field note 8.1) it is not until Mr Fatty uses the term ‘flog’ (extract 8.5 line 464) that I comprehend what is to follow.

Field note 8.1

Mr Fatty approaches me, again he speaks in a very low voice which is difficult to hear through the microphone. He has come to warn me that he is about to beat the children because of their lack of understanding of the maths problem that had been set for homework and their behaviour. At first the warning is not clear, then Mr Fatty says 'flog'.

Extract 8.5

461 **Mr Fatty:** just imagine how can it's true if you want to who come to achieve
462 something you don't respect your teacher do you think you can know
463 something you must respect the teacher isn't it yes . that's why at times
464 normally we flog them [classroom noise 3 seconds]

BP4MA1Grade6Mat

This interaction shows that Mr Fatty is aware that physical punishment is not something that is acceptable in every society, and that I, as a European, may find what is to follow upsetting. However, he adheres to his cultural norm which allows the beating of children.

On that morning I witnessed sixty seven of the children in Mr Fatty's class of sixty nine students physically punished for not getting the correct answer in their homework. However, threats were also given to children for classroom misdemeanours, for example, in Baakoo Kunda a child was sent out of class for general misbehaviour, including talking and playing during the lesson (extract 8.6). This was later followed up with a threat of physical punishment if the behaviour continued (extract 8.7)

Extract 8.6

306 **Mr Yaffa** hey Saiku you want
307 to /wanna/ play with me huh? Go . out . out . OUT

BK5MgGrade6Mat

A few minutes later (as can be seen by the line numbering), after Mr Yaffa had set a task for the remaining students to complete, he left the classroom to find the boy who was sent out and threatened him with a beating.

Extract 8.7

399 **Mr Yaffa** where is the boy [Mr Yaffa reprimands the boy who had
400 been sent out of the class] .. next time if you don't behave I get the hell
401 out of you [means will be beaten]

BK5MgGrade6Mat

To “get the hell out” of someone is a Gambian idiom and refers to a physical beating, literally to beat the naughtiness out. Other instances of the threat of physical punishment were encouraged by the other students. In the following extract Mr Fatty is part way through an altercation with a child about her behaviour and suggests he will ‘slap her’ if she does not comply with his instruction (extract 8.8 line 1187). Another child then encourages the teacher to slap her peer (line 1188), suggesting that physical punishment is a regular and acceptable practice.

Extract 8.8

- 1187 **Mr Fatty:** up you don't stand up if I slap you you will know . get up
- 1188 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty slap her
- 1189 **Mr Fatty:** {girl laughs} stand up before before I slap you [classroom noise 11
1190 seconds] please . hey listen everybody . are you here to come and cause
1191 noise
- 1192 **Class:** no [children call out] /noooooo/

BP3MbGrade6Mat

The threat of physical reprimand was also made to the whole class rather than individuals in an attempt to reduce the noise levels or control mildly disruptive behaviour (see extract 8.9). This type of threat was not taken seriously by the children, as apart from the instance recounted in extract 8.5, I did not witness whole classes being beaten.

Extract 8.9

- 35 **Mr Sanneh:** noise 4 seconds] if you don't stop talking I will beat you

BP3ABGrade5MATSCI

Although it is the older male relatives who have the responsibility of beating children for serious misconduct at home in some unusual cases parents can actually ask teachers to do this. In the next extract a small boy is brought into Mr Fatty’s class which he shares with Mr Bojang, the senior master. The boy is accompanied by his own class teacher who is female. She speaks in Wolof to tell Mr Fatty the child has been brought into school by his mother to be disciplined for running away from home and remaining missing for several nights. The child’s father had travelled and there was no older uncle available to administer a reprimand and therefore the mother had brought the child to the school and to Mr Bojang in particular, to be disciplined.

Extract 8.10 is an interaction between the child's teacher and Mr Fatty who has called her back as the boy has been waiting for several hours and Mr Bojang has still not returned to the classroom. The teacher reiterates why the child must be punished (line 102) and Mr Fatty confirms the child will wait until Mr Bojang arrives (line 105).

Extract 8.10

- 96 **Mr Fatty:** papa um defa kei defa muna lajteh manehko ahh kei Mr Bojang lahar
97 defa dem Banjul munehko kei kuko isefe haral ma okoku munyew .
98 *his/her father he/she can question a lot I told him this person is waiting*
99 *for Mr Bojang and he went to Banjul so the person asked me who*
100 *bring this person here so I said let me call the person . so that's why I*
101 *called you so he is to remain*
- 102 **Yr2Teacher:** kei daf deh doh school four days dudeh nyew yayiam indi kofi he
103 *always run away from school four days he will not come his mother*
104 *brought him here*
- 105 **Mr Fatty:** so he is OK he is to wait Mr Bojang so when Mr Bojang comes #let me
106 until four o'clock #
- 107 **Yr2 Teacher:**
108 #don't release him . until four o'clock # you are going to . stay
BP3Mbgrade6Mat

During the interaction there was an explanation by the class teacher for the reason for the discipline (8.11). Severe disciplines are not usually administered lightly and the teacher is keen to express the severity of the child's behaviour in order for him to be punished appropriately by the senior master.

Extract 8.11

- 117 **Yr2 Teacher:** spend the night outside . four good days . this morning I only see him .
118 and and she she don't want to come [note there is no gender
119 discrimination in Mandinka and Wolof therefore it is common for
120 people to use both he and she for individuals regardless of gender]
121 since when . three weeks back . XXXXXXXXX [lost through noise of
122 classroom]

BP3Mbgrade6Mat

Recognising that this was an unusual situation and that some explanation was necessary Mr Fatty recounted the content of the teachers' interaction to me (extract 8.12). Although these sections have been extrapolated from a longer conversation the

expectation that a school teacher will step in to administer discipline for home behaviour is clear.

Extract 8.12

- 130 **Caroline:** #yea what did he do #
131 **Mr Fatty:** #what happened # he did not sl. sleep there in their home . four whole
132 nights . you see he was outside and three weeks he was not in the
133 school
- 134 **Caroline:** so he hasn't been to school for #three weeks #
135 **Mr Fatty:** #yea # he's on detention as a
136 punishment
- 137 **Caroline:** right
- 138 **Mr Fatty:** it's a punishment so that next time he will not miss
- 139 **Caroline:** right and this is because he went away from home
- 140 **Mr Fatty:** yea he went away from home and he is also not coming to school he is
141 not coming to school for the past three weeks and some days so it's a
142 punishment yea . according to the person who brought her here the
143 lady who brought her is the class teacher yea yes
- 144 **Caroline:** did the parents know where he was
- 145 **Mr Fatty:** yes it's the mother who brought the child the boy in the morn. in the
146 morning . it was the mother who brought the boy .. hey sit down hey

BP3Mbgrade6Mat

The above are examples of an overlap of social and classroom norms. The social norm of beating children for misbehaviour is reflected in a response to classroom misbehaviour. The final episode illustrates a strong link between the school and the community which means the school can be called on to discipline children for out of school misbehaviour. The teachers in this study were all male and as such they were expected to provide social guidance as necessary. This was noticed especially with the more mature teachers who frequently gave advice and counselling as well as discipline. Another example of this guidance-providing role can be seen in the following extract. Mr Touray, the grade five a teacher in Baakoo Kunda, the rural school, used Mandinka on several occasions to insist children did not drink at their tables (extract 8.13).

Extract 8.13

392 **Mr Touray:** hey **nyin bucketo**
393 **landi .. nimanbete minna yetakoma alikane ming tablolokan** *put*
394 *this bucket down .. if anybody want to drink go behind don't drink at*
395 *the table*

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

This is a reiteration of the social norm that drinking where people are sitting is frowned upon for the very practical reason that water from the outside of the cup, where it was dipped into the water jar, will drip onto whatever you are doing. Mr Touray was using his position of responsible adult to reinforce the rules to the young people in his class.

Later when other children were seen drinking at the table Mr Touray is more forceful in his reprimand (extract 8.14):

Extract 8.14

622 **Mr Touray:** hey **bidongo fucking landi waay [classroom**
623 **noise 2 seconds] mulobeh diamoula ibeh bindongo mingkang**
624 **[classroom noise 3 seconds] iteh mang fengno fokapareh ibeh**
625 **diamoula** *put down the fucking bottle [classroom noise 2 seconds]*
626 *people are talking and you are drinking from the bottle [classroom*
627 *noise 3 seconds] you are not very clever [you don't know anything]*
628 *and you are talking*

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

Although Mr Touray is the class teacher he is also an 'elder' within the community, that is a mature male with a responsible job, and therefore he has both the right and responsibility to reprimand and discipline children on social matters. It is acknowledged within Gambian communities, particularly those in the rural areas, that every adult is responsible for training the younger generations to become responsible members of the community. Children respond to verbal and even physical reprimands made by any other parent, elder or young adult with a responsible job.

Notice that in the short extract 8.14 the adjective 'fucking' (line 622) is used within a Mandinka utterance. Swearing is very uncommon in Gambian society, and therefore whenever it is used it is both marked and semantically powerful. Although swearing did not appear frequently in the corpus there were significant uses usually within a disciplinary interaction. In the next extract (8.15) Mr Yaffa reveals his frustration at the behaviour of the grade six children by using a profanity (line 370).

Extract 8.15

370 **Mr Yaffa:** [classroom noise 5 seconds] hey if I fucking hey [children say
371 something] are you stupid [classroom noise 8 seconds]
BK4MGrade6MatEng

It should be noted that both Mr Touray and Mr Yaffa are younger, unqualified teachers and therefore the use of swearing may have been an illustration of their inexperience and frustration. The use of taboo vocabulary, especially words relating to the body, were also noted in lessons by Mr Yaffa and Mr Bojang. Mr Bojang, a senior teacher in the urban school Balinsaa Primary, used several risqué words, such as ‘condom’ and the Mandinka word for ‘bottom’ (extract 8.16) during the delivery of a lesson on sexual health (cf McGlynn and Martin 2009) (note there is a semantic difference between the British English understanding of ‘bottom’ and the Gambian English). Exposing or even referring to any part of the body between the waist and the knees is taboo in Gambian society, therefore Mr Bojang’s use of the word ‘**juwoleh**’ which literally means the whole pelvic region and thighs (referred to in Gambian English as ‘bottom’) in a reprimand is inappropriate. However, it would have been difficult to have completed a lesson on sexual health without some anatomical references so perhaps by using humour Mr Bojang is desensitising the children to their use. Extract 8.16 also resonates with the studies which demonstrate the use of local language for both discipline and humour (Chapter 3).

Extract 8.16

276 **Mr Bojang:** syphilis [classroom noise 3 seconds] **alii juwoleh kali nya nya bang**
277 *are your genitalia itching you*
BP4MBGrade6Sci

Far more common, although still relatively rare, in Gambian society is the formulaic Arabic expression ‘bilahe’, meaning ‘I swear’. This phrase can be heard in utterances of all the languages in The Gambia as nearly all ethnic groups follow Islam. Although not a swear word in the strictest sense it does carry negative connotations and is used to add serious emphasis to an expression. On one occasion the phrase ‘I swear’ was uttered by a teacher in Wolof which is very remarkable as it was the only incidence of swearing in a local language. This particular incident took place during the interaction of an angry female teacher and Mr Fatty regarding a child’s deviant

behaviour and is discussed more fully at 8.3 (extracts 8.10, 8.11. and 8.12). The entire interaction was conducted in Wolof and English but I have only extrapolated the utterance containing the swearing as an example:

Extract 8.17

387 **Mr Fatty:** no dugana dugana dugana sobe yala dugana *he will not go out he will*
388 *not go out he will not go out I swear {by the will of God} he will not go*
389 *out*

BP3MAGrade6SesMat

The translators remarked upon this instance as being extraordinary, and certainly in the rest of my time in The Gambia I have never heard it since.

Another social taboo is to refer to people as an animal or as having animalistic traits. Animals feature repeatedly in stories, proverbs and idioms and are often associated with negative traits. To call someone an animal of any kind is not acceptable in The Gambia. However in the corpus of school language there were several references to animals in several languages and, as the following extracts illustrate, they always contained very negative connotations. The first example shows an insult delivered in Mandinka, addressing all the children in the class as cows and donkeys (extract 8.18 line 309-310). Both cows and donkeys are working animals in The Gambia, but are considered to be of low intelligence and therefore by referring to the children in these terms the teacher is suggesting the children are not working to their full mental capacity.

Extract 8.18

307 **Mr Touray:** OK OK OK [classroom noise 14 seconds] hey hey hey keep quiet
308 and do your work [classroom noise for 4 seconds] **nyalong atolu ninso**
309 **leti yalong nyameng falieh attolu mu faloo leti** *you know you people*
310 *are cows you know what I have told you hear you people are donkeys*
311 [classroom noise for 3 seconds] **alakeh nyaliabung nyata maths** *you*
312 *do it when you are finished we will do maths*

BK2MaGrade5EngMat

The second use of the term ‘donkey’ is again by Mr Touray in the rural area but in Fula as he reprimands an individual child for not getting a correct answer while working an example at the chalkboard (extract 8.19).

Extract 8.19

245 **Mr Touray:** ACHU MBABA YA GAL *stop being a donkey* start again

BK3MGrade5Mat

In the next extract Mr Fatty refers to the children in the class as bats (8.20 line 394). Bats in the Gambia are viewed negatively as they are numerous and generally irritating. As families gather to talk in the early evening in the open spaces in their compounds bats circle around their heads. They make a lot of noise, which is high pitched and continuous. It is common for men and women to separate into gender groups to chat in the evening and I have often heard the men call to the groups of women, as their conversations grow louder, that they are worse than the bats. It is with this negative connotation that the children in Mr Fatty's classroom who were chattering loudly and incessantly were reminiscent of bats. Field notes indicate that although the comment immediately follows an invitation to Sara to read, the reference to 'bats' is not aimed at Sara. Rather it was directed to a group of children who were talking instead of following the text or listening to the readers. Notice how this reference is given in English indicating the cultural cross over from community practice to school language.

Extract 8.20

393 **Mr Fatty:** [classroom noise 5 seconds] Sara read number eight . look at this you
394 are talking you are talking like .. like what like bats you cannot even
395 read you cannot pronounce words . you pretend that you knows all .
396 and you are talking like what .. I am talking to the whole class

BP3MaGrade6SesMat

The next extract (8.21) also illustrates an insult given in English to an individual child. In this instance the connotation of the 'monkey' is an animal that cannot sit still and causes problems by bouncing around and annoying others by being too active and 'fidgety'.

Extract 8.21

827 **Mr Sanneh:** Lamin Surname sit properly . Lamin
828 hey . don't behave like a monkey in this class [classroom noise 6
829 seconds] if you are not ready you will not go out of this class period

BP4AGrade5EngMatQuantReas

It would appear then that the reprimands are used for two purposes. When relating to the animal traits of low intelligence the insult is given in a local language. However,

when the insult refers to a physical characteristic that is particularly irritating or annoying in a classroom the reprimand is given in English. In this way the expected classroom behaviour is reinforced in the school language, but the level of intelligence is linked with the home and community. Perhaps teachers are distancing themselves from their students' low achievement by subconsciously blaming the community. However, when praise is due teachers rarely used the local language, even though several praise practices, such as praise singing, resonate with those observed in macro community practices.

8.4 Praising Practices

I did not originally recognise the clapping that occurs very frequently in classrooms as being a reflection of social practice; however, the longer I stayed in The Gambia the more I recognised clapping as being culturally significant. Women and children employ rhythmic, energetic clapping as a sign of pleasure, for example at the arrival of visitors or receipt of a gift. It also features significantly at important social events and gatherings, for example after a woman delivers her baby or at weddings. Social occurrences of clapping are often accompanied by praise singing, although both can occur independently of the other. Numerous instances of clapping in response to correct answers or good work were noted in all three settings. The clapping was often at the command of the teacher using a formulaic phrase “clap for her” “clap for him”, but only one example of praise singing was witnessed as represented below (8.22). Praise singing is a cultural practice similar in form to call and response where one person leads a group in praise of another person. The person being praised does not have to be present. The written abstract does not give an indication of the fast pace of the interaction nor of the escalating volume.

Extract 8.22

- 245 **Mr Camara:** what have I write here . what have I write here?
246 **Children:** mathematician of
247 **Mr Camara:** of grade five green . who is the mathematician of grade five green
248 **Children:** Yaya
249 **Mr Camara:** Yaya Surname who is the mathematician of grade five green?
250 **Children:** Yaya
251 **Mr Camara:** can you all say the name
252 **Children:** Yaya Surname
253 **Mr Camara:** again

254 **Children:** Yaya Surname
255 **Mr Camara:** I am not hearing some of your voice
256 **Children:** Yaya Surname {children shout very loudly}
257 **Mr Camara:** again
258 **Children:** Yaya Surname
259 **Mr Camara:** good . so that's it he is the mathematician of . today he is the
260 mathematician OK for today he is the mathematician for today
261 Thursday

FB4AGrade5MatSing

This episode was important at the time and in the corpus of data for several reasons. At the time, both Yaya and the rest of the class fully engaged in the praise singing with Yaya standing to receive his praise. It is not clear from the full transcript exactly what Yaya had done but clearly the rest of the class concurred with the teachers' acknowledgement of the achievement. In addition to the immediate effect on Yaya the praise singing appeared to have an effect on the other children who all settled to their work very quickly after the event. In fact, it may be considered that the praise singing acted as a collecting of the students so that their attention was refocused on their tasks once the singing was completed.

8.5 References to the President

Another Yayha, Yayha Jammeh is the president of The Gambia and was also frequently referred to with reverence and praise during lessons. President Jammeh came to power via a military coup in 1994, when he was still a young man and has since won several multi-party elections with a significant majority. In a country with few celebrities the president's administration of his duties feature heavily in the daily national news where he is often shown surrounded by praise singers and people clapping. During lessons, particularly the lessons on Gambian history and social and economic studies, Jammeh was often mentioned and attracted praise from the teachers.

One reason for Jammeh's popularity is his adherence to religious and cultural practices. During a recent Haj pilgrimage President Jammeh claimed he had been given authority by God to cure AIDS. The media televised several events where President Jammeh administered 'healing' to AIDS and HIV sufferers. This was discussed in a sexual health lesson in Balinsaa Primary (cf McGlynn and Martin

2009) and appeared to cause tension as the teacher had to uphold the President's reputation as a healer while also convincing the young people to take precautions.

Extract 8.23

- 481 **Mr Bojang:** . we are lucky we let let us all pray for the President Jammeh . how
482 many of you were watching the T.V. . ah ha did you see President
483 Jammeh curing the AIDS patients
- 484 **All:** yes
- 485 **Mr Bojang:** ah ha . if that move /moovve/ you you say ah my president is curing
486 AIDS patient so I don't care ah ha . if that is to encourage the spread of
487 HIV in this country you will all die for this man cannot cure all of you
488 think of the time . at every Thursday and if he start with ten people all
489 those peoples must be cured completely before he go to the next ten eh
490 by the time they reach you you will be dry on your bed like a prune . so
491 in that note I am saying that that's the end of your nice lesson if you
492 have any question to ask you ask me .

BP4MBGrade6Science

This extract took place in English, which was remarkable given Mr Bojang's willingness to use local language to secure the understanding of other serious sexual health issues (see extracts 6.23 and 6.24). However, AIDS is considered a 'western' disease by Gambians, rhetoric is that other people get AIDS and pass AIDS onto Gambians. Therefore the use of English here could be a way of distancing the local community from the international situation. Another possibility is that the children in this urban school will only ever have heard the expression AIDS in English, there is no local language equivalent, and all coverage of the topic on the Gambian Radio and Television station (GRTS) is in English. It is possible that Mr Bojang's only knowledge of the situation came from the same sources and had only ever been considered in English.

8.6 Hierarchy and Greetings

One of the reasons for the apparent tension in the section at extract 8.23 is that The Gambia is a patriarchal society. Consequently it is expected that everyone will show respect to the president in particular but also to all men of the community, especially those who are older or in a more senior position. My field notes contain several references regarding people's position of status within the school or general

community. In addition there were speech events that indicated an individual's position. For example in the semi-urban school of Fankoo Bantaba I was due to observe Mr Jallow on Monday morning, the first day of fieldwork, however, on the Sunday evening he fell from a tree and wounded his foot. He therefore spent Monday at the nearby clinic and returned to school on Tuesday.

Mr Jallow is an elderly, religiously observant, well-respected teacher. Although teaching and learning are a high priority in this school, and indeed in this village where the majority of children attend school, the lessons I observed with Mr Jallow were frequently interrupted as people came to greet him. During a period of social time I asked Mr Jallow if it was a regular occurrence that people came to greet him or if people were making the gesture because of his recent injury. Mr Jallow explained that parents, other staff and members of the community come to greet him in his class every day. He suggested that since he had introduced an adult literacy programme in the village the greetings were more frequent as his adult students would walk to the school during the day to greet him.

Greeting is a very important ritual in The Gambia and an initial greeting will often extend for several minutes and recursive greetings occur during a conversation. People will often visit another person with the sole purpose of greeting and enquiring after their health and well-being. Younger people are expected to call on elders and inhabitants of a village are expected to call on visitors to extend greetings. To go out of your way to greet someone is a sign of respect; equally to not greet someone when it is your responsibility to do so is to show disrespect.

The number of times that Mr Jallow was greeted during the course of the day is a reflection of the social status that he has within the school and the wider community. His age, employment status and length of employment coupled with his involvement in what the community values, such as religious and literacy practices, means he has an elevated status within the community and it is therefore the responsibility of many inhabitants to visit and greet him. Many of Mr Jallow's adult students were also parents of children at the school or sold food to the children at break times and consequently they would greet him on their arrival in the school compound. The younger teachers would always greet Mr Jallow on their way to their own classrooms,

and, as time-keeping is not strict, this would often interrupt Mr Jallow's lessons which usually started on time. Finally, any visitors to the school would be introduced to Mr Jallow as, although he is not the senior master, he was the longest serving and oldest teacher. Extract 8.24 is further evidence of the close integration of school and community.

Extract 8.24

- 696 **Visitor:** XXX
- 697 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH . NOBE TONG *I'm fine . they are there* [greet another adult]
698 very good .. MBAH WADI DOH DUMANE JONI *hope it's getting better now*
- 699 **Visitor:** local language undecipherable
- 700 **Mr Jallow:** **alhamdulillah** *thank God*
- 701 **Visitor:** TANAFALA [ritual greeting] *hope everything is OK*
- 702 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH *I'm fine*
- 703 **Visitor:** TANALA *how are you*
- 704 **Mr Jallow:** JUMTAH *I'm fine*
- 705 **Visitor:** **yea alhamdulillah** *yea thank God*
- 706 **Mr Jallow:** ah **alhamdulillah** *thank God* hmm . you are just coming
- 707 **Visitor:** yea very good [classroom noise 1 seconds]

FB2AGrade6MatVerbApt

Sometimes Mr Jallow interrupts the class to take the greeting and respond, as in the extract above (8.24), especially when the person who is greeting is of equal or similar status. At other times he responds minimally and continues with the task in hand (extract 8.25 lines 967/968). He is able to do this as he is usually the 'elder', the one receiving the sign of respect, and is able to accept the greeting without reciprocating.

Extract 8.25

- 963 **Mr Jallow:** down the answers if they don't write down the answers they will not
964 remember them [classroom noise 9 seconds] b what is this . is this the
965 way we write n o . huh? [classroom noise 5 seconds] huh? [someone
966 comes to greet Mr Jallow and ask after an injury which he sustained a
967 few days before] **alhamdulillah alhamdulillah** *thank God thank God*

968 today I am managing . managing . managing . today is much better
 969 hmm . yes [classroom noise 5 seconds] Lamin this is not the way we
 970 write n this is not the way we write n look at his n here

FB2MGrade6EngMat

The practice of greeting teachers was not confined to Fankoo Bantaba and Mr Jallow, although as explained it was more noticeable in this setting because of Mr Jallow's elevated status and the personality of the village. In the rural area Mr Bah, the senior master and deputy head teacher, was also greeted on a small number of occasions, as in extract below. Mr Bah was always very pleased to receive visitors while teaching as it is illustrative of his status and would always interrupt the delivery of a lesson to receive the greeting and on occasion would invite the visitor to enter and spend time in the classroom. In the illustration below Mr Bah had received the greeting from a visitor who stood outside the classroom but was then brought into the class to be introduced to the children and me. It appeared that the visitor was planning to stay for a while to talk to Mr Bah and, as I had not asked his permission to record him, I offered to switch off the recording while their interaction was taking place.

Extract 8.26

624 **Mr Bah:** election [classroom noise 2 seconds] right . so this is the area that we
 625 are XXXX [classroom noise 24 seconds] [Mr Bah talks to another
 626 adult outside the classroom, the visitor comes in]

627 **Visitor:** good afternoon

628 **Pupils:** good afternoon sir

629 **Visitor:** sit down

630 **Pupils:** thank you

631 **Mr Bah:** right . he's a friend

632 **Caroline:** hello

633 **Visitor:** how are you

634 **Caroline:** hello how are you

635 **Visitor:** XXXXXX [undecipherable]

636 **Caroline:** shall I switch it

BK2AAGrade6Ses

In addition to the respect shown to the eldest man in the school compound acts of respect were also shown to the head teachers. In all three schools I would begin my day in the head teacher's office confirming arrangements and assisting with minor administration tasks. Children would enter the office and shake hands with the head teacher, often in silence or using the Mandinka short form of greeting 'isama' or the English equivalent 'good morning'. Other adults, for example myself and the secretary, would not normally be greeted unless the head teacher prompted the child to do so.

Hierarchical social structures in the community were replicated in the school. This was especially expressed by the younger teachers who acknowledged that the older teachers held more weight and had more respect from the students regardless of teaching ability. One incident in the urban school reveals the frustration this caused one young teacher. Mr Fatty, a young, unqualified teacher who shared a class with Mr Bojang, senior master, was frequently overruled in his discipline of the grade six students. On this occasion he articulates to the children that he will not allow Mr Bojang to change the course of action on which he had decided.

Extract 8.27

420 **Mr Fatty:** OK . so when I tell you keep quiet listen it's for your own benefit . but
421 now I will do something whoever talk I will send you out yes I will
422 start it now if I hear see you talking I will send you out of my class and
423 even if Mr Bojang comes you are not to enter until I leave the class is
424 that clear to everyone

BP3MAGrade6SesMat

8.7 Monologues and Storytelling

As well as having authority over younger people elders of the community also have other privileges including the right to hold the floor for extended periods. This was one of the first phenomena noticed in the data as a reflection of social practice, as it is common in everyday speech events, but particularly noticeable in the classroom where a more usual IRF sequence might be expected. The continuous production of talk by the teacher was prominent in the Social and Environmental Studies lessons at the rural school, Baakoo Kunda (appendix 15). Mr Bah, the teacher, spoke for one hour fourteen minutes and thirty six seconds with only a few minor requested interjections from the students towards the end of the lesson. Monologues were also

seen as part of the lessons in the urban area, particularly by Mr Bojang, a senior teacher at Balinsaa Primary, who included several periods of monologic talk during a science lesson (appendix 16). Both Mr Bah and Mr Bojang are senior teachers with many years classroom experience.

During ordinary talk in The Gambia it is the older males who have the right to talk at length and if an older male is talking it is not acceptable to try to take the floor from him. Therefore the teachers who use monologues as part of their teaching practice are making use of the cultural norm that they have the right to hold the floor as they are the oldest male. However, it should also be recognised that Mr Bah and Mr Bojang, who produced the monologues, were not taking part in conversation during these lessons, indeed they appeared to be participating in a different cultural speech event, that of a storytelling.

Storytelling has a rich history in West Africa (Ong 1982), and The Gambia is no exception. Gambians would be aware of the social power of narrative as storytelling is a social event that is anticipated by the whole community. To be a storyteller, or marabout as they are called in The Gambia, is a huge privilege and gains much respect from the community members. Children are often seen rehearsing stories as part of their play and those identified as ‘good’ storytellers are singled out to be trained by the marabout. The use of this community practice again illustrates the close connection between school and community.

The telling of stories in The Gambia is a highly anticipated speech event where an orator retells a familiar tale to an audience. The stories generally have a meaning, a moral lesson or contain historical or cultural knowledge, and are sometimes, but not always, told when there has been an upset or controversy in the community. Sometimes the stories are told for entertainment value, although this does not diminish the moral lesson. The storytellers are held in high esteem within the community as ‘teachers’ and ‘entertainers’.

The practice of storytelling involves a narrator addressing the audience of community members directly, involving them in the production of the story by calling on them to

acknowledge they are listening and by providing sound effects which add to the atmosphere. They are generally fairly long speech events, sometimes lasting more than an hour, and the audience is expected to remain for the whole event. Once a storytelling event has started the narrator holds the floor for the entire time.

In the urban area the telling of stories appears to be not so common or perhaps not so public. During recent visits I have been aware of the publication of serialised moral stories in one of the national newspapers. It is also possible that storytelling in the rural area is simply more noticed than in the urban area because it is an event for the whole community. In the urban area storytelling may be a smaller scale event, perhaps for a particular group of people or settlement area, and therefore not so 'noticeable' among the general hustle and bustle of the town.

The use of a socially situated speech event in an educational setting adds a powerful dimension to the teaching of a lesson. Not only is the content conveyed but gravitas is added by the socially recognised delivery. The first extract below (8.28) illustrates a narrative account by Mr Bojang at the urban school. The transcript does not do justice to the delivery of the story which was fast paced, animated and engaging. Field notes illustrate that the interjection by the girl pupil at line 213 was a single word in a local language, possibly in response to Mr Bojang's rhetorical question at line 212. This would correspond with the storytelling scenario as the audience is expected to regularly encourage the narrator to continue, especially if they suggest they are going to conclude the story early or that the audience is not sufficiently interested for them to continue. Notice how Mr Bojang presents himself as the 'saviour' of the girl in difficulties and thus reinforces his position as a community elder (line 215 onward).

Extract 8.28

196 **Mr Bojang:** you conceive . blood will never come out of you if you don't conceive
197 this eggs here they grow bigger and bigger and bigger they get matured
198 because they are not fertilised they come together and change colour to
199 blood from flesh to blood and this will come out as blood but if we
200 look at the blood that is coming out of you during menstruation it is
201 very thick and it h have some thick some droplets . alright . and in that
202 one as a woman you have to protect yourself because I have seen now I
203 was in there I was going to Banjul a school girl . not knowing that she

204 is about to menstruate because that schoolgirl did not master the
205 menstrual her menstrual cycle table . so in the bus or in the vehicle
206 there . unfortunately the woman sta. the girl started menstruating in the
207 bus . and she have no pads to put on . she have no wrap with her she
208 don't even have a HANKERCHIEF with her . so what happened is .
209 after when I knew that . everybody of the Gambia High School
210 everybody was coming out this girl is sitting down . I was sitting very
211 close to the girl . then I get the smell . of the blood . coming from this
212 woman .. alright you know what I did

213 **Girl Pupil:** XXXX

214 **Mr Bojang:** I tell you what I did there .. I told the driver that . don't drop this girl in
215 the street or on the way . go up to a shop . I gave this girl fifty dalasis
216 [unit of currency] go up to a shop . buy anything and wrap yourself and
217 go back home the driver went up to the nearby shop you know the ap.
218 apprentice is the one who went and bought this piece of methane [sheet
219 of plastic] I don't know two or three metres cloth you know and bring it
220 to the girl and the girl put it on as wrapper . she was going . that's how I
221 made the girl to escape . otherwise this girl would be going and blood
222 would be on the girl and everybody would look at this girl so there is a
223 necessity a very big need for you to know your menstrual table ... I
224 hope you are getting me

225 **All:** yes

BP4MBGrade6Sci

The second example of a monologue (extract 8.29) is part of a much longer monologue by Mr Bah (rural school). The extract indicates just a small section of the speech which lasted for over one hour. Again the transcript does not reflect the intense pace of the delivery, or the passion with which Mr Bah conveys the material. Field notes made at the time make mention of the fact that the children were still and attentive during the lesson, which certainly suggests they were engaged with the event even if the content was not fully understood.

Extract 8.29

69 **Mr Bah:** alright .. so we have today the topic we have today is SES SES in
70 short that means social and environmental studies in short all right so
71 we're discussing about certain organisations and the role they play in
72 The Gambia particularly organisations like WHO World Health
73 Organisation World Bank the Commonwealth OAU the Organisation
74 of African Unity OIC the Organisation of Islamic Call and er GATT
75 G.A.T.T. General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs and UN which is the
76 United Nations we talked about this organ. organisation last week and
77 er in our last lesson sorry and er we discussed about their role they play

78 in the government their importance the objective of this organisation
79 we discussed this here and I give you one part of it so today we are
80 going to discuss the government in The Gambia and other countries
81 that means we are going to compare how is The Gambia taking its
82 government from the head of state right down to the minister secretary
83 of state governors chiefs Alkahlos [religious leaders of each village]
84 village heads compound heads going on like that civil servant how is
85 this country operating with those ones how in regards to other
86 countries like the African countries European countries Asian countries
87 American countries what are their relationships what are their
88 similarities and their differences this are some of the points you want
89 to talk about we are at unit five [sound of pages turning] unit five .
90 government [singing heard from next class] ... government . in The
91 Gambiagovernment in The Gambia and . in other countries

BK2AaGrade6Ses

Possibly the most relevant connection between the two narratives is the personality of the storyteller. Both are male, mature teachers holding a senior position within the school. This reflects the social standing of the orator in the more traditional storytelling setting who is always an older, male member of the community.

8.8 Economic Vignettes

As indicated in the opening chapter of this thesis The Gambia is monetarily a very poor country and many of the shorter stories, monologues or vignettes offered by teachers included some commentary regarding community or familial economy.

Extract 8.30

478 **Mr Fatty:** this is what I
479 hate in class whenever somebody is telling you something that you
480 have never heard or you don't know please open your ear and pay
481 attention to what he or she is saying and get and get it is that clear to
482 everyone but some of you will not do that you will just continue
483 talking disturbing others . what is the essence of that . even if your
484 companion knew the answer or the question you will not even mind to
485 listen to him or her . you will not bother to do anything . you think that
486 to come and sit in this class with your bag and exercise book and
487 everyday you come with ten Dalasis . during break you buy that full
488 tapalapa [local bread] and eat . you see your proposal being in this
489 school is not that you must have to bring something you must put
490 something in your head . you must put something in your head whether
491 you like it or not as far as you are in this house is that clear to everyone

BP3MAGrade6SesMat

In the extract above, which occurred during the reading comprehension section of a Social and Environmental Studies class Mr Fatty is lamenting the fact that some children cannot read despite coming to school every day. He is complaining that they treat school as social rather than a learning experience.

Mr Saidy also used the classroom to link the content of the lesson ‘looking after possessions’ to the children’s own social context. He explains how, if the children look after their classroom materials, their younger brothers and sisters will be able to use them, thus saving their family money and the trouble of travelling to buy them.

Extract 8.31

277 **Mr Saidy:** you can see . for buying you so many materials whilst others are there with
278 you you have taken care of you don’t take care of they are spoiled so you have
279 to go in for another one . now you also if you have your materials like this
280 school materials the books are very expensive . sometimes you may not be
281 able to hire it [because of the difficulties in obtaining books schools usually
282 have a restricted supply of the main text books that they hire to students each
283 year there is not usually enough for every child to have one set] now in our
284 area here you have to go up to Banjul Serrekunda [towns about 2 to 3 hours
285 away] before you can get one . right? So the ones given to you here keep them
286 tomorrow when you are not there your younger brothers and sisters will be
287 able to use it . now those wise students who are in grade nine who are taking
288 care of their books . and they leave grade nine last year their younger brothers
289 and sisters are using their books this year who are going to grade nine . so they
290 have saved those books for their younger ones who are coming up .

FB1MGrade6Eng

In the rural area the reflection of social economy was more practical. Once outside the town it is common for children to collect edible fruits and leaves from the bush for the family to eat. They sell any remaining stock for pocket money and to contribute to the family purse. It was therefore a frequent occurrence for children to bring bush fruits into the school for teachers to buy. This economic interaction indicates that although they are still in class they are now interacting on a community level and Mr Touray talks to each child in their mother tongue.

Extract 8.32

425 **Mr Touray:** **nyilu dun dunto tah lehmu fo sorry talem** *what about*
426 *these are they for borrowing [to take and pay for later] or are they a*
427 *gift . huh? Nying mu italiti eyeh nying bundi mungtoleh na cashew*
428 **muso** *where did you get this from my cashew lady [girl had brought in*
429 *a large box of cashew fruits] OK GETTE GOTO ANANI . GENDE GIARTE*

430 GENAWALA KARKOTARANSU .. HMM JOLE JARTE .. MIFALA JORNO O
431 GOTO *you take one you hear . buy groundnut fifty butut one each*
432 *twenty five .. hmm groundnut how much .. I want to give one to the*
433 *other person* [classroom noise 22 seconds Mr Touray hums to himself]
434 haa . you know this [addresses Caroline] .. cashew nuts

BK3MGrade5Mat

This interaction (8.32) clearly shows Mr Touray engaged in serial monolingualism, that is changing linguistic code based on his interlocutor. At lines 425-428 he uses Mandinka to speak to the child selling cashews and at line 429-431 he changes to Fula to the child he sends for change, immediately following this he uses English to address me at line 434.

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter has recollected the data in order to answer the research question of How historical, political and cultural factors affect language practices in the classroom? In brief it would appear that the schools in this study have similar high regard for cultural practices that influence language in the classroom on several levels. Those levels are choice of language, dominance of the floor, topic and vocabulary. The data was analysed holistically, but individual lessons have been drawn on to provide examples of the phenomena identified during the analysis process. In this way it is possible to see the fundamental influences on the language that is used in these classrooms.

Predictably, the political influence features highly in the policies that affect the teachers, but also the personification of the government, President Jammeh, featured in several lessons. The very diverse ways in which Gambian culture affects the classroom language was particularly illuminating as it is easy to assume, with the language of education being English and the text books published by British publishers, that there would be a major British influence on the language and this is discussed more fully in chapter 9. Evidence of cultural influences on discipline, particularly with regard to physical punishment was noted. In a similar way praise also provided resonance with social events, particularly clapping and praise-singing which were regularly witnessed in the macro community as part of celebrations. In this patriarchal society hierarchy is important in the community and this appeared to be transplanted into the schools by way of the greeting conventions, particularly when

interacting with older people or those in respected positions. It is not surprising to find this cultural overlap so prominently represented in the research sites encountered here, as the macro community was always in close proximity to the schools. Research in schools with a distance between the school and the community may provide different results.

What is also evident from the data is that there does not appear to be many geographical differences in the effect of the historical, political and cultural influences on language and practices in the classroom. The rural and urban schools in this study appear to have similar high regard for many of the practices displayed. This may be because despite the significant differences in their current situations and future prospects their history is congruent.

The next chapter brings together the findings from the three analysis chapters and discusses them in relation to the literature and this specific study. The data from the stimulated recall interviews is also presented in the next chapter in order that the voices of the participants of the study contribute to the discussion. This chapter identifies the reasons for the uses of the local language in the words of the teachers and also discusses the rural/urban dichotomy and the cultural affects on the language.

Chapter 9

Discussion Chapter

9.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1 the language in education policy for grades five and six in The Gambia is English Only (EO). This means that teachers and pupils are directed to engage in classroom activities only in English, regardless of their individual or collective proficiency. Kembo (2000:293) states that, as a general rule, European languages in Africa ‘play no meaningful part in the lives of the communities’. This resonates with my experience in The Gambia where English plays no functional part in daily interaction and is limited to very formal domains, such as legal settings. On a daily basis the majority of non-elite Gambians do not use English beyond some formulaic phrases and numbers. In the urban areas there is some access to English in the media and it is audible in the tourist areas. However, it is entirely possible, indeed probable especially in the rural and non-tourist areas, that when children enter grade one, at approximately seven years old, they will encounter English for the first time.

The policy forms a centripetal force imposed from above upon people who have had little or no contribution to the policy construction. This study has collected classroom data in order to analyse how the LoI is used in practice. The analysis has shown that there is a centrifugal response to the LoI that appears in three distinct forms. The first is the pragmatic and pedagogic response of classroom actors and their corresponding choice of language (as noted in chapter 6). The second is the community response, with different geographic communities, limited in this study to urban, semi-urban and rural communities, responding to the centripetal force with equally effective but distinct strategies (discussed in chapter 7). Finally, the centrifugal push that demonstrates the importance of cultural norms is realised through the perpetuation of historically-endorsed practices despite the imposition of a non-negotiated policy (Chapter 8). This chapter now discusses the findings of the analysis through the lens of Bakhtin’s heteroglossia (1981) in recognition of the competing, often subconscious forces in action.

As I draw together the information from the analysis chapters the voice of the participants will contribute to the discussion through the data collected during the

stimulated recall interviews. The observation data was reviewed, translated and transcribed and although I was able to put my own interpretation on the data I wanted to hear what the teachers felt about the situations they had helped to create. I therefore asked open questions about the observation data during the interviews and have incorporated their answers here.

I have included both the questions posed and the responses from the teachers in this chapter. There are two reasons for this. One is to clarify any ambiguities that the teachers produce. It is common in unstructured interviews for participants to contradict themselves in places. This does not necessarily mean they are not being truthful but may indicate ‘genuine inconsistencies, ambivalence and contradictions’ (Kvale 2007:13) in the respondents’ situations. Knowing the questions asked will aid understanding and also contextualise the quotes. This is the second reason for including the interviewer’s questions. The participants’ responses are fragments of a longer discourse, which as Mann (2010:8) states is a ‘meaning-making venture[s]’. I have extracted these responses with full knowledge of the context in which it was produced. It is therefore important for the reader to be aware of the context in order to comprehend the answer (Kvale 2007). For ease of identification purposes the participants’ responses are indicated through italic font.

9.2 Pragmatic and Pedagogic Responses

As demonstrated in chapter 6 (RQ1) teachers and pupils do not adhere to the EO policy. Despite English being dominant in the classroom with the majority of interactions monoglossic English, there were significant deviations from the policy. The departure from English into local language fell into four categories, classroom management, topic content in local language, pedagogic intervention and pastoral care. These categories can be considered under the two thematic headings of pragmatic divergence from the policy, which includes the categories of classroom management and pastoral care, and pedagogic divergence, which consists of topic (of the lesson) content in local language and pedagogic intervention.

9.2.1 Pragmatic Divergence

During the post observation stimulated recall interviews (Gass and Mackey 2000) teachers reported that some of the most significant reasons for using local languages in the classroom were purely pragmatic. In other words they did not apportion any meaning to the switch other than to expedite the process they were undertaking. In particular they mentioned that they used local languages to ensure instructions were easily understood and that tasks were completed quickly by the students. For example, when asked “so you wouldn’t normally give instructions in Mandinka” Mr Camara from Fankoo Bantaba said:

“Yea I normally give instructions in Mandinka when children have difficulty”

Interview with Mr Camara, appendix 9, line 45-48

Although it is possible to suggest that ‘difficulty’ could relate to a multitude of concepts, including misunderstanding of a procedure or intention, in the context of the interview (see appendix 9) it was construed as meaning difficulty with English.

This suggestion has been supported by the data analysis as a substantial number of switches into local languages were recognised as being for a classroom management purpose (see for example extracts 6.3 and 6.4). However, contrary to Mr Camara’s mitigation that this happens “when children have difficulty”, many of the examples indicate that the local language was used as a primary tool, rather than after the English had been tried and communication had not succeeded. Certainly, in the case of both extracts 6.3 and 6.4 the switch into Mandinka not only came swiftly after but included much more information than the original English. In the case of 6.3 this was simply a formulaic phrase “I don’t know” and in 6.4 an abrupt instruction followed by detailed instruction in Mandinka. Therefore it would appear that the local languages are used as an organisational language, thus centrifugally refuting the EO policy and endorsing the indigenous languages.

It would appear then that these teachers use their repertoire of language to meet the immediate communicative needs of the classroom. As native speakers and competent language users, they gauge the level of cognitive challenge of each task and, when the need for language development is not necessary, they use LLs to ensure the smooth

running of the classroom. Teachers could also be using the LLs in this way to lessen the cognitive demands for both the students and themselves. This may correlate with Bunyi's (2005) work where teachers revealed that they found the task of maintaining English for the whole day challenging and they are therefore using the LL to compensate for their own deficiencies in English.

In addition, teachers switched into local languages for disciplinary purposes. Several of the teachers suggested that this produced a greater effect on the children than discipline in prescribed language. During the post observation interview I discussed this phenomenon with Mr Touray. I pointed out that he would use English phrases for general reminders of classroom behaviour, "be quiet", "sit down", "do your work" and so on, but if more severe or individual reprimands were necessary he did this in Mandinka. Mr Touray's response to my question "I was just wondering whether you always reprimand in local language or whether it was just because I was there" was twofold. The first part of his response was that using the local language results in students responding to the reprimand swiftly:

"... some of them will offend me you know then I will talk to them in English but still they will continue doing it XXX because I I ask them sit down keep quiet do your work and that means mind your business concentrate on what you are given and this what basically you concentrate on what he or she is given ... so that's what will make me sometimes to use the local language for them to understand very very quick"

Interview with Mr Touray, appendix 11, line 429-438

He gave the second part of his answer, that using local language indicated a severity not implicit in English, after being assured that I did not consider it wrong to use local language.

Caroline: so don't worry I am not saying it is wrong for you to say these things but I am what I was interested is that is that this day you only spoke to them like this in local language and I just wanted to know if it was because of ME being there or if it was because that's just what you always do so you normally start in . in English ... and then you speak later XXXX continue to do it you speak in Mandinka

“yea that’s for them to . know e.e.e. know what I am saying and I mean it ... this why emphasise . mm the local language small then they will know that this man is ready now what he says he mean it”

Interview with Mr Touray, appendix 11, line 452-473

Previous research has also identified this pattern. Swiggart (1992), Bunyi (2005) and Probyn (2006) recognised the use of the local language in discipline in their relative studies in Senegal, Gicagi (Kenya) and South Africa. Each described how the marked code, that not sanctioned for use in the classroom but with local cultural capital (Mesthrie et al 2000), created a definite and positive impact on the students when used for reprimands. In the Gambian classrooms LL used in this way also created dramatic effects. Extract 6.8 demonstrates the use not only of a LL to assert authority, but also the inclusion of an Arabic word, which would be taboo in the local language. In this particular situation Mr Bah, the senior master at the rural school, does not offer any warning or reprimand in English. Rather he immediately uses a language that will have immediate impact not only on the child he is focussed on but on the rest of the class. It would appear that teachers use the indigenous languages to great effect, not only endorsing their use but demonstrating their power.

9.2.2 Pedagogic Divergence

The overwhelming pedagogic reasons for using the LL were whole class teaching of concepts not understood in English and one to one teaching. Perhaps the most profound of these reasons was given by all the teachers interviewed. They all identified that at several stages during lessons they are aware of students ‘not following’. This is a Gambian English expression that means one or more child has not understood the input and is identified by the student or students becoming fidgety or vacant in their demeanour. Mr Touray explained this during his interview;

“... sometimes it is not easy when you speak English speak English speak English speak English they’ll open their eyes on me like that [opens eyes wide demonstrating that the children look in bewilderment at him] so I will say to myself maybe some of them didn’t understand ... so when I speak very very very well in English [means for a long time] . OK some of them will put their eyes on me . I will say to myself maybe is

some of this people have not understood still . then I will later come down to the local language and explain little bit in the local language for better understanding”

Interview with Mr Touray, appendix 11, line 753-767

Mr Kujabi, an unqualified teacher was unable to explain specifically how he knew that students needed a local language translation but he claimed to sense that students were experiencing difficulty. He then checked with the students by switching to Mandinka himself. He was asked “do you often use Mandinka in class”?

“no when I explain they don’t understand much I am not convinced that they understood then I I ask them in Mandinka whether they under . if they tell me I know that they understood”

Interview with Mr Kujabi, appendix 10, line 107-110

When asked a similar question, “when you are giving instructions do you often do this in Mandinka?”, Mr Camara reported just *knowing* when students had not understood.

“n.no it is only when they cannot I know they cannot understand at all . I’ll come I’ll put it in this thing er in Mandinka”.

Interview with Mr Camara, appendix 9, line 39-40

Not being able to articulate the initiation for switching into another language resonates with Arthur’s (1996:21) findings that the switch is made using ‘professional and personal instincts’ and also with Merritt et al’s (1992) identification of the ‘moment to moment’ decision making process. This clearly leaves the teachers with some tension, indicated by their mitigation of the LL use. Immediately before the related episode above Mr Touray said he only used Mandinka “*a FEW times you know*” (Mr Touray’s emphasis). Notice also both Mr Kujabi and Mr Camara’s quotes (above) start with “*no*”, this is the immediate response to the question “do you often speak Mandinka”. When asked directly “what language did you use in class?” Mr Touray responded “*yea only use English*” (appendix 11 line 340-341). It is therefore apparent that, on a regular basis, teachers have to choose between the policy of only using English in the classroom and to follow the purpose of their chosen career, to teach. Harlech-Jones (1995) suggested, following research in Namibia, that teachers should not necessarily comply with the language policy, but maximise learning by

switching freely between linguistic resources. I witnessed the Gambian teachers in this study make the choice between adhering to the policy and maximising learning, apparently subconsciously and immediately during the observation period. Frequently, this led to teachers choosing to maximise learning and they consequently chose to use a LL.

This clear push against the centripetal force of imposed language meets the immediate communication and pedagogic need of the situation but results in tension within the teachers. This is evidenced by their concern when asked about the language switch. Teachers often deflected the ‘blame’ for switching onto the children, suggesting they had no choice as the children did not know sufficient English, or even that they were too slow or dull to understand. As Mr Camara laments during his interview:

“because the standard is very low . very low I’m looking at them constantly talking English English at the end of the day just tell me yes but just set them the work and see if there is forty only five of them will come out [means to pass the assessment]”

Interview with Mr Camara, appendix 9, line 58-61

Mr Touray, who used a significant amount of local language in his teaching, was asked if there is a difference in response when he uses a local language rather than English only. He was asked “do you think you get more response from the children more children raising their hands when you use local language and when you encourage in local language ... or does it not make any difference if you use English or local language?”. His response is very telling as, although he is using the term “slow learners”, he recognises that the students concerned do know the answers when they are asked in a local language.

“yes it make difference of course . yea when I ask them er question only in English the fast learners will understand very well and will put their hands up but sometimes I don’t want only the fast learners to be contributing all the time so slow learners who are there who are not very very intelligent they don’t understand very quick so I think that’s XX you see one person just putting their hand up or similar persons putting their hand up . so if I want the others to to to contribute so this why I go to local language for a while so they will also understand and raise up their hand but when I

only ask them questions in English only in English the number of people who put their hands up . will not be that much many . yea yea yea but when I go up to the extent of explaining in the local language . then we see hands up because the slow learners will understand immediately so this what first pushed me into explaining a topic sometimes in the local language yea yea yea”

Interview with Mr Touray, appendix 11, line 225-240

This supports the argument that teachers should perhaps be trusted to teach their cohort of students in the way they feel best suits both their teaching and students' learning abilities. Despite what would be considered a poor choice of adjectives from a western educator to describe them, the Gambian teachers come to know their students very well. This does of course lead to a caveat regarding coherence of education across the country, but perhaps steers more towards the broader purposes of education and the development of individual learning. During the observations, and considering his comments during the interview it is clear that Mr Touray, a young and unqualified but confident teacher disregards the policy to ensure all his students contribute to the lesson. Mr Touray teaches in the rural school, a significant travelling distance from the urban capital and is therefore perhaps more relaxed about the policy as he is unlikely to face unscheduled observations by government officials, unlike the urban schoolteachers.

It should be noted here that the imposition of such a dogmatic language policy has recently been reconsidered by politicians (see section 1.5.2). The changes to the policy concern early years' education and afford teachers the authority to deliver the lesson content in English supported with verbal use of a local language. This policy, in effect, condones the practices already in place. It would appear, therefore, that the centrifugal push has resulted in recognition by the government policy makers.

The other pedagogic use of the local languages revealed by this study is during one to one teaching. Teachers frequently switched into LL to ensure an individual child or a small group of children had fully grasped a concept. Mr Camera was asked “do you often teach one to one in a local language do you often help one child?”. In response Mr Camara indicated one girl among the student group working at the back of the room and gave her as an example of the need for differentiated teaching.

“so most of the time I have to counsel [teach] her alone like when they are from group work I have to give her more XXX OK so she can catch up with others because she is . a very slow learner very very slow there are others too one two [indicates two other children] they are slow learners so it’s subjective I have to address them in Mandinka alone”

Interview with Mr Camara, appendix 9, line 106-111

An example of Mr Camara delivering one to one teaching in a local language is demonstrated in extract 6.13. He is responding to a child’s question and is using Mandinka as well as English to develop the child’s understanding of personal hygiene. As with the subject of the lesson discussed in McGlynn and Martin (2009) the subject of personal hygiene is a school subject with an important social significance. The important message behind this academic topic may have been missed by the child had Mr Camara not engaged with him in LL. Although this extract is from a grade five class it would appear that Mr Camara is demonstrating how the new policy, of English supported with local language, can be used in one to one teaching.

During the interview with Mr Touray he expressed that the switch into local language for one to one teaching did have a caveat to it. Although the teachers who were interviewed spoke predominantly about switching to Mandinka it is apparent that not all the students speak Mandinka, and indeed not all the teachers speak the languages of the students. After Mr Touray had expressed the number of tribes, and therefore languages, represented in the class I asked “so what language did you use in class then?”.

“yea only use English and the person who didn’t understand then I would ask the question what type are you . first time that it what I would do then I know them I come to know them . so there are Fulas who speak Mandinka very well . and there are Mandinkas can speak Wol. Fula very well and Wolof so when the person is a Wolof then I would come a little bit down to explain to the persons so they will understand . yea”

Interview with Mr Touray, appendix 11, line 341 – 347

This obviously has an impact when teachers cannot speak the LL of the community, or a child has moved into an area and cannot yet speak the LL, as demonstrated by the Serer speaking child in the urban school (Chapter 6 extract 6.12). Mr Touray and Mr Kujabi each speak six languages, and may never experience this however, Mr Yaffa has only two languages, English and Mandinka, thus if he were to be sent to a community with a different LL he may experience communication issues.

9.3 Regional Responses

Despite the similarities of reasons for LL use in the classrooms there were differences in the presentation of the language between regions. In particular the use of discrete languages in the classroom reflected community language use. This resulted in a single lingua franca used in the semi-urban school, a small number of *linguae francae* used in the urban school and a greater number of local languages used in the rural school.

9.3.1 Interlocutor Dependent Language Use in Rural Schools

There are a significant number of rural Gambian villages which are monolingual in the minority languages of the country; however, the majority of villages are multilingual. All the schools chosen for this study are in multilingual villages. In rural villages the cultural and linguistic heritage of individuals is known due to the small number of inhabitants or can be easily and quickly ascertained through subtle differences in dress or adornments. Although villagers declare themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic or language group they are usually conversant with the languages of the other groups in the village. Consequently, language codes are employed on an interlocutor dependent basis. This means that the most appropriate code will be chosen depending on the repertoire of the interlocutors present. It is possible that each interlocutor will speak their own language and engage in a process known as parallel bilingualism (Gafaranga 2006), understanding the codes of the other speakers but adhering to their own linguistic heritage for their output. This is evidenced in the classroom by teachers using different discrete codes to interact with individuals in the classroom (as evidenced by chapter 7 extract 7.6).

Indeed it is Mr Touray who is quoted above as asking children “what type are you?” in order that the correct code may be used. This serial monolingualism, as I have come to recognise it, puts enormous pressure on teachers each time they are posted to a new village. As discussed in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1) posting of teachers to vacancies is arbitrary in linguistic terms in many African contexts (Bunyi 2005). If posted to a village which is inhabited by speakers who are monolingual in a code not spoken by the teacher, then the tensions identified in the discussion of pedagogic switches are magnified. The number of languages spoken by the teachers reflects their response to this situation. Many would suggest this would be a reason to continue with English as a LF, but in reality the children do not know sufficient English for it to be a viable LF. Consequently, in the absence of a genuinely understood LF, teachers learn the community’s language.

9.3.2 Urban Amalgams

Analysis of the data resulted in the finding of an urban vernacular (Chapter 7.4). Urban Vernaculars, as with other creative language forms, are produced when ‘speakers intermingle the languages and language varieties circulating in their daily lives’ (Higgins 2009:7). The image of proximity and movement created by Higgins’ (2009) description may be an explanation for the numerous terms applied to similar, often seemingly the same, phenomena.

What Mc Laughlin (2001) refers to as urban vernaculars, Makoni and Meinhof (2004) call amalgams, Strevens (1992) makes reference to local forms of English or localised English, Woolard (1998) uses bivalent, Makoe and McKinney (2009:80) identified the ‘hybrid discursive practices’ in South Africa and Doran (2004:194) employs ‘linguistic bricolage’. Higgins (2009) uses several terms including the Bakhtinian *multivocality*, the contemporary *urban vernaculars* and the descriptive *hybridized languages*. Explaining further Higgins (2009:4) suggests the ‘hybridized languages often defy linguistic descriptions, as they shift and morph, sometimes into new languages, as speakers use them’. Therefore it would be necessary to review whole texts, rather than minimal utterances in order to identify how the variety is constructed and to describe the grammar. By their very nature the individual utterances are non-standard and can appear as simply borrowing, code switching, code-mixing, a pidgin or a creole, or indeed, as Gambians refer to it, as ‘mix-up’ a mish mash of utterances

that meet an immediate communicative need. By reviewing larger texts of consistent amalgam use a more comprehensive analysis of the structure and grammar can be made.

Pennycook (2007) questions whether, in contexts where languages are interwoven and used in complex ways, it is not useful to think of discrete languages. The notion of discrete codes, often presented as a binary choice between the language of groups competing for power and influence, or living in close proximity is a purist view of reality not experienced by many multilingual communities. For diverse multilingual communities using languages as interchangeable, malleable constructs to meet the challenges of immediate communicative needs is the norm.

Mc Laughlin (2001) refers to urban Wolof as a hybrid language made up of the matrix (Myers-Scotton 2003b) of Wolof with embedded languages of French in urban Senegal and English in urban Gambia, as well as loan words from Pulaar (Fula) and other local languages in both varieties. However, I would argue that the urban language used in The Gambia is more complicated. The matrix language can be Wolof, Mandinka or English and the embedded languages can be any one or more of the languages found in the towns; therefore any of the ten or more indigenous languages found in The Gambia and the several exoglossic languages, including English, French and Arabic are apparent (see Juffermans and McGlynn 2009). However, the majority ethnic groups in The Gambia are the Mandinka and the Wolof tribal groups and therefore these are the most predominant languages and also form the most frequent matrix languages.

This is demonstrated in the urban school by the rapid switching between English, Mandinka and Wolof with the occasional use of all three languages melded into a single utterance. In the extract at 7.5 there is no dominant matrix language as each of the three major languages in the area are used in the interaction. Pennycook (2007) has suggested that it is generally the majority language, both indigenous and exoglossic that provide the biggest contribution to the urban vernaculars, discussed below, and would therefore be expected to appear more in the rapid code switching of the classroom. Further research is needed to establish which languages are most frequently used as the matrix language in different contexts and how often the

languages of minority groups are embedded. It is possible that, once closer examination of the amalgamated language is conducted, English proves to be the matrix language in the classrooms as it has been prescribed by the language of education policy. However, English may not necessarily be the matrix language in less prescribed domains. It could be suggested that the term switching, matrix and embedded languages are not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of the amalgamated languages (Makoni and Meinhof 2004) found in many urban environments. The work of Kube-Barth (2009) on Nouchi in Cote D'Ivoire, Higgins (2009) on Sheng and Tough Talk in Tanzania and Kenya, Woolard (1998) on Catalan and Spanish, as well as an extensive and growing literature by Pennycook on urban vernaculars and identity world-wide, suggests a far more complex situation.

The classic definition of code switching is the 'juxtaposition' (Gumperz 1982:59) of two grammar codes. As Mc Laughlin (2001) explains the languages are only recognisable as hybrid if it is appreciated that there are different language systems in play. It is my experience, and that of the researchers mentioned above, that much of the hybrid languages are produced by people who do not speak the embedded language and do not consider their language to be anything other than complete and whole. Morris (1994:73) quotes Bakhtin (1935) as suggesting that 'At both individual and social level, productive vitality and creativity derive from a continuous dialogic struggle within and between discourses'. However, Dentith (1995) sees the heteroglossic situation as more positive and suggests that unlike monolingual speakers it would appear that urban language speakers see access to multiple codes, heteroglossia, as a way to make meaning in diverse contexts and with different speakers. This would certainly concur with Pennycook's (2007) discussion of interchangeable and malleable constructs and Mc Laughlin's (2001) view of urban dwellers as creative and able to experiment and improvise in order to survive in a hurried and continually changing environment. This suggests that there is unlikely to be a consistent form to the amalgams (see 10.4). It has been proposed (Pennycook 2007) that the new urban vernaculars are a form of Creole language, one without native speakers and occurring without passing through pidgin stage, created by mixing and borrowing from all languages available in the community. However, I would argue that the people of The Gambia I encountered in this study may be using the language as a pidgin, a contact language between speakers of different, if

geographically connected, language groups. I would also tentatively propose that there may be native speakers of this urban language, as the following vignette suggests.

During the pilot stage of this study in 2007 I shared a house in an urban compound. As with many urban compounds the houses were rented by several families from different ethnic groups. In the compound there were two small girls, Sibó and Kaddy each about three years old. Sibó was from a Mandinka family and Kaddy from a Wolof family. There were several other children in the compound from Jola, Fula and Serahule families. At the time my local language was limited and I would often spend time with the children who were naturally good teachers of language. One day a school teacher colleague visited me in the compound and tried to engage Sibó and Kaddy in conversation as they played at our feet. He was told by Sibó's mother that he would not be able to understand them "Sibó doesn't speak Mandinka like us, she is using mix up, only Kaddy can understand her and only Sibó can understand Kaddy, leave them to their stories they belong together". At the time I thought the mother was saying that the girls had a secret, child language of the sort many small children create to talk with real or imaginary playmates. On reflection of the language situation I believe the girls were native speakers of the urban amalgam. They were hearing this creative language use on a daily basis by people around them, including their parents and other adults in the compound when talking to speakers from other ethnic groups, and thus creating the amalgam from their own linguistic resources. However, unlike the adults who were aware that the communicative tool was made up of different languages, Sibó and Kaddy were using it as their only language. Indeed, during the translation process some of the Gambian nationals who have resided in the UK for several years commented on the urban language with one saying "this Mandinka is not good, it is mix-up". Perhaps the idea of 'mix-up', as the Gambian nationals are calling it, is the same as the urban amalgams from the literature.

9.3.3 Semi Urban Lingua Franca

Despite numerous languages in the semi-urban macro community only one local language was used significantly in the Fankoo Bantaba classrooms. This might be interpreted as the community choosing to use Mandinka as a collective centrifugal push against the imposition of English and other languages from trading areas. As a

particularly diverse community they have found strength in their chosen LF. Mandinka was used by several of the teachers to talk to the children and any episodes noted in the field notes of children speaking in local language were also of them using Mandinka. It may be the proximity to, and importance of, trade with Mandinka speaking areas of Senegal and several surrounding monolingual villages that means the historical lingua franca is maintained. There was also one documented incident of the hybrid language discussed above, including English, Mandinka, Wolof and French (see extract 7.9). Again it is the proximity to Senegal that may be responsible for this combination of languages to be used.

It would be interesting to monitor the language situation in this village as many of the trades people travel regularly to Serrekunda, Banjul and Senegal as well as attending local lumoos (markets). There are, therefore, several outside influences on the language of this community; including both Senegalese and Gambian urban Wolof which is rapidly becoming more dominant as the lingua franca in other trading towns. However, as trade does not occur in Fankoo village itself it may be that the trades people use Mandinka in the village and other languages during business.

9.4 Cultural Identity/Perpetuation of Norms

The third centrifugal response to the centripetal imposition of English is the maintenance of cultural norms and identity. Language provides links between past and future. It is through our choice of words and syntax that we demonstrate our hopes for the future and our experiences of and from the past. For multilingual people living in multilingual communities, the choice of language in which to articulate nostalgia and hope is complicated. Vice (1997:46) suggests that ‘At any moment, our discourse will be synchronically informed by the contemporary languages we live among, and diachronically informed by their historical roles and the future roles we anticipate for them’. The Gambian teachers used language creatively in order to strengthen links between the community and traditions and to foster aspirations for the future. This section will look predominately at the perpetuation of cultural norms and practices, but the use of language in the presentation of individual identities is beyond the remit of this study. There were three overarching themes that became clear in the data (see chapter 8). These are; history of the people from a geographical

perspective in relation to LL which contrasts with the political and religious imposition of exoglossic languages. The socialisation of children in relation to both academic and social situations was demonstrated through the use of punishment and praise; and finally, attitudes to and by elders has a clear link with the social hierarchy.

9.4.1 History

The effects of colonialism and the challenges faced by newly independent African governments, that resulted in the European language in education policies have been well documented (see chapter 3). Of particular interest to this study is the expectation that English only education would lead to a workforce capable of interaction in an English dominated world. Unfortunately, as indicated by several researchers, including Gonzales (1998), there are many other issues with education in developing countries.

For Gonzalez (1998:202), who was researching in the Philippines, the main issues concerned the lack of motivated teachers, lack of resources and access to mass media. Jessop and Penny (1998) state that motivated teachers are those who have chosen education as a career even though other choices are available. If no other choice is possible the choice to teach may not indicate a motivated teacher but rather someone looking for employment. In the context of The Gambia much of the work available is manual, sporadic and low paid. However, teachers are respected in the community, have regular work and regular salary payments. Therefore, teaching is a compelling career option, especially for young males who have completed their own education. Kembo (2000) has also identified several challenges with African education, including large classes, basic infrastructure, lack of materials and inadequate teacher training. Ferguson (2006a) concurs that education budgets are generally very restricted and realistically only cover salaries and small building projects. Consequently, there is very little left for materials and training. Ferguson goes on to state that these issues will remain regardless of the language of instruction. Simply because education is in an indigenous language does not mean it is good. Access to materials, well resourced libraries and contemporary information as well as well trained teachers and engaging lessons are also important and are not guaranteed by a change in language in education policy.

Another aspect important to 'good' education is access to the language of education, whichever that might be, in extracurricular contexts. Kembo (2000) reiterates Gonzalez's point regarding unequal access to the language of education through mass media. She discusses the difference between what is effectively an English as a Second Language situation in many urban areas and English as a Foreign Language in rural areas. This is based on the presence, or otherwise, of the language in education, in this case English, in the community. Even in urban Gambia there is a difference in access to English based on economy. The urban rich have televisions, access to newspapers and interact with the English speaking elite, whereas the urban poor do not. Consequently, two different teaching techniques and sets of materials are required to mitigate the gap.

In addition to these challenges directly associated with education there are other reasons that contribute to the non-emergence of an internationally viable workforce. National poverty has resulted in lack of infrastructure development, this in turn has restricted national progress. Areas of specific underdevelopment are the outdated national transport system which results in limited mobility, expensive and unreliable communication systems and unreliable and limited electricity supply.

Despite this missing benefit of international interaction, intranational communication is progressive and viable. The local area history appears to be having a profound effect on community communication. As demonstrated by the data in this study there is a dominant language in the schools of some suburbs. However, while this was seen in practice in the classroom the concept of meeting the immediate communication needs appears to take precedence.

Indeed the use of so many languages in the urban areas may be contributing to the rapidly developing urban vernaculars. Young people are exposed to the language of their family, of which there may be more than one, the language of their suburb or 'end', which may be yet different to the local lingua franca of either Wolof or Mandinka. They will also be exposed to English via school, mass media and, possibly, proximity to the tourist area, and Arabic for religious purposes. One response to exposure to so many discrete languages would be to combine them. Indeed, young children regularly hearing the language may not even realise that there

are discrete languages nor recognise any prestige associated with them (see chapter 2, section 2.6). Certainly the use of amalgamated languages seems to concur with the ethos of affective communication first and foremost which resonates throughout the data.

9.4.2 Punishment and Praise

Many of the cultural practices noticed are non-verbal but communicative in other ways. Visual punishment and the responsibility for self-administering punishment is a reflection of social norms in the macro community. People, usually women and children, who are being punished or disciplined often face a very public sanction. Wearing a particular colour, decoration or men's clothing (in the case of women) is common. It is also usual to ask a child to gather a stick that they know will be used to beat them. This resonates with the school children having to collect and put on the symbol. It is clear from the data that the threat of the symbol was significant and children were often compliant at its mention.

It is also clear from the data that physical punishments were regular and severe. Life in The Gambia is very physical in all aspects. There is a reliance on manual labour, particularly farming, and children engage predominantly in outdoor play. A lack of transport means that walking long distances is a regular occurrence and in addition there is a close proximity to birth and death, with both events usually happening in the family compound. The need to be physically strong is obvious and consequently a physical rather than verbal response is often the default option in many situations.

In a similar way praise is also very physical, with clapping and singing used to raise awareness of the reason for praise. Clapping is an aspect of community life, usually employed by women and children to express pleasure and happiness. The predominantly male teachers have taken this practice into the classroom but appear to have curtailed its spontaneity and exuberance. This has been done by only allowing clapping on command, "clap for him/her", and in some cases reducing the noise to a single clap.

Verbal discipline and praise was also witnessed. Reference to animals during discipline was frequent and this is significant as animals in The Gambia are for food

or work and they therefore do not engender the same positive, emotional connotations as in countries where they are used for companionship. There is also a geographical connection to wildlife as many villages are in the 'bush'⁶ and livestock are an important source of income, but are considered dull, working animals. In the urban areas there are monkeys, bats, large birds, wild dogs and bush rats, however, all of these animals are considered to be vermin or pests. This ambivalent or even negative community attitude to animals comes across very clearly as verbal discipline frequently incorporated reference to various animals. The use of insults by teachers would be considered an anathema in many educational situations, but the proximity to the wildlife suggests analogy is inevitable.

9.4.3 Elders

The penultimate connection between school and community to be discussed here is the attitude to and of elders (see discussion in chapter 8). Men in general have an elevated position in the patriarchal Gambian society, but there are several conditions which attract significantly more respect. These include, but are not limited to; recognised religious observance, a respected profession, such as a teacher or doctor, advanced age, more than one wife and significant number of children. There were several instances in the data that demonstrated cultural observance of this reverence towards male elders.

Perhaps the most sustained demonstration of this cultural practice is from the data collected at Fankoo Bantaba, the semi-urban school, in relation to Mr Jallow. Mr Jallow is highly respected because of his age, profession and religious observance and consequently many members of the school and wider community greeted him following an accident. Despite the interruption to the school activities Mr Jallow appeared to both expect and accept the greetings. Visitors took their lead from Mr Jallow, who dictated whether a shorter or longer greeting exchange would be entered into. What was obvious was that despite the importance placed on education in this school and village the adherence to the cultural practice took precedence.

⁶ The bush is a very large grassy area with trees and bushes similar to a sparsely populated forest

Men who hold elevated positions in the community would often exploit their ‘superiority’ by holding the floor for extended periods during conversations. These appear as monologues but are also narratives or even impromptu storytelling events. This cultural practice was noticed in the classroom teaching of the two senior masters. The children responded appropriately to the extended talk, which appears to be at odds with the ‘based on British education system concept’ discussed earlier. The classroom monologues that were witnessed were as entertaining and engaging as the cultural storytelling events observed in the villages. The only difference was that the delivery was almost entirely in English. This melding of policy with cultural practice echoes the compromise witnessed in other areas, such as the amalgamated languages and parallel bilingualism.

9.4.4 Economics

Finally this discussion ends with the recognition that the economic situation in developing countries is never far from people’s minds. It can not be completely separated from the academic environment. It is possible that these teachers see teaching the financial realities of life in The Gambia as part of their remit as educators and community leaders. Reference to familial, community and national economies and welfare was frequent. This is perhaps unsurprising as teachers are affected by government spending, or lack of it, as teachers as well as family and community members. Children also appear more immediately affected by the financial circumstances than those in more developed countries. Certainly, I have witnessed adults having to make a daily choice between food and education. The frequent references to economics and finance suggest teachers actively explain the consequences of what is undoubtedly a harsh reality.

9.5 Conclusion

Taking the findings from the analysis chapters and summarising them in this discussion chapter brings into focus a connecting theme. The notion of density and close contact with the community has an impact on the language in the classroom. Teachers are not only teachers but also members of the community. As such they have a connection that affords them confidence to ‘train’ children, that is to both parent and educate, according to the local cultural practices (RQ3 chapter 8).

As members of the community they have an emotional investment in each child's progression which may account for the teachers' willingness to subvert the monolingual language policy to use local language in order to ensure socially relevant aspects of the curriculum are understood (RQ1 chapter 6). Addendorf's study (1996) of high school students in South Africa demonstrated the increased participation of students when a local language was used. This finding is supported by the work of Ackers and Hardman (2001) and their statistical analysis of interactions in science and maths classes in Kenya. As indicated by McGlynn and Martin (2009) teachers recognise the tensions when socially important areas of the subject are presented. The choice must be between adhering to the policy and ensuring comprehension by all the students. Harlech-Jones (1993) suggests teachers subvert the policy in order to meet the needs of the class. This study has shown that this subversion is happening in the classrooms observed with teachers using their 'professional and personal instincts' (Arthur 1996:21) to switch to local language to ensure socially important content is understood.

The responsibility on teachers to 'train' their students may also account for the significant amount of local language observed during classroom management, pastoral care and non-pedagogic discipline related speech events. In a classroom situation it is important that instructions given by teachers are understood and followed. Consequently, teachers lessen the cognitive demands by using local language, thus ensuring the content of their instructions is clear. This resonates with Bunyi's (2005) research in Kenyan classroom found that both teachers and students found the language policy overly demanding and were unable to maintain the use of official language for all speech events. Additionally, in communion with research in Senegal by Swiggart (1992) and South Africa by Probyn (2006) this study confirmed that the observed teachers use local language for discipline and general 'training' purposes. The close connection between the macro community and the micro community of the school results in teachers carrying out their dual responsibility to parent and educate responsibly, but in different languages.

The close habitation of people of different language groups is affecting the development of local languages in a unified centrifugal force against the institutional

imposition of English (RQ2 chapter 7). The diverse reactions of the communities to the imposition of English demonstrate uniqueness of the community but homogeneity of purpose. The overwhelming purpose of the urban school teachers' use of *linguae francae* and the rural school teachers' use of serial monolingualism was to promote communication and understanding. The centrifugal reactions against the imposition of the language policy are different but produce the same outcome, that of policy subversion. The rural response of serial monolingualism, or parallel bilingualism (Gafaranga 2006) is a more individually focussed response to the policy and reflects language use in the macro community. Urban classrooms are much larger and consist of students from many minority language groups, with students leaving and joining the class throughout the term. This makes recognising the linguistic strengths of individuals extremely difficult and therefore the use of a small number of *linguae francae* reflects a practical response to a diverse and transient population. The creation of a new code, an amalgam (Makoni and Meinhof 2003, Higgins 2009) by the macro community appears to be starting to influence the micro community but data from this study is insufficient to draw conclusions (see section 10.5)

Finally the community arrangements with regards to housing, work and play affect the language in the classroom. Vice (1997) suggests language is both synchronically and diachronically affected by the community. This is seen explicitly in the data as teachers used contemporary modes of interaction, such as serial monolingualism and *linguae francae* while adhering to and reinforcing cultural norms. The storytelling events witnessed in the urban school and the extended monologues in the rural school data (see section 8.7) suggest that the traditional teaching and learning techniques of a pre-colonial period (Ong 2002) may still be in operation in the school, homes and communities of the students. The living arrangements, which include the presence of elderly people in the family compound, may be a factor in the respect afforded to elders (RQ3 chapter 8). The presence of a living history in the narratives of the elders also perpetuates understanding and firmly establishes the link with the past.

In addition the physicality of work and play, particularly in the rural area where there is an economic reliance on farming and outdoor play for the children, affects the micro community language. The close proximity of schools to the macro community, as well as the open access means there is a level of interaction not witnessed in

communities where schools have closed gates and active discouragement of contact during school time. However, it may be that the close connections and resulting interruptions (see chapter 8) may also be seen as having a negative impact on the education of the children.

Gonzales (1998), Kembo (2000) and Ferguson (2006a) all identified that the concerns regarding language of instruction are not the only reason for the poor quality education in post-colonial contexts. However, they identified economic and practical reasons, such as limited budgets for education, lack of teacher training, limited resources and few motivated teachers, for the poor results achieved. It may be, however, that there are more culturally based reasons for school children not reaching expected standards. The communities witnessed in this study do prioritise education, however, it is of a lower priority than the appropriate social training of students and the welfare of the community members, and as a consequence, interruption of a school day to check on someone's health is entirely appropriate in a society with people as its priority rather than protocol or observance of strict regulations.

The close connection of the macro community and the schools in this study have revealed several levels of conflict. In addition to the heteroglossic conflict (Bakhtin 1981) between the language of education and the community languages there is a conflict between the need to provide European standard education and the need to perpetuate the cultural norms of the community. This constant tension is reflected in the language of the classroom, both in terms of the code used, whether English, *linguae francae* or discrete local languages, as well as the content of the speech events. The significant use of local language in the classroom demonstrates a centrifugal resistance to the imposition of the language policy. The repetition of themes important to the community, such as economic and hierarchical discourses, demonstrates the centrifugal push against imposition of a culture that does not fit comfortably with the community.

Chapter 10 Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter returns to the focus of the research and provides answers to the original questions (10.2). The thesis is then summarised (10.3) identifying how each chapter contributes to the final findings. The strengths and limitations of this study are then discussed (10.4) followed by possible future research options (10.5). Finally, concluding remarks consider the research as a whole and what contribution this work could make to the discourse regarding language in education policy and practice (10.6).

10.2 The Research Questions and Responses

The focus of this research is the language in education policy and teaching practices in The Gambia, West Africa. This research evolved from my interest in the area following undergraduate study, academic fieldtrips, personal visits and engagement with academic literature regarding the language in education policies. I was particularly interested in how teachers negotiate the policy and the effects of the policy on children's learning. As a result of this interest I engaged with the academic debate surrounding language in education policies, particularly those relating to post-colonial contexts. The discourse covered many aspects of the debate but there was very little context specific research regarding The Gambia and there were several gaps in the literature in general, especially the concern regarding the rural/urban dichotomy apparent in many contexts but not considered in the policies.

Three research questions formed the basis of this research. Questions one and three relate specifically to The Gambia, whereas question two, although context specific here, is the start of a discourse currently under-researched in the literature. This question relates to the difference in circumstances between rural and urban areas in developing countries, a difference that can be dramatic and impact on education. As discussed earlier (chapter 2) the language in education policies are often made by politicians in the seat of government, the urban areas, without recognition of the particular issues faced by rural dwelling children.

I have summarised the findings to the three research questions briefly here. Research question one (chapter 6) considered the purposes for which local languages are used in the classroom. My findings suggest that the teachers in this study use the local languages for a variety of reasons and these were established into two themes of pragmatic and pedagogic divergence. Two categories were identified as being in each theme. Classroom management, including discipline and expediency of non-teaching tasks, and pastoral care, when teachers took on a more community based elder role by providing advice and guidance about non educational matters made up the pragmatic divergence. Pedagogic divergence related to delivery of subject knowledge, particularly when it concerned local or cultural issues, and intervention activities, such as repair to previous input and one to one teaching.

Research question two (chapter 7) related to the difference in language use in the urban and rural schools. It was found that the teachers in the rural school in this study used discrete languages based predominantly on interlocutor. This resulted in a phenomenon of serial monolingualism. The urban school teachers who were observed regularly used a majority language lingua franca such as Wolof or Mandinka. Also witnessed in the urban area was rapid code switching between the two major *linguae francae* and the suggestion of a language amalgam.

Finally, research question three (chapter 8) considered the impact of historical, political and cultural factors on the language practices in the classroom. It was noted that the schools in this study all appear to have a similar high regard for cultural practices that influence the language in the classroom at the level of code, topic and vocabulary. Cultural practices include praise and discipline, attitudes to elders and community hierarchies, and discourses about economy and training.

The questions were answered using an ethnographic case study that included observations, conversational interviews, stimulated recall interviews and field notes. These were exercised using a social constructionist stance and the Bakhtinian theory of heteroglossia (1981). Bakhtin's heteroglossia calls for complex language situations to be reviewed in terms of the centripetal and centrifugal forces at work causing tension and conflict that may not be immediately obvious. The social constructionist

stance involves seeing both the centripetal and centrifugal forces, and therefore both the conflict and tension, in social situations. In this case the centripetal forces suggest imposition of a single, dominant language whereas the centrifugal resistance creates an atmosphere of creativity of language and multiple responses.

10.3 Summary of the Thesis

This thesis opened with a short biography of my interest in the general context of The Gambia and my specific interest in the language in education debate (Chapter 1).

Over the years of reading about and visiting The Gambia it was clear that there was a scarcity of educational research in the Gambian context and empirically collated information regarding actual classroom language in particular. Chapter 1 set out the aims of the study, the research questions and the epistemological stance taken. It also included statistical data and background information regarding The Gambia.

In order to respond to the research questions a review into the existing literature regarding policy and practice in post-colonial contexts was conducted (Chapters 2 and 3). Chapter 2 demonstrated the complexities surrounding choosing and changing language of instruction policies in post colonial contexts. This complexity was shown to be due to the fragility of many sub-Saharan African governments and their continued reliance on colonial partners as financial benefactors. I argued that despite acknowledgement of the need for change by government departments, implementation of change of policy is rarely seen to a conclusion due to financial and ideological constraints. This review of literature ensured the complexities of policy were fully understood before reviewing the literature related to pedagogy. Although the two are intrinsically linked understanding of centripetal forces behind practice is important in order to recognise tensions in the classroom.

Chapter 3 discussed the practices already identified in various post-colonial contexts. However, due to the lack of research conducted in The Gambia, no context specific literature could be considered. Rather this chapter brought together a body of literature from other sub-Saharan contexts that clearly identified that there is a significant place for indigenous or local languages in classroom talk despite the domination of a usually European official language policy. The range of activities for

which local languages are used demonstrates the genuine need for teachers and learners to engage in local language interactions. This centrifugal resistance to the policy is even more necessary when there is limited access to texts, of any genre or in any language, and speech is one of the few resources freely available.

The practicalities of this research were considered in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 is concerned with the methods and tools of research while chapter 5 outlined the data analysis processes. As identified this study is social constructionist, using ethnographic research methods and bound within the context of grades five and six of three lower basic schools in multilingual areas of The Gambia. Each school was from a different geographical area, one from the urban area, one from the semi-urban area and one from the rural area. They were chosen because they were in multilingual areas and were co-educational, government schools. The data collection techniques used in the study were observations, conversational interviews, stimulated recall interviews with teachers and field notes. From a social constructionist stance it was important to me that the teachers had a place to voice their opinions regarding the language situation and their daily practices in the classroom. This chapter also outlines the access, sampling arrangements and ethical considerations. The various data collection methods resulted in more than 38 hours of fully transcribed audio recorded classroom observations.

Chapter 5 describes how the data was subject to different analysis strategies in response to each of the three questions. For question one, a process of micro-analysis (Erickson 1992) was undertaken, which involved creating an outline of each lesson, listing critical incidents, then coding and collating into categories and then themes for comparison and consideration. For question two, the analysis was a comparison of similar itemised situations identified in the lesson plans. The language of similar situations within the data was compared to identify practices peculiar to the rural and urban areas. For question three the data was reviewed holistically and interactions that were not based in the subject of the lesson but were of a more cultural nature were isolated, identified and reviewed thematically. There were similar interactions in each context and therefore cultural, rather than personal, individual responses could be identified.

The findings of the analysis process are outlined in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 6 responded to research question one, for what purposes are local languages used in the classroom, and illustrated that the data from The Gambian context concurred with other studies in post-colonial contexts. That is that the purposes for local language use in the classroom are many and varied despite the imposition of a strict monolingual language policy. Local languages were observed being used for classroom management purposes, to deliver subject content and for pedagogic intervention, such as one to one teaching, and pastoral care. This is a clear centrifugal resistance to the imposition of the English only policy and demonstrates the necessary creativity and resourcefulness of the teachers. This is an important chapter as it considers the only available data from Gambian classrooms, limited in number as they are in this study. However, it may begin to allow for future discussions of policy to be based on empirical research rather than hypothetical constructs (see section 10.4 for limitations of this research).

Chapter 7 discusses the analysis of the data in response to research question two, and considers the difference in language practices between urban and rural areas. The findings identified a clear difference in approach to language between the rural and urban areas. The data from the rural school shows a propensity for the use of discrete languages based predominantly on the language strengths of the interlocutor, positioning communicative competence and personal interactions above adherence to the policy. The overwhelming pattern of language use in the urban area is for the use of one of the lingua franca, which is one of the more dominant local languages, Mandinka or Wolof. Again this demonstrates a heteroglossic conflict, this time on two levels, that of the prescribed policy language versus the local language and a simultaneous conflict between majority and minority local languages. There is evidence of an emerging phenomenon of language amalgamation or urban vernacular; however, the instances of amalgamation in the data set are minimal. The general consensus from other contexts is that school language is generally unmixed, see for example, Higgins 2009, and therefore this finding needs to be relayed with caution and considered for further research. What is clear from the analysis discussed in chapter 7 is that a national one size fits all policy may not be appropriate in multilingual contexts. The Gambia is geographically small compared to the majority of African states and therefore this finding should be further explored through large

scale studies and then extrapolated to similar research in other sub-Saharan contexts to compare the results.

The final findings chapter (8) considered the data holistically in order to evaluate the historical, political and cultural influences on the language that is used in the classroom. The data suggests there does not appear to be considerable geographical differences in the effect of the historical, political and cultural influences on language and practices in the classroom. All schools appear to have similar high regard for many of the practices identified including, praise, economic discourse, greetings and reverence to hierarchy. This may suggest homogeneity among these teachers and schools, and perhaps more widely in The Gambia, regarding culture despite differences in language practices discovered between rural and urban areas.

Chapter 9 is the discussion chapter, which includes the voices of the participants collected during the stimulated recall process. It was through bringing the findings of the three analysis chapters together into a single discussion chapter that the idea of density and close contact affecting the language in the classroom was recognised. The dual responsibilities of the participants as teachers and members of the community, as well as the proximity of language groups and intergenerational contact affect the language and attitudes to language. Throughout the data consideration has been given to the heteroglossic conflict and tensions. This is also shown in the different responses to the policy in the geographically diverse sites. However, there appears to be a collective centrifugal resistance to the imposition of policy. Recognition of the simultaneously unique and collective responses of the participants in The Gambia confirmed the need for context specific research.

10.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Research

10.4.1 Context Specific Research and Generalisability

A strength of this research is that the context is very clear and contained. As clearly demonstrated in chapter 1 the context of The Gambia is linguistically unique. The proximity of each language group to each other has an effect on the language of the whole nation from the beginnings of an amalgam in the densely and diversely populated urban areas to the multiple individual interlocutor based code choices of the

rural areas. The geography and cultural arrangements mean the languages are simultaneously discrete and conjoined, simultaneously important for individual ethnic group identity and for community cohesion. In chapter 1 (section 1.1) I discussed how previous research may seem similar, but I argued that ‘similar’ is not the ‘same’ (page 2). Superficially it would appear that there are many corresponding variables with previous research in other African contexts; the post-colonial context, multiple indigenous languages, a monolingual language in education policy in a European language and the arbitrary posting of teachers across the country to name a few. The differences include the size of the country, with The Gambia being small in comparison, and the limited number of languages when compared with countries such as Cameroon and Nigeria.

Belay et al (2007:670) suggest that context specific research contributes to a ‘universal knowledge’ and that knowledge gained from this research can offer insights into different contexts. I agree and argue it is perhaps not surprising that faced with a similar challenge, that of teaching and learning in an imposed language, similar ameliorative devices, such as code switching and others noted in chapter 2, will be trialled by teachers in different contexts. Not all remedies will produce positive results in all contexts, another justification for context specific research, but, perhaps by recognising and giving credit to the creativity of teachers and learners in individual contexts more can be learnt about how language and education work as a whole.

10.4.2 Ethnography

There are many positive reasons for using ethnography as an approach to research. For this study the opportunity to spend extensive periods in the settings has been invaluable, as I was able to witness more than the classroom context. Spending significant leisure time with the teachers resulted in a deep and broad understanding of the challenges and benefits of their circumstances. Of course, there are criticisms against ethnography as a research method (Hammersley 1992). One criticism is that ethnographic accounts can never provide a description of a context that is full enough. Geertz (1973) has proposed that ethnographers provide ‘thick description’ however, this takes extreme and consistent attention to detail. As a lone researcher I have included as much detail as possible, without compromising the identity of the schools and participants involved. However, it is a limitation of this research that any lack of

detail in field notes may result in a limited account of the context (Gomm and Hammersley 2001). Ethnographic research is small-scale and in-depth but not generalisable, however it is invaluable for obtaining detailed and rich linguistic data of the type generated here.

10.4.3 The Sample

The purpose of this research is two-fold, the first aim is to add to the general understanding of classroom discourse in multilingual, post-colonial settings. By contributing to the already significant literature concerned with the wider issue of language in post-colonial contexts, understanding is improved and cumulative generalisations based on a wide range of research can be proposed. However, any suggestion of generalisation from this study alone is clearly not possible because of the small scale of the research and the limited number of research sites and interviewees. The second aim is to make specific comment regarding the language in education policy and practice in this context. This research was conducted in three, geographically different multilingual sites within a single political unit and therefore limited conclusions regarding the language policy and practice in these sites in The Gambia can be made, with caution.

This is not least because this research is a small-scale ethnographic study and as such the limited number of classrooms observed as part of this research is a limitation of the findings. In addition, there was a limited number of teachers observed (10) and only four respondents to the stimulated recall element. The classrooms selected for this research were chosen specifically to meet the criteria of being government schools in multilingual villages or areas. The teachers who were observed were the regular teachers in the classes selected. The teachers who took part in the stimulated recall data collection were selected non-purposively from the teachers who were observed through convenience sampling (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000). They were asked to take part simply because they were available and this has affected the final sample as the participants in this particular aspect of the study were the younger teachers who were either unqualified or had limited experience. However, as explained by Creswell (2005) although not representative of the teaching population as a whole the teachers who had been both observed and involved in stimulated recall were able to provide useful information and valuable insights into their practice.

The non-representativeness also raises concerns with the data that may be considered as a limitation on the research. Some classes were covered by senior masters. They did not teach very often and therefore I was not able to ascertain their idiosyncrasies to the same extent as the regular teaching staff. However, the limitation is more apparent in the reason for their teaching particular classes. It was never made clear whether their teaching had been pre-planned, whether they simply wanted to be part of the research process, or whether they were covering for a weakness in the regular teachers' ability to take a particular class. Certainly the two classes covered by senior masters were complex, one a sexual health class and the other a deeply political subject. Whatever the reason, the fact that two classes with serious topics were taught by non-regular, but highly qualified, senior staff does need consideration.

10.4.4 Processing of Data

I transcribed all of the recorded data myself. This is a strength of the research as I am fully aware of the content of the data set. However, as a non-native speaker of Mandinka with only functional proficiency and having just a few words of Wolof the majority of the local language data was translated by members of the UK Gambian diaspora. Some of the data was translated in The Gambia during periods between observations by urban-dwelling friends; however, this was limited as I was nervous of identities of participants being revealed. As an alternative I turned to members of the Gambian diaspora who had all been living in UK for significant periods of time, usually several years. This was generally a useful and effective approach to take with the translations. However, in some cases they were unfamiliar with the language they were asked to translate due to their lack of familiarity with the rapidly changing linguistic landscape in the Gambia. This disparity in language variety is particularly evident for the data collected in the urban schools. The rural way of life is more sedentary, traditional and less affected by modern innovation and consumerism, which means the rural dialect is more consistent, especially when compared to the relatively more dynamic language in the urban areas. This meant that some of the data collected in the urban area was not able to be translated by the Gambian diaspora. Their comments of negativity towards the language use, and the language users, suggested their frustration at not being able to fully understand what was supposed to be 'their' language. This meant some areas of 'bad Mandinka' or 'mix-up' were

glossed over quickly without pressing for a further consideration in order to save the face of translators (see 10.5 for a solution to this situation).

One aspect of this research that may be generalisable to other contexts is the assertion that language in education policies should be made based on empirical, context specific, contemporary evidence. In order for policies to be relevant to the people they are designed for they need to be based on solid evidence rather than convenience, financial constraints or political ideologies.

10.5 Further research

During the course of this study several unexplored areas of language use in The Gambia have been exposed and there are, naturally areas of interest to be followed as a result of this.

Firstly, during conversations with teachers and head teachers it became very clear that there was no explicit training regarding the use of language and its impact on students during teacher training courses. This was also raised in the interview with Mr Camara (appendix 1) regarding the change in policy and the arrangements for teaching practice. Therefore, one recommendation to come from this study is the comprehensive investigation into teacher training in The Gambia. Of particular interest is the delivery of content lessons and how an open language policy can be used to improve pedagogic practice and academic achievement. This would be particularly relevant during this period of change from the EO policy to one which condones the use of oral LL use from grade one to four and the introduction of a LL reading scheme at grade four.

A long term and larger scale review of the same types of research sites once the change in policy has been established would be of interest. There are already questions regarding the policy amendments, and in particular whether the parallel use of LL and English in the early years, even if only orally, will affect the language in the upper grades? An empirical answer to this question would allow a pedagogic consideration of the feasibility of a LL as prospective language of instruction for written forms and upper grades.

Using Gambians from the UK diaspora meant there were sections of data that were considered '*untranslatable*'. With the subsequent recognition of an emerging amalgam it would be useful to ask Gambians resident in the urban areas to translate the data to see if there are more instances of the amalgam phenomenon. This would be significant as school language is supposed by researchers (Higgins 2009) to be an unmixed, specific code and not affected by heteroglossia. Therefore only discrete languages, such as English, Wolof or Mandinka were expected but closer scrutiny of the interactions in the urban schools may offer a different view.

Despite the expectation of discrete languages the lack of minority languages, for example Serer and Karoninka, even in areas where they are very evident in the communities was noticeable in the schools. Teachers admitted that they were unable to teach or conduct classroom organisation in some of the languages and when the list of languages spoken by teachers is reviewed it is obvious that minority languages are not well represented (Chapter 7.2). It would therefore be of interest to research the attitudes to, and the domains of use of, the lesser used languages and perhaps ascertain their intergenerational transmission and consequently their viability according to Ferguson's Graded Intergenerational Disruption scale (cf Ferguson 2006a).

Of real interest from this research is the emerging amalgam. This is currently a focus of academic interest drawing together researchers from various areas of linguistics and anthropology. However, they are focused predominantly on the emergence and connection of the languages in social situations rather than the form and grammar and formal contexts such as classrooms. As indicated earlier education contexts are not expected to be affected by heteroglossia, but, some examples were noticed and limited evidence of the existence of an amalgam was collected. Therefore research into the fluid grammar of amalgams, made possible by the practicality of researching in a relatively small context with a restricted number of possible variables would be of interest and would contribute to the existing debates. This would need the collection of data from 'freer' domains, those not restricted by a strict policy, for example, the market places and bantabas where intergenerational and interethnic communication occurs.

The concept of closeness and density became apparent in the discussion chapter (Chapter 9). These concepts lean toward Social Network Theory (SNT) (Milroy 1980) and certainly it would be of interest to drill down into the specific language practices of urban dwelling individuals from a SNT perspective. Reviewing the networks of individuals would give an indication of contact patterns, and perhaps suggest reasons for the composition of amalgams.

10.6 Contribution and Concluding Remarks

This research builds on previous classroom studies in post-colonial contexts (cf Brock-Utne 2005a&b, Arthur 1994; 1996 and others discussed in chapter 3) and clearly demonstrates there is a role for local language in classrooms. Hammersley (1992:151) advocates exercising caution when estimating the ‘potential contribution of research to practice’. However, the use of local language in the majority of classroom procedures, in this study, from classroom management, pastoral care and, significantly, teaching, suggests that indigenous languages are candidates for medium of instruction and that learning need not be mediated through ex-colonial languages. To add a caveat here, if local languages were to be adopted into the language of the classroom there may be a case for language development in the form of corpus expansion/elaboration. Many local languages have not been used in education for some time and therefore may be missing vocabulary related to science and technology from recent inventions and concepts. This would obviously have to be evaluated by curriculum co-ordinators in each context and this particular aspect of language planning has been used as a deterrent to multilingual policy implementation in the past (Ferguson 2006a). However, as identified in chapter 2, just because a situation is recognised as possible, or even introduced as policy does not mean it will be implemented (cf chapter 2.5).

During the course of this study a development was made to the existing language of instruction policy. The policy already advocated ‘respect for the rights of the individual, cultural diversity, indigenous languages and knowledge;’ (IBE.UNESCO 2010/11) and the amendment introduced practical processes of using the local languages in classrooms. These practical suggestions included using LLs to explain

concepts and link the curriculum to existing knowledge in the first four grades of Lower Basic Education. The use of written forms of LL was explicitly restricted but oral use was endorsed.

This research has demonstrated that the teachers I observed regularly used LL in the classroom. LL is used for classroom management, pastoral care and teaching. This research was conducted in grades five and six, which are not included in the amendments to the policy and therefore the amendments did not impact on the findings of this research. The amended policy condones the practices the teachers already employ in terms of oral language use. This might suggest that the centrifugal resistance against the imposition of language has had an effect on policy makers.

Local languages have been used in other post-colonial contexts in lower grades, with a switch to a European language at grade three or four. Indeed, apart from Zambia, The Gambia and Ghana, most Anglophone African countries use this policy, but the written forms and LL reading scheme for grade four and above is a novel concept to The Gambia. Unfortunately, as inferred by Bamgbose (2000) many policies are implemented without an empirical research foundation and I suspect this is one such incident as comprehensive information regarding this policy is not available. As such it would be necessary to research and evaluate the materials, teacher training, classroom practice and response of the students to the scheme before a value can be attributed to the proposal. It would also be of interest to ascertain the availability of wider reading materials in LL, to establish the potential value of the revised policy.

During the case study a holistic understanding of the language and educational situation has occurred and can be summarised thus. The adults encountered in this study, predominantly the teachers but also members of the community, are linguistically very accomplished from a communicative competence (Hymes 1972) perspective. There is no reason to assume the next generation of Gambians cannot also be equally, or more, accomplished, although the need is for students to become proficient to academic standards rather than communicative standards. By sanctioning the use of all and any language, deemed necessary by teachers and learners, in the classroom, language becomes a tool for, rather than a barrier, to learning. As suggested by Roy-Cambell (2003:98) the issue of language in education

in Africa should be resolved so that ‘as many children as possible are given a meaningful education’. Ultimately governments, parents and students have to trust the judgement and practice of teachers to allow this type of pragmatic, open language policy. That trust would have to be based on the knowledge that teachers are adequately proficient in the languages; trained in the delivery of content; and understand the ramifications of the languages they use on the learning and language development of their students.

Language in Gambian classrooms is not a dichotomic choice between the post-colonial language and a single indigenous language, or even between discrete indigenous languages, as suggested by the language in education policy. It may therefore be time to review the policy and create a more holistic, ‘*open*’ language policy in keeping with the language use in the macro communities, such as the areas or villages in this study. An ‘*open*’ language policy would allow teachers to use the most appropriate language for the specific situation they encounter, thus reducing tensions caused by a prescriptive monolingual policy. It would allow them the opportunity to switch between languages or use several languages simultaneously in order to progress lessons and classroom tasks most efficiently. This would of course involve significant teacher training in language and pedagogic practice. It would also involve introducing a new way of assessing achievement so that students received grades for subject, rather than language, knowledge where appropriate (cf chapter 3 and www.bristol.ac.uk/spine).

As a developing country it is important that The Gambia is able to compete in intranational and international business effectively. In order to contribute to development intranational trade languages of wider communication (LWC) such as Wolof, Fula and KiSwahili, as well as world languages, such as English, French and Arabic for international development, could be introduced incrementally after reading, writing and learning skills are established in a language in which the child has security and familial and community support. Such a policy would ensure that children from every language and economic group are exposed to early literacy skills and baseline content in an appropriate language. Progress to other languages, including the LWC and exoglossic languages, can occur as children’s exposure and comprehension increases.

My first journey to The Gambia was more than 10 years ago, and I left the country with many, many questions. Since then I have questioned, and observed, and monitored and still have many questions, but also a deep understanding and respect for my colleagues in The Gambia. I hope my investment will bring some resolution to the issues surrounding the teaching and learning and the policy and practice debate. It is certainly hoped that stakeholders, myself included, in education in The Gambia can work together to find a policy that blends the traditional with the modern and the local with the international thus allowing children to understand and celebrate their past while being positive for their future. This is a complicated task and I hope that this thesis goes some way to starting the dialogue about change.

Chapter 11

Reference List

- Ackers, J. & Hardman F., (2001), 'Classroom Interaction in Kenyan Primary Schools', *Compare*, 31(2), pp. 245-261.
- Addendorf, R.D., (1996), The functions of code-switching among high school teachers and students in KwaZulu and implications for teacher education, In Bailey K.M. & Nunan D., (Eds), *Voices from the Language Classroom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Adegbija, E., (2000), 'Language Attitudes in West Africa', *International Journal of Social Language*, 14(1), pp. 75-100.
- Alexander, R., (2000), *Culture and Pedagogy: International Comparisons in Primary Education*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd
- Alidou, H., (2004), Medium of Instruction in Post-Colonial Africa, In Tollefson J.W. & Tsui A.B. (eds), *Medium of Instruction Policies: Which Agenda? Whose Agenda*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Amit, V., (2000), Introduction: Constructing the Field, In Amit V (Ed) *Constructing the Field, Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World*, Oxford, Routledge
- Amnesty International, (2013), Public Statement 22/7/2013: Gambia: No compromise on Human Rights: Intergovernmental Organisations have a Significant Role to Play in Helping The Gambian People Secure their Human Rights, Accessed online at [www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR27/006/2013.en](http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR27/006/2013/en) last accessed 5th August 2013
- APRC, (2006), *Party Political Broadcast*, Banjul, GRTS, 13th September 2006
- Arthur, J., (2001), 'Perspectives on educational language policy and its implementation in African classrooms: a comparative study of Botswana and Tanzania', *Compare*, 31(3), pp. 347-362.
- Arthur, J., (1996), 'Code Switching and Collusion: Classroom Interaction in Botswana Primary Schools', *Linguistics and Education*, 8, pp. 17-33.
- Arthur, J., (1994), English in Botswana Classrooms: functions and constraints, In Rubagumya C.M., (Ed), *Teaching and Researching Language in African Classrooms*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Bah, L., (2006), Early Childhood Lecture given at The University of The Gambia, 13th January 2006
- Bakhtin, M.M., (1981), *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays*, Ed Holquist M.,

London, University of Texas Press

Bamgbose, A., (2000), 'Language Planning in West Africa', *International Journal of Social Language*, 14(1), pp. 101-117.

Bamgbose, A., (2005), Mother-Tongue Education: Lessons from the Yoruba Experience, In Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers

Barton, D., (1994), Globalisation & Diversification: Two Opposing Influences on Local Literacies, In Barton D., (ed), *Sustaining Local Literacies*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Belay, A., Ghebream F., Ghebremichael T., Ghebreselassie A., Holmes J., & White G., (2007), 'How newly qualified primary teachers develop: A case study in rural Eritrea', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(6), November 2007), pp. 669-682.

Bell, J., (1999), *Doing Your Research Project: a guide for first-time researchers in education and social science*, 3rd edition, Maidenhead, Open University Press

Bellack, A.A., Kliebard H.M., Hyman R.T. and Smith Jnr. F.L., (1966), *The language of the Classroom*, New York, Teachers College Press

BERA, (2011), *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*, accessed online at www.bera.ac.uk last accessed 5th August 2013

Bourdieu, P., (1984), *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press

Bowern, C., (2008), *Linguistic Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan

Boyle, J., (1997), 'The Use of Mixed-Code in Hong Kong English Language Teaching', *System*, 25(No 1), pp. 83-89.

Brewer, J.D., (2000), *Ethnography*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Bridges, D., (2002), The Ethics of Outsider Research, in McNamee M. & Bridges D., (Eds), *The Ethics of Educational Research*, Oxford, Blackwell

Brock-Utne, B., (2005a) The Continued Battle over KiSwahili as the Language of Instruction in Tanzania, In Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers

Brock-Utne, B., (2005b), *Learning through a familiar language versus learning*

through a foreign language - a look into some secondary school classrooms in Tanzania, paper presented at Oxford University 13th -16th September 2005

- Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers
- Bunyi, G., (2005), Language Classroom Practices in Kenya, In Lin A.M.Y. & Martin P., (Eds), *Decolonisation, Globalisation. Language in education Policy and Practice*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Burr, V., (2003), *Social Constructionism*, London, Routledge
- Busch, B., & Schich, J., (2007), Educational Materials Reflecting Heteroglossia: Disinventing Ethnolinguistic Differences in Bosnia-Herzegovina In Makoni S. & Pennycook A., (Eds), *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Byram, M., (1998), Cultural Identities in Multilingual Classrooms In Cenoz J. & Genesee F. (Eds), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Canagarajah, S., (2002) 'Reconstructing Local Knowledge', *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 1(4), pp. 243-260.
- Chick, J.K., (1996), Safe Talk: Collusion in apartheid education, In Coleman H., (Ed), *Society and the Language Classroom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Cohen, L., Manion L. & Morrison K., (2000), *Research Methods in Education*, 5th Ed., London, Routledge Farmer
- Corbin, J. & Strauss A., (2008), *Basics of qualitative Research, 3rd Edition*, London, Sage
- Coulthard, M., (1985), *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, Harlow, Longman
- Creese, A., (2010), Linguistic Ethnography, In Litosseliti, L., (Ed), *Research Methods in Linguistics*, London, Continuum
- Creswell, J.W., (2005), *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*, New Hersey, Pearson Education Inc.
- Cummins, J., (1999), *BICS and CALP: Clarifying the Distinction* ED438551
Accessed Educational Resource Information Center (ERIC)
- Darboe, L.B., (2008), *Teacher Shortage Hits Schools*, The Point, Banjul, The Gambia, accessed online www.thepoint.gm, 28th October 2008, last accessed, 6th November 2008

- De Klerk, V., (2006), 'Codeswitching, Borrowing and Mixing in a Corpus of Xhosa English', *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9(5)
- Denscombe, M., (1998), *The Good Research Guide: for small-scale social research projects*, Buckingham, Open University Press
- Dewalt, K.M. & Dewalt, B.R., (2002), *Participant Observation; a guide for fieldworkers*, California and Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc
- Dentith, S., (1995), *Bakhtinian Thought; an introductory reader*, London, Routledge
- Doran, M., (2004), Negotiating between *Bourge* and *Racaille*: Verlan as youth identity practice in suburban Paris In Pavlenko A & Blackledge A (Eds), *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Duff, P.A., (1996), Different Languages, Different Practices: Socialization of discourse competence in dual-language school classrooms in Hungary In Bailey K.M. and Nunan D., (eds), *Voices from the Classroom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Duranti, A., (1997), *Linguistic Anthropology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Dutcher, N., (1998), Eritrea: Developing a Programme of Multilingual Education In Cenoz J. & Genesee F. (eds), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Edwards, A.D. & Westgate, D.P.G., (1994), *Investigating Classroom Talk*, London, Falmouth Press
- Embassy of The United States, Banjul, (no date), *Educational System of The Gambia*, accessed online www.banjul.usembassy.gov/mobile/news/education/education-system-of-the-gambia accessed 26th July 2013
- Emerson, R.M., Fretz R.I. & Shaw L.L., (1995), *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press
- Erickson, F., (1992), Ethnographic Micro-Analysis of Interaction, In LeCompte M.D., Milroy W.L. & Preissle J. (Eds), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*, London, Academic Press Ltd.
- Faal, D., (1997), *A History of The Gambia: AD1000 to 1965*, SerreKunda, Edward Francis Small Printing Press
- Ferguson, C., (1959), 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15, pp. 325-340.
- Ferguson, G., (2006a), *Language Planning and Education*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh

University Press

- Ferguson, G., (2006b), *Codeswitching in African Classrooms: An Invitation to Research*, paper given at the BAAL Language in Africa Special Interest Group Seminar meeting, 17th & 18th November 2006, Leeds University
- Ferguson, G., (2003), 'Classroom Code-Switching in Post Colonial Contexts: Functions, Attitudes and Policies', *AILA Review*, 16, pp. 38-51.
- Fuller, B. & Snyder Jr., C.W., (1991), 'Vocal Teachers, Silent Pupils? Life in Botswana Classrooms', *Comparative Education Review*, 35(2), pp. 274-294.
- Fyle, C.N., (2000), 'Language & Literacy in West Africa', *International Journal of Social Language*, 14(1), pp. 61-73.
- Gafaranga, J., (2006), *Applying Language Alternation Studies; Language Shift and Maintenance in the Rwandan Community in Belgium*, paper presented at Languages in Africa (BAAL) Special Interest Group, Languages in Contact Contexts in Africa and the Diaspora Conference, Leeds University, 19th October 2006.
- Gailey, H.A., (1964), *A History of The Gambia*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Gambia Bureau of Statistics (GBoS), (2006), *Atlas of 2003 Population and Housing Census*, GBoS, Banjul,
- Gass, S. M. & Mackey, A., (2000), *Stimulated Recall Methodology in Second Language Research*, London, Routledge
- Gee, J.P., (1994), Orality and Literacy: From the Savage Mind to Ways With Words, In Maybin J., (ed), *Language and Literacy in Social Practice*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Geertz, C., (1973), *The Interpretations of Cultures*, London, Fontana Press
- Gergen, K. J., (1999), *An Invitation to Social Construction*, London, Sage Publications
- Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company
- Goffman, E., (1961), *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, New York, Doubleday Anchor
- Gomm, R. & Hammersley, M., (2001), *Thick Ethnographic Description and Thin Models of Complexity*, paper presented at the Annual Conference of The British Educational Research Association, University of Leeds, September 13th - 15th 2001.

- Gonzalez, A., (1998), Teaching in two or more languages in the Philippine Context, In Cenoz J. & Genesse F., (Eds), *Beyond Bilingualism, Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Gordon, R.G.Jr., (2006), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World (15th Edn)*, Dallas, Tx, SIL International accessed online at www.ethnologue.com accessed 1.3.2006
- Gottlieb, N. & Chen, P., (2001) Language Planning & Language Policy in East Asia: An Overview, In Gottlieb N. & Chen P., (eds), *Language Planning & Language Policy, East Asian Perspectives*, Surrey, Curzon Press
- Gumperz, J.J., (2001), Interactional Sociolinguistics: A Personal Perspective, In Schiffrin D., Tanne D. and Hamilton H.E., (Eds), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Oxford, Blackwell.
- Gumperz, J.J., (1982), *Discourse Strategies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Hailemariam, C., Ogbay, S & White, G., (2011), English and Development in Eritrea, In Coleman, H., (Ed), *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language*, London, British Council, accessed online www.britishcouncil.org accessed 22/6/2013
- Hammersley, M., (1992), *What's wrong with Ethnography?*, London, Routledge
- Hammersley, M. & Atkinson P., (1983), *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, London, Routledge
- Harlech-Jones, B., (1995), The role of English in Namibia: A socio-cultural and linguistic account. In Putz M., (Ed), *Discrimination Through Language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian Experience*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter
- Haust, D., (1995), *Codeswitching in Gambia. Eine Soziolinguistische Untersuchung von Mandinka, Wolof und English in Kontakt*. Cologne, Rudiger Koppe
- Heath S.B., (1983), *Ways With Words: Language, Life, and Work in Communities and Classrooms*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Higgins, C., (2009), *English as a Local Language: Post-Colonial Identities and Multilingual Practices*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Homan, R., (2002), The Principle of Assumed Consent, In McNamee M. & Bridges D., (Eds), *The Ethics of Educational Research*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Hopson, R.K., (2005), The Paradox of English Only in Post-Independent Namibia; Towards Whose Education for All? In Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers
- Hornberger, N.H., & Lopez, L.E., (1998), Policy, Possibility & Paradox: Indigenous

- Multilingualism and Education in Peru and Bolivia, In Cenoz J. & Genesee F. (eds), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Hymes D., (1972), Models of the interaction of language and social life, In J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds), *Direction in Sociolinguistics: The ethnography of Communication*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- IBE-UNESCO, (2010/11), *World Data on Education*, Accessed online at www.ibe.unesco.org last accessed 20th July 2013
- IRIN, (2008), *Gambia: Poor teaching quality slows education progress*; IRIN Humanitarian news and analysis, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, accessed online www.irinnews.org 4th November 2008
- Jammeh Foundation for Peace, online at www.jammehfoundation.gm and www.statehouse.gm last accessed 17th June 2008
- Jessop, T. & Penny, A., (1998), 'A Study of Teacher Voice and Vision in the Narratives of Rural South African and Gambian Primary School Teachers', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 18(5), pp. 393-403.
- Johnson, R.K., (1985), *Report of the ELTU study of the oral medium of instruction in Anglo-Chinese bilingual secondary school classroom*, Hong Kong, Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, Cited in Lin A.M.Y., (1996), Bilingualism or Linguistic Segregation? Symbolic Somination, Resistance and Code Switching in Hong Kong Schools, *Linguistics and Education* 8, pp. 49-84.
- Juffermans, K. & McGlynn C., (2009), 'A Sociolinguistic Profile of The Gambia', *Sociolinguistics*, 3(3), pp. 329-355.
- Juffermans, K., (2006), English writing contested: "If I don't learn English, I'm going to suffer"? Composition writing in a public lower basic school in rural Gambia, *Language in Education in Africa Conference*, University of Oslo, 19th – 22nd June 2006
- Kamwendo, G.H. (2008), 'The Bumpy Road to Mother Tongue Instruction in Malawi', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29(5), pp. 353-363.
- Kaplan, R.B. & Baldauf, Jr R.B., (1997), *Language Planning: from Practice to Theory*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Kembo, J., (2000), Language in education and language learning in Africa, In Webb V. & Kembo-Sure, (eds), *African Voices, An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Knowles, C., (2000), Here and There: Doing Transnational Fieldwork, In Amit V (Ed) *Constructing the Field, Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary*

World, Oxford, Routledge

Kube-Barth, S., (2009), The Multiple Facets of The Urban Language Form, Nouchi.,
In Mc Laughlin F., (ed), *The Languages of Urban Africa*, London, Continuum

Kvale, S., (2007), *Doing Interviews*, London, Sage

Kvale, S., (1996), *InterViews: an Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*.
London, Sage Publications Limited

Lin, A.M.Y., (2005), Critical, Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Language-in-
Education Policy and Practice in Post Colonial Contexts: The Case of Hong
Kong, In Lin A.M.Y. & Martin P., (Eds), *Decolonisation, Globalisation.
Language in education Policy and Practice*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Lin, A.M.Y., (1996), 'Bilingualism or Linguistic Segregation? Symbolic Domination,
Resistance and Code-Switching in Hong Kong Schools', *Linguistics and
Education*, 8, pp. 49-84.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G., (1985), *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills, Sage
Publications

Lofland, J. & Lofland, L.H., (1984), *Analyzing Social Settings, A Guide to Qualitative
Observation and Analysis*, California, Wadsworth Inc.

Lotherington H., (1998), 'Trends and Tensions in Post-colonial Language Education
In the South Pacific', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and
Bilingualism*, 1(1), pp. 65-75.

Macaulay, M., (2004), 'Training Linguistics Students for the Reality of Fieldwork',
Anthropological Linguistics, 46(2, Summer), pp. 194-209.

Makoe, P., and McKinney C., (2009), 'Hybrid Discursive Practices in a South African
Multilingual Primary Classroom: A Case Study', *English Teaching: Practice
and Critique*, 8(2), pp. 80-95.

Makoni, S. & Meinhof U., (2004), 'Western Perspectives in Applied Linguistics in
Africa', In Gass S.M. & Makoni S., (Eds), *World Applied Linguistics, AILA
Review*, 17

Makoni, S. & Meinhof U.H., (2003), 'Introducing Applied Linguistics in Africa', In
Makoni, S. & Meinhof U.H., (Eds), *Africa and Applied Linguistics, AILA
Review*, 16

Mann, S., (2010), 'A Critical Review of Qualitative Interviews in Applied
Linguistics', *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), pp. 6-24.

Martin, P.W., (2008), 'Educational Discourses and Literacy in Brunei Darussalam',
International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 11(2), pp. 206-
225.

- Martin, P.W., (1996), 'Code-Switching in the Primary Classroom: One Response to the Planned and the Unplanned Language Environment in Brunei', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(2-4), pp. 128-144.
- Mazrui, A.M., (2002), The English Language in African Education: Dependency and Decolonisation, In Tollefson J.W. (ed), *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Mc Laughlin, F., (2009), 'Introduction to the Languages of Urban Africa', In Mc Laughlin F., (ed), *The Languages of Urban Africa*, London, Continuum
- Mc Laughlin, F., (2001), 'Dakar Wolof and the Configuration of an Urban Identity', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 14(2, Dec 2001), pp. 153-172.
- McGlynn, C. & Martin, P.W., (2009)., 'No Vernacular': Tensions in Language Choice in a Sexual Health Lesson in The Gambia', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2), pp. 137-155.
- McGlynn, C., (2008), *Continuing Oral Traditions in Contemporary Classrooms: A Case Study from The Gambia*, paper presented at 41st BAAL Conference; Taking the Measure of Applied Linguistics, Swansea University, 12th September 2008
- McNamee, M., (2002), Whose Ethics, Which Research? In McNamee M. & Bridges D., (Eds), *The Ethics of Educational Research*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Merritt, M., Cleghorn, A., Abagi, J.O. and Bunyi, G., (1992), 'Socialising Multilingualism: Determinants of Codeswitching in Kenyan Primary Classrooms', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13(1&2), pp. 103-121.
- Mesthrie, R., Swann ,J., Deumert, A. & Leap, W.L., (2000), *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press
- Mets, B. and van den Hauwe, J., (2003), 'Masked Heterogeneity in a Multilingual Classroom', *Linguistics and Education* 14(1), pp. 51-68.
- Milroy L., (1980), *Language and Social Networks*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Limited
- Molosiwa, A., (2005), Extinction or Distinction? Empowering seTswana as the Medium of Instruction and Instrument in Botswana Schools In In Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers
- Morris, P., (1994), *The Bakhtin Reader: Selected Writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev & Voloshinov*, London, Edward Arnold

- Myers-Scotton, C., (1993a) *Social Motivations for Code-Switching Evidence from Africa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Myers-Scotton, C., (1993b), *Duelling languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Myers-Scotton, C., (1982), 'Language use in Kenya: An Urban-Rural Comparison of the Luyia', *International Journal of Social Language*, 34(1982), pp. 121-136.
- Ndayipfukiyame, L., (1996), 'The Contradictions of Teaching Bilingually in Post-Colonial Burundi; from Nyakatsi to Maisons en Etage', *Linguistics and Education*, 8, pp. 35-47.
- Ong, W.J., (1982&2002), *Orality and Literacy*, London, Routledge
- Pennycook, A., (2007), *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*, Routledge, London
- Pennycook, A., (2002), Language Policy and Docile Bodies: Hong Kong and Governmentality In Tollefson J.W. (ed), *Language Policies in Education, Critical Issues*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Pennycook, A., (1994), *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*, London, Longman
- Peter, L. & Wolf H.-G., (2003) Aku in The Gambia: Terminological problems, functional distribution and popular attitude, In Lucko P., Peter L., and Wolf H.-G. *Studies in African Varieties of English*, Bern, Peter Lang.
- Pole, C & Morrison, M., (2003), *Ethnography for Education*, Berkshire, Open University Press
- Pontefract, C. & Hardman, F., (2005), 'The Discourse of Classroom Interaction in Kenyan Primary Schools', *Comparative Education*, 41(1, February 2005), pp. 87-106.
- Pring, R., (2002), The Virtues and Vice of an Educational Researcher, In McNamee M. & Bridges D., (Eds), *The Ethics of Educational Research*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Probyn, M., (2006), 'Smuggling the vernacular into the classroom': conflicts and tensions in classroom code-switching in South Africa. Paper presented at SS16 Conference, University of Limerick, July 6-8 2006
- Roy-Campbell, Z.M., (2003), Promoting African Languages as Conveyors of Knowledge in Educational Institutions, In Makoni S., Smitherman G., Ball A.F. and Spears A.K., *Black Linguistics, Language, Society and Politics in Africa and the Americas*, London, Routledge

- Sanjek, R., (1990), *Fieldnotes: The Making of Anthropology*, Ithaca New York, Cornell University Press
- Seedhouse, P., (2005), *The Interactional Architecture of the Language Classroom: A Conversation Analysis Perspective*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Sonck G., (2005), 'Language of Instruction and Instructed Languages in Mauritius', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26(1), pp. 37-51.
- Sonko Godwin, P., (2003), *Ethnic Groups of The Senegambia Region; a brief history*, Banjul, The Gambia, Sunrise Publishers Ltd
- Spradley, J.P., (1980), *Participant Observation*, London, Harcourt Brace Janovich College Publishers
- Strevens, P., (1992), English as an International Language, In Kachru B.B., (Eds), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, Urbana, Univeristy of Illinois Press
- Swigart, L., (1992), 'Two Codes or One? The Insiders' View and the Description of Codeswitching in Dakar', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13(1&2), pp. 82-102.
- Thompson, J.B., (1992), *Language and Symbolic Power: Pierre Bourdieu*, Cambridge, Polity Press
- Thondhlana, J., (2002)., Using Indigenous Languages for Teaching and Learning in Zimbabwe, In Busnaby B. & Reyhuer J., (eds), *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*, Arizona, Northern Arizona University
- Tollefson, J.W. & Tsui A.B., (2008), Medium of Instruction Policies in Education In Tollefson J.W. & Tsui A.B. (eds) *Medium of Instruction Policies: Which Agenda? Whose Agenda*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Tollefson, J.W., (2002a), Critical Issues in Educational Language Policy, In Tollefson J.W. (ed), *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Tollefson, J.W., (2002b), Looking Outward, In Tollefson J.W. (ed), *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Tollefson, J.W., (1991), *Planning Language, Planning Inequality: language policy in the community*, London, Longman/Pearson Education
- Trudell, B., (2007), 'Local Community Perspectives and Language of Education in Sub-Saharan African Communities', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(2007), pp. 552-563.
- Tucker, G.R., (1998), A Global Perspective on Multilingualism and Multilingual Education In Cenoz J. & Genesee F. (eds), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

UNCTAD, (2012), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Least Developed Countries Report 2012, accessed online www.unctad.org/en/publicationslibrary/ldc2012_en accessed 7th August 2013

UNESCO, Accessed online at www.unesco.org , last accessed 10th July 2010

UNESCO, Rural People, Accessed online at www.unesco.org/en/inclusive-education/rural-people, last accessed 10th July 2010

Van Lier, L., (1996a), *Conflicting Voices: Language, Classrooms, and Bilingual Education in Puno*, In Bailey K.M. & Nunan D. (eds), *Voices from the Language Classroom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Van Lier, L., (1996b), *Interaction in the Language Curriculum; Awareness, Autonomy and authenticity*, London, Longman

Vavrus, F., (2002), 'Postcoloniality and English: Exploring Language Policy and the Politics of Development in Tanzania', *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(3, Autumn), pp. 373-397.

Vice, S., (1997), *Introducing Bakhtin*, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Viruru, R., (2001), 'Colonized Through Language: The Case of Early Childhood Education', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 2(1), pp. 31-47.

Walsh, D., (1998), *Doing Ethnography*, In Seale C., (ed), *Researching Society and Culture*, London, Sage

Wardhaugh, R., (1987), *Languages in Competition: Dominance, Diversity and Decline*, Oxford, Blackwell

Webb, V. & Kembo-Sure, (2000), *Language as a Problem in Africa*, In Webb V. & Kembo-Sure, (eds), *African Voices, An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Wei, L. & Martin, P.W., (2009), 'Conflicts and Tensions in Classroom Codeswitching: An Introduction', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2, March)

Wilson, T.P., (1991), *Social Structure and the Sequential Organisation of Interaction* In Boden D. and Zimmerman D.H., (Eds), *Talk and Social Structure Studies in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis*, Oxford, Polity Press (in association with Blackwell)

Woolard, K.A., (1998), 'Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism', *Journalism of Linguistic Anthropology*, 8(1) pp. 3-29.

Wragg, E.C., (1994), *An Introduction to Classroom Observations*, London, Routledge

Wright, S., (2004), *Language Policy and Language Planning: from Nationalism to Globalisation*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan

Wright, D.R. (2004), *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A history of globalisation in Niimi, The Gambia*, 2nd Edition, New York, M.E. Sharpe, Inc

Yenendé, E., (2005), Ideologies of Language and Schooling in Guinea-Conakry: a Postcolonial Experience, In Brock Utne B. & Hopson R.K. (eds), *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Post-Colonial Contexts and Considerations*, Dar es Salaam, Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) & Mkuki na Nyota Publishers

Appendix 1
Interview with Mr Camara, DoSE,
Co-Ordinator for National Languages, Retired Teacher,
26th January 2009

- C:** What is the change to language in education policy?
- Mr C:** Teach children to know the concepts - words may be foreign to them but they will understand in their own language. Oral use of local languages in grades 1-3. Grade 4 - tertiary level LL becomes a core subject and children will learn to read in LL. In multilingual areas ALL languages of the community will be offered and expectation is that children will choose the language they want to pursue after lower basic grades. (e.g. in an area where Mandinka and Fula are spoken a Mandinka child can choose to follow Fula as a subject). LL will eventually be tested as other core subjects; sts will sit exams at the end of upper basic education and senior secondary school.
- 5 languages will be included - Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Jola and Serahule.
- C:** What prompted the change?
- Mr C:** Following the Baldwin report in the 50's the concept has lain dormant for many years after independence, now a priority for the Dept of Ed.
- C:** How will this affect classroom practice?
- Mr C:** When Mr C was teaching he would teach his grade one class in their LL and then in Grade two teach them English. Many parents complained so at the end of Grade two he put on a concert with all the children speaking English. He is convinced of the practical application of the concept. As for teachers now, he is not sure how they will use it but believes the teachers will use local languages as necessary to ensure learning. He believes teachers will be autonomous and will know when to use local languages and when to use English. The language of education remains English.
- C:** What benefits do you anticipate? For children/teachers?
- Mr C:** For teachers and children quicker reading in LL and English. Reading affects all other languages. Language is culture and if you use your language your "culture is never hidden". Children will be able to read and write songs, poetry etc in their LL.
- C:** What materials/training/advice is being provided for teaching staff?
- Mr C:** Experiments before (many years ago) materials were produced in three major languages, Mandinka, Wolof and Fula; primers, the orthography etc. This was disseminated to 60 schools. Some schools ignored it as it wasn't compulsory but those who used it found it very useful and increased the performance of their students. Those primers are still available but are dated

now and need revising. It is expected that reading materials will be available in all 5 languages before the current grade 1 are in grade 4. Mr C has pushed for training to be offered at the Gambia college but at the present time there are no plans to introduce teaching in LL as a subject at the TTC.

C: Will this affect the posting of teachers - particularly to monolingual rural areas?

Mr C: Yes: teacher profiles will now include more detailed information about language repertoire and competency and Ts will only be sent to areas where they have a compatible language. A Mandinnka/Wolof speaking teacher will no longer be sent to a monolingual Fula village.

Mr C asked if I had been in contact with Prof Trafgan (SOAS) and if I would be able to contact her and pass on his greetings and contact number 002209935442. Prof Trafgan did her doctorate about Gambian languages.

Appendix 2 Teachers Experience

School ⁷	Teacher ⁸	Status ⁹	Position in school	Years teaching	Years qualified	Years at current school
Balinsaa Primary	Mr Bojang	QT	Senior master, trainee teacher mentor	18 years	10 years	18 years
	Mr Fatty	UQT	Trainee teacher	3 months	n/a	3 months
	Mr Sanneh	UQT	Trainee teacher	4 months	n/a	4 months
Fankoo Bantaba	My Jallow	QT	Teacher, Adult literacy teacher	26 years	18 years	8 years
	Mr Saidy	QT	Senior Master	15 years	15 years	10 years
	Mr Kujabi	QT	Teacher	5 years	1 years	6 years
	Mr Camara	UQT	Trainee teacher	4 years	Final year TT ¹⁰	4 years
Baakoo Kunda	Mr Bah	QT	Deputy Head, trainee teacher mentor	6 years	2 years	2 years
	Mr Touray	UQT	Trainee teacher	2 years	2 nd year TT	3 months
	Mr Yaffa	UQT	Trainee teacher	5 years	2 nd year TT	3 months

⁷ All names of schools have been changed

⁸ All names of teachers have been changed

⁹ QT = Qualified teacher, UQT = unqualified teacher

¹⁰ Teacher Training Course at Brikama College. Full duration is three years.

Appendix 3 Classroom Descriptions

School	Teacher	Grade	No of Children		Layout/ condition of building	Furniture/state of repair	Adornments	Comments
			B	G				
Balinsaa Primary	Mr Sanneh	5			<p>Traditional rows, some desks against a side wall facing in. Single storey building; low windows; opens onto dusty playing field.</p> <p>Severe disrepair; desks huddled to front of classroom because of crater in floor making 50% of room unusable.</p>	<p>Desk/bench fixed combination set. Students sat two or three to a double seat. Several desks were broken but still used. Several were discarded. Large chalkboard.</p>	<p>none</p>	<p>Often dark at the end of the day.</p> <p>Nervous teacher, wary of observer. Teaches by the book.</p>
	Mr Fatty	6			<p>Traditional rows in centre of room, desks also backed against three walls forming a horse-shoe shape. Stone built storey building classroom on first floor.</p>	<p>Fixed desk/bench combination sets. Few broken benches. Large chalkboard and teacher resource cupboard.</p>	<p>Faded, hand drawn posters of life cycle of mosquito and a skeleton on back wall. One A4 handwritten poster 'No Vernacular' on side wall. Lots of football related graffiti.</p>	<p>Very close proximity to neighbouring school and therefore very noisy.</p> <p>Lack of discipline, children often rude. Only classroom where corporal</p>

School	Teacher	Grade	No of Children		Layout/ condition of building	Furniture/state of repair	Adornments	Comments
			B	G				
								punishment observed.
Fankoo Bantaba	Mr Camara	5			Five groups of desks.	Combination desk/bench sets. Many broken tables and seats. Chalkboard on wall.	Lots of colourful, hand-drawn posters and children's completed work on display.	Lots of singing and bustle in the classroom. Children moved between groups. Lots of pair and group collaborative work.
	Mr Kujabi	5			Five groups of desks.	Combination desk/bench sets. Many broken tables and seats. Chalkboard on wall.	Several hand-drawn posters.	Classroom had a hush, stillness about it. Mr Kujabi is very calm and children appeared to follow his lead.
	Mr Jallow	6			Traditional rows, all facing the teacher's desk	Combination desk/bench sets.	Several faded hand-drawn posters.	Classroom nearest the gates to school compound. Several visitors throughout the day. Mr Jallow mature teacher also community teacher (local languages) and religious man.

School	Teacher	Grade	No of Children		Layout/ condition of building	Furniture/state of repair	Adornments	Comments
			B	G				
								Atmosphere of 'working within rules'. Strict.
	Mr Saidy	6			Traditional rows, all facing the teacher's desk	Combination desk/bench sets. Large resource cupboard		Sedate. Senior teacher. Sat during delivery of lessons, encouraged children to call out answers.
Bakoo Kunda	Mr Touray	5	11	23	Traditional rows but desks pushed close together leaving lots of space at the back of the room.	Combination desk/bench sets. Girls sat in front desks boys at the back.	Large wall painting of Gambian ethnic groups. Painted Gambian Coat of Arms. Several hand-drawn posters. Termly test results chart near door.	Multilingual. Mr Touray used many languages if couldn't ask questions or answer in English and actively encouraged them to speak their own language.
	Mr Yaffa	6	10	8	Four groups of tables. Lots of space in the classroom. Very high windows.	Combination desk/bench sets. Lots of discarded furniture at the back of the classroom.	Dramatic painting of slave trade triangle and results of drug use. Several hand-drawn posters.	Volume & pace. Mr Yaffa spoke loudly and fast.

Appendix 4 Research Site Information

	Size of School/ Number of Children	Language of Students/ Community	Staff Accommodation	Surrounding Area/Industry	Comments
Balinsaa Primary	Very large; 3200 children taught in double shifts	Mandinka, Wolof, Serre, Jola, Fula, Karoninka. Most of the minority language speakers also used and understood both Mandinka and Wolof. Urban area is a melting pot of languages as people have migrated from all parts of the country and region for economic and political reasons.	No accommodation on site. Several teachers lived in close proximity to the school, a few travelled some distance.	Tourist Development Area (TDA). Many shops, restaurants, bars, internet cafes etc., in close proximity. Very good transport links within immediate area and also to other parts of the country and region.	Children are from poorer families as those who can afford to do so send their children to non-government schools.
Fankoo Bantaba	Medium; 430 (lower basic).	Mandinka, Jola & Fula. Small Karoninka community in village. Most people know both Mandinka & Fula and use appropriately with individuals from that group. Most people know some Jola & Karoninka and then switch to Mandinka or code-switch as necessary.	Staff accommodation on site is new and functional, electricity in head teacher's accommodation. Not sufficient for all staff to stay therefore some stay in the village or travel from the nearest town.	60 miles from capital in the Lower River Region (LRR). Medium sized village but very poor relying on subsistence farming, fishing (particularly oysters), and gardening. Good transport links with local town where many villagers sell their excess produce.	Shares compound with upper basic school but separate classrooms, recreation areas and facilities. School has working garden and produce is sold locally to boost school funds. Solar power & telephone link. Great pride in school, large compound is kept very clean, lots of extracurricular and community events, progressive

	Size of School/ Number of Children	Language of Students/ Community	Staff Accommodation	Surrounding Area/Industry	Comments
					head.
Baakoo Kunda	Small; 224 (95 boys, 129 girls) 100% of village children attend lower basic school.	Mandinka, Fula & Ballanta	Staff accommodation is small but adequate. All teaching staff live on site but head & deputy live off-site.	180 miles from Banjul in Central River Region (CRR). Very poor village, subsistence farming and gardening. Very poor transport and communication links.	School receives international aid donations because of the political and personal endeavours of one of its patrons. This philanthropist also pays for the boys' school fees ¹¹

¹¹ All Gambian girls' school fees are paid by the Jammeh Foundation

Appendix 5 Sample of Urban School Transcript

BP4MA1Grade6Mat

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

/kestion/ = pronunciation information

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = Fula

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** [classroom noise 9 seconds] sorry?
- 2 **Mr Bojang:** XXXXX
- 3 **Mr Fatty:** morning [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 4 **Caroline:** OK that's XXXX
- 5 **Mr Bojang:** never mind XXXXX [classroom noise 11 seconds]
- 6 **Mr Fatty:** hey sit down . sit down [classroom noise 49 seconds][Mr Bojang
7 speaks to Mr Fatty] yes? huh? ah OK the book [classroom noise 3
8 seconds]
- 9 **Mr Bojang:** who is here
- 10 **Mr Fatty:** #XXXXXXX# Mr Bojang and Mr Fatty have brief conversation but
11 neither is wearing the microphone and it is difficult to make out any
12 exchange]
- 13 **Mr Bojang:** #XXXXXXX #
- 14 **Mr Fatty:** hey . sit down and listen to your names . where do you sit atcha [an
15 expression to mean go out usually used for children and animals] go
16 back [classroom noise 15 seconds][Mr Fatty starts to call the register]
17 Bintou Surname Lamin Surname [calls register for 5 minutes 42
18 seconds] [classroom noise 23 seconds] you are standing there
- 19 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 20 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 21 **Pupil:** Mr Bojang
- 22 **Mr Fatty:** I don't see Mr Bojang . you go with your sister or what . then you have
23 to go to him in the library and check whether he is there or not
24 [classroom noise 21 seconds] hey sit down sit down .. hey . who were

- 25 those who come in early . who failed to come who failed to answer
26 who is that girl . huh? . who you failed to come
- 27 **Pupil:** #XXXXXX #
28 **Mr Fatty:** #you come you# failed to sweep the class yesterday hmm . come out .
29 come out COME OUT .. there sit there
- 30 **Mr Bojang:** morning
- 31 **Class:** good morning Mr Bojang . good morning friends [class sing song
32 greeting to senior teacher]
- 33 **Mr Fatty:** come out [classroom noise 16 seconds] come down [classroom noise 6
34 seconds] [Mr Fatty talks to another teacher note it is usual for men of
35 similar age or social standing to call each other 'boy'] **Job** [Surname]
36 **boy nfoo pipolah lajeh . nfoo pipolah lajeh why** ['why' is an
37 expression to support your statement note it is not the English 'why' as
38 in question] **kiling dinah jeh** *Job boy lend me one pipe lend me one*
39 *pipe 'why' give me one from there* [pipe refers to a piece of hose used
40 for beating children] [classroom noise 13 seconds] come down
- 41 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty XXXXX
- 42 **Mr Fatty:** who and you and who
- 43 **Pupil:** that girl
- 44 **Mr Fatty:** call her to come call her to come two of you . tell her to come . who is
45 that girl
- 46 **Pupil:** all all all the girls
- 47 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 48 **Pupil:** all the girls
- 49 **Mr Fatty:** is that everyday you don't sweep
- 50 **Pupil:** yes
- 51 **Mr Fatty:** everyday . no . I said everyday you you will sweep now give me your
52 hand [phrase that means hold out your hand to have it 'caned' with
53 rubber inner tube] next time you will not do it
- 54 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty it is not only me
- 55 **Mr Fatty:** then call them I don't know them . call them tell them to come
- 56 **Pupil:** XXXX

- 57 **Mr Fatty:** Mamdi . call Mamdi to come . tell Mamdi to come [classroom noise 14
58 seconds girl can be heard to call Mamdi] come **nying damaleh mang**
59 **song nah fitero kela nying damaleh mang song nah fitero kela**
60 **nying** *this is the only one who refused to sweep this is the only one*
61 *who refused to sweep*
- 62 **Pupil:** [not clear because the child cannot speak Mandinka well and therefore
63 translation is not possible - gist is: I think we just swept the day before
64 yesterday]
- 65 **Mr Fatty:** ane Binta Surname *where is Binta Surname . huh? . where is Binta*
66 *Surname . and who else . and who else*
- 67 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 68 **Mr Fatty:** **aning jama . aning jama** *and who . and who*
- 69 **Pupil:** man nekanah debaleh mom muneh dubaleh lek majoko Tako Surname
70 *I was sweeping and she said she will not sweep then I gave it to Tako*
71 *Surname*
- 72 **Mr Fatty:** wow *yes*
- 73 **Pupil:** hei do Tako Surname *it's not Tako Surname*
- 74 **Mr Fatty:** where is Tako Surname
- 75 **Pupil:** **mojamaleh fanang markeh** *a lot of people also did not do it*
- 76 **Mr Fatty:** **fo ibeh lekah classo fitta everyday** *is it that they all sweep the class*
77 *everyday*
- 78 **Pupil:** keidubaleh kenanke tamdubaleh *this one did not sweep and this one*
79 *also did not sweep*
- 80 **Mr Fatty:** so where are they you cannot remember their names . please please try
81 and give me the names of during break you understand what I am
82 saying try and give if you don't give me the names of those who fail to
83 sweep I'm going to beat all of you is that clear . two of you is that clear
- 84 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty
- 85 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 86 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 87 **Mr Fatty:** yes **namoyleh nteh enfango talanolah nteh enfango talanoleh** *I have*
88 *had it I cannot split myself I cannot split myself* [classroom noise 29
89 seconds] yes

- 90 **Mr Bojang:** I sent for this girl
- 91 **Mr Fatty:** huh OK you register
- 92 **Mr Bojang:** I was going over
- 93 **Mr Fatty:** yeah
- 94 **Mr Bojang:** you see . she is not regular
- 95 **Mr Fatty:** no no no no um {tut} . its for a long time I don't see her she has not
96 been coming to school
- 97 **Mr Bojang:** so what I was
- 98 **Mr Fatty:** from here from here up to here so that's XXXX
- 99 **Mr Bojang:** and then first week also XXXX
- 100 **Mr Fatty:** yeah the whole first week XX is seven week . so that XXXX and
101 Monday . up to Friday XX is also absent . I need to XX them too ..
102 finalise
- 103 **Mr Bojang:** XXX the third week
- 104 **Mr Fatty:** yeah .. in fact erm a few of students came to me sometimes and say
105 that she lost one of his father that they are going there you allowed
106 them to go I told them
- 107 **Mr Bojang:** yes they came to me hmm was that not true I sent them
- 108 **Mr Fatty:** oh you sent them
- 109 **Mr Bojang:** yes . it was better that . I was finding out what what's wrong with Naffi
110 what do you think I even used the word pregnant . is she pregnant .
111 they all say no that was the time they say defa amm kuwaneh papa
112 umm bundow moganu *there was a person who said [literally junior*
113 *father meaning father's younger brother] uncle is dead . that was the*
114 *day I sent them*
- 115 **Mr Fatty:** XXXXX
- 116 **Mr Bojang:** yes go there and find out sonch papa umm moganu demlen ngen ziareh
117 [*ziareh is an Arabic insertion meaning to visit to pray] if it is that her*
118 *father [uncle] died you go and pay a visit [special visit to pray for the*
119 *family like to 'sit shule' in Judaism] to them*
- 120 **Mr Fatty:** was that was that true yes
- 121 **Mr Bojang:** whether they whether that was true or not I have not idea

- 122 **Mr Fatty:** #ah you sent them let them come back #
123 **Mr Bojang:** #XXXXXXXXX ask them #
- 124 **Mr Fatty:** no when they came they said they do not find XXXX
- 125 **Mr Bojang:** XXX what they find there told them that these girl always dress up . in
126 uniform and leave the class and leave the home and never is here and
127 when I find out they say is the mother told her . so this why I requested
128 XXXX or or or the mother
- 129 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 130 **Mr Bojang:** XXXX
- 131 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 132 **Mr Bojang:** yes . you see . this why I sent for the mother . is with due respect this
133 why we threatening her but it was the mother I sent for but this is this
134 is her sister . her sister ... I am just entertaining her with due respect .
135 but I sent for the mother or the . the father the father . . or let me have
136 their telephone number of the mother and the father I don't mind use
137 my mobile and call them . find out what is the problem . again you are
138 somebody who has been teaching grade six for twenty years .. and that
139 person is XXXXXX [Mr Fatty: yeah yeah] and I and I XXX big girl
140 who are XXXX . I think she is a small girl [means young] you know I
141 this are from XXXX nad at the end they get pregnant . usually XXX
142 career at the end of the day who is . who is going to /gonna/ be blamed
143 is you [Mr Fatty: is you] . who is going to /gonna/ suffer is you
- 144 **Mr Fatty:** is you . you are going to face the consequences
- 145 **Mr Bojang:** yea
- 146 **Mr Fatty:** so what when you asked her what did she say
- 147 **Mr Bojang:** all she said was what she what she told me that um . they're bereaved
- 148 **Pupil:** Undecipherable Mandinka [child that the teacher's are talking about is
149 telling her friends about the time Mr Bojang was asking her why she
150 didn't come to school] [several children's voices]
- 151 **Mr Fatty:** nte feng *myself* I was told about it
- 152 **Pupil:** undecipherable Mandinka
- 153 **Mr Bojang:** I day they were going
- 154 **Pupil:** while teacher's are discussing child speaks Mandinka with a friend
155 [gist is that she was beaten by her 'senior' [probably an older brother or

- 156 sister] for not going to school then she was escorted to school so the
157 family could find out whether it was true or false that she was not
158 coming to school]
- 159 **Mr Fatty:** so that means . they did did they spread different different information
- 160 **Mr Bojang:** oh
- 161 **Mr Fatty:** or they say they say different things .. its not easy **jamning jamalon**
162 **Fatou Surname** *who and who Fatou Surname*
- 163 **Mr Bojang:** #Mandinka and English mix undecipherable [Mr Bojang is talking to
164 Mr Fatty while the child is also explaining herself] #
- 165 **Pupil:** #**aning Sukai woloo** [continues but undecipherable] *and Sukai and*
166 *others #*
- 167 **Mr Fatty:** yea this the third week
- 168 **Pupil:** undecipherable Mandinka
- 169 **Mr Bojang:** so they are not wrong
- 170 **Pupil:** undecipherable Mandinka
- 171 **Mr Fatty:** ah w. OK . what they is what they tell you for the parents
- 172 **Mr Bojang:** maybe what they told the parents
- 173 **Mr Fatty:** **aye wolehfo ifamahye or ebama** *is that what he/she told your mother*
174 *or father*
- 175 **Pupil:** no **nfama aning mbama woltijang** *my father and mother are not here*
- 176 **Mr Fatty:** **so aye fo jamaleyeh ila sister** *so whom did he tell your sister*
- 177 **Pupil:** [two sisters are talking over each other in an extended turn with a small
178 interjection from Mr Fatty - gist 'our stranger and my elder [brother or
179 sister] said that Naffi does not go to school now that she puts on
180 uniform but does not go to school she was concerned about how to tell
181 the teachers but the 'elder' said the way you say it to the teacher is the
182 way they will take it']
- 183 **Mr Bojang:** that's the information I received
- 184 **Mr Fatty:** **so akamunta woh mangkeh kuma sotoventi fo abinyadi** *so does it*
185 *means that that is not true or what*
- 186 **Pupil:** [girls are talking over each other very fast voices are intertwined and
187 the translators were unable to get a true meaning from the utterances -
188 undecipherable]

- 189 **Mr Fatty:** **kore imang tarah aback can** *hope you are not backing her*
- 190 **Pupil:** Mandinka [sisters continue to talk together in an extended turn - gist is
191 the elder sister says she is not backing her [the younger sister] because
192 if you tell me the problem I would tell them the problem the younger
193 sister says even on that day she beat me up and I told her to go to the
194 other students in the class to ask them because what they told you and
195 what they told me are not the same]
- 196 **Mr Bojang:** anyway this the third week
- 197 **Mr Fatty:** anyway she was not coming to school so . for three weeks
- 198 **Mr Bojang:** yes exactly . three weeks is too long . but why the three weeks that I
199 don't know you better in fact with due respect XXXX but normally a
200 child who #XXX two weeks two weeks that child's name should be out
201 the register #
- 202 **Mr Fatty:** #what's your final decision now er er XXXXX as her senior
203 teacher yea #
- 204 **Pupil:** OK **siying mbemingkela ah?** *now what we are going to do ah?*
- 205 **Mr Fatty:** so what is the final decision now
- 206 **Mr Bojang:** er **malon nyadi lehfollo** *I don't know what to do yet* I don't make a
207 decision yet because I will at least wait until XXXX
- 208 **Mr Fatty:** you have a decision
- 209 **Mr Bojang:** no . its only in my hands I didn't talk to anybody even Malik is not
210 aware .. er in normal circumstances I should have asked you to delete
211 the name
- 212 **Mr Fatty:** to to take it out
- 213 **Mr Bojang:** to remove the name . um you Yamoundow's name is not in the register
214 . Yamoundow
- 215 **Mr Fatty:** OK there is no Yamoundow
- 216 **Mr Bojang:** OK so I want to advise you to remove her this girl's name and then put
217 Yamoundow's name who is coming to school every day
- 218 **Mr Fatty:** and she is in your class
- 219 **Mr Bojang:** she is in the classroom here . you always tell you Mr Bojang I did not
220 hear my name [classroom noise 6 seconds] its not the biological father
221 . for three good weeks . I lost my father #biological father #

- 222 **Mr Fatty:** #its you know its what# what
223 what the problem is is . you see the problem . you should let us to
224 know
- 225 **Pupil:** **woleh yatina ikor ngana lah ikor** *that's why they said I should not*
226 *sleep they said*
- 227 **Mr Fatty:** #you should let us to know because [cos] you are living close to Mr
228 Bojang not me but Mr Bojang #
229 **Pupil:** #local language extended Mr Bojang interrupts briefly #
- 230 **Mr Fatty:** do you know you have four weeks
- 231 **Pupil:** huh?
- 232 **Mr Bojang:** #XXX more than four weeks back #
233 **Mr Fatty:** #local language #[classroom noise 28 seconds] OK . try to be serious
234 in school
- 235 **Mr Bojang:** and and right now . **ila kuwo leng leng sorry** *your condition makes me*
236 *to be sorry for you* but otherwise . I should not allow you in the
237 classroom
- 238 **Mr Fatty:** because according to the law you are not allow
- 239 **Mr Bojang:** according to our policy **nya two weeks tah durong amanah nyantah**
240 **atoo bundilah registerto** *if she stay away from school for two weeks*
241 *we shall delete her name from the register* [classroom noise 5 seconds]
242 so what we will do . two days she is absent . just take out the name
- 243 **Mr Fatty:** again
- 244 **Mr Bojang:** two days just give her the chance
- 245 **Mr Fatty:** yeah
- 246 **Pupil:** OK
- 247 **Mr Bojang:** #any day she is absent any day she is absent . medical paper #
248 **Pupil:** #local language #
- 249 **Mr Fatty:** you understand Bojang or not
- 250 **Pupil:** hmm
- 251 **Mr Fatty:** after you g.
- 252 **Mr Bojang:** medical paper . **nah amang medical papertah** *if she did not take the*
253 *medical paper* . send her home **nah tata two days among nah alaa**
254 **name bundi durong you put Yamoundow's name** *if she go back and*

- 255 *did not come for two days just remove her name and put Yamoundow's*
256 *name*
- 257 **Mr Fatty:** no problem
- 258 **Mr Bojang:** the next day **nya natta aning mo manah alaa name scratch durong**
259 *if she come the next day and did not come with any parent just scratch*
260 *her name with a red pen just one line through the name and then I'll put*
261 *the comment there left school . then we put there those names there did*
262 *you understand that . because /cos/ otherwise they ask you this girl has*
263 *not been coming to school did you make did you find out what is the*
264 *problem .* **nkor sange muwang mbeh grade six control kang I told**
265 *you I have been controlling grade six for twenty years [classroom noise*
266 *4 seconds] so I know I know them . I know them very well . I can*
267 *remember there was a year* **nya ding ding doha konomata** *one of my*
268 *children [pupils] was pregnant I told the parents* **nkor alaa mother ye**
269 **kor** *I told her mother that are you monitoring your child your daughter*
270 *very well .* **yajelleh wobeh wurula kor YEA nying wo kei nying**
271 **bikata dula nying wo nah ajita abikata abikafunti akatu studylah**
272 **aning salo . because ayie hi jabuleh** *the mother said 'oh' this girl she*
273 *never go out when she close from school she is always studying and*
274 *praying . because she is putting on veil [Islamic scarf] second time I I*
275 *called the mother again* **nkei kor idingo ika monitorleh bang I told**
276 *her are you monitoring your child [daughter] because I am observing a*
277 *pregnant girl as a science student I should be able to know the third*
278 **kabiring anata nang nka alaa mother yeh idingo is pregnant . abe**
279 **loring daming anyagio leh kana . alamero** *[mero is a Wolof word*
280 *that has been borrowed into Mandinka] when she comes I told her*
281 *mother that your daughter is pregnant . where she was standing she*
282 *started dropping tears [she started to cry] . her mother*
- 283 **Mr Fatty:** **ha Badibu nkolong** *yes she is a descendant of Badibu*
- 284 **Mr Bojang:** XXX
- 285 **Mr Fatty:** because she show this thing
- 286 **Mr Bojang:** you know what
- 287 **Mr Fatty:** what you told her
- 288 **Mr Bojang:** yea after the bridge huh opposite **NAWECIah wo fenkoto sunkutolu**
289 **beje minukah waferokeh NAWEC** *{the national water and electricity*
290 *company} customer care office [NB 'fengko' means 'thing' but local*
291 *knowledge indicates this is the customer care office] there are girls*
292 *there who sell one of them*
- 293 **Mr Fatty:** oh
- 294 **Mr Bojang:** **wolong** *it's the one*

- 295 **Mr Fatty:** ahhh? [meaning oh right]
- 296 **Mr Bojang:** yes OK . one of them **wolong** *it's the one* that was in my class ...
297 **kabring nka alaa moluu yeh kor idingo konomataleh .**
298 **XXXXXXXX nka akor** you think I hate you I have nothing to do with
299 you [I am not related to you] **ne imang deng feng nah nte mu Jolate**
300 **ete mu Mandinkoteh . inteh mu Bojangte ite malon nyadi nkie kor**
301 **ne mang deng feng nah . but this I am making sure that purroo**
302 [French borrowing] **at least ile school yah aka nyama ning igita**
303 **school neyeh dokuwoo soto jening ibe modo nafalah ibe ifengu leh**
304 **nafala** *when I told her parents your daughter is pregnant XXXXXX*
305 *{translator believes talking about the person who impregnated her} I*
306 *told her you think I hate you I have nothing to do with you we are not*
307 *related at all I am a Jola and you are a Mandinka I am Bojang and you*
308 *are I don't know what but this I am making sure that at least [from*
309 *French] at least you do your school well if you finish school if you*
310 *have a job before you benefit any other person you will benefit yourself*
311 *first*
- 312 **Mr Fatty:** very soon
- 313 **Mr Bojang:** anyway you can go I will continue with them
- 314 **Mr Fatty:** yea . so now um maybe you can just leave her maybe to come maybe
315 but **nah aye two days bulla koteng nah absenta** *if she didn't come*
316 *again for two days if she is absent again*
- 317 **Mr Bojang:** two days
- 318 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 319 **Mr Bojang:** XXXX
- 320 **Mr Fatty:** and advise her under any circumstance **nah abe absent nah fannah**
321 **ike lanjuroteh** *if she is going to be absent again let it be a genuine*
322 *reason make sure let us know whether she is sick or not*
- 323 **Mr Bojang:** medical paper
- 324 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 325 **Mr Bojang:** the proof of the pudding is in the eating [another member of staff walks
326 past and greets Mr Fatty & Mr Bojang]
- 327 **Mr Fatty:** yes [response to greeting]
- 328 **Mr Bojang:** Surname [response to greeting]
- 329 **Sister:** **ningtata mba folla dadye** *if I go I will tell dad*

- 330 **Mr Fatty:** because **nimmu beh sabarr lehnoma acata acata amangkeko**
331 **womarehlah nahfallo ifongolah nfar long ya understandleh**
332 **because ning Naffi jita sieng tumando naye dokuwoo soto ah aseke**
333 **mbiendalanteh karileh ya teach yajelleh so wo dangmang**
334 **kanyatah hanie amung nteh leh soo bututolah karileh karandi it's**
335 **OK** *because if somebody is serious with you try try it is not because of*
336 *the benefit of that person it is for your own benefit you understand*
337 *because if Naffi finished school now maybe if she secure a job maybe*
338 *what will make me happy is that they will say I taught her you see so*
339 *that alone is OK even if she did not give us a butut [small coins 100*
340 *bututs =1 dalasi] the fact that I taught her is OK #local language [very*
341 *difficult to separate voices but the gist is that the teachers think she*
342 *may be pregnant but they are not totally sure] #*
343 **Mr Bojang:** #local language #
344 because because I hope she is not pregnant
- 345 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 346 **Mr Bojang:** I hope
- 347 **Mr Fatty:** so **nimmol beheya marikang ifana ilasama nfa imangkeh ding**
348 **dingte injangta wollonna** *when people are trying to advise you you*
349 *should understand you are not a kid now you should know what is*
350 *good for your future*
- 351 **Mr Bojang:** undecipherable Mandinka [part of utterance is **nyala parentso**
352 **nyingkah** *I ask her parents]*
- 353 **Mr Fatty:** so Mr Bojang . let me go in because . time is going . **nkor** *I say* let me
354 go in because time is going [Mr Fatty returns to the classroom]
355 [classroom noise 15 seconds] are you ready with your books
- 356 **Class:** yes
- 357 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 358 **Class:** no no no
- 359 **Pupil:** she ke *he/she* take my chips and XXXXX she is lying [classroom noise
360 6 seconds] her chips [small biscuits that children buy and eat like
361 crisps] is here
- 362 **Mr Fatty:** what is this what are you rising what is this [classroom noise 4
363 seconds] what is this . hmm? [classroom noise 5 seconds] XXXX
364 [classroom noise 7 seconds] some of you what happen is . when you
365 are given your homework or assignment . you start to do them unless
366 and until you come to the class that's the time you start to do them . I
367 am going to stop that . as from today if you are even your homework

- 368 you cannot do it at home don't do it in class here is that clear to
369 everybody
- 370 **Class:** yes
- 371 **Mr Fatty:** as from today . I want to stop I want you to stop it [classroom noise 3
372 seconds] do you all understand that
- 373 **Class:** yes [classroom noise 23 seconds]
- 374 **Mr Bojang:** **momo meye idisturb akinang eya** *anybody who disturbs you send
375 him or her to me*
- 376 **Mr Fatty:** **#jangbeh nyameng** *the way it is here #*
377 **Mr Bojang:** #undecipherable Mandinka #
- 378 **Mr Fatty:** huh
- 379 **Mr Bojang:** **note tah** *take the note* inside the note . undecipherable Mandinka
380 English mix
- 381 **Mr Fatty:** no problem no problem no problem [classroom noise 10 seconds] no
382 no that paper who owns that I think it's you paper
- 383 **Mr Bojang:** it is for the councillors .. so
- 384 **Mr Fatty:** **amang dung follo imah allowed pur ayna** *he/she did not enter yet
385 you don't allow he/she to come*
- 386 **Mr Bojang:** **abinayleh** *he/she will come*
- 387 **Mr Fatty:** **so ibah asambalah officelah** *so you are taking him/her to the office*
- 388 **Mr Bojang:** **ibah abayilaleh** *they will expel him/her*
- 389 **Mr Fatty:** **ibah abayilaleh** *they will expel him/her* **yallong ibeh mingkella** *you
390 know what you should do* be very strict with these kids ah OK
- 391 **Mr Bojang:** **yamoi** *you hear*
- 392 **Mr Fatty:** no **yalong** *you know* the problem is uh **ite funglah kumo lehmu**
393 **nungteh ding ding buka nteh yab** [Wolof insertion] *it's because of*
394 *your words otherwise no child play with me* [Mr Fatty is saying that
395 Mr Bojang is lenient with the children and if it was just Mr Fatty and
396 the class they children wouldn't misbehave [play with him] because he
397 would be able to discipline as he wished]
- 398 **Mr Bojang:** **ha ibe strictlah domanding** *yes you should be a bit [small] strict*
- 399 **Mr Fatty:** yes [classroom noise 5 seconds] XXXX

- 400 **Mr Bojang:** **ayoleh fonyeh kotekeh XXXXXXXX** *that's what he/she told me again*
401 **XXXXXX**
- 402 **Mr Fatty:** **mintoto** *where*
- 403 **Mr Bojang:** very firm with it
- 404 **Mr Fatty:** to be strict on these things . yes [to child]
- 405 **Pupil:** local language
- 406 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 407 **Pupil:** local language
- 408 **Mr Fatty:** local language
- 409 **Pupil:** local language
- 410 **Mr Fatty:** this is one our our
- 411 **Pupil:** this is from the our this is local language
- 412 **Mr Fatty:** are you ready with the verbal [meaning verbal aptitude] . pass your
413 books pass your books [classroom noise 6 seconds][Mr Fatty
414 approaches Caroline] OK
- 415 **Caroline:** alright?
- 416 **Mr Fatty:** yes its alright yea yesterday I give them XXX about XXXX
- 417 **Caroline:** OK #this# on the board here
- 418 **Mr Fatty:** #yes # yea one X and the one beneath it . so for
419 the qualification we have already I have already marked their books
- 420 **Caroline:** OK
- 421 **Mr Fatty:** yea so now all is left XX correction
- 422 **Caroline:** OK
- 423 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 424 **Caroline:** hmm
- 425 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 426 **Caroline:** OK good [classroom noise 7 seconds]

- 427 **Mr Fatty:** pass your books [classroom noise 6 seconds] hey . suspended
428 [classroom noise 37 seconds] [quietly to individual child] if you don't
429 give me the names of them people huh? what am I going to /gonna/ do
430 with you [classroom noise 15 seconds] what . where is your maths
431 book [classroom noise 18 seconds] do you all pass your books . huh? .
432 what are you sitting down . Sumaile . Sumaile [classroom noise is such
433 that Mr Fatty's voice cannot be heard] XXXXX XXXX XXXXX
434 [classroom noise 29 seconds]
- 435 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty
- 436 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 437 **Pupil:** XXXX [classroom noise 13 seconds]
- 438 **Mr Fatty:** good morning [classroom noise 7 seconds] [Mr Fatty approaches
439 Caroline again he speaks in a very low voice which is difficult to hear
440 through the microphone. Field notes from the time show he has come
441 to warn Caroline that he is about to beat the children because of their
442 lack of understanding of the maths problem that had been set for
443 homework and their behaviour. At first the warning is not clearly
444 understood until Mr Fatty mentions 'flog'] um XXXXXXX
- 445 **Caroline:** sorry
- 446 **Mr Fatty:** I said XXXX these kids XXXXXXXX
- 447 **Caroline:** OK
- 448 **Mr Fatty:** that's the problem
- 449 **Caroline:** OK
- 450 **Mr Fatty:** sometimes you know it's different from Europe XXXXX XXXXX I
451 know this disturbs
- 452 **Caroline:** yea yes
- 453 **Mr Fatty:** you know what I'm saying
- 454 **Caroline:** no we have the same in England [meaning naughty children]
- 455 **Mr Fatty:** we have to punish them sometimes so that they they they . do do their
456 works . if not they will not listen just don't mind it [meaning pay no
457 attention do not let this worry you] the class is very rough at times
- 458 **Caroline:** yea
- 459 **Mr Fatty:** sometimes no respect for the teacher

- 460 **Caroline:** yep
- 461 **Mr Fatty:** just imagine how can its true if you want to who come to achieve
462 something you don't respect your teacher do you think you can know
463 something you must respect the teacher isn't it yes . that's why at times
464 normally we flog them [classroom noise 3 seconds] Ansumana [boy's
465 name] **ima sambanang** *you did not bring it? . OK*
- 466 **Pupil:** **nyinata nmarkeh** *I forgot to do it*
- 467 **Mr Fatty:** no pack this just pack your book
- 468 **Pupil:** undecipherable Mandinka
- 469 **Mr Fatty:** who do not pass his book . hey who did not pass his book . did you
470 pass your book . who do not pass his or her book . you did not pass
471 your book . hmm . you pass it . after I am going to mark your book and
472 see those who fail to pass their books . then I will know how to deal
473 with the case .
- 474 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty **nyingneh mu nah answer fungute nying mankeh answer**
475 **nyinti nyinomu** *this is my answer itself it's not this one it's this one*
- 476 **Mr Fatty:** hmm?
- 477 **Pupil:** **nkor nyingneh mu nah answer fungute nyingteh** *I said this is my*
478 *answer itself it's not this one*
- 479 **Mr Fatty:** **nyinemu answerti** *this is the answer*
- 480 **Pupil:** **nkor nying mungkeh nah fungkoti nyineh mu answer nyinti nying**
481 **mungke answer nyinti imaje nya copy fungkoto . lafita nya copy**
482 **katabakeh purru** [from French] **soma** *I said this is my that thing this*
483 *is the answer this is not the answer you see I copy it there I want to*
484 *copy it quickly for tomorrow*
- 485 **Mr Fatty:** sit down sit down . [child can be heard speaking Mandinka to another
486 child 'boy your disturbance is too much'] let's do the correction .. yes
487 let's do the correction of our first quantitative questions . yes number
488 one what is the answer . huh?
489
- 490 **Pupils:** [several children call out] five
- 491 **Mr Fatty:** five
- 492 **Pupils:** yes
- 493 **Mr Fatty:** let's see five plus six . huh?

- 494 **Pupil:** five plus one is six
- 495 **Mr Fatty:** sorry five plus one
- 496 **Pupil:** six six
- 497 **Mr Fatty:** six six plus four
- 498 **Pupils:** ten
- 499 **Mr Fatty:** ten . therefore five is our correct answer huh?
- 500 **Class:** yes
- 501 **Mr Fatty:** good . number two
- 502 **Pupil:** one one
- 503 **Mr Fatty:** one plus five
- 504 **Class:** six
- 505 **Pupils:** six
- 506 **Mr Fatty:** six plus eleven /leven/
- 507 **Class:** seventeen
- 508 **Mr Fatty:** seventeen
- 509 **Pupil:** yes
- 510 **Mr Fatty:** good [classroom noise 13 seconds] number three
- 511 **Pupil:** XX
- 512 **Mr Fatty:** huh? who said XX
- 513 **Pupil:** seventeen
- 514 **Mr Fatty:** number three . nine plus three . nine plus three
- 515 **Pupils:** twelve
- 516 **Mr Fatty:** twelve plus five
- 517 **Pupils:** seventeen
- 518 **Mr Fatty:** seventeen . good [classroom noise 5 seconds] number four . two and a
519 half plus four and and a half

- 520 **Pupil:** seven
- 521 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 522 **Pupil:** seven
- 523 **Mr Fatty:** seven
- 524 **Pupil:** yea
- 525 **Mr Fatty:** plus what will give you fourteen
- 526 **Pupils:** plus seven
- 527 **Pupil:** plus seven
- 528 **Mr Fatty:** plus seven
- 529 **Pupil:** yes
- 530 **Mr Fatty:** good . number five . huh? .. four and quarter plus . two and half that's
531 how much .. that's how much .. huh?
- 532 **Pupil:** seven
- 533 **Mr Fatty:** XX
- 534 **Pupil:** ten yea
- 535 **Mr Fatty:** four and quarter plus . two and half [children start to shout] huh?
- 536 **Pupils:** ten ten
- 537 **Mr Fatty:** ten
- 538 **Pupils:** yea
- 539 **Mr Fatty:** who say ten
- 540 **Pupil:** XX
- 541 **Mr Fatty:** who say ten
- 542 **Pupil:** I don't say ten
- 543 **Mr Fatty:** who say ten [classroom noise 2 seconds]
- 544 **Pupil:** seven XXXX

- 545 **Mr Fatty:** class . four and quarter plus two and half . huh? . nobody knows . [Mr
546 Fatty approaches nearest child and asks them to put out their hand]
547 your hand {thwack of inner tube hitting child's hand} your hand
548 {thwack} your hand {thwack} you don't know
- 549 **Pupil:** XX
- 550 **Mr Fatty:** #it's {thwack} not eight {thwack} it's not it's not eight #
551 **Pupil:** #six and half and quarter #
- 552 **Mr Fatty:** #it's not eight it's not eight #
553 **Pupil:** #six and half and quarter #
- 554 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 555 **Pupil:** six half and quarter
- 556 **Mr Fatty:** no no no {small laugh} {thwack}
- 557 **Pupil:** four plus two
- 558 **Mr Fatty:** you don't know {thwack} you are not fooling you don't know
559 {thwack} yes
- 560 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty XXXXX
- 561 **Mr Fatty:** no {thwack}
- 562 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty six and a quarter
- 563 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 564 **Pupil:** six and a quarter
- 565 **Mr Fatty:** no it's not six [child speaks in LL] no .. you should know these things .
566 your hand . your hand you should know these things {thwack} yes
567 {thwack} you should know these things you don't know {thwack
568 thwack}
- 569 **Pupil:** seven half I make it
- 570 **Mr Fatty:** no it's not seven and half {thwack} [child says something] huh? what
571 no it's not eight {thwack} yes yes
- 572 **Pupil:** seven
- 573 **Mr Fatty:** no it's not seven . your {thwack} [child says 'oh'] you listen . sit down
574 hey
- 575 **Pupil:** #Mr Fatty seven #

- 576 **Mr Fatty:** #you should know# these things you should know these things you
577 should know these things yes
- 578 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty ten
- 579 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 580 **Pupils:** ten ten
- 581 **Mr Fatty:** no it's not ten {thwack} . yes
- 582 **Pupil:** [child shouts talking very fast is very scared of being hit other children
583 laugh] Mr Fatty XXXXXXXXXXXX
- 584 **Mr Fatty:** yes {thwack thwack child shouts}
- 585 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty twenty
- 586 **Mr Fatty:** what? .. yes your hand your hand .. {thwack} what? huh?
- 587 **Pupil:** seven
- 588 **Mr Fatty:** no not seven . no it's not six either you should know these things you
589 have failed {thwack} yes no {thwack} you should know these things
590 you don't know
- 591 **Pupil:** six and three quarters
- 592 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 593 **Pupil:** six and three quarters
- 594 **Mr Fatty:** six and
- 595 **Pupil:** three quarters
- 596 **Mr Fatty:** your name
- 597 **Pupil:** six and three quarter
- 598 **Mr Fatty:** your name
- 599 **Pupil:** BaSalleh Surname
- 600 **Mr Fatty:** good BaSalleh Surname . clap for him all of you I'm not going to stop
601 here I'm going to continue because you don't know . only BaSalleh
602 knows
- 603 **Pupil:** you don't beat this boy Mr Fatty

- 604 **Mr Fatty:** who
- 605 **Pupil:** that boy [boy who has not been beaten starts to claim he has already
606 been hit]
- 607 **Mr Fatty:** is this boy who said the answer not you . you are going to pay attention
608 to your to lessons next time you you fail you don't know [child says
609 something] I know but you don't know you don't know you don't know
- 610 **Pupil:** [child in background is complaining to another child in Mandinka that
611 they are sitting in his chair] Mr Fatty teacher six and three quarters
- 612 **Mr Fatty:** **eh ite malon imalon** *eh you don't know you don't know*
- 613 **Pupil:** **nga aloneh bilahe nying nyingka nying nyingka** *I know it by God ask
614 this one ask this one [meaning another child]*
- 615 **Mr Fatty:** do you know it
- 616 **Pupil:** **bilahe** *by God*
- 617 **Mr Fatty:** but you don't you don't . I know I know you don't it's six and three
618 quarter is that clear to everybody
- 619 **Class:** yes
- 620 **Mr Fatty:** huh? is six and three quarter . yes six and three quarter plus three and a
621 quarter what will it give you huh?
- 622 **Pupil:** ten
- 623 **Mr Fatty:** ten [classroom noise for 10 seconds] number six three plus seven huh?
624 three plus seven plus what plus seven
- 625 **Pupil:** seventeen
- 626 **Mr Fatty:** seventeen . who who put theirs earlier XXXXX earlier .. yes um . this
627 one is verbal aptitude circle the word that does not belong to the group
628 . in each question I will go round again to see those who did not pass
629 their books . is that clear to you
- 630 **Class:** yes
- 631 **Mr Fatty:** OK now . number one . A leg B shoe C arm D toe then E you have
632 knee
- 633 **Pupil:** Mr Fatty shoe
- 634 **Mr Fatty:** which of the group does not belong . to the following which of the
635 following does not belong to the group

- 636 **Pupils:** shoes
- 637 **Mr Bojang:** Mr Fatty
- 638 **Mr Fatty:** if you know the answer let me show your hands up .. yes shoe .. yes .
639 you what is the answer .. huh?
- 640 **Pupil:** shoe
- 641 **Mr Fatty:** yes Modou Surname shoe .. where do you say shoe
- 642 **Pupil:** because
- 643 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 644 **Pupil:** all those are body
- 645 **Mr Fatty:** all this are
- 646 **Pupils:** XXXXX
- 647 **Mr Fatty:** parts of the human body . except
- 648 **Pupil:** shoe
- 649 **Mr Fatty:** good . how many of you get this .. the rest you do not do the work or
650 you don't get it some of you do not do the work
- 651 **Pupil:** yes
- 652 **Mr Fatty:** I will still go round number two . weak . tiny . minimal . small . little
- 653 **Pupil:** weak weak
- 654 **Mr Fatty:** what is the odd number there
- 655 **Pupils:** weak
- 656 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 657 **Pupil:** weak weak
- 658 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 659 **Pupil:** weak
- 660 **Mr Fatty:** weak . why do you say weak
- 661 **Pupil:** because [classroom noise 3 seconds]

- 662 **Mr Fatty:** why do you say weak .[visitor enters the class] er OK [a man comes to
663 the door difficult to hear his side of conversation and to distinguish
664 voices the gist of the Mandinka conversation is that Mr Fatty has
665 forgotten to buy something and the man has says he will buy it the next
666 day] YES yes why do you say weak . huh? .. hmm? . why do you say
667 weak
- 668 **Pupil:** because all these are small things
- 669 **Mr Fatty:** all these are talking about amount . tiny . small . minimal . little they
670 are all talking about amount so therefore weak is the . correct answer
671 how many of you get that [classroom noise 4 seconds] Sukai you don't
672 get it . number three .. A trip B sailor C travel D journey E voyage
- 673 **Pupil:** A B sailor
- 674 **Mr Fatty:** Nyima Surname . what is the answer there . huh? . Yorro [boy's name]
675 what is the answer .. yes what is the answer .. yes what is the answer .
676 you don't know who knows the answer
- 677 **Pupils:** me me me
- 678 **Mr Fatty:** yes .. we have voyage journey travel trip is all talking about travelling
679 so the odd word is sailor
- 680 **Pupil:** yes [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 681 **Mr Fatty:** number four . A overcome B conquer C win D defeat E punish . punish
682 /puniss/ I will punish you . defeat win conquer overcome yes
- 683 **Pupil:** me
- 684 **Mr Fatty:** who knows the answer
- 685 **Pupil:** me [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 686 **Mr Fatty:** I I want somebody to answer from this way I am coming yes what is
687 the answer . huh? what is the answer huh? you don't know what is the
688 answer
- 689 **Pupil:** me
- 690 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 691 **Pupil:** punish
- 692 **Mr Fatty:** what
- 693 **Pupil:** I don't know that punish

- 694 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 695 **Pupil:** finish
- 696 **Mr Fatty:** hmm?
- 697 **Pupil:** finish
- 698 **Mr Fatty:** finish do #you see any finish on the# board there [classroom noise 7
699 seconds]
- 700 **Pupils:** #punish punish punish #
- 701 **Mr Fatty:** yes . yes .. YES
- 702 **Pupil:** number four
- 703 **Pupils:** punish punish [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 704 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 705 **Pupils:** XXX
- 706 **Mr Fatty:** you want to say something yes
- 707 **Pupil:** he said overcome
- 708 **Mr Fatty:** overcome is not correct . is punish
- 709 **Pupil:** punish
- 710 **Mr Fatty:** overcome conquer win defeat is all talking about the same except
711 punish . number five . A . stupid B bull C heavy D slow E weak what
712 is the correct answer there hey what are you what are you finding there
713 . what are you finding **atcha** *get out/stop* [expression used to children
714 and animals as a general 'stop that/get out/move phrase] go and sit ..
715 huh? . yes
- 716 **Pupil:** C [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 717 **Mr Fatty:** what is the correct answer there
- 718 **Pupil:** bull bull
- 719 **Mr Fatty:** bull
- 720 **Pupil:** yes
- 721 **Mr Fatty:** good .. how many of you get five over five [classroom noise 9 seconds]
722 rub the board I have been marking your book then from there . I think I

- 723 need to give you . where is the duster I don't know . Mr Jatta [a visitor
724 comes to the room] so I think um you have English text books there
- 725 **Visitor:** no no they are with Mr . Dumbuya
- 726 **Mr Fatty:** Dumbuya
- 727 **Visitor:** **ila boyo leh . Lamin** *where is your boy Lamin*
- 728 **Mr Fatty:** huh
- 729 **Visitor:** **Bojang bang** *is it Bojang*
- 730 **Mr Fatty:** **Bojang bang anataleh** *is it Bojang he has come*
- 731 **Visitor:** **nying moluu fang menahtajang ka killing killing collect** *those*
732 *people themselves who came here to collect one by one*
- 733 **Mr Fatty:** na ah to come and collect from the kids . even yesterday **aye receipto**
734 **dinah akor mo killing neh yah ajo akor sixty five something like**
735 **that . ibe nteh kungo teh lah jangeh** *he/she gave me a receipt he/she*
736 *said one person has paid sixty five something like that . they'll break*
737 *my head here [they are not giving him correct information they are*
738 *cheating him] [Mr Fatty went to another classroom to collect books*
739 *and the other teacher is heard giving a POP FLE lesson no permission*
740 *is held to use this part of the recording] [child approaches Mr Fatty*
741 *they discuss in local language] [Mr Fatty approaches Caroline] madam*
742 *we want to go to English now I want*
- 743 **Caroline:** you're going to what?
- 744 **Mr Fatty:** English English
- 745 **Caroline:** OK
- 746 **Mr Fatty:** yea reading from there they will read a passage [classroom noise 12
747 seconds] sorry we'll suspend that **for until after** [classroom noise 7
748 seconds] now there are twenty eight text books here I'm going to share
749 among you I want immediately after the lesson you return them back ..
750 is that clear
- 751 **Class:** yes
- 752 **Mr Fatty:** [classroom noise 124 seconds] [sounds of books being distributed] sit
753 properly sit [classroom noise 29 seconds] now open to page forty four
754 page forty four page forty four . forty four .. yes [classroom noise 5
755 seconds] page forty four open [Mr Fatty slaps desk] [classroom noise
756 58 seconds] what is the date today . huh? [children call out] how many
757 of you are saying on the second

- 758 **Pupil:** on the first of February the first
- 759 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 760 **Pupils:** children call out
- 761 **Mr Fatty:** on the first of February [classroom noise 38 seconds] yes . unit nine
762 harmful insects . read a passage or comprehension you are to read and
763 understand after all you answer the questions is that clear
- 764 **Class:** yes [classroom noise 7 seconds]
- 765 **Mr Fatty:** is everybody there
- 766 **Class:** yes
- 767 **Mr Fatty:** you open where is your book [classroom noise 17 seconds] listen
768 carefully and open your ear . you have to listen carefully and you open
769 your ear please . OK . I'm going to start . why are you digging that big
770 hole father asked Ebou Ebou's father stopped for a moment and looked
771 at his son I want to make a deep pit where we can throw all our empty
772 tins and bottles he said that is a good idea it will help to keep our
773 garden tidy agreed Ebou not only tidy but also clean his father said if
774 we leave dirty tins and rubbish around flies will come and settle on
775 them they like to eat rotten decaying food some of the dirt will stick to
776 their legs then they come into our house and settle on our food that is
777 how germs transfer from one place to another . I don't understand said
778 Ebou well suppose our neighbour Mr Jasey leaves dirty bits of food in
779 tins outside his house this food can be bad and full of germs flies will
780 come and settle on the food to eat it . then they may come to our house
781 and settle on the food which we are about to eat the germs from the bad
782 food next door will pass on to the food we are going to eat .. yes .. you
783 should not interrupt me like this you should not interrupt me like this
784 yes
- 785 **Visitor:** good morning Mr Fatty
- 786 **Mr Fatty:** #yes good morning #
787 **Visitor:** #how are you #
- 788 **Mr Fatty:** fine
- 789 **Visitor:** how is the morning
- 790 **Mr Fatty:** well the morning #is OK #
791 **Visitor:** #I am asking# for Mustapha Surname is he in school
792 today
- 793 **Mr Fatty:** Mustapha Surname from my class no is not in school

794 **Visitor:** he is not in school

795 **Mr Fatty:** no no no Mustapha is he your son

796 **Visitor:** yes

797 **Mr Fatty:** he is not in school Mustapha Surname no he is not in school

798 **Visitor:** XXXXXX

799 **Mr Fatty:** no I don't know him facially

800 **Visitor:** ahh

801 **Mr Fatty:** no no no

802 **Visitor:** can you please ask whether he is in class or not

803 **Mr Fatty:** he is not in class

804 **Visitor:** ahh

805 **Mr Fatty:** I called the register they say he is absent

806 **Visitor:** huh

807 **Mr Fatty:** yes let me just let me just confirm

808 **Visitor:** I sent for him yesterday

809 **Mr Fatty:** wait #for a moment #

810 **Visitor:** #I thought that# he he is in the school

811 **Mr Fatty:** is Mustapha Surname in school today

812 **Pupils:** huh?

813 **Mr Fatty:** Mustapha Surname is not huh? who say yes . he is not in school

814 **Visitor:** ahh

815 **Mr Fatty:** no

816 **Visitor:** #I will call again and find out #

817 **Mr Fatty:** #he is not in school #

818 **Visitor:** I don't know #what's wrong XXXXX#

819 **Mr Fatty:** #yes definitely it's over in fact nearly three

820 weeks now I cannot see the boy #

821 **Visitor:** ahh somebody told me that you have sent him out of the class I don't
822 know how to

823 **Mr Fatty:** but not me

824 **Visitor:** and now I know #it's not you #
825 **Mr Fatty:** #it's not me #

826 **Visitor:** I know

827 **Mr Fatty:** yes

828 **Visitor:** I know that

829 **Mr Fatty:** it's not me

830 **Visitor:** I just want to find out whether he is in class

831 **Mr Fatty:** no he is not in class

832 **Visitor:** OK thank you

833 **Mr Fatty:** thank you

834 **Visitor:** I will check him

835 **Mr Fatty:** thank you {clears throat} OK let's continue . I see said Ebou so we are
836 lucky that Mr Jassey keeps his compound clean and we must keep our
837 compound clean too . can I help you to dig the pit yes you can said his
838 father and everyday I want you to burn all the old papers and boxes
839 and you put all the rubbish which won't burn into this pit people who
840 live in clean surroundings don't become sick as often as people who
841 live in filthy places . I repeat again . because I will ask some of you to
842 read . then from there we will explain then from there you are to
843 answer the questions so it's better you open your ear and listen is that
844 clear if you know that you are not a good reader is better you open
845 your ear and listen . than causing noise . OK {clears throat} harmful
846 insects why are you digging that big hole father asks Ebou . {clears
847 throat} Ebou's father stopped for a moment and looked at his son . I
848 want to make a deep pit where we can throw all out empty tins and
849 bottles he said that is a good idea it will help to keep our garden tidy
850 agreed Ebou not only tidy but also clean his father said if we leave
851 dirty tins and rubbish around flies will come and settle on them they
852 like to eat rotten decaying food some of the dirt will stick to their legs
853 then they come into our house and settle on our food that is how germs
854 tran tran sorry that is how germs travel from one place to another I
855 don't understand said Ebou well suppose our neighbour Mr Jassey
856 leaves dirty bits of food in tins outside his house this food can be bad
857 and full of germs flies will come and settle on the food to eat it then
858 they may come to our house and settle on the food which we are about

- 859 to eat the germs from the dirty food next door will pass onto the food
860 we are going to eat I see said Ebou so we are lucky that Mr Jassey
861 keeps his compound clean and we must keep our compound clean too
862 can I help you to dig the pit yes you can said his father and everyday I
863 want you to burn all the papers and boxes and you put all the rubbish
864 which won't burn in this pit which won't burn in this pit people who
865 live in clean surroundings don't become sick as often as people who
866 lives in the filthy places . is that clear
- 867 **Class:** yes
- 868 **Mr Fatty:** so now you care I I give you one book you also XXXX or
- 869 **Caroline:** yea
- 870 **Mr Fatty:** huh?
- 871 **Caroline:** yea what do you want me to do? to
- 872 **Mr Fatty:** no to give you one just read it y. you look
- 873 **Caroline:** oh no I can see #this boy's yes #
- 874 **Mr Fatty:** #oh you can see from this boy no problem # yes once
875 more again let me read .. why are you digging that big hole father asks
876 Ebou Ebou's father stopped for a moment and looked at his son . I want
877 to make a deep pit where we can throw all out empty tins and bottles
878 he said that is a good idea it will help to keep our garden tidy agreed
879 Ebou not only tidy but also clean his father said if we leave dirty tins
880 and rubbish around flies will come and settle on them they like to eat
881 rotten decaying food some of the dirt will stick to their legs then they
882 come to into our house and settle on our food that is how germs tran
883 tran sorry that is how germs travel from one place to another I don't
884 understand said Ebou well suppose our neighbour Mr Jassey leaves
885 dirty bits of food in tins outside his house this food can be bad and full
886 of germs flies will come and settle on the food {clears throat} to eat it
887 then they may come to our house and settle on the food which we are
888 about to eat the germs from the dirty food next door will pass onto the
889 food we are going to eat I see said Ebou so we are lucky that Mr Jassey
890 keeps his compound clean and we must keep our compound clean too
891 can I help you to dig the pit yes you can said his father and everyday I
892 want you to burn all the old papers and boxes and you put all the
893 rubbish which won't burn in this pit which won't burn in this pit people
894 who live in clean surrounding don't become sick as often as people
895 who lives in the filthy places . is that understood
- 896 **Class:** yes
- 897 **Mr Fatty:** who can try
- 898 **Pupil:** me

- 899 **Pupils:** me me
- 900 **Pupil:** me
- 901 **Mr Fatty:** yes Douda . I want you pay attention and open your ear if I see you
902 talking I will send you out of the class . yes read
- 903 **Pupil:** why are you digging XXX that big hold father asked Ebou Ebou's
904 father stopped for a moment and looked at his his son I want to make a
905 deep pit where we can throw all our {clears throat} XXX he said that
906 that a a good idea it will help us to keep our garden tidy XX not only
907 tidy but also clean his father said Ebou XXXXXXXXX flies will come
908 and settle on them they like to eat rot
- 909 **Mr Fatty:** rotting
- 910 **Pupil:** he said from XX
- 911 **Mr Fatty:** food
- 912 **Pupil:** some of it XXXXX will stick
- 913 **Mr Fatty:** some of the dirt d i r t
- 914 **Pupil:** will stick to their legs then then they come into our house and settle on
915 our food that is how germs are moved from one place to another I
916 know I don't understand Ebou . wells
- 917 **Mr Fatty:** well hmm suppose our neighbour
- 918 **Pupil:** suppose our neighbour Mr Jassej XXX dirty bit XXX
- 919 **Mr Fatty:** dirty bits of food
- 920 **Pupil:** out at his house these foods can be bad and full of germs flies will
921 come and settle on the food to eat it then they may come to our house
922 and settle on the food which we are about to eat [Mr Fatty - hmm] then
923 the the germs from the dirty XXXX will pass on the food we are going
924 to eat I see said Ebou so we are lucky that Mr Jassej keeps his
925 compound clean and we must keep our compound clean can I help you
926 to dig the pit yes you can said is father and everyday I want you to
927 burn all the old papers and XXXX and put all the rubbish which burn
928 which won't burn
- 929 **Mr Fatty:** which won't
- 930 **Pupil:** which won't burn into this pit [Mr Fatty talks to another adult very
931 quietly] people who live in clean surroundings don't became sick as
932 often as people who live in filthy places

- 933 **Mr Fatty:** filthy places NEXT yes Douda that is wonderful . yes now I need a boy
934 yes Mr Jallow [calling child] you read it louder
- 935 **Pupil:** why are you digging that big hole Ebou's father stopped XXXXXXXX
936 [classroom noise obscures reading only occasional words heard]
- 937 **Mr Fatty:** flies will come and settle on them
- 938 **Pupil:** flies will come and settle on them they like [classroom noise obscures
939 reading only occasional words heard]
- 940 **Mr Fatty:** to eat it
- 941 **Pupil:** child continues to read [classroom noise obscures reading only
942 occasional words heard]
- 943 **Mr Fatty:** onto the food
- 944 **Pupil:** child continues to read [classroom noise obscures reading only
945 occasional words heard] yes you can said his father and everyday I
946 want you to burn all the old papers and boxes and put all the rubbish
947 and put all the rubbish which XXX burn
- 948 **Mr Fatty:** yes which won't burn in this pit
- 949 **Pupil:** which won't burn [classroom noise obscures reading only occasional
950 words heard]
- 951 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 952 **Pupil:** which [classroom noise obscures reading only occasional words heard]
- 953 **Mr Fatty:** yes the last one is Sumaile

Appendix 6 Sample of Semi-Urban School Transcript

FB4MGrade5POPFAMENG

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

/kɛstion/ = pronunciation information

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = Fula

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** [classroom noise for 74 seconds] yea that's perfect thank you [classroom noise for
2 57 seconds]
- 3 **Mr Camara:** there are still children there they are coming
- 4 **Caroline:** #yea that's fine #
- 5 **Mr Camara:** #they are still coming XXXXX #
- 6 **Caroline:** it's empty yea that's OK anyway put this on just on your shirt somewhere about
7 here . and then these bits just go into a pocket somewhere the wire is quite long so
8 . just into a pocket over here or . trouser
- 9 **Mr Camara:** I put this in the pocket
- 10 **Caroline:** yes fine [classroom noise for 7 seconds]
- 11 **Mr Camara:** oh let me put it here . here is fine
- 12 **Caroline:** yea
- 13 **Mr Camara:** its fine huh?
- 14 **Caroline:** yea and then this just goes into your pocket as well
- 15 **Mr Camara:** OK I have to put this into pocket OK no problem
- 16 **Caroline:** that's it OK and don't #worry about it #
- 17 **Mr Camara:** #it's on huh? #
- 18 **Caroline:** yea it's on don't worry about its fine just
- 19 **Mr Camara:** OK just put it off let me bring my cupboard key it's locked OK don't worry it's
20 open don't worry
- 21 **Caroline:** OK

- 22 **Mr Camara:** its open [classroom noise for 12 seconds] XXXX [undecipherable local language]
23 [classroom noise for 22 seconds] **ali kang jelleh minela muneketa bi nfana keta**
24 **toubabo leti bi** *why are you laughing at me what happened today I am also a*
25 *toubab* [Mr Camara later explained that the children were laughing at him
26 because of the microphone, saying that he was a 'toubab' Mr Camara enjoyed the
27 joke] [classroom noise for 9 seconds] Sebou . can you go to the principals office
28 and bring cellotape . cellotape [classroom noise for 24 seconds] **anyanta**
29 **waralaleh** *it should be bigger*
- 30 **Child:** XXXXX
- 31 **Mr Camara:** **al kakarr molu soso** *do not contend with people* [difficult to translate because
32 English is not expressive enough but Mr Camara was trying to express to some
33 children not to get into arguments with each other] . [the children were making
34 name cards for their groups, an activity they had done before, Mr Camara gives
35 instructions to individuals] a **i wara** *make it bigger* . **foi mang nyin tajeh nyin ta**
36 **jiibeh bang** *haven't you seen this person's look at this person's look at this one*
37 [classroom noise for 4 seconds] how is the blackboard is it OK? # the
38 #blackboard can you see it
- 39 **Caroline:** #yes yes #
40 yes its fine its perfect #I'm# just looking at all your wonderful posters
- 41 **Mr Camara:** #OK# OK OK
- 42 **Caroline:** did you make all of these
- 43 **Mr Camara:** yea yea {laugh} I made some of them are inside but I cannot paste them
- 44 **Caroline:** yea
- 45 **Mr Camara:** I don't have cello to and the wall is
- 46 **Caroline:** yea
- 47 **Mr Camara:** it's old now
- 48 **Caroline:** yea
- 49 **Mr Camara:** its long time they don't have paint so when you put it there it has to come down
- 50 **Caroline:** yea
- 51 **Mr Camara:** so I have to use the . the stapling machine you know this should be
- 52 **Caroline:** oh yes yea
- 53 **Mr Camara:** part of the another corner like English should be there . but I don't have cello tape
54 and others I have to use the stapling machine to #put it up #
- 55 **Caroline:** #yea yea # they're very good
56 pictures [classroom noise 7 seconds]

- 57 **Mr Camara:** Lala . come and clean the board .. undecipherable local language [mumbling to
58 self] [classroom noise 11 seconds] come come . **XXX afo eyeh dasamo kae**
59 **eekanang batu** *XXX tell them to have breakfast and not wait for me* [Mr Camara
60 was supposed to meet sports curriculum teachers from another school to arrange
61 inter school competitions] [classroom noise 36 seconds] hmm
- 62 **Pupil:** XX felt pen XXX
- 63 **Mr Camara:** the felt pen is going round .. the felt pen is going round is here it has to be big
64 write write it big ok
- 65 **Pupil:** XX sir here
- 66 **Mr Camara:** yes anywhere . but you know it should face like this where people are seeing it
67 [classroom noise 2 seconds] **alita londilla bang** *why don't you make it stand*
68 [referring to name card] hurry up and sit down . come come come here those
69 coming late just stand there **eema daa jeh** *don't you see his/her mouth* [Mandinka
70 does not differentiate between male/female pronouns] [classroom noise 4
71 seconds]
- 72 **Pupil:** you are lying you are lying
- 73 **Mr Camara:** hey don't use that word here . [undecipherable] local language [classroom noise 7
74 seconds] Fatoumata **riisa ta eeya makoi** *take the razor blade and help him* . come
75 in come in [classroom noise 11 seconds] let me see [spoken quietly to an
76 individual child]
- 77 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 78 **Mr Camara:** [speaking to individual children] why are you coming to disturb here [classroom
79 noise 6 seconds] put one here those two XX [classroom noise 6 seconds] what's
80 the problem . why do you come late
- 81 **Pupil:** XXXXX
- 82 **Mr Camara:** aha . did you all come to garden today [children take turns to weed the school
83 garden and water the plants. They usually do this before and after school.]
- 84 **Pupils:** no [classroom noise 9 seconds]
- 85 **Mr Camara:** how many of you have come to garden today . garden those who came to garden
86 this morning sit down what about the rest what was the problem [classroom noise
87 5 seconds] **ha?** *yes?* what's the problem [classroom noise 21 seconds] Saikou do
88 that for the whole group . use the whole group to do that just two let the writing
89 face this way [classroom noise 6 seconds] XXX [poss child's name]
- 90 **Pupil:** its its here XXXXX Saikou XXX

- 91 **Mr Camara:** **nyin bondi jang eeya sambananjang nyin domandingo londii jang** *remove this*
92 *from there and put it here put these little one here* just two is OK put another one
93 there . now . can you keep quiet and answer to your names [classroom noise 9
94 seconds] Oumie sit down . now answer to your names [Mr Camara calls the
95 register, children respond 'present' or 'not yet'. During the register a child is told to
96 sit down and stop making noise, another child comes into the room and is told
97 'OK sit down' a group of children arrive and Mr Camara admonishes them - 'those
98 who are just coming can you keep quiet you found us not talking can you keep
99 quiet please . OK' as Mr Camara calls 'Lamin' some children answer not yet
100 others say present, he calls again 'Lamin' the boy walks into class and says
101 present the class laugh "Lamin come . why are you coming late . what's the
102 problem . can you dress yourself put your bag and dress yourself look at your
103 collar" continues with register "is Abdou in"
- 104 **Pupils:** no no #yes yes #
105 **Mr Camara:** #Abdou Surname #
- 106 **Class:** yes
- 107 **Mr Camara:** where is Abdou [classroom noise 9 seconds] you have not been coming to school
108 since last week what's the problem where do you spend your Tobaski [Muslim
109 celebration] . where do you spend the Tobaski . in Banjul . and what does your
110 father say
- 111 **Pupil:** XXXXX
- 112 **Mr Camara:** he has gone to where . Mecca . but don't you know that the school have opened sit
113 down [classroom noise 11 seconds] did you greet me today did you greet me
114 today no did you greet Caroline can you do that quickly before we start our lesson
115 [children stand up]
- 116 **Class:** [standing in sing song voice] good morning madam welcome to grade five green
- 117 **Caroline:** thank you good morning children
- 118 **Class:** [children sit sing song voice] thank you madam [classroom noise 6 seconds]
- 119 **Mr Camara:** now . what's the date today class
- 120 **Class:** today is Thursday eleven zero one two thousand and seven
- 121 **Mr Camara:** Thursday . who can help him to spell Thursday . Thursday yes Sanja
- 122 **Pupil:** t h u r
- 123 **Mr Camara:** say it louder
- 124 **Pupil:** t h u r s d a y
- 125 **Mr Camara:** d a y . is that correct class

- 126 **Class:** yes [classroom noise 24 seconds]
- 127 **Mr Camara:** yes Maimuna can you help me to spell January
- 128 **Pupil:** j a n u a r
- 129 **Mr Camara:** louder
- 130 **Pupil:** j a n u a r [classroom noise 15 seconds]
- 131 **Mr Camara:** so today is Thursday eleventh January two thousand and
- 132 **Pupils:** #six #
- 133 **Pupils:** #seven #
- 134 **Mr Camara:** and seven its six or seven
- 135 **Class:** seven
- 136 **Mr Camara:** two thousand and seven OK I heard somebody who saying two thousand and six
137 now before we start our first lesson you know I have told you since Monday that
138 you have to change your time time has to change . and you have to change with
139 time now before you wake up in the morning find out that its almost seven o'clock
140 see almost half of the class came late today OK and this is second term you don't
141 have much to do we have only three months to go OK so get up early in the
142 morning take bath do whatever you want to do prepare and come to school do not
143 be late OK that's very important if you want to stay home like that at the end of
144 the day what you expect to do you will not finish it OK now our first lesson today
145 is going to be on population and family life education .. now last term if you can
146 remember we talked about an important topic that is puberty . and in this topic
147 [child coughs] there were sub topics that is changes at puberty puberty itself and
148 cleanliness [pronounced clean lee ness] at puberty now already we have discussed
149 . puberty as a topic and changes at puberty . today we are going to look at
150 cleanliness at puberty . this going to be our topic today but before we go to our
151 main topic [Mr Camara's mobile phone rings] before we go to the main topic
152 itself can we remind ourself what do we mean by . the word puberty who can
153 remind the class what is puberty what do we say about that . Saitou can you come
154 and clean this . who wants to remind the class [classroom noise 64 seconds] [Mr
155 Camara writes on the board] noise please . OK now what we understand about
156 puberty . last time we discussed about it we said I gave you two examples about
157 the twins Senatou and Hassanatou OK when they reach at their puberty stage they
158 experience something in their body from the ages of twelve thirteen fourteen
159 normally we say eighteen nineteen years OK so at the age twelve thirteen
160 fourteen begin to experience some of the changes in your system OK what are
161 some of these changes do we or do boys and girls experience during puberty what
162 are some of these changes . yes Mariama
- 163 **Pupil:** wet dreams

- 164 **Mr Camara:** ha?
- 165 **Pupil:** wet dream
- 166 **Mr Camara:** wet dream . which sex experience wet dream is it boys or girls
- 167 **Pupils:** boys boys
- 168 **Mr Camara:** boys . and what again
- 169 **Pupil:** period period
- 170 **Mr Camara:** say can you say it loud
- 171 **Pupil:** period
- 172 **Mr Camara:** period who experience period
- 173 **Class:** girls
- 174 **Mr Camara:** that's the girls and what is the other name for this period what is the other name
- 175 **Pupil:** um
- 176 **Mr Camara:** what is the other name . somebody said period and [Mr Camara writes on board]
177 wet dream .. period . or menstruation OK. menstruation yes Abdoulie . you want
178 to say something Yusupha
- 179 **Pupil:** pregnant
- 180 **Mr Camara:** huh?
- 181 **Pupil:** pregnant
- 182 **Mr Camara:** erm say it louder so that everybody can hear
- 183 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 184 **Mr Camara:** is that correct class
- 185 **Pupils:** no no no no
- 186 **Mr Camara:** say it again
- 187 **Pupil:** pregnant
- 188 **Mr Camara:** pregnant now we are not talking about . that we are talking about the changes .
189 boys and girls experience at puberty
- 190 **Pupil:** um

- 191 **Mr Camara:** what grows there
- 192 **Pupil:** um
- 193 **Mr Camara:** what happens to the armpit
- 194 **Class:** hair
- 195 **Mr Camara:** hair grow
- 196 **Pupils:** XXXXX
- 197 **Mr Camara:** OK [classroom noise 6 seconds] [writes on board] under the
- 198 **Class:** armpit
- 199 **Mr Camara:** and what
- 200 **Pupil:** and private area private XXX
- 201 **Mr Camara:** and /aaaand/
- 202 **Class:** private area [Mr Camara writes on board]
- 203 **Mr Camara:** and the genital . area . that one is for both
- 204 **Class:** boys and girls
- 205 **Mr Camara:** both boys and
- 206 **Pupils:** #boys and #
- 207 **Mr Camara:** #girls /girlssss# and what again
- 208 **Pupil:** boys their voice becomes loud and
- 209 **Pupils:** XXX
- 210 **Pupil:** their voice
- 211 **Mr Camara:** their voice box
- 212 **Pupil:** loud deep
- 213 **Mr Camara:** becomes big
- 214 **Pupil:** XXX and deep and
- 215 **Pupils:** loud loud and loud

- 216 **Mr Camara:** aha what about the girls
- 217 **Class:** their voice gets low and nice
- 218 **Mr Camara:** their voice
- 219 **Class:** becomes small and nice
- 220 **Mr Camara:** becomes small . mhm
- 221 **Pupil:** and boys girls gets breasts and come out
- 222 **Mr Camara:** the breasts
- 223 **Pupils:** come out come out [Mr Camara writes on the board]
- 224 **Mr Camara:** yes [child with very small voice speaks] Mr Kujabi [teacher from another class]
- 225 **Pupil:** outside
- 226 **Mr Camara:** he said
- 227 **Pupil:** you pass
- 228 **Mr Camara:** I pass [classroom noise for 48 seconds] [noise can be heard from next door
229 classroom] OK lets continue .. now we have the breasts will get bigger for the
230 boys sorry girls their voice box becomes small hair grows under the armpit and
231 genital area wet dream period or menstruation . now all these things are changes
232 which both boys sorry boys and girls experience during puberty and today our
233 topic is going to be cleanliness at puberty after experience OK some of these
234 changes in our body what do we need to do like here when you have wet dream
235 for the boys boys used to have wet dream and girls receive their menstrual period
236 . menstruation what we call period OK again both boys and girls hair grow under
237 their armpit and the genital area OK now this are very important area if you reach
238 at puberty you need to clean yourself that's why this topic is very important and I
239 have . a group work to do here . for each of these group I am going to give you
240 five minutes you discuss in your group what are some of this things we need to do
241 when we reach at puberty stage .. now groups are already labelled we have give
242 groups we have group Bonga . we have Tilapia . we have Barracuda we have
243 Whale and we have Mudskipper good Mudskipper . and I am going to give you
244 papers . now you are going to write for me when you experience this changes
245 what are you going to do what do you think you should do like if you have wet
246 dream what should you do as a boy or a girl you have menstruation what should
247 you do . or y. sh. both boys and girls to sweat . whether you play or whether you
248 work you must sweat what do you need to do so that you can be clean do you
249 need to stay like that [some children say 'no'] what are you going to do that's what
250 I want you to write on the paper for five minutes then groups are coming to
251 present we discuss OK
- 252 **Class:** yes

- 253 **Mr Camara:** good .. how many groups do we have
- 254 **Class:** five
- 255 **Mr Camara:** five groups OK [classroom noise for 32 seconds] can I have one from each group
256 . can I have one from each group [classroom noise for 15 seconds] alright did all
257 the groups get their papers . did you all get your papers
- 258 **Class:** yes [problem with recording]
- 259 **Mr Camara:** now listen listen . hello
- 260 **Class:** hi
- 261 **Mr Camara:** hello
- 262 **Class:** hi
- 263 **Mr Camara:** now listen now what I want you to do is I want you to discuss in your groups OK
264 what do we need to do if we reach at this stage . or already you've experienced
265 these things what do we need to do to stay clean I want each group to write for
266 me two
- 267 **Pupil:** two
- 268 **Mr Camara:** two things why what do we need to do to clean ourselves when we reach at
269 puberty OK I want you to discuss in your group find a secretary who is going to
270 write for you and write in write on the papers that's just for five minutes I give
271 each group five minutes to do that [classroom noise for 5 seconds] and it doesn't
272 mean that only one person should do all the thing its a group discussion discuss
273 among yourself what do you need to do OK to make yourself clean when you
274 reach at puberty st. the changes [children settle down to work they talk in local
275 languages while in their groups] [classroom noise for 60 seconds] I hope the noise
276 I hear is about discussion you are discussing are you discussing
- 277 **Class:** yes
- 278 **Mr Camara:** good [classroom noise for 40 seconds] now question number one listen look at the
279 board why do adolescents need to take special care to keep clean already if you
280 experienced some of these changes why do you need to take special care to keep
281 clean that's question one two [classroom noise for 47 seconds] [Mr Camara
282 writes on the board] two what things should they do to keep clean OK now if you
283 look at number one why do they need to keep themselves clean OK why do you
284 need to keep yourself clean for example if you sweat for the whole day you sweat
285 whether you work or not you will sweat or if you experience wet dream OK do
286 you need to stay like that
- 287 **Pupil:** no

- 288 **Mr Camara:** what do you need to do so that's what the question is asking you why why do you
289 need to keep yourself clean . two what things should they do to keep clean if you
290 experience these thing what should you do . OK that's what I want you to write
291 for me and er one for this two for this one and two for this one [classroom noise
292 for 21 seconds] who is writing for your group . pick on somebody write the
293 questions down . who is writing for you .. what are you laughing better write
294 when you stop laughing who is writing for you you are the secretary . OK
295 [classroom noise for 9 seconds] OK this group has already start answering the
296 question I can see some of their answers .. time is going I give you only five
297 minutes to do this .. except you yourself are speaking that language local
298 language in my class hmm? [classroom noise for 8 seconds] . what do you need to
299 do why do adolescents need to take special care to keep clean . if you have wet
300 dream if you sweat . you stay like that what will happen . hmm? what will happen
301 . for example if you sweat what will happen **ni tarata munakaki?** *if you sweat*
302 *what will happen ni tarata ekakinyadi if you sweat how do you behave*
- 303 **Pupil:** child answers in local language [undecipherable]
- 304 **Mr Camara:** **ekanora** *you will smell* you will smell **foyaenora durong** *you must smell* OK so
305 this are some of the things . right right don't feel I don't know what why are you
306 laughing write whatever you know . why [classroom noise for 8 seconds] what
307 are you looking in this book . better to pack this book . Maimuna are you writing
308 or are you just looking at me . what do you need to do [classroom noise for 18
309 seconds] very good this other group soon they will finish
- 310 **Pupil:** hey Mr Camara
- 311 **Mr Camara:** yes . is good is good even if you get one is fine [classroom noise for 6 seconds]
312 you have to discuss and write it is not only one person who should be writing
313 [classroom noise for 10 seconds] no noise please [classroom noise for 37
314 seconds] this boy can you take this to Lamin Mr Surname take it to Mr Surname .
315 **Mr Surname yabulaja yena yabulaja** *can you take this to Mr Surname you*
316 *leave it there and come back* [classroom noise for 9 seconds] now after discussion
317 you have to choose somebody who is going to present for the group . and make
318 sure let it be somebody who can face the class very well [classroom noise for 8
319 seconds] that's right even if you have few its OK [classroom noise for 11 seconds]
320 write write before you do say write it there what you are saying [classroom noise
321 for 5 seconds] give it to others XX to write people like Nyassa and others let them
322 write [classroom noise for 5 seconds] just write what you know [classroom noise
323 for 10 seconds] Maimuna still now you can write why not you give it to
324 somebody who can write [classroom noise for 5 seconds] two minutes more
325 [classroom noise for 11 seconds] write what you know write what you know and
326 don't feel shy to discuss . I think in the beginning of this topic this is what I said .
327 it's not a topic that you need to feel shy . I told you last term it is a topic that
328 concerns you and concerns everybody . and is part of the syllabus [classroom
329 noise for 8 seconds] who is going to present for your group . Howa . Yaya said he
330 is going to present . OK its left to you to decide . decide who is going to present
331 for you if Howa can present well give it to her [classroom noise for 12 seconds] a
332 minute more [classroom noise for 34 seconds] what do you need to do why do
333 adolescents need to take special care to keep clean . why do you need to keep

- 334 clean .. for example if you sweat **ni tarata** *if you sweat* OK if you have wet
335 dream or you have menstruation **ne mae ku munakaki** *if you don't take shower*
336 *what will happen* . huh **ebi sunkana mola** *you will be smelling to people* so those
337 are the simple things you are asked . OK so **ni** *if* if you have wet wet dream **ni**
338 **taranta** *if you sweat* **enyaneta ka munaka** *what should you do* is what I'm asking
339 . it's as simple as that [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 340 **Pupil:** XX teacher
- 341 **Mr Camara:** yes
- 342 **Pupil:** Mr Surname [teacher of another class not part of the study] XXXXXXXX
- 343 **Mr Camara:** a paper
- 344 **Pupil:** local language [very quiet]
- 345 **Mr Camara:** undecipherable local language [child in background calling teacher] yes write
346 number two its almost time . it is almost time [classroom noise 12 seconds] it is
347 almost time [classroom noise 11 seconds] now let groups are ready to present
348 [classroom noise 15 seconds] Mumbari why are you lying on the table when
349 people are discussing [classroom noise 8 seconds] OK it is time . which group is
350 going to start present . OK lets have group Tilapia lets have group Tilapia what's
351 the problem its OK what do you want to add . who is going to present
- 352 **Pupils:** children call out
- 353 **Mr Camara:** Awa Surname cannot present give it to Yaya Awa said no it is not a force give it
354 to Yaya [classroom noise 7 seconds] Yaya . can you take the paper and go and
355 present . OK lets go to Mudskipper are you through . Mudskipper are you through
356 OK they are still on it Whale Bonga [classroom noise 12 seconds] now let's all its
357 it's time is finished now stop writing time is finish stop write whatever you dis.
358 you write that's what we are going to discuss . Saikou before you explain it to me
359 what about you present it yourself .. OK we start presenting with Bonga . Bonga
360 the presenter come out [classroom noise 5 seconds] group Bonga Saikou go
361 yourself go out give the paper to Saikou [classroom noise 17 seconds] yes aha
362 now can you listen now somebody is coming to present on behalf of group Bonga
363 go there .. stop talking in your groups and go hey can you concentrate here
364 [classroom noise 10 seconds] good morning how are you how is the morning you
365 are welcome samindabideh korritanatay undecipherable local language [loud
366 noise from the classroom and most of the conversation is drowned out] OK let me
367 just come . excuse me let me attend to this guy . is one person looking for me .
368 wait wait .. boy
- 369 **Visitor:** Surname
- 370 **Mr Camara:** yes . aha local language upper basic local language xxxxxxxxxxxxx[classroom
371 noise 9 seconds] yes Maimuna .. hello
- 372 **Class:** hi

- 373 **Pupil:** #good morning class #
 374 **Pupil:** #hello # #good morning #
 375 **Class:** #morning #
- 376 **Pupil:** my name Maimuna Surname I represent /represent/ [children laugh] I represent
 377 /represent/
- 378 **Mr Camara:** I am representing
- 379 **Pupil:** I represent my group Bonga
- 380 **Mr Camara:** hmmm
- 381 **Pupil:** clean yourself . when you .
- 382 **Mr Camara:** when you . when you have #wet dream #
 383 **Pupil:** #when you# have wet dream go and clean yourself
- 384 **Mr Camara:** hmh good clap for her {class claps} go and clean yourselves OK next group .
 385 Barracuda Barracuda [classroom noise 11 seconds] Barracuda who is going to
 386 present hey I don't want push and pull let somebody go pick the paper what she
 387 write there who write this who write this who write this who write it
- 388 **Pupil:** Kaddy it is last
- 389 **Mr Camara:** Kaddy go and present it .. KADDY go and present it [classroom noise 13
 390 seconds] Kaddy I have already write your name **atcha** *expression used to animals*
 391 *and children to get them to move* [classroom noise 4 seconds] yes Kaddy
 392 [classroom noise 14 seconds] did you give it to Mr Surname local language
 393 xxxxxxxxxxxxxx yes Surname [Kaddy's surname] we are waiting on you Kaddy
 394 lets go to Mudskipper Mudskipper Yusopher . Surname [classroom noise 6
 395 seconds] **hie** *exclamation to call attention Wolof or Mandinka* if we don't reach
 396 your group can you keep quiet to the rest group Tilapia be careful OK you were
 397 the first to ask to present you cannot and we are still coming back to you . yes
 398 [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 399 **Pupil:** good morning class
- 400 **Class:** good morning
- 401 **Pupil:** my my name is Kaddy I am representing /representing/ {children laugh}
- 402 **Mr Camara:** I am representing local language xxxxxxxxxxxxxx [classroom noise 7 seconds]
- 403 **Pupil:** I am res.
- 404 **Mr Camara:** continue . what do you need to do why do adolescents need to take special care to
 405 keep clean what do you have for us [classroom noise 16 seconds] yes Yusopher
 406 what do you have for us [classroom noise 11 seconds] what do you have for us

- 407 wet dream wet dream so you cannot pronounce that word if you have wet dream
408 aha [classroom noise 11 seconds] if you have wet dream what do you need to do
409 yes Yusopher if you have wet dream what should you do . to make yourself clean
410 what should you do
- 411 **Pupil:** wash yourself [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 412 **Mr Camara:** yes [classroom noise 10 seconds] what should you do Isra yes anybody from the
413 group what should you do if you have wet dream
- 414 **Pupil:** wash clean yourself after you XXXXX {children laughing}
- 415 **Mr Camara:** aha stand up and say it Saikou [classroom noise 3 seconds] ay listen I am not
416 asking you yes Saikou what should you do
- 417 **Pupil:** XXX clean yourself XXXX wash
- 418 **Mr Camara:** you wash your body . very good . sit down {children clap} aha aha I don't want to
419 hear that Tilapia that's your turn now Tilapia [classroom noise 9 seconds]
420 somebody is presenting listen please
- 421 **Pupil:** [classroom noise 2 seconds] I am I am representing group tilapia clean cleanliness
422 at puberty boys when you have when you have p. wet dream you need to take
423 bath so that you can be clean
- 424 **Mr Camara:** hmmm
- 425 **Pupil:** girls when you have period you need to take bath so that you can be clean
- 426 **Mr Camara:** {clapping} very good clap for her . very good this is what we want very good
427 Malang very good . Whale Isatou take the paper and come and present . give it to
428 Isatou . Asha [classroom noise 5 seconds] time is going and before you come
429 Barracuda decide who is going to present for you decide
- 430 **Pupil:** morning class
- 431 **Class:** good morning Miss Surname {children laugh}
- 432 **Pupil:** my name is Isatou Surname I am representing Whale [classroom noise 18
433 seconds] you have to be clean you have to clean yourself you must clean yourself
434 every time {clapping}
- 435 **Mr Camara:** every time OK what did she say if you have wet dream you must clean yourself
436 every time what about for the girls if they experience menstruation what did they
437 need to do Tilapia did they stay like that
- 438 **Pupils:** no
- 439 **Mr Camara:** OK lets go to Barracuda the last group to present . group Barracuda Bintou is
440 coming to present [classroom noise 7 seconds]

- 441 **Pupil:** my name is Bintou Surname I am representing Barracuda when you when you
442 have wet dream you have to wash yourself {clapping}
- 443 **Mr Camara:** aha {clapping} good good let's clap for the presenters let's give them triple clap
444 [ritual clapping 'clap clap clap pause clap clap clap pause single clap shout hey']
445 good for all those who present excuse me let me pass this paper [Mr Camara
446 leaves the class] [classroom noise 7 seconds]
- 447 **Visitor:** #Camara# [Mr Camara goes to another classroom]
- 448 **Mr Camara:** #samindabideh *good morning* # fine fine Gibba let me see the principal
449 [classroom noise 26 seconds] [Mr Camara and another teacher discuss the
450 presence of a sports committee in the school and the fact that Mr Camara cannot
451 attend because he is being observed. NB Not Transcribed - very fast code-
452 switching and the other class teacher does not have a microphone making the
453 exchanges difficult to decipher translators couldn't distinguish voices and much
454 of the speech]
- 455 **Visitor:** #local language#
- 456 **Mr Camara:** #OK OK thank you# very much **abarraka** *thank you* how is the morning where is
457 Bakary
- 458 **Visitor:** Bakary is in this class in his class [classroom noise 19 seconds] so all the people
459 there are they aware
- 460 **Mr Camara:** er yes they are aware of . they are aware **local language** they have all signed .
461 there is another meeting but **local language** they are sticking this morning **local**
462 **language** yes they have already arrived the people some people have started
463 arrived so maybe before eleven fifteen . **local language** because right now
464 toubabo [white person/visitor] in my class . but Ceesay will be there and others
465 maybe eleven fifteen **local language** and we finish the meeting [school noise 51
466 seconds] these people are start coming
- 467 **Visitor:** huh?
- 468 **Mr Camara:** sport guys they are start coming
- 469 **Visitor:** but you are busy XXXX
- 470 **Mr Camara:** yes I told Gibba
- 471 **Visitor:** OK OK
- 472 **Mr Camara:** mix of local language and English as Mr Camara and other teacher organise the
473 visiting group [Not Transcribed - very fast code-switching and the other class
474 teacher does not have a microphone making the exchanges difficult to decipher]
475 [school noise 45 seconds]
- 476
- 477 **Mr Camara:** boy

478 **Visitor:** {finger click} [indicates for children to stand] XXXX

479 **Grade Three:** good morning Mr Camara welcome to grade three green

480 **Mr Camara:** sit down

481 **Grade three:** thank you Mr Camara thank you teacher

482 **Mr Camara:** local language and English discussion between Mr Camara and other teacher
483 [school noise 15 seconds] local language [Mr Camara returns to his classroom]
484 OK [classroom noise 11 seconds] we have strangers here that's why I was just
485 going

486 **Caroline:** oh OK

487 **Mr Camara:** we supposed to have sports meeting

488 **Caroline:** oh

489 **Mr Camara:** but somebody is going to pre. represent me there

490 **Caroline:** OK

491 **Mr Camara:** yes

492 **Caroline:** if you need to go then

493 **Mr Camara:** no no don't worry I'll be here I'll be able somebody will represent me there

494 **Caroline:** oh OK

495 **Mr Camara:** they are coming from the other schools we have a sports meeting but that will not
496 affect me you'll continue yeah OK now we have all seen what the groups have
497 done they have all did well now it is very important when you experience this
498 changes at puberty like wet dream or menstruation or period or when hair grows
499 under the arm now normally this hair whenever you work even when you don't
500 work you will sweat and when this sweat gets dry it needs to be washed clean if
501 you don't wash yourself clean you will smell that's why if you reach at this place
502 the cleanliness you have to wash your body everyday OK in order to avoid
503 unpleasant smell OK anytime you pass people they say this guy is smelling OK
504 because you don't take bath regularly ok boys need to take bath with clean water
505 and soap [pronounced sop] OK when they experience wet dream and when they
506 sweat OK girls when they experience this menstruation they have to use clean
507 water and most of the time they will say you use vinegar OK you use vinegar
508 or lime in that water OK and you bath with it hot water but we don't say water
509 that is so much extreme hot OK so that you will be clean anytime you are sitting
510 with people you smell you will smell very fine OK but when you experience this
511 changes you don't take bath you want to stay like that your scent is not going to
512 be nice that is why as boys and girls when you reach at puberty you experience
513 these changes you need to clean yourself with clean water and soap that is why

514 one of the presenters said boys when they experience wet dream they have to take
515 bath with clean water that's wonderful girls also menstruation they have to use
516 clean water some people say you add lime or vinegar OK because of the the blood
517 now as I told you this period normally what happen is you will take out blood OK
518 when unfertilised eggs is burst already the blood that comes out you need to use
519 that clean water to clean yourself up OK so that you can look fine OK so thanks
520 to all those who present it was a very nice presentation OK and when you reach at
521 puberty also as I said hair grows under the armpits and the genital area this need
522 to be clean OK it needs to be clean because when you sweat is going to dry and
523 when you dry it will smell and that smell is going to be very bad that's what we
524 call unpleasant smell OK now any question any question on this cleanliness at
525 puberty . girls you don't have any question

526 **Pupils:** no

527 **Mr Camara:** anybody with a question . are you sure

528 **Pupils:** yes

529 **Mr Camara:** are you sure . yes somebody have a question . homework we will do that later I
530 gave you homework

531 **Class:** yes

532 **Mr Camara:** good on mathematics we'll do it

533 **Pupil:** yes

534 **Mr Camara:** we'll do it this our first topic today OK any question . now what do you need to do
535 as boys and girls as boys and girls when you experience puberty changes at
536 puberty what do you need to do

537 **Pupil:** wash yourse.

538 **Mr Camara:** aah?

539 **Pupil:** wash yourself

540 **Mr Camara:** you clean yourself now what will happen if you don't wash up yourself what will
541 happen

542 **Class:** you will smell

543 **Mr Camara:** you will smell badly you will smell badly is this for both boys and girls

544 **Class:** yes

545 **Mr Camara:** yes . so means cleanliness at puberty is very important OK now take out your
546 population note books and you get this notes down take out your books can I have
547 the papers from each group the papers you have write . take out your notes papers

548 [classroom noise 4 seconds] papers now take out your notes and we get these
549 down [classroom noise 11 seconds] can you go and sit down what's the problem
550 go and sit down [classroom noise 11 seconds] if you want to sharp your pencil
551 can you go to the corner and sharp your pencil this what I always tell you go to
552 the corner yes its time for writing what do you want [classroom noise 6 seconds]
553 hi what's the problem you what's wrong with you . take out your notes book
554 population notebook [classroom noise 5 seconds] yes stop going up and down go
555 and sit down you

556 **Visitor:** [another teacher comes in to ask for something] XXXXXXXXXXX tipex tipex

557 **Mr Camara:** tipex no tipex is not with me . ah see Mr Surname you know Mr Surname . grade
558 three one two three four second to last class . Yusopher can you sit down take out
559 your notes book population and get this notes down [classroom noise 94 seconds]
560 [sound of writing on board] start copying and stop talking [classroom noise 86
561 seconds] stop talking and start writing [classroom noise 172 seconds] [someone
562 comes in to talk with Mr Camara]

563 **Visitor:** XXXX

564 **Mr Camara:** OK

565 **Visitor:** XXXXXX

566 **Mr Camara:** we are through [means we are finished] [classroom noise 49 seconds] who is this
567 still sharpening your pencil who is this hmm? Maimuna Surname start working
568 and stop playing [classroom noise 152 seconds] quick quick . take your time and
569 write [classroom noise 25 seconds] that's the end of lesson one

570 **Caroline:** OK that's good what lesson will you do next

571 **Mr Camara:** next is English

572 **Caroline:** OK

573 **Mr Camara:** English language .. some of my seats are damaged that's why they are

574 **Caroline:** yea

575 **Mr Camara:** they are not comfortable in their seats

576 **Caroline:** when will they be repaired

577 **Mr Camara:** pardon

578 **Caroline:** will they be repaired the seat

579 **Mr Camara:** the seat?

580 **Caroline:** hmm

- 581 **Mr Camara:** yea yea they will be repaired the principal is in the process
- 582 **Caroline:** OK
- 583 **Mr Camara:** yea this we are the the last one to do
- 584 **Caroline:** yes yes
- 585 **Mr Camara:** but it was not enough for the whole school
- 586 **Caroline:** yea
- 587 **Mr Camara:** yea aha [classroom noise 40 seconds] [Mr Camara indicates microphone and
588 asks about switching it off] may I put it off
- 589 **Caroline:** #no its fine its good good# [classroom noise 11 seconds]
- 590 **Mr Camara:** #OK fine # [calls to school secretary] Mariama **master leh ..bung kono** *where is*
591 *the headmaster .. in the house* **local language** [school noise 173 seconds] [sound
592 of cupboard being opened and pots being being moved] **local language** and
593 English discussion [classroom noise 20 seconds] **local language** are you busy
594 **local language** yes .. boy morning [school noise 111 seconds] [writing on board]
595 [classroom noise 184 seconds] Yusopher what is the problem [classroom noise 76
596 seconds] now can you all look at this thing for . when boys and girls can you
597 change it add s there when boys and girls is that what you write you write boy
- 598 **Pupils:** yes XX wrote boys
- 599 **Mr Camara:** you write boy
- 600 **Pupils:** yes
- 601 **Mr Camara:** add boys OK [classroom noise 26 seconds] now is er lesson is almost over there
602 are just two three minutes to go [classroom noise 34 seconds] **local language**
603 [classroom noise 48 seconds] now lets this spend this two minutes to read what
604 you have write . who wants to read from the board who wants to go and lead us ..
605 who wants to try I said you want to try . reading . where is that stick . who wants
606 to try . Yusopher . can you all look at the blackboard .. now you have to read after
607 him
- 608 **Class:** when boys and girls reach
- 609 **Mr Camara:** puberty
- 610 **Pupil:** #puberty they are #
- 611 **Class:** #they are #
- 612 **Mr Camara:** they are reading after you take your time start again
- 613 **Pupil:** when boys and girls reach puberty

- 614 **Class:** when boys and girls reach puberty
- 615 **Pupil:** they have to take .. sp sp
- 616 **Mr Camara:** special care
- 617 **Pupil:** special care of . their .
- 618 **Mr Camara:** now they are reading after you you have to take your time they have to take
619 special care
- 620 **Pupils:** they have to take special care
- 621 **Class:** they have to take special care
- 622 **Pupil:** of . their . their
- 623 **Pupils:** bodies bodies
- 624 **Pupil:** bosy bodies bodies
- 625 **Pupils:** of their bodies
- 626 **Mr Camara:** of their bodies
- 627 **Class:** of their bodies
- 628 **Pupil:** to to to av. [children call out the words to the reader]
- 629 **Mr Camara:** to avoid
- 630 **Pupil:** to avoids
- 631 **Mr Camara:** unpleasant /un ples ant/
- 632 **Pupil:** unpleasant sm.
- 633 **Mr Camara:** un pleasant smell there is a full stop
- 634 **Pupil:** unpleasant smells
- 635 **Mr Camara:** good try good try sit down . who wants to try continue from there . yes
636 [classroom noise 9 seconds]
- 637 **Pupil:** hairs . under the . hairs under the hairs in the under arm armpit area can XX sweat
- 638 **Class:** #the hairs under the # armpit area can XXXXXX
- 639 **Mr Camara:** #this is too much XXXXXXXX # OK can you keep
- 640 quiet let her read alone aha

- 641 **Pupil:** the the hairs in the under arm under arm
- 642 **Class:** the hairs in the
- 643 **Mr Camara:** don't read she is reading alone aha
- 644 **Pupil:** the hairs in the under arm armpit area can trap sweat
- 645 **Mr Camara:** hmm
- 646 **Pupil:** so can the hairs around the genital area sweat can become stale and smell
647 unpleasant . stay clean and avoid unpleasant smells adolescent boys and girls
648 should more often when they wash they must take a.
- 649 **Mr Camara:** extra
- 650 **Pupil:** extra care to clean their genitals and armpits
- 651 **Mr Camara:** hmm
- 652 **Pupil:** boys should wash their genitals with soap and clean water girls can add lime and
653 vinegar to the bath water
- 654 **Mr Camara:** hmm
- 655 **Pupil:** XX clean XXX
- 656 **Mr Camara:** {clapping} good try who wants to read {clapping} who wants to read [classroom
657 noise for 6 seconds] aha lets have the next readers [classroom noise for 5
658 seconds] there is a mistake here .. can you all change this should bath more often .
659 OK . should bath often . good now look at the board can you all look at the
660 blackboard when boys and girls can you read after me
- 661 **Class:** when boys and girls
- 662 **Mr Camara:** reach puberty
- 663 **Class:** reach puberty
- 664 **Mr Camara:** they have to take
- 665 **Class:** they have to take
- 666 **Mr Camara:** special care
- 667 **Class:** special care
- 668 **Mr Camara:** of their bodies

- 669 **Class:** of their bodies
- 670 **Mr Camara:** to avoid
- 671 **Class:** to avoid
- 672 **Mr Camara:** to avoid
- 673 **Class:** to avoid
- 674 **Mr Camara:** unpleasant smells
- 675 **Class:** unpleasant smells
- 676 **Mr Camara:** what do you understand about the word unpleasant smells if you don't take bath
677 how would you look like . ahh? you will
- 678 **Class:** smell
- 679 **Mr Camara:** smell OK that's what we call unpleasant smell is that smell going to be bad or a
680 nice one
- 681 **Pupils:** bad
- 682 **Mr Camara:** bad smell
- 683 **Pupil:** yes
- 684 **Mr Camara:** OK . the hairs in the underarm
- 685 **Class:** the hairs in the underarm
- 686 **Mr Camara:** that's the armpit we are talking about the
- 687 **Pupils:** armpit
- 688 **Mr Camara:** the armpit OK . area
- 689 **Class:** area
- 690 **Mr Camara:** can trap sweat
- 691 **Class:** can trap sweat
- 692 **Mr Camara:** what is sweat
- 693 **Pupils:** children call out
- 694 **Mr Camara:** ahhh?

- 695 **Pupils:** **taroo** *sweat*
- 696 **Mr Camara:** **taroo** *sweat*. OK so can the hairs
- 697 **Class:** so can the hairs
- 698 **Mr Camara:** around the genital area
- 699 **Class:** around the genital area
- 700 **Mr Camara:** sweat can become
- 701 **Class:** sweat can become
- 702 **Mr Camara:** stale
- 703 **Class:** stale
- 704 **Mr Camara:** and smell unpleasant
- 705 **Class:** and smell unpleasant
- 706 **Mr Camara:** now when you sweats as you relax what happen . if you sweats and you relax
707 what happen
- 708 **Pupils:** the sweat becomes dry
- 709 **Mr Camara:** hm becomes dry and when it becomes dry what will happen it will change your
710 sweat will change and you smell very badly OK . to stay clean
- 711 **Class:** to stay clean
- 712 **Mr Camara:** and avoid unpleasant smells
- 713 **Class:** and avoid unpleasant smells
- 714 **Mr Camara:** adolescent boys and girls
- 715 **Class:** adolescent boys and girls
- 716 **Mr Camara:** should bath
- 717 **Class:** should bath
- 718 **Mr Camara:** should bath
- 719 **Class:** should bath
- 720 **Mr Camara:** more often

- 721 **Class:** more often
- 722 **Mr Camara:** when they wash
- 723 **Class:** when they wash
- 724 **Mr Camara:** they must take extra care
- 725 **Class:** they must take extra care
- 726 **Mr Camara:** to clean their genitals
- 727 **Class:** to clean their genitals
- 728 **Mr Camara:** and armpits
- 729 **Class:** and armpits
- 730 **Mr Camara:** boys should wash their genitals
- 731 **Class:** boys should wash their genitals
- 732 **Mr Camara:** with soap
- 733 **Class:** with soap
- 734 **Mr Camara:** and clean water
- 735 **Class:** and clean water
- 736 **Mr Camara:** girls can add lime
- 737 **Class:** girls can add lime
- 738 **Mr Camara:** and vinegar
- 739 **Class:** and vinegar
- 740 **Mr Camara:** to the bath water
- 741 **Class:** to the bath water
- 742 **Mr Camara:** for thorough cleansing
- 743 **Class:** for thorough cleansing
- 744 **Mr Camara:** OK now what you have been saying that's what I write here OK what the groups
745 have presented if you experience some of these things you need to clean up
746 yourself more often you need to take bath OK and when you come to the girls
747 they have to add lime or vinegar in the water so that they can get more clean OK

748 so that's all for this lesson and our next lesson is going to be English language on
749 word searching [classroom noise for 64 seconds] population is over now we are
750 now moving to English if you are writing hurry up and finish [classroom noise for
751 29 seconds] now lets close our books and look at the board [classroom noise for 6
752 seconds] population puts your books in the bag now [classroom noise for 10
753 seconds] what is our topic in English today

754 **Pupils:** word search

755 **Mr Camara:** #word searching #
756 **Pupils:** #searching #

757 **Mr Camara:** now in this word searching what do we mean you are given words already there
758 are words on the chalk board here OK this words are found there are words that
759 are hidden in the longer words which I am going to give you I have some words
760 on the cards which I am going to give it to you and we are going to find this word
761 that are hidden in the longer words after doing that we are going to circle their
762 shape in the longer words OK and can we look at the words together what is the
763 first word here

764 **Class:** the

765 **Mr Camara:** can you spell the letters say the letters

766 **Class:** t h e

767 **Mr Camara:** what is t h e

768 **Class:** the

769 **Mr Camara:** the can you all say it

770 **Class:** the

771 **Mr Camara:** the

772 **Class:** the

773 **Mr Camara:** the

774 **Class:** the

775 **Mr Camara:** the

776 **Class:** the

777 **Mr Camara:** the letter are

778 **Class:** the letters are

- 779 **Mr Camara:** the letters are
- 780 **Class:** t h e
- 781 **Mr Camara:** the letters are
- 782 **Class:** t h e
- 783 **Mr Camara:** the letters are
- 784 **Class:** t h e
- 785 **Mr Camara:** good how do you pronounce that
- 786 **Class:** the
- 787 **Mr Camara:** how do you pronounce it
- 788 **Class:** the
- 789 **Mr Camara:** the next to that
- 790 **Class:** on
- 791 **Mr Camara:** on the letters are?
- 792 **Class:** o n
- 793 **Mr Camara:** how do you pronounce it
- 794 **Class:** on
- 795 **Mr Camara:** on
- 796 **Class:** XXX
- 797 **Mr Camara:** can you all say it
- 798 **Class:** on
- 799 **Mr Camara:** next to that
- 800 **Class:** in
- 801 **Mr Camara:** the letters are?
- 802 **Class:** i n
- 803 **Mr Camara:** again

- 804 **Class:** i n
- 805 **Mr Camara:** what is i n
- 806 **Class:** in
- 807 **Mr Camara:** next to that
- 808 **Class:** at
- 809 **Mr Camara:** the letters are?
- 810 **Class:** a t
- 811 **Mr Camara:** a t
- 812 **Pupil:** a
- 813 **Mr Camara:** what is a t
- 814 **Class:** at
- 815 **Mr Camara:** at next to that
- 816 **Class:** and
- 817 **Mr Camara:** the letters are
- 818 **Class:** a n d
- 819 **Mr Camara:** a n d
- 820 **Pupils:** calling out
- 821 **Mr Camara:** what is a n d
- 822 **Class:** and
- 823 **Mr Camara:** and . the next letters are
- 824 **Class:** am
- 825 **Mr Camara:** what the letters are
- 826 **Class:** a m
- 827 **Mr Camara:** a m how do we pronounce it
- 828 **Class:** am

829 **Mr Camara:** am
830 **Class:** am
831 **Mr Camara:** last one
832 **Class:** up
833 **Mr Camara:** the letters are
834 **Class:** u p
835 **Mr Camara:** what is u p ?
836 **Class:** up
837 **Mr Camara:** up . OK so we have the can you all say it
838 **Class:** the
839 **Mr Camara:** on
840 **Class:** on
841 **Mr Camara:** in
842 **Class:** in
843 **Mr Camara:** at
844 **Class:** at
845 **Mr Camara:** and
846 **Class:** and
847 **Mr Camara:** am
848 **Class:** am
849 **Mr Camara:** up
850 **Class:** up
851 **Mr Camara:** the
852 **Class:** the
853 **Mr Camara:** on

854 **Class:** on
855 **Mr Camara:** in
856 **Class:** in
857 **Mr Camara:** at
858 **Class:** at
859 **Mr Camara:** and
860 **Class:** and
861 **Mr Camara:** am
862 **Class:** am
863 **Mr Camara:** up
864 **Class:** up
865 **Mr Camara:** the
866 **Class:** the
867 **Mr Camara:** on
868 **Class:** on
869 **Mr Camara:** in
870 **Class:** in
871 **Mr Camara:** at
872 **Class:** at
873 **Mr Camara:** and
874 **Class:** and
875 **Mr Camara:** am
876 **Class:** am
877 **Mr Camara:** up
878 **Class:** up

- 879 **Mr Camara:** ok these are the words right now just like let me give you one example . if I
880 should write a word like this u p o n OK are you watching u p o n u p o n what is
881 u p o n can you pronounce it
- 882 **Pupils:** up on
- 883 **Mr Camara:** ahhh?
- 884 **Pupils:** upon
- 885 **Mr Camara:** again
- 886 **Class:** upon
- 887 **Mr Camara:** again
- 888 **Class:** upon
- 889 **Mr Camara:** upon again
- 890 **Class:** upon
- 891 **Mr Camara:** again
- 892 **Class:** upon
- 893 **Mr Camara:** which of the following words can be found in this longer word which of them can
894 be found there
- 895 **Pupil:** up and on
- 896 **Mr Camara:** up and
- 897 **Pupils:** on up and on
- 898 **Mr Camara:** we have up u p and we also have
- 899 **Class:** on
- 900 **Mr Camara:** o n . so you can see we have up and we have on OK now lets look at this word s o
901 a p s o a p which among the words can be found in this word look at the words
902 can be found in the longer word . is there any word that can be found there
- 903 **Class:** no
- 904 **Mr Camara:** no
- 905 **Pupil:** s o
- 906 **Mr Camara:** no lets look at this one s o u p

- 907 **Pupils:** up u p yes u p
- 908 **Mr Camara:** which of the word can be found there
- 909 **Pupils:** up u p
- 910 **Mr Camara:** ahhh?
- 911 **Pupils:** #calling out #
- 912 **Mr Camara:** # u p # so you circle it this time around last time we were underlining it but this
- 913 time time you are going to
- 914 **Class:** circle
- 915 **Mr Camara:** circle it . circle the shape and you have so the word is so OK the word is #so #
- 916 **Class:** #so #
- 917 **Mr Camara:** now lets have another one erm lets say m a t t e r OK you also have c o m e OK
- 918 who can come and underline the words that can be found in the longer word
- 919 **Pupils:** calling out teacher me teacher me
- 920 **Mr Camara:** put your hands down put your hands down [next instance said very slowly and
- 921 firmly] put your hands down put your hands down . put your hands down just put
- 922 your hands down put your hands down now we have m a t t e r [children join in
- 923 with last few letters] let's have one girl from Bonga . one boy from Whale
- 924 [classroom noise for 8 seconds] [said to one child] open your mouth [to class]
- 925 now lets look at them they are going to find this word in the longer word and
- 926 circle there shape lets pick one and do it [classroom noise for 6 seconds] which
- 927 word have you underlined Abdul
- 928 **Pupil:** XXX
- 929 **Mr Camara:** can you say it louder
- 930 **Pupil:** on
- 931 **Mr Camara:** on . did Fatou get it right
- 932 **Class:** no
- 933 **Mr Camara:** [quietly] no
- 934 **Pupils:** teacher me teacher me
- 935 **Mr Camara:** just sit down stand there Fatou come {clapping} . one girl from Barracuda
- 936 [classroom noise for 6 seconds] don't rub it don't rub it wait [classroom noise for
- 937 11 seconds] {clapping} wait {clapping} what letter did you underline go back
- 938 there go back what letter did you underline

- 939 **Pupil:** a t
- 940 **Mr Camara:** a t what is a t
- 941 **Class:** at
- 942 **Mr Camara:** ahhh?
- 943 **Class:** at
- 944 **Mr Camara:** at Fatoumata so you are XX you have underlined m a do we have m a here
945 {clapping}
- 946 **Class:** no {clapping}
- 947 **Mr Camara:** we don't have m a hey . if I don't ask you to clap don't clap please OK wait if I ask
948 to clap you can clap [classroom noise for 9 seconds] lets have more words
949 [classroom noise for 33 seconds] one girl one boy [classroom noise for 12
950 seconds]
- 951 **Pupil:** XXXXXX
- 952 **Mr Camara:** don't call me please now look at them they are going to circle this word in the
953 longer word . Oumi what letter what word have you circled
- 954 **Pupil:** a t
- 955 **Mr Camara:** what is a t
- 956 **Pupil:** at
- 957 **Mr Camara:** at do you have at here
- 958 **Class:** yes
- 959 **Mr Camara:** yes is down there Ebrima what have you underlined
- 960 **Pupil:** a n d
- 961 **Mr Camara:** a n
- 962 **Pupil:** d
- 963 **Mr Camara:** d
- 964 **Pupil:** no
- 965 **Mr Camara:** you think that's correct

- 966 **Pupils:** no yes no
- 967 **Mr Camara:** is it correct
- 968 **Class:** yes yes yes
- 969 **Mr Camara:** good is correct is correct a n d do we have a n d here
- 970 **Class:** yes
- 971 **Mr Camara:** yes and we have a n d lets have Lamin Lamin Surname the last one for Lamin
972 Surname t h e m Lamin go and underline the word that is hiding in the longer
973 word . hi can you lessen the noise there give him a way [classroom noise for 7
974 seconds] Kaddy Surname can you sit where you are and you stop talking please .
975 Lamin what have you underlined t h e what is t h e
- 976 **Class:** the
- 977 **Mr Camara:** the is it found here
- 978 **Class:** yes
- 979 **Mr Camara:** yes clap for all those who participate give them one clap {clapping} very good so
980 this is what I want us to do today word searches now this has to go with the
981 pronunciation like if you look at this word we have upon matter come them cat
982 tandem matter soap soup OK now we are trying to this words this words you are
983 saying are hiding in this longer words like t h e we have t h e in this word them
984 we have somebody underlined but is wrong Fatoumata and Oumi came and
985 underlined this we have a t at here we have two words that can be found there we
986 have u p and we have o n here we have only u p then we have a t we have a n d
987 OK so here with me I have words written on the cards and each group is going to
988 receive their s and what you are expected to do is i am going to give you the card
989 with these longer words with the longer words and you are going to write them
990 here OK write this words on the chalkboard and then search here OK the longer
991 words are here search here and write them properly OK in front of the word itself
992 and then after doing that you will circle OK you will circle them in the longer
993 word I hope you are getting me
- 994 **Class:** yes
- 995 **Mr Camara:** OK let me have one from each group . one from each group take this paper
996 [classroom noise for 6 seconds] {banging on desk} noise please noise is too much
997 the noise is too much **local language** #extended local language and English
998 discussion with visitor greets someone else #
- 999 **Visitor:** # extended local language and English
- 1000 discussion with visitor greets someone else#
- 1001 **Mr Camara:** have you started
- 1002 **Pupils:** yes no

- 1003 **Mr Camara:** ahh?
- 1004 **Pupils:** yes [classroom noise for 8 seconds]
- 1005 **Mr Camara:** now let's do one example on the board put the paper on the table Isatou **local**
1006 **language** [classroom noise for 7 seconds] now lets I have one example on the
1007 board here let me see OK [classroom noise for 7 seconds] hey stay in your group
1008 you are going to do it in your group I am writing an example here [classroom
1009 noise for 41 seconds] now just look at this two example on the board look at this
1010 two example on the board now here we have underlined the letters the word t h e
1011 here again we have t h e this one again we have
- 1012 **Pupil:** t h e
- 1013 **Mr Camara:** and here also we have
- 1014 **Pupil:** t h e
- 1015 **Mr Camara:** t h e
- 1016 **Pupil:** [noise] t h e and
- 1017 **Mr Camara:** ok t h e it should be t h e OK so you that's what you are going to do for the rest
1018 this one is on in at and up so you are going to search from the papers I have given
1019 to you and you circle it [classroom noise for 5 seconds] continue its not only for
1020 one person Saikou you should place the paper down so people can see they tell
1021 you to put this word this one is correct don't write it in your book look at the book
1022 concentrate here you have to join in . did you start
- 1023 **Pupils:** yes
- 1024 **Mr Camara:** are you people part of this group are you part of this group can you go in the
1025 middle can you go in the middle so they can see [classroom noise for 5 seconds]
1026 take your time you have to you have to read the word you have to read the words
1027 to do OK you write there OK [classroom noise for 4 seconds] you have to are you
1028 part of this group
- 1029 **Pupil:** yes sir
- 1030 **Mr Camara:** you have to help him read this word for him OK look at the words start do you
1031 start you are not going to write this this for you OK you are only going to write
1032 the words on the board start there OK . now you are not going to write the letters
1033 or the words on the card I gave you you are not writing this you are not writing
1034 your paper what you are doing is to search this word on the board and write them
1035 down and then you will circle them doesn't mean you are going to write
1036 everything again OK you haven't going to write everything again first of all write
1037 your topic down there word searching write this then write this word properly
1038 write them properly give them space and then do it like this [classroom noise for
1039 7 seconds] hey XXX who is writing

- 1040 **Pupil:** XXXX
- 1041 **Mr Camara:** Mr Camara continues going around the class talking to individual pupils and
1042 small groups] good you people are going to help her to read the words let him
1043 write OK is everybody is discussing who is writing are you people part of this
1044 group are you part of this group [classroom noise for 7 seconds] you are going to
1045 help her to read this word correct word OK then he will circle them I don't want
1046 to see anybody looking at other groups don't don't do it like this [classroom noise
1047 for 14 seconds] hey you better start writing and stop this talking XX if I slap you
1048 you hear [classroom noise for 7 seconds] don't lie on this . some of you are not
1049 even wise [classroom noise for 12 seconds] hey stop all this maths work in class
1050 [classroom noise for 11 seconds] join this people join this people [classroom
1051 noise for 12 seconds] **local language** { children laugh }
- 1052 **Caroline:** you have to sit down sit
- 1053 **Mr Camara:** Name just sit down
- 1054 **Caroline:** then everybody can see
- 1055 **Mr Camara:** can see yes
- 1056 **Caroline:** like this . then everybody can see XXXXXX
- 1057 **Mr Camara:** yea just sit down sit down hmm [classroom noise for 10 seconds] sit down sit
1058 down Fatou move behind just sit down and see the paper . just please put your
1059 name in there . sit down put space like this leave that book and you concentrate
1060 here close all the books [singing heard from next door class] [classroom noise for
1061 33 seconds] hurry up time is going [classroom noise for 8 seconds] just sit down
1062 [classroom noise for 41 seconds] the first group to finished I will mark their book
1063 [classroom noise for 6 seconds] the first group to finish [classroom noise for 32
1064 seconds] hey don't speak local language in my class please try and speak English
1065 OK [classroom noise for 50 seconds] the first group to finish I will mark it
1066 [classroom noise for 18 seconds] did you finish your group [classroom noise for
1067 68 seconds] can you take this thing away [classroom noise for 27 seconds] hey
1068 don't lying on the table move what's wrong with you [classroom noise for 15
1069 seconds] are you with the last one or second to last [classroom noise for 30
1070 seconds] you people have not even started [classroom noise for 9 seconds] hello
1071 how are you you are here
- 1072 **Visitor:** I know you are the XXX
- 1073 **Mr Camara:** welcome **local language** and English discussion you finish . are you through
1074 [classroom noise for 39 seconds] don't make noise [classroom noise for 22
1075 seconds]are you through
- 1076 **Pupil:** yes sir [classroom noise for 84 seconds]

- 1077 **Mr Camara:** what's wrong with your paper [classroom noise for 32 seconds] are you through
1078 Saikou [classroom noise for 19 seconds] are you through
- 1079 **Pupils:** yes
- 1080 **Mr Camara:** give me [classroom noise for 32 seconds] almost all the groups have finished we
1081 are left with one group Bonga . if you are through in your groups can you keep
1082 quiet don't make noise one group is still to be finish [classroom noise for 6
1083 seconds] write the names of your groups members yes [classroom noise for 14
1084 seconds] hie if you are through in your group Nakas can you keep quiet there in
1085 your group . Ebrima go and sit down please [classroom noise for 5 seconds] you
1086 are creating noise in my class can you hurry up and go out what's the problem
1087 what's what's going on what do you want we are in lesson you are disturbing us
1088 huh hurry up and do that and go out [classroom noise for 6 seconds] hi Lala
1089 [classroom noise for 7 seconds] hey if you having some difficulty then if you
1090 don't have it then keep quiet is the way you behave . Abdul your group is too just
1091 sit down there writing your names if you are through write the names of your
1092 group members the back of the paper [classroom noise for 16 seconds] hi stop
1093 that [classroom noise for 35 seconds] we are waiting on your group Saikou .
1094 Ebrima Ebrima . go back to your place Mariama can you sit properly now . sit
1095 properly . sit down you Malang sit down [classroom noise for 5 seconds] Kaddy
1096 Surname sit down [classroom noise for 46 seconds] are you through [classroom
1097 noise for 13 seconds] hey sit down properly [classroom noise for 7 seconds] you
1098 just come to sit down just to make noise [classroom noise for 17 seconds] hey
1099 stop calling people stop calling people [classroom noise for 9 seconds] hey
1100 [classroom noise for 12 seconds] now lets make a conclusion lets look at the
1101 board now . hello
- 1102 **Pupils:** hi
- 1103 **Mr Camara:** hello
- 1104 **Class:** hi
- 1105 **Mr Camara:** can you all stand up [noise of children standing] Abdoulie . hey stop that and
1106 dress properly [classroom noise for 11 seconds] now we have been sitting long
1107 who is going to lead us to stretch ourself can we stretch ourself don't make noise
1108 its not to make noise stretch yourself Ousa everybody go up . this way . this way .
1109 up . forward . sideways . back . down sit down [noise of children sitting] now
1110 almost all the groups were able to find out lets look at the blackboard . almost all
1111 the groups were able to finds out we are only left one group and the following
1112 words in the longer words OK now if you come back from break we are going to
1113 write the rest on the board what you have already find in your groups OK all the
1114 groups are having their papers that's what we are going to write on the board and
1115 circle the hiding word in the longer word OK . are you through
- 1116 **Pupils:** yes
- 1117 **Mr Camara:** are you through [classroom noise for 7 seconds] mix everything . you mixed
1118 everything [classroom noise for 17 seconds] can I have your papers [classroom

1119 noise for 15 seconds] fetch my paper . hi Mustopher can you go and sit down Pa
1120 Surname sit down [classroom noise for 11 seconds] you know that you are
1121 disturbing the class look at how you are shouting you are disturbing the class
1122 [classroom noise for 12 seconds] good did I collect all . you don't put this bread in
1123 your bag I will throw it let me tear it . go out for break [lots of noise]
1124 undecipherable local language

1125 **Caroline:** thank you very much

1126 **Mr Camara:** yea thank you too

1127 **Caroline:** XXXX class

1128 **Mr Camara:** exactly

1129 **Caroline:** can I take this off

1130 **Mr Camara:** yea [noise of microphone being removed] so you are coming back

1131 **Caroline:** yea I'll come back after break

1132 **Mr Camara:** no problem you are welcome

1133 **Caroline:** sorry there's so much wire [laugh]

1134 **Mr Camara:** XXXXX

1135 **Caroline:** thank you very much

1136 **Mr Camara:** thank you

Appendix 7

Sample of Rural School Transcript

BK2maGrade5EngMat

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

/kestion/ = pronunciation information

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = Fula

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** [bell ringing and children coming into classroom for 69 seconds] this
2 this its just so that I don't have to write so many notes so this just clips
3 to your shirt sometime somewhere here and then all of this can just go
4 into a pocket
- 5 **Mr Touray:** OK OK
- 6 **Caroline:** OK . thank you and this is just so I don't have to write
- 7 **Mr Touray:** yea yea so so no problem no problem no problem
- 8 **Caroline:** thank you very much
- 9 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea you are welcome [classroom noise 32 seconds] OK {clears
10 throat} OK please answer to your names OK . you are here I call you
11 you are here you say present OK . OK ah . [Mr Touray calls register]
12 Ebou Surname . you come and share some text and text book here
13 [classroom noise 35 seconds] {clears throat} [classroom noise 15
14 seconds] open your text books to page . fifty four {clears throat}
15 [classroom noise 11 seconds] **membèh jakasiring wobulajeh** *leave*
16 *the one that is mixed up* [classroom noise 36 seconds] {clears throat}
17 **mbatung nghe assist domanding** *let me assist you a little* eh page
18 fifty four open page fifty four **text booksulo mangbeteh yaa** *text*
19 *books are not good* [classroom noise 11 seconds] **fifty four**
20 **ayemunefojeh because akaboleh** *at fifty four what does that say*
21 *because it is removing [meaning the page is missing]* huh? the date OK
22 the date [classroom noise 4 seconds] should be eight not twelve **deh**
23 *there* [classroom noise 8 seconds] page fifty four **ntonya asafeh** *what I*
24 *have said is true write it* [classroom noise 6 seconds] mmm how many
25 of you have not got text books **mojoleh masoto** *how many of you have*
26 *not got text books* . hmm [classroom noise 4 seconds] OK I think you
27 have to join others [classroom noise 6 seconds] Luice Surname **alibeh**
28 **ya sotoleh bang** *do you all have it* [classroom noise 3 seconds] **nying**
29 **sofutaleh** *this is ridiculous* is very serious you know [classroom noise
30 5 seconds] Morri [name] you join others . join these people [classroom

31 noise 15 seconds] we are going to exercise um er thirteen B where you
32 are going to make a sentence from the table first we are going to recall
33 what we have done yesterday . there are some words here we haven't
34 used them some verbs we going to use them to create a sentence OK an
35 example [classroom noise 8 seconds Mr Touray writes on board] now
36 write A .. and B sentences [writes on board] using . using the following
37 verbs [classroom noise 14 seconds] you having to write a and b
38 sentences using the following verbs OK the verbs will follow very
39 soon . draw [classroom noise 4 seconds] pick up . it . drink . book . tear
40 let's just talk about these six and there from there we move to the new
41 topic OK . come silently and go to you place **yebunda sorong** *close*
42 *the door* [classroom noise 6 seconds] X B and B [classroom noise 7
43 seconds] CATCH the ball and B sentence say don't . catch the ball . in
44 making the B sentence you always use don't . a sentence says catch the
45 ball somebody will throw the ball and you catch the ball and b sentence
46 is say don't . catch the ball OK . don't catch . the ball now want a
47 similar sentence to construct a sentence from this XX example here yes
48 Mariama Surname

49 **Girl Pupil:** [reconstructed from field notes] cook the rice

50 **Mr Touray:** first sentence say . COOK the rice . and B you say

51 **Girl Pupil:** XXXXXXXX

52 **Mr Touray:** huh?

53 **Girl Pupil:** [reconstructed from field notes] [same child] don't cook the rice

54 **Mr Touray:** don't . cook . the rice don't cook the rice you going to [pron gonna] use
55 the verbs in a sentence . a says cook the rice that he should cook the
56 rice b says don't cook the rice it means don't cook the rice at all OK lets
57 look and use another . verb in sentence yes . Makalo [name]

58 **Boy Pupil:** [reconstructed from field notes] eat the food

59 **Mr Touray:** EAT the food . can say again eat . the food eat the food and b sentence
60 says

61 **Girl Pupil:** don't eat the food

62 **Mr Touray:** DON'T . eat . the food don't eat the food . yes who will give us another
63 example aha

64 **Boy Pupil:** [reconstructed from fieldnotes] tear the book

65 **Mr Touray:** tear the book [pronounced tear as in cry] . a sentence yea tear the book
66 tear the book and b

67 **Boy Pupil:** don't tear the book

68 **Mr Touray:** don't . tear [pron tear as in cry] the book . don't tear the book now let's
69 go back to this a sentence here tear the book which of these words here
70 is the verb **nying wodolukono jumalong ba ti** *which word is verb*
71 *among these words* verb which one is the verb . you want a /wanna/
72 verb action action where you are doing the action you say tear the book
73 you have verb here and you have noun here which of these three words
74 here is verb aha

75 **Boy Pupil:** tear

76 **Mr Touray:** tear tear just like you hold something and tear it . you hold a paper or
77 clothes and tear it now you are doing action OK whenever you are
78 doing an action that is verb . OK and don't tear the book means you
79 stop tearing the book at all . now let's go to our new topic . this one we
80 have done this yesterday [classroom noise 6 seconds] it is well
81 understood by you [classroom noise 10 seconds] you have seen the
82 table in front of you here

83 **Pupil:** [very faint] yes sir

84 **Mr Touray:** yea make twenty sentences from this table going to [pron gonna] make
85 twenty sentences from this table which means you have one box two
86 box and the last box OK you pick one sentence from this box you pick
87 another one from the other box you pick another one from the other
88 box . the correct ones you join them together to have a an accurate
89 sentence OK you don't just pick randomly like that you go in for the
90 correct ones . you join them together and you have a sentence . let me
91 draw the table on the board [classroom noise 211 seconds] now OK
92 {clears throat} [classroom noise 4 seconds] let us er face the
93 blackboard [classroom noise 7 seconds] you have a first box here you
94 have other box here and you have the last box here . you are going to
95 construct a sentence from this box a sentence of your own join these
96 words together . to have . or to construct an accurate sentence OK . let
97 me give you one sample you can say when I am older I am going to go
98 to England that's a sentence this what we mean by a sentence you join .
99 current words together to have a good sentence words that can match
100 together OK when I am older I am going to go to England that's when
101 I become ah a big ma. when I become old or when I become of age a
102 strong man I am going to go to England OK do you understand that

103 **Class:** yes

104 **Mr Touray:** **aliya understand even in Mandinka kodi** *do you understand even in*
105 *Mandinka not so*

106 **Class:** yes

107 **Mr Touray:** who will give me a similar sample let me write . let's just have three or
108 four examples . sample one [writes on board] when I am older .. I am

- 109 going . to go to England to go to England when I am older I am going
110 to go to England who will give me similar example . yes er Jerhannah
111 [name]
- 112 **Girl Pupil:** [reconstructed from field notes] when I am eighteen I am going to to to
113 university
- 114 **Mr Touray:** yea when I am eighteen . which means when I am eighteen years old I
115 am going to go to the university I am going to go to the university . is it
116 a correct sentence
- 117 **Class:** yes
- 118 **Mr Touray:** yea of course its a very correct sentence [writes on board] when I am
119 eighteen I am going to go to Engl. er going to go to the university
120 University of The Gambia or university of of England or any other
121 country . yea who will give me another sample another sample yes er
122 yes Fatoumata Surname
- 123 **Girl Pupil:** when she finish . when she finish school
- 124 **Mr Touray:** mmm
- 125 **Girl Pupil:** she is going to the . go to . er I am going to the England
- 126 **Mr Touray:** can you repeat that sentence **afo again bang** *say it again*
- 127 **Girl Pupil:** when she finish school . she
- 128 **Mr Touray:** when she finishes school aha
- 129 **Girl Pupil:** when she finishes school
- 130 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 131 **Girl Pupil:** she is going to go to . go she is go to go to England
- 132 **Mr Touray:** ok . when she finishes school she is going to go to England . yea is it
133 correct
- 134 **Class:** yes [not choral]
- 135 **Mr Touray:** yea when she finishes school she is going to go to England which
136 means when she graduate from school from the senior school from the
137 college she is going to go to England she is planning to go to England
138 is it correct [writes on board] when . she . finishes . when she finishes
139 school . comma she is going to go to England . yes who will give us
140 another example .. we have now now now now a boy I want to see
141 different hand .. **na ngha jubeh fonying na nying mang dubeng ba**
142 *let me see whether his (singular) thing is off* . yes Musa Surname can

143 you try [classroom noise 3 seconds] can you try . Musa Surname . yes
144 [classroom noise 6 seconds] hey . look at the black board here . what
145 we are doing here is we are trying to construct a sentence from this
146 table here make a sentence from this table here OK which means you
147 pick . a s. an incomplete sentence here . this are phrase incomplete
148 sentence here pick another one here then you join this one there to have
149 . a good sentence OK this is what others are doing now can you give us
150 an example local language [Fula Language] . yes

151 **Boy Pupil:** [very faint] when I finish

152 **Mr Touray:** stand up .. yes

153 **Boy Pupil:** when I

154 **Mr Touray:** can you help us

155 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXX

156 **Mr Touray:** yea who want to help Musa Surname

157 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXX

158 **Mr Touray:** yes Bakary Musa Surname sit down Bakary stand up

159 **Boy Pupil:** when I leave school XXXXXXXXXXXX

160 **Mr Touray:** OK when .. there is nothing like when I leave school here but when we
161 leave school **woleh bijang** *that is what is here* when we leave school .
162 can you read me that sentence again **afo bang** *say it again*

163 **Boy Pupil:** when we leave school

164 **Mr Touray:** aha

165 **Boy Pupil:** I am going to university

166 **Mr Touray:** no no no no you cannot say when we leave school . I am going to
167 university OK . but when we leave school it means you are many when
168 . five or six of you leave left school among you then you are the one
169 who is will go to learn OK what is sitting here is not I look at this
170 properly when you start with when we leave school it means . the
171 second one here you have when we are going . OK you don't say when
172 we leave school I am I don't have I there I have we aha

173 **Boy Pupil:** when

174 **Mr Touray:** we

175 **Boy Pupil:** when we leave school

- 176 **Mr Touray:** aha . we . **ema jeh B le be janfana** *look here B is here too* . aha . huh?
177 we are going aha
- 178 **Boy Pupil:** we are going to university
- 179 **Mr Touray:** we are going to the university when we leave school we are going to
180 the university who will give other example . yes . sit down
- 181 **Girl Pupil:** when I finish school . I am going to big house
- 182 **Mr Touray:** when .. con aha
- 183 **Girl Pupil:** when I am finish school I am going to big house
- 184 **Mr Touray:** live in a big house .. when I .. when she huh? OK when she finishes
185 school . she is going to live in a big house . is that what is correct when
186 she finishes school . she is going to live in a big house . [Mr Touray
187 writes on board as speaks] when she . finishes . when she finishes
188 school .. she is going . to live . in . a big house what does that means in
189 Mandinka **wor koto mumineti Mandinka kangnoto** *what is the*
190 *meaning of that in Mandinka* when she finishes school she is going to
191 [pron gonna] live in big house yes Kaddy [girl's name] what does that
192 mean in your local language **a koto mu mineti in Mandinka** *what is*
193 *the meaning of this in Mandinka* . huh? **a koto mumineti in**
194 **Mandinka** *what is the meaning of this in Mandinka* . yes
- 195 **Girl Pupil:** #very faint # **XXXXXXXXX karambungo XXXXXXXXXXXXX school**
196 **Mr Touray:** #uh # yea **ningna karambungo mbitaa seela bung**
197 **baa kono** *when I finish school I will go live in a big house* OK **mbitaa**
198 **terla bung baa leh kono** *I will be in a big house* YES . who will give
199 an a another example from this box here . from the last box let
200 someone give us example from the last box here . yes Jerhannah [girl's
201 name] .. [coughs] . hmm
- 202 **Girl Pupil:** I am going to live in . [very faint] **XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX**
- 203 **Mr Touray:** again can you repeat it again . yes
- 204 **Girl Pupil:** Fatoumata XXX
- 205 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 206 **Girl Pupil:** [faint] I am going to live
- 207 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 208 **Girl Pupil:** [faint] **XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX**
- 209 **Mr Touray:** if I pass my exam . I am going to huh?

- 210 **Girl Pupil:** faint
- 211 **Mr Touray:** earn a lot of money . yea this . I pass my exam I am going to earn a lot
212 of money if I pass my exam I am going to earn a lot of money . is she
213 correct
- 214 **Class:** yes
- 215 **Mr Touray:** yes . a very correct sentence what does that means in Mandinka . if I .
216 pass my exam I am going to earn a lot of money . yes errrr . yes Mata
217 [girl's name] .. if I pass my exam I am going to earn a lot of money yes
- 218 **Girl Pupil:** [faint in Mandinka]
- 219 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 220 **Girl Pupil:** [faint in Mandinka]
- 221 **Mr Touray:** yes . yes its true . **ninga examo passi mbeh kodi jamaaleh sotola** *if I*
222 *pass the exam I will have a lot of money* OK if I pass my exam I'm
223 going to earn a lot of money .. yes who will give us another example .
224 aha
- 225 **Boy Pupil:** faint
- 226 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 227 **Boy Pupil:** faint
- 228 **Mr Touray:** if they do well at school . they are going to travel round the world . if
229 they do well at school at school they are going to travel around the
230 world is it correct
- 231 **Class:** yes
- 232 **Girl Pupil:** yes
- 233 **Mr Touray:** yes its correct . if they do well at school . they are going to travel round
234 the world which means if they perform very well at school . they are
235 going to travel around the world . what does that means in Mandinka
236 **wor koto mumineti** *what is the meaning of that* . if they do well at
237 school they are going to travel round the world yes
- 238 **Girl Pupil:** [faint in Mandinka]
- 239 **Mr Touray:** **duniya taamola** *travel the world* OK travel around the world . this
240 time let the girl give us an example . who will give us another .
241 sentence from the from the table . [noise of something dropping to
242 floor] . among the girls I need a girl this time . let one of you give us
243 [taps board] one sentence from this last box here . yes XXXX [possibly

- 244 calling one child's name to come to the board] . aha . can I get one . yes
245 Sumatta [girl's name]
- 246 **Girl Pupil:** [very faint] when I finish school ..
- 247 **Mr Touray:** huh?
- 248 **Girl Pupil:** when I finish school
- 249 **Mr Touray:** when I finish school aha
- 250 **Girl Pupil:** I will XXXXXXXXX
- 251 **Mr Touray:** yea I think we have that already
- 252 **Girl Pupil:** XXXXXX
- 253 **Mr Touray:** OK we don't have it there OK WHEN . I finishes school no not I when
254 she we don't have when I finish school here when she finish school
255 **walibijan** *that's what is there [i.e. that is what is on the board]*
- 256 **Girl Pupil:** when she finishes school
- 257 **Mr Touray:** yes yes yes yes Isa Surname
- 258 **Girl Pupil:** when she finish school
- 259 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 260 **Girl Pupil:** XXXXXXXXX
- 261 **Mr Touray:** eh I think we have that OK . when she finishes school . she is going to .
262 university OK is correct . who will give us who will make another
263 sentence from the table . yes .. yes Jambou Surname
- 264 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXXXXX
- 265 **Mr Touray:** if I . say if I
- 266 **Boy Pupil:** if I XXXXXX
- 267 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 268 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXXX
- 269 **Mr Touray:** live in a big house if I pass my exam I am going to live in a big house
270 if I pass my exam I am going to live in a big house I think almost we
271 have construct nearly ten good sentence from this table now you are
272 going to construct the remaining ten for yourself which you are going
273 to write in your exercise book . OK we have construct on here ten

274 almost ten good sentences from this table . the question here is asking
275 us to make twenty sentences from this table twenty we already we have
276 made nearly ten or almost ten sentences now you do the remaining ten
277 for yourself write in your exercise books OK remaining ten so you
278 have to write only ten good sentences for me different from the ones
279 we have discussed just now **aliamoyeleh** *do you hear*

280 **Class:** yes

281 **Mr Touray:** write ten good sentences for me in exercise books from this table here
282 ten good sentences different from the one we have discussed .. do you
283 understand that **aliamoyeleh** *do you hear* huh?

284 **Class:** yes

285 **Mr Touray:** **ha** yes you make ten good sentences from this table OK . if you want
286 don't even draw the table . you just go straight in writing down the
287 correct sentences one two up to ten **ali yamoi?** *you hear?*

288 **Class:** #yes #

289 **Mr Touray:** #one to ten # different from the ones we have discussed if any of you
290 write any one from here . zero . this one we have discussed this one
291 together . write different one . OK . different ten sentences from this
292 table Mariama **ya understand leh** *do you understand* [classroom noise
293 for 10 seconds] start writing don't waste time [classroom noise for 5
294 seconds] if you want you can close your text book the table is on the
295 board there **nyaleh lafitah aliale lah booko fenke** *if you want you can*
296 *open the book* .. err I drew the table on the board you can look at the
297 board . copy it from the blackboard **imajeh** *you don't see it* table is
298 there . look at the board and make your own sentence [classroom noise
299 for 24 seconds] hey if you don't recognise any where you please let me
300 know **ali yamoye** *do you hear* . huh if you don't recognise any word
301 [classroom noise for 21 seconds] **alasafeh eyamoi** *you write it do you*
302 *hear* ten good sentence OK only ten .. hey **altasi alka tamang tamang**
303 **jang nyadileh** *come and sit down* [to the children in general]
304 [classroom noise for 29 seconds] [teacher addresses observer] can you
305 stop it or its not a problem

306 **Caroline:** no it's fine

307 **Mr Touray:** OK OK OK [classroom noise for 14 seconds] hey hey hey keep quiet
308 and do your work [classroom noise for 4 seconds] **nyalong atolu ninso**
309 **leti yalong nyameng falieh attolu mu faloo leti** *you know you people*
310 *are cows you know what I have told you hear you people are donkeys*
311 [classroom noise for 3 seconds] **alakeh nyaliabung nyata maths** *you*
312 *do it when you are finished we will do maths* [classroom noise for 33
313 seconds] [teacher talks to self while sitting at desk] ahhhh [classroom
314 noise for 8 seconds] ohhhhhh [classroom noise for 5 seconds] hey hey
315 **etarrria molioye parreh itaknyng erase nyadeleh nyngnatingna**
316 **alilah pencilo kacati** *be quick so that we can be ready how do you*

317 *erase your work this is why you break your pencil* [to one child who is
318 taking too long to rub out their work] [classroom noise for 9 seconds]
319 hey [classroom noise for 11 seconds] only ten sentences OK
320 [classroom noise for 70 seconds] hey hey hey MaLamin **ila safero keh**
321 *do your writing* [classroom noise for 47 seconds] hey **muneketah** *what*
322 *happened* [classroom noise for 5 seconds] **nkor muneketah iteh**
323 **safero kela** *I say what happened you better write* [classroom noise for
324 167 seconds] [teacher humms and reads maths text book aloud to
325 himself] why are you not writing ah Mariama . huh? . what [classroom
326 noise for 12 seconds] **imantah pencilo tah ikafo imang pencilo soto**
327 *you had better go and take pencil you said you don't have pencil ..* **ila**
328 **penciloleh** *where is your pencil* [classroom noise for 12 seconds] hi hi
329 [classroom noise for 223 seconds] hey **aliliteria** why even more than
330 **tang parretareh . mbah mark lareh nya contineh .. ning mayeh eda**
331 **yeleh jeh alilah businessso lemu . alitala booko jubehlah** *be quick*
332 *even few people are ready I am going to mark it and we continue if*
333 *anybody open your mouth then that is your business* [meaning- if you
334 don't do it its your problem} [expression - you had better look at your
335 books] [classroom noise for 448 seconds] Ebou Surname .. **eko date**
336 **mu jelliletti** *what date is it .. the eighth* **eko date mu jelliletti** **eighth**
337 *what date is it eight .. hmm?*

338 **Boy Pupil:** huh? [local language] XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

339 **Mr Touray:** eight lemu *that's it*

340 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

341 **Mr Touray:** come for your book [classroom noise for 8 seconds] ahh [classroom
342 noise for 264 seconds] **atcha nymennu safeh alieh dolu sayinkang**
343 **safeh** *get on what I have written you write some of them* [classroom
344 noise for 45 seconds] Fanta Surname [check] come for your book
345 [classroom noise for 56 seconds] hey you should not be writing one
346 sentence more than . once . OK . you cannot write one sentence two
347 times or three times is very wrong only one [classroom noise for 7
348 seconds] it has to be different either the starting or the ending they
349 have to be different but you cannot write one complete sentence . and
350 write the same sentence again the same sentence again or is wrong
351 [classroom noise for 4 seconds] different ones it has to be different you
352 either change the beginning or you change the end there [classroom
353 noise for 43 seconds] [teacher yawns] [classroom noise for 23 seconds]
354 Amadou Surname come for your book you don't write anything here
355 [classroom noise for 5 seconds] Amadou Surname [classroom noise for
356 4 seconds] XXXX [classroom noise for 8 seconds] MaFanta yennahi
357 jahasehdeh *MaFanta you are mixing it up* [classroom noise for 45
358 seconds] Ebou Surname collect the er English text books **yenati** *bring*
359 *them* . er writing from the blackboard [classroom noise for 6 seconds]
360 all the English text books and pack them inside . so **ali be muneh kela**
361 **meny mung pa ray aliba bulalajeh moliyeta** *what are you going to*
362 *do those who are not ready just leave it there we continue . continue*

363 with maths la .. ahh **als nkor als alibedawoda ala danje alibuko**
 364 **landi jang . after moliye men safeh mbomarkla . aliyamoi pur**
 365 **akana along momobeh da man yeh danje .. nga ta maths .. alibe ali**
 366 **fankela ali bereta** *I said wherever you are just stop there and bring*
 367 *your books here . after what you write I'll mark them . you hear do it*
 368 *like that so that she [the observer] will not know whoever stops at*
 369 *where just stop and bring it .. then we go to maths .. make yourselves*
 370 *so that you are ready leave it here [classroom noise for 16 seconds]*
 371 *you finish please bring your books . fold your books here and leave*
 372 *them here . while we go on the other subject .. OK change your seats*
 373 *some of you are very lazy **nimoyesanka atelife abalimuta fo wuraro***
 374 **. nimoyesanka atelife abalimuta fo wuraro .. XXX .. hey . fotebuka**
 375 **mokumomoi** *if I have to go by your standards I'll keep you here till*
 376 *evening . if I have to go by your standards I'll keep you here till*
 377 *evening .. XXX .. hey . you don't understand what people say*
 378 *[classroom noise 5 seconds] hey hey hey go back to your seat*
 379 *[classroom noise for 17 seconds] go go back to your seat . go go go go*
 380 *go go go hey **alifuntimoliyejang tariaye yefunti . hey tar get out here***
 381 *he be quick and get out [classroom noise for 3 seconds] **alifunti hey .***
 382 **folimalon molabejang .. hey funti alibunda soron . X [classroom**
 383 **noise 9 seconds] hey nakeh funtibang molikeh telebatu belorin ..**
 384 **bunda soron** *hey get out don't you know someone is here ... hey get out*
 385 *hey lock the door . X [classroom noise 9 seconds] hey my man get out*
 386 *don't you know people are waiting for you and you are standing lock*
 387 *the door Ebou Surname clean the blackboard [classroom noise for 7*
 388 *seconds] **ali bondi aning date nyin . nkor do nisponge landi ye***
 389 **nyindota woleka seneya** *take out the English and date put the sponge*
 390 *down this other one is more better [classroom noise for 65 seconds*
 391 *teacher talks to himself] hey hey hey keep quiet keep quiet keep quiet*
 392 *its time for maths [classroom noise for 12 seconds] hey **nyin bucketo***
 393 **landi .. nimanbete minna yetakoma alikane ming tablolokan** *put*
 394 *this bucket down .. if anybody want to drink go behind don't drink at*
 395 *the table [classroom noise for 38 seconds] **menibebe diyamukakn***
 396 **bemedjekane nyin moli jangjanta mbekukela wolila** *all those*
 397 *people I am seeing you if we finish here I'll punish you [classroom*
 398 *noise for 81 seconds teacher is drawing on the board] put down your*
 399 *pencils your books rulers and look at the blackboard yeah put down*
 400 *your pencil [classroom noise for 9 seconds] what do we have on the*
 401 *blackboard here .. this one is a different subject maths what do we have*
 402 *what topic do we have on the board yes*

403 **Boy Pupil:** average . distance and time

404 **Mr Touray:** we are going to calculate the average speed distance [pron distang] and
 405 time . the average speech average speed distance and time what do we
 406 mean by average speed . who can tell us what he or she understand by
 407 the word average speed before we go into it **jomalesi fenfono** *who can*
 408 *say something* about average speed all what do you mean by average
 409 speed . the average speed of a moving object . of a moving car moving

- 410 lorry .. yes . speed speed like **fenmenka bori bori fendoron** *something*
 411 *that runs things that run .. yes*
- 412 **Boy Pupil:** bicycle
- 413 **Mr Touray:** no those are example of moving objects bicycles . cars lorries other
 414 things . aha go the average speed what does it means average speed the
 415 average speed of a car like when a car is running . am er its running
 416 with a speed of maybe its running eighty kilometres per hour like every
 417 hour **aka eighty kilometre lebori** *it runs eighty kilometres per hour* at
 418 the end of the day you calculate the average speed **wolamu aye**
 419 **menbebori ya calculate** *that's the total distance if you calculate*] OK
 420 what about distance **munemu distanceti** *what is distance* distance
 421 distance **ali nyanta wolonaleh** *you should know about that distance*
 422 aha
- 423 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXX
- 424 **Mr Touray:** huh?
- 425 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXX? Local language
- 426 **Mr Touray:** yeah distance XX **jangfor** *long {or tall}* OK its called the distance the
 427 distance in between me and you . or the distance between me and the
 428 quarters there [indicates staff quarters within school compound] **fingo**
 429 **ming beh molutema** *things between us* OK the distance what about
 430 the time . for time you all know what time is .. give me some .. few
 431 time you just roughly draw this .. **alle finkedeh** *wait a moment {doesn't*
 432 *translate into English therefore translator's general understanding of*
 433 *teacher's meaning}* let me add this first [classroom noise for 14
 434 seconds] Awa Surname what time do you have
- 435 **Girl Pupil:** XXX quarter past twelve [classroom noise for 40 seconds teacher talks
 436 to self]
- 437 **Mr Touray:** hey keep quiet **jamaleh ka diamou jeh** *who is talking there>* huh huh
 438 [classroom noise for 22 seconds] **bilahé nalkdiamou nalbeh bulal**
 439 **nyolah** *I swear if you keep talking in the class I will have a problem*
 440 *with you* [classroom noise for 16 seconds] **nkor minka diamou**
 441 **nkamoyleh enkamoyleh deh** *I say I am hearing the person who is*
 442 *talking* {addresses the whole class} I am hearing you {referring to the
 443 person who is talking although addresses all} [classroom noise for 50
 444 seconds] Sonna [name] **forma foyeh idabiti bang** *didn't I tell you to*
 445 *shut your mouth* [classroom noise for 38 seconds] **mobisering aballe**
 446 **gbelleh albeh diamoula huh [tut] barri ebatou .. foningyeh ta mbeh**
 447 **lipa kela atola jang huh [tut]** *somebody's here watching you and you*
 448 *are talking huh [tut] but just wait .. until this person left I'll beat you*
 449 *very seriously huh [tut] ahhh* [classroom noise for 171 seconds
 450 teacher writes on board] {clears throat} what can you see on the board
 451 . who can tell me . what this is .. it looks like a watch but it is not a

452 watch like a clock it looks like a clock but is not a clock .. how many
453 of you have ever sat in front of a vehicle . when er um ah .. a car or
454 lorry how many of you have sat in front of a vehicle such as a car or
455 lorry . how many of you have once sat in front of a vehicle such as a
456 car or lorry . in front where the driver is . you sit beside the driver how
457 many of you . **mojema lenitasita moto nyato drivo bala** *who has ever*
458 *sat in front of the vehicle near the driver* . how many of you has once
459 sat in front of a vehicle . lorry . or cars how many of you . who and
460 who else **mineneh sita drivo dala jang mafangola deala . barobeh**
461 **damento** *who sat near the driver at this side where the wheel is* how
462 many of you have once sat there .. so what do you see in front of the .
463 near the bar what do you see there . the steering wheel what do you see
464 . you see a similar thing like this not so

465 **Class:** #yes #
466 **Mr Touray:** # you see# this thing there at the steering wheel . Tido [name] do you
467 know you know what this thing is used for . huh? [classroom noise 6
468 seconds] OK who can tell me what it is used for it is not a watch or any
469 other thing this is called speedometer [pron speedo metre] speedometer
470 it tells the driver the speed at which the vehicle the car or lorry is
471 moving OK it informs the driver the speed at which the car is moving
472 OK when the car is moving very fast this thing moves it stop moving
473 immediately when the car stop moving or when the engine of the car is
474 off . this what this is an example of that one this other speedometer
475 speedometer is not in motion this one is not moving OK **amantara**
476 **movekang** *it's not moving* this is why it is at zero . immediately you
477 start the engine you start moving it will start moving . it will start
478 moving it moves in kilometre per hour kilometre per hour OK when
479 the book. when the vehicle started moving the speedometer start
480 marking . if you went fast it will mark the the big numbers it will show
481 you the speed at which the car is moving OK . this one can be a and
482 this other b speedometer here .. what number does it mark here **ayeh**
483 **mung numberleh mark** *which number does it mark* what number
484 does it mark . yes

485 **Girl Pupil:** eighty kilometres

486 **Mr Touray:** eighty kilometre per hour eighty kilometre per hour here we can
487 understand that the vehicle is moving eighty kilometre per hour . which
488 means every eighty kilometres the vehicle will run every eighty
489 kilometre within one hour every one hour it will cover a distance of
490 eighty kilometre huh? **wolom** *that is* per hour . here the vehicle is
491 covering eighty kilometres in every one hour . in one hour it will cover
492 a distance of of eighty kilometres OK [classroom noise for 5 seconds]
493 we are seeing that rulers are marked in centimetres and metres similar
494 ones you have similar ones . rulers [classroom noise for 9 seconds]
495 weighting scales [classroom noise for 9 seconds] speedometer
496 [classroom noise for 6 seconds] rulers are marked in centimetres and
497 millimetres OK similar thing also the the weighting scales weighting
498 scales **woleh fengkolu** *or things {can refer to anything}* hmm the

499 weighting scales . where do you weight flours and meat and so on they
 500 are weighed in kilograms and grams this one is just centimetre .
 501 centimetres millimetres .. centimetres and millimetres they are
 502 kilograms .. kilograms and grams .. speedometer is used . are marked
 503 in kilometres this ones are marked in kilometres . speedometers are
 504 marked in kilometres all these things are used to measure OK to find
 505 out something you have rulers which are marked in centimetres and
 506 millimetres and is used to measure so many things books and and your
 507 your your plane figures . and weighting scales are also used to it is
 508 marked . in kilo grams and grams which are used to measure the use
 509 kilograms and grams to measure things like what **eka kilograms use**
 510 **kamung measure** *what do you measure with kilogram .. we use*
 511 kilograms and grams to measure things like what who can give an
 512 example . **subolou aning faringo nkawoleh measure ika foworyeh**
 513 **nyadileh English kangoto** *meat and flours are the ones we measure*
 514 *what do they call that in English .. huh? who can give XX yes*

515 **Girl Pupil:** meat

516 **Mr Touray:** meat use kilograms grams to measure meat and what else flour . OK
 517 **ika kilogram keh kawol use** *it's kilograms you use* . and and this other
 518 one this one is called the speedometer . the speedometer it is used to
 519 measure kilometres **aka kilometreso leh measure** *it measures*
 520 *kilometres* . the distance at which the car is moving kilometres lets
 521 have an example here . lets have example one [classroom noise for 12
 522 seconds] the short way of writing kilometre **wolong ningteh** *is thi> km*
 523 finish the short way of writing kilometre per hour km you have stroke
 524 h this one is kilometre .. kilometre per hour . per hour .. that what is
 525 here the short way of writing kilometre per hour write it in that way
 526 OK .. it is that of a gp bus is travelling travelling from Banjul to Basse
 527 as the speedometer shows the bus is moving at a speed of eighty
 528 kilometre example one . the bus is moving at a speed of eighty
 529 kilometre a bus is moving . at a speed at a speed of eighty kilometre
 530 eighty kilometre . per hour at this speed it covers a distance of eighty
 531 kilometres in every hour a bus is moving at a speed of eighty kilometre
 532 per hour which is which means eighty kilometres per hour at this speed
 533 it covers a distance of eighty kilometres in every hour look at the
 534 sentence here a bus is moving at a speed of eighty kilometre per hour
 535 what does that mean . a bus is moving at a speed of eighty kilometres
 536 per hour what does that mean . **wormu menateh** *what is that* . what
 537 does this sentence tell sentence tell us I said it here earlier here . a bus
 538 is moving at a speed of eighty kilometre per hour what does that means
 539 .. huh? how many kilometres does the bus covers in every one hour
 540 how many kilometres cover in every one hour yes?

541 **Girl Pupil:** eighty kilometres

542 **Mr Touray:** yea eighty kilometres it is very simple the sentence itself has answered
 543 itself . the bus covered eighty kilometres in every hour it covers eighty
 544 kilometres in every hour .. in two hours it will cover a distance of one

545 hundred and . when we say in two hours here is every hour what about
546 if we say in two hours a bus is moving at a speed of at a speed of
547 eighty kilometres . in two hour . in two hours a bus is moving at a
548 speed of eighty kilometres in every two hours . yes

549 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXX

550 **Mr Touray:** no in mean in every two hours it moves at a distance of eighty
551 kilometres then when it is going to be in every hour an hour it covers .
552 ooh er eighty kilometres per hour . in in one hour it covers eighty
553 kilometres in two hours it will cover one hundred and you just multiply
554 by eighty one hundred and sixty kilometre per hour er in two hours
555 time in two hours time it will cover one hund. one hundred sixty
556 kilometre per hour kilometre per hour lets solve example one here
557 [classroom noise for 7 seconds] a car is moving moving . a car is
558 moving at a speed of [classroom noise for 6 seconds] a car is moving at
559 a speed of sixty kilometre per hour [classroom noise for 8 seconds]
560 how far . how far does it go in four hours how far does . it go in four
561 hours .. how far does it go in four hours [classroom noise for 8
562 seconds] this is example one example one a car is moving at a speed of
563 let somebody read this for us **doya read bang** *let somebody read* let
564 somebody read . question number one yes

565 **Boy Pupil:** your car is moving at kilometres XXXXXXXX how far does it go in
566 four hours

567 **Mr Touray:** four hours . XXXX a car is moving at a speed of sixty kilometres per
568 hour . how far does it go in four hours how far does it go in four hours
569 lets think of what the sentence is telling us . think of the sentence first
570 if you understand the sentence then you find ways to answer it . what
571 does the sentence tells us a car is moving at a speed of sixty kilometres
572 per hour . in one hour how many kilometres does the car covers . aha

573 **Boy Pupil:** two hundred and fourty

574 **Mr Touray:** mm eer I'm not asking you to answer all . I am asking in one hour I'm
575 not saying in four hours . before you come to the answer you start from
576 a . in o. in in in in one hour how many kilometres does the car covers
577 one hour rek *only* how many kilometres cover

578 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXX

579 **Mr Touray:** yes

580 **Girl Pupil:** sixty

581 **Mr Touray:** yea sixty in one hour lets try to understand the sentence first . it says in
582 one hour the car covers sixty kilometre OK local language OK now
583 how far does it go in four hours now how far does it go in four hours
584 that is the total number of distance distance it will cover in four hours
585 yes XXXX . the total number of distance this car will cover in four

- 586 hours we know that we know that [writes on board] we know that in
587 every hour the car st. the car cover sixty kilometre one hour . sixty
588 kilometre now what about four hour . in four hours the car will cover
589 how many kilometre NAME?
- 590 **Boy Pupil:** twenty hundred and . forty
- 591 **Mr Touray:** two hundred and forty that is we multiply the four hours by . the sixty
592 kilometre per hour because a single hour it covers sixty kilometre per
593 hour so if you ask . er the distance it covers within four hours then you
594 multiply the four hours by the sixty kilometre per hour OK . because
595 four multiplied by sixty . you have how much
- 596 **Boy Pupil:** two hundred and
- 597 **Mr Touray:** two hundred and
- 598 **Boy Pupil:** forty
- 599 **Mr Touray:** forty . kilometres
- 600 **Boy Pupil:** hour
- 601 **Mr Touray:** two hun. no there is not going to be hour there two hundred and forty
602 kilometre . finish there shouldn't write hour the is asking us in four
603 hours how many distance does it cover not the hour here .
604 **aydistanoming** cover rek *the only distance it covers* now in four hours
605 the distance it covers in four hours so its two hundred and forty
606 kilometre not so
- 607 **Boy Pupil:** ok
- 608 **Class:** yes
- 609 **Mr Touray:** yea two hundred and forty kilometre it covers two hundred and forty
610 kilometres in how many hours? in how many hours the girls . the car
611 covers covers two hundred and forty kilometres in how many hours
612 aha . yes . in six hours time no its wrong . it is clearly on the
613 blackboard . yes
- 614 **Girl Pupil:** four hours
- 615 **Mr Touray:** yea we are saying in four hours time the car will cover two hundred
616 and forty kilometre . lets have another example .. lets have another
617 example .. **FIND** the total distance covered in three hours . say find .
618 find the total distance find the total distance . covered in three hours .
619 covered in three hours by a bus travelling at a speed by a bus travelling
620 ... travelling at a speed . speed of seventy . kilometre per hour . seventy
621 kilometre per hour [classroom noise 7 seconds] example two . it says
622 find . the total distance hey **bidongo fucking landi waay** [classroom
623 **noise 2 seconds]** **mulobeh diamoula ibeh bindongo mingkang**

624 **[classroom noise 3 seconds] iteh mang fengno fokapareh ibeh**
625 **diamoula** *put down the fucking bottle [classroom noise 2 seconds]*
626 *people are talking and you are drinking from the bottle [classroom*
627 *noise 3 seconds] you are not very clever [you don't know anything]*
628 *and you are talking [classroom noise 5 seconds] FIND the total*
629 *distance covered in three hours by a bus travelling at a speed of*
630 *seventy kilometre per hour lets try to know the distance it has covered*
631 *and the hour it has covered that distance here we are to find the total*
632 *distance . covered in three hours by a bus travelling at a speed of*
633 *seventy kilometre seventy kilometre .. yes who wants to help us who*
634 *wants to say something . find the total distance covered in three hours*
635 *by a bus travelling at a speed of thirty kilometres per hour [classroom*
636 *noise for 8 seconds] in one hour how many kilometres does this bus*
637 *cover . in one hour time how many kilometres does this bus cover yes*
638 *in one hour . how many kilometres does this bus cover . wait yes .. in*
639 *one hour how many kilometres does it cover huh?*

640 **Girl Pupil:** seventy

641 **Mr Touray:** seventy because it says travelling at a speed of seventy kilometre per
642 hour which means it covers a seventy kilometre in one hour now
643 covered we are looking for the distance it covers in three hours one
644 hour in one hour time it covers seventy . kilometre and what about in
645 three hours time now we are looking for in three hours time the
646 distance it covers . yes

647 **Girl Pupil:** one hundred and twenty

648 **Mr Touray:** yea what do you multiply what do you multiply by what what hour do
649 you multiply

650 **Boy Pupil:** seventy XXXXX

651 **Mr Touray:** that is the the distance you multiply because you already have in mind
652 that . the bus covers er seventy kilometre in one hour time it covers
653 seventy kilometre in one hour time now if you ask the distance it
654 covers in three hour time you just multiply . ahhh the kilom seventy
655 kilometre by three you multiply it by three OK . that is you say three
656 multiply by . seventy is equal to two hundred and ten kilometre . you
657 have two hundred and ten kilometre therefore in three hours it covers a
658 distance of . [writes on board] in three therefore in three hours . in
659 three hours .. it covers a distance of two hundred and ten **kodi** *not so* it
660 covers a distance of two hundred and ten . OK .. wh. the question is
661 saying find the total distance cover in three hours by a bus OK the total
662 distance the c. the bus covered in three hours time . I already you know
663 that it covers ah ah seventy kilometre in one hour you just multiply that
664 by in three hours you have your answer OK .. let's have another
665 example this time one of you have to come and answer this one for me
666 OK one of you have to come and answer this one for me OK one of
667 you have to answer this one **atol fangolehbeh nindong answerla** *you*
668 *will have to answer this one on your own [classroom noise for 28*

669 seconds] ohhhh [classroom noise for 8 seconds] find . this is another
 670 example [writes on board] find the distance covered by a bus
 671 [classroom noise for 17 seconds] find the distance covered .. by a bus a
 672 bus . find the distance covered by a bus in five hours . in five hours . if
 673 it runs at an average speed of . if it runs . if it runs at an average at an
 674 average [classroom noise for 9 seconds] at an average speed of sixty
 675 kilometre per hour sixty kilometre per hour . let me read the sentence
 676 sit [pron shit] up straight .. sit up straight . what's wrong with you
 677 **muneketah** *what happened* .. now look at this question here . it says
 678 find the distance covered by a bus . in five hours . the distance now we
 679 are to find the distance **wolomo borsoye jangfor mingbureh . wati**
 680 **lulu kono** *that is the distance the bus covered . in five hours* OK we
 681 are to find the distance the bus the distance the bus run in five hours
 682 time the distance the bus runs or the distance covered by the bus in five
 683 hours time if it runs at an average speed of sixty kilometre per hour .
 684 now what is the distance covered by the bus . yes .. yes

685 **Boy Pupil:** far

686 **Mr Touray:** ay sit up straight . sit up straight **ikonyadi** *what did you say* .. listen to
 687 the question very well it says find the distance covered by the bus .. in
 688 five hours OK **wolum borso jangforming boreh you know a**
 689 **jangforming boreh aydistano ming cover** *that is the distance*
 690 *covered by the bus you know the distance it covered in five hours* > .
 691 five hours time . **kabawati killing wati fula fo wati lulu aydistano**
 692 **cover** *counting from one to two hours up to five hours the distance it*
 693 *covered within five hours* **buso distano ming cover** *the distance*
 694 *covered by the bus in five hours* OK **nlafita woleh longnah . andung**
 695 **natala {stutter}** *aka every one hour aka distano cover womu*
 696 **sixtyleti sixty kilometre hour killing aka sixty kilometre lecover so**
 697 **hour lulu abijela coverla** *that's what we want to know if in one hour it*
 698 *covers the distance it covered is sixty kilometres in one hour it covers*
 699 *sixty kilometres so in five hours how many kilometres will it cover in in*
 700 *in one hour time it covers ah ah go and go and solve it on the board*
 701 **taya safeh blackboardo bala . ibatimesla nyamengeh yakeh**
 702 **blackboardo bala nya wardo answer nyaming** *go and write it on the*
 703 *blackboard the way you will times it the way I answered the other one*
 704 *the way I answered the other one you go and answer it like that . let me*
 705 *see whether .. you are catching up .. XXXXXXXX ahh XXX and be*
 706 *quiet [classroom noise for 13 seconds sounds of writing on the board]*
 707 **amang bang** *its not finished [classroom noise for 15 seconds]*
 708 **{stutter} ha wodo bedaming {stutter} mtah fotandi** *yes where that*
 709 *other one is complete where m is [classroom noise for 7 seconds] yeah*
 710 *is it correct*

711 **Class:** yes

712 **Mr Touray:** yeah clap for her she has tried [class clap] OK let's work it out and see
 713 we know that in every one hour .. one hour the bus cover sixty
 714 kilometre . in every one hour the bus cover sixty kilometre now we are

715 asked in every five hours how many kilometres will the bus covered
716 five hours here we don't know how many kilometres will the bus
717 covered just multiply this by this multiply this fifty the five by sixty
718 and you have [classroom noise for 4 seconds] three hundred
719 [classroom noise for 7 seconds] its correct she is correct ah three
720 hundred kilometres the bus three hundred three hundred kilometres **iteh**
721 **inga yelelah . ika mineh sino** *you had better open your eyes . what are*
722 *you sleeping for* three hundred kilometres OK . now the bus covered ah
723 it covered in five hours time it covered three hundred kilometres a
724 distance of three hundred kilometres OK find the distance covered by a
725 bus in five hours if it runs at an average speed of sixty kilometres then
726 the distance the bus covered within five hours time is three hundred
727 kilometre .. let's have another . example then we finally have the class
728 work [classroom noise for 18 seconds] hey keep quiet find the average
729 speed of a car [writes on board] the average . average speed . of a car
730 find the average speed of a car that covers that cover [writes on board]
731 that covered a distance [classroom noise for 5 seconds] that covered a
732 distance .. of . one hundred and twenty kilometre .. one hundred and
733 twenty kilometre in two hours in two hours [classroom noise for 6
734 seconds] OK . find the average speed of a car that covered a distance of
735 one hundred and twenty twenty kilometres in two hours in two hours
736 look at the blackboard the question says . find . let's find it together we
737 find the average speed of a car that covered a distance of one hundred
738 and twenty kilometres in two hours . which means . in two hours time
739 the car covers one hundred and twenty kilometre now we find the
740 average speed of a car that covered a distance of one hundred and
741 twenty kilometre in two hours . now we find the average speed we are
742 to find the average speed OK . we know that the car covered how many
743 kilometres does the car covered in two hours time here how many
744 kilometres does it cover in two hours . how many kilometres does it
745 cover in two hours yes

746 **Pupil:** one hundred and twenty kilometres

747 **Mr Touray:** one hundred and twenty kilometres in two hours time it covers . one
748 hundred a distance of one hundred and twenty kilometres in two hours
749 time .. now we are to find average speed what do we do when find the
750 average speed yes

751 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXX

752 **Mr Touray:** here you don't you don't need to multiply we divide because we want
753 to find the average speed so there is nothing like you multiply a car
754 took two hours to cover a distance of . it take two hours to cover a
755 distance of one hundred and twenty kilometres the distance covered is
756 how much [writes on board classroom noise for 4 seconds] the distance
757 covered [writes on board] is equal distance covered is equal to one
758 hundred and twenty kilometre and time taken is equal to . time taken is
759 how much .

- 760 **Boy Pupil:** .. two hours
- 761 **Mr Touray:** time taken is equal to two hours .. two hours therefore cars average
762 speed . therefore cars average . average speed . is equal to how much
763 the cars average speed here is equal to how much in finding out the
764 average speed **jang iba dividlaleh** *here you will divide it you divide .*
765 you divide because it says in two hours time the car travelled a distance
766 of one hundred and twenty kilometre what is the average speed there ..
767 who can divide and tell me the answer **ala divide** *divide it* and tell me
768 the answer [classroom noise for 5 seconds] yes
- 769 **Boy Pupil:** one hundred and twenty divided by two
- 770 **Mr Touray:** no no there is nothing like one hundred and twenty two here **ingya**
771 **bala nya divide ikafo twenty two** *your eyes are seeing I divided it you*
772 *are saying twenty two {you saw me divide it but you are saying 22}* you
773 divide and tell me the answer you have this what I am saying .. yes
774 who has got the answer . the average speed cars average speed is equal
775 to how much
- 776 **Pupil:** XXXXX
- 777 **Mr Touray:** yes
- 778 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXX
- 779 **Mr Touray:** huh?
- 780 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXX
- 781 **Mr Touray:** no is wrong fourteen kilometre where is fourteen
- 782 **Pupil:** fourteen
- 783 **Mr Touray:** fourteen
- 784 **Pupil:** forty
- 785 **Mr Touray:** forty where is forty here . who here you don't you don't you don't you
786 don't multiply you divide . its asking for an average speed the average
787 speed of a car . the car take two hours to cover one hundred and twenty
788 kilometre at two hours what is the average speed .. you divide the two
789 hours by the kilometres it covers [classroom noise for 4 seconds] you
790 divide you divide . and tell me the answer
- 791 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
- 792 **Mr Touray:** other people are working it out we just wait for them [classroom noise
793 for 4 seconds] what is your final answer [classroom noise for 5
794 seconds] the distance covered is one hundred and twenty kilometre and

- 795 the time taken is two two hours . so what is the average speed there .
796 you divide . one twenty by two hours **niya divide ebejeleh sotola if**
797 *you divide it how much will you get* how much do you have
- 798 **Pupil:** XXXXX
- 799 **Mr Touray:** huh?
- 800 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
- 801 **Mr Touray:** **ima divide kukeh** *you didn't divide it properly* .. divide two by [tut]
802 OK lets see here two goes one six times its sixty . sixty .. kilometre
803 sixty .. kilometre per hour sixty kilometre per hour kilometre per hour
804 sixty kilometre per hour that is one kilometre it will cover hour much .
805 sixty kilometre hey that is what its asking for the average speed .. is
806 sixty kilometre per hour every hour it will cover sixty kilometre in two
807 hours time one twenty . that's what is there in two hours time one
808 twenty [classroom noise for 3 seconds] is it ok?
- 809 **Pupil:** yeah
- 810 **Class:** yeah yes [classroom noise for 7 seconds]
- 811 **Mr Touray:** lets have another example .. and this one will work out by you
812 [classroom noise for 24 seconds] XXX this one .. somebody have to
813 come on the board and XXX OK [classroom noise for 19 seconds] find
814 average . speed of .. now we are still on average speed OK another
815 example about average speed find the average .. the average speed
816 {elongated} .. find the average speed of a bus . a bus OK this time let
817 me use a different name [classroom noise for 7 seconds] find the
818 average speed of a train . that covered a distance of . that covered ..
819 covered a distance of [classroom noise for 5 seconds] that covered a
820 distance of hey look at the face the blackboard . that covered a distance
821 of [classroom noise for 22 seconds] that covered a distance of one
822 hundred and .. sixty .. kilometre .. sixty kilometres in . two hours time
823 in two hours . in two hours time .. yes let somebody come and solve
824 this one for us **jamaleh baa solvela** *who will solve it* find the dis. find
825 the speed . of a train find the average speed OK ok find the average
826 speed of a train that covered a distance of one hundred and sixty
827 kilometres in two hours time lets find what is the average speed there .
828 what is the average speed . what is the average speed . open your eyes .
829 sit up straight **siikuke** *sit properly* **SII KUKKE** *sit properly* . yes who
830 want to work it on the board . yes go and work it out .. we find the
831 average speed [classroom noise for 4 seconds] of a train that covered a
832 distance of one hundred and already you know . in two hours time it
833 covered a distance of one hundred and sixty kilometres you will find
834 the average speed go . you find the average speed in in in one in in in
835 in in in one in one hour time the distance it will cover
- 836 **Pupil:** two hour one hundred sixty

837 **Mr Touray:** ah this it is on the board there clearly . on the board . you want to know
838 the the the the the average speed [classroom noise for 4 seconds] want
839 to know the average speed [classroom noise for 40 seconds] OK go
840 and sit down is it correct

841 **Class:** yes [classroom noise for 24 seconds]

842 **Mr Touray:** its correct ah?

843 **Class:** yes

844 **Mr Touray:** yeah its correct the average speed there is eighty kilometres per hour .
845 you you only write eighty kilometres is wrong eighty kilometres per
846 hour .. we are talking about distance here you can say eighty
847 kilometres per hour [writes on board] eighty kilometres per hour
848 [classroom noise for 30 seconds] who can tell me what is the name of
849 this [classroom noise for 2 seconds]

850 **Pupil:** teacher . clock

851 **Mr Touray:** clock is very wrong I said. it looks like a clock but this is not a clock .
852 this is not a clock . yes

853 **Pupil:** watch

854 **Mr Touray:** watch is wrong I I I told you the name of these things here

855 **Pupil:** teacher

856 **Mr Touray:** yes

857 **Pupil:** speedometer

858 **Mr Touray:** this is called speedometer . where can we find this speedometer where
859 can we find this **abe munch bela** *on which thing can we find it*

860 **Pupil:** teacher XXXX

861 **Mr Touray:** you w. will put your hand up where can we find this yes

862 **Pupil:** XXXXX

863 **Mr Touray:** on vehicles cars lorries

864 **Pupil:** on vehicles

865 **Mr Touray:** what is it used for what is this speedometer used **speedometer anafa**
866 **mumineti** *what is the use of speedometer* what is the speedometer used

867 for [classroom noise for 3 seconds] ahh? .. what is is used for what
868 does it measure it measure what . yes

869 **Pupil:** XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

870 **Mr Touray:** yeah it it its . it immediately start working when the car start working .
871 when the car start moving it also start moving it use to measure . ah the
872 d d distance there the the average speed it used to measure the distance
873 the speed of the car OK its simply used to measure the speed of the car
874 when the car is running at . a high speed you see this thing will move
875 fast it will come up to this area here or here or here . when the driver is
876 moving with a very low speed this thing will fall down it will come
877 back here . some people car run at this place here that is forty kilometre
878 per hour . that is not a very big running or twenty kilometre per hour
879 OK . it runs runs up to here it come up to one hundred kilometre per
880 hour [classroom noise for 4 seconds] now lets solve this one
881 [classroom noise for 8 seconds] find the average [classroom noise for 3
882 seconds] find the average speed of a bus .. of a bus .. that covered a
883 distance [writes on board] a distance .. of thirty .. that covered covered
884 a distance of thirty kilometres in twenty minutes . in twenty minutes .
885 this one there is nothing like hours in twenty minutes . who can solve
886 this one . who wants to try . you find this average speed of a bus .. that
887 covered .. a distance of thirty kilometre in twenty minutes [classroom
888 noise for 5 seconds] yes . here you know you have twenty minutes here
889 so you will change this twenty minutes to one hour XXX OK we
890 change sorry we change twenty minutes to hour and see how much we
891 have that is . how many hoe many minutes make one hour .. who can
892 tell me how many minutes make one hour yes

893 **Pupil:** sixty

894 **Mr Touray:** yeah sixty . minutes make one hour so we divide . this twenty by sixty
895 minutes we divide is equal to . twenty XXX once into here is three .
896 one time now you have one time ow one time and we have one time
897 now distance covered [writes on board] is how much OK now this is
898 the time hey this is the time in one hour in in one hour in one over
899 three hours time one time hours time . find the average speed of a bus
900 that runs sorry that covers a distance of thirty kilometre in there is
901 nothing like twenty minutes there so **isafono** *it is possible to say* in one
902 over three hours time one third hours time OK now lets find the
903 average speed lets find the average speed distance covered is thirty
904 kilometre . the distance covered is thirty kilometre . kilometre and time
905 taken [classroom noise for 6 seconds] time take is equal to one over
906 three hours .. I have arranged now let somebody work it out I have
907 arranged there **jamalehsah workno out** *who can work it out*
908 [classroom noise for 5 seconds] lets find the average speed of this bus .
909 yes . yes go . go on the board [classroom noise for 3 seconds] we find
910 average speed . you know when dealing with average speed you
911 always divide [classroom noise for 3 seconds] average speed is equal
912 to your answer [classroom noise for 3 seconds] find the average speed

913 [classroom noise for 5 seconds] find the average speed [classroom
914 noise for 90 seconds] no let me help you you are going out of track
915 [classroom noise for 56 seconds] [Mr Bah - deputy head - comes into
916 the class to advise Mr Touray that he has visitors] Ebou Surname let
917 me assist you .. you have not arranged it properly .. this is why you
918 haven't find the right . answer .. [the microphone became dislodged and
919 remaining talk is muffled] XXXXX they need me there

920 **Caroline:** oh OK sure [noise for 6 seconds] that's OK I can do that

921 **Mr Touray:** OK OK OK [classroom noise for 4 seconds] I'll be back huh

922 **Caroline:** OK yeah no problem thank you

Appendix 8

Mr Fatty Stimulated Recall Interview

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

/kestion/ = pronunciation information

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = Fula

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

- 1 **Mr Fatty:** so example in July
- 2 **Caroline:** you close in July
- 3 **Mr Fatty:** yea we are closing in July and when we close in July maybe . school
4 normally opens on September
- 5 **Caroline:** right
- 6 **Mr Fatty:** yea then after the opening maybe . whether November or December we
7 may start the classes
- 8 **Caroline:** #OK so# then
- 9 **Mr Fatty:** #in the# college
- 10 **Caroline:** you start the college . so when you do your exam in July on July
11 seventh are schools still open . are you still supposed to teach here
- 12 **Mr Fatty:** erm sometime we do have um classes but we have to discuss with .
13 teachers we just have to discuss who are to come and take the students
14 for studies
- 15 **Caroline:** right #OK #
- 16 **Mr Fatty:** #yes #
- 17 **Caroline:** yea
- 18 **Mr Fatty:** yes there is not a a force if you want you come if you don't want you
19 stay at home
- 20 **Caroline:** OK
- 21 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 22 **Caroline:** yea that'll be better because
- 23 **Mr Fatty:** yes

- 24 **Caroline:** because the exams are a big thing I think . yea?
- 25 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea yea
- 26 **Caroline:** yea if you don't pass the exam you don't get to do the training
- 27 **Mr Fatty:** no no no no you don't get to do the training
- 28 **Caroline:** so
- 29 **Mr Fatty:** so that's why
- 30 **Caroline:** so um Mr Bojang was saying you only work in the morning now you
31 are not taking the children for studies
- 32 **Mr Fatty:** yes I am that is well . yea that's that what he tell me
- 33 **Caroline:** yea I I came the other day when what day did I come umm Wednesday
34 I came
- 35 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 36 **Caroline:** for the computer class and I came here
- 37 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 38 **Caroline:** umm Mr Bojang was here outside #and I was expecting #
39 **Mr Fatty:** #in in the class here #
- 40 **Caroline:** yea he was just outside the children were here and I thought it was you
41 going to be the teacher so I came in and waved and it was somebody
42 else [laugh]
- 43 **Mr Fatty:** there was somebody in
- 44 **Caroline:** yea some other new teacher
- 45 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea yea a new teacher
- 46 **Caroline:** yea
- 47 **Mr Fatty:** maybe until the month is ended because um what happen is umm you
48 know when I was taking the grade five
- 49 **Caroline:** hmm
- 50 **Mr Fatty:** so that that boy was at attached to him again
- 51 **Caroline:** OK

- 52 **Mr Fatty:** so he was the one teaching them in the morning
- 53 **Caroline:** right
- 54 **Mr Fatty:** so after when the class I was taking when the teacher came
- 55 **Caroline:** hmm
- 56 **Mr Fatty:** so I was moved again to this class again by the head mistress so by
57 then the boy had already start taking the students for the afternoon for
58 the afternoon studies
- 59 **Caroline:** right
- 60 **Mr Fatty:** so that's what you know until the month ends so when the month ends
61 probably I may continue with them in the afternoon
- 62 **Caroline:** OK OK . yea . I must admit I wasn't impressed
- 63 **Mr Fatty:** no y. you wasn't impressed
- 64 **Caroline:** but anyway
- 65 **Mr Fatty:** yea don't mind
- 66 **Caroline:** he's very young he's young he's new I think
- 67 **Mr Fatty:** #the boy yea yea he's new he's new he's new# yea
- 68 **Caroline:** #very new yea very new# yea OK so I wanted
69 to ask you do you remember this umm lesson you were doing ummmm
70 . possessive adjectives
- 71 **Mr Fatty:** yea possessive #adjectives #
- 72 **Caroline:** #yea # do you remember this lesson um and his
73 . hers
- 74 **Mr Fatty:** hers
- 75 **Caroline:** my
- 76 **Mr Fatty:** mine
- 77 **Caroline:** yea umm ours . um {clears throat} and the children . um most of the
78 children got it very quickly there was one boy here
- 79 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 80 **Caroline:** umm

- 81 **Mr Fatty:** the one sitting at the corner there
- 82 **Caroline:** yea what was his name umm I have it here . Abdoulie
- 83 **Mr Fatty:** #Abdoulie #
- 84 **Caroline:** #Abdoulie #
- 85 **Mr Fatty:** hmm Abdoulie
- 86 **Caroline:** um Abdoulie Surname he didn't get it very quickly
- 87 **Mr Fatty:** no no no
- 88 **Caroline:** umm and you had to spend some time with him
- 89 **Mr Fatty:** yea #yea yea #
- 90 **Caroline:** #you remember # and then later on you were marking their work
91 and I played the ball game with them you remember this /lesson
- 92 **Mr Fatty:** yes I remember
- 93 **Caroline:** OK that's good now I wanted to ask you something umm it's to do with
94 the use of language ... um [pause for 18 seconds] now that's oh here
95 [pause for 11 seconds] [speaking to self] XXXX something out . is this
96 it
- 97 **Mr Fatty:** you know when I was taking to grade five
- 98 **Caroline:** hmm
- 99 **Mr Fatty:** it was not my fault . it was because of the headmistress the teacher was
100 away [C: yea] and the children are coming to school without lesson
101 without having their normal lessons so I was asked by the headmistress
102 to go and take that class before [C: hmm] the the teacher will come
103 back so when the teacher came back I was moved to this class again
104 [C: hmm] so by then Bojang want me to come here and leave that class
105 and if that happen it will affect those people for [C: yea] me he is a
106 teacher [C: yea] he has to teach he has to take them [C: hmm] so that's
107 why . we sometimes he he is not . we are not in very good time
- 108 **Caroline:** yea
- 109 **Mr Fatty:** yea anyway we have not quarrelled but because of that hard feeling in
110 mine
- 111 **Caroline:** oh OK
- 112 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 113 **Caroline:** you you still have some hard feeling

- 114 **Mr Fatty:** you still have some hard feeling
- 115 **Caroline:** OK
- 116 **Mr Fatty:** also #he want me to# leave that class to come to this class
- 117 **Caroline:** #because he attitude # yea
- 118 **Mr Fatty:** you see so and that he should not do that
- 119 **Caroline:** no because /cos/ its not his its not your choice or his choice
- 120 **Mr Fatty:** you see
- 121 **Caroline:** the headmistress makes #these decisions #
- 122 **Mr Fatty:** #you see # you see you see
- 123 **Caroline:** #and also why have two t. #
- 124 **Mr Fatty:** #he he want to change the headmistress # er decision
- 125 **Caroline:** yea . why have two teachers in this class you and Mr Bojang and no
- 126 teacher in year
- 127 **Mr Fatty:** #in the other class #
- 128 **Caroline:** #in grade five # that's that's madness
- 129 **Mr Fatty:** you see
- 130 **Caroline:** yea
- 131 **Mr Fatty:** that's not good
- 132 **Caroline:** yea
- 133 **Mr Fatty:** that's why the headmistress asked me to go down and teach until the
- 134 teacher comes then I will come up in my normal class that's what
- 135 happened
- 136 **Caroline:** well . well don't worry you don't have much longer to be with him you
- 137 know so . OK this is what I wanted to ask you were talking about
- 138 possessive adjectives and umm quite far into the class here we are page
- 139 eleven so quite far in umm you ask the children what is a chair
- 140 **Mr Fatty:** what what is a
- 141 **Caroline:** what is a chair
- 142 **Mr Fatty:** yea a chair yes
- 143 **Caroline:** and some boys call me me me and they answer in umm Wolof

- 144 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 145 **Caroline:** and
- 146 **Mr Fatty:** togue chair
- 147 **Caroline:** togue chair
- 148 **Mr Fatty:** #hmm let me see# yes
- 149 **Caroline:** #togue chair # and it means chair
- 150 **Mr Fatty:** #yes yes [small laugh] #
- 151 **Caroline:** #yep OK # [Caroline shows the transcript] and you were agree togue
- 152 togue chair chair
- 153 **Mr Fatty:** yes yes
- 154 **Caroline:** chair chair this this is a chair and I think you showed this chair
- 155 **Mr Fatty:** #yes I showed them #
- 156 **Caroline:** #this is a chair # OK so this is a very simple word a very simple word
- 157 that the children knew in Wolof and . immediately you knew that they
- 158 understood this is a chair . OK . what I wanted to ask was before this
- 159 quite difficult ideas difficult things to think about . possession
- 160 **Mr Fatty:** possession
- 161 **Caroline:** and ownership
- 162 **Mr Fatty:** ownership
- 163 **Caroline:** umm where you talked about this
- 164 **Mr Fatty:** #yea I talk# about umm possessions ownership
- 165 **Caroline:** #quite a lot #
- 166 **Caroline:** yea and you talked about it a lot
- 167 **Mr Fatty:** a lot
- 168 **Caroline:** trying to get this idea #across #
- 169 **Mr Fatty:** #yes # so that the children can understand
- 170 **Caroline:** yea
- 171 **Mr Fatty:** what we mean by possessions and ownership
- 172 **Caroline:** OK I wanted to ask why didn't you say it in Wolof

- 173 **Mr Fatty:** ownership
- 174 **Caroline:** hmm
- 175 **Mr Fatty:** umm ownership mean something that lingamom lingamom *what you*
176 *own what you own* something like that
- 177 **Caroline:** so there is a a Wolof word for ownership
- 178 **Mr Fatty:** yes there is a Wol.
- 179 **Caroline:** is there a Mandinka word #for ownership #
180 **Mr Fatty:** #yes # **ha** *yes* yes there is a Mandinka word
181 for ownership
- 182 **Caroline:** so . because #these are very difficult #
183 **Mr Fatty:** #OK you know umm # its its a very difficult you have to
184 find out in fact but you can tell them in another way they will
185 understand
- 186 **Caroline:** yea
- 187 **Mr Fatty:** but there are words that you have to go in deep there are I think I need
188 to find out that name
- 189 **Caroline:** hmm
- 190 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 191 **Caroline:** hmm
- 192 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 193 **Caroline:** so I . but do you think that if you had said the word in Wolof or in
194 Mandinka the children would have understood more
- 195 **Mr Fatty:** yes with all that they understood
- 196 **Caroline:** yea . I I think I think they did understand eventually but it took a long
197 time
- 198 **Mr Fatty:** it takes a long time
- 199 **Caroline:** a long time but they already know this in in their own language so .. I
200 was just wondering why why you didn't use the Wolof or the
201 Mandinka
- 202 **Mr Fatty:** to to tell them
- 203 **Caroline:** yea

- 204 **Mr Fatty:** OK you know at times umm they normally say that we we dos [sounds
205 like 'do' with an 's' on] we used to do that we used to tell them umm
206 the name of certain words in in vernacular but at times it is it is not
207 always that we use because we want them to know to understand
208 English more than vernacular because if we want to be using
209 vernacular all the time
- 210 **Caroline:** yea
- 211 **Mr Fatty:** they will not . sometimes they will not bother themselves to speak
- 212 **Caroline:** yea
- 213 **Mr Fatty:** #that's why# #normally# just explain how it is like
214 **Caroline:** #yea# #I #
- 215 **Caroline:** hmm yea I can understand #not wanting to use #
216 **Mr Fatty:** #in Wolof lingamom *what you own* #
- 217 **Caroline:** #lingamom *what you own*#
218 **Mr Fatty:** #that is # what you own
- 219 **Caroline:** OK
- 220 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 221 **Caroline:** let me write this down lingamom *what you own*
- 222 **Mr Fatty:** lingamon wow lingamom *what you own yes what you own*
- 223 **Caroline:** like this [Caroline shows where she has written the word]
- 224 **Mr Fatty:** mom [spells out] m o m
- 225 **Caroline:** m o m
- 226 **Mr Fatty:** hmm lingamom wow *what you own yes* #yes #
227 **Caroline:** #aha # and this is Wolof for
228 what you own
- 229 **Mr Fatty:** hmm what you own . in Mandinka
- 230 **Caroline:** hmm
- 231 **Mr Fatty:** **hitar** *what you own*
- 232 **Caroline:** **hitar** *what you own*
- 233 **Mr Fatty:** hmm

- 234 **Caroline:** like this [shows the written word]
- 235 **Mr Fatty:** hmm .. **hitar** *what you own*
- 236 **Caroline:** and this is what you own
- 237 **Mr Fatty:** hmm ...
- 238 **Caroline:** because for some time you went on about .. ownership . um possession
239 ownership many many times you bought these words up
- 240 **Mr Fatty:** using words yea
- 241 **Caroline:** and the child. the children were answering the children were answering
242 but the same children each time #so many #
- 243 **Mr Fatty:** #used to answer #
- 244 **Caroline:** hmm so many of the children it took a long time not till much later
245 were the other children joining in umm and there was . this boy
246 Abdoulie
- 247 **Mr Fatty:** Abdoulie
- 248 **Caroline:** you actually said to him at one point "what language do you speak"
- 249 **Mr Fatty:** Abdoulie I spoke to him in Mandinka
- 250 **Caroline:** yea he but he speaks Serer
- 251 **Mr Fatty:** Serer
- 252 **Caroline:** Serer and you actually said "I don't speak Serer"
- 253 **Mr Fatty:** yes
- 254 **Caroline:** "I can't help you"
- 255 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea yea you can still remember that
- 256 **Caroline:** yea you you said this I have it written here . so I'm I'm this is what
257 made me start to think that maybe if you had been able to tell him in
258 Serer that #you would have done so #
- 259 **Mr Fatty:** #he would understand #
- 260 **Caroline:** and he would have understood
- 261 **Mr Fatty:** that this is why we normally use English to explain for the children to
262 understand because if there are many many different languages that

- 263 people use in class it is going to be difficult for a teacher to be
264 speaking all those languages
- 265 **Caroline:** yea
- 266 **Mr Fatty:** that's the problem
- 267 **Caroline:** but you kno. umm I think Abdoulie plays with other children so the
268 children are able to communicate with him . so perhaps
- 269 **Mr Fatty:** he can speak Wolof
- 270 **Caroline:** I think he is be. #yea he# is learning to speak #Wolof#
271 **Mr Fatty:** #and he# #Wolof#
- 272 **Caroline:** some some some
- 273 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 274 **Caroline:** so maybe had you given permission to the class . by you using the
275 word umm I've forgotten them already by you saying lingamom
276 lingamom *what you own what you own* or **hitar** *what you own*
- 277 **Mr Fatty:** hmm hitar
- 278 **Caroline:** the children would have then had permission to help the the weaker
279 children do you see what I'm saying
- 280 **Mr Fatty:** #yes I'm understanding #
281 **Caroline:** #but because you didn't say it # they also didn't help
- 282 **Mr Fatty:** they didn't help
- 283 **Caroline:** they didn't help . I was
- 284 **Mr Fatty:** it's lack of maybe experience #XXX #
285 **Caroline:** #yea # I will I was just w. because later
286 on you you use this for a very simple concept chair you know which I
287 think the children knew in English anyway
- 288 **Mr Fatty:** yea they know it #they all knows# what is chair
289 **Caroline:** #because it #
- 290 **Caroline:** #yea #
291 **Mr Fatty:** #in the#class
- 292 **Caroline:** you can point to this one say chair they they don't need to know it in in
293 Wolof [Mr Fatty: no no no] but they they they gave it to you in Wolof
294 and you agreed you said it [Mr Fatty: yea] in Wolof [Mr Fatty: hmm]
295 so umm . yea so . for this very simple thing you were happy to use

296 Wolof but for this very difficult thing of possession or ownership
297 which is very diffi. and I for ages afterwards I was trying to think how
298 I would explain it and even though English is my first language I
299 would find it very difficult to explain ownership possession and . I
300 think you did very well you did very very well and and towards the end
301 most all of the children got it and I you actually mention that in their
302 books most of them got the answers right they did very well [Mr Fatty:
303 mumbles agreement to this point - undecipherable] and when I was
304 playing the ball game with them

305 **Mr Fatty:** yea #the whole# of them
306 **Caroline:** #they #

307 **Mr Fatty:** they they knew #they understood#
308

309 **Caroline:** which is was just checking your work I didn't I didn't teach them
310 anything I just checked so um . so they did understand by the end of
311 the lesson . but it took a long time
312 **Caroline:** #they knew understood knew #

313 **Mr Fatty:** it tooks long time

314 **Caroline:** and . and that that's all I was just wondering why really this was . why
315 you didn't think to to use it but that's fine

316 **Mr Fatty:** so you say when the that was when the day I call you is it on Tuesday

317 **Caroline:** err #yea I came in#
318 **Mr Fatty:** #on Wednesday #

319 **Caroline:** I came in on Monday

320 **Mr Fatty:** on Monday

321 **Caroline:** actually I must give you some money for the phone call I came in on
322 Monday and Olli was sick so I went away again

323 **Mr Fatty:** you went back

324 **Caroline:** because Bojang also was not here . on Tuesday I was not very well
325 remember I called you

326 **Mr Fatty:** yes yes yes

327 **Caroline:** umm on Wednesday I came in I still was not well but I came in . erm
328 Bojang was here and he said um he would call me about today about
329 coming in today but he never called

330 **Mr Fatty:** he never called

- 331 **Caroline:** no
- 332 **Mr Fatty:** he will never call . hmm
- 333 **Caroline:** but I gave him my number but he didn't call me Madam Cham also
334 Madam Chow also did not call me . see again here . you use **marcet**
335 *market* for market I'm sure the children all know market
- 336 **Mr Fatty:** yes they all know market . they all know market
- 337 **Caroline:** hmm again though you use the . Mandinka this time well I think
338 it's French #actually#
- 339 **Mr Fatty:** #**marcet market** #
- 340 **Caroline:** err
- 341 **Mr Fatty:** **marcet market**
- 342 **Caroline:** **marcet market**
- 343 **Mr Fatty:** hmm i. in w. for that of market . there are many types that you use the
344 same word
- 345 **Caroline:** hmm
- 346 **Mr Fatty:** for **marcet market** anyone you call **marcet market** you know you
347 know what is *marcet market*
- 348 **Caroline:** yea . umm the other one I wanted to talk to you about was .. this one .
349 umm . a lady came in
- 350 **Mr Fatty:** hmm in the class
- 351 **Caroline:** yea
- 352 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 353 **Caroline:** a a girl came in and you said to her in Mandinka umm "I haven't seen
354 you for a long time" [Caroline attempts to report the actual Mandinka]
355 **bari nfamatch jeelelaleh** *but I haven't seen you for a long time*
- 356 **Mr Fatty:** **bari nfamatch jeelelaleh** *but I haven't seen you for a long time*
- 357 **Caroline:** **jeelelaleh** *long time*
- 358 **Mr Fatty:** **nfamatch jeelelaleh** *haven't seen you for a long time*
- 359 **Caroline:** aha
- 360 **Mr Fatty:** that means I miss you long time

- 361 **Caroline:** I #miss you long# time #yea# I haven't #seen you for a long time #
362 **Mr Fatty:** #miss you# #yea# #I have not seen you# for a
363 long time
- 364 **Caroline:** so I think this child had been sick I think actually wh.
- 365 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 366 **Caroline:** she'd been in the hospital
- 367 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 368 **Caroline:** something was wrong with her . umm
- 369 **Mr Fatty:** is a student or i i i
- 370 **Caroline:** a student
- 371 **Mr Fatty:** #in# the classroom #b. the big one#
372 **Caroline:** #c.# yea #but she # yea yea she was quite a big girl
- 373 **Mr Fatty:** she was quite a big and black
- 374 **Caroline:** yea
- 375 **Mr Fatty:** in colour
- 376 **Caroline:** hmm
- 377 **Mr Fatty:** yea I remember her now
- 378 **Caroline:** yea
- 379 **Mr Fatty:** hmm
- 380 **Caroline:** umm . and you spoke to her in Mandinka nearly the whole way umm ..
381 so I was just wondering when you talk to students umm one to one do
382 you use local language or do you use English
- 383 **Mr Fatty:** when we speak to them one by one . sometimes it depends on the type
384 of student we are speaking to if the student cannot understand English
385 very well we do speak to them in vernacular yes if the student can
386 understand . English very well and he or she cannot understand the
387 point I am trying to express [Caroline: hmm] I will use English for
- 388 **Caroline:** yea [Mr Fatty: XX] because this was not to do with the lesson this was
389 you were asking about her health
- 390 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea yea

- 391 **Caroline:** whether #she was# coming back to class this kind of thing
392 **Mr Fatty:** #ask as #
393
394 **Caroline:** so . I was just wondering if . this . umm not not classroom talk but
395 umm . just . umm .. like counselling or past. in UK we would call is
396 pastoral care
- 397 **Mr Fatty:** pastoral
- 398 **Caroline:** yea to to take care of the children outside of school so to check make
399 sure they are happy they are well
- 400 **Mr Fatty:** yea . #to know what is# wrong with them #
401 **Caroline:** yea #this this kind of # yea this kind of talk
- 402 **Mr Fatty:** hmm #you use# them outside
403 **Caroline:** #would you # yea
- 404 **Mr Fatty:** but not in the classroom
- 405 **Caroline:** yea so although she was here it was nothing to do with the lesson so
406 umm I was just wondering if this was normal to speak in local
407 language for this kind of personal talk you think?
- 408 **Mr Fatty:** you think whether
- 409 **Caroline:** the personal talk you would normal use vernacular
- 410 **Mr Fatty:** vernacular yea for personal talks
- 411 **Caroline:** yea
- 412 **Mr Fatty:** we normally use vernacular
- 413 **Caroline:** yea
- 414 **Mr Fatty:** for example now umm . if I have a student who is absent from school
415 for over one week if she comes in then I can call her at times when I'm
416 I. I'm on lesson I should ask her in English what's wrong with you what
417 was your problem why were you not why were you not coming to
418 school for the past weeks or for the past days . yes but if I am not on
419 lesson if I am not teaching hmm for example I can call her and ask
420 vernacular but normally it is not advisable for the teacher to be
421 speaking vernacular
- 422 **Caroline:** right
- 423 **Mr Fatty:** in the class especially the grade six area

- 424 **Caroline:** OK
- 425 **Mr Fatty:** we always we have to use English #because# we want them to be good
426 speakers #
- 427 **Caroline:** #OK#
- 428 **Caroline:** yea
- 429 **Mr Fatty:** because they should learn from how to speak English since grade umm
430 two three four they should practising understand the language
431 [Caroline: OK] if you come up to grade six [Caroline: yea] your
432 teacher should not be speaking vernacular to you
- 433 **Caroline:** OK
- 434 **Mr Fatty:** yes its against the law of the school sorry of the the the policy of
435 education [Caroline: OK] because what happen is [clears throat] at
436 times in some classrooms students are punished for not speaking
437 vernacular in class anything that you don't understand you ask the
438 teacher the teacher will make sure that he will explain in a way that
439 you will understand it by your own that's what we normally do in some
440 classrooms in fact what they did is if you speak vernacular you will be
441 asked to pay some amount of money maybe fifty bututs [half a delasi]
- 442 **Caroline:** really? # everytime you speak vernacular . #fifty bututs #
443 **Mr Fatty:** yes #yea that's #to make you# not to
444 speak
- 445 **Caroline:** OK
- 446 **Mr Fatty:** you get what I mean
- 447 **Caroline:** yea
- 448 **Mr Fatty:** because if you go to the junior school like grade seven
- 449 **Caroline:** right
- 450 **Mr Fatty:** your teacher should not be speaking vernacular to you al the time
451 [Caroline: hmm] yes
- 452 **Caroline:** I understand that in many upper basic and secondary schools many of
453 the teachers are from overseas
- 454 **Mr Fatty:** hmm because we have here from overseas
- 455 **Caroline:** yea fr. well #from Ghana Nigeria #
456 **Mr Fatty:** #from Ghana Nigeria# Sierra Leone so those XX teachers
457 you see them most of them cannot speak our Gambian languages

- 458 **Caroline:** yea
- 459 **Mr Fatty:** only two of them so on that note . you have to learn how to speak
460 English before grade seven that's why we normally impose that that
461 punishment on them yea to improve their performance because if you
462 cannot speak how would you write
- 463 **Caroline:** yes
- 464 **Mr Fatty:** huh? that's number one d. i. do you think teacher will do always
465 speaking vernacular to you you are speaking vernacular at home
466 everyday you come to school you continue speaking vernacular in here
467 do you think you would be able to write something [Caroline: laughs]
468 cannot and if somebody is speaking to you outside the school in
469 English huh? if you cannot if you don't always speak English you will
470 not understand what he or she is trying to express or tell you isn't it so
471 you have to go to somebody again who can speak vernacular sorry who
472 can speak English and vernacular to explain it to you and if you are a
473 student its the same
- 474 **Caroline:** yea
- 475 **Mr Fatty:** that if you cannot understand the grammar . no mans know all but at
476 times you have to understand these single languages single languages
477 the simple language English to understand it
- 478 **Caroline:** OK
- 479 **Mr Fatty:** yea that's why
- 480 **Caroline:** so if the children speak vernacular in your class . do you punish them
- 481 **Mr Fatty:** no I do tell them not to speak because the pr. the problem is the class is
482 being tampered by the man who I came in the man has already . wash
483 their brain anything he tell them that's what they used to do [Caroline:
484 hmm] because they term him as a devil anyway I do call it you get
485 what I'm saying the students of this class its not easy to deal with them
486 [Caroline: hmm] they have no respect for
- 487 **Caroline:** #they are very bold #
- 488 **Mr Fatty:** #you are the teacher #
- 489 **Caroline:** #they're very bold #
- 490 **Mr Fatty:** #they are very bold # [spells out] b o l d #yea# . is it b o l d #
- 491 **Caroline:** #b#
- 492 **Caroline:** b o l d #yes this is we# use this in English for . #
- 493 **Mr Fatty:** #OK they are very bold# we use it in English #
- 494 **Caroline:** umm children who are strong willed

- 495 **Mr Fatty:** who are strong willed
- 496 **Caroline:** naughty
- 497 **Mr Fatty:** yea naughty
- 498 **Caroline:** naughty
- 499 **Mr Fatty:** #exactly #
500 **Caroline:** #yea #
- 501 **Mr Fatty:** hmm exactly you see
- 502 **Caroline:** rude [laugh]
- 503 **Mr Fatty:** so that's why at times if I want to impose my own rules for their own
504 improvement [Caroline: hmm] if the man comes in [Caroline: hmm] he
505 interfere [Caroline: hmm] he interrupt [Caroline: hmm] when he
506 interrupt then that means the students has to leave my own and take his
507 own
- 508 **Caroline:** and take his #yea #
509 **Mr Fatty:** #you see # [two young men enter the room with attaya a
510 strong bitter green tea usually drunk by men and older women] so this
511 is second there is not much sugar
- 512 **Caroline:** [response to offer of attaya] no no that's fine that's fine that's fine the
513 second brew [laugh] [Caroline addresses attaya brewers] are you
514 teachers here?
- 515 **Mr Fatty:** no they are students
- 516 **Caroline:** students! [Caroline exclaims as the students are obviously in their late
517 teens not much younger than Mr Fatty]
- 518 **Mr Fatty:** from grade six
- 519 **Caroline:** ahh from grade six
- 520 **Mr Fatty:** yea they are in the downstair
- 521 **Caroline:** OK [quietly] OK
- 522 **Mr Fatty:** the class you meet me the #the other# boy's from that class
523 **Caroline:** #yea yea # OK
- 524 **Mr Fatty:** #yes #
525 **Caroline:** #OK #

- 526 **Mr Fatty:** the other one is from the last room in the downstairs
- 527 **Caroline:** very big for grade six
- 528 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea yea #they are very big bodies #
529 **Caroline:** #they have missed some classes# I think missed some
530 years
- 531 **Mr Fatty:** yea yea they have missed some years of not coming to school maybe or
532 they are late to come to school [meaning they didn't start at age 7 but
533 possibly later]
- 534 **Caroline:** yea
- 535 **Mr Fatty:** and also some are not serious
- 536 **Caroline:** yea
- 537 **Mr Fatty:** #to learn their their #education
538 **Caroline:** #this is the problem# yea
- 539 **Mr Fatty:** that's the problem
- 540 **Caroline:** even the boys which is . silly really the boys have so many chances ..
541 so I wanted to show you this as well this is just some . umm ..
- 542 **Mr Fatty:** so you understand the point that I'm trying to explain
- 543 **Caroline:** yes yes I do
- 544 **Mr Fatty:** good #so when when #whenever he came I do punish them but #
545 **Caroline:** # I do so you don't punish#
- 546 **Mr Fatty:** at times I will just ask some of them to come and kneel down
- 547 **Caroline:** hmm so you just make them kneel down [Mr Fatty: yea] here by the
548 door #yea #
549 **Mr Fatty:** #yea #
- 550 **Caroline:** #in front# of the class
551 **Mr Fatty:** #I think # yea yea yea in front of the class
- 552 **Caroline:** yea
- 553 **Mr Fatty:** if you if you are somebody who want to learn actually [Caroline: hmm]
554 if you are kneeling down in front of the class I think you change your
555 your habit [Caroline: hmm hmm] you see
- 556 **Caroline:** #also it's very hard {laugh} #

- 557 **Mr Fatty:** #so that's what I used to do # because what happened if I comes in in
558 the morning I told them once I step in they should all stand up and tell
559 me good morning teacher good morning Mr Fatty or good morning
560 teacher good morning friends and sit down [Caroline: hmm] hmm so
561 that that is the law I was trying to impose but that time if I come in to
562 the class its like the man is having hard feeling for me when he comes
563 in he interrupt everything students will just concentrate on whatever he
564 is doing they just forget about my own and follow him because what he
565 used to tell them that you people you know everything there is no need
566 for you in fact no teacher will come and give you something more than
567 what I have given to you [Caroline: hmm] he used to tell them that you
568 know students who umm who do not know something if you tell them
569 such the first person to tell them they are going to follow them and
570 they know the man the man is living just around here
- 571 **Caroline:** yea
- 572 **Mr Fatty:** you get #what# I'm saying
573 **Caroline:** #yea# yea
- 574 **Mr Fatty:** so the man is j. living just around the school here he know most of
575 them and most of their parents so [Caroline: hmm hmm] you know he's
576 a qualified teacher also and very close to the administration so he give
577 himself . he he is just like he give himself positions without err the the
578 without the order of the administration
- 579 **Caroline:** yea
- 580 **Mr Fatty:** because he make himself to be roaming all around the the blocks
581 [Caroline: hmm] he used to roam all the blocks you get what I'm
582 saying
- 583 **Caroline:** yea
- 584 **Mr Fatty:** all the blocks busying himself anything he see just go and narrate to the
585 office this is what and what is going on and this err this is what and
586 what is going on in the other place yes in fact umm I went the grade
587 five class I was taking this morning in fact they call me yes and thank
588 me a lot
- 589 **Caroline:** #oh that's nice #
590 **Mr Fatty:** #yea they # and their teacher [Caroline: yea] they thanked me a lot of
591 the good work I have given to them
- 592 **Caroline:** that's good
- 593 **Mr Fatty:** yea because those people they were not doing works like this
594 [Caroline: yea] before
- 595 **Caroline:** yea

596 **Mr Fatty:** y you see at times when you are talking to them they'll be quiet they'll
597 be just some will be doing whatever they feel like doing they don't
598 even mind [Caroline: hmm] because of they don't care how just
599 imagine if your teacher is standing in front of students telling them that
600 I don't care anybody in the school here for me but whatever I cannot
601 whatever I don't give you whatever I don't give you nobody can give
602 you something more than that what I give you is OK and and there is
603 nobody who knows what I know in the school here in the system

604 **Caroline:** yea

605 **Mr Fatty:** of the teaching telling students such a word you think they will not
606 believe you they'll believe

607 **Caroline:** yea they believe him but the problem is he is not here all the time

608 **Mr Fatty:** yea

609 **Caroline:** so who is to teach when he is not here

610 **Mr Fatty:** you know they don't calculate that because

611 **Caroline:** yea

612 **Mr Fatty:** I don't know . so that those are some of the the problems affecting this
613 class [C: hmm] but I wish if the class I was taking in grade five you
614 find me there you see you will see a big change [Caroline: hmm] yes
615 [Caroline: hmm] those were even better than these people

616 **Caroline:** yea #yea #
617 **Mr Fatty:** #they did# well

618 **Caroline:** yea

619 **Mr Fatty:** why they call me they came up to today they come up to the class here
620 and call me [Caroline: hmm] and I went in . and a boy came . this XX a
621 boy who wrote the letter came in in front and start reading the letter in
622 present of the teacher the teacher was very happy they are all glad

623 **Caroline:** #that's good#
624 **Mr Fatty:** #about me# yes

625 **Caroline:** that's good #well you are you are a good teacher #
626 **Mr Fatty:** #I was I was even not knowing # I did not know anything

627 **Caroline:** #yes #
628 **Mr Fatty:** #I was# just called to go I said what is the problem I hope is good you
629 see I just come [Caroline: {laugh{]} so I went and sit down then they
630 they said the teacher let the teacher come the teacher come and tell

631 them sit down we have something for Mr Fatty as far as he was
632 teaching them they have a message for him [Caroline: hmm] see so
633 then the boy start reading the the letter

634 **Caroline:** that's good

635 **Mr Fatty:** #hmm the boy# start reading the letter

636 **Caroline:** #that's good # but you are a good teacher that's the problem and I think
637 you need to you have had a bad experience with Mr Bojang but just let
638 him go

639 **Mr Fatty:** yea

640 **Caroline:** when you know he's not a #good person I don't think so#

641 **Mr Fatty:** #you see you see #

642 **Caroline:** yea

643 **Mr Fatty:** such is the problem you know even the day I work here speaking with
644 you you know he was he stand here for a moment then later on came in
645 . because his head was burning he cannot XXXX [Caroline: {laugh}]

646 **Caroline:** he wanted to know #what we were saying #

647 **Mr Fatty:** #yea he wanted to know# what we are saying

648 **Caroline:** yea

649 **Mr Fatty:** and that is not important that is gossiping it is bad

650 **Caroline:** yea #yea# it's bad

651 **Mr Fatty:** #it's bad # a bossy man doesn't not behave like that

652 **Caroline:** yea

653 **Mr Fatty:** you see he call herself a leader [Caroline: {laugh}] that's the problem
654 [Caroline: hmm hmm] in fact on Wednesday I thought you have not
655 come to school

656 **Caroline:** yea I just came umm

657 **Mr Fatty:** because #I did not# receive any call . #that's# why I say ah #XXX# is
658 Caroline

659 **Caroline:** #at four o'clock# #no# #I was to#

660 **Caroline:** yea

661 **Mr Fatty:** will be coming today

662 **Caroline:** I was still sick in the morning I still was not very well I came in the
663 afternoon but #I was still sick #

- 664 **Mr Fatty:** #you are still off #
- 665 **Caroline:** yea I was still no
- 666 **Mr Fatty:** so you came into the class
- 667 **Caroline:** yea I just came to umm I just arrived about quarter to four the lesson
668 started at four and I came up here and I thought you would be taking
669 studies so I was coming to XXXX
- 670 **Mr Fatty:** maybe if the morning is in the middle if he did not change that that the
671 decision I mean [Caroline: hmm] I would be taking them in the
672 afternoon but if he change them maybe the man who is taking them
673 [Caroline: hmm] will continue with them ..
- 674 **Caroline:** so yea . so . OK so that's all I wanted to ask you just some small things
675 about this lesson .
- 676 **Mr Fatty:** so those are the small big problems but had it been the class was my
677 own
- 678 **Caroline:** yes
- 679 **Mr Fatty:** and there is no other teacher who normally comes and interfere
680 [Caroline: hmm] with the students
- 681 **Caroline:** yes
- 682 **Mr Fatty:** I would have overcome them
- 683 **Caroline:** yes
- 684 **Mr Fatty:** #I would# have controlled them
- 685 **Caroline:** #yea # yes
- 686 **Mr Fatty:** peacefully
- 687 **Caroline:** exactly #yes# you see this is the difference
- 688 **Mr Fatty:** #yes#
- 689 **Mr Fatty:** I would have controlled them peacefully
- 690 **Caroline:** yea as well #you are a peaceful man
- 691 **Mr Fatty:** #but if I left# somebody would come in and just . try to
692 show XXXXX for them I know everything he used to say it [Caroline:
693 hmm] he used to say it he used to say it there is nobody who knows
694 something better than me in the school [Caroline: hmm] in the
695 education system I'm the most the well experienced teacher in the
696 school

697 **Caroline:** yea but only here [Mr Fatty: {laugh}] only here at Balinsaa if he goes
698 outside your school he will be a very small man so you know
699 remember that remember that and also when you get posted you could
700 be posted anywhere there are lots of wonderful schools in this in this
701 country that you will be very well placed in and able to make a big
702 difference I was at a school umm I go to Fankoo Bantaba school also
703 and there is a teacher there he is unqualified he's umm he has . he's in
704 his final year I think his final year of training but he is involved in so
705 many things in the school he runs the scouts he runs drama classes
706 umm extracurricular activities and the children adore him and he is
707 very similar to you very calm . umm yesterday I was there and it was
708 my last time to be there for this trip and he organised some singing and
709 dancing for me t. and the children came back after classes so they went
710 home they got changed they came back so many children came back
711 because he asked them to not they didn't come back for me because
712 they know me I go there so many times they came back because he
713 asked them to and they like him they respect him and they want to be
714 want to do things for him so many children came back and did singing
715 and dancing and some drama and the scouts came it was all in their
716 own time . so I think once you have once you come out of this . school
717 and into a different school where you are able to have your own class
718 and be your own person then you will be fine you will be fine you are a
719 good teacher you are a very very good teacher

720 **Mr Fatty:** you know in such programmes there are teachers here who can umm
721 organised such programmes but if you want to do that you there will be
722 no support for you from the administration [Caroline: hmm] because
723 the man will cover everything

724 **Caroline:** yea

725 **Mr Fatty:** he don't want nobody's name to be called except himself

726 **Caroline:** except himself

727 **Mr Fatty:** that's the problem

728
729 **Caroline:** yea

730 **Mr Fatty:** #that's# the problem

731 **Caroline:** #yea #

732 **Mr Fatty:** you want to do that anything he has to discourage you he want
733 everybody to be saying that he is good Bojang he is good at everything

734 **Caroline:** exactly because /cos/ in this other school

735 **Mr Fatty:** school other schools are not like this

- 736 **Caroline:** no they're #not #
737 **Mr Fatty:** #many# people are saying that this school is the worst its a
738 big school is good but its the worst also
- 739 **Caroline:** it's a big school but . I mean the the children are happy here they they
740 do things but . there are other schools you know this this school at
741 Fankoo Bantaba this a school at Bakoo Kunda a school at Sumakenbe
742 the the teachers are more involved with the children they
- 743 **Mr Fatty:** there are these dramas . umm
- 744 **Caroline:** drama #sport# he organises inter school
745 **Mr Fatty:** #sports# yea even even English club
746 they have it
- 747 **Caroline:** #yea# English club #Islamic# club all sorts of things
748 **Mr Fatty:** #yea# #yea# to improve the
749 performance of students #
- 750 **Caroline:** yea
- 751 **Mr Fatty:** to broad their
- 752 **Caroline:** #exactly exactly# and things like gardening and all sorts of things
753 **Mr Fatty:** #awareness XXXX #
- 754 **Caroline:** in fact this teacher yesterday he organised umm this is why I was there
755 he organised
- 756 **Mr Fatty:** where yesterday
- 757 **Caroline:** Fankoo Kunda he organised umm . er for cooking umm they had a
758 lesson on traditional dishes I think it may be SES [social and economic
759 studies] lesson I'm not sure umm and they were talking about
760 traditional dishes so yesterday he split the class into five groups and
761 they cooked each group cooked a traditional dish domoda er porridge
762 benechin and two Jola dishes I can't remember one sticky rice . sticky
763 rice and something else with fish . and the children cooked and then
764 they made the tables with cloths and put the bowls on the tables and
765 they all ate together it was a wonderful wonderful afternoon . he just
766 went to the head and said this is what I want to do the head said fine
- 767 **Mr Fatty:** you know you know here if you want to do that Bojang is also of an
768 area and the same time people will not care much about education if
769 the school is not running [Caroline: hmm] ummm if the school is not
770 having a good leader [Caroline: hmm] yes [Caroline: hmm] because
771 the man if you want to organise s. it will not be XXXX [Caroline:
772 hmm] it will not be a good thing
- 773 **Caroline:** yea .

- 774 **Mr Fatty:** #XX #
775 **Caroline:** #so # I think that once you are out of this school it will be much better
776 for you don't give up on teaching you are a good teacher you are a very
777 very good teacher umm so don't give up on teaching but just
- 778 **Mr Fatty:** #you know the problem you know the problem is #
779 **Caroline:** #you have only a few months # what
780
781 **Mr Fatty:** if you don't go to the college its a problem [Caroline: hmm] if if you
782 just working for for zero for nothing
- 783 **Caroline:** yea yea
- 784 **Mr Fatty:** you working for zero [Caroline: hmm] and at times its not easy to be
785 working for for for zero like that
- 786 **Caroline:** I know
- 787 **Mr Fatty:** what you have cannot even you cannot even take care of yourself
788 [meaning the financial rewards for teaching do not cover the costs of
789 living] [Caroline: hmm] you know you cannot be working like that
- 790 **Caroline:** yea
- 791 **Mr Fatty:** so that's why many people many young Gambians leave teaching
792 because
- 793 **Caroline:** leave teaching yea
- 794 **Mr Fatty:** poor salary
- 795 **Caroline:** yea
- 796 **Mr Fatty:** because of there is no good salary and from the college also you have
797 to spend three years one year in in the college camp then two years in
798 the training [Caroline: hmm] yea you will be a TT [trainee teacher] .
799 student
- 800 **Caroline:** yea
- 801 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 802 **Caroline:** yea
- 803 **Mr Fatty:** trainee teacher maybe that will be . any school you are posted to yea
804 you spend two years and after two years you have your exam . yes
805 that's the time they start to pay you
- 806 **Caroline:** yea

807 **Mr Fatty:** #a# better salary #XXX#
808 **Caroline:** #yea# #a better salary#

809 **Mr Fatty:** yes

810 **Caroline:** but you see also many schools once you get outside this area many
811 schools have umm teacher accommodation which is better you know
812 because you're not paying for your accommodation so that's better and
813 also I think in the rural areas the teachers are more respected

814 **Mr Fatty:** yea that is true

815 **Caroline:** yea I I sit there sometimes in the rural schools and children bring fruit
816 for the teachers they bring firewood for the teachers they maybe cook
817 and bring it you know the the teachers are invited to weddings naming
818 ceremonies they are part of the community much more than here in the
819 urban area and I think I think for young teachers especially that's more
820 important because you become involved in the

821 **Mr Fatty:** system

822 **Caroline:** in the system in the school you become involved with the community
823 and you realise then how what you give to the children is important
824 because you can see them develop as people whereas here you don't
825 see the children you don't see the children you live in Busum Balla you
826 don't see the children in the evening you don't get invited to to their
827 family homes they don't bring you fruit or food because everybody
828 goes home

829 **Mr Fatty:** XXXXX

830
831 **Caroline:** so . so I think I think for you once you are in the college and then once
832 you get posted you you will be fine because you are a good teacher you
833 you are a very good teacher and these children individually they
834 respect you but there are a few naughty children in this school

835 **Mr Fatty:** in school

836 **Caroline:** in this class that erm . erm lead the others

837 **Mr Fatty:** #yea yea yea **ha ha ha** yes yes yes> #
838 **Caroline:** #to be naughty #

839 **Mr Fatty:** those are the big girls

840 **Caroline:** #the big girls #
841 **Mr Fatty:** #there is one big girl # yea yea yea who leads most of the students
842 [Caroline: hmm hmm] yes {Mr F: cough}

- 843 **Caroline:** so
- 844 **Mr Fatty:** you are right for that one
- 845 **Caroline:** yea so don't worry too much don't worry too much and it's nearly
846 finished it's already the end of May
- 847 **Mr Fatty:** yea
- 848 **Caroline:** umm so just June and July . OK so thank you for that I just oh gosh I
849 left this running
- 850 **Mr Fatty:** #it's running #
- 851 **Caroline:** #let me switch it off #

Appendix 9

Mr Camara Stimulated Recall Interview

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	Highlighted = Arabic
/kestion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** it's just to ask #you# it's OK that's fine you do what you need to do it's
2 alright
- 3 **Mr Camara:** #hie#
4 OK
- 5 **Caroline:** umm do you want to talk to the class
- 6 **Mr Camara:** pardon
- 7 **Caroline:** did you want to talk to the class
- 8 **Mr Camara:** no I just to tell them to keep quiet
- 9 **Caroline:** #OK #
- 10 **Mr Camara:** #XXXX # can we have silent please if I get anybody talking you go
11 out and sit there until this period this lesson finish . I hope that's clear
- 12 **Class:** yes
- 13 **Mr Camara:** yesterday I sent somebody out they are crying there and I do it again
14 today . you go out until this lesson finish and you come in . please
15 [pause 7 seconds] Haddy Surname you started again [pause 3 seconds]
- 16 **Caroline:** I just wanted to talk a little bit about the lesson that I came to observe
17 once before do you remember in January
- 18 **Mr Camara:** yea I I remember it
- 19 **Caroline:** and you gave a a really nice lesson for population and family studies
- 20 **Mr Camara:** exactly
- 21 **Caroline:** OK and there's just a couple of things that I wanted this is what I do
22 with the [Mr Camara: OK] I listen to the recording and I type it all out
23 so we get some information and also some information that I made at
24 the time [Mr Camara: OK] and I'll show you in a minute on the

- 25 computer [Mr Camara: OK] what it looks like [Mr Camara: OK] OK
26 but there's some some things here that I wanted
- 27 **Mr Camara:** Saiku XXXXXXXX yes
- 28 **Caroline:** umm first of all this bit here right at the very beginning before you
29 started teaching you spoke quiet a lot to the children in um in
30 Mandinka [Mr Camara: hmm] um I don't know if you remember they
31 were making name cards for their groups
- 32 **Mr Camara:** for their groups exactly
- 33 **Caroline:** tilapia barracuda
- 34 **Mr Camara:** yea mudskipper
- 35 **Caroline:** mudskipper yea
- 36 **Mr Camara:** #exactly#
37 **Caroline:** #um# and I was just wondering . sometimes when when you're giving
38 instructions do you often do this in Mandinka
- 39 **Mr Camara:** n. no it is only when they cannot I know that they cannot understand at
40 all . I'll come I'll put it in this thing er in Mandinka [Caroline: OK]
41 XXXX
- 42 **Caroline:** because some was in . some of this is in English and some of it is in .
43 um Mandinka so maybe you're I think maybe it was two different
44 children [Mr Camara: yea yea yea] you were giving [Mr Camara:
45 exactly] instructions to [Mr Camara: exactly] so so you wouldn't
46 normally give instructions in Mandinka
- 47 **Mr Camara:** yea I I normally give instructions in Mandinka when children have
48 difficulty [Caroline: hmm] but you see what I told them like when we
49 are discussing this . [classroom noise is getting louder] XXXX
- 50 **Caroline:** yea
- 51 **Mr Camara:** Mandinka
- 52 **Caroline:** yea #I was# going to talk to you about #that #
53 **Mr Camara:** #yea# #exactly# so that for more
54 understand
- 55 **Caroline:** yea
- 56 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 57 **Caroline:** yea

- 58 **Mr Camara:** because the standard is very low . very low I'm looking at them
59 constantly talking English English at the end of the day just tell me yes
60 /yees/ but just set them the work and see [Caroline: hmm hmm] if there
61 is forty only five of them will come out . XXX I have to XXX
- 62 **Caroline:** OK that's #fine#
63 **Mr Camara:** #XXXX#
- 64 **Caroline:** a little bit later on the children were working in their groups
- 65 **Mr Camara:** groups aha
- 66 **Caroline:** and they were preparing for presentation [Mr Camara: hmm] so you
67 had done erm some teaching them from the front
- 68 **Mr Camara:** #exactly#
69 **Caroline:** #and# then the children when they were in their groups working on
70 their presentation . erm . and you were moving around #each group#
71 **Mr Camara:** #yea I was# I
72 was moving around exactly #
- 73 **Caroline:** yea and you were and I could hear some of the things you were saying
74 from the microphone and you were talking to the children and this
75 child erm . you were talking to this child here and you started to use
76 quite a lot of local language [Mr Camara: hmm] here and I was just
77 wondering . erm . if if you . when you are going round and you realise
78 a child hasn't understood [Mr Camara: exactly] and you start talking
- 79 **Mr Camara:** hie hie [pause 2.5 seconds] hey hie hie [pause 4 seconds]
- 80 **Caroline:** OK and you start talking in local language [Mr Camara covers the
81 microphone with his hand as he sits back down after calling out to the
82 children] erm . would you would you ever come back to the whole
83 class and talk to the whole class in local language
- 84 **Mr Camara:** yea yea yea
- 85 **Caroline:** yea
- 86 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 87 **Caroline:** you would feel OK about doing that
- 88 **Mr Camara:** yea yea I XXX I would yea
- 89 **Caroline:** yea so this was obviously this child was having some some difficulty
90 because you were you spent quite a lot of time [Mr Camara: time] with
91 this one child
- 92 **Mr Camara:** exactly X

- 93 **Caroline:** trying to make him understand so you .. you said erm . you were
94 saying here about the sweat what happens when you are trying to get
95 him to answer erm and thy were very . they weren't very erm . they
96 weren't talking very much at all [Mr Camara: hmm] and then down
97 here I think you . you got them to understand so
- 98 **Mr Camara:** exactly
- 99 **Caroline:** so do you often teach one to one in a local language do you often help
100 one child
- 101 **Mr Camara:** no I always deal with my group [Caroline: hmm] yea most of the time
102 in group [Caroline: hmm] yea . like there is one child in my class
103 [Caroline: hmm] and the second girl there over there [Caroline: hmm]
104 the one with XXX [Caroline: hmm] she is the perfect person who .
105 look at them I don't know whether is XXXXXXXX [Caroline: hmm]
106 in her so most of the time I have to counsel her alone like when they
107 are from group work [Caroline: hmm] I have to give her more XXX
108 [Caroline: OK] OK so she can catch up with others because she is . a
109 very slow learner [Caroline: hmm] very very slow there are others too
110 one two [indicates children] they are very slow learners so it's
111 subjective I have to address them in Mandinka alone
- 112 **Caroline:** OK
- 113 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 114 **Caroline:** OK that's fine
- 115 **Mr Camara:** so that they can catch up with others
- 116 **Caroline:** yea
- 117 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 118 **Caroline:** that's fine . I I've just made some notes here I wasn't going to talk about
119 this lesson [Mr Camara: exactly] this morning but this was really good
120 because the children obviously some of these words . in England we
121 hardly use them
- 122 **Mr Camara:** OK #OK #
- 123 **Caroline:** #you know# we hardly use spinster
- 124 **Mr Camara:** spinster exactly
- 125 **Caroline:** um now we very rarely say actress [Mr Camara: acting] we normally
126 call both men and women actors
- 127 **Mr Camara:** actors exactly

- 128 **Caroline:** so you know don't even use these words [Mr Camara: OK] wizard we
129 hardly ever use but we call witch [Mr Camara: OK OK] . so some of
130 these words I imagine the children have hardly heard before
- 131 **Mr Camara:** exactly
- 132 **Caroline:** but it was really good because they they knew them all straight [Mr
133 Camara: yea] away in their local [Mr Camara: exactly] language and
134 straight away those that weren't quite sure they picked them up that
135 was really good
- 136 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 137 **Caroline:** I noticed you were doing some small explaining as well
- 138 **Mr Camara:** OK
- 139 **Caroline:** in the Mandinka when children were saying the words . XXXX [Mr
140 Camara: exactly] and it was really good
- 141 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 142 **Caroline:** I really like that {laugh} so I was just wondering why why you know if
143 this was a regular thing that you gave instructions erm . that's all really
144 the rest of it now I will look at the rest with the other lessons that I
145 have done
- 146 **Mr Camara:** exactly
- 147 **Caroline:** would you like to see
- 148 **Mr Camara:** yea #yea#
- 149 **Caroline:** #on the# computer what it looks like and what it sounds like just
150 have to switch it on it takes a few minutes but erm it's so funny
151 because I take it from the recorder and put it on the computer [Mr
152 Camara: yea OK OK {laughs}] and then I can type it and then when
153 this is finished this is not quite finished [Mr Camara: OK] but when it
154 is there is still some mistakes in here when it's finished I will send a
155 copy
- 156 **Mr Camara:** exactly
- 157 **Caroline:** yea would you like to #see that#
- 158 **Mr Camara:** #yea yea# I would like to see that I will be very
159 happy {Caroline laughs} yea
- 160 **Caroline:** what I have to do is . when I come across some local language erm . I
161 my friend in UK I have some Gambian friends in the UK I bring them
162 over to to listen to this small section but they are not allowed to listen

- 163 to everything just this what is he saying here what is he saying here
164 [Mr Camara: OK] what is this child saying . but erm I have a feeling
165 that I disturbed your day very much
- 166 **Mr Camara:** OK
- 167 **Caroline:** this day you had some visitors coming for some sport
- 168 **Mr Camara:** #yea yea yea exactly# exactly
169 **Caroline:** #XX do you remember# and er I think I think I caused you some
170 some difficulties
- 171 **Mr Camara:** yea I was it was it was OK I was just just XXX I delegate somebody .
172 Mr Name [Caroline: aha] and Mr Kujabi the other teacher in Grade
173 five [Caroline: OK] yea
- 174 **Caroline:** OK they went
- 175 **Mr Camara:** because /cos/ we erm we almost ten in the sports committee [Caroline:
176 OK] if I am not there somebody will XX [Child: calls out: keep quiet]
177 because I am the the assistant co-ordinator of the district here
178 [Caroline: hmm] and most of the time they ask me XXXX [Caroline:
179 oh OK] but it was OK
- 180 **Caroline:** it was alright
- 181 **Mr Camara:** yea I I love those I love people who always observe me {Caroline
182 laughs} I like that
- 183 **Caroline:** well it was a really really lovely lesson [Mr Camara: yea] the children
184 learnt a lot [Mr Camara: exactly] and it was it was very nice so
185 [Caroline talks to herself as she sets up the computer] [pause for 31
186 seconds] so let's let's move down a little bit to this is us setting up the
187 microphone and erm let's let's start from here . oh actually I may need
188 to turn it up [pause for 7 seconds] [original recording played]
189 sometimes I haven't been able to hear what you said the microphone
190 doesn't pick up everything
- 191 **Mr Camara:** it don't pick up OK exactly {laugh}
- 192 **Caroline:** let's let's go down a bit to where it's erm [original recording played]
- 193 **Mr Camara:** Saiku can you complete the class [original recording heard]
- 194 **Child:** sit down
- 195 **Child:** hey just stop that
- 196 **Caroline:** so this is . this is what we do

- 197 **Mr Camara:** OK
- 198 **Caroline:** and then erm . I think somewhere the children made a joke because
199 you said here . errr . [reading from transcript] today I am also a toubab
200 [Mr Camara: XX] {laugh}
- 201 **Mr Camara:** XXX yea yea yea I I told them {laugh} when I was wearing when I
202 was wearing the XX they were just laughing at me I told them hey
203 today I was a toubab {laugh} eh you know they are funny these kids
- 204 **Caroline:** they were funny #I thought ohh # {laugh}
205 **Mr Camara:** #they are always curious# {laugh}
- 206 **Caroline:** so that's it that's all I was really wanting
- 207 **Mr Camara:** yea it is
- 208 **Caroline:** so this when it is finished I will send you
- 209 **Caroline:** #a copy# #yea# yea
210 **Mr Camara:** #yea # I am very happy #very happy# XX I'm I'm very happy about it
- 211 **Caroline:** that's good it was a very very interesting lesson [Mr Camara: thank
212 you] and erm . yea it was a very good lesson . we didn't get to talk
213 much afterward mind but very interesting
- 214 **Mr Camara:** yea exactly
- 215 **Caroline:** children learnt a lot that day so it was good it was good yea so OK now
216 Mr Bah has given me lots of jobs to do I have to type up all the
217 registers [Mr Camara: OK] so I have got to /gotta/ go and collect all
218 the registers
- 219 **Mr Camara:** OK #no problem#
220 **Caroline:** #go to the# office and I'll start I will see you later
- 221 **Mr Camara:** alright
- 222 **Caroline:** yea
- 223 **Mr Camara:** thank #you# very much
224 **Caroline:** #OK#
- 225 **Caroline:** thank you
- 226 **Mr Camara:** yea
- 227 **Caroline:** thanks

Appendix 10

Mr Kujabi Stimulated Recall Interview

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	<u>Highlighted</u> = Arabic
/kestion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** OK so let me show you what I [Mr Kujabi's phone receives a text
2 message which interferes with the recording equipment] did when we
3 came into your class and you were wearing the microphone do you
4 remember . and what I do with that is I . I transcribe it so I write down
5 I listen and I type the . um . and I type everything that happens in the
6 class and also when I was in the class I was making some notes about
7 how the children were sitting and that kind of sort of thing so I just got
8 . some of those . erm .. {tut} things in here as well so for example here
9 [Caroline shows Mr Kujabi the paper copy of the transcript] I speak
10 very quietly . and then I start to speak normally so I've put that there .
11 I've put and then just really the the lesson . is transcribed . and erm
12 that's fine and then I'm what I will do then is look at the lesson to write
13 my thesis . OK . but not just your lesson all the lessons I did [Mr
14 Kujabi receives another text which interferes with the recording
15 equipment] but there's a couple of things that erm I wanted to ask you
16 about . erm . I don't think do you remember the lesson . that you did
17 that day . do you remember the lesson
- 18 **Mr Kujabi:** hmm I did . quan. English
- 19 **Caroline:** yea
- 20 **Mr Kujabi:** I did quantitative
- 21 **Caroline:** yea . so you did this thing on the board where there was a square and
22 there was three numbers and a space and the children had to work out
23 what number was #in the space#
- 24 **Mr Kujabi:** #was in# the space
- 25 **Caroline:** yea? . so um we had one here [pause 7 seconds] so they were doing
26 five plus two plus three . er five plus two is seven . seven plus three is
27 ten minus four . to give the number that [Mr Kujabi XXX] was in the
28 space . OK so they did that and that was fine and they all seemed to
29 work very hard the class was very calm
- 30 **Mr Kujabi:** OK

- 31 **Caroline:** and it was really nice . so that's fine and then you moved on to English
32 so half way through the class .. you moved on to . verbal aptitude .
33 sentence arrangement . and the children were putting some sentences
- 34 **Mr Kujabi:** yea X
- 35 **Caroline:** into order . OK and it's one of these sentences that the children had
36 some problems with . {tut} um [pause 6 seconds] there was some
37 sentences . erm [pause 5 seconds] [Caroline reads from original
38 transcript] sentence one says all the trees were uprooted all the trees
39 were uprooted you know what is uprooted you don't know what is
40 uprooted . now unfortunately I couldn't hear the children [**Mr Kujabi:**
41 hmm] . so and then you say **ha** yes uproot uproot I think this child must
42 have given you something um maybe the Mandinka or XX for
43 uprooted [**Mr Kujabi:** uprooted] because you said yes uproot to uproot
44 to move it . OK . and then all the trees were uprooted two says there
45 was a terrible thunder storm . you know what is thunder storm and one
46 child says yes . but you ask the rest of the class huh? . and another
47 child says yes . so you say yes what is thunder storm you're asking the
48 children to tell you . and the pupil says **sang feteng thunder clap** [**Mr**
49 **Kujabi:** **sang feteng thunder clap**] . yea . and th. OK in our language
50 we call it and you give the Mandinka again **sang feteng thunder clap** .
51 OK . and I was just wondering . why you gave the Mandinka for .
52 thunder storm and later on you give it for wind . but not for uproot
53 [pause 2.5 seconds] #I was #
54 **Mr Kujabi:** #well . #
- 55 **Caroline:** I was just wondering
- 56 **Mr Kujabi:** well why did I do that
- 57 **Caroline:** hmm
- 58 **Mr Kujabi:** K [pause 3 seconds] X when I when I said from the storm to them
59 [**Caroline:** hmm] is it's a strange word to them [**Caroline:** hmm] so
60 they don't know it [**Caroline:** hmm] so that's why I ask them in their
61 own language so I don't know whether they know it in their own
62 language [**Caroline:** hmm] so that's why I ask them . what is thunder
63 storm [**Caroline:** yea] maybe they don't maybe they have the word but
64 they cannot know it in their own language [**Caroline:** OK] so that's
65 why I ask them what is thunder storm in their in your own language
66 [**Caroline:** OK] because /cos/ I thought it was a big word to them
- 67 **Caroline:** yea
- 68 **Mr Kujabi:** yea
- 69 **Caroline:** but I . what about uproot #do you# think the children #under#stood this
70 **Mr Kujabi:** #uproot# #yea# #
71 they understood that uproot

- 72 **Caroline:** yea? OK . and later on . it seems that erm when this child said **sang**
73 **feteng** *thunder clap* is this how am I saying it right **sang feteng**
74 *thunder clap*
- 75 **Mr Kujabi:** yea **sang feteng** *thunder clap*
- 76 **Caroline:** **sang feteng** *thunder clap* erm then this next child . gave . gave the
77 answer when you said it rained very heavily and it was very windy you
78 know what this windy
- 79 **Mr Kujabi:** wind yea
- 80 **Caroline:** and a child said **fonyo** *wind*
- 81 **Mr Kujabi:** **fonyo** *wind* yes
- 82 **Caroline:** erm which just means wind?
- 83 **Mr Kujabi:** wind #yes# XX wind yes
84 **Caroline:** #it's# alright and er . you asked again you asked
85 the whole class to tell you and some more [children] said this in in
86 Mandinka **fonyo** *wind* . and then you gave the the word for big
- 87 **Mr Kujabi:** #**fonyo** *ba big wind*#
88 **Caroline:** #wind# **fonyo** *ba big wind* . erm for big wind that can
89 cause this #damage#
90 **Mr Kujabi:** #yea#
- 91 **Caroline:** yea so it seems like the children once given permission once this child
92 was not told off then this is OK [**Mr Kujabi:** yea] to show [**Mr**
93 **Kujabi:** sure] that they understand [**Mr Kujabi:** they understand] in
94 Mandinka . so erm . so this is quite nice because you have this shows
95 that they really understand
- 96 **Mr Kujabi:** yea
- 97 **Caroline:** but I was just wondering because I think . uproot is also a quite a .
98 difficult word . [**Mr Kujabi:** yea] and I I was just won. that was all I
99 was just wondering why . you didn't . it was a long time ago it doesn't
100 matter [**Mr Kujabi:** yea yea]
- 101 **Mr Kujabi:** to me to me I I thought it was . [**Caroline:** hmm] is . that they would
102 come across the word uproot . thunder thunder storm . erm . {tut} I
103 don't read that in a book [**Caroline:** OK] yes I have never read that in a
104 book but uproot we have done that in science . that is done in science
105 lessons
- 106 **Caroline:** oh OK . yea yea OK . do you often use Mandinka in class

- 107 **Mr Kujabi:** no when I explain they don't understand much [**Caroline:** hmm] I am
108 not convinced that they understood then I I ask them in Mandinka
109 whether they under. if they tell me I know that they understood
110 [**Caroline:** hmm] XXX
- 111 **Caroline:** hmm . but the class is very calm and very quiet . and they seem to . to
112 respect you #a lot yea
- 113 **Mr Kujabi:** #a lot yea
- 114 **Caroline:** I mean today when . I was teaching them and . wasn't doing very well
115 {**Mr Kujabi:** laughs} and they listened to you [**Mr Kujabi:** exactly]
116 you know straight away . so
- 117 **Mr Kujabi:** exactly
- 118 **Caroline:** this is good . so
- 119 **Mr Kujabi:** [Mr Kujabi is talking about Caroline's attempts to teach his class that
120 morning while he was at a meeting he had returned to the class to find
121 Caroline struggling to put the class into groups] you know sometimes
122 if they are you know they are not used to your voice that's why
- 123 **Caroline:** yea
- 124 **Mr Kujabi:** so sometimes some words they don't they don't . understand it
125 [**Caroline:** hmm] XX
- 126 **Caroline:** hmm . yea . erm . er when you explain things do you only use
127 Mandinka . or do you use other languages as well sometimes
- 128 **Mr Kujabi:** er . sometimes I use Mandinka but not often . [**Caroline:** aha] I always
129 try to . put them in English [**Caroline:** yea] most of the time
- 130 **Caroline:** yea but you never use Jola or
- 131 **Mr Kujabi:** no
- 132 **Caroline:** no
- 133 **Mr Kujabi:** XXX
- 134 **Caroline:** OK
- 135 **Mr Kujabi:** because /cos/ most of them ar they are all of them can speak Mandinka
- 136 **Caroline:** OK
- 137 **Mr Kujabi:** but not all of them can speak Jola

- 138 **Caroline:** OK OK . that's good so that was all it was really that was all I wanted
139 to . to ask you about . and erm this is not quite finished but when this
140 transcript is finished I can send you a copy [**Mr Kujabi:** OK] if you
141 would like a copy
- 142 **Mr Kujabi:** OK no problem
- 143 **Caroline:** would you like to hear it on the computer
- 144 **Mr Kujabi:** yea I would #like to# hear it
- 145 **Caroline:** #yea I can# I can show you it and [noises of computer
146 moving 10 seconds] I have been typing it and er every time I come
147 across some local language I have to get one of my Gambian friends
148 [**Mr Kujabi:** OK] in the UK to come and translate for me XX
149 hopefully they have done it right {laugh}
- 150 **Mr Kujabi:** {laugh} think they have [pause 10 seconds]
- 151 **Caroline:** so what time do you normally leave on Fridays . tomorrow [**Mr**
152 **Kujabi:** umm] ..
- 153 **Mr Kujabi:** then . I used to leave after around five but this time now I leave just
154 after school in the day
- 155 **Caroline:** hmm OK that's fine yea I'll go back to {noise of computer starting up}
156 erm SerreKunda tomorrow so that's good {interference from Caroline's
157 mobile phone} hmm you're still not feeling well is this why you're
158 going home
- 159 **Mr Kujabi:** yea that's why I'm going home earlier {mobile phone noise}
- 160 **Caroline:** oh sush . it's only a message [pause for 53 seconds while Caroline sets
161 up the computer] the sounds just going in now . so OK . {sound of
162 original recording} {Mr Kujabi and Caroline laugh} so when my
163 friend comes to translate he just hears the bit that I cannot work [**Mr**
164 **Kujabi:** yea yea] he doesn't get to see everything
- 165 **Mr Kujabi:** exactly
- 166 **Caroline:** I say to him . this small bit here {noise of recording in the background}
167 there we go let's go onto a bit where you're . where you're actually
168 talking . {original recording can be heard} so this is what it is {original
169 recording can be heard} but now that I have the recording [**Mr**
170 **Kujabi:** aha] it's I can remember what happened [**Mr Kujabi:** exactly]
171 if I just have my [**Mr Kujabi:** yea] scribbled notes [**Mr Kujabi:** sure]
172 I can't remember very much so this was [**Mr Kujabi:** yea] wonderful
- 173 **Mr Kujabi:** yea really wonderful it's good {original recording}
- 174 **Caroline:** they are very quick with their maths [**Mr Kujabi:** yea] this group

- 175 **Mr Kujabi:** definitely
- 176 **Caroline:** hmm . so there you go so that's what you sound like
- 177 **Mr Kujabi:** that's wonderful man
- 178 **Caroline:** and {Mr Kujabi laughs} that's what it looks like
- 179 **Mr Kujabi:** that's so wonderful
- 180 **Caroline:** so when it's finished I'll get you a copy of it
- 181 **Mr Kujabi:** exactly . oh that's great man {Caroline & Mr Kujabi laugh}
- 182 **Caroline:** so thank you for for that it was just something I was confused but of
183 course if you have done things like uprooting in science and and I
184 suppose also do they study agriculture?
- 185 **Mr Kujabi:** I do not know agric [short term for agriculture lessons] yet for them in
186 grade seven [**Caroline:** oh OK] they start in grade seven
- 187 **Caroline:** OK but I think some of them are involved in the gardens and things
188 [**Mr Kujabi:** yea yea] so maybe they understand this word {tut} yea
189 [**Mr Kujabi:** so] OK well thank you very much for your time
- 190 **Mr Kujabi:** that's great
- 191 **Caroline:** and I hope you're going to Brikama now
- 192 **Mr Kujabi:** yea
- 193 **Caroline:** yea
- 194 **Mr Kujabi:** #I'm going home XXXXX#
- 195 **Caroline:** #OK well safe journey #
- 196 **Mr Kujabi:** OK
- 197 **Caroline:** OK and I'll see you tomorrow
- 198 **Mr Kujabi:** thank you #very# much
- 199 **Caroline:** #OK#
- 200 **Mr Kujabi:** thank #you# very much for #that#
- 201 **Mr Kujabi:** #yea# #thank# you too yea
- 202 **Caroline:** thanks {noise of chairs moving} OK
- 203 **Mr Kujabi:** see you tomorrow

204 **Caroline:** see you take care

205 **Mr Kujabi:** bye bye

Appendix 11

Mr Touray Stimulated Recall Interview

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	Highlighted = Arabic
/kestion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** OK you remember this from [Caroline shows Mr Touray the
2 microphone and recorder]
- 3 **Mr Touray:** yea yea last year {Caroline laughs} sure
- 4 **Caroline:** in May you wore it a lot of the
- 5 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 6 **Caroline:** one of your lessons . is really really interesting
- 7 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 8 **Caroline:** and I wanted to talk to you about it some more
- 9 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 10 **Caroline:** because . umm .. when I came . to this school and to all the other
11 schools the teachers always say to me that the language of education is
12 English
- 13 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 14 **Caroline:** OK . and when I was in your class I was very impressed
- 15 **Mr Touray:** #sure #
- 16 **Caroline:** #that # you used a lot of local language I think I spoke to you
- 17 **Mr Touray:** #yea yea#
- 18 **Caroline:** #I said#
- 19 **Mr Touray:** you use a lot of #local language# #
- 20 **Caroline:** #yea yea yea# yea yea # but this one lesson is very very
21 interesting most of your lesson is in local language but the children are
22 really learning
- 23 **Mr Touray:** sure

- 24 **Caroline:** really learning
- 25 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 26 **Caroline:** so I wanted to talk to to you about it . and see how you . see it here
27 [background noise 23 seconds] so this was on . Tuesday morning
- 28 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 29 **Caroline:** and we we spoke first of all .. about making sentences . and you had
30 boxes on on the board
- 31 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 32 **Caroline:** and the students had to pick one part from this board and one part from
33 this box to make a
- 34 **Mr Touray:** #sen#
- 35 **Caroline:** #complete# sentence #
- 36 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 37 **Caroline:** and um I'll show you something in a minute . bit slow let's have a look
38 . you called the register which went on for some time . this is
39 everything that you said
- 40 **Mr Touray:** yea [background noise 3 seconds]
- 41 **Caroline:** oh hold on I think I've opened the wrong one [background noise 10
42 seconds] XX join them together and make and make two sentences
43 [background noise 10 seconds] let's find the example here we go . let
44 me play this for you
- 45 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 46 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 47 **Caroline:** OK
- 48 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 49 **Caroline:** you remember the lesson
- 50 **Mr Touray:** so so so so [means a little]
- 51 **Caroline:** yea? OK . what I want to show you is . we go a little bit further down
52 [background noise 6 seconds]
- 53 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray

- 54 **Caroline:** so you say this in
- 55 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 56 **Caroline:** **afor again bang** *say it again* yea in Mandinka
- 57 **Mr Touray:** **afor** *say* yea yea yea yea
- 58 **Caroline:** say it again this is [**Mr Touray:** yes] my English translation [Caroline
59 explains what Mr Touray can see on the screen] [**Mr Touray:** XXX]
60 say it again .. and then you start very small . using very small
61 Mandinka
- 62 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 63 **Caroline:** and then here we have more look . we have more
- 64 **Mr Touray:** [said very quietly] some more example you have more [background
65 noise 7 seconds] hmm see different XX
- 66 **Caroline:** aha . now I oh this one this one caused me a big big problems here
67 when you spoke here . I think you're speaking some Ballanta [minority
68 language spoken by approx 180 people in the area surrounding Baakoo
69 Kunda school] can you speak Ballanta
- 70 **Mr Touray:** no no no no no
- 71 **Caroline:** OK so you're going to /gonna/ have to tell me what you say here
72 because my translators couldn't translate this
- 73 **Mr Touray:** you want
- 74 **Caroline:** right at the very end of this thing let me just find out where we are
- 75 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 76 **Caroline:** what language is that ..
- 77 **Mr Touray:** can we repeat it again
- 78 **Caroline:** of course .. can you hear it let me hold the mic
- 79 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 80 **Mr Touray:** I think it's Fula language
- 81 **Caroline:** Ful#a#
- 82 **Mr Touray:** #yes#

- 83 **Caroline:** #ah you see# #you# have some Fula students #
84 **Mr Touray:** #we have some# Fula . students in my #class#
85 yea yea yea
- 86 **Caroline:** so is it that you say here . let me play it again .
- 87 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 88 **Mr Touray:** hmm OK . it's ..
- 89 **Caroline:** you're not sure and you said it { laugh }
- 90 **Mr Touray:** so so I don't know ah . just the voice ..
- 91 **Caroline:** it's certainly you
- 92 **Mr Touray:** local language Fula language yea
- 93 **Caroline:** yea . because /cos/ we nobody could actually recognise it I actually
94 have somebody who speaks Fula .
- 95 **Mr Touray:** #XXX #
- 96 **Caroline:** #is one of is one of# my translat. translators but she is from the
97 Kombos so the Fula here I think is deeper [a Gambian expression that
98 means more traditional] than
- 99 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 100 **Caroline:** so . Fula in Kombo
- 101 **Mr Touray:** so we don't have this kind of Fula here everybody has .
- 102 **Caroline:** no no no um nobody gets to hear everything they only get to hear the
103 the small bit that you speak in a different language [**Mr Touray:** yes]
104 they don't hear everything only I hear everything
- 105 **Mr Touray:** OK OK
- 106 **Caroline:** so I just play them very small bits
- 107 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 108 **Caroline:** and they hear it
- 109 **Mr Touray:** no no no what I mean whether you went to another school and er to
110 record somebody else who was teaching also
- 111 **Caroline:** oh yes lots of people . lots of people
- 112 **Mr Touray:** yea and er different schools

- 113 **Caroline:** different schools all over
- 114 **Mr Touray:** yea because this one I don't know whether it's somebody else or me
- 115 **Caroline:** no it's definitely you
- 116 **Mr Touray:** aha
- 117 **Caroline:** yea this was taken Baakoo Kunda. #Baakoo Kunda school#
- 118 **Mr Touray:** #that's right you are# right you are
- 119 right you are right
- 120 **Caroline:** grade five . [**Mr Touray:** yes] this is definitely you Mr Touray
- 121 **Mr Touray:** so. sorry
- 122 **Caroline:** #this is definitely#
- 123 **Mr Touray:** ##then then# then it was English a sorry sorry Fula Fula language
- 124 **Caroline:** Fula
- 125 **Mr Touray:** yea Fula local language
- 126 **Caroline:** OK let me play it again
- 127 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 128 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 129 **Mr Touray:** ahh OK OK OK OK I was explaining to them like if you want to make
- 130 sentence one at a time not all of you put up your hand
- 131 **Caroline:** OK
- 132 **Mr Touray:** no they are do like this this
- 133 **Caroline:** OK #OK #
- 134 **Mr Touray:** #yea # yea yea
- 135 **Caroline:** OK
- 136 **Mr Touray:** so Fula language XX
- 137 **Caroline:** so maybe it was the Fula children that were all putting #their hands up
- 138 at the same time#
- 139 **Mr Touray:** #yea yea yea
- 140 yea because I# yea I spoke to them in English somebody just put their
- 141 hands down for the Fulas couldn't understand . so this why I went up to

- 142 the extent of translating to Fula so that they also understand [**Caroline:**
143 also] very very quick yea
- 144 **Caroline:** OK
- 145 **Mr Touray:** ah you're right you're right it's Fula language you are right
- 146 **Caroline:** Fula language
- 147 **Mr Touray:** so so so it's a long time you know I forgot now
- 148 **Caroline:** oh no I don't expect you to know exactly #what you said# {laugh}
149 **Mr Touray:** #yea yea yea# yea yea yea
- 150 **Caroline:** if you asked me what I said in May I certainly couldn't remember
- 151 **Mr Touray:** yea you are right yea yea
- 152 **Caroline:** OK that's fine so you were just asking them to put their hands one at a
153 time
- 154 **Mr Touray:** #one at a time#
155 **Caroline:** #all not to# rush
- 156 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 157 **Caroline:** #OK#
158 **Mr Touray:** #in chorus# yea
- 159 **Caroline:** OK that's fine so this sentence this this lesson in particular umm y. y.
160 y. you used an awful lot of local language . and the children . seemed
161 to understand very well
- 162 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 163 **Caroline:** when we get much further down this lesson is very long
- 164 **Mr Touray:** #yea#
165 **Caroline:** #about# it's er you think .. err . think I think it's something like two
166 hours including maths .
- 167 **Mr Touray:** English and maths yea
- 168 **Caroline:** yea English and maths together two hours and seven minutes . and
169 quite a way down you take in the books from the children for their
170 English work and you start on the maths
- 171 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 172 **Caroline:** work

- 173 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 174 **Caroline:** you take in the English books and and certainly they seem to have um
175 done well
- 176 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 177 **Caroline:** they answered the questions well
- 178 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 179 **Caroline:** so what . what I'd like to to talk to you about is when you talk um when
180 you use another language
- 181 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 182 **Caroline:** do you think the children respond more . or less
- 183 **Mr Touray:** yea when I . no translation like if I . maybe say something in English
184 [**Caroline:** hmm] if they don't understand very well I translate to
185 Mandinka [**Caroline:** hmm] to understand more very very well than
186 only in English [**Caroline:** OK] but I'll ask a lot of them to respond
187 back in English
- 188 **Caroline:** OK
- 189 **Mr Touray:** yea after understanding in the local language then respond back in
190 English
- 191 **Caroline:** so you don't allow the children to use local language to respond
- 192 **Mr Touray:** no no no no
- 193 **Caroline:** no
- 194 **Mr Touray:** they only use that so they will understand
- 195 **Caroline:** OK
- 196 **Mr Touray:** then they when they respond back in English I will also understand that
197 they they they understand it
- 198 **Caroline:** OK
- 199 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 200 **Caroline:** say if a child was having a lot of trouble understanding would you
201 allow them to speak to you in in local language until they understood
202 completely and then change to English [**Mr Touray:** yea] or would

- 203 you try and try and get them to switch to English very early in the
204 process
- 205 **Mr Touray:** yea first what I do if they have any problem with any other topic or
206 lesson . I would ask them what problem do you have concerning the
207 lesson [**Caroline:** hmm] so there they cannot say it in local language
208 they have to go straight to the English yea because they want to explain
209 local language I will not allow them to explain the local language
210 [**Caroline:** OK] I am asking just try and say it in English and some of
211 them try very well [**Caroline:** hmm] because they are also understand
212 what they are trying to explain to me [**Caroline:** OK] yea yea
213 [**Caroline:** OK] yea allow them to explain it in English . then I will
214 come in to help yea yea yea
- 215 **Caroline:** and er going back to the point about lots of children putting up their
216 hands
- 217 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 218 **Caroline:** there seems to be a lot of interaction in the classroom you ask a lot of
219 questions [**Mr Touray:** yea] and lots of children are answering [**Mr**
220 **Touray:** yea] do you think you get more response from the children
221 more children raising their hands [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] when you use
222 local languages and when you encourage in local languages . or when
223 you or does it not make any difference if you use English or local
224 languages
- 225 **Mr Touray:** yea it make difference of course . yea when I ask them er question only
226 in English [**Caroline:** hmm] the fast learners will understand very well
227 and will put their hands up [**Caroline:** OK] but sometimes . I don't
228 want only the fast learners to be contributing all the time [**Caroline:**
229 OK] so slow learners who are there who are not very very intelligent
230 they don't understand very quick [**Caroline:** hmm] so I think that's XX
231 you see one person just putting their hand up or similar persons putting
232 their hand up . so if I want the others to to to contribute so this is why I
233 go to local language for the while so they will also understand and
234 raise up their hand [**Caroline:** yea] but when I only ask them question
235 in English only in English the number of people who put their hands
236 up . will not be that much many . yea yea yea but when I go up to the
237 extent of explaining in the local language . then we see hands up
238 [**Caroline:** OK] because the slow learners will understand [**Caroline:**
239 OK] immediately [**Caroline:** OK] so this what first pushed me into
240 explaining a topic sometimes in the local language yea yea yea
- 241 **Caroline:** so would you say that you're describing the children as slow learners
242 perhaps would you say they are slow learners or their English is poor
- 243 **Mr Touray:** yea we have you know . we have some when I say slow learners we
244 have some few of them [**Caroline:** hmm] yea . who are not very very

- 245 quick in understanding [**Caroline:** OK] a spoken sentence or a written
246 sentence
- 247 **Caroline:** in English
- 248 **Mr Touray:** yea in English
- 249 **Caroline:** OK but they understand perfectly in in local language
- 250 **Mr Touray:** yea yea so they understand it very perfectly in local language but to
251 respond back to me in English that is what is their problem . yea . but I
252 have er very fast learners among them and a few ones this is why
253 sometimes I use grouping and mix them [**Caroline:** hmm] yea the fast
254 learners and the slow learners I just mix them . they are some are slow
255 in their XX or before they understand . but then once they understand
256 they're able to go up
- 257 **Caroline:** sorry I just
- 258 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 259 **Caroline:** oh it's OK [**Mr Touray:** yea sorry] the other one had a box on that I
260 had to switch on I just remembered I didn't switch on the box but this
261 one doesn't have one so
- 262 **Mr Touray:** yea OK
- 263 **Caroline:** I'm sorry I'm sorry
- 264 **Mr Touray:** no problem
- 265 **Caroline:** yea so and do you think the grouping helps then when you group them
266 into fast learners and slow learners [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] do you think
267 that helps
- 268 **Mr Touray:** it help a great deal [**Caroline:** hmm] because like for example when I
269 wrote when I write a topic on the blackboard . I start teaching the topic
270 with them . so I allow them to . discuss [the lodge keepers son comes
271 with candles and calls Caroline] among themselves
- 272 **Caroline:** oh Malik **abarraka bake** *thank you very much* this is for you ...
273 **abaraka** *thank you* [Caroline takes the candles and gives Malik some
274 small money for his help]
- 275 **Mr Touray:** I will allow them to discuss among themselves [**Caroline:** hmm] then
276 they're . because there are some smart boys among all the groups
277 [**Caroline:** yea] then I will see the smart boys helping the other
278 students no this is how we should do it the teacher say it should be
279 done like this [**Caroline:** hmm] this lesson should be we should do it
280 like this I see it with my eye [phrase meaning he has actually seen this

281 happening not heard it from somewhere else] [**Caroline:** hmm hmm]
282 you see all the groups so that also er help the teacher . in in in moving
283 around the class all the time going up and down up and down you have
284 this group you have this group you have this group you have that group
285 . but when you have fast learners among themselves [**Caroline:** yea] I
286 will see them helping others [**Caroline:** aha] yea they'll they'll all of
287 them understand [**Caroline:** hmm] yea this is why . I prefer to put
288 them in groups [**Caroline:** yea] yea it will encourage friendship among
289 them . easy understanding among them . that's it [**Caroline:** hmm] yea
290 yea yea . yea [**Caroline:** are those] because when they're er know
291 talking they themselves . even slow ones will have the confidence to
292 say what they know but if I stand in front ask them they feel shy of the
293 whole class [**Caroline:** hmm] but when they working in group .
294 everybody will say something . yea because they are not standing in
295 front of the class

296 **Caroline:** OK that's good how how big are the groups that you use

297 **Mr Touray:** yea I most of the time I join three or four tables together [**Caroline:**
298 OK] because each

299 **Caroline:** two children on each table

300 **Mr Touray:** yea that's it

301 **Caroline:** OK so maybe six or eight #children #
302 **Mr Touray:** #yea# six or eight yea yea yea

303 **Caroline:** OK

304 **Mr Touray:** yea . normally do six six six

305 **Caroline:** and boys and girls or groups [**Mr Touray:** yea yea yea] of boys groups
306 of girls

307 **Mr Touray:** er this is this is what gender equality

308 **Caroline:** OK #so boys and# girls mixed together
309 **Mr Touray:** #mixed together# yea they are mixed together XXXXXX

310 **Caroline:** yea that's good that's good yea and erm [noise from children's activity
311 nearby increases] just going back to . the local languages . that that
312 small bit that I played to you there that was the only piece of Fula
313 everything else was in Mandinka . um so most of it is English and then
314 [**Mr Touray:** yea] Mandinka and then just that very small piece is in in
315 Fula [**Mr Touray:** yea] do you ever use any other languages or just
316 Mandinka and Fula

- 317 **Mr Touray:** there is only Mandinka and Fula because we only have Mandinkas
318 Tukulor [a minority tribe closely related to the Fula] and Fulas are in
319 my class [**Caroline:** hmm] yea and single Ballanta
- 320 **Caroline:** and one single #Ballanta#
321 **Mr Touray:** #yea one# single but I cannot speak Ballanta
- 322 **Caroline:** they you can't no [**Mr Touray:** yea can't speak] but can they speak
323 Mandinka
- 324 **Mr Touray:** but but but they can hear English very er er Fula too [**Caroline:** OK]
325 and they can hear English too
- 326 **Caroline:** OK
- 327 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 328 **Caroline:** what about erm when you're in the Kombo area have you ever taught
329 in Kombo
- 330 **Mr Touray:** hmm Kombo no #I have never#
331 **Caroline:** #Banjul Serrekunda# no
- 332 **Mr Touray:** no no no no no . I taught maybe around Basse area
- 333 **Caroline:** OK
- 334 **Mr Touray:** yea #before I go to# college yea
335 **Caroline:** #then is Basse# OK in Basse erm its Mandinka area or
336 Serahule area
- 337 **Mr Touray:** but almost we have all the tribes there we have Mandinka we have
338 Serahule you have Fula you have er er Wolof [**Caroline:** hmm] they
339 are all in class [**Caroline:** OK] yea yea yea
- 340 **Caroline:** so what language did you use in class then
- 341 **Mr Touray:** yea only use English and the person who didn't understand [**Caroline:**
342 hmm] then I would ask the question what type are you . first time that
343 is what I would do then I know them I come to know them . so there
344 are Fulas who speak Mandinka very well . and there are Mandinkas
345 can speak Wol. Fula very well and Wolof [**Caroline:** hmm] so when
346 the person is a Wolof then I would come a little bit down to explain to
347 the persons so they will understand . yea
- 348 **Caroline:** so you can speak Wolof
- 349 **Mr Touray:** yea #Man#dinka
350 **Caroline:** #and# #Mandinka and Fula #
351 **Mr Touray:** #Fula yea# Serahule #I can# small

- 352 **Caroline:** #and then#
353 small
- 354 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 355 **Caroline:** **domanding demanding** *small small*
- 356 **Mr Touray:** yea yea {Caroline laughs} because I try small you know
- 357 **Caroline:** OK
- 358 **Mr Touray:** so yea yea yea
- 359 **Caroline:** OK there's one other thing I wanted to ask you about this recording .
360 let me see if I can find it
- 361 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 362 **Caroline:** hmmm starts now let me see [pause 9 seconds] OK . let me play this
363 for you [pause 7 seconds] it's not coming
- 364 **Mr Touray:** no [pause 12 seconds]
- 365 **Caroline:** the children [involved in the nearby activity] are making a lot of noise
366 sorry
- 367 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 368 **Caroline:** did you hear what you said then
- 369 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 370 **Recording:** previous recording of observation is played to Mr Touray
- 371 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 372 **Caroline:** I was wondering .
- 373 **Mr Touray:** that one is er in Mandinka
- 374 **Caroline:** yea
- 375 **Mr Touray:** this was er when I gave them class er text
- 376 **Caroline:** aha
- 377 **Mr Touray:** from this started writing the class text [**Caroline:** hmm] so I so . few of
378 them you know starting to disturb each other they not even start the
379 work [**Caroline:** yea] they started you know tampering with the other
380 people's books [**Caroline:** aha] . so I told them in Mandinka you

- 381 people have started again . I gave you class work and you started
382 disturbing the other people . [**Caroline:** OK] she was trying to borrow
383 I don't know whether . XX something from the other table
- 384 **Caroline:** OK
- 385 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 386 **Caroline:** so you what you said was your stop disturbing the other table
- 387 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 388 **Caroline:** #because my trans.# can you see what my translators #told me it was#
389 **Mr Touray:** #ah you know# #yea yea yea#
390 **nyalong atolu ninso leti yalong nyameng falieh attolu mu faloo leti**
391 *you know you people are cows you know what I have told you hear you*
392 *people are donkeys*
- 393 **Caroline:** hmm . it they told me this means you know you people are cows . and
394 you know what I have told you hear you people are donkeys
- 395 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 396 **Caroline:** is that what you said to the children .
- 397 **Mr Touray:** **nyalong atolu ninso leti yalong nyameng falieh attolu mu faloo leti**
398 *you know you people are cows you know what I have told you hear you*
399 *people are donkeys* yea that was hmm those students those stubborn ah
400 two boys sitting at the back . yea . because they wanted to interrupt the
401 lesson [**Caroline:** OK] they were given class exercise to do [**Caroline:**
402 aha] so because sometimes when they ah sometimes they offended the
403 teacher so much so that . [**Caroline:** hmm] you don't go . er into
404 insulting them directly [**Caroline:** yea] just sometimes use other words
405 to to to make them disgrace [**Caroline:** OK] yea yea to make them you
406 know feel that you you are angry with them so that one was **ninso**
407 **ninso cow cow . ninso cow** means cow [**Caroline:** cow] stop behaving
408 like cows and donkeys
- 409 **Caroline:** oh OK
- 410 **Mr Touray:** #yea# yea
411 **Caroline:** #OK# so what I wanted to ask was . when you talk to the children
412 like that when you reprimand them . like this do you always do it in
413 local language . or was this just because I was there when that day
- 414 **Mr Touray:** you know k. in the local language . no no no no I don't always do it in
415 local language
- 416 **Caroline:** hmm because during this lesson you don't ever reprimand them in
417 English .

- 418 **Mr Touray:** #XXX# here
419 **Caroline:** #you o.# yea you don't ever day anything like that in English erm
420 you say keep quiet do your work [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] keep quiet sit
421 down [**Mr Touray:** yea] do your work at one point . at one point you
422 are telling a child to get out he was disturbing the class [**Mr Touray:**
423 yea] you say er **funta funta banta** *get get out*
- 424 **Mr Touray:** yea yea **funta** *get*
- 425 **Caroline:** erm get out get out and you say it all in Mandinka . and I was just
426 wondering whether you always reprimand in local language or whether
427 it was just because I was there .
- 428 **Mr Touray:** ah most of the time I reprimand in er in in in both . yea in English
429 sometimes XXX ah Mandinka [**Caroline:** OK] because some of them
430 will offend me you know then I will talk to them in English but still
431 they will continue doing it [**Caroline:** OK] XXX because I I ask them
432 sit down keep quiet do your work [**Caroline:** hmm] and that means
433 mind your business [**Caroline:** hmm] concentrate on what you are
434 given [**Caroline:** hmm] and this what basically you concentrate on
435 what he or she is given [**Caroline:** hmm] but it seems that still they did
436 not understand then somebody get up and tampered with other p.
437 persons property . so that's what will make me sometimes use the local
438 language for them to understand very very quick
- 439 **Caroline:** OK
- 440 **Mr Touray:** yea yea but I say it in I say it in both
- 441 **Caroline:** yea
- 442 **Mr Touray:** yea most of most of the time some English . some XXX
- 443 **Caroline:** I don't worry I I teach in schools in the UK I know children are
444 naughty and I know
- 445 **Mr Touray:** yea yea #yea very very# stubborn #
446 **Caroline:** #I was called# # listen actually I should call the
447 children donkeys sometimes {laugh} . because they are stubborn
448 sometimes
- 449 **Mr Touray:** #a lot#
450 **Caroline:** #they are# just like that
- 451 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 452 **Caroline:** so don't worry I am not saying that it is wrong for you to say these
453 things [**Mr Touray:** yea yea yea] but I am what I was interested is that
454 [**Mr Touray:** to know] is that this day you only spoke to them like this

- 455 [Mr Touray: yea] in local language [Mr Touray: yea] and I just
456 wanted to know if it was because of ME being there [Mr Touray: XX]
457 or if it was because that's just what you always do so you normally
458 start in . in English
- 459 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 460 **Caroline:** with this keep quiet do your work
- 461 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 462 **Caroline:** yep sit down
- 463 **Mr Touray:** #yea yea#
464 **Caroline:** #and then# you #you speak#
465 **Mr Touray:** #XXX#
- 466 **Caroline:** speak later
- 467 **Mr Touray:** in #in Mandinka#
468 **Caroline:** #XXXX# continue to do it you speak in Mandinka
- 469 **Mr Touray:** yea that's for them to . know e.e.e know what I am saying and I mean it
- 470 **Caroline:** OK
- 471 **Mr Touray:** this why emphasise . mm the local language small then they will know
472 that this man is ready now what he says he mean it [**Caroline:** you
473 mean] and some of you will calm down [**Caroline:** OK] yea yea yea
474 because they don't understand grammar very very well [**Caroline:**
475 hmm] this their problem yea yea yea
- 476 **Caroline:** what about if a child came to you for help or advise or . you know
477 teacher something has happened I'm unhappy . what would you speak
478 [**Mr Touray:** yea yea yea] would you speak to them in their language
479 or
- 480 **Mr Touray:** yea just like guidance /guardiance/ and counselling
- 481 **Caroline:** yea #yea guidance and coun. counselling exactly#
482 **Mr Touray:** #counselling the child yea yea yea# that's it . yea I will . first of all .
483 when a child face me and say teacher I have a problem you know
484 maybe whether it's peer problems [**Caroline:** hmm] home problems
485 even relationship or the person maybe is sick doesn't want to continue
486 the lesson want to go home . I will invite the person to come and find
487 me where I am sitting [**Caroline:** hmm] separate the person from th
488 other [**Caroline:** hmm] children and ask the person what is your
489 problem . oh so when it is a problem like er . I am not very much well I
490 want to go home . somebody did it to me there . so I told the person
491 what is your problem she said Mandinka I'm not well [**Caroline:** hmm]

492 so I told the person what is err what is wrong with you you say you are
493 not well so which part of your body is disturbing you or . stomach head
494 fever any other thing so that person told me she is having a headache
495 [**Caroline:** hmm] I told her headache she said yes . so I told her can
496 you XX anything in break time then you'll find XX and XX get tablet
497 for you . she told me oh OK I will try and see but I cannot continue I in
498 fact want to lie down [**Caroline:** hmm] yea so I told her well try and sit
499 at my place and go and sit at the board there yea I continue with the
500 peoples so I left the I left one girl it was one girl so I left her there she
501 was seated so she bowed down her head on the table [**Caroline:** hmm]
502 before I could finish she went asleep you know [**Caroline:** hmm] so
503 when it was time for break time I wake her up so we went to the staff
504 bantaba [literally meeting place in this case functions as a staff room]
505 here we asked it was Mr Ceesay's time [**Caroline:** hmm] we had a first
506 aid box there but there is no tablet in it [**Caroline:** hmm] XXX I don't
507 think we have tablet here you know . so I said OK it's not a problem so
508 I gave her just dalasi to one Ebou Surname in my class that boy so he
509 rushed and buy this thing paracetamol [**Caroline:** hmm] I gave to the
510 person and she take it and XXXXXXXX that hot house here so that she
511 not go and disturb also in the class so we left the person there because
512 she is coming all the way from the other near nearby village

513 **Caroline:** oh #so it's a long way long way you don't# want to send her home
514 when #she is sick#
515 **Mr Touray:** #at the XX here yea she don't go home#
516 #ye yea yea# she wanted to try to learn and we XX from here to
517 other places it's not safe you say you are sick . so what you do you just
518 lie down here and . you are lying down nobody is disturbing you here
519 and in fact you are in getting relief from the pain . so just lie down here
520 and sleep left the person here and continue the class . when the school
521 was over we closed we went after prayers then I called the colleagues
522 [other students] the one she came with I told them to accompany her go
523 with her she is not feeling well and they went with her yea when it is
524 other problems like er you know . some of they problems like maybe
525 family problems or . or or or peer among themselves because some of
526 them they're it's their problem . but when I asked one of the boys he
527 told me . not . XX XXX . [**Caroline:** hmm] when I call him outside
528 when he start and finish the class he get XX so I told him so what
529 causes that he said well I don't know that . OK I told him the problem
530 is maybe . if we call outside here and you ask him to say something
531 when you ask him to put your hand up when I ask you to come out
532 when you come out . you start speaking something different what you
533 will do just don't look into the eye of the people [**Caroline:** hmm] if
534 you are to look in all these eyes you will forget about what you want to
535 say . when you come in for just bow down your head say what you
536 want to say . but if you want to know inside I have one and every
537 person there . eh that may make you to forget what you want to say
538 [**Caroline:** hmm] yea this what I advised the other boy [**Caroline:**
539 hmm] yea

- 540 **Caroline:** so when you're giving this advise do you do you give this advise in
541 English or .do you talk to them in Mandinka
- 542 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea I first try in English
- 543 **Caroline:** first #try in# English
- 544 **Mr Touray:** #yea yea# because XXX I was washing them to be good English
545 speakers
- 546 **Caroline:** yea good XX
- 547 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea [**Caroline:** aha] because I ask them what is your problem .
548 it's better they say no they don't I don't know just . speak to me as I
549 speak to you [**Caroline:** hmm] then they will try and say in English
550 you know [**Caroline:** hmm hmm] hmm sometimes phrases but will
551 understand . ooh err the the sentence yea sometimes they use phrases
552 incomplete but I will complete it for them in English
- 553 **Caroline:** yea
- 554 **Mr Touray:** then thy will understand it
- 555 **Caroline:** yea
- 556 **Mr Touray:** yea it's what I do
- 557 **Caroline:** OK and now you're with grade two
- 558 **Mr Touray:** yea yea #yea#
- 559 **Caroline:** #yea# and these children are much younger
- 560 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 561 **Caroline:** and their English is very small I think
- 562 **Mr Touray:** yea yea #yea# yea
- 563 **Caroline:** #yea# and how do you find that
- 564 **Mr Touray:** yea the first time we came from the college [Mr Touray is a trainee
565 teacher who has to attend the Gambia college for several months a year
566 for formal training] you know came back to resume back [**Caroline:**
567 hmm] you know I had wanted to go back to my class grade six to go to
568 grade six [**Caroline:** hmm] but Ceesay [the headteacher] told me no
569 the way I was having in grade five was you know he was yea very
570 impressed [**Caroline:** hmm] you know lot of teaching aids in the class
571 painting other things you know [**Caroline:** hmm] you know sometimes
572 when you have practical work you see me sending the s. the pupils
573 outside to go and collect n. er lime . lime the lime itself the leaves and
574 maybe mango leaves like when you are teaching plant [**Caroline:**
575 hmm] you see eh this one is fine he said I think you in fact maybe you

576 will be very good at around grade twelve er sorry grade two [**Caroline:**
 577 hmm hmm] yea the ones who are just starting I told him eh those ones
 578 are difficult to handle because they disturb a lot you know you know
 579 these small small kids they offend the teacher so he don't have you
 580 have to exercise patient [**Caroline:** hmm] you don't always you are not
 581 somebody who is you know has patient it's hard [**Caroline:** hmm] he
 582 told me no just XX just try and continue with grade two then n. Yaffa
 583 will continue with grade six [**Caroline:** hmm] yea and by then the
 584 other man who is in grade five did not come yet and we are expecting
 585 another teacher when he comes I will take him to grade five [**Caroline:**
 586 hmm] just handle grade two because grade two was handled grade one
 587 was handled by a one female teacher the one who was having a baby
 588 [**Caroline:** hmmm] yea so their their foundation was not that much
 589 good very poor you know . yea . so . he said somebody else must take
 590 them around grade two e. try and help them [**Caroline:** hmm hmm]
 591 yea and yea because the girl was taking them around grade one .
 592 Adama . Surname was she was little bit lazy [**Caroline:** hmm] so there
 593 are so many decisions like that that so I said OK . because /cos/ well I
 594 will try and see but these people are not easy to deal he said no just try
 595 and see maybe as time goes on they will be used to you [**Caroline:**
 596 hmm] so this is how I went to grade two so when I went there you
 597 know . so you know XX there so I then felt what I do with first
 598 preview we revise what we did [**Caroline:** hmm] err what they did in
 599 grade one . ask them yea what was the last subject you did with your
 600 teacher Adama . so some of them told them ah it was XX telling me
 601 times some of you are telling me this and going something like that so
 602 we start from there [**Caroline:** hmm] yep the preview the previous one
 603 [**Caroline:** hmm] just to test their knowledge [**Caroline:** hmm] yea
 604 because I wanted to know their level before I go in [**Caroline:** hmm]
 605 yea so some of them people like Bakary and others you know they are
 606 responding very well very well I said ahh OK there are some good
 607 boys and girls here [**Caroline:** hmm] and maybe it's not going /gonna/
 608 be a problem [**Caroline:** hmm] so

609 **Caroline:** Bakary was the little boy singing this morning #Bakary# Surname
 610 **Mr Touray:** #yea#
 611 Bakary Surname yea

612 **Caroline:** yea #oh a beautiful voice#
 613 **Mr Touray:** #XXXX#

614 **Caroline:** so so so yea [**Caroline:** yea] he's a very good boy he he learn all those
 615 songs in class but he was able to put it in his head [**Caroline:** hmm]
 616 yea very good

617 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea

618 **Caroline:** very good

619 **Mr Touray:** yea

- 620 **Caroline:** yea I think also in the UK now we are doing this now we are putting
621 our very good teachers in the lower grades
- 622 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 623 **Caroline:** because this is where the children learn to read [**Mr Touray:** that's it]
624 and learn their tables [**Mr Touray:** yea] and learn how to learn [**Mr**
625 **Touray:** yea] you know this is where the discipline comes and the
626 children learn that learning is fun and it's good [**Mr Touray:** yea] and
627 when they go up the school it doesn't matter so much [**Mr Touray:** yea
628 that's it] if the teaching is bad because they know how to learn
- 629 **Mr Touray:** already
- 630 **Caroline:** exactly
- 631 **Mr Touray:** yea the foundations are in order
- 632 **Caroline:** it's very difficult if you get to grade five and you cannot read
- 633 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea yea
- 634 **Caroline:** you cannot it's very difficult
- 635 **Mr Touray:** it's very very #difficult# #to help them#
- 636 **Caroline:** #and the grade# five teacher has no time #to teach#
- 637 reading
- 638 **Mr Touray:** yea that's it
- 639 **Caroline:** so we put our good teachers in the UK we put them in the
- 640 **Mr Touray:** lower grades
- 641 **Caroline:** lower grades
- 642 **Mr Touray:** sure
- 643 **Caroline:** and I think this is what Mr Ceesay #is doing because he seems a
644 clever# man
- 645 **Mr Touray:** #yea that's it yea# #
- 646 yea yea this what he told me yea yea
- 647 **Caroline:** yea
- 648 **Mr Touray:** yea yea

- 649 **Caroline:** yea . so . but your your children in your class are always really happy .
650 and from the from the interaction you know the the questions and
651 answers questions and answers
- 652 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 653 **Caroline:** and a few times children came to the board and you got questions
654 wrong
- 655 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 656 **Caroline:** umm you remember we did um you did a maths lesson . greater than
657 #smaller than greater than less than sign do you remember#
- 658 **Mr Touray:** #oh yea yea yea yea yea and you told me something that# when your
659 whether your son something like that [**Caroline:** yea] what you do you
660 just the way the bigger one I think er er the bigger one face the bigger
661 number something like that
- 662 **Caroline:** yea if the if the big bit of the sign
- 663 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 664 **Caroline:** the big bit of the sign always goes to the biggest biggest number
- 665 **Mr Touray:** you are right
- 666 **Caroline:** yea and then it's
- 667 **Mr Touray:** greater than and less than OK
- 668 **Caroline:** exactly
- 669 **Mr Touray:** that's it I can remember
- 670 **Caroline:** so yea
- 671 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 672 **Caroline:** she pretended it was the crocodile eating {laugh}
- 673 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea so
- 674 **Caroline:** so {laugh} erm . erm yea but on that day several children came to
675 came to the
- 676 **Mr Touray:** board
- 677 **Caroline:** to the board and got the signs wrong and you were very very patient
678 you were you took time you no look again check my check on the
679 board what did I write on the board which one is which check again

- 680 [Mr Touray: yea] is this right and you were always asking the class .
681 is this right did she get this right did she get this right and interaction
682 was really good with the class [Mr Touray: yea] the the children were
683 really enjoying the lessons [Mr Touray: hmm] so erm yea it was very
684 very interesting . erm as part of my research I . print this off and er if
685 you like I can send you . send you a copy [Mr Touray: yea] of the
686 printing
- 687 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 688 **Caroline:** yea would you like that
- 689 **Mr Touray:** yea l. yea yea yea no problem no problem yea
- 690 **Caroline:** erm and then erm . so you can show everybody or keep it secret [Mr
691 **Touray:** sure] whatever it's up to you
- 692 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 693 **Caroline:** yea OK you see here this this one you've changed so many times into
694 Mandinka .
- 695 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 696 **Caroline:** yea here here
- 697 **Mr Touray:** yea yea there are some Mandinkas there yea [**Caroline:** yea] this is
698 Mandinka Lamin . here here Lamin yea that is
- 699 **Caroline:** yea
- 700 **Mr Touray:** [reading from the transcript] what's happened . you better write here
- 701 **Caroline:** I think this was the children had been set the work and you were
702 talking to individual children going to individual [Mr Touray: yea
703 yea] children so there's your pencil oops [pause 5 seconds] oh and this
704 is very interesting as well you Mandinka with a little Wolof . put in
705 [Mr Touray: yea] {Caroline laughs}
- 706 **Mr Touray:** there is Wolof here
- 707 **Caroline:** er y. a little er
- 708 **Mr Touray:** [reads from original transcript] ali. ali. **aliliteria alilitaria** *be quick*
- 709 **Caroline:** yea [reads from original transcript] why even more than **tang**
710 parretareh *few [people] are ready*
- 711 **Mr Touray:** {whispers}[reads from original transcript] parretareh . **mbah mark**
712 **lareh nya contineh** *hmm yea ready I am going to mark it and continue*

- 713 **Caroline:** the message . #Mandinka English and# #Wolof#
714 **Mr Touray:** #yea . yea yea ali. **aliliteria**# this is in #Mandinka# yea
715 Mandinka Mandinka Mandinka hey **aliliteria** that means hey be quick
- 716 **Caroline:** aha yea [**Mr Touray:** yea] be quick [**Mr Touray:** yea] [reading from
717 original transcript] even few people are ready I am going to mark it and
718 then continue XXX
- 719 **Mr Touray:** yea that's it . for some of them hmm they're not doing what they are
720 supposed to do instead of [**Caroline:** yea] XX starting to answer the
721 questions . you are sitting talking
- 722 **Caroline:** yea yea . so er so it was very interesting because /cos/ this is Mandinka
723 and Wolof and English why even more than maybe [**Mr Touray:** yea]
724 that shouldn't be there why even more than .. it look may I'll check that
725 . yea so
- 726 **Mr Touray:** maybe XX this one **hie** *exclamation to draw attention in both Wolof*
727 *and Mandinka* it can be Wolof it can be Mandinka
- 728 **Caroline:** #OK# [pause 7 seconds]
729 **Mr Touray:** #hie# yea
- 730 **Caroline:** so it was very very interesting transcribing your work
- 731 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 732 **Caroline:** and erm . yea I learnt a lot from your lessons it was very good to sit in
733 your lessons with children always very happy in your classes
- 734 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea
- 735 **Caroline:** yea so it was very good I also erm recorded Mr Bah and Mr Yaffa but
736 neither of them are here so I can't interview them but
- 737 **Mr Touray:** that's it that's it
- 738 **Caroline:** thank you so much did you have any questions you wanted to ask me .
- 739 **Mr Touray:** hmm [pause 6 seconds]
- 740 **Caroline:** are you happy with the observations
- 741 **Mr Touray:** yea yea [**Caroline:** yea] it's fine yea yea yea
- 742 **Caroline:** you didn't feel too stressed

- 743 **Mr Touray:** no no no it's it's very nice yea it's very nice {Caroline laughs} really we
744 really appreciate it because er . I'm able to you know know know some
745 of my little bit problems
- 746 **Caroline:** [very high pitched] oh no
- 747 **Mr Touray:** yea like er like maybe . it's nice but maybe go with missing . you know
748 English most of the times
- 749 **Caroline:** hmm
- 750 **Mr Touray:** yea maybe if if local language can be used maybe that one can be . for
751 a FEW times you know [**Caroline:** hmm] because like I explained
752 before . even myself I w. like to use English most of the time because
753 [**Caroline:** hmm] but if you XX sometimes it is not easy . [**Caroline:**
754 yea] when you speak English speak English speak English speak
755 English they'll open their eyes on me like that [illustrating that the
756 children look in bewilderment at him] [**Caroline:** yea] so I will say to
757 myself maybe some them still didn't understand [**Caroline:** aha] and
758 now write it on the board work it out maybe it is maths that one day
759 catch up is very easy easy [**Caroline:** yea] but for a lot of English it is
760 always waiting
- 761 **Caroline:** yea
- 762 **Mr Touray:** and there is nothing like you calculate plus minus it is not like that
763 [**Caroline:** hmm] so when I speak very very very well in English . OK
764 some of them will put their eyes on me . I will say to myself maybe is
765 some of this people have not understood still . then I will later come
766 down to the local language and explain little bit in the local language
767 [**Caroline:** hmm] for better understanding
- 768 **Caroline:** yea and I think I think that's the way we all learn
- 769 **Mr Touray:** yea #that's it#
770 **Caroline:** #like for me now# I'm learning Mandinka
- 771 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 772 **Caroline:** and every time somebody teaches me a new word in Mandinka
- 773 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 774 **Caroline:** I first have to know what that word is [**Mr Touray:** yea] in English
- 775 **Mr Touray:** yea that's it
- 776 **Caroline:** you know so
- 777 **Mr Touray:** then you come and try it in Mandinka

- 778 **Caroline:** and then I have then I
- 779 **Mr Touray:** try it in Madinka
- 780 **Caroline:** then I know it in in in English [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] then I can
- 781 **Mr Touray:** #write it in local language#
- 782 **Caroline:** #know it in in# in the local language in Mandinka
- 783 **Mr Touray:** yea
- 784 **Caroline:** so . for the children in the classroom it's the same when there is
785 something new [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] first they have to know what
786 what is this word [**Mr Touray:** surprise] what does it mean in
787 Mandinka [**Mr Touray:** yea yea] and then XXX
- 788 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea yea yea [**Caroline:** yea] that's it [**Caroline:** so] it's really
789 nice I appreciate this it's very very nice I really like it [**Caroline:** yea]
790 yea I really like it you know . appreciate it
- 791 **Caroline:** good good
- 792 **Mr Touray:** yea it's very #very good# #yea#
- 793 **Caroline:** #I was very# happy in your class and also #I# learnt a lot
794 from your lessons
- 795 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea #yea#
- 796 **Caroline:** #and# er transcribing them was very very interesting
- 797 **Mr Touray:** yea #that's it XXXX#
- 798 **Caroline:** #thank you very much#
- 799 **Mr Touray:** you are welcome
- 800 **Caroline:** thank you . so
- 801 **Mr Touray:** very very much thank you too
- 802 **Caroline:** thank you OK let's shall we take this off
- 803 **Mr Touray:** ah OK OK
- 804 **Caroline:** OK there we go so you have no questions for me no . you are very
805 happy
- 806 **Mr Touray:** yea yea everything is well done it's perfect it's OK [**Caroline:** OK] yea
807 .. so .. the other time you called me at Basse you know . XX
- 808 **Caroline:** hmm

- 809 **Mr Touray:** XXXXX [recorder is being put away so much of 'social' talk is
810 unheard]
- 811 **Caroline:** yea that's right yea
- 812 **Mr Touray:** yea yea yea XXXXXXXXX
- 813 **Caroline:** aha I was in . er SutoKoba
- 814 **Mr Touray:** ahh OK #OK OK OK# OK OK XXXXXXXX #
- 815 **Caroline:** #yea yea yea# # yea it's a shame I I didn't get to see Mr Yaffa
816 but
- 817 **Mr Touray:** yea yea
- 818 **Caroline:** um . his his lessons were very different to yours [**Mr Touray:** yea]
819 very different and Mr Bah again very different [**Mr Touray:** so] stop
820 this now

Appendix 12

Interview Schedule for Pre-Observation Interviews

These questions were asked prior to observations taking place. Where possible they were asked well in advance of the observation, and most were asked on initial meeting with the teacher. However, occasionally they were asked immediately prior to the observation. The teachers were present when the details were recorded. At the time of the brief questionnaire it was reiterated that any information given would be kept confidential and identities would be changed to ensure anonymity. Teachers were told the reason for the observation was to note classroom practice and they were informed that the researcher was a student from a UK university and not a teacher.

1. How do you spell your name?
Most teachers responded with Mr X, and did not offer their first name.
2. How long have you been teaching?
3. How long have you been a qualified teacher?
4. How long have you been at this school?
5. Which languages do you speak?
6. What is the age of the children in your class?
It is common in The Gambia for children to miss a year or more of schooling or have to repeat a year because of low grades or lack of attendance. Therefore although most of the children in a particular year group will be the 'correct' age there are usually some children who are older.
7. How many children are in the class?
8. How many boys and how many girls are in the class?
9. What languages do the children in your class speak?
Children in The Gambia usually have more than one language, their family language (possibly a minority language), that of their compound or immediate community if different (usually Wolof in the urban area and Mandinka in the rural areas), a language of wider communication (Mandinka) and they then learn English in class. None of the teachers listed English in the children's repertoires yet they all listed it as one of their own languages.
10. Is there anything about your class you would like me to know before the observation?
I asked this question to indicate there was an opportunity for the teachers to ask questions or give any further information. None of the teachers offered any additional information but several asked questions about recording and whether I would be teaching any of the lessons.

Appendix 13

Lesson Outline

The lesson has been divided into events in order to outline the content. Some of the events will be extrapolated and discussed further while others are listed here to add background information to the scenario.

L18-45 The lesson starts with the teacher (Mr B) asking students to recall where he had 'left off' the topic before the break. One student offers the topic of 'tb' (tuberculosis) but his response is ignored by the teacher. Mr B asks four times without a response before launching a monologue on the topic of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

L45-50 Mr B then continues his monologue by introducing other names that are used to refer to STDs and listing the most common STDs in Gambia. He writes the names of the diseases on the board.

L50-146 The first, and most common disease, to be discussed is gonorrhoea. This was also discussed before the morning break but at this time Mr B gives a graphic account of the symptoms experienced by men who have gonorrhoea. He also brings in social awareness of the disease, stating that the reason some women have only one child is because of this disease. It is this comment that elicits the first comment from a pupil, a mention of women who have no children at all *L147*

L148-201 Mr B is sidetracked by this question and enters into a long monologue about conception. However, as he points out the children will not 'learn' this subject until grades seven, eight, and nine, and he has to explain a lot of terminology before he can continue.

L2012-224 During this distraction Mr B tells the pupils about a time he encountered a young woman who started to menstruate on the bus he was travelling on. This event is recounted as a narrative, with Mr B featuring as the hero who saved the girl from disgrace. This narrative was told to serve as a warning to girl students to know their 'menstrual table' in order to not embarrass themselves.

L226-242 Following this story Mr B turns to the child who asked the question and states he has answered the question. However, he then continues to give advice to the boys about what to do if they marry a woman who they later discover cannot have women. During this advice session Mr B code-switches for the first time.

L246-332 Having exhausted the topic of gonorrhoea the teacher starts to explain syphilis. It would appear that Mr B is becoming more relaxed at this stage as he starts using elaborate paralinguistic behaviour to punctuate his monologues. He also jokes with some of the children.

L276-279 However, just as the class start to respond to his antics Mr B brings the class back to order by ridiculing one child who speaks out of turn. Contains code-switching between one of the local languages, (Mandinka), English and Latin while

still discussing syphilis, and code-switching between English and two of the local languages, Wolof and Mandinka.

L337-406 Mr B then goes on to introduce the next two subject areas in turn, chancroid, a disease specific to areas that use pit latrines, and HIV/AIDs. During the discussion of chancroid a local Mandinka idiom is used, with a similar meaning to the English idioms 'between a rock and a hard place', and 'between the devil and the deep blue sea'. During the teaching Mr B code-switches between English and Wolof or Mandinka, however the majority of the teaching is conducted in English.

L306-491 After talking for some while on the topic of HIV/AIDS a child asks a question about the cure that is being offered by President Jammeh (current President of The Gambia). *L480-489* While he is careful not to discredit President Jammeh Mr B does tell the children that the cure for HIV/AIDS is not a viable reason for them to risk their lives for sex.

L493-505 After this discussion there is a comment from the children which Mr B turns into a funny situation. He then issues instructions for the class to copy the material provided in the text books into their exercise books.

L504-532 During the lesson there are two other adults in the room, Mr F a student teacher and the researcher. Mr B now addresses Mr F to check the time; he then addresses the researcher to clarify the time. Realising he has finished the lesson too early Mr B then turns to the children to ask for more questions. He offers to give them a Dalasi (coin) for any question they ask.

L532-572 One child asks another question about the HIV/AIDS situation and especially President Jammeh's claim of a cure. Mr B reiterates that President Jammeh is doing a good thing, however, the only way to be sure if you are healthy is to have tests at the local clinic and to take precautions. *L536-537* However, before the child asks his serious question Mr B makes a joke of the boy.

L573-590 Having exhausted questions from the class the teacher then introduces a new task, for some children to come forward to present what they have learnt from today's lesson. As the first child comes to the front of the class he begins to talk in Wolof, and is immediately told to speak English *L580-581*.

L591-656 Following this initial presentation two more children present their ideas to the class and these are expanded upon by Mr B. The final event of the lesson is Mr B thanking the class and the class returning the thanks.

L657-662 interaction with researcher.

Appendix 14

Illustration of Transcriber During Text Production

The screenshot shows the Transcriber 1.5.1 interface. The transcript area contains the following text:

yes
 Mr Saily
 and what is the heading [clears throat] . get me some chalks . look
 Whole class
 after possessions
 Pupil
 look
 Mr Saily
 looking after?
 Whole class
 possessions |
 Mr Saily
 possessions . so there is a picture there not so
 Whole class
 yes
 Mr Saily

Below the transcript is an audio waveform labeled "FB1MGRADE6ENG". At the bottom, a timeline shows the following segments:

Speaker	Text	Start Time	End Time
Whole class	after...sions	11:10	11:15
Mr Saily	possessions . so... there not so	11:15	11:20
Whole class	yes	11:20	11:25
Mr Saily	can we look at his picture . can we look at his picture on the on this page we are... there? ..	11:25	11:30
Pupil	people... a boy	11:30	11:35
Mr Saily	you... e	11:35	11:35

Cursor : 11:12.242

Appendix 15 BK2Aa/b/cGRADE6SES

BK2AaGRADE6SES

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)

.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)

XXX = undecipherable speech

CAPITALS = stressed speech

/kɛstion/ = pronunciation information

text # = overlapping speech

{singing} = additional noises

[name] = additional information

Bold = Mandinka

Underlined = Wolof

Highlighted = Arabic

SMALL CAPS = Fula

Double underline = Serahule

Italics = English translation

- 1 **Mr Bah:** yes
- 2 **Caroline:** OK that's fine
- 3 **Mr Bah:** Mr Bah does not have the microphone on as he outlines the lesson for
4 Caroline therefore much of this section is undecipherable [Caroline
5 hmm] and er sometimes we have XXXXXXXXXX so that XXXX that
6 one what they do they require children to have just the basic idea what
7 is the organisation purpose of the organisation who are the members
8 and what is the contribution what is their XXX play organisations .
9 XXXXXX for the African in particular XXXXXXXX telling them
10 exactly particularly the standpoint of the country of The Gambia it's
11 role there what does it function when does it XXXXXXXXXXXX
- 12 **Caroline:** OK
- 13 **Mr Bah:** undecipherable
- 14 **Caroline:** alright that's good
- 15 **Mr Bah:** so . she's a friend #and# I think she she you she came here you came
16 XXXXX
- 17 **Caroline:** can I just #hello# yeah I was in here in January but it was in
18 the afternoon these children were not here
- 19 **Mr Bah:** OK right OK she was here in two thousand and two January
- 20 **Caroline:** oh two thousand and two
- 21 **Mr Bah:** two thousand and three
- 22 **Caroline:** two thousand three two thousand #four#
- 23 **Mr Bah:** #yeah# OK fine but she came in the
24 afternoon XXXXXXXXXXXX grade three . but then you were in grade
25 three at your grade four also she was here but she came in the
26 afternoon

- 27 **Caroline:** no no no no only in this January
- 28 **Mr Bah:** January
- 29 **Caroline:** I we were here in the afternoon
- 30 **Mr Bah:** understand
- 31 **Caroline:** when I was here two thousand three two thousand four we spent all
32 day here
- 33 **Mr Bah:** OK right
- 34 **Caroline:** a group of students
- 35 **Mr Bah:** OK
- 36 **Caroline:** I don't know if you remember
- 37 **Mr Bah:** OK right . so she was here when some of your brothers and sisters
38 most of them now are in the upper basic #school grade# nine others are
39 in grade eight
- 40 **Caroline:** #upper basic yea# mmm
- 41 **Mr Bah:** presently some XXXX grade eight or in grade nine of NAME OF
42 SCHOOL when she came she find those people when they were in
43 grade six here alright she is Carolina . right?
- 44 **Caroline:** hmm
- 45 **Mr Bah:** from Eastern London school alright she is also at University of Eastern
46 London school she come to visit us she is a friend of Mr Name through
47 Mr Name [child coughs] XXXX she also want to come she is on a
48 research she is taking certain courses and programmes she want you to
49 XXXX class here so I wish you all to co-operate with her give her the
50 support and participate in lesson fully so that she can do her work very
51 easily . is that clear
- 52 **Pupils:** yes
- 53 **Mr Bah:** now during the lessons I want your usual co-operations . XXXXXX
54 [door slams] XXXXXX talk properly is that clear
- 55 **Pupils:** yes
- 56 **Mr Bah:** alright so Caroline you #are# welcome to #the class# XXXXXXXX
57 **Caroline:** #hmm# #thank you#

- 58 **Mr Bah:** so this is a recorder as we are teaching it will record some of the
59 informations and then she will use that to develop she cannot write all
- 60 **Caroline:** I cannot write #very fast# [stage whisper to children] #
61 **Mr Bah:** #no because# sh. she cannot write quickly like that to
62 get all the information but the recorder will help her so that she can get
63 all the information for the study is that clear #
64 **Pupils:** yes
- 65 **Mr Bah:** good .. [noise of Mr Bah putting on microphone]
- 66 **Caroline:** OK #I put# a band round #it now so its not# so messy
67 **Mr Bah:** #right# #yea OK right# OK
- 68 **Caroline:** thank you
- 69 **Mr Bah:** alright .. so we have today the topic we have today is SES SES in
70 short that means social and environmental studies in short alright so
71 we're discussing about certain organisations and the role they play in
72 The Gambia particularly organisations like WHO World Health
73 Organisation World Bank the Commonwealth OAU the Organisation
74 of African Unity OIC the Organisation of Islamic Call and er GATT
75 G.A.T.T. General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs and UN which is the
76 United Nations we talked about this organ. organisation last week and
77 er in our last lesson sorry and er we discussed about their role they
78 play in the government their importance the objective of this
79 organisation we discussed this here and I give you one part of it so
80 today we are going to discuss the government in The Gambia and other
81 countries that means we are going to compare how is The Gambia
82 taking its government from the head of state right down to the minister
83 secretary of state governors chiefs Alkahlos [religious leaders of each
84 village] village heads compound heads going on like that civil servant
85 how is this country operating with those ones how in regards to other
86 countries like the African countries European countries Asian
87 countries American countries what are their relationships what are
88 their similarities and their differences this are some of the points you
89 want to talk about we are at unit five [sound of pages turning] unit five
90 . government [singing heard from next class] ... government . in The
91 Gambiagovernment in The Gambia and . in other countries
92 [classroom noise 15 seconds] right we are talking about government in
93 The Gambia in The Gambia not other country but The Gambian
94 system of government we have a democratic system of government
95 that is when we say democratic it mean a government whereby a leader
96 is elected people go cast their votes choose the right person and you
97 see the winner will become the leader alright some members are
98 elected some are selected after election we see some members are
99 selected maybe for example we come to the class we said we want a
100 class prefect then we said who want to be a prefect Assan wants Lamin
101 want Penda wants Sillah wants Fatoumata want Mariama wants alright
102 but we cannot make ALL of you class prefects . only one has to be a

103 class prefect now we start to say OK Lamin you want Sillah want
104 Dembo OK now you go and campaign /campage/ look for people to
105 support you tell them your views your ideas why you want to c. be a
106 captain class captain alright or a class prefect and if you happen to be a
107 class prefect what and what are you going to do for your class so that
108 they can put you there . you said yes I will do this I will do that she
109 will do this she will do that he will do that now you ALL agree on the
110 after you convinced the XXXX now we say OK now you have done
111 your XXX everything now you have done everything now after
112 finishing everything what they will say is now let us go and count our
113 votes the day or day of voting you come . those are in for Sillah put
114 your hands up who are in for Demba there who are in for Parkeh there
115 who are in for Mabally there . then we choose the majority will then be
116 the leader . may be we found that Sillah gets the majority and we say
117 oh then Sillah is the class prefect . then the person with the second
118 largest the person with the second largest will then become what the
119 assistant . then we say that this is a democratic system . after Sillah
120 being the class prefect Sillah can stand and say OK now I am the class
121 prefect so what I will do is now I will choose Bubacarr to be my
122 secretary . Bubacarr is not elected but Bubacarr is selected now by
123 Sillah . so this our system of government that we have right now we
124 will go into the book when we go into the book we will see how the
125 Gambia system of democracy the ruling of the government start from
126 the past regime /raygym/ the regime of the PPP when we the former
127 president sorry Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara was on power up till the
128 time when the country comes to the time when Yaya Jammeh is on
129 rule alright we have to connect these two together so that we can
130 understand from the past how should XXXX are working and that time
131 will lead us to the present . the first XXX we will discuss about the
132 government in The Gambia . that is government in The Gambia
133 [classroom noise 5 seconds] government in The Gambia right when
134 you look at the book it says we have a democratic system of
135 government in The Gambia . we have a democratic system of
136 government in The Gambia this means that we choose our government
137 by electing members of parliament the member of parliament for you
138 constituency /consequency/ is honourable Mama Kaldeh he is the
139 member of parliament the MP he is the one who is serving you people
140 at the cabinet because we all cannot be there we have to elect people to
141 sit and speak on our behalf on our mouth to speak of our problem to
142 say our concerns and to talk on behalf of the area they are serving so
143 that the government can pay attention to that area . that's why Mama
144 Kaldeh is chosen /choosen/ as a member of parliament for your this
145 XXXX constituency /consequency/ represent gymara where at Banjul
146 down there at the house of parliament . alright because you and I and
147 others all of us cannot be in the parliament there but we say that ahh ok
148 Mama wants Mama say that he can be there now what we will do now
149 let's give our votes to Mama Kaldeh . we vote for him he won now he
150 is there representing the whole of Gymara {area of The Gambia} .
151 alright all the villages in Gymara he is there to represent them . speak
152 on behalf of them lobby their problems there discuss with the

153 government . XXXX it out and they come with solution how to help
154 Gymarato develop this is the role of the members of parliament .. right
155 we have a head of state and a house of representative in every
156 government in a democratic government there is one man there that
157 they call the head of state [classroom noise 4 seconds] head of state
158 other places they will not call it a head of state what they will call it is
159 called some will call it a prime minister [classroom noise 4 seconds]
160 prime minister . others instead of that where there is kingship they will
161 call it king . alright like The Gambia we have a head of state who is the
162 head of state of The Gambia . who is the president . huh? . yes? Yaya
163 Jammeh is the head of state of The Gambia is the president of The
164 Gambia alright so you see other places instead of XXXX what they
165 will have they will have prime minister . like where Caroline /carolyn/
166 come from they have prime minister . Tony Blair is the prime minister
167 that means the one overrule concern taking care of the state . alright
168 Tony Blair is the prime minister of . UK right of England . right other
169 places you have king like Morocco /more oco/ [classroom noise 3
170 seconds] right we have Morocco king of Morocco alright you have
171 kings there king of Swaziland you have these people because what
172 happened they are leaders in their country they have attend certain age
173 of leaders see now they entered into the family of the kingship
174 [classroom noise 2 seconds] they becomes kings and that means when
175 they become king what happen is that their family will be the rulers of
176 that place [classroom noise 3 seconds] prime minister you are there
177 you have a term of office that means you are to rule for a number of
178 years which is agreed by the constitution government and by what the
179 parliament . the parliament has to decide yes Mr Ousman will be the
180 president now if Ousman or Lamin or Sillah or Bubucarr will be the
181 president how long will it serve you say oh no four years no five years
182 let's make it five years they agree onto that now after every five years .
183 The Gambian has to go out . cast their votes choose a leader they want
184 . people will campaign . for the leadership those who . will after
185 campaign they will select their candidates and people will then go to
186 the polling station cast their vote and choose their leader this why
187 happens when during the past elections we have seen it here right . the
188 elections in January we have seen the presidential elections when the
189 contestants were Yaya Jammeh Ousainou Darboe Hallifa Sallah and a
190 Adama Bah {names of prominent politicians} . they contested for what
191 presidency [classroom noise 2 seconds] right . they went into elections
192 . right . and after the elections the votes were counted . when the votes
193 were counted then this a Yaya Jammeh happens to be the winner and
194 er he is now serving as a head of state a third term in office . right he
195 won and now he is still the president from two thousand and one . he
196 went up to two thousand and six he is a president two thousand and six
197 he is there two thousand and seven two thousand and eight two
198 thousand and nine year two thousand and ten . two thousand and
199 eleven Gambia will go to the polls again . at two thousand and eleven .
200 we will go for another election again . to choose our leader who will
201 serve us as the head of state [classroom noise 2 seconds] is that clear is
202 the same way those members of parliament which are under the

203 president are also ah this thing elected into office some are nominated
204 [classroom noise 2 seconds] some they select them and they are put in
205 there because in The Gambia cabinet we have a cabinet members of
206 forty eight [classroom noise 3 seconds] this forty eight out of this forty
207 eight you have seen to it that thirty nine . thirty six of them gone in for
208 elections [classroom noise 2 seconds] right thirty six of them were the
209 ones who were elected alright the head of state will elect four
210 [classroom noise 2 seconds] alright [classroom noise 2 seconds] and
211 the other four will be nominated [classroom noise 4 seconds]right
212 [classroom noise 2 seconds] then they come up of which the ruling
213 party has the majority member of parliament in the government that is
214 the APRC [Alliance of Patriotic Re-Oriented and Construction
215 current ruling political party] OK sorry [microphone noise 8 seconds]
216 now it is windy the Harmattan tropical wind is blowing gradually
217 normally we have the wind that blows from the north /nott/ north of the
218 African coast towards the south right and it normally comes with dust
219 you see people having cough catarrh and other things so that's
220 normally starting gradually at some time OK right good so having
221 gone that way we have all these people who are there in the house of
222 representatives . those representatives the representatives are the
223 ministers or the secretary of states [classroom noise 7 seconds] this are
224 representatives are what the MPS member of parliaments . secretaries
225 of state [classroom noise 4 seconds] we call they were then they were
226 called ministers before but now they are called SOS secretary of states
227 . alright . secretary of state like you have the education department the
228 secretary of state for education Pa Lamin Faye . alright being
229 responsible of secretary as a secretary of state alright so you have
230 different different people responsible you have the secretary of state
231 for defence for education for economy for interior for this thing
232 international affairs foreign affairs alright religious affairs this are
233 various areas which XXX people are responsible for sports and all
234 other things alright . after when they come into this representatives that
235 are the MPs SOS secretary of states those people are the one they put
236 in and selected into those people also what they do is they vote for
237 them . and they go into office there are certain number of people that
238 they vote for they go into office and they have a special term of office
239 after that term finish they have to come back and campaign again . if
240 you could recall there was a time when one time the present this thing .
241 area council care man Kadiman Sanneh was an MP here alright after
242 some times he was out Mama Kaldeh . alright and Mama Kaldeh XXX
243 come again now you won for a second time again . alright . so you will
244 see to that these are people who notably serve us in our com. because
245 /cos/ those people are there to tell the people that ah well in my area
246 particularly like NAME OF AREA village they need water supply they
247 need street light they need a health centre alright because its a big
248 village it is difficult to travel from NAME of AREA to Basse or it is
249 difficult to travel from NAME of AREA to NEARBY TOWN when
250 somebody is sick we cannot easily carry the individual so they tell all
251 this problems to the government the government will listen to them .
252 after all this problems when the government listen to all this problem

253 now they say OK now we heard of you Mr Honourable we heard of
254 you now what is the problem you are saying you don't have health
255 centre but NEARBY TOWN is there . no but to travel from here to
256 NEARBY TOWN is difficult OK that what we will do XXXXXX we
257 will give you an ambulance at your village now which will ease the
258 movement even though you don't have health centre but that
259 ambulance can carry people to and from NEARBY TOWN . so that
260 whoever is sick they will be carrying to NEARBY TOWN or they
261 bring you back from NEARBY TOWN . they say OK now we will do
262 that but OK our village we don't have street lights so the place is dark
263 and we don't have good w. water supply they complain of that also .
264 then we complain we say OK now what will we do OK we will have a
265 borehole for you or what we will do OK as far as you complain
266 because OK NAME of NEIGHBOURING VILLAGE also say they
267 want a borehole so what we will do is this now we look the two
268 villages and the centre of the two villages we are going to dug a
269 borehole for you there which the two villages will use we will do the
270 cost but the labour costs will be done by you now . they said OK if you
271 go you tell your people that . that we are going to give them a borehole
272 but the labour will be done by them . they said ah then the MP will
273 come call the village Alkahlos the village elders and say ah well we
274 went to the ministry I complained of the that you people were saying
275 that this is your problem because within our campaign you said water
276 is your problem . electricity is your problem but now what they say
277 that they are going to give us a borehole . but you people complain of
278 borehole this people also complain of borehole so what we are going to
279 so we are giving a borehole what they are going to do now is say that
280 now they said we are going to put the borehole between the two
281 villages . between NAME OF AREA and NAME OF
282 NEIGHBOURING VILLAGE now they centre this borehole there ..
283 both he two villages problems are solved at once because they want to
284 make a borehole here and they go and make another borehole there it
285 will be expensive alright or because they have only one borehole that
286 will be there so they cannot give it to one village and leave the other so
287 what they will do they come and put it at the centre alright when they
288 put it at the centre the two villages will be benefitting from the same
289 borehole XXXX is there old both of them part of their problem is
290 solved .. maybe another village complain of what maybe they don't
291 have proper road network .. or they complain of that the place where
292 they are their taps are not functioning . or they say that maybe their
293 access to school . maybe their distance they are living maybe their
294 moving their children are walking six seven kilometres . to come to
295 school which is very long alright everyday they walk from that
296 distance they come they always come late they go in that hot sun and
297 go back home when they reach home they are tired they cannot read
298 well at night they feel sleepy they could not study well . so they
299 complain that they say ah and you will see that a large number of
300 children are coming from there might be everyday hundred plus is
301 coming from that village . or that village and the surrounding who have
302 more than hundred coming from that village everyday to school .

303 because some are very small they cannot come they leave those people
304 at home . alright . then they complain of saying that they want a school
305 they complaining to the the MP the member of parliament and he take
306 it before the cabinet well my village my area there are some villages
307 that are very suffering . you see he will say that my village there are
308 people who are suffering some are walking six seven kilometres to go
309 to school which is not accepted . alright its a long distance . they will
310 be everyday going and coming and those villagers that are walking that
311 distance you see to it that the number coming there can even
312 accommodate a school at the beginning . like we are having up to two
313 hundred of them coming from that place . what they will say now is
314 OK now as far as that is the case what we will do is now OK we will
315 try to build a school for you there but what we will do is now you go
316 find a land find a very good place where a school can be alright we
317 will bring in people when they come and survey say ah OK they come
318 and call the Alkahlo and the villagers say ah . we discuss about this
319 and the village said they are going to give us a school but what they
320 say is that we have to go and find a LAND where we are going to build
321 a school alright . they all agree now they say OK let's look at they say
322 ah but there is an empty land there around the furrows oh somebody
323 say ah at my orchard at my garden we can even remove the trees and
324 use that place as a school no problem . they agree they say OK now
325 let's fix a day . maybe they say ah next weekend Saturday we are we
326 all go there the villages around will go cut all the trees remove clear
327 the place and now they invite this er the specialist to come n. look at
328 the place measure it and see that well this is the amount that we need to
329 XX to construct the school and the school premises alright . then after
330 agreeing onto that they contract the government that yes we have
331 already get a place and it is good then they in send in their experts they
332 come and look at the place yes its fine its a good location for a school
333 alright after when they accept that they invite a contractor to come and
334 start the school you see that some of those problems are also solved so
335 this is how some of you are able to be in this schools because it has
336 been pioneered by other people to have a school here . the same way
337 like the health centre under construction not so . its a priority because
338 NAME OF AREA complained that everyday they have to apy fare to
339 go to Basse or to go to NEARBY TOWN . alright . it become difficult
340 for them to ac. access those places . particularly at night when
341 sometimes vehicles are not moving . and you don't have your own
342 vehicle to transport you alright it becomes expensive now they
343 complain of this thing now they are saying OK now we will give you a
344 health centre they start to build a health centre for them . so this are the
345 role that MPs will perform that is the members of parliament OK. now
346 we go into the head of state proper how does the head of state comes
347 into be . alright the first head of state of The Gambia was Sir Dawda
348 Kairaba Jawarra . he was the first head of state in The Gambia alright
349 Sir Dawda [classroom noise 4 seconds while Mr Bah writes on board]
350 Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawarra [classroom noise 4 seconds] his name is
351 Dawda Jawarra but when he comes to be a president . that is the time
352 he is given /dgiven/ that honorary title by the king QUEEN of

353 ENGLAND that they give him the title sir /sah/ . that is Sir Dawda
354 Kairaba Jawarra . right .. and er there is a hotel which is name after
355 him at Kairaba Hotel alright so this are the XXXXX he is entitled with
356 he was the first president of The Gambia when Gambia gained
357 independence in eighteen February nineteen sixty five he was the first
358 president chosen /choosen/ to be the head of the country right .. first
359 head of state of The Gambia . eighteen February nineteen sixty five
360 when Gambia is no more under the control of the British . alright when
361 Gambia is out of the slavery has stopped and is finished Gambia is no
362 gained its own independence in eighteen February nineteen sixty five
363 The Gambians went to the poll to select a new president . this was the
364 time when The Gambia gained independence . then they were moving
365 on yes still we have indirect rule system working up till a time nineteen
366 seventy . that was the time when The Gambia had its own full
367 complete democratic system . in nineteen seventy one they start to
368 operate on their own that was the time you see The Gambia start to
369 have its own currency using it because then we were using the ah the
370 English money . alright then at nineteen seventy one Gambia had its
371 own system of government they have complete total independence
372 [classroom noise 2 seconds] they built schools . educate . military there
373 police there all other organisations which are related to g. the
374 government comes into being in nineteen seventy one and that was a
375 time they had their various cabinet members [classroom noise 2
376 seconds] right . and I tell you we have done in the history we have seen
377 that the pro before independence how does The Gambia was crawling
378 for worse getting a democratic state and after when Gambia get
379 independence how The Gambia was moving to get a party that will
380 rule . we have various XXXX like Iron Gabba Janhuntha was part of
381 those one who were fighting for presidency to rule the country E F
382 Small E F that Edward Frances Small alright we have this one
383 Reverend Jessie Faye was part of this one people who are clever and
384 Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawarra this people who were the four people who
385 were there contesting like the Muslim Party the Muslim Congress
386 Party . the PPP People's Progressive Party UP the United Party . alright
387 . so this were parties formed that were formed before independence ..
388 sorry during after inde. after /afffter/ independence when this people
389 were going in for elections some of this parties were formed . alright
390 then after that they come to form another new party the NCP the
391 National Congregation Party led by Sheriff Mustapher Dibba Sheriff M
392 Dibba alright those also come into being . so this is how The Gambia
393 grows into . the true democratic system and they start . appointing .
394 various people in the government . right now let's look at the book's
395 statement about The Gambia house of representatives sorry about the
396 head of state .. [reading from text book] since The Gambia become a
397 republic in nineteen seventy . this is the year a republic [classroom
398 noise 8 seconds] this why they say The Republic of The Gambia by
399 then they said The Gambia The Gambia but The Gambia becomes a
400 republic in nineteen seventy . we gain independence in nineteen sixty
401 five in nineteen seventy they becomes a republic . alright then at
402 nineteen seventy The Gambia becomes a republic . this head of state

403 has been the president Sir Dawda K Jawarra in the presidential election
404 of twenty nine April nineteen ninety two . the first presidential election
405 they conduct was in when . was at the time that is elections [classroom
406 noise 4 seconds] election in twenty nine April [classroom noise 6
407 seconds] nineteen ninety two he gained the most votes in thirty three of
408 the the thirty six constituencies /consequences/ . we have thirty six
409 places where they were polling /pulling/ station for presidency . right
410 from the Kombo there right down to the last village of The Gambia as
411 far as Fatoto [an area at the very east of the country, beyond the
412 country's second major town Basse, near the Senegal border usually
413 referred to as the end of The Gambia as with John O'Groats in the UK]
414 . or Koyna [a town at the most western point of The Gambia - similar
415 to Land's End in the UK] . alright we have thirty six centres . in the
416 country where we are having elections done that means the counting
417 centres [classroom noise 2 seconds] in each village or in every like
418 community you will see that there will be one or two or three polling
419 station but the counting centres we have there were up to thirty six
420 centres . alright out of this thirty six he WON . out of thirty six he won
421 thirty three of it . and that he means he left with only three that he
422 doesn't won [classroom noise 2 seconds] alright the president travelled
423 abroad to other countries to represent The Gambia at international
424 meetings such as commonwealth head of state conferences .
425 commonwealth head of state we have seen that Gambia has a role for
426 play in the commonwealth it is an organisation for an area which is an
427 organisation of unit where ALL the West African English speaking
428 countries are part of and commonwealth in general ALL the countries
429 that are ONCE colonised by the British [classroom noise 2 seconds] all
430 the countries that are once colonised by the British are part of what we
431 call the commonwealth of countries [classroom noise 2 seconds]
432 alright The Gambia Sierra Leone Ghana Nigeria . Liberia is not part of
433 it I told you Liberia was colonised by the Americans right Liberia is
434 not part of it but this countries we have seen that are part of the
435 commonwealth of countries . this why that one I explain it to you the
436 past ones we see that the celebrate world commonwealth day . in the
437 day when you will recall your culture how your people were acting
438 you start to put on your traditional clothes your traditional foods . you
439 cook your traditional foods and you bring it to share with your friends
440 maybe you are a Fula you put on a big chaya [traditional trousers of a
441 Fula] and a a big hat I am a Jola I put on a big big big big shirt maybe I
442 am a Mandinka I just put on my big **kulembeng** [traditional male
443 clothing similar to a loin cloth originally worn in the bush but now
444 worn on ceremonial occasions] I come alright you come to the XX to
445 see that people will know that that is your culture oh this is how your
446 people dress . ah . come on so this was your culture . oh good . because
447 maybe you don't know trouser you don't know the simple shirt you
448 don't know because /pron 'cos'/ those was not something that your
449 ancestors were using . alright you start to say ah but it is a very good
450 nice one maybe your cultural food is domoda {traditional Mandinka
451 dish} you cook domoda and never know what is domoda maybe I
452 breed what . milka cherreh [a milky pudding made from cous cous

453 often given to children] . somebody cook there benechin [literal
454 translation 'one pot' a traditional Wolof dish of rice and fish] another
455 cook there soup . bring it other one cook there fufu [a dish popular in
456 Ghana and Nigeria consisting of pancake and thick savoury sauce
457 often prepared in urban restaurants] . another one bring maybe I don't
458 know all this things we try to exchange ideas from say ah this is what
459 they call benechin ah yes this our cultural food ah how do you cook
460 this you put rice oil onion you start explain not so the individual will
461 get that idea and know that ah this is the way you are cooking this
462 thing ah but this this culture is nice huh? you ask somebody ah you
463 cook soup how do you cook soup . eh start to explain somebody will
464 also explain and now you interact ah come come come come let's eat
465 let's eat you join you might be eating your food you go and join in
466 eating his food share each others idea and you taste each others food
467 and you start to feel each others culture from there [classroom noise 2
468 seconds] this is what was existing this why whenever the
469 commonwealth come we have to celebrate this day to recall . of the
470 colonial era . alright . this why commonwealth have to be celebrated .
471 alright . he said the house of representatives . those representatives that
472 means people whom you select or you elect to go and sit for you there
473 and Banjul in the cabinet to talk on behalf of you . to say that my area
474 want this this is what we need we don't want this . alright . no we don't
475 agree under we have to do it like this until you come to an agreement
476 for your area . just like if you have a class prefect in your school .
477 alright that class prefect has to see that what ever the class want that
478 class prefect have to do that for the class . go out call teachers clean the
479 board take care of the class when the teacher is out see that the class is
480 clean there is se. silence when the teacher is away alright unlock the
481 door arrange the lines at assembly ground before the teachers will
482 come OK . break . ring the bell see that the children are in their classes
483 this are things that you know you will come up with as responsibilities
484 is a way of putting away responsibilities for you to be a test as a
485 responsible somebody . you are taking care of so many peoples
486 problem . at the same time or at different time so this will show that
487 you are becoming a responsible somebody alright . he says the house
488 of representatives our house of representative often called parliament
489 [classroom noise 2 seconds] our house of representative [classroom
490 noise 4 seconds] house of representatives HR is often called the
491 parliament [classroom noise 4 seconds] is what we call the parliament
492 [classroom noise 2 seconds] parliament [spells out] p a l i e n t
493 parliament . alright . members of parliament you will normally hear
494 that members of parliament for Gimara Mama Kande members of
495 parliament for Basse Salieu Bah members of parliament for Tumana ah
496 Bak. Bakai members of parliament for Wuli Sidia members of
497 parliament for Wuli West Janko Jabba something like that . alright this
498 are people who are controlling who are concerned of that constituency
499 /consequency/ taking care of that area to see to it that we are taking our
500 problems to the place where it is they are the one who will be XXXX
501 as a link between the community and the government . alright they are
502 there as a link between the government and the community . whatever

503 the community says . they carry that information from the community
504 and they go and visit with the government alright if they see the
505 government talk to the government about whatever the government
506 says they come back and filter that message to the community in which
507 they are from where they are elected . alright so this is what we call
508 house of representative [classroom noise 1 seconds] this is a word used
509 in many countries to describe the group of people who represent us .
510 that is parliament alright . in The Gambia our parliament has only one
511 house or chamber to which we elect representatives like The Gambia
512 we have only one parliament that is the cabinet we call it a cabinet
513 others people will call it a chamber . but different from UK United
514 Kingdom where you have two house of parliament . the upper house of
515 the parliament and the lower house of parliament is it not? we have
516 two components the upper house is concerned with the government
517 and other civil servants affairs . while the lower one will be concerning
518 of the other areas of the government . right?

519 **Caroline:** um the lower house the house of commons makes the laws

520 **Mr Bah:** OK

521 **Caroline:** and makes the decisions on the laws

522 **Mr Bah:** OK

523 **Caroline:** and the house of lords passes the law

524 **Mr Bah:** OK

525 **Caroline:** so they . they . um consider the changes and

526 **Mr Bah:** OK

527 **Caroline:** and say whether or not they're good changes

528 **Mr Bah:** OK right so

529 **Caroline:** XXX [inaudible]

530 **Mr Bah:** OK right alright for them you have two house of parliament . **mansa**
531 **kunda fula** *two house of parliament* . right the upper house and the
532 lower house those lower house as we have the same they have the
533 same functions as the ones we have here . alright they have to make
534 decisions pass laws see to it that they have changes in the government
535 and they have the powers to work open certain things alright that is
536 what we call the lower house of parliament there but is the same
537 function as our parliament for us we have one parliament . that's one
538 cabinet that pass decision . alright if the government says this they
539 don't want it they say no . it and the majority is saying NO that will not
540 happen . but if the government pass a decision and the majority say

541 YES it has to XXX and that law is implemented and enacted . and
542 endorsed by the head of state the president to see that it becomes a rule
543 /roooool/ of law to be a worked it upon [classroom noise 2 seconds] so
544 this is how parliament is operating . right [classroom noise 3 seconds]
545 the continent in the same in the some of the countries for example
546 USA and UK there are two houses house of representative is also
547 called the legislate . and there are forty three voting members of the
548 house of representative usually called members of parliament or MPs
549 [classroom noise 2 seconds] out of the forty three thirty six MPs are
550 elected by the thirty six constituencies /consequences/ and five chiefs
551 are elected by the chiefs assembly . alright . we have those which are
552 of forty three . in this thirty six is directly . goes in for elections you
553 stand I stand we compete people vote for me they vote for you the
554 winner will there be . and there you will see to it that there will be
555 other five members . who will be elected . so they will be selected they
556 come and say ah . I have seen that oh Ismaila Ismaila is a very good
557 hard working guy alright so as far as Ismaila is a very hard working
558 guy I would know Ismaila I would give him the representative and
559 maybe he will be responsible of this area alright Ismaila will be
560 responsible of this area or this particular area so I will give him the
561 membership parliament or I will give him the ministerial position .
562 alright then you take up that responsibility . alright you XXXX ah
563 Isatou maybe Isatou is a very good hardworking lady . alright now I
564 will make Isatou responsible of women affairs all the women in the
565 country their problems are everything Isatou will be responsible of it
566 now you are start to select [classroom noise 2 seconds] right that one is
567 differnet from the one they vote for . the one they vote for you
568 campaign you go for campaign it is election time you come who wants
569 you come oh you say ah thats today is election day you come
570 [classroom noise 2 seconds] cast your vote you go home . at the end of
571 the day they say say ah here are the results for the election of position
572 so and so and so . [mimicing delivery of election results on TV/Radio]
573 Mr Ousman C three hundred . Buba P nine hundred Mohammed J
574 eight hundred Serer Fatoumata Binta thousand they call the numbers
575 like that now you will know that now they say hereby declare that
576 Serer Fatoumata Binta is the member of parliament for AREA . and
577 that Serer Fatoumata Binta will be the elected member [classroom
578 noise 2 seconds] is that point clear so this is how they just how they
579 were doing the parliamentary elections here Mama Kandeh . Ama
580 Abdoulie this name Barrou the same mama Kandeh this Barrou that
581 they will see that ah Barrou defeated Mama Kandeh here Mama
582 Kandeh defeated Barrou here until at the end they add all the totals .
583 alright all the counting centres they add all the totals and bring them
584 when they bring them they realise that Mama is ahead of Barrou and
585 now Mama is there as the member of parliament he accept and Barrou
586 knows that Mama defeat and accept the victory and thereby Mama is
587 chosen as the member of parliament for that area so this is how they
588 are coming up with representatives . right [classroom noise 2 seconds]
589 and I tell you in the government there are others who are elected . sorry
590 selected in the parliament . alright they are selected in the parliament .

591 seven extra nominated non-elected members at the attorney generals .
592 also sit in the parliament but they may not vote in the debate . after
593 elections everything you have all the nominations might be Alhagie
594 Lamin Buba Serrer Fatou they are the ones who we have already come
595 up with and these are the elected members of the constituencies
596 /consequences/ . now they go the attorney general chamber start to say
597 OK I choose Assan . Ousman . Alima . Binta . Lamin this people will
598 be the five selected members to join the parliament they will come
599 they will become member of parliament but when a bill is passed into
600 cabinet whereby they will be voting for it . this selected members will
601 not vote is only the elected members those whom they has vote for .
602 will . thereby vote for that thing alright then what they will do it those
603 people will then decide on that area OK and they will discuss about it .
604 there they will decide these people will be there hear whatever is said
605 accept it or disagree but they will not vote for it . alright their vote is
606 not that because they are . selected to come in . alright if they are
607 selected to come in that means they are in for the people who select
608 them to come they will not be because for example I am working in
609 this place . might be Assan is the class teacher or Assan is the
610 headmaster of this school . I come Assan tell me OK now Mr Bah I
611 have some little work that you have supposed to do for me here . and
612 er Lamin also came he want the same work . but now what I will do is
613 you Lamin Binta and a Kalli Surname . I'm going to select you to be
614 part of the school committee . alright this people are not vote for they
615 are just selected to come into the school committee . alright what I
616 want is why I select you is that because I see that you people are hard
617 working you are co-operating and er this why I select you now what I
618 want is you have to work very hard . you work for the interest of the
619 school . XXXX that is done when election is to come . will I against
620 him . no I will not against him because he vote me into something I
621 will give him the support . alright because of that I will accept his area
622 . alright I will accept him and er I will try to . do whatever he wants I
623 will do that so that we can have a free access or a free flow of the
624 election [classroom noise 2 seconds] right . so this is the area that we
625 are XXXX [classroom noise 24 seconds] [Mr Bah talks to another
626 adult outside the classroom]

627 **Visitor:** good afternoon

628 **Pupils:** good afternoon sir

629 **Visitor:** sit down

630 **Pupils:** thank you

631 **Mr Bah:** right . he's a friend

632 **Caroline:** hello

633 **Visitor:** how are you

634 **Caroline:** hello how are you

635 **Visitor:** XXXXXX [undecipherable]

636 **Caroline:** shall I switch it

BK2AbGRADE6SES

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	Highlighted = Arabic
/kɛstion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** there we go OK thank you [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 2 **Mr Bah:** sorry huh for the minute interruption now when we were ah look into
3 the mode of cabinet and we have seen that the people who are elected
4 here is a chart on page thirty on page forty eight . when you look at
5 page forty eight there is a chart that is showing us how the Gambia
6 government or how is the nature of elections for members of
7 parliament are put into cabinet alright who are the members nominated
8 elected members and er those selected . alright . when we look at the
9 chart as a whole alright . we have .. the chart is indicating to us that ..
10 they have thirty six . elected ... elected MPs ... this thirty six members
11 are people whom you know that who go and vote for them **eka**
12 **karrteh fiye menyeh** *the ones to vote for [the person]* alright you vote
13 for them yes I want X you vote for X I want Y you vote for Y I want A
14 you vote for A until you have the thirty six member elected into office
15 alright after that one out of that you have the other guy who is called
16 the speaker the speaker of the house .. **moh meng ka deamu**
17 **deputelu toyala** *the person who speak on behalf of deputies* the one
18 who speaks on behalf of everybody like in a meeting the one who
19 chairs the meeting in a cabinet you call it the speaker you have
20 somebody who speaks for the cabinet and that's called the speaker and
21 you have the other guy who is called the deputy speaker . alright ...the
22 deputy speaker and you have the deputy speaker and a you have the
23 seven nominated members [classroom noise 7 seconds] the seven
24 nominated members those are the non-government that non-voting ..
25 seven nominated members and a five elected [classroom noise 6
26 seconds] five elected chiefs [classroom noise 5 seconds] this people
27 will not vote they are non-voting [classroom noise 4 seconds] they
28 don't vote in the cabinet right whenever a bill is passed this people
29 have to discuss about it whatever they agree on this people has to
30 accept them with that but this seven members of . nominated members
31 and five elected chiefs are not members who should are who should
32 vote in the parliament they don't vote for a particular bill . alright
33 [classroom noise 4 seconds] and er out of this seven nominated you
34 have the one we call the attorney generals [classroom noise 8 seconds]
35 the attorney generals chamber the attorney general is the judiciary head
36 office it is the area that is responsible of **kityoolu bela kunti dula**
37 **menka kityo teh fanna membeh atelebeh loring ka kityo kuntu** *the*
38 *office responsible for all courts the office that judge the office that*
39 *judge all courts* . attorney generals high chambers it is the attorney

40 generals chamber that is the highest level alright those also is part of
41 the cabinet . they form cabinet like in terms of government rules
42 governing the law areas of the law Lamin alright they are responsible
43 of that area [classroom noise 3 seconds] OK. yes .. so that areas those
44 five are the part of the elected members [classroom noise 25 seconds
45 Mr Bah greets another adult covering his mic as he does so - the mic is
46 then knocked away and the rest of the lesson is muffled until he
47 approaches Caroline to stop the lesson ENTER LENGTH OF TIME
48 MUFFLED] so just we can stop there and just XXXX half of the
49 lesson

50 **Caroline:** hmm

51 **Mr Bah:** see

BK2AcGRADE6SES

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	Highlighted = Arabic
/kestion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** there we go [classroom noise 6 seconds] OK {laugh} so much wire
 2 [Mr Bah laughs] [classroom noise 13 seconds]
- 3 **Mr Bah:** you going [classroom noise 3 seconds] get back get back get back ..
 4 right we continue on alright after discussing about all the members that
 5 are represented we d. that is elected members five elected chiefs seven
 6 nominated and er the deputy speaker and the speaker which forms the
 7 complete cabinet **n'luu lemu molute mennuyeh mansa kunda**
 8 **cabineto form aleh kateh fiye diptelu menyeh sefu lulu kamenu**
 9 **tombong kakafu dipiteh nyadi er mansa kunda nyningkang mo**
 10 **warowula bejeh presidendanwo fawoleh kawolu tombong karreh**
 11 **ning karreh ning karreh ning karreh nyawolu letah nyakafundi**
 12 **jeh aning Deputy Speaker minka deyamu mansa kunda toyalah**
 13 **neebe meetingo lah minka deyamu aning memu deyamulah**
 14 **nomanlang ko ala deputy nomalang ko** *these are the people that*
 15 *form the parliament cabinet those are the people you vote for (MPs)*
 16 *five chiefs selected that person to be part of the MP again government*
 17 *seven people the president himself selected those ones this one this one*
 18 *this one this one are the people we have taken (to be part of the*
 19 *member of parliament) and deputy speaker who speaks in the name of*
 20 *the government when they are having meeting and the deputy speaker*
 21 *his deputy deputy* alright this are the people that form a cabinet plus
 22 attorney generals **nyadi banco bella kitti bunda minka kakeh banco**
 23 **bella kitti bunda ti kittio menka keh banco kang ila nyatonko** *what*
 24 *the whole country's courthouse that this the whole country's*
 25 *courthouse the whole court that happened in the country their leader .*
 26 alright that is what we call the attorney generals chamber **ning lodula**
 27 *that is the one responsible* they are the ones responsible now what we
 28 want to discuss about is the cab er we have already seen the nature of
 29 cabinet alright now what we want to discuss about this cabinet in every
 30 country the whole every cabinet have a role to play . alright the role or
 31 functions of the cabinet are n. in this form . in any country the cabinet
 32 the prime minister chooses other MPs to help him govern the country
 33 they are cabinet ministers . as we will call them ministers . alright .
 34 because they belong to a special sel. inner group of the MPs called the
 35 cabinet the cabinet look after the day to day affairs of the country and
 36 set government policy . alright and sets the government policy just like
 37 as you have a senior master in a school who is always running after the
 38 day and day out how the classes are operating what is going on what is
 39 going at the kitchen what is going on at the cooking place what is

40 going at the XXXXX what is going in the classroom what is going at
41 the tap at the field at the garden . at the other playing games centres
42 this are people who know that they are always looking into the day and
43 day out affairs of the school . alright to see that everything works well .
44 they should not seek and see that there is a problem in the school they
45 will try to work and control everything that is working in the school
46 that is what we call the cabinet . alright [classroom noise 3 seconds]
47 each minister is responsible for a particular part of the government
48 policy for example there are ministers . for the following department
49 defence education youth sport and culture finance economic affairs
50 external affairs agriculture health labour social welfare and the
51 environment works and communication industries and employment
52 justice water resources information tourism local government and land
53 . all this are areas whereby you have ministers appointed there is a
54 particular person who is responsible for that area for example when we
55 say defence . there is a minister responsible for defence defence means
56 the security of you and I in the country . the person those ones defence
57 is where you have the army . the police the immigration the national.
58 this thing fire and ambulance alright this are all defence they are there
59 to protect us internally externally they are there to see to it there is no
60 problem to maintain the internal security of the country to protect the
61 country from foreign attack to see that the country is stable to avoid
62 coup d'état to avoid terrorism all of this thing they are there to see to it
63 that they control the situation in which the country is stated so that
64 there will be peace in that country there will be no violent . that is the
65 responsibility of defence . also we have another area that is the
66 education .. this is defence this one is education responsible of the
67 seeing that the XX schools built in the country all over there are
68 teachers in the schools there are people in the schools for natures the
69 schools are very ventilated there is enough teaching and learning
70 materials in the schools . education is responsible of that . is the
71 government that post me here I don't know here before . not so . and
72 before you don't know me not so . but today we come to meet each
73 other why what the education departments sends me there is a minister
74 responsible of the education here that is minister the SOS FatoLamin
75 Faye . alright Fatou Faye is responsible of the education centre . alright
76 . and the education divided is divided into two you have the . education
77 and the tertiary /tashel/ institution . the tertiary /tashel/ institution is
78 Fatou Juba Jabang is the one responsible the former DTMBI director .
79 right she is the one responsible of this thing the tertiary /tashel/
80 institution like colleges . this other . organisations XXXX training
81 centres . training grounds . right . skills training centres vocational .
82 college university all those areas are under that department . right . so
83 you see that education is it they will see to it that well if there is a
84 school built let there be teachers there this why you have this number
85 of teachers in the school here . and they don't end of it they see to it
86 that each school is supplied with furnitures where children should sit
87 and write .. we are provided with houses where you can stay in to learn
88 amicably so that you have a convenient place to learn . you are
89 supplied with the learning teaching materials there chalks books

90 exercise book pen pencils they brought it into the school so that
91 learning can take place . so this is the responsibility of the education
92 sector to see to it that the people in the country are educated .. you have
93 another area which is concerned with youths .. youths sports and
94 culture . the youths they are all the youths . every country is boasting
95 of its own youths . because youths are the future leaders of every
96 country . right the youths you are the people who are going to be the
97 tomorrow leaders . alright . today I am here might be in the next years
98 don't know where I will be . you will come and take over some of you
99 will be teachers lawyers doctors presidents ministers . huh se. defence
100 areas . alright governors .. some will be what ambassadors . alright
101 youths are the virgil assests of every country they are there to see to it
102 that the country has XXXX there is a group er secretary of state
103 responsible for youths and sports in any country where there are youths
104 sports must be involved . sports whether indoor or other one **????ee to**
105 **jo** LOCAL LANGUAGE alright like football volleyball basket cricket
106 tennis table tennis long tennis rounders . volleyball huh? .. your indoor
107 games you have them . every youth group has to be responsible this
108 why you see people who become very popular in sports some will
109 become great footballers . right . like when you go to UA UK people
110 like . David . ah Beckham . Davids Beckham . who is so popular to the
111 world it seems that other people will be naming themselves after
112 Beckham say I am Beckham . you see because of what he is so popular
113 to football . alright . [classroom noise 3 seconds] you see this one this
114 are ways in which you have particularly The Gambian here you will
115 always they will say I am Able Sillah I am Janko Ceesay huh? I am
116 Seiko Solley I am Kebo this . this are true sports . you come to the area
117 of . running . others will say I am Haile XXX Selasi . the world's
118 fastest runner . Baraton . alright .. others when you come to volleyball
119 those others will say I am Jordan I am this huh? because of what . the
120 way those people have sports has made them very popular to the world
121 . and everybody knows them . sports is involved music .. you go to the
122 world . musics . huh? . you have in the African context you have
123 Youssan D'our Baba Mali Jaliba Piatte huh? John Sec Fatou XXXXX
124 you play them huh? you go to the outside world Bob Marley huh?
125 other things huh Josef Hills culture huh? XXXXX . you know them
126 through what you have not gone to their country you see them on
127 screen you hear them because of what their music they play that
128 attracts you and they are known to the world through what music
129 [classroom noise 3 seconds] right . so you see that this are some of the
130 things you go to golf people like Tiger Woods . well popular man
131 because of what because of golf you go to cricket you serve this huh?
132 so this are areas which will help people to know them because of what
133 sports .. alright . sports and culture go together because in XX sports
134 you have your cultural festival . like your naming ceremonies in sports
135 you have your cultural festival because when sports are on you see
136 others will come with their drum beating . supporting {singing} ole ole
137 you see they are shouting not so so give your support {chanting} hey
138 we hey yea you are demonstrating putting on your cultural dressing
139 what is through what sports . you know other peoples through that

140 sport . OK because we are influenced in that you have ministers
141 responsible for finance /finite/ to see to it that the civil servants are
142 paid and they can carry their jobs due to money is available for you
143 people to be given the support to come and learn in the school . alright
144 this why they are bringing money . buy books . uniforms pencils shirt
145 sponsor you the girls particularly the girls Jammeh foundation is taking
146 care of everything . alright you have been paid for is only the boys who
147 pay school fees . alright at a reasonable cost but for girls they pay
148 everything for you . you are learning in a free condition because of
149 what finance is available you have been supported from the grass root
150 level to any higher level you want .. so you see to it that that finance is
151 able to control it it is the same finance that is able to take care of the
152 day and day running of the country financial XXX the buying and
153 selling of commodities to have food stock clothing huh and other
154 things you use money to use this one this are area so that that can help
155 us to sustain this country .. when you come to the economic affairs .
156 the rate the dollar the dalasis the change rate how much can a dalasis
157 buy at the UK European market how much can the pound be at the
158 African market . how much can the dollar /delare/ be in the African
159 market .. how many pounds will you spend to get something in XXX
160 how many delasis will you spend to get so many things you see to it
161 that the rate of economy to see that goods has to be paid at a particular
162 price they should not go beyond this a this are areas of XXX . right . so
163 they will become responsible of the economic affairs EXTERNAL
164 AFFAIRS you have ministers then example was when SOS . huh
165 [classroom noise 1 seconds] Dr Sidat . Sidat Jobe was around . who
166 was the Gambia Foreign Minister . alright external affairs . when there
167 was a problem in Bissau . the war in Bissau . they collect some soldiers
168 our brothers some of our brothers went there some of our fathers were
169 there . who went for that way they go there to say that there is peace
170 maintained in that country Sudan the Darfor region . of Sudan some of
171 you your brothers are there at the moment your uncles or your fathers
172 are there to see to it that there is peace they are there to what defence
173 those are also internal you have the police the immigration the e. ah the
174 other s. er organisations which are of security in the country to see that
175 there is internal security this why when you have a civil law you are
176 taken before the police . two people quarrel or somebody steal
177 somebody's material alright what they do is they go to the police . you
178 go and report to the police the accused is call up and you come the
179 police judge it whoever is at fault the law take it course . you are
180 punished by the law according to what you do if you offend the law the
181 law takes it course and of punish you according to or they can call you
182 talk to you escort you so that you can leave all those things you are
183 doing so that you can become what so they are there to maintain the
184 security of the country . alright . agriculture . which is responsible of
185 our growing of crops and the rearing of the animals . alright .
186 agriculture the growing of crops and the rearing of animals that area
187 which is responsible of that . this why you are able to go at the farm .
188 you farm your basic needs foods . like your rice your corn your cassava
189 ground nut millet maize . for your own self sufficiency and for external

190 purposes like you go and sell it at the market . right there was a time
191 when The Gambia normally grows large amount of groundnut and sell
192 it at the world market . to produce oil cake biscuits . ah XXX . right .
193 the same way this rice we are consuming others also are using it is
194 the same agriculture like the rice we are importing from India from
195 Pakistan [classroom noise 3 seconds] alright . or from China . you see
196 that those people grow this rice on a large scale process it and sell it
197 into the market for sale and we buy it and we are using it as our need
198 [classroom noise 4 seconds] rearing of animals . goats sheeps cows
199 hens pigs ducks all other things we have them . for what for our
200 purpose . some will rear it to sell others will rear to get the milk others
201 will rear it to use it as a pet others will rear it just to see to it that they
202 have certain materials from them . alright . other will rear it for
203 research . right like the ITC the cows you see there they use them for
204 research . you go to The Gambia college the hens you find there the
205 dogs the pigs the cows they there they use them for research work
206 [classroom noise 1 seconds] biology students use them . on their
207 research . alright . you go to the garden . the vegetables they grow there
208 are they use it for what their classes their research when you have
209 classes you go on practicals on the field .. right . so this are areas of
210 concern with the agriculture centre .. we have the health . the health
211 sector . responsible of seeing that our well-being is being take care of it
212 is the sole responsibility of the state the state to see that its people are
213 in good condition of health . that is incumbent of every head of state to
214 see that its people have a proper health care and they are in a well-
215 being .. this why we have hospitals . health centres health posts nurses
216 doctors around us . primary nurses . alright . auxiliary nurses all these
217 things tradition birth attendants in our communities because what
218 happen they are there to help us if you are sick you are carried to the
219 hospital . they give you medicine injection and other things and at the
220 end of the day you are OK you get up and you continue on with your
221 daily life . alright there are certain commodities that are lacking in the
222 hospital . then the government will supply tablets and XX or there is an
223 outbreak of a particular disease . like there was a time in Nigeria when
224 the Ebola virus was there . alright [classroom noise 2 seconds] so you
225 have to see that the government has to embark on what . immunisation
226 . alright the cholera outbreak in Senegal last year . they have to p.
227 embark on what immunisation to inject people prior to the time so that
228 you don't get accepted to the disease that is coming . alright . some of
229 you are immunised against polio . alright . others against measles .
230 alright . this so that you can be protected from certain diseases . alright
231 that is the responsibility of the . er health sector to see to it that people
232 have access to hospital at a low cost and that they are healthy .. this
233 why you have first aid treatment in the community like at school level
234 you have first aid boxes . people will be gone will go and t. be trained
235 on that first aid treatment . whereby you can give primary health care .
236 you are sick your head ache you having headache what is the cause of
237 the headache they know what to give you your stomach ache they
238 know what you have an eye pain toothache leg something like that they
239 will know exactly what is the cause and they can give you the proper

240 kind of medication .. so this are the components which are related to
241 the health sector .. right [classroom noise 3 seconds] works and
242 communication . in every country there must be work and in every
243 government there must be communication .. we are communicating at
244 the moment . verbal communication talking you are hearing . alright
245 communication either by phone by reaching document or by air all
246 these things are communicate by road land sea air these are all means
247 of communication . I can sit someone in Banjul call on me hello can
248 you do this and this and this he is communicating .. some of you your
249 fathers overseas your brothers or your sisters overseas they will call
250 from UK others will call from America Asia they call at your family
251 how is the family doing what is going on oh we want this and this and
252 this they send you that . or we want they call on you we want do you to
253 do this and this . you do it for them . that's communication . alright .
254 might be you have a naming ceremony in Basse or you are going to
255 Near By Town you have Christening programme there . you say eh I
256 want to go today tomorrow we have a very big big programme in Near
257 By Town you come you join the vehicle you go . you are there in Near
258 By Town . communication has come road network . right . or you want
259 to cross from Banjul you want to go to Barra . you come by the ferry .
260 you cross you got transportation . you that's a means of communication
261 .. you write a letter you are sitting here you write a letter to your uncle
262 in the US or in UK . is communication written .. information there will
263 be or you go to the internet you just put in your information you email
264 it . it goes . you are communicating [classroom noise 3 seconds] so this
265 are ways in which communication is done . alright . industry and
266 employment [classroom noise 3 seconds] like factories . that embark
267 on production like the main factory we have here like the Sanku Sillah
268 factory that is making soap plastic shoe plastic bucket . rod pipes huh
269 PVC pipes . alright that one is there . or you go to Gambeda . the
270 JulBrew [Gambian Beer] factory making soft drinks Coca Fanta Sprite
271 Orange huh? all those things . alright [classroom noise 3 seconds] you
272 go to other departments . alright . like IceMan Juice making juice
273 alright in different forms . as drinking materials . alright you go to
274 Naan Company producing water clean drinking water . for the
275 community . alright this are all industries and anywhere there is
276 industry it creates job opportunity you go to GamCot Basse . the cotton
277 ginnery . at Basse you see that people are employed there not so . your
278 own brothers and sisters are employed there working in and they earn
279 their living from there . so that we see that that is another area of .
280 development . that is communic. industry and employment .. and er
281 you have tourism .. which is concerned with the coming of . people .
282 coming in of people and the going out of people huh? .. the
283 immigration and the emigration the entrance and exit . western people
284 will stay in their countries for some time after some time of work they
285 feel they need to rest they want to tour certain African countries they
286 come in the form of a tourist . they come for tourism . go and stay in
287 the hotel industries . enjoy sandy beaches . the bars . the village life .
288 bird watching nature reserves crocodile pools stone circles alright you
289 see them they go and see because this are historical places they go to

290 see the slave house alright .. Fort Bullen at Juffreh . Barra . at this place
291 the slave house in MacCarthy . alright . so these are colonial structures
292 . they see them .. they go to the National Museum they see art and
293 culture of the ancients . this are areas of culture . that will refer them to
294 know that well years back this was what was existing years back this
295 has happened . so that they can know what has been existing in the
296 country and they will be able to know that ah this one now it looks
297 different now this and this and this are happening . is the same way as
298 our parents will tell us you used to say that this was what was
299 happening in our time . this was used to happen we do things like this
300 might be this time we are doing different things . so this is about
301 culture . so that brings us to the end of the topic . for today on SES ..
302 you seen the whole of the government . the role of the various
303 ministers . employment societies and the like . so thank you for your
304 co-operation

305 **Caroline:** thank you

306 **Mr Bah:** yeah

307 **Caroline:** that's very interesting

308 **Mr Bah:** yea

309 **Caroline:** I learnt lots {laugh}

Appendix 16

BP4MbGRADE6SCI

Key:

. = pause (1/2 seconds)	[name] = additional information
.. = longer pause (3+ seconds)	Bold = Mandinka
XXX = undecipherable speech	<u>Underlined</u> = Wolof
CAPITALS = stressed speech	Highlighted = Arabic
/kestion/ = pronunciation information	SMALL CAPS = Fula
# text # = overlapping speech	<u>Double underline</u> = Serahule
{singing} = additional noises	<i>Italics</i> = English translation

- 1 **Caroline:** [classroom noise 6 seconds] so this this just clips onto your shirt
- 2 **Mr Bojang:** OK
- 3 **Caroline:** and then all of this can just go into a pocket
- 4 **Mr Bojang:** #yeah#
- 5 **Caroline:** #wherever# is comfortable for you [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 6 **Mr Bojang:** OK
- 7 **Caroline:** thank you very much
- 8 **Mr Bojang:** you welcome [classroom noise 5 seconds]
- 9 **Girl Pupil:** local language
- 10 **Mr Bojang:** local language [classroom noise 6 seconds] **Mandinka**
- 11 **undecipherable** [but gist is] *move the bus from here* [classroom noise
- 12 25 seconds] local language
- 13 **Boy Pupil:** local language
- 14 **Mr Bojang:** local language I want to finish this topic [classroom noise 13 seconds]
- 15 alright ... now can you allow me to go ahead
- 16 **All:** yes
- 17 **Boy Pupil:** yes sir [classroom noise 3 seconds]
- 18 **Mr Bojang:** now who can remind me where I stop ... if you want me to go ahead
- 19 remind me where I stop .. now put your hand up if you want to answer
- 20 my question just put your hand up . if you want me to continue with
- 21 this lesson you have to remind me where I stop
- 22
- 23 **Boy Pupil:** TB TB

- 24 **Mr Bojang:** mm
- 25 **Boy Pupil:** TB [classroom noise 8 seconds]
- 26 **Mr Bojang:** now [classroom noise 5 seconds] we said ... stds or ... sexually
27 transmitted diseases we . said they are very serious diseases .. which
28 are passed from one person . to another during intercourse .. that means
29 between a man and a woman when they come together ... the diseases
30 that they normally get from that is what we call std sexually transmitted
31 diseases now they are very contagious ... meaning .. they can be
32 passed on from one person to the other very easily these stds you
33 can pass you can get them very easily this is why they are said they are
34 very contagious
- 35 **Girl Pupil:** Girl singing
- 36 **Mr Bojang:** hey look at these stupid people **hie** [Wolof and Mandinka expression
37 for calling attention] alright no problem {door closing}
- 38 **Boy Pupil:** local language
- 39 **Mr Bojang:** where {singing 17 seconds} now these stds are very contagious ...
40 meaning you can get them very easily very very easily now .. before
41 . this stds we call them vds [writes on board] and vds means venereal
42 diseases . vd means venereal disease . but now instead of venereal
43 diseases we call them sexually transmitted diseases . and then we will
44 name them here ... we will name them and we will talk about them ...
45 the most common stds in The Gambia are . gonorrhoea . syphilis .
46 chancroid . and aids these four are the most common stds found in The
47 Gambia .. you have gonorrhoea [writes on board] [classroom noise 8
48 seconds] you have . gonorrhoea . syphilis [writes on board] [classroom
49 noise 19 seconds] now these are the MOST common . diseases that we
50 have in The Gambia today . alright we have gonorrhoea . syphilis .
51 chancroid and aids . I talked about gonorrhoea . a woman can have this
52 gonorrhoea for many years .. X not visible without you knowing it
53 when a man . having this within a short period you'll be in fact it'll be
54 seen on your body .. now . gonorrhoea is caused by a bacteria . this is
55 caused by a bacteria [writes on board] [classroom noise 8 seconds]
56 gonorrhoea is caused by a bacteria . and this bacteria is called [writes
57 on board] [classroom noise 12 seconds] the bacteria is called neisseriae
58 gonorrhoea .. neisseriae gonorrhoea . is the name of the the bacteria
59 that causes gonorrhoea . gonorrhoea is the bacterial disease . and the
60 bacteria is called neisseriae gonorrhoea . is the name of the bacteria
61 that causes gonorrhoea . as I said a man can tell this .. when he have it
62 because . he has a feeling of burning sensation on your genitals . when
63 passing urine as a man if you have this disease you go to the toilet you
64 want to urinate as you are urinating . your genital organ will be paining
65 you . you will feel some sensational burning . just like something is
66 burning inside you as a man if you see that . don't hide go to your dad

67 discuss with your father tell your father when I I was urinating I was
68 having some sensational feeling . and then your father will know what
69 to do if your father has no idea he will take you to the nearest doctor or
70 to the nearest health centre for medical check up . and then you'll be
71 treated . is curable ... now . for women who suffer from this gonorrhoea
72 . it can be in with you . for a period without you realising it . in fact . it
73 says about fifty percent of women who normally have gonorrhoea . do
74 not know that they are suffering from that disease ... now gonorrhoea
75 can be very dangerous . as a woman .. if you if you don't treat
76 gonorrhoea it can pass from the pregnant woman to an unborn child .
77 you see as a woman you are pregnant and you having this gonorrhoea
78 in you locked in your system if you if it is not treated what will happen
79 is this pregnant woman will pass this gonorrhoea infection to the
80 unborn baby .. alright . and then . gonorrhoea can be treated by using
81 anti-biotics when you go to the hospital they'll give you anti-biotics
82 anti-biotics are tablets that fight against bacteria . they help your body
83 soldiers to fight bacteria we call it anti-biotics . as I said gonorrhoea is
84 a bacterial infection so because it is a bacterial infection it can be
85 treated using anti-biotics .. I hope you are with me

86 **All:** yes

87 **Mr Bojang:** so boys . I warning you you go out you want to urinate whilst you are
88 urinating you are you feel some sensational burning in you go an tell
89 your father DADDY when I was urinating this morning or this
90 afternoon or this night I came across sensational burning in my organs
91 your daddy will know that you are infected with either gonorrhoea or
92 otherwise for your father to prove you right he is going to take it to the
93 he will take you to the Mercy hospital for treatment . and then they will
94 give you anti-biotics OK .. now ... if you are not treated once twice you
95 will be barren . it will broke the fallopian tube . you will never be
96 pregnant . this why in Africa here especially in Gambia here . you see a
97 woman who will marry once when he when she got married she will
98 have a child once and they will never ch have a child again [classroom
99 noise 3 seconds] alright . that is possible because why . by the time this
100 woman is getting pregnant this gonorrhoea bacteria was not locked in
101 her . this why she was able to conceive and gave birth to the baby . but
102 now after giving birth to the baby the breastfeeding period here in The
103 Gambia is two years . so within these two years this bacteria is
104 developing in your body at the end of the day attacking all of the
105 organs including fallopian tube where the womb is . alright and at the
106 end of the day you will never be pregnant . so you see there are women
107 even in our homes in our villages they have a child once after marrying
108 for eighteen years twenty years ten years five years you only have one
109 child . and you are not using any form of um family planning .. you are
110 not using any form of f. family planning . you are not doing anything
111 like protective sex . so why are you not having a child . why should
112 you have child only once that person that woman is infected with this
113 gonorrhoea so at the end of the day you not have a a child now its
114 possible your husband is the one who is having this gonorrhoea and

115 newly married to you you also have this if that man marry another wife
116 that wife will also have one child and it will stop . because I have seen
117 that a man sh he will marry this girl as a wife have one child they be
118 there five years no other child he will go and marry another wife and
119 have one child so he have three wife each child got one child each wife
120 got one child . so the problem is not on the woman its on the man . this
121 man should go and look himself very well and do check up . this man is
122 having a disease this why when you marry a wife newly you have a
123 child but only one child that's over . so gonorrhoea is a very dangerous
124 disease . if you have it as a woman you have gonorrhoea it can be with
125 you for many years but if you have a child once that's all you will never
126 have a child again unless and until you go to the hospital they give you
127 treatment . its curable . alright . that is gonorrhoea . any question ..
128 maybe you have seen women who . are having the same problem
129 [classroom noise 3 seconds] yes [classroom noise 2 seconds] any
130 question [classroom noise 3 seconds] before I move to the next one .
131 which is syphilis [classroom noise 2 seconds] any question . about
132 gonorrhoea [classroom noise 6 seconds] any question about gonorrhoea

133 **Boy Pupil:** teacher

134 **Mr Bojang:** yes [classroom noise 2 seconds] any [classroom noise 13 seconds]
135 question questions about gonorrhoea [classroom noise 4 seconds] how
136 many of you have ever seen a woman . married for so many years and
137 is having only one child [classroom noise 5 seconds] you have seen it .
138 yeah .. is normal or not normal . is not normal . for a woman to have
139 only one child and finish and you are staying with your husband is not
140 normal .. unless and until the husband and the wife are using a method
141 of planning the family . a problem that is not normal . however
142 however the gap between one child and the other here is almost two
143 years three years but you see a woman and a w. wife er sorry the
144 husband and wife staying together for ten years only one child
145 [classroom noise 4 seconds] you seen it . yeah . mm? . I am not hearing
146 you . you see someone

147 **Boy Pupil:** XXX child

148 **Mr Bojang:** with any child yes its normal there are people who cannot have a child
149 that's normal . we call them barren women and barren men [classroom
150 noise 3 seconds] there are some men they cannot have children that is
151 biological ... I would love you to go up to grade nine you see if you go
152 to grade seven eight nine . then you'll know the language that I am
153 talking about . then you will do what we call pop f.l.e. [short form of
154 Population and Family Life and Environment Studies] [writes on
155 board] alright deep and then they will tell you that . why is it that this
156 man [writes on board] cannot have a child and why this is it that this
157 woman [writes on board] cannot have a child . WOMEN normally if I
158 cannot have a child the biological problem is in me . alright the
159 biological problem is in me . one .. every man every matured man .
160 during intercourse . you release what we call the sperms [writes on

161 board] now but you see that this one every one of them . has a head and
162 a tail something like this from the man . and every one here have what
163 we call CHROMOSOMES [writes on board] and this chromosomes are
164 the ones during intercourse these are the ones that can make a man to
165 have a child . but you will see that some men they are all but they don't
166 have this in their sperm /LL XX see note/ they don't have it there . so at
167 the end of the day even if you marry one thousand wives you will never
168 have a child .. because that means your XX is not fit enough to be able
169 to fertilise the eggs from the woman .. woman they only have what you
170 call eggs [writes on board] .. alright now during this intercourse this the
171 eggs [hits board with chalk] the sperms normally attach the egg when
172 they attach the egg something like this [taps board with chalk] these are
173 all eggs in the stomach of the woman and then you have these are
174 sperms .. thousands of them coming out from the man in one go alright
175 so you see that they will try to go in . they swim they have life they life
176 they move they can move . these are from the man they move they
177 have life they move . and when they move they try to go to the eggs .
178 passing through what we call a fallopian tube its something like the
179 hand here . but there is a hole here go out here so there is eggs here so
180 that is that is what we call the fallopian tube . that one is connected to
181 the womb here so when this reaches here they will go in /break in
182 recording/ here it is inside now and the leg is outside here . or the tail .
183 so this are eggs so this will attack this egg and come together and stick
184 together . and then . fertilisation will start .. now if if the man there is
185 no chromosomes present here . they this thing can stick together but
186 they can never fertilise . by the twenty eighth day of the next month
187 this woman will see menstruate . blood will start coming out of the
188 woman oozing from the bodies of the woman . now but whenever you
189 have that one . by the twenty eight twenty eighth day of the next month
190 of the following month you the woman will never shed blood you will
191 not menstruate . if you don't menstruate that means you are pregnant .
192 so if you are here as a girl you have an affair with a man a month come
193 you didn't menstruate know that you are pregnant . because /cos/ if you
194 conceive blood will never come out of you . I hope you are getting me

195 **All:** yes

196 **Mr Bojang:** you conceive . blood will never come out of you if you don't conceive
197 this eggs here they grow bigger and bigger and bigger they get matured
198 because they are not fertilised they come together and change colour to
199 blood from flesh to blood and this will come out as blood but if we
200 look at the blood that is coming out of you during menstruation it is
201 very thick and it h have some thick some droplets . alright . and in that
202 one as a woman you have to protect yourself because I have seen now I
203 was in there I was going to Banjul a school girl . not knowing that she
204 is about to menstruate because that schoolgirl did not master the
205 menstrual her menstrual cycle table . so in the bus or in the vehicle
206 there . unfortunately the woman sta. the girl started menstruating in the
207 bus . and she have no pads to put on . she have no wrap with her she
208 don't even have a HANKERCHIEF with her . so what happened is .

209 after when I knew that . everybody of the Gambia High School
210 everybody was coming out this girl is sitting down . I was sitting very
211 close to the girl . then I get the smell . of the blood . coming from this
212 woman .. alright you know what I did

213 **Girl Pupil:** XXXX

214 **Mr Bojang:** I tell you what I did there .. I told the driver that . don't drop this girl in
215 the street or on the way . go up to a shop . I gave this girl fifty dalasis
216 [unit of currency] go up to a shop . buy anything and wrap yourself and
217 go back home the driver went up to the nearby shop you know the ap.
218 apprentice is the one who went and bought this piece of methane [sheet
219 of plastic] I don't know two or three metres cloth you know and bring it
220 to the girl and the girl put it on as wrapper . she was going . that's how I
221 made the girl to escape . otherwise this girl would be going and blood
222 would be on the girl and everybody would look at this girl so there is a
223 necessity a very big need for you to know your menstrual table ... I
224 hope you are getting me

225 **All:** yes

226 **Mr Bojang:** so because of that erm I can not fert. erm there is no fertilisation taking
227 place and then no pregnancy . Alieu [pupil's name] . that's your que
228 that's your answer . you will see a man cu hamneh ku musa am dom
229 *who you know who has never had a child* you will also see a woman
230 cu hamneh musa am jurr *who you know has never conceived* is normal
231 . so you the boys if you have a woman you are with your woman for
232 five years you don't have a child don't leave that woman don't divorce
233 the woman go and do testing if the problem is you you don't have to
234 talk to the woman if the woman wants to stay with you well the woman
235 will stay with you . if the woman say anyway I need a girl I need a
236 child I have to go and marry someone else the woman will go and
237 marry . if the problem is on the woman you as a man . don't leave your
238 woman discuss with your woman you want a child if your wife can
239 allow you to marry a second wife so you can have a child marry the
240 second wife and your first child if it's a girl name that girl after your
241 first wife there will be peace in your house [Mr Bojang gives two
242 handed thumbs up to the class] you get me clearly

243 **All:** yes

244 **Mr Bojang:** fine . any question [classroom noise 4 seconds] can I go ahead?

245 **All:** yes

246 **Mr Bojang:** aha now you go to the second one syphilis .. aha [classroom noise 3
247 seconds] that's the bacteria [classroom noise 18 seconds] now we move
248 to the next stage . you see . some man you'll see wherever you are you
249 will see men ah? whenever they stand you'll see they do this [scratches
250 groin area] {children laugh} ah? . have you do you see that

- 251 **All:** yes
- 252 **Mr Bojang:** yes some men wherever you see them standing they'll be doing this
253 [scratches groin area] {children laugh} ah? {laugh} y. y. y. you know
254 why you know why
- 255 **All:** no
- 256 **Mr Bojang:** its itching **aka nja nyaleh** *it itches* .. they are you see those men are
257 infected they have an infection here so its itching so whenever they it
258 itches
- 259 **Boy Pupil:** XXXX
- 260 **Mr Bojang:** you have it?
- 261 **All:** laughter
- 262 **Mr Bojang:** then keep quiet . don't look at you . ah {laugh} OK OK OK be with me
263 . alright be with me . you know its very nicely when when doing this its
264 nice and if you can look if you can stare the man when he's doing this
265 ah? when he start to itch he will start this ah before he start he will try
266 to see whether people are looking at him {children laugh} if you are
267 not looking then this [pulls face of pleasure] {children laugh} you
268 know ENJOYING . so . its itching its inside . so this is why its very
269 important you take care of yourself alright
- 270 **All:** yes
- 271 **Mr Bojang:** now you go the next stage syphilis you know syphilis? is another one .
272 this one is more dangerous than gonorrhoea . OK?
- 273 **All:** yes
- 274 **Mr Bojang:** its cause by a bacteria . and this is the name of the bacteria [writes on
275 board] /teponema padiloom/ . is the name of the the bacteria that causes
276 syphilis [classroom noise 3 seconds] **alii juwoleh kali nya nya bang**
277 *are your genitalia itching you*
- 278 **All:** children respond by laughing
279
- 280 **Mr Bojang:** **woto alii lamoye** *therefore you listen* now [classroom noise 5 seconds]
281 HEEYY . this one . is very dangerous . when you have this . you don't
282 treat it . it can damage your brain and eventually you can die . syphilis
283 when you have this . its more dangerous than this one if you have this
284 you don't cure it you don't treat it it will damage your brain and
285 eventually you will die . it will damage your brain you will never be
286 able to remember anything and at the end of the day you will die you
287 know someone who have brain damage you know what that person

288 look like .. mmm .. if you have brain damage if I have brain damage
289 right now there is nothing that I can remember /break in recording/ and
290 I will not be normal like you . you have no brain problem [classroom
291 noise 5 seconds] you have no brain problem . so . excuse me ... write
292 the XXX name for me [Mr Fatty says something] mm now if there's the
293 brain damage . I will not be normal like you . you will not have any
294 brain problem . but if I have brain damage I will be inbalance . I can
295 even be sitting down here you see water coming from my mouth . I can
296 sit here I even forget that I'm sitting here . and eventually I will die . so
297 this why I said it's a very dangerous sickness .. what happen . the first
298 symptoms of syphilis . is warts sores on the genitals . you know sore
299 **baramor** *wound* kum bundow . ka bundow moi gena rek nga bona ko
300 whether gorr or jigaen muneh ka tart bundow nga bona ko ni rek a
301 *pimple . the pimple just comes out you pierce it whether man or woman*
302 *and it becomes a little wound you pierce it like this* and it start itching
303 and eventually you have a sore . whether you genitals you know genital
304 organs ahh do you know genital organs

305 **All:** no

306 **Mr Bojang:** aha the reason why we all put on the trouser and the wrapper [cloth
307 worn as sarong] is we are covering something isn't it

308 **All:** yes

309 **Mr Bojang:** ah?

310 **All:** yes

311 **Mr Bojang:** aha its what we call genitals we don't gi. we don't name them but this
312 what we call them genitals .. now . when you have this . it will go once
313 . you will see the symptoms it will disappear . the second the following
314 year it will come out again the same symptoms and it will disappear
315 you think you are OK you are not OK I its going and coming going and
316 coming the more it comes and go the more its rooting itself inside your
317 systems . this is why it cause brain damage and death eventually . so its
318 a very d. serious disease .. when you have this rashes on your body .
319 another symptom rashes on your body . swollen glands . pain in the
320 bones and joints . your bones will pain you . your joints will pain you .
321 and your glands will get swollen and on your body rashes will appear
322 on your body . this are some of the symptoms .. now imagine you have
323 rashes in your body sores on the glands you're swollen . pain on the
324 neck . on the bones and the joints . you live with that until a year later
325 brain damage . six months later death . you get it clearly

326 **All:** yes

327 **Mr Bojang:** and you got this sickness from what between a man and a woman
328 coming together whether people are seeing you or they not seeing you
329 as far you share a bed with a woman you the schoolgirls you the girls

330 looking at me right now with your big eyes look at me right now if you
331 share a bed with any man who have this infection you will be infected .
332 and you are too young to die . mmm? OK [classroom noise 3 seconds]
333 can I move to the next one

334 **All:** yes

335 **Mr Bojang:** haaam . this is also a bacterial disease caused by this bacteria [writes on
336 board - haemophilus ducreyi] [classroom noise 15 seconds] [Mr
337 Bojang writes on board]

338 **Mr Bojang:** its a bacterial disease . but the name of the bacteria that causes this
339 sickness is called /homophilus ducreyi/ /homophilus ducreyi/ these
340 are scientific names . sometimes they will give you names very funny
341 names . but this is the name of the bacteria . now . this is the name of
342 the bacteria that causes this sickness chancroid how do you see it . the
343 first person who . [taps board] came out with this is called mr ducrey so
344 this is for previously called ducrey's basillus [writes on board - dukure's
345 bacillus] ducrey's basillus is the first person who detected this .
346 chancroid this sickness [classroom noise 8 seconds] now [classroom
347 noise 15 seconds] you know sometimes . in our homes .. in our homes
348 sometimes . we don't have this flush toilets . ah?

349 **All:** yes

350 **Mr Bojang:** we don't have this flush toilets . we have this local toilets . and
351 sometimes we have normally take bath you see you are taking bath
352 here the water is around stagnant and its not running . you come as a
353 woman you know the place is full of fungi . bacteria and other things
354 so filthy you come as a woman you want to urinate . you come you
355 squat there you squat there you are urinating you are urinating water is
356 coming from you and splashes its way back on you . that causes this
357 sickness . at the end of the day you the woman you will feel some
358 itching in you . you see you feel some itching with in you and then that
359 will develop to what . very painful . you will see a SMALL RED ul.
360 ulcerated sore on the genital which is very painful . the glands in the
361 groin also swell . and sometimes pus is produced the person feels
362 generally unwell . and may have a very slight fever . chancroid can be
363 treated successfully with antibiotics . you see . the it is very important
364 as a girls . from time to time whenever you go to take bath you
365 examine your body very well thoroughly to check whether there is
366 nothing abnormal . because if you have this sickness here [taps board]
367 as I said here is a place people come and urinate boys will come they
368 start drrrrr [mimes male urination] they go . alright they spit there men
369 will come some will you know you are doing drrrrr [mimes male
370 urination] you are urinating maybe you have this sickness the sickness
371 in you you stand there urinating whilst you are urinating the urine is
372 coming but as the urine is coming maybe the infection is there is also
373 dropped at the same place you as a woman you come you cannot stand
374 and urinate like this [mimes male urination] you come and you squat

375 there you are urinating the water is coming out and spitting is going
376 back in you so the water is going back in you is what is causing this
377 sickness this is why in our homes we need flush toilets so that you c.
378 you go there you sit on the flush toilet you urinate and it goes . its gone
379 . this is in the school here if you go any toilet here please before you
380 urinate make sure you flush the place . you getting me

381 **All:** yes

382 **Mr Bojang:** if you as a girl if you go to any toilet here you want to urinate before
383 you squat and urinate get water and pour on the place make sure the
384 place is clean then you go and squat there urinate wash your hands
385 wash yourself and then use pour water again and you come out and you
386 come and sit in the classroom . and do your lesson is that clear

387 **All:** yes

388 **Mr Bojang:** mm . there will come a time you will see something white . in your
389 genitals . something white foam will come out that white foam is a sign
390 of this chancroid . [taps board] . and its very painful some will say
391 demma burusu I've been bruised . the opening there will be itching
392 very seriously if you go and urinate water water touches on that sore .
393 yea it will itch you seriously . and you have to scratch it . and if
394 mistakenly you touch that one you scratch it . boy you will cry you
395 scratch it and then you go and urinate you will cry I bet you its just
396 going to /gonna/ be if you cut off somebody's skin here and put lime
397 there you know lime lemon lemon you put it there how would a person
398 feel

399 **Boy Pupil:** XXXX

400 **Mr Bojang:** yea its just like if I've an injury right now I put lime there if you don't if
401 you don't {tut} you hear poot poot poot poot poot {children laugh}
402 {laugh} you know poot poot **ndo kae neemae buu ee sae fusi** *if you*
403 *don't defecate you will fart* [NB this is a Mandinka proverb – meaning
404 something similar to between a rock and a hard place or between the
405 devil and the deep blue sea, i.e. whatever decision you make has
406 disadvantages and whatever happens will not be good] {children
407 laugh} . alright . and finally . acquired . immune . deficiency .
408 syndrome . human in fact before you come to this we have what you
409 call HIV [boy pupil calls out 'v'] stroke Aids [writes on board]. Now
410 [classroom noise 6 seconds] you see /y'see/ . there is no special
411 sickness that you can call this sickness is called aids no . **THERE IS**
412 **NO SICKNESS THAT IF YOU LOOK AT THE PERSON YOU'LL**
413 **SAY THIS SICKNESS IS CALLED AIDS NO ..** what do you mean by
414 HIV AIDS . as I said acquired immune deficiency syndrome your
415 immune system will get broken will all get spoiled because of the virus
416 . the human immuno virus . that's the HIV . this virus here [taps board]
417 this virus is a virus that will go into you find your body soldiers very
418 seriously kill all your body soldiers if your bodies are weak . then any

419 disease that comes in will penetrate malaria can kill you very easily TB
420 you may have TB . TB? . diarrhoea /break in recording/ . disease of the
421 lungs how do you call disease of this thing pneumonia /kneemonia/
422 pneumonia . TB . diarrhoea . vomiting even malaria can kill you easily
423 diarrhoea can kill you easily vomiting can kill you easily you have TB
424 its going to /gonna/ be difficult to cure you . but they will not say this is
425 called aids no way . and most of the people who have aids they have
426 this TB .. because tuberculosis is a bacteria ah? that is everywhere all
427 of us have TB . all of us all of us have TB because we are all
428 swallowing every day millions and millions of bacteria in the
429 atmosphere . XX the TB that is in our system those bacteria is so small
430 that it h. it cannot harm us . look at yesterday . yesterday almost all of
431 us swallowed this dust here . where is that dust coming from . we don't
432 know .. boys and girls .. the best way if there is XXX if you don't want
433 to have any of these diseases if you cannot say no to sex use a condom
434 .. if you cannot say NO . use a condom because some of you are
435 donkeys you cannot say no to a man or no to a woman anybody ku
436 nyow rek ana wah *anybody who just comes let's do it* please use a
437 condom balaa ngen brr *before you get pregnant* before you'll be
438 pregnant and before you have any s. of this sickness use a condom if
439 you cannot say no if you are Mr Yes or Miss Yes use a condom .
440 because some of you are stupid . you are crazy . you cannot resist . you
441 are weak . anybody who approaches you you will never say no you
442 don't learn to say to no to a man you don't learn to say no to a woman
443 but you will do it DO IT and don't protect yourself you see what will
444 happen to you if you are a girl you will be pregnant if you are not
445 pregnant you will be infected . so I am warning all of you . if anybody
446 who get pregnant here don't say my teacher don't tell me your teacher
447 even tell you that if you get pregnant you can get Aids . because if you
448 use condom you will not be pregnant . so if you get pregnant there is
449 you are there is a liability in fact a risk of you getting the aids or any of
450 this disease the person who gi. make you pregnant you don't know
451 whether that person is healthy or not . and you sleep with the person
452 and then when you go as a boy as a girl XXXX sssh sshh ay f sssh ay f
453 if you don't answer they say ah this girl is stupid . this girl is crazy he is
454 not aware and then you want they said the boy said you are crazy you
455 are not aware and then you say ah I want to be aware . so when they
456 say you want me XX Fatou come . you come .. you know and then they
457 will say you how are you yea I'm fine {children laugh} mm then then
458 then they will say but definitely I like your style mmmmm [Mr Bojang
459 pulls face grinning and rolling eyes] {children laugh} girls . that's you .
460 and then when we call you . ah ah even I say yes or no . but me I really
461 I dig you I like your style you know I like the way you walk or the way
462 you talk then you smile ayyyyy [Mr Bojang pulls face again] at the end
463 of the day you will say ah can I come to your home then you say oh no
464 my father is there innit ahhh or you say if my mother see me . fine then
465 then I will say then why don't you come to my house . then you keep
466 quiet ah boy Fatou ay talk waye *local expression meaning come on talk*
467 *say something* can you come to my hou. oh oh can I have your mobile
468 number . OK I take your mobile number . fine one day I go home and

469 say OK Fatou yes are you coming OK I am coming mm . you come .
470 ah you come up to my door I say come in you are standing outside
471 there I come and hold your hand come me with I have hold your hand
472 pull your hand you following me . to whatever I say ayyy [Mr Bojang
473 pulls face] whatever I say ayyyy you'll never see another ayyyy you are
474 being {children laugh} ahhh {laugh} OK /ooooook/ OK [classroom
475 noise 3 seconds] yeah ah yeah {children laugh} loi waah loi fem fofu
476 *what do you say what are you lying about there* [classroom noise 4
477 seconds] ahh ah [classroom noise 5 seconds] now . th. th. the {laugh}

478 **Boy Pupil:** LOCAL LANGUAGE XXXXX

479 **Mr Bojang:** ayyyy now the only good news is

480 **Girl Pupil:** yes

481 **Mr Bojang:** . we are lucky we let let us all pray for the President Jammeh . how
482 many of you were watching the T.V. . ah ha did you see President
483 Jammeh curing the Aids patients

484 **All:** yes

485 **Mr Bojang:** ah ha . if that move /moovve/ you you say ah my president is curing
486 aids patient so I don't care ah ha . if that is to encourage the spread of
487 HIV in this country you will all die for this man cannot cure all of you
488 think of the time . at every Thursday and if he start with ten people all
489 those peoples must be cured completely before he go to the next ten eh
490 by the time they reach you you will be dry on your bed like a prune . so
491 in that note I am saying that that's the end of your nice lesson if you
492 have any question to ask you ask me . Yamundow do nja buga aaga
493 XXXXX *little mother [proper name] you want to reach XXXXX* . any
494 question yes any question yes any question [classroom noise 3 seconds]
495 **ee kang jubau mi mela boysolu bae jonkotorinneko** *why are you*
496 *looking at me the boys are squatting* . girls they said the boys are men
497 are squatting down at the corners waiting for girls to pass . any girl
498 who cannot say no you will go between their houses by the time he will
499 leave you you will come out with a big stomach and aids leg . you are
500 all keeping quiet there ah?

501 **Girl Pupil:** yes

502 **Mr Bojang:** you better laugh {children laugh} ahhhh {laugh} bu bahh *very well* so
503 .. now your assignment I'm going to /gonna/ give you an assignment .
504 get the notes from the science book into your book . we will give you a
505 test later .. ayyyyy . [addresses Mr Fatty student teacher] is it not one
506 o'clock one local language

507 **Mr Fatty:** yea is no its after twelve I think

508 **Mr Bojang:** after one

- 509 **Mr Fatty:** XXXXX
- 510 **Mr Bojang:** ah
- 511 **Mr Fatty:** XXXXX twelve now
- 512 **Mr Bojang:** after twelve there . who is having a watch . [addresses Caroline]is it
513 almost h. #one o'clock #
- 514 **Caroline:** #nearly half past nearly half past twelve #
- 515 **Mr Bojang:** ah OK OK . so that's the end of this period . any question before I will
- 516 **Mr Fatty:** LOCAL LANGUAGE
- 517 **Mr Bojang:** mmm?
- 518 **Mr Fatty:** LOCAL LANGUAGE
- 519 **Mr Bojang:** half past almost around half past twelve **ha** yes any question any
520 question .. ask now listen I want you to ask me question ... if you ask
521 me question I will give you my bread
- 522 **Boy Pupil:** you are XXXXX your bread every XXXX you are fighting for bread
- 523 **Mr Bojang:** I have a delasi for any question you ask [Mr Bojang takes one delasi
524 from his pocket and shows the class]
- 525 **All:** children cheer
- 526 **Mr Bojang:** every question you ask I have a dalasi for you
- 527 **Boy Pupil:** XXXX
- 528 **Mr Bojang:** yea
- 529 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXX
- 530 **Mr Bojang:** so what is making you talk is it the dalasi or the knowledge you have
- 531 **Girl Pupil:** the knowledge we have
- 532 **Mr Bojang:** Aja [girl's name] talk
- 533 **Boy Pupil:** XXX
- 534 **Mr Bojang:** raise your hand please [classroom noise 1 second] yes . now lets start
535 with Adama or Awah [classroom noise 2 seconds] yes [classroom noise
536 3 seconds] yes . ah? [classroom noise 4 seconds] you want to ask .

- 537 **ayyeh buu wato ajuwo ayyeh woleh sikandi** *he's lying then it is his*
538 *genitalia he has raised up* yes
539
- 540 **Boy Pupil:** why practice #XXXX# this person already used has HIV Aids how
541 would you know because this ah ah the body don't change
542 **Mr Bojang:** # yes #
- 543 **Mr Bojang:** ah ha she said I know you were all watching the T.V.
- 544 **Boy Pupil:** yes
- 545 **Mr Bojang:** all those who came out from the T.V. . to be treated by President
546 Jammeh most of them are fresh isn't it
- 547 **All:** yes
- 548 **Mr Bojang:** are there only two of them got very weak
- 549 **All:** yes
- 550 **Mr Bojang:** because the first day they cannot even walk or stand
- 551 **Girl Pupil:** yes
- 552 **Mr Bojang:** isn't it
- 553 **All:** yes
- 554 **Mr Bojang:** but the is it the third day they were walking . they were walking like
555 this the other day they were running
- 556 **Boy Pupil:** yes
- 557 **Mr Bojang:** and now they are OK . so she said how do you know that X has Aids
558 I'm telling you . its only tests LOCAL LANGUAGE XXXXX {girls
559 laugh}
- 560 **Girl Pupil:** LOCAL LANGUAGE
- 561 **Mr Bojang:** you see . looking at you nobody can tell by looking at you that you
562 have the aids if you want to know your status you have to go to the
563 nearest health centre they will take your blood they will ask you to go
564 and they will give you a day for you to go back they will examine you
565 and give your results if you are not they if they are not satisfied they
566 will take another sample blood of you test it check check everything
567 and then they will call you and give your results and nobody will know
568 it except you and the doctor . very clear
- 569 **All:** yes

- 570 **Mr Bojang:** who want to have aids
- 571 **Boy Pupil:** nobody
- 572 **Mr Bojang:** who want to have any of this
- 573 **Boy Pupil:** no
- 574 **Mr Bojang:** can before I close down I want somebody to get up who will advise
575 everybody here [classroom noise with some individual but
576 indecipherable voices] ha . I want before I close down I want
577 somebody who will get up and advise everybody . yes . local language
578 ah? .. yes can I have somebody . yes [classroom noise 10 seconds
579 cheers and clapping] now OK if you want to hear if you want to get
580 him very clearly listen to him
- 581 **Boy Pupil:** XXXX #deigne wara gis XXXX we have to see
582 **Mr Bojang:** #in English in English
- 583 **Boy Pupil:** ah
- 584 **All:** #cheering #
- 585 **Boy Pupil:** #ah {laugh} # you eh girls you have #take #
- 586 **Mr Bojang:** #and boys #
- 587 **Boy Pupil:** girls and boys you have to take your time . to to the boys
- 588 **All:** laughing
- 589 **Mr Bojang:** OK thank you . yes . what he is saying he said girls and boys you have
590 to take your time on each other . OK
- 591 **All:** yes
- 592 **Mr Bojang:** aha to avoid accident can I have somebody to come out. can I yes
593 Sukai come [classroom noise 5 seconds] yes Sukai can you come and
594 advise us here .. Sukai come . no you can talk I know .. fv [classroom
595 noise 26 seconds]
- 596 **Child:** sssshhhh
- 597 **Mr Bojang:** deep tell him something XX [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 598 **Boy Pupil:** Local Language
- 599 **Mr Bojang:** OK? now listen to Fatoumata she's going to give us . some advice
- 600 **Girl Pupil:** my fellow boys and girls my XX boys and girls especially girls stop
601 following this boys they are not good for you they will disturb your

- 602 education take your book and your pencil and your boyfriend and your
603 girlf. maybe your enjoying it [clapping]
- 604 **Mr Bojang:** XXX OK what girls are saying tougher than boys can I have a boy to
605 talk [laughing and noise 9 seconds] come come say something come .
606 now OK let us let me hear now listen let me hear from the boys also .
607 who who follow who [classroom noise cheering and clapping 6
608 seconds] OK OK listen now OK listen . now listen I I see that {clap
609 clap clap clap clap clap} I am still the king of the classroom
- 610 **All:** yes
- 611 **Mr Bojang:** ah
- 612 **All:** yes
- 613 **Mr Bojang:** OK
- 614 **Boy Pupil:** boys stop going to club club is no good take your book and read it
615 everyday if you read your book its better than t. going to club XX
616 toubab [word for white person usually a tourist] XX
- 617 **Mr Bojang:** fine [cheering and clapping 7 seconds] now she said something very
618 important here . she said . the boys should stop going to the club now
619 who continue if you keep on going to the club what is what will you
620 get there . yes
- 621 **Girl Pupil:** you are XXXX
- 622 **Mr Bojang:** if you are somebody who always go to the club every night you are
623 there #ever second you are at the club #
- 624 **Girl Pupil:** #boys or girls #
- 625 **Mr Bojang:** boys
- 626 **Girl Pupil:** boys
- 627 **Mr Bojang:** boys and girls going to the club
- 628 **Girl Pupil:** you will get {laugh}you will you'll
- 629 **Mr Bojang:** you will have you will follow
- 630 **Girl Pupil:** boys
- 631 **Mr Bojang:** you'll follow the boys and boys will follow the
- 632 **All:** drugs
- 633 **Mr Bojang:** inside the club isn't it

- 634 **All:** yes
- 635 **Mr Bojang:** and you may use one . no? [classroom noise 6 seconds boy pupil calls
636 out] what is this
- 637 **All:** drugs
- 638 **Mr Bojang:** ah?
- 639 **All:** drugs
- 640 **Mr Bojang:** drugs . especially the the ones we have in The Gambia here the
641 nightclubs we have here
- 642 **All:** yes
- 643 **Mr Bojang:** if you are a boy who always go to these night club one day you will use
644 these drugs . and as far as you are under the influence of these drugs
645 you will be under the influence of Satan /satAN/ and then you will start
646 to follow any woman you see you will not even mind whether she
647 young or old fresh or pale or weak you don't mind as its a woman you
648 will go off with the person so it is very terrible is that clear
- 649 **All:** yes
- 650 **Boy Pupil:** What do you XXX
- 651 **Mr Bojang:** ah
- 652 **Boy Pupil:** XXXXXX
- 653 **Mr Bojang:** hard drugs [classroom noise 4 seconds] so [classroom noise 4 seconds]
654 I I I I thank you all
- 655 **All:** we thank you too
- 656 **Mr Bojang:** alright I thank you all
- 657 **All:** we thank you too /toooo/
- 658 **Mr Bojang:** thank you very much [classroom noise 3 seconds] [Mr Bojang
659 approaches the researcher] so?
- 660 **Caroline:** yes thank you [classroom noise 4 seconds]
- 661 **Mr Bojang:** how was it
- 662 **Caroline:** it was very good very interesting . thank you

663 **Mr Bojang:** ah? [classroom noise 6 seconds]