

**The Purpose and Value of Bilingual Education:  
A Critical, Linguistic Ethnographic Study of Two Rural Primary  
Schools in Mozambique**

by

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## **Abstract**

This is a qualitative, interpretive study of discourse on bilingual education in two rural primary schools in Mozambique. My aim was to explore how different views about the purpose and value of bilingual education were manifested in classroom discourse practices and how these views related to historical and socio-political processes.

I combined linguistic ethnography and critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education. Data was collected using different techniques, mainly observation, audio recording, note taking, and interviewing.

The study showed that the main official purpose of using local languages in education in Mozambique had been to facilitate pupils' learning. There were three sets of values associated with bilingual education in the sites in this study: pedagogical, socio-cultural and socio-economic. The use of local languages in the classrooms had been creating spaces for pupil participation and learning. I also found that the beneficiaries in the local communities focussed more on the socio-cultural value of bilingual education, which they saw as prompting the development and upgrading of their languages and associated cultural practices. The study also revealed that, with the introduction of bilingual education, participants had begun to consider the potential capital value of local languages in formal linguistic markets.

The general conclusion is that bilingual education is playing a role in social and cultural transformation in the sites in this study, though its potential has yet to be fully explored.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my wife, Mamo, and my kids, Dino and Eric, who have once more endured life without me for an extended period of time. I am sure Dino and Eric will one day appreciate my choices better.

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARPAC	Arquivo do Património Cultural (Archives and Cultural Heritage)
CNP	Comissão Nacional do Plano (National Commission for Planning)
EP1	Ensino Primário do Primeiro Grau (lower level primary education)
EP2	Ensino Primário do Segundo Grau (upper level primary education)
EPC-B	Escola Primária Completa de Bikwani (The Primary School at Bikwani)
EPC-G	Escola Primária Completa de Gwambeni (The Primary School at Gwambeni)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDE	Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (National Institute for the Development of Education), the Research and Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Mozambique
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (National Institute of Statistics)
LHR	Linguistic Human Rights
MEC	Ministério da Educação e Cultura (Ministry of Education and Culture)
MINED	Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)
NELIMO	Núcleo de Estudo de Línguas Moçambicanas (Nucleus for the Study of Mozambican Languages), at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
NGO	Non-Government Organization
RM	República de Moçambique (Republic of Mozambique)
RPM	República Popular de Moçambique (Peoples' Republic of Mozambique)
SNE	Sistema Nacional de Educação (National Education System)
UDEBA-LAB	Unidade de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica - Laboratório (Unit for the Development of Basic Education – Laboratory)

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### *Overview*

This chapter provides the outline of the study. This study focuses on discursive practices in two primary bilingual schools in Mozambique, fictionally called *Escola Primária Completa de Gwambewni* and *Escola Primária Completa de Bikwani*. Combining discourse analysis and ethnography, my main concern is to explore how different views about the purpose and value of bilingual education in Mozambique are manifested in bilingual classroom discourse practices and how these discourses relate to institutional, local and societal discourses.

By ‘value’ of bilingual education I mean the significance that stakeholders attach to the resources acquired through this educational provision and their evaluation of how well it allows access to those resources. These resources include proficiency and literacy skills in L1 and L2, academic achievement in both languages, as well as the symbolic and material rewards associated to those resources.

The chapter comprises four sections. Section 1.1 outlines the sociolinguistic context in which bilingual education is being implemented in Mozambique, as a way of framing the central issue of the study; In Section 1.2, I explain how I became involved in research in bilingual education and why I decided to focus on classroom discourse; In Section 1.3, I outline the research questions set to be answered by this study; Section 1.4 delineates the nature and significance of the study; and Section 1.5 maps out the organisation of the study.

### **1.1 The Context for this Study and the Central Issue**

As it is a norm in most African countries, Mozambique is a multilingual society. In addition to Portuguese, there are over 20 African languages spoken in the country. As

of 1997, estimates indicated that 94% of the population spoke an African language as a first language (Firmino, 2000).

Partly due to this linguistic diversity, the ex-colonial language (Portuguese) was proclaimed as the official language of the new Nation-State after Independence in 1975. Up to 2003, Portuguese held a prestigious position as the only official language of formal education at all levels, from primary to tertiary education. African languages had neither been accorded a role in the classroom, nor in any other official domains. Therefore, with different justifications, the policy adopted after independence was the same as that in place in the colonial era: in both cases Portuguese enjoyed the privileged official status whereas African languages were marginalised and even banned from official functions such as education.

However, poor education outcomes seem to have played a key role in reconsidering the language-in-education policy in the country. In multilingual contexts like Mozambique, among other factors, it is common to attribute academic failure to poor proficiency in the language of instruction, usually a learner's second or foreign language. In such contexts, the use of a language familiar to the child is assumed to be a necessary condition for school success, hence the introduction of bilingual education. Indeed, although socio-cultural aims have also been officially evoked, the main purpose of bilingual education in Mozambique seems to be scaffolding pupils' learning of Portuguese and academic content in this language.

The move in Mozambique is in tune with bilingual education theory and international practice which suggest that initial literacy and academic development are better achieved when a first/home language of the child is used as a medium of instruction than when a second or foreign language is used (e.g. Hornberger, 1988; UNESCO, 1990; Bamgbose, 2000; Cummins, 2000, 2001). The overall impact of this

move should be to allow the majority of Mozambican children whose first language is different from Portuguese to have the right to speak and be heard in the classroom and, consequently, to enjoy learning.

However, apart from the school context, African languages continue to be institutionally marginalised, in a society where Portuguese remains as *the* dominant language. Therefore, among other reasons, the fact that African languages continue to be deprived of capital value in mainstream societal markets, while at the same time being regarded by their speakers as languages of locality/tradition, makes bilingual education an important field of contradiction and contestation worth being studied.

As Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) point out, schools play a key role in affirming the legitimacy of the dominant language and culture and in reproducing the sociolinguistic order. This is particularly true in Mozambique especially in the light of the fact that access to Portuguese is unequally distributed. Indeed, given this background, among other questions, it may be asked why African languages are not accorded official status? Why would people be motivated to invest in formal learning of their local languages if such languages are not valued or have low exchange value in the mainstream societal markets?

## **1.2 My Own Starting Points**

As part of the framing of this study, I find it relevant to explain how I became involved in bilingual education research and why I chose to focus my research on classroom discourse.

My background is that of a teacher of Portuguese in upper secondary school and then as a university lecturer of formal linguistics. As a lecturer on syntax and morphology, I realised that the incorporation of an applied/social dimension into my



formal linguistic background would add value to my contribution to research on social issues in which languages play a role. This belief was nurtured by my participation, as assistant researcher, in a sociolinguistic project jointly sponsored by Universidade Eduardo Mondlane and Stockholm University. This project was designed to study language attitudes in Maputo, as an example of an urban post-colonial setting.

The opportunity to add social and applied dimensions to my purely linguistic strand of knowledge arose when I was invited to join the National Institute for the Development of Education (INDE), as a part-time project coordinator. This was in the context of the introduction of bilingual education in Mozambique, in 2003.

Thus, from February 2003 to July 2006, I worked in a systematic way in both of the schools that are the object of enquiry in this study (and in one other school). I worked as a coordinator of a state education project designed to monitor and provide advice on the implementation of the programme. At the same time, I was involved in government and non-government initiatives aiming at training bilingual education teachers nationwide in language teaching methodologies as well as in orthographies and structure of local languages used in schools.

Over the course of my involvement in this project, I witnessed gains, challenges and contradictions. As an observer of language practices in bilingual and monolingual classrooms, the main insight that I gained was that pupils from bilingual classes, but not from monolingual classes, could actively participate in lessons and easily engage in dialogue with their teachers. Through observation of daily life in the schools and through interviews with teachers, the schools' management teams and parents, I found that some teachers were resisting teaching in bilingual classes whereas others were volunteering themselves to do so. Whereas many parents were sending their children to bilingual classes, there were a few who were transferring or

attempting to transfer their children from bilingual to monolingual classes. In addition, the public debate indicated that although there was a substantial sector of the population backing the bilingual programme, there were also opponents of it.

A close analysis of all these facts reveals that the issue of language choice, inextricably linked to the symbolic values attached to the competing languages (Portuguese and African languages), is what is at the heart of these language perceptions, ideologies and individual stances, which seem to be manifestations of both collusion with and resistance to institutional language ideologies. Moreover, the literature also shows that in spite of theoretical and practical support, bilingual education programmes have not been successful everywhere (see Stroud, 2002 for common reasons for failure in developing countries). One of the reasons given for failure is that the values and attitudes that people attach to these programmes have a bearing on outcomes. Therefore, understanding and explaining classroom bilingual practices, institutional language ideologies and individual stances on language issues, based on the assumption that language choices and values are constructed, reproduced and reinforced through discourse is what motivated me to undertake this research on language interactions in bilingual classrooms. Given the above background, it is apparent that my involvement with bilingual education in Mozambique has been that of a quasi-insider researcher (on the notion of 'insider' research, see Robson, 2002, p.382).

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The fact that before I embarked on this research I had worked in both research sites for about three consecutive years, observing and recording classes and engaging in dialogue with relevant stakeholders as well as training teachers allowed me to make

more focused predictions about what phenomena to look into and how to do so from the beginning. This explains why, right from the outset of this study, I advanced a set of somewhat elaborated and theoretically grounded research questions as well as a selected set of data collection techniques.

At first glance this may be seen as being at odds with the backbone principles and practices of the ethnographic method I adopt in this study. However, based on the background sketched out in the section above, these predictions can be justifiable as we can consider that, in one way or another, I had already done my exploratory fieldwork, and, therefore, when I started this research I was at a stage of sharpening and directing my research questions and design toward more focused phenomena.

The study is designed as an analysis of the interface between language practices and policy, education and social order in Mozambique. In this context, this study is geared to providing answers to the following overarching questions:

(1) How are views about the purpose and value of bilingual education in Mozambique manifested in bilingual classroom discourse practices?

(2) How do these discourse practices relate to socio-historical dimensions as well as to institutional and societal discourses about languages and bilingual education?

(3) How do the findings from the settings studied relate to other findings from similar settings both in-country and in other developing countries, with special reference to African post-colonial contexts?

Question (1) focuses on the actual interactional practices in bilingual classrooms and participants' language ideological positionings. This will help

understand how classroom actors position themselves with regard to official language policies/ideologies and how such positionings manifest themselves interactionally.

The theoretical perspective followed in this study accommodates the attested fact that ‘the main dimensions of day-to-day life in bilingual and multilingual classrooms – curriculum organization, pedagogy and social relations – are crucially shaped by social and political conditions beyond the classroom’ (Martin-Jones, 1995, p.108). Following this line of argument, question (2) investigates the sociolinguistic and socio-historical background against which language interactions and positionings in bilingual classrooms can be perceived and interpreted, responding, therefore, to the importance of incorporating institutional, community and societal levels of discourse as well as socio-historical dimensions for understanding and explaining classroom language behaviour. However, rather than taking situated behaviour simply as a reflex of pressures from the wider context, the view adopted in the study underscores the agency of individual subjects and, in this way, the fact that institutional and societal orders are equally influenced by the interactional level of discourse. Therefore, the incorporation of institutional, community and societal levels of analysis in the study of classroom discourse will help provide what Schiffrin (1996) calls ‘contextual or ecological validity’.

Question (3) aims at embedding the study in the wider research context, through relating the language ideologies, policies and practices found in the sites of study with those captured in parallel settings, both in Mozambique and in other developing countries, with special reference to African post-colonial contexts.

In sum, question (1) focuses on actual language practices in the classroom; question (2) deals with institutional, community and societal levels of discourse analysis as well as socio-historical factors, providing therefore the context for

understanding and interpreting language interactions in the classroom; and question (3) aims at embedding the study into the wider countrywide and international contexts of bilingual education policy, practice and research.

#### **1.4 The Nature and Significance of this Study**

This is a qualitative, interpretive study of discourse on bilingual education practice in two rural primary schools in Mozambique. I combine ontological and epistemic perspectives drawn from linguistic ethnography (Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, 2007; Creese, 2008) and critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education (Heller, 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Martin-Jones, 2007). These research orientations share common features, including the combination of ethnography and discourse analysis and the consideration of a multilayered analysis of linguistic phenomena, based on the assumption that interactional level of discourse influences and is influenced by wider socio-historical and socio-political processes. They also share the post-modern view of language as social practice and speakers as conscious social actors (Heller, 2007).

This study comes after a language-in-education policy shift that has extended over several years and after widespread curriculum innovation in the country, involving a move away from a Portuguese-only system of education to a situation in which local African languages have also been accorded a space in formal education through the gradual introduction of a bilingual programme. Unlike many other African countries, however, Mozambique does not have any prior tradition of bilingual education. It is therefore currently facing many challenges in the implementation of the programme, including in defining the appropriate role and place of African languages and associated local cultures in the classroom. Within this

scenario, this study may provide empirically grounded insights for diagnosing as well as informing policy and implementation of this innovative programme in the country.

Against this background, I expect this study to make a practical as well as a theoretical contribution. From the practical point of view, I believe that an ethnographically-informed study of discourse practices in bilingual classrooms can impact on education planning and implementation. Indeed, by linking the analysis of classroom interactional order with cultural and socio-historical factors, including institutional ideologies, the study may contribute in helping teachers reflect on their own language interaction practices with pupils in the classroom and on their overall teaching techniques. On a macro level, the results from the study may also help educators and education planners identify and address factors that may be fostering or hampering the introduction of local linguistic and cultural resources in Mozambican bilingual schools, providing therefore insights that may, for example, inform teacher training planning and practice as well as language curricula development.

From a theoretical point of view, the study may contribute to the discussion about the value of bilingual education from pedagogical, cultural and political-economic perspectives, contributing in this way to empirically informed theory-building on bilingual education especially as concerns developing countries.

I also take this study as an African contribution to a growing body of empirically informed work on the ideological and ideologised nature of bilingualism and bilingual education (e.g. Freeman, 1998; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Heller, 2006, 2007). More specifically, this study adds to the understanding of the role of bilingual education in social and cultural transformation, including in changing speakers' perceptions about the value of low-status languages and associated cultural practices.

## **1.5 Structure of the Thesis**

Following this introduction, the study is organised into four main parts: The interdisciplinary research context (Part I); Historical, sociolinguistic and educational context of Mozambique (Part II); Bilingual education in action in Mozambique (Part III); and Conclusion (Part IV). With the exception of Part IV, which consists of a single chapter, the other parts contain between two to five chapters.

In Part I, I review the relevant literature and conceptual framework informing this study. Chapter 2 discusses some of the key principles and methods of general ethnography and the application of ethnographic methods to educational research. I also describe the origins and perspective of linguistic ethnography, the approach followed in this study. I also discuss some of the challenges it poses to researchers.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of historical and contemporary contours of bilingual education, focussing on aspects of theory, policy and practice. I use cross-contextual cases to illustrate some of the key patterns relevant for this study, but I place particular emphasis on cases from sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter 4 reviews relevant studies on classroom discourse. I consider the so-called canonical patterns of classroom discourse as well as a few contextually motivated departures from such patterns. Patterns of discourse in bilingual classrooms are also addressed. I go on to characterize and discuss three orientations in the study of classroom discourse: interactional, sociolinguistic and psycho-pedagogical studies. I then show how findings from research on classroom discourse can contribute to the development of education.

In Part II, I offer an account of the historical, sociolinguistic and educational context in which the study is embedded. Chapter 5 outlines the country's, demographic, historical and sociolinguistic context. I provide a sketch of the history

of colonial and post-colonial Mozambique. I then characterise the multilingual context of the country and also highlight the main patterns of the language policies that have been adopted since colonial rule. I show how these policies have evolved from monolingual approaches centred on Portuguese to multilingual approaches that begin to accommodate African languages.

Chapter 6 presents some of the key features of past and current education provision in Mozambique. I first summarise some key characteristics of education in the colonial and post-independence periods. This is followed by the description of the current system, with focus on the bilingual education programme. I trace the genesis of the programme, its purpose and structural organization. I also provide an account of some of the constraints faced in the implementation process.

In Part III, the core of the study, I describe my research methodology and present the findings of the study. Chapter 7 describes and justifies the approach adopted and the methodological decisions made for this study. I justify why and how I drew on a combination of different frames of reference in my data collection and analysis, particularly the use of linguistic ethnography and a critical, interpretive approach to bilingual education. I also reflect on my fieldwork experience, focussing on the rationale for selecting the research sites, my relationships with the participants and on the ethical issues considered in the field and throughout the reporting process.

Chapter 8 describes the research sites, focusing on salient characteristics of the communities, schools and classes observed in the study. I show that, despite some differences between the two communities and schools, overall they display similar characteristics. Both research schools are in poor rural communities, chiefly relying on subsistence agriculture, migratory work and informal trading. Both of the schools are similar in need, both in terms of infrastructure and material and qualified human



resources. I suggest that these socio-economic and educational constraints have a bearing on the quality of education provided to the pupils.

Chapter 9 discusses the educational value of bilingual education in Gwambeni and Bikwani. Key features of interaction and pedagogy observed in L1 and L2 classroom contexts are presented and discussed. The main finding is that while the interactive atmosphere in L1 and L1-medium subject classes is conducive to the pupils' learning, in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium classes learning/teaching remains as ineffective as in the traditional monolingual programme. In addition, with a few exceptions, in both L1 and L2 contexts teachers are employing similar traditional pedagogy, founded on teacher-centred routines. I conclude that, although bilingual education is contributing to the transformation of some traditional education practices in the sites studied, its potential is still not fully explored.

Chapter 10 discusses the socio-cultural value ascribed to bilingual education in the sites in this study. The finding is that bilingual education is contributing to the legitimisation of historically marginalised cultural practices, languages and their speakers, in the maintenance and development of local languages, and in the promotion of community expertise and agency. Based on this finding, I conclude that bilingual education is contributing to change in the participants' (and societal) perceptions about local languages and associated cultural practices: in addition to their old function as symbols of identity, these now tend also to be perceived as equally valid resources for formal instruction and progress.

Chapter 11 discusses the socio-economic value attributed to bilingual education. I found that, although the general trend in both sites in this study is to regard Portuguese as *the* language of access to formal labour markets and associated socio-economic rewards, the introduction of bilingual education is contributing to

raise community's consciousness about the actual and potential capital value of African languages. I conclude that bilingual education is contributing to the lending of visibility to African languages in the communities and society at large, which may lead to their reconstruction not only as symbols of identity and belonging but also as assets that can grant material rewards in both formal and informal markets.

In Part IV, Conclusion, I summarise the findings of the study and explore their implications for research, policy and practice of bilingual education. I also outline some of the limitations of this study and consider a few research avenues that can be pursued in future projects.

## **Part I – The Interdisciplinary Research Context**

## **Chapter 2: Ethnography and Ethnographic Approaches to Discourse**

### *Overview*

This chapter presents and discusses some of the key principles and methods of general ethnography and also describes the origins and perspective of linguistic ethnography.

In Section 2.1, I consider the difficulty of defining ethnography, and then present some key principles and methods of this approach. This is followed by a discussion of some characteristics of traditional ethnography that have been subject to academic criticism. The last part of this section is devoted to an analysis of the application of ethnographic methods to educational research. In Section 2.2, I present what is called sociolinguistically-informed ethnographic approaches to discourse, as a way of contextualizing linguistic ethnography. Section 2.3 portrays linguistic ethnography, tracing its origins and perspective and also discussing some of the challenges it faces.

### **2.1 Ethnography: Principles, Methods and Application in Educational Research**

#### ***2.1.1 On the Definition of Ethnography***

As many authors have pointed out (e.g. Hymes, 1982; Hammersley, 1993a; Watson-Gegeo, 1988, among others), there is neither a common understanding of the meaning of ‘ethnography’ nor agreement on what can be regarded as examples of ethnographic work. Hammersley (1993a) notes that the meaning of ethnography overlaps with that of several other methods such as qualitative method, interpretative research, and case study (see also Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This is true not only in terms of notion, but also in terms of practice, particularly taking into account, for example, the recent body of classroom research in which, instead of following a single approach,

researchers tend to embark on interdisciplinary approaches, therefore, exploring and synthesizing strengths of different research methods, including ethnography.

Nevertheless, there have been various attempts to provide elaborated definitions of 'ethnography' (e.g. Hymes, 1982; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). For example, Watson-Gegeo (1988) defines ethnography as 'the study of people's behavior in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on cultural interpretation of behavior' (p.576). This definition has the advantage of being broad in scope, covering, therefore, a wide range of ethnographic research, including work falling outside the scope of anthropology, the mother discipline of ethnography.

### ***2.1.2 Principles and Methods***

Though recognising the relevance of a formal definition of ethnography, I find that this approach is best portrayed when its core principles and methods are laid out. In this regard, among others, Heath (1982a), Watson-Gegeo (1988), Hammersley (1993a), and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) provide illuminating descriptions of what counts as ethnography (in contrast, see Rist (1980) for what he calls 'blitzkrieg ethnography', defined as superficial and impressionistic studies presented as ethnographic).

Salient principles of ethnographic enquiry include: social orientation, naturalism, holistic description and explanation, inductive discovery, and comparison. The social orientation entails that ethnographic research is directed towards understanding and explaining people's behaviour as members of social groups (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). The naturalistic principle accounts for the fact that ethnographers study naturally occurring human behaviour as opposed to behaviour observed under experimental conditions set up and subject to manipulation by the

researcher (Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Hammersley, 1993a). The holistic principle implies that any social event or process ‘has to be described and explained in relation to the whole system of which it is part’ (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, pp.577-578, and references cited therein), this means, among other things, combining the description and analysis of different dimensions or levels of social organization – from micro to macro-context levels. The inductive discovery presupposes a research process in which, rather than aiming at testing hypothesis, as in the positivist epistemology, the analyst usually starts with broad questions or theoretical ideas about social phenomena, narrows the focus of its research as it proceeds, and seeks explanations based on empirical data (Hammersley, 1993a). The comparative nature of ethnography captures the fact that ‘the ethnographer first seeks to build a theory of the setting under study, then to extrapolate or generalize from that setting or situation to others studied in a similar way’ (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p.581). That is, ethnography has both particularistic and generalizing perspectives. However, given the assumptions regarding the situated nature of social events and processes, the heterogeneity of social groups, as well as the typically limited samples studied, ethnographers are in general cautious about the generalizations they make, which they situate at an analytical or theoretical level, rather than statistical (see Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Yin, 2003).

Ethnography is multi-method in nature, in the sense that ethnographers make use of a range of techniques both for data collection and analysis. The techniques used for data collection include observation, participant observation, formal and informal interviews with participants, audio and video recording of human behaviour, and collection of relevant sources of information. However, participant observation is regarded as the central data collection mode used. The collection of data is ‘unstructured’, which means that it does not follow a detailed plan and a list of fixed

categories to look at. On the contrary, the focus of observation may change in the course of the process of enquiry. The data gathered is primarily qualitative, though it may also include quantitative data, playing a supplementary role (Heath, 1982a; Hammersley, 1993a; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

As with data collection, the analysis also takes a variety of modes, including the analysis of verbal and non-verbal information from different data sources. By cross-checking information collected from different sources (triangulation), ethnographers aim at increasing the validity of their findings (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p.584, quoting Diesing, 1971). As with data collection, ethnographers do not use fixed or pre-given categories for data analysis, categories evolve from systematic observations and from the data itself as analysts inductively seek responses to their research questions. In data interpretation, as well as resorting to their interpretative framework (etic analysis), ethnographers also incorporate participants' accounts of their own behaviour and social organization (emic analysis). This etic-emic dialectic is viewed as a 'standard of objectivity which can function as an alternative to the objectivity of positivism/empiricist epistemology' (Usher, 1996, p.22).

Nevertheless, the various ethnographic approaches abounding in the literature differ in terms of the role and emphasis accorded to each or some of the principles and methods outlined above. This is mainly due to manifest differences in the philosophical paradigms on which such approaches draw upon. For example, whereas in ethnography of communication, participant observation is the prime data collection method used, in ethnographic microanalysis, analysts combine participant observation with a detailed analysis of video recordings of communicative behaviour.

Despite its popularity and pervasiveness in social research, including in educational research, ethnography has been subject to criticism, some of which is

acknowledged by or comes from within the ethnographic community itself. Some of the criticism and limitations of ethnography are aptly discussed in Hammersley (1992, 1993a), Rampton et al. (2004) and Rampton (2007) (see also Rist, 1980, who criticises what he calls the transformation of ethnography as a method into a movement). I sketch below some salient trends of criticism both from the positivist thinking and from critical theory (see Hammersley, 1993a).

Central to the criticism coming from positivist thinking is the position that ethnography fails to meet the criteria of science (Hammersley, 1993a). The arguments advanced to sustain this claim revolve around three theoretical dimensions: the alleged failure ‘to provide a basis for generalising beyond the limited number of situations that the researcher has been involved with’ (Rampton et al., 2004, p.15), the excessive emphasis put on the relatively micro level of analysis, neglecting the larger-scale social and historical processes and systems (Hammersley, 1992, pp.32-42), and the absence of established and replicable criteria (or theory) for doing research (Hammersley, 1993a). Although it is commonly understood that many ethnographers emphasise practice over theory, as implied in the latter vein of criticism, Blommaert (2001a) argues that, historically, ethnography is grounded on established ontology, methodology and epistemology, which can only be understood when ethnography is situated within the larger tradition of anthropology.

From the critical theory perspective, conventional ethnography has been criticised for ‘representing things as they are; or, perhaps even worse, representing them as they *appear* to the people studied’ (Hammersley, 1993a, p.12, original emphasis). According to Hammersley (1993b), this criticism is at the heart of ‘emancipatory’ science, as advocated, for example, by critical discourse analysis and feminist thinking. In this regard, Hammersley (1993b) argues that ethnographic



accounts can still claim to represent reality though they must recognize that they are fallible and selective representations of the phenomena to which they refer.

These critiques as well as developments in a range of disciplines in which the ethnographic method has been used have led to some readjustments and even departures from the traditional ways of doing ethnography, in some way destabilising some of its foundational tenets (for accounts of some of such departures see, for example, Rist, 1980 and Heath, 1982a). The traditional intensity of participation in the social phenomena being studied, the presupposition that only unfamiliar locales should be investigated, and the aim of establishing comprehensive descriptions and explanations are some of the canons that have been challenged.

Indeed, as opposed to traditional ethnography, some forms of post-modern ethnography (Marcus, 1995, 1997) and ethnographically-oriented approaches to discourse (Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, 2007) have underscored the advantages of researching familiar sites and also do not advocate intensity of participation as a *sine qua non* condition for doing ethnography. In this regard, Marcus (1997), for example, suggests that researching a familiar locale helps to achieve the depth that conventional anthropology always hoped for from long stays in the field. This author argues that this is mainly due to the fact that researchers investigating a familiar locale can use their control of language as well as their life experiences as assets to achieve such depth. This line of thought has been associated with the emergence of team and multi-sited ethnography. Indeed, in his characterization of multi-sited ethnography, Marcus (1995, 1997, 2005) presents it as a perspective that opens scope for collaboration, interdisciplinarity and comparison in description and explanation. In the same vein, team ethnography, which is actually an element of multi-sited ethnography, not only allows collaboration between researchers from different disciplines but also between

inside (or quasi-inside) and outside researchers, which, among other things, allows for reconfiguration of the involvement-detachment game in ethnographic analysis (e.g. Creese et al., 2006, 2008).

As shown in Chapter 7, my study follows these new trends in ethnographic work: I am researching two settings, with which I am, in some way, familiar; I did not aim for an intensive and prolonged participation in the lives of the communities in my study, although I do capitalize on my previous work in the same sites; and I also focus my study on a specific topic - the purpose and value of bilingual education - though its approach has led me to appeal to different contextual layers.

### ***2.1.3 The Ethnography of Language and Literacy in Education***

Heath (1982a) provides an insightful account of how ethnographic methods can be used to investigate educational phenomena and discusses some of the major strengths and weaknesses of the approach, specifically when applied to formal education (see also Watson-Gegeo (1988) on the application of ethnography in the study of ESL).

The consideration of contextual dimensions in which educational phenomena are embedded has been perceived as one of the greatest strengths of the application of ethnographic methods in the study of educational phenomena. It is argued that this contextually sensitive analysis allows for the identification and explanation of interdependencies (Heath, 1982a) between different fields which may have a bearing on the phenomena being studied. For example, based on second language learning, Watson-Gegeo (1988) suggests that ethnography can be used to understand how socio-cultural processes may impact on education and also how institutional and societal pressures may be played out in classroom interactions. In Chapter 4, I survey

some illustrative ethnographic studies of classroom discourse, showing how their findings were used to understand and/or improve education policy and practice.

There are, however, weaknesses associated with the application of ethnographic methods in educational research. Relevant to this study are two constraints commonly identified, namely, generalizability and comparability of descriptions and explanations from ethnographic studies.

Regarding generalizability in educational research, the question raised is to what extent the results obtained from the study of one classroom or school (or from a limited number of settings) can be generalizable to other classrooms or schools in a given system? In response, Heath (1982a) suggests that, in the selection of the research setting, the researcher must consider how what one finds in that setting is representative of what occurs in other settings and how the results obtained in such selected settings can throw light on the relation of these to other settings. In the case of comparability, considering the U.S. context, Heath (1982a) suggests that the number and consistency of ethnographic studies of schools and classrooms are relevant criteria for comparability. As in the context described by Heath, the novelty of bilingual education in Mozambique combined with the scarcity of ethnographic studies of schools and classrooms constrained comparability in this study.

## **2.2 Sociolinguistically-informed Ethnographic Approaches to Discourse**

Anthropology, particularly its application in ethnography, is considered to be the discipline which in the 1960s set the stage for the cross-disciplinary study of discourse (van Dijk, 1997). This move occurred under the scope of ethnography of communication, originally called ethnography of speaking. This approach was first proposed by Dell Hymes (cf. Hymes, 1968, 1986[1972]). Drawing on social and

cultural anthropology and linguistics, ethnography of communication can be defined as a methodology and perspective for studying the relationship between language and culture (Hymes, 1986[1972]). Central to this perspective is the notion of communicative competence, defined as what a speaker needs to know in order to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community (Hymes, 1986[1972]).

Hymes called for linguistics to broaden its scope to include the study of communicative interaction and for anthropology to pursue the study of language (cf. Hymes, 1986[1972]). Challenging the structural and formal linguistics frameworks, the fundamental premise emanating from Hymes's thinking was that communicative events ought to be studied in their cultural contexts. It is within this intellectual context that sociolinguistically-informed ethnographic approaches to discourse have emerged. This is an umbrella term advanced by Hornberger (1995) for ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics and ethnographic microanalysis (microethnography). However, in this study I extend the use of the term to include other ethnographic approaches which base their enquiry on (socio)linguistic data, such as sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller, 2006) and linguistic ethnography (Rampton, 2007).

As Hornberger (1995) points out, although distinct, these approaches share common methodological features and perspectives, such as the use of the analytic techniques of discourse analysis and a focus on the situated nature of communicative behaviour. In fact, Erickson (1996) recognises ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics as part of the intellectual roots of ethnographic microanalysis. As shown in the following section, there are also close affinities between linguistic ethnography and Hymes's ethnography of communication.

Ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics and ethnographic microanalysis have common features both in terms of perspective and method. In terms of perspective they all ‘focus on the situated nature of communicative interaction and a recognition of the multiple and alternative social roles and identities available to participants in communicative interaction’ (Hornberger, 1995, p.246) and, methodologically, they all share ‘the emic/etic dialectic, the use of naturally occurring data, the consultation of native intuition, and the tool of discourse analysis’ (Hornberger, 1995, p.233). In their use of discourse analysis, for example, they all take into account the larger context in which interactional events are embedded, though from different perspectives.

Sociolinguistically-informed ethnographic approaches also share the view that researchers ought to be reflexive in the process of the production of knowledge, which implies that, as they produce knowledge based on contextually-bound phenomena, they should also resort to assumptions emanating from their ontological perspectives and cultural and socio-historical trajectories.

The similarities exhibited by the approaches presented above confirm, therefore, what Hymes (1968) had anticipated namely that ‘approaches devised under linguistic influence, although they may diverge, are likely to show strong resemblance at many points’ (p.107). The section below provides further evidence in this regard.

### **2.3 Linguistic Ethnography: Genesis, Perspective and Challenges**

A detailed account of the origins and perspective of linguistic ethnography can be found in Rampton et al. (2004), Rampton (2007) and Cresse (2008). A special issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (11:5) offers other articles which identify and/or

suggest (potential) linkages between linguistic ethnography and other research perspectives and discuss challenges posed to this emerging field of research.

Like other sociolinguistically-informed approaches to discourse, linguistic ethnography stems from Hymes's call for a new order in linguistic analysis, a call for a contextually sensitive approach. The affiliation of linguistic ethnography to Hymes's thinking is spelled out in Rampton et al. (2004) and Rampton (2007). Rampton's (2007) title 'Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom' is revealing of this intellectual link.

Formally constituted in 2004, under the auspices of the British Association for Applied Linguistics, linguistic ethnography is not defined as a paradigm or a school, but as a forum where different research orientations meet, an 'interdisciplinary region' in Rampton's (2007) terms. Rampton (2007) defines this region as:

'... a site of encounter where a number of established lines of research interact, pushed together by circumstance, open to the recognition of new affinities, and sufficiently familiar with one another to treat differences with equanimity.' (p.585)

Linguistic ethnography represents, therefore, a meeting point for researchers from different traditions, such as interactional sociolinguistics, new literacy studies, critical discourse analysis, neo-Vygotskian research on language and cognitive development and interpretive applied linguistics for language teaching (see Rampton, 2007 and Rampton et al., 2004). As Rampton (2007) states, although these traditions differ in terms of issues addressed and in terms of the prominence accorded to ethnography, they are all concerned with practical problems of the real world, treating 'the interface between language/text and situation/context as a central problem.' (p.589)

As in the case of most research in socially-oriented linguistics, the key assumptions in linguistic ethnography are that

‘language and social world are mutually shaping and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity’ (Rampton et al., 2004, p.2).

Thus, linguistic ethnography proposes a methodology which combines analytical tools from ethnography and linguistics. Drawing on the traditional ways of doing ethnography and linguistics, but at the same time taking up post-structuralist and post-modern developments in both disciplines, the desired result of this merger is that:

*‘ethnography opens linguistics up, inviting reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out, encouraging a willingness to accept (and run with) the fact that beyond the reach of standardised falsification procedures “experience ... has ways of boiling over, and making us correct our procedures” (W. James, p. 1978, p. 106)’ (Rampton, 2007, p.596, original emphasis)*

and

*‘linguistics (and linguistically sensitive discourse analysis) ties ethnography down, pushing cultural description towards the analysis of clearly delimitable processes, increasing the amount of reported data that is open to falsification, looking to impregnate local description with robust and subtle frameworks drawn from outside.’ (Rampton, 2007, p.596, original emphasis)*

It is argued that this combination of formal and tested methods for text analysis and the reflexive social orientation of ethnographic methods (Rampton et al., 2004) is key for understanding the intersection of communicative behaviour with social and cultural processes or, as Tusting and Maybin (2007) remark, it enables us ‘to probe the interrelationship between language and social life more in depth.’ (p.576)

Summarizing some of the major concerns raised in the articles which form the above mentioned special issue on linguistic ethnography, Tusting and Maybin (2007) acknowledge that, in spite of the potential gains of the interface between linguistics

and ethnography, it also poses some methodological tensions (the same position is taken up by Creese, 2008). These include the tension between the ethnographic tenet of researchers' involvement in social action and its disturbing impact on the language practices under study; the tension between participants' and researchers' understandings, in which case the researchers' use of epistemic tools may lead to truth claims which may differ from those of the participants, thus destabilising the ethnographic commitment to represent participants' perspectives; and the tension resulting from the use of a range of theoretical and methodological resources to approach different dimensions of a social phenomenon, which may lead to different knowledge claims depending on the level of analysis in hand (see Tusting and Maybin, 2007 and references therein; also Creese, 2008).

In this regard, Rampton (2007) points that rather than naively taking ethnographic and linguistic methods as complementary, researchers pursuing linguistic ethnography explicitly address the methodological contradictions resulting from this combination, an orientation which, according to this author, is compatible with the tradition of methodological reflexivity in ethnography and applied linguistics, the host field of linguistic ethnography. Indeed, as Burawoy (1998) points out in defence of the extended case method, all research methods/approaches have their own limitations, therefore, instead of abandoning them, what is needed is to recognise and 'examine those limitations in order to take them into account and perhaps even reduce them.' (p.22) In this context, I also take the view that, as linguistic ethnography develops and consolidates itself, its practitioners will envisage strategies to accommodate and minimise the effects of the tensions alluded to above, some of which are not actually exclusive to linguistic ethnography. I hope this study makes some contribution in this regard.



## **Chapter 3: Bilingual Education: Theory, Policy and Practice**

### ***Overview***

This chapter offers an overview of historical and contemporary contours of bilingual education, focussing on aspects of theory, policy and practice. Illustrative cases come from worldwide contexts, but a particular emphasis is placed on sub-Saharan Africa.

In Section 3.1, I define bilingual education. Section 3.2 discusses three models of bilingual education and some illustrative programme types. Section 3.3 discusses the relationship between bilingual education and national unity, linguistic human rights and social mobility. Section 3.4 focuses on a survey of past and current language policies, politics and practice of bilingual education in sub-Saharan Africa.

### **3.1 Defining Bilingual Education**

Bilingual education has been used as a cover term for a variety of education provisions, including those using a single language. In this study, however, bilingual education is defined as the use of two languages as media of instruction, or in other words, the use of two languages to teach subjects other than languages themselves (Hornberger, 1991; García, 1997).

This narrow definition of bilingual education has the advantage of setting restrictive criteria for qualifying an education programme as bilingual: the use of two languages *as media of instruction*. It excludes, therefore, various forms of monolingual education provision such as the so-called submersion programmes and monolingual dominant-language medium programmes with a low-status language as a subject, which in some typologies have been classified as bilingual just because they serve pupils whose home languages are different from that of school (e.g. Mackey, 1972). In other typologies, although such monolingual programmes are presented and

discussed, authors are careful to indicate that these are *not forms* of bilingual education (e.g. Baker, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty, 2008).

### 3.2 Bilingual Education: Models and Programme Types

I adopt the typology proposed by Hornberger (1991) to describe and discuss the models and types of bilingual education commonly found worldwide. Consistent with her definition, my study focuses on ‘bilingual education proper’ (Hornberger, 1991), excluding therefore all forms of monolingual education.

Drawing on Trueba (1979), Hornberger (1991) distinguishes between bilingual education models and programme types. In her framework, models, which can be thought of as templates for programme design and evaluation, are defined in terms of their linguistic, cultural and societal goals. Based on these criteria, three model types can be identified: transitional, maintenance and enrichment model (Table 1). Programme types, which reflect different forms of implementing the models mentioned above, are defined in terms of their student population, teachers and programme structure.

Table 1: Bilingual education model types (Hornberger, 1991, p.223)

<b>Transitional Model</b>	<b>Maintenance Model</b>	<b>Enrichment Model</b>
language shift	language maintenance	language development
cultural assimilation	strengthened cultural identity	cultural pluralism
social incorporation	civil rights affirmation	social autonomy

The transitional model includes bilingual education programmes which aim for language shift, cultural assimilation and societal incorporation of speakers of low-

status languages into a dominant culture and socio-sphere. Early-exit and late-exit transitional programmes are prototypical of this model type. Typically, in transitional programmes pupils of low-status languages are initially taught in their first languages and then through a second language. The switch from first to second language as a medium of instruction can occur in the first three years of schooling (early-exit) or later, usually after five or six years of schooling (late-exit). In both cases, ‘the primary goal is proficiency in the dominant language’ (Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty, 2008, p.13) and academic achievement in such language.

The maintenance model includes bilingual education programmes which aim for language maintenance, the strengthening of cultural identity, and civil rights affirmation. Heritage language bilingual education programmes in Canada and heritage language education programmes in the U.S. (Baker, 2006) are examples of programmes falling within this model. In maintenance programmes, pupils from a low-status language are taught in their first language and a dominant, second language, but with emphasis on the first language. These programmes not only contribute to strengthen pupils’ cultural identity but also affirm the rights of ethnolinguistic groups in a given society.

Thus, although both transitional and maintenance models target pupils of low-status home languages, they differ in that whereas in the former case the goal is proficiency and academic achievement in a second language, in the latter case bilingualism, biliteracy and academic achievement in two languages are the desired goals.

The enrichment model includes bilingual education programmes which aim for development and extension of lower-status languages, cultural pluralism and social autonomy (Hornberger, 1991). The Canadian immersion bilingual programmes

and the American two-way (dual language) programmes are examples falling within this model. Whereas immersion programmes are designed for pupils from dominant home languages, two-way programmes target pupils of both low- and high-status languages (e.g. pupils of Spanish background and those of English background in the U.S.). In immersion programmes, pupils from a higher-status language (e.g. English in Canada) learn a lower-status language (e.g. French in Canada) in addition to their first language, at the same time that both languages are used as media of instruction. In dual language programmes, pupils of a low-status language (e.g. Spanish in the U.S.) learn a high-status language (e.g. English in the U.S.) and pupils of a high-status language learn a low-status language, being both languages used as media of instruction in a balanced way.

Hornberger (1991) suggests that models of bilingual education should not be viewed as hermetic nor programme types as bound to particular models. Any of the three models mentioned above may be implemented via different programme types and a given programme may be identified with goals associated with different models. For example, theoretically, immersion and two-way bilingual programmes have also maintenance goals since, in both cases, pupils not only add a second language but also maintain and develop their first language and associated culture.

I subscribe to this pragmatic approach to classifications of bilingual education, which I shall substantiate further by briefly considering the transitional model, the focus of this study. There is a common tendency to associate transitional programmes with cultural assimilation and consequent loss of pupils' first languages. Although I do acknowledge that this is usually the case, in Chapter 10, I shall argue that this view can be challenged when we take into account the socio-historical contexts in which such programmes are implemented. For example, the context and assumptions

underlying the implementation of transitional programmes in the U.S. differ from those of many African countries, which may lead to differences in terms of outputs and outcomes. Unfortunately, typologies of bilingual education, including the classic and new ones, seem to fail to take into account such contextual differences, characterising and appraising transitional bilingual programmes based (almost) exclusively on the industrialised world, particularly Canada and U.S. For example, although García (2009) provides a brief overview of transitional bilingual education in sub-Saharan Africa (and other contexts) in her Chapter 10, such overview is mainly descriptive and does not seem to have fed the characterization offered in her Chapter 6. Using the case of Mozambique, I will show in Chapter 10 how a ‘simple’ introduction of a transitional bilingual programme in a context where local languages had never been officially used in public domains may strengthen the sense of cultural identity among speakers of low-status languages as well as prompt the development and reinforced vitality of these languages.

Therefore, despite the usefulness of the classic model-oriented classification of bilingual education, I find appropriate to adopt a flexible, situated approach to such a classification. As Trueba (1979) reminds us, ‘models’, ‘types’ and ‘designs’ are just landmarks whose values are limited: they may represent some real-life examples but not others, hence the need for continuous adjustment (see also Baker, 2006).

### **3.3 Some Recurrently Debated Issues Related to Bilingual Education**

As many authors have noted, bilingual education is not just about education: in addition to pedagogical issues, bilingual education gives rise to fundamental issues of a political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic nature (e.g. Mitchell et al., 1999; Rhee, 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Heller, 2007; Baker, 2006). In what follows, I

take account of three of the themes that have shaped the debate over bilingual education across contexts, namely the interface between bilingual education and national unity, human rights and socio-economic mobility. These factors are so intertwined that one cannot discuss one without touching on the others. There are certainly other aspects implicated in bilingual education, but I only focus on these three issues as they are relevant for the context of my study.

### ***3.3.1 Bilingual Education and National Unity***

Despite empirical evidence supporting the effectiveness of bilingual education, there have been attempts to discourage or even ban it in many multilingual contexts. One pervasive argument used is that, by fostering bi-/multilingualism, bilingual education for speakers of low-status languages is divisive, a threat to national unity. This argument is framed within the ideal of a linguistically and culturally homogeneous nation-state. This ideological approach explains past and contemporary attempts to ban transitional bilingual education in the U.S., especially since provided for Hispanic background speakers (Mitchell et al., 1999; Rhee, 1999; Villarreal, 1999; Field, 2008). The same approach also explains in part why many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Mozambique, avoided or still avoid the use of African languages in education, maintaining the sole use of ex-colonial languages as media of instruction from primary to tertiary education, the same policy adopted in the colonial era (I shall take up the African case in Section 3.4.2.1).

As May (2000, 2008) has pointed out, the nation-state model of monolingual and monocultural homogeneity have been favoured worldwide at the expense of pluralistic models. However, May argues that contemporary phenomena such as increased national and international population mobility, regional integration, and

globalization are, at the same time, destabilizing the tenets of nation-state politics and steering linguistic and cultural pluralism. The prospects of ‘political togetherness in difference’ (Young, 1993, p.124) are gaining momentum worldwide, which is being translated into multilingual language policies (Hornberger, 2002). This has prompted the promotion of bi-/multilingual education, even in the most conservative contexts. The current boom of bilingual and multilingual education initiatives in Africa and Europe illustrates this transformative view of the relationship between multilingualism and national unity – multilingualism is increasingly viewed as a resource rather than a problem (Ruíz, 1984).

### ***3.3.2 Bilingual Education and Linguistic Human Rights***

Linguistic human rights (LHR) is conceived as ‘one type of human rights, part of a set of inalienable, universal norms for just enjoyment of one’s civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights’ (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995, p.43).

LHR include the right to mother tongue medium education, the right to use one’s language in religious life, in administrative and judicial domains, the right to learn the official language(s) in the country of residence, and the right of ethnic groups to political representation (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994a, b; Paulson, 1997). In this context, bilingual education can be viewed as a way of granting linguistic and cultural rights to speakers of low-status languages, who are usually marginalised.

Despite the recognised relevance of the LHR movement in affirming the rights of speakers of low-status languages, critics point to some practical and theoretical aspects that condition the fulfilment of this ideal. Here I will limit my analysis to the right to education in one’s first language. In terms of practicalities, analysts have indicated constraints such as poor development of many low-status languages (lack of

scripts, lack/paucity of printed materials, lack of literacy tradition) and situations in which there are so few speakers of a certain language in a given setting that it is not economically viable to provide bilingual education for such a group (e.g. Sridhar, 1994, in relation to the Indian context).

In terms of theoretical approach, advocates of LHR have mainly been criticised for not problematising some of their key constructs (e.g. May, 2000, 2008; Stroud, 2001; Stroud and Heugh, 2004). May (2000), for example, points that the problem of advocates of LHR is that they ‘assume the identity of linguistic minority groups as given, the collective aims of linguistic minority groups as uniform, and the notion of minority groups as unproblematic.’ (pp.371-372) The first assumption has to do with the view of language as an essential and primordial indicator of a (ethnic) group, which, as May (2000, 2008) argues, does not account for the commonly held constructivist and postmodernist view of identity as something fluid and language as a contingent factor of one’s identity (see also Stroud, 2001). Among other things, this alternative situational view accounts for the fact that, according to the context, one can choose to or not to identify himself/herself or be identified with a given language. Moreover, one can identify himself/herself with more than one language.

The second criticism has to do with the adoption of the view that community rights take primacy over individual rights. Among other things, this assumption precludes individual members from choosing not to exercise the rights ascribed to the group, like opting out of the right to be educated in their community language.

The third criticism has to do with the view of groups as something easily definable. According to May (2000), the multiple and contingent identities available to individuals in this post-modern heterogeneous world make it difficult to find criteria for defining groups. In this context, May (2000) does not view linguistic and



cultural characteristics as valid criteria for defining or delimiting groups, which I find somehow overstated, though. Indeed, although acknowledging such heterogeneity, one can still argue that it is theoretically (and actually in practice) possible to find groups that are linguistically and culturally less heterogeneous than others in the world. In such cases, linguistic and cultural characteristics may indeed qualify as valid defining or unifying criteria. This explains, at least in part, why in many contemporary conflicts in Africa and East Europe, for example, languages emerge as the mobilising force. In fact, May (2000) himself seems to ease out of his overstatement when he concedes that, although linguistic and cultural characteristics of ethnic groups do not define such groups, they ‘often continue to hold considerable purchase for their members.’ (p.375)

An analysis of the language rights debate indicates that the disputes among different views on this issue revolve around the primacy that should be accorded to each of the following three levels of rights: individual, communitarian and societal rights. This suggests that, in order to pursue the ideal of a cohesive society, there is a need to adopt a reconciliatory approach to language rights, one that attempts to account for and accommodate these three levels of interests. There have been various attempts towards such an accommodation (e.g. Kymlicka, 1995, quoted in May, 2000, 2008; Rhee, 1999; Stroud, 2001; Omoniyi, 2007).

Kymlicka proposes a ‘group-differentiated’ rights approach. This approach, which gives importance to both individual and communitarian rights, is ‘based on the idea that justice between groups requires that the members of different groups be accorded different rights.’ (Kymlicka, 1995, p.47, cited in May, 2000, p.377) Taking into account the debate on bilingual education, Rhee (1999) also suggests the need to reach compromises between what he calls liberal, civic republican, and

communitarian theories of citizenships in the U.S. context. To achieve such a compromise, Rhee (1999) proposes that each of these sides must bracket some of the views that clash with those of other sides and capitalise on those which seem to be common to all of them, such as ‘a recognition of social unity, the inclusion of differing viewpoints, and the need for participation in national society – economically, socially, and politically.’ (p.79) In his turn, and using African experiences as illustrative cases, Stroud (2001) proposes the notion of ‘linguistic citizenship’, which is intended to capture the idea that speech communities should (and should be allowed to) exercise control over their languages and negotiate their political and socio-economic participation at the societal level (see also Stroud and Heugh, 2004). Among other things, this concept is meant to help mediate between universal and particular, between national and individual interests and also challenges ‘the legitimacy of mainstream, majority speaking, official-language society to delimit and characterize language practices solely in terms of formal and public spheres’ (Stroud, 2001, p.350). In a similar vein, and focusing on the sub-Saharan context, Omonyi (2007) proposes a complementary relationship between micro- and macro-language planning. In his framework, macro-language planning comprises nation-state level planning and policy, whereas micro-level planning encompasses language planning and policy which focus on individual, group and community levels, including those involving non-governmental organizations. In order to operate effectively in different contexts, Omonyi (2007) suggests that, rather than competing, micro- and macro-level agents ought to engage with and recognise each other’s contribution.

The proposals summarised above share the underlying view that, for an effective implementation of language planning and policy, there is a need to reach

compromises between the different levels of rights adjudication/exercising in a society. Despite the pertinence of these proposals, however, I find that, while the need to accommodate different levels of interest in language planning and policy should indeed be acknowledged universally, the actual contours of such accommodation should be contextually defined, as this intersects with historical and socio-political considerations, which are by nature locally situated. This is in tune with what Paulston (1997) calls ‘emic rights’ approach, that is, the consideration of ‘culture-, language-, and context-specific rights.’ (p.82)

### ***3.3.3 Bilingual Education and Social Mobility***

Various authors have noted that, in addition to pedagogical and symbolic claims, bilingual education is also implicated in material claims. This includes the appraisal of bilingual education based on associated employment prospects, socio-economic advantages and power. Although this is also true of any other form of education, the appraisal based on such criteria is more visible when applied to bilingual education, partly because this form of instruction involves the use of two languages which are usually perceived to be of unequal statuses. This has led to the questioning of the socio-economic value of investing in the mastering of lower-status language(s) and the associated culture(s), especially when that is perceived to be at the expense of the assimilation of the dominant language(s) and culture(s).

Based on associated material rewards, people may favour, not prefer or even reject bilingual education, or at least certain types of it. Immersion and two-way programmes are examples of commonly favoured forms of bilingual education. It can be argued that speakers of high-status languages adhere to these programmes not only because of their attested cognitive and social benefits, but also (and perhaps mainly)

because of the material rewards associated with proficiency and academic achievement in both languages of instruction. This explains the popularity of these forms of bilingual education among speakers of dominant languages.

In contrast, the provision of bilingual education to speakers of low-status languages has led to mixed reactions, ranging from high demand to complete rejection. High demand is usually associated with cases in which bilingual education is appraised mainly based on integrative rewards whereas cases in which it is not preferred or is rejected are usually associated with situations in which such assessment is based on potential instrumental rewards. Situations in which bilingual education is not preferred (at least by some powerful social segments) have been attested in different multilingual contexts, including in the U.S. (Villarreal, 1999; Moses, 2000), Kenya (Bunyi, 2008), South Africa (Martin, 1997; Banda, 2000), Tanzania (Rubagumya, 2003), India (Sridhar, 1994), Malaysia and Singapore (Gupta, 1997). In all these contexts, parents' justifications for not preferring bilingual education gravitate around the idea that learning through a low-status language delays or even hampers the assimilation of the dominant language and culture, the perceived prerequisites for socio-economic mobility. In extreme cases, bilingual education can even be seen as denial to languages of privilege, as Gupta (1997) reports in relation to certain ethnic groups in Singapore and Malaysia and also Bamgbose (1999) in relation to reactions to Bantu education in South Africa. These perceptions explain in part why many parents in post-colonial contexts, especially middle class parents, prefer to enrol their children in (private) schools using European languages for instruction, seen as the quicker and most efficient way to assimilate the dominant language and culture.

Since research and empirical evidence shows that *proper* initial education in one's first language leads to better proficiency and academic achievement in a L2

(e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976; Cummins, 2000), one can infer that, in many cases, parents' fears are not justifiable. However, there are cases in which such concerns are real, not just a product of ideological discourses. Indeed, like in any form of education, if bilingual education is poorly designed and/or implemented, it cannot equip students with the necessary resources for social mobility.

Therefore, despite cognitive, cultural and psychological advantages that advocates of bilingual education have been using to support instruction in children's first language, considerations about socio-economic rewards associated with dominant languages and cultures pose a real challenge that needs to be addressed (Hornberger, 2006). Adjudicating the right to mother tongue education is not enough, it must also lead to the acquisition of the resources equated with upward social mobility or at least lead to a reconstruction of a low-status language as a valid capital in mainstream markets; otherwise, people may opt out of such a right.

### **3.4 Language Policies and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Historical and Socio-Political Overview**

As various scholars have pointed out, in order to appreciate the current language and education issues in African countries one needs to review the language policies that prevailed during the colonial rule. This is because, as will be shown below, most of the current language policy decisions as well as common views about ex-colonial and African languages still reflect such a colonial legacy. My review focuses on sub-Saharan Africa, where Mozambique is located.

### ***3.4.1 The Colonial Era***

In the analysis of colonial language policies, it is common to recognise two major groups of colonial powers, based on whether they tolerated or proscribed the use of African languages in official domains, including in education (e.g. Ansre, 1978; Obondo, 1994, 2008; Alidou, 2004; Alidou and Jung, 2001). Ansre (1978) uses the terms ‘pro-users’ and ‘anti-users’ to refer to these two groups. In the case of formal education, the ‘pro-users’, such as Belgium, Britain and Germany, tolerated the use of African languages as media of instruction, particularly in the first two or three years of schooling. The ‘anti-users’, like France and Portugal, imposed the use of colonial languages as media of instruction, at the same time that they proscribed the use of African languages.

The language policies adopted, including in education, reflected the general colonial philosophies entertained by each colonial power. For example, the British pro-user policy was compatible with its ‘policy of indirect rule’ (Alidou, 2004, p.199, and reference therein), by which colonial territories were indirectly administrated via local chiefs. Describing such a policy, Obondo (2008) notes that the British assumed that ‘colony’s needs could well be served by training a rather small cadre of “natives” in English and allowing these to mediate between the colonial power and the local population’ (p.152). In contrast, the anti-user policies of France and Portugal were consonant with their assimilationist philosophies (for a substantial evidence in regard to the so-called Francophone Africa, see Alidou, 2004; Alidou and Jung, 2001; Bokamba, 1991). For France and Portugal, one of their core missions in Africa was to ‘civilize’ the natives by spreading their languages and cultures. Therefore, the use of African languages was, in both cases, viewed as an obstacle to the objectives of

cultural assimilation in the colonial languages, namely French and Portuguese (more details on the Portuguese case are provided in Chapters 5 and 6).

This distinction among colonial powers, however, should not be understood as exempting the ‘pro-users’ from assimilationist pretension, as this was also part of their agenda. However, unlike France and Portugal, for example, who had overt and *de jure* assimilationist approaches, pro-user countries, such as Belgium and Britain, adopted what Bokamba (1991, p.183) called ‘an evolutionary or *laissez faire*’ policy of assimilation.

Among other consequences, the policies outlined above led to different scenarios in terms of language development and language attitudes in the countries concerned. In the countries where the use of African languages was tolerated and even promoted, they underwent relative development, here defined as the availability of standardized orthographic systems, glossaries, dictionaries, grammars, literature materials, etc. in such languages. Also in such cases, people tend to be more positive regarding the use of African languages in formal arenas. This is usually the case in former British and German colonies. In the countries where African languages were officially banned, they did not develop. They remained linked merely to informal domains, and are essentially used orally. In such cases, people also tend to be less tolerant about the use of these languages in official functions. This is commonly the case in former French and Portuguese colonies.

### ***3.4.2 The Post-Colonial Era***

#### *3.4.2.1 The Independence Phase: Nation-State Building and the Pragmatism of Monolingualism*

It has been a commonly held view that the choice of language(s) to be used in official domains, including for instructional purposes, is one of the most challenging questions facing decision-makers in multiethnic and multilingual societies (see Addis, 1997, quoted in May, 2008; Field, 2008). Among other reasons, this is ‘because nobody wants the language of another ethnic group to be chosen, as this will give a special advantage to the native speakers of that language’ (Abdulaziz, 2003, p.195).

Faced with this sensitive question amid the project of nation-state building at independence, the majority of African leaders opted for retaining the colonial languages (English, French, or Portuguese) as official languages for government. In a highly multilingual sub-Saharan Africa, these were perceived as the neutral languages of integration and modernization (Bamgbose, 1999). This was, therefore, constructed as a ‘practical and politically correct choice’ (Alidou, 2004, p.201).

With rare exceptions, also the language-in-education policies that reigned in the colonial era were also maintained after independence: where African languages had been excluded, they remained excluded, and where they had been allowed in the lower primary school, they continued to be circumscribed to such a level. The exceptions to this general trend included the abandonment of the use of African languages and adoption of a monolingual model of education at all levels, a backwards move, as happened in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia; the extension of the use of African languages in education, as in Somalia and Tanzania; and also attempts to change the colonial legacy through experimental bilingual programmes, as happened in Nigeria (see Obondo, 2008).



Among the reasons that have been pushing African countries to experiment with alternative education programmes that involve the use of local languages as media of instruction is the growing consensus about the inefficiency of monolingual education systems in European languages, which are second and even foreign languages for most of the school children in Africa. The basic argument advanced has been that the high rates of academic failure attested in sub-Saharan Africa are to a large extent linked to the fact that a language foreign to the child (English, French or Portuguese) has been used since the first day of schooling (Bokamba, 1991; Bamgbose, 1999; Küper, 2003; Alidou, 2004) or the transition to a foreign language has been made too early, before the child has developed solid foundations in her/his own mother tongue (Alidou et al., 2006; Heugh, 2008).

The very much quoted Nigerian Six-Year Primary Project in Yoruba, also known as the Ile-Ife Project, can be regarded as the overwhelming case of bilingual education success in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. In this project, which was conducted from 1970 to 1978, pupils were taught in Yoruba for the full 6 years of primary education while learning English as a subject, whereas a control group was first taught in Yoruba for three years and then switched into English medium. The evaluation of this project revealed that pupils in the experiment performed better than their peers in the control group not only in Yoruba but also in English and in content subjects (Fanfunwa, 1990; Bangbose, 1999, 2000). This project has been used as evidence of the superiority of an extended use of pupils' first languages as media of instruction coupled with a proper teaching of a second language.

The Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon (PROPELCA) (see Tadadjeu and Chiatoh, 2005) is another reported example of success in Africa. According to Tadadjeu and Chiatoh (2005), the PROPELCA

project was started in 1981 aiming to integrate the complementary promotion/teaching of local languages and the two official languages of the country, English and French. After a successful experimental phase, by 2005 the programme was being generalised across the country. Tadadjeu and Chiatoh (2005) point to community ownership and identification with the programme as the key ingredients for the success achieved

Despite the attested success of some of the experimental projects in sub-Saharan Africa, a common trend is that, for various reasons, they are not expanded to wider contexts – they die at the experimental phase. Lack of funds, misconceptions about education in African languages and lack of political will emerge as the key reasons why such successful initiatives have not been replicated and/or expanded. Various authors, such as Obanya (1999), Bamgbose (2000), Campbell-Makini (2000), and Heugh (2000), summarise and critically respond to the key arguments that are commonly used against the promotion of African languages in education.

The lack of follow-up to successful African (and international) experiences has led some authors to conclude that language policy decisions in Africa are not guided by research findings but mainly by political pragmatism (see Alidou and Jung, 2001; Küper, 2003, and references therein).

#### *3.4.2.2 The Current Trend towards Multilingual Policies and Practices*

The once pervasive ideological notion of the modern nation-state unified around one language and one culture is being challenged worldwide at the same time that alternative pluralistic proposals are being advanced. These new approaches gravitate around the view of multilingualism and multiculturalism not as problems but rather as resources that the concerned nations should capitalize upon (Ruíz, 1984).

This shift can be described not only as a response to the oppressiveness of monolingual and monocultural ideology over minority groups but also to its limits. The oppressive nature of this ideology has been addressed in 3.4.2. The limits of this ideological position can be illustrated by worldwide experiences showing that one common culture and one common language ‘does not lead necessarily to a harmonious society’ (Moses, 2000, p.343, quoting Young, 1990). In sub-Saharan Africa, the cases of Burundi, Rwanda and Somalia have been used to illustrate this same point (e.g. Campbell-Makini, 2000; Küper, 2003).

Evidence of the limits of a monolingual ideology in education comes from the fact that, despite being in place for centuries, it has failed to empower the majority of Africans and push the continent towards development. On the contrary, it has been argued that this ideology has a direct bearing on the under-development of sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Fafunwa, 1990; Bamgbose, 1994; Küper, 2003; Djité, 2008) and has deepened inequalities among Africans, as it reproduces an educated and socio-economically privileged minority and an uneducated and socio-economically marginalized majority (e.g. Alexander, 1999; Alidou and Jung, 2001; Heugh, 2008).

All these arguments are now being used against the established monolingual and monocultural view and also as a justification for an alternative ideology of language policy and national identity based on the recognition and promotion of different languages and cultural values and practices represented in the different African polities. The underlying philosophy is that cohesion in difference is feasible and that African development (economic, social, cultural, political development) can only be attained through the mediation of African languages (e.g. Alexander, 1999, 2003; Djité, 2008). Within this ideological framework, there have been various

initiatives within the continent and elsewhere aiming at reconstructing African languages as legitimate tools for participation in the modern world.

Internal continental initiatives include the Language Plan of Action for Africa, agreed in July 1986 in Addis Ababa, the work of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), and the Asmara Declaration. The Language Plan of Action for Africa is a political document which states the aims, objectives and principles of the language policy in Africa, including the promotion of African languages as media of instruction at all levels of education (see Alidou and Jung, 2001; Küper, 2003; Heugh, 2008). Working under this same framework, one of the tasks of ACALAN is to steer the revalorization of African languages in the continent so that they can be increasingly used in official high-status functions, including in tertiary education (Alexander, 2003; Obondo, 2008). The new African approach, conveyed through ACALAN, draws not only on international findings on the advantages of using familiar languages for education and development but also on a reconstructed, pre-colonial African legacy, when some African languages were already used as media of instruction at various levels, including at university level. This revalorization of African languages and history is the spirit of the ongoing ‘African renaissance’ movement (see, e.g. Alexander, 1999, 2003). The Asmara Declaration is a statement of linguistic rights of African languages and their speakers, proposed by African scholars and writers in Asmara, Eritrea, in 2000. Drawing on the linguistic right approach and the spirit of the African renaissance, the proponents called for the return of Africa to its languages and heritage as a way to counteract the colonial legacy, particularly the ‘incongruity in colonial languages speaking for the continent’ (see the declaration as transcribed in Blommaert, 2001b, pp.132-133).

Initiatives from outside or in partnership with Africa include UNESCO sponsored activities such as the Regional Consultation on Education for All, held in November 1989 in Dakar (see UNESCO, 1990) and the Jomtien Declaration, issued at the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 in Thailand (see Alidou, 2004; Alidou and Jung, 2001). In both cases, education specialists, practitioners and policy-makers recognized the impact of school curricula and language of instruction on educational outcomes and, once again, recommended the provision of bilingual education based on pupils' first languages as a way to counteract the school wastage attested in developing countries, especially in Africa.

The practical consequences of these efforts in sub-Saharan Africa can be attested through a new trend of multilingual language policies coupled with a renewed interest in the use of African languages as media of instruction, including in countries that have never experienced this form of education. The South African and Eritrean language policies are illustrative examples of constitutionally declared multilingual policies (see Hailemariam, 2002; Obondo, 2008). In addition to these, there are other countries such as Ghana, Guinea, Namibia, Zambia, and Uganda, which have recognized a number of African languages to be developed and used in official domains, including in education, though such recognition is yet to be spelt out in their constitutions (see Campbell-Makini, 2000; Alidou et al., 2006). The boom of bilingual experimental schools can be illustrated by the cases of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger (cf. Alidou and Jung, 2001, Alidou, 2004; Alidou et al., 2006), Angola and Mozambique (Benson, 2000).

The description offered in this section on bilingual education in Africa portrays a shift from the monolingual ideology that characterized the independence phase to a trend towards multilingual approaches. Although I also agree that this is the

wise path to be followed, I shall also stress that, since African countries are at different stages in terms of promoting and making effective use of African languages in official domains, including in education, we should not try to set uniform goals and find uniform solutions for all the cases, but rather try to respond to the specificities of each country or group of countries, which includes the consideration of their historical and socio-political backgrounds. For example, regarding the use of African languages in education, while for countries like Mozambique, which had never had such an experience before, it may be socially and culturally fulfilling (though this may not be technically ‘correct’) just to have an early-exit bilingual programme in place, for Nigeria the target may be to extend the use of African languages as media of instruction to the entire primary schooling whereas for Tanzania the demand may be to extend the use of Swahili medium to the secondary level and beyond. Therefore, in order to influence change in language ideology in Africa, a ‘soft’ and situated approach that could conciliate the technical voice of experts and these of politicians and ordinary citizens (individually or organised in groups) may prove to be more productive than a confrontational and context-free one.

## **Chapter 4: Research on Classroom Discourse**

### *Overview*

Classroom discourse has attracted the interest of scholars from different disciplinary fields such as educationalists, linguists, anthropologists and sociologists. The wealth of studies on classroom discourse is such that one is compelled to ask why scholars have been dedicating so much attention to this topic. This question is partially addressed in this chapter through a review of relevant studies on classroom discourse.

The chapter consists of three sections. Section 4.1 summarises and discusses the so-called canonical patterns of classroom discourse. Some contextually motivated departures from such patterns are also considered. Section 4.2 characterises and discusses what I call orientations in the study of classroom discourse. In Section 4.3, I show how findings from research on classroom discourse can contribute to the development of education.

### **4.1 The Structuring of Classroom Discourse**

The so-called canonical patterns of classroom discourse have to do with the observation that in classrooms there is a set of expectations among the parties involved (teachers and pupils) in terms of how interaction should be conducted. For example, as will be explored further below, in traditional classroom interactions, it is the teacher who speaks most of the time, asks questions, decides who should speak, which topics should be approached and evaluates pupils' contributions. Pupils are expected to listen attentively to teachers' discourse, answer their questions, follow instructions, learn how to bid for a turn, and how to make their contribution.

Although such canonical patterns were initially captured in relation to contexts in the U.K. (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) and the U.S. (Mehan, 1979a), studies from

other parts of the world (Zentella, 1981; Canagarajah, 1995; Chick, 1996; Arthur, 2001a,b, Bunyi, 2001; Lin, 2001; Ndayipfukamiyi, 2001; Jaffe, 2001; Martin, 1999, 2003, 2005) have also attested similar patterns, which points to their pervasiveness worldwide. The description which follows underscores this universality, while at the same time acknowledging some contextual departures.

#### ***4.1.1 Whole-Class Discourse and the IRF/IRE Pattern***

Since Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), the IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback) sequence, also termed IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) (Mehan, 1979a), has been identified as the major characteristic of whole-class teacher-led classroom discourse. The IRF/IRE has been used as an essential heuristic construct for the analysis of classroom talk.

In this discursive sequence, the teacher initiates (I) interaction through a discursive act such as a question; the pupils reply/respond (R); and the teacher then provides feedback (F)/evaluates (E) the acceptability of the pupils replies/responses.

The IRE is an abstract form, the components of which (I-R-E) can be instantiated through different types of discursive moves. As hinted above, questions from the teacher, usually known-information questions, are regarded as the prototype realization of the initiation move, but it can also be realized through an incomplete sentence that requires completion by the pupils, an instruction, etc. Studies show that pupils' replies comprise usually truncated responses, such as simple words, phrases, incomplete sentences, 'yes/no' tokens, etc. (e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979a). The teacher's evaluation of pupils' responses can also take various forms such as confirmations, repetitions, reformulations and elaborations.



In addition to the sequential relation amongst its three constituent units (one occurs after the other), the IRE pattern also encapsulates an array of sub-patterns and assumptions, including those related to its interactional nature, function and the authoritative form of the participant structures associated with it.

The interactional nature of the IRE pattern has to do with the view that the units that form this sequence 'are a joint production of teacher and students' (Mehan, 1985, p.121). This underscores the view that each move builds upon the previous and sets the ground for the following move(s), it also presupposes negotiation between the parties and adjustments of their communicative behaviour to each other's contributions and contingent circumstances.

The authoritative nature of the IRE exchange is illustrated not only by the teachers' right to orchestrate the course of the interactional event but also the tacit assumption between the parties that teachers are the experts and the pupils are ignorant, in what is called 'the mantle of the expert' view of the relationship between teachers and pupils (see Edwards, 1992).

The right of teachers to orchestrate the course of interaction is mainly indexed by their control of turn allocation and control over the topics addressed in the course of interaction in the classroom. Indeed, in the canonical teacher-led classroom discourse it is the teacher who decides who is the next speaker – the teacher nominates, ratifies bids for the next turn, reallocates the speakership and can claim the floor back. Decisions about the selection of the topics addressed and about when to shift from one topic into another in the course of interaction are also taken by the teachers. They also evaluate the relevance of pupil contributions to the topic in hand.

The mantle of expert view is chiefly ratified through the teachers' exercise of their right to ask questions, regarded as a pervasive and dominant feature of teacher

talk (e.g. Mehan, 1979b; Dillon, 1982; Wood, 1992). As Edwards and Westgate (1994) remark, teachers' 'claim to all knowledge relevant to the business in hand' (p.125) entitles them to ask questions to which they already know the answer. The responses from the pupils are expected to match the answer that the teacher already has in mind or, at least, such responses need to fall within the frame of reference set by teacher's question.

#### ***4.1.2 Variations from the Canonical Patterns of Classroom Discourse***

Despite the worldwide pervasiveness of the patterns presented above, there are also attested contextual variations. The conditions prompting such variations include cultural (e.g. Erickson and Mohatt, 1982), pedagogical (e.g. Norman, 1992) and socio-historical (e.g. Rampton, 2006) factors.

In their study of Indian and non-Indian teachers in an Odawa Indian Reserve in Northern Ontario, Erickson and Mohatt (1982) found that, in their classes, Indian teachers engaged in interactional routines different from those observed in the classes of their non-Indian counterparts in the reserve and in mainstream classrooms in Canada. Unlike the non-Indian teachers, the Indian teachers communicated with their pupils and let them work at a slower pace; they did not exercise overt social control in their classes, did not use direct commands, did not put pupils 'on the spot' in whole-class activities or control turn-taking. Moreover, they did not make explicit evaluations of the correctness of pupils' answers. As a consequence, the pupils in these contexts were more eager to participate than in classes led by non-Indian teachers. Erickson and Mohatt (1982) concluded that pupils' participation was prompted by the fact that Indian teachers adjusted their classroom communicative patterns to those found in their non-authoritative community.

The National Oracy Project, developed between 1987 and 1991 in England, is an example of a pedagogical initiative with consequences on classroom participation structures. The aim of the project was to promoting oracy both as a vehicle for learning content subjects and also as a subject in its own right, that is, as a target of learning in English lessons (see Norman, 1992). A major outcome of the project was the observation of changes in communicative practices in the classrooms involved as a result of changes in the teachers' views about the politics and structure of classroom discourse. The practical changes reported include the increased use of small group work as opposed to the traditional whole-class teacher-led format and the encouragement of pupils to express their own thoughts and opinions and the concomitant openness to different interpretations to the same phenomenon.

Rampton's (2006) research in two schools in a London borough, fictitiously named Central High and Westpark, shows how historical changes in the wider society can contribute to destabilization of traditional classroom practices, in this case the canonical IRE pattern. Rampton found that at Central High, and not at Westpark, pupils 'often insert[ed] themselves into the discursive spaces traditionally reserved for the teacher' (p.72), which was indexed by their role in allocating turns, initiating and evaluating discursive moves, as well as in taking charge of disciplinary managerial matters. Rampton also reports instances in which pupils challenged the epistemic authority of the teachers, arguing with them and offering their own evaluations. Rampton notes that this pupils' resistance to the traditional classroom order happened with the consent of teachers as they showed tolerance and even encouraged some of the 'subversive' moves by the pupils.

Based on the findings from the schools studied and on similar findings from other parts of the world, Rampton hypothesizes that certain aspects of whole-class

discourse at Central High may be ‘read as evidence of historical shift in the classroom interaction order.’ (p.85) The author suggests that this reconfiguration of the IRE format can be explained taking into account the impact of both the phenomenon of ‘conversationalisation of public discourse’ - characterized by public challenge of authority and negotiation of ideas - and curriculum changes operated at Central High, which, he argues, were in part informed by ideas emanating from ‘progressive’ educational philosophies and the black and minority rights movements.

In this study, I will attempt to show how a combination of changes in language-in-education policy and in socio-political order may be prompting similar reconfigurations in the discursive structure in bilingual classrooms in Mozambique.

#### ***4.1.3 A Note on Classroom Discourse in Multilingual Contexts***

Unlike situations where the linguistic discontinuity between school and home is in terms of language varieties or genres used, in multilingual contexts the mismatch can also be in terms of languages as a whole, that is, the use at school of a language different from that used by the pupils at home and/or in their communities.

This is a typical situation in post-colonial settings, as discussed in relation to sub-Saharan Africa in Chapter 3. In these settings, when pupils enter school they are not only unfamiliar with the discourse of the classroom but also, and in the first place, with the basic sounds of the language of schooling and with the associated culture. That is, their work is tripled, as they have to acquire the language itself, the classroom genres and the forms of knowledge legitimated by the school.

There is a wealth of studies analysing classroom discourse practices in post-colonial multilingual settings (in the African context, see among others, Merritt et al., 1992; Chick, 1996, 2002; Ndayipfukamiye, 2001; Arthur, 2001a; Bunyi, 2001, 2005;

Rubagumya, 2003; Chimbutane, 2005a). In these studies it has also been argued that there is a causal relationship between the language mismatch and pupils' participation in the classroom. In what follows, I approach two pervasive discursive strategies used *to ensure classroom interaction* flow in these multilingual contexts: safetalk and codeswitching, which add to the complexity of the canonical patterns discussed so far.

#### 4.1.3.1 Safetalk

In the literature on classroom discourse, safetalk is a term used to refer to teachers' and pupils' use of interactional strategies that allow them to preserve their dignity by avoiding opportunities for displays of academic or linguistic incompetence (Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001).

The key pattern of safetalk is that of teacher prompt and pupils' choral response (see Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001), that is, teachers routinely provide cues to which pupils respond in chorus. The prompts or cues used by teachers to trigger such pupils' chorusing responses include yes/no questions and *oral gap-filling* exercises. In these exercises, teachers provide incomplete words or sentences in which they raise the tone on accented syllables leaving a *oral gap* for pupils to fill in, for example, with a syllable, word, or phrase (see Chick, 1996; Hornberger and Chick, 2001; Arthur, 2001a; Bunyi, 2001, 2005; Martin, 2005).

Chick (1996) and Hornberger and Chick (2001) state that, although safetalk might serve social functions, it is detrimental to academic functions. They argue that, socially, safetalk can be used to signal participation, help teachers and pupils alike to avoid the loss of face associated with displays of incompetence, and provide pupils and teachers with the sense of purpose and accomplishment. However, from the academic point of view, safetalk is regarded as hiding the fact that little or no learning

is taking place – pupils can even join the chorus but without understanding what they are chanting.

Relating the microcosm of the classroom with institutional and societal fields, Chick (1996) and Hornberger and Chick (2001) suggest that safetalk is a discursive strategy that teachers and pupils use to respond to the social and policy constraints on their daily work. Such constraints include language barriers (e.g. the use of a language of instruction different from that of the pupils), limited training, overcrowded classrooms, and an authoritarian education system (Hornberger and Chick, 2001).

The consequences of safetalk include pupils' underachievement at school and the reproduction of their subaltern social status.

#### *4.1.3.2 Codeswitching*

A recurrent feature in bi-/multilingual settings, codeswitching refers to 'the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation'. (Grosjean, 1982, p.45)

Although there are differences, for example, in terms of emphasis and frequency of use, studies suggest a number of convergent functions associated with the classroom practice of codeswitching internationally (see Zentella, 1981; Faltis, 1989; Merritt et al., 1992; Canagarajah, 1995; Martin-Jones, 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 1996; Arthur, 2001a; Macaro, 2001, 2006). I use Canagarajah's (1995) categorization to illustrate some of the recurrent functions.

Drawing on previous studies on the subject, Canagarajah (1995) groups the micro functions of L1 use into two broad categories, each with its own instantiations: the first is 'classroom management', which includes the use of pupils' language to open the class, negotiate directions, request help, manage discipline, encourage

pupils, interact in more intimate or unofficial situations; and the second category is ‘content transmission’, which includes the use of pupils’ language to explain, review, and define curricular content, negotiate cultural relevance, and for collaboration among peers. That is, codeswitching is associated with communicative, instructional and social functions.

At the macro level and from a socio-political point of view, it has been argued that codeswitching in the classroom is a way of portraying and legitimizing an important feature of the societal use of language and a way of preparing the children for their future bi-/multilingual membership in their societies (see Zentella, 1981; Canagarajah, 1995; Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001, 2006).

In spite of its widespread use in multilingual settings, codeswitching has been a contentious issue in education. One popular argument against the use of codeswitching in L2 and L2-mediated classes is that the use of L1 can ‘interfere’ with the development of the target language (for a discussion, see, among others, Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001). This argument has been used to justify, for example, the ban of L1 from L2-monolingual programmes and the separation of languages in bilingual programmes. In contrast, voices in favour of the use of codeswitching in the same contexts argue that this strategy can increase pupils’ openness to learning the target language and facilitate communication, learning and teaching of content in L2-mediated classes since it reduces the degree of language challenge and cultural shock (see, e.g. Zentella, 1981; Canagarajah, 1995; Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001, 2006).

Despite the attested advantages of codeswitching, there is recognition of drawbacks when this communicative strategy is used in an excessive or unprincipled manner in the classroom (Wong-Fillmore, 1985; Canagarajah, 1995; Turnbull, 2001).

More notably, it has been claimed that when teachers codeswitch excessively, pupils tend to ignore their speech in L2, only tuning in when they switch into L1 (see Wong-Fillmore, 1985). This has led some authors to call for regulating measures, though there is also recognition of the difficulty of legislating or planning codeswitching (see Martin-Jones, 1995; Macaro, 2006). For example, Macaro (2006, p.81) calls for ‘a pedagogy of codeswitching which bases itself on a theory of optimality in L1 use’. Based on international experience and on evidence from Mozambican bilingual classrooms, in Chimbutane (s/d) I propose some sensitising parameters that teachers from this context may use in order to take informed decisions about when and why to codeswitch or allow pupils codeswitch in the classroom.

The notions of safetalk and codeswitching have been largely used as heuristic constructs in studies of classroom discourse, particularly in relation to multilingual developing countries. As I will show later in this report, the patterns associated with these notions are also present in the bilingual classrooms where this study was based.

#### **4.2 Orientations in the Study of Classroom Discourse**

I borrow the use of the term ‘orientation’ from Ruíz (1984), but I apply it specifically to the study of classroom discourse. The term is used here to refer to principles and perspectives adopted in the analysis of classroom discourse, including the analytical foci, the methods employed and the (intended) significance of the analysis for education.

A review of the literature relevant for this study points towards three orientations in the study of classroom discourse: interactional, sociolinguistic, and psycho-pedagogical orientations. Roughly put, interactional studies are concerned with the study of the organization of the discourse *per se*; sociolinguistic studies are



concerned with links between everyday discourse practices in classroom and wider social, cultural and discursive processes, and psycho-pedagogical studies are preoccupied with the relation between classroom discourse and pupils' learning.

However, these orientations should not be taken as mutually exclusive, as many studies combine the foci, principles and methodologies associated with different orientations. For example, the structural analysis of discursive sequences, which is the main focus of interactional studies, is often considered to be key in other orientations, as it is assumed to be the point of departure for any anthropological, sociological or pedagogical claim about classroom discourse (e.g. Stubbs, 1975, 1981).

There are certainly more orientations in the study of classroom discourse (e.g. the multimodal orientation), however, I decided to focus and summarise only those I found relevant for the purpose of this study.

#### ***4.2.1 Interactionally-oriented Studies***

Interactionally-oriented studies take talk as a sequentially and interactively organized enterprise, and hence the emphasis on the need to understand how teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil talk-in-interaction is organized in the classroom. This vein of analysis is epitomised by studies adopting the principles and methods of Ethnomethodology/Conversation Analysis (CA).

Taking the organization of social interaction as a unit of analysis in its own right, the goal of such studies is to describe and explain 'how turns and sequences at talk are developed in a moment-by-moment fashion and what kind of resources are utilized as the participants locally manage turn construction and allocation' (Mori, 2002, p.326). Crucially, the analysis is independent of implicit socio-cultural dimensions and experiences of participants, as it is assumed that only those aspects of

the local or wider context that actually manifest themselves in speakers verbal and non-verbal acts are analytically relevant for meaning making and interpretation.

Although it is perceived as effective in describing the structuring of discourse in the classroom, the application of this orientation has been criticised for failing to establish a link with ‘the needs and interests of educators’ (Mori, 2002, p.342). That is, the findings from these studies, at least the ones following the more orthodox strand of CA, are regarded as not consequential for educational purposes or for the identification and exploration of better ways of learning and teaching (for a discussion on this issue, see, e.g. Mori, 2002; Rampton et al., 2002).

#### ***4.2.2 Sociolinguistically-oriented Studies***

Studies falling within this orientation tend to approach classroom discourse taking into account anthropological (e.g. culture, ethnicity, and race) and/or sociological (e.g. social class, social order) factors. Although there are some studies that are more oriented to the anthropological strand (e.g. Heath, 1983; Philips 1983) and others more to the sociological strand (e.g. Edwards, 1980, 1981, 1987), in practice more contemporary studies of classroom discourse combine both. This dialogue between anthropology and sociology is epitomised by the current tendency to combine ethnographic methods and social theories in the study of language-related educational phenomena (e.g. Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Heller, 2006; Rampton, 2006).

Two broad strands of sociolinguistic work on classroom discourse are of interest for this study: those linking classroom discourse and pupil’s socialisation at home/community and those linking classroom discourse and wider social and ideological contexts. These are reviewed below.

#### *4.2.2.1 Classroom Discourse and Pupils' Homes/Communities*

Early ethnographic-based sociolinguistic studies of classroom discourse were linked with the appearance and development of ethnography of communication in the 1960s and 1970s. The initial concern was analysing the relationship between children's language socialization and its relation to school success. Emphasising the situated nature of communicative practices, the general premise orienting these studies was that classrooms were sites with their own communicative demands, which constrained the way pupils received and displayed school knowledge. The studies by Heath (1983), Philips (1983), and Erickson and Mohatt (1982) are illustrative examples.

In a study of three communities in the U.S., Heath (1983) showed how the mismatch between the discourse practices of the home and those of the school can affect pupils' participation in the classroom and academic achievement. Taking questioning at school and at home as her units of analysis, Heath argued that school achievement depended on whether there were congruence between teachers' and pupils' expectations in terms of how to elicit and display school knowledge. The successful pupils were those whose parents at home engaged them in the same types of questioning routines as those they encountered at school.

Philips (1983) showed how differences in terms of participation structures between school and community explained why Native American pupils in her study were reluctant to participate in some forms of classroom interaction. Philips found that the children resisted knowledge display in situations where teachers called on them to respond, but participated in full in small group work and could request teacher's help while doing individual seat-work. In Philips' (1983) analysis, controlling pupils' communicative activities and putting them 'on the spot' in public was incongruent with pupils' expectations. She offers this as an explanation of why

pupils failed to respond appropriately to the communicative and instructional demands of the classroom.

Instead of trying to explain pupils academic success or failure, more recent studies on the relationship between pupils' home and school socialisation are more concerned about the exploration of intersections between the two fields and about mobilising home knowledge to aid formal learning (see Moje, 2008). This is the view taken, for example, by studies falling within the funds of knowledge perspective (e.g. Goldenberg and Gallimore, 1991; Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1992; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003; González, et al., 2005; Moje, 2008).

Funds of knowledge is a concept used to refer to 'historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being' (Moll et al., 1992, p.133 and references therein). These funds include knowledge and skills related to families' origins, occupations, and strategies used to adapt to, for example, social and economic changes (see Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1992). The funds-of-knowledge principle is based on the view that 'student's community represents a resource of enormous importance for educational change and improvement (Moll, 1992, p.21). The conceptual apparatus around this principle draws on Vygotsky's theory of education, particularly on 'his emphasis on the interdependence of children's learning with the socially provided resources to support that learning.' (Moll and Greenberg, 1990, p.320) The construct of funds of knowledge has been used as a powerful heuristic tool in the analysis of classroom discourse across diverse learning contexts.

#### 4.2.2.2 Classroom Discourse and the Wider Social and Ideological Context

This strand of sociolinguistic work is concerned about the exploration of the linkages between interactional practices in the classrooms and the wider social and political context in which such practices are embedded. Included in this research perspective are, for example, the work by Hornberger (1988, 1995, 2002), Lin (1997, 2005), Freeman (1998), Heller (2003, 2006), Creese (2006), Rampton (2006), as well as the articles compiled in Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and Heller (2007).

As mentioned so far, my study also follows this research approach, in particular the critical, interpretive approach to bilingualism and bilingual education practice as defined by Heller (2007), Martin-Jones (2007) and also Heller and Martin-Jones (2001). Given the relevance of the approach for this study, I find appropriate to sketch some of its main features here.

Drawing on Tollefson (2002), Martin-Jones (2007) uses the term *critical* to define a line of research whose aim is ‘to reveal links between local discourse practices (bilingual or monolingual), the everyday talk and interactional routines of classrooms and the wider social and ideological order.’ (p.171) This approach draws on Bourdieu’s social theory, specially as regard the relationship between language, education and society. One of the central features of Bourdieu’s framework is the view of education as a key site for the production and reproduction of cultural and social order (Bourdieu, 1991). The theory adopted in studies following the critical, interpretative approach to bilingualism and bilingual education gravitates around Bourdieu’s notion of ‘legitimate language’ (Martin-Jones, 2007). This is mainly because language ideological debates revolve around who gets to decide what counts as legitimate language or legitimate forms of bilingualism and also about how such

scarce symbolic resources are distributed (or denied) across different social groups (see Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Heller, 2007).

The notion of *legitimate language* has been used to denote the language or language variety that speakers in a given market associate with symbolic and material power (cf. Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Given its power, that language or language variety functions as ‘the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured.’ (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45). Among other things, this entails that some languages, language varieties or forms of language use are socially perceived as valuable resources whereas some others as not valuable or, at least, as less valuable.

In what constitutes one of the contentious assumptions in Bourdieu’s framework, he posits that ‘in order for one mode of expression among others (a particular language in the case of bilingualism, a particular use of language in the case of a society divided into classes) to impose itself as the only legitimate one, *the linguistic market has to be unified...*’ (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45, my emphasis). Here *linguistic market* is defined as ‘a system of relations of force which determine the price of linguistic products and thus helps fashion linguistic production.’ (Bourdieu, 1989, p.47) Education is viewed as one of the institutions involved both in fashioning and determining the currency of linguistic products as well as in reproducing the linguistic market (cf. Bourdieu, 1977).

Authors working within the research orientation being characterised here also use Bourdieu’s theoretical framework critically. For example, Martin-Jones (2007) points to two flaws in Bourdieu’s framework: the view of speakers as mere objects, hence the conceptualisation of symbolic power as uncontested; and the construction of educational and linguistic markets as unified (in this regard, see also the criticism by Woolard, 1985 and Stroud, 2004, based on the cases of Catalonia and

Mozambique, respectively). In response, and taking into account post-structuralist and post-modern conceptual developments on language and ideology, critical studies underscore the view of ‘language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action.’ (Heller, 2007, p.1) Among other things, this view accommodates both the fact that speakers can opt to collude, challenge or transform the symbolic order and also the fact that the line between legitimate and illegitimate language as well as between formal and informal linguistic markets is not always and in all contexts neat and/or static. In addition, this view also accounts for the fact that there may be a mismatch between the institutional dominance of a language and its actual societal hegemony or status (e.g. Woolard, 1985 in relation to Castilian in Catalonia).

#### ***4.2.3 Psycho-pedagogically-oriented Studies***

Studies falling within this orientation emphasise the view that insights from research of classroom discourse can (must) help improve the nature of classroom interactions and, consequently, pupils’ learning. This main goal has led researchers to investigate how ‘discourse also affects the thought process of each of the participants and thereby the nature of what is learned’ (Stubbs, 1976, p.105). In this context, Stubbs (1981) suggests that the understanding of the relationship between discourse and learning can only be achieved ‘by studying the overall structure of the teacher-pupil interaction as a discourse system’ (p.128), more specifically:

‘... by studying discourse sequencing... how teachers select bits of knowledge to present to pupils; how they break up topics and order their presentation; how these discrete items of knowledge are linked; how distinct topics are introduced and terminated; how pupils’ responses to questions are evaluated; how pupils are made to reformulate their contributions;

how bits of knowledge are paced and allowed to emerge when the teacher considers it appropriate.’ (Stubbs, 1981, p.127-128)

Commenting on this call by Stubbs, Cazden (1986) alerts us to the difficulty of establishing the relationship between language and thought.

This strand of psycho-pedagogical research orientation to classroom discourse is illustrated by the work by Neil Mercer (e.g. Mercer, 1992a,b, 2004), Janet Maybin (e.g. Maybin, 1992, 2006; Maybin et al., 1992), Christine Howe (e.g. Howe and Mercer, 2007), as well as other authors in the collection edited by Norman (1992). A common characteristic of these studies is the use of the social constructivist theory of learning and knowing, which builds on the work of Piaget and Vygotsky (see, e.g. Wells, 1992; Maybin, 2006; Howe and Mercer, 2007). According to Wells (1992), this theory ‘is rooted in a view of knowledge as personally constructed through social interaction and mediated by culturally inherited semiotic tools, the most important of which is discourse.’ (p.292) In this context, studies following this orientation highlight the need to accord learners an active role in the learning process as it is assumed that they construct knowledge by combining what they already know and new experiences presented to them through their social interactions. They stress the centrality of talk in students’ learning and knowing processes as it is assumed that is through talk that learners display what they have learned and what they can do.

Despite the difficulty of demonstrating the relationship between discourse and learning, the recognition of the centrality of classroom discourse in pupils’ learning has led to curricular and pedagogical innovations that have accorded a key role to talk in the development of both language and content subject curricula. The National Oracy Project cited above is among those innovations.



As can be seen, the pedagogical constructs emanating from the social constructivist approach to classroom discourse are compatible with the funds of knowledge principle: they are founded on the Vygotsky's social constructivism. More specifically, these approaches share the call for educators to engage and build on students' previous knowledge, at the same time that they emphasise the role of this pedagogical practice in facilitating students' active participation and learning in the school context. In my analysis of pedagogical practices in the classrooms in this study, I will draw on sensitising constructs from these two approaches to discourse and learning.

#### **4.3 Educational Significance of Classroom Discourse Research**

Throughout this review, it was shown that while some studies are confined to the interactional level of analysis, others go beyond that and embrace other levels such as the cultural, the sociological and the pedagogical. Whereas some of those confined to the interactional level, particularly those working within the strict CA tradition, are usually not concerned about the impact of their findings on education, studies following other orientations are explicitly or implicitly interested in contributing to the improvement of education practice and outcomes. They differ, however, in terms of how they propose to achieve this.

Early ethnographic sociolinguistic studies focused on cultural differences in language use and/or differences between classroom discourse and pupils' language use at home and communities. These studies tended to suggest ways for both facilitating pupils' acquisition of the language of the school and adapting classroom discourse practices to those that pupils bring from home and their communities. The studies by Heath (1982b, 1983), Phillips (1983) and Erickson and Mohatt (1982)

illustrate this perspective. In contrast, more recent studies in this area are interested in exploring the linkages between students' home knowledge and school knowledge with the view of aiding the teaching and learning processes. This is the goal of studies by, for example, Goldenberg and Gallimore (1991); Moll (1992); Moll et al. (1992); Moll and Amanti (2004); and Martin-Jones and Saxena (2003).

Sociolinguist studies concerned about the relationship between classroom discourse and wider socio-historical contexts are interested in influencing change not only at the level of classroom interactional order, but also in the wider social and ideological order.

In their turn, pedagogically oriented studies concentrate on the psycho-pedagogical dimension of classroom discourse and are concerned with identifying pedagogical and language use strategies which can take account of pupils' socio-cultural experiences and learning styles. The work of the National Oracy Project (Norman, 1992) is a perfect example of this strand of studies.

The interventionist character of a considerable number of studies of classroom discourse is in tune with the view that researchers should not only explain education processes but also show how to change them for the better, in a joint collaboration with practitioners (Cazden, 1983, 1986). For example, Heath (1982b, 1983) not only explained the causes of failure of the pupils in her studies but also, in collaborations with the parties involved, she devised teacher-training initiatives to mitigate the constraints identified.

A common characteristic of interventionist studies is the view that the improvement of teaching and learning practices, and hence academic success, can be achieved through a 'a two path way' process (Heath, 1982b): on one hand, helping pupils (at home and at school) to acquire the classroom language genres and, on the

other hand, engaging teachers in adapting classroom discourse patterns to those that children bring from their homes and communities, which can be shaped, among other things, by cultural and socio-economic factors. This is a form of what is commonly called a ‘culturally responsive pedagogy’ (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982, p.170), a pedagogy that attempts to respond to individual, cultural and socio-economic differences with impact on pupils’ participation and academic achievement.

In terms of methods, a salient criterion that can be used to appraise the significance of classroom studies for education is the role played by practitioners in the research process. While in some studies the practitioners are mere informants, in others they are involved in the research process, though the degree of their involvement may vary from one study to another. Illustrative examples of involvement of practitioners include, among others, the work by Heath (1982b, 1983), Erickson and Mohatt (1982), the National Oracy Project (see Norman, 1992), and Creese et al. (2006, 2008).

The involvement of practitioners as co-researchers is of a great significance for education given that they not only are likely to benefit from the outputs of the research but also from the process itself, as a consequence of the opportunity that they are given to familiarize themselves with the research endeavour, reflect on their own experience and, hence, (self) improve their practice. This is an example of what Cameron et al. (1993) call ‘empowering research’, that is, ‘*research on, for and with [the subjects]*’ (p.18, italics as in original).

The studies reviewed show that in collaborative research, not only the practitioners benefit from their involvement in the research, but also the researchers and the research enterprise itself. Indeed, a number of studies (e.g. Heath, 1982b, 1983; Norman, 1992) have shown that the use of teachers’ experience as a resource

can allow for a much deeper description and explanation of the phenomena studied than it would be by simply regarding the practitioners as information givers and resorting on observation and researchers' etic accounts.

At a macro level, the findings from classroom research may, among other things, be used to improve curriculum design, teacher training and pedagogic practice. For example, the findings from the National Oracy Project helped provide evidence in favour of the centrality of talk in education, in light of the 'language across the curriculum' movement in Britain (Norman, 1992; Wells, 1992; Edward and Westgate, 1994).

**Part II – Historical, Sociolinguistic and Educational Context of  
Mozambique**

## **Chapter 5: Mozambique: Historical and Sociolinguistic Context**

### *Overview*

This chapter outlines the wider historical and sociolinguistic context in which this study is embedded. By providing this contextual background, my aim is to help the reader understand and appreciate better the way in which the participants in this study have been responding to the implementation of bilingual education in their communities.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 5.1 locates Mozambique within the African continent and provides a few demographic data. Section 5.2 outlines the historical background of Mozambique. Section 5.3 explores the country's sociolinguistic profile, focussing on its multilingual nature and also on the main patterns of the language policies that have been adopted since the colonial period.

### **5.1 Location and Demography**

Mozambique, officially the *República de Moçambique* (Republic of Mozambique), is located on the Southeast coast of Africa, forming part of the Southern African region (see Map 1 in Appendices 1).

The country has a total area of 799,380 square kilometres and a population of about 20.5 million in 2007 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2009, hereafter, INE). It comprises ten provinces: Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Tete, Zambézia, Manica, Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza, and Maputo Province (see Map 2 in Appendices 1). The capital is Maputo City, which, in administrative terms, also counts as a Province.

## 5.2 Historical Background

### 5.2.1 Colonial Rule: Occupation, Exploitation and Struggle for Independence

The first contact with the Portuguese was marked by the arrival of the navigator Vasco da Gama, who reached *Ilha de Moçambique* (Mozambique Island) in 1498. This was followed by occupation of strategic commercial centres such as Kilwa, Sofala, Angoche and also *Ilha de Moçambique* from 1505 on (cf. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Newitt, 1995). *Ilha de Moçambique* was later used as a slave trading centre and the capital of the country until 1907, when it was transferred to Lourenço Marques, now Maputo City.

Reports indicate that in these earlier years of occupation, the Portuguese were interested in gold, ivory and slaves. Gold and ivory were exported to Asia while slaves were mainly exported to Brazil. During this period, Lisbon was more interested in the trade with India and the colonization of Brazil than with its African territories. This explains why, until 1752, Mozambique was administrated not directly from Lisbon, but from Goa, as part of Portuguese India (cf. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983).

Although the presence of Portugal in what constitutes the present-day Mozambique dates back to the late XV century, it was only by the late XIX century that the current borders were defined and the relationship between the two countries was institutionalised. This was mainly in response to the growing European interest in Africa, especially from their regional competitors, the British. As Newitt (1995) notes, ‘modern Mozambique was created by a series of international treaties signed between Great Britain and Portugal in 1891.’ (p.31) However, the Portuguese, who were initially concentrated along the Zambeze valley and coastal towns, only achieved the ‘pacification and effective control’ of the territory by the beginning of the XX century, after bloody battles with local polities. Pacification and effective

control was the requirement established by the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) for European powers to justify imperial claims (cf. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983). Lisbon's ambition was to have an empire spanning from Angola to Mozambique, that is, from the Atlantic to the Indian coast. This was known as the *mapa cor-de-rosa* (pink map). However, this project clashed with Cecil Rhodes's vision of a Cape-to-Cairo empire, that is, a British empire extending from North to South of Africa. In virtue of the British economic and military power, Portugal was forced to withdraw from the disputed areas, giving way to the British endeavour (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983).

During most of the Portuguese presence (1891-1942), the administration of the northern and central parts of the territory was let in the hands of large concessionary companies, mostly controlled and financed by the British. These included *Companhia de Niassa*, *Companhia da Zambézia*, and *Companhia de Moçambique*. These companies developed mainly agricultural activities (e.g. tea, cotton, copra and sugarcane plantations), but they were also suppliers of cheap labour to the mines and plantations of neighbouring British Colonies.

After the defeat of Gungunyane, the ruler of the Gaza empire, in 1895, the southern part of Mozambique was under the direct administration of Lisbon, though economically a satellite of South Africa. The use of the Lourenço Marques railway/port by South Africa and export of cheap labour to the South African plantations and mining industry were the main sources of income for the colonial government (cf. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983).

In contrast with other European powers, who granted independence to their colonies after the World War II, Lisbon, which was then under the military dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar, decided to hold on to its colonies, which



were regarded as inalienable part of metropolitan Portugal. In this context, the territories of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cabo Verde were then 'reconceptualised' as *províncias de além mar* or *províncias ultramarinas* (overseas provinces) in 1951, a political stand that was aimed at responding to international pressure and justify the continued occupation of these colonies. Among other things, the colonies were meant to provide markets for Portuguese goods and also work for Portuguese settlers (see Newitt, 1995).

Portuguese colonial rule was based on authoritarianism, racial stratification and social injustice. From the late XIX century on, the regime maintained a separate legal system for 'civilised' Europeans and for 'uncivilised' Africans or *indígenas* (for details, see Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Newitt, 1995). The 'civilised' colonial settlers enjoyed privileges such as economic incentives and meaningful job positions, even when they were less capable than the locals. The indigenous were under direct control of local chiefs (*régulos*) and subject to customary law. These were deemed to endure racial discrimination, *chibalo* (forced labour) and harsh treatment. The emergence of a class of indigenous peoples with a certain level of education and the need to incorporate these peoples in the colonial administrative machinery, led the government to recognise a third category of people, the *assimilados*, in 1917 (Newitt, 1995). The *assimilados* were black Africans and *mulatos* (mulattoes) who could qualify for Portuguese citizenship if they satisfied the requirements set by the *Portaria* (Edict) 317 of 9 of January, 1917. Those requirements included: the abandonment of the habits and customs of the black 'race'; knowledge of the Portuguese language; adoption of monogamy; and exercise of a profession or a craft (see, Stroud, 2007, p.34, quoting Marshal, 1993, p.72; also Newitt, 1995, p.442).

The *assimilados* were, therefore, a tiny minority of privileged locals who were ranked lower than the white Europeans and higher than the large majority of the indigenous population.

The above social injustices and the independence of other African countries fuelled the emergence of anti-colonial, nationalist groups. On 25 of June 1962, three of these groups formed the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Mozambican Liberation Front, hereafter Frelimo) in Tanzania. Under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo initiated its armed campaign against the Portuguese colonial domination in northern Mozambique in September 1964. When Mondlane was assassinated in 1969, Samora Machel took over the leadership of the resistance movement. After 10 years of struggle, Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975. Analysts suggest that the capitulation of Lisbon was, to a large extent, a consequence of the escalation of the war in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and its associated material and moral costs to the empire (see, e.g. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Newitt, 1995; Mateus, 1999). Popular discontent with the colonial war led to a military coup in Portugal in April 1974, opening the doors for decolonisation.

### ***5.2.2 Independent Mozambique: Socialism, Civil War and Democracy***

When the *República Popular de Moçambique* (Peoples' Republic of Mozambique) was proclaimed in 1975, the Frelimo government, then led by Samora Machel, established a one-party socialist state. Following a Marxist-Leninist orientation, Frelimo set revolutionary policies with national and international implications. Internal policies included: (i) nationalization of land, industry, education, health care, etc.; (ii) creation of *aldeias comunais* (communal villages) in rural areas; (iii) creation

of *cooperativas agrícolas* (collective farms); (iv) elimination of the role of traditional authorities; and (v) institution of *grupos dinamizadores* (dynamo groups for peoples mobilisation). At the international level, Mozambique joined the Soviet block and steered the creation of an anti-imperialist regional coalition of *Estados da Linha da Frente* (Front-Line States). As a member of this coalition, the government gave shelter and support to the African National Congress (ANC) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), liberation movements that were then fighting against the South African and Rhodesian white minority regimes, respectively.

The policies adopted by Frelimo prompted internal and external opposition to the regime. Although there have been disputes in relation to the genesis of *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Mozambican National Resistance, hereafter Renamo) and the drivers of the civil war (1976-1992), there are at least two dominant theories commonly used to explain these interrelated phenomena. One theory portrays Renamo as an instrument of destabilisation created by the Rhodesian intelligence services in retaliation for Frelimo's support to ZANU. It is added that Rhodesia was later joined by the Apartheid regime, which was also unhappy with Frelimo's anti-apartheid stand and support for the ANC (cf. Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Newitt, 1995). The other theory justifies the creation of Renamo and the conflict as internally-based responses to Frelimo's communist orientation and alleged disrespect for local traditions, including traditional social structures. This has been the theory advanced by Renamo itself (see also Newitt, 1995, in relation to the rise of this movement from the mid-1980s).

The guerrilla raids by Renamo were first documented in 1976, but it was in the 1980s that the country witnessed the escalation of the conflict into a devastating civil war. By the mid-1980s, the country experienced complete stagnation: health and

education systems collapsed, communications were cut off, agricultural production ceased as citizens abandoned the unstable rural areas and sought refuge in urban areas and in neighbouring countries. By 1990, the war had claimed nearly a million lives and about 4 million were refugees in neighbouring countries or displaced within the country (Newitt, 1995).

1990 marks one of the memorable turning points in Mozambican history: the Frelimo government started peace talks with Renamo. At the same time, the government introduced a new constitution (RM, 1990) which, for the very first time, set the ground for a multi-party political system and a market-oriented economy. The talks between Frelimo and Renamo culminated with the Rome Peace Agreement in October 1992, marking the end of 16 years of conflict. The first democratic elections were held in 1994, having been won by Frelimo and its presidential candidate, Joaquim Chissano. The following general elections (1999 and 2004) were also won by Frelimo and its presidential candidates. Renamo has been the major opposition party ever since the first general election.

In 1992, Mozambique started its long process of social and economic recovery. Because of its capacity for keeping peace, democratisation and economic progress, the country has been regarded as one of the post-war success stories in the world (IMF, 2007; World Bank, 2007). However, Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries on earth.

### **5.3 Sociolinguistic Profile**

#### ***5.3.1 Language Diversity in Mozambique***

As with most African countries, Mozambique is a multilingual and multicultural society. According to estimates (e.g. NELIMO, 1989; Firmino, 2000; Siteo and

Ngunga, 2000), there are over twenty Bantu languages spoken in the country, in addition to Portuguese, the official language. There are also speakers of a few foreign languages, including English and South Asian languages. The Bantu languages spoken in the country have been alternatively referred to as Mozambican languages, national languages or local languages (see list and geographical distribution in Map 3, Appendices 1).

The table below presents the largest Bantu languages spoken in the country, based on the 1997 national census (a more recent census was conducted in 2007, however, at the time of this writing the final results were still not fully available):

Table 1: Largest Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique

<b>Language</b>	<b>Province(s) where they are most spoken</b>
Shimakonde	Cabo Delgado
Kimwani	Cabo Delgado
Emakhuwa	Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula
Ciyao	Niassa
Cinyanja	Niassa, Tete
Ekoti	Nampula
Elomwe	Zambézia
Echwabo	Zambézia
Cinyungwe	Tete
Cisena	Zambézia, Tete, Manica, Sofala
Cindau	Manica, Sofala
Ciwutee	Manica
Cimanica	Manica
Xitshwa	Inhambane
Gitonga	Inhambane
Cicopi	Inhambane, Gaza
Xichangana	Gaza, Maputo City, Maputo Province
Xirhonga	Maputo City, Maputo Province

(Adapted from Firmino, 2000, p.105)

In the 1997 census, 94% of the population reported speaking a Bantu language as a first language. In contrast, Portuguese was claimed by 39% of the population, of which only 6.0% reported speaking it as a first language (Firmino, 2000).

A salient characteristic of the Mozambican language pattern is that no Bantu language surfaces as a majority language and/or as a language spoken all across the country. For example, in the 1997 census, Macua was the most largely spoken language (26% of the country's population). Most Macua speakers were concentrated in three provinces, as shown in Table 1 (cf. Firmino, 2000, p.9).

Another important pattern is that Portuguese remains an urban language, despite a substantial increase in terms of number of speakers, when compared with the first years of Independence. Indeed, in the 1997 census, 97% of the rural population reported using a Bantu language most frequently in their day to day lives, whereas only 1% reported using Portuguese. In contrast, 72% of urban dwellers reported using a Bantu language frequently, whereas 26% reported using Portuguese (Firmino, 2000). This data gives an indication of how the majority of Mozambicans, including those from urban centres, conduct their lives almost exclusively in local languages. Portuguese remains a second or even foreign language, being typically acquired through schooling (Gonçalves, 2004).

Although the number of speakers has not been specified in census reports (counting as 'other languages'), there are limited numbers of speakers of foreign languages, including English, Arabic, Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu (see Lopes, 1998; Firmino, 2002). Arabic has been mainly confined to religious functions. Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu are community languages used by Asian immigrants and their descendents (mainly Indians and Pakistanis), who are mainly involved in commercial activities.

In addition to foreign citizens working in the country, there is also a growing number of nationals who speak English. English is the language that grants access to prestigious job positions in international agencies operating in the country, which, in general, offer better salaries than any national organisations. Therefore, as in other parts of the world, also in Mozambique, English is a commodity which allows the holders to enjoy meaningful social and economic rewards, although its internal market is still limited (for discussion see Matusse, 1997; Firmino, 2002).

Based on the argument that it is surrounded by countries in which English is the official language, Mozambique applied and was accepted as a member of the Commonwealth in 1995, becoming the only Commonwealth country that had not formerly been a British colony. This move was not well received by Lisbon and also by certain circles in Mozambique, as it was believed to threaten the very survival of Portuguese in the country (Firmino, 2002). More recently, regional integration goals have also pushed the government to invest in English language training provisions for civil servants who are not acquainted with the language (cf. *Notícias*, 28/03/2009, quoting a senior government official).

### ***5.3.2 Language Policies in Mozambique***

Since most of the patterns of the Mozambican language situation, both in colonial and post-colonial periods, are common to those discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to other African contexts, I will be brief in my presentation here. I also postpone the analysis of language-in-education issues for the next chapter (for comprehensive discussions on the language question in Mozambique, see, for example, Lopes, 1997, 1998; Stroud, 1999, 2007; Firmino, 2002).

### 5.3.2.1 Colonial Language Policies

As described in Chapter 3, Portugal belonged to the group of colonial powers classified as ‘anti-users’ (Ansre, 1978), as it imposed the exclusive use of Portuguese in public and official domains and functions. In their alleged civilising mission, the Portuguese constructed the Portuguese language as the language of modernity and civilisation, whereas African languages were conceptualised as inferior forms of speech (pejoratively called ‘*dialectos*’), which should be ‘restricted to the informal, home domains and to ideas of tradition and the local.’ (Stroud, 2007, p.30)

As can be understood from the ‘legal’ requirement mentioned in Section 5.2.2, the possession of Portuguese skills was one of the *sine qua non* conditions for the local Africans to ascend to the status of *assimilado*, that is, the status that could allow them to move from the condition of objects to that of second class citizens.

Drawing on Stroud (2007), I shall single out the role of Protestant churches in promoting African languages during this period. As Stroud (2007) notes, unlike the Catholic church which, for a long period of time, was against the translation of religious materials into local languages, the Protestants ‘saw written, *standardized* local languages as instruments of modernization’ (p.32) and the best way of evangelising local peoples. Protestants had their own stake in conveying the idea of the superiority of European cultures and also played a role in ‘inventing’ African languages and ethnic groups (Makoni, 2003). However, the religious functions accorded to local languages by Protestants had the side effect of contributing to the maintenance of these languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008) as well as giving them a ‘social and symbolic value as languages of potential political agency (Stroud, 2007, p.32). No wonder why many of the first anti-colonial nationalists, such as Eduardo Mondlane, came from Protestant churches. Moreover, as a consequence of using



African languages for religious functions and missionary education, at independence (and even today) most of the printed texts in local languages in Mozambique comprised religious materials and also most of those who possess literacy skills in these languages acquired them through religious schooling and/or involvement in literacy practices particularly in Protestant churches.

#### *5.3.2.2 Post-Colonial Language Policies*

As has been common in Africa, there is no official document laying out the language policy of Mozambique. The first legally binding provision on local languages appeared in the 1990 Constitution (RM, 1990), when these were mentioned for the first time alongside Portuguese. However, as Lopes (1997) points out, this does not mean that the country has lacked, ‘in convention and practice, a certain type of language policy’ (p.485). After years of lobbying by relevant stakeholders, including language researchers, the State has finally decided to set a consultation group whose mission is to steer societal discussions which will lead to a proposal for a national language policy (cf. Minister of Education, quoted in *Notícias*, 2007).

Frelimo’s approaches to the language question have been shaped by changes in the Mozambican socio-political context. The policies adopted have moved from the one-language-one-state approach to one in which there are attempts to accommodate linguistic and cultural diversity. The account below mirrors these two phases in Mozambique’s state-building process.

#### 5.3.2.2.1 Nation-Building and the One-Language-One-State Vision

As with most African countries, at independence the Frelimo government declared the formal colonial language, Portuguese, as *the* official language of the country. In contrast, no official status was granted to African languages.

The government decision to maintain Portuguese as the official language was allegedly to ensure national unity. This is substantiated by the quotation below, from Fernando Ganhão, the then Rector of the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane and one of the most influential Frelimo thinkers at the time:

‘The decision to opt for Portuguese as the official language of the People’s Republic of Mozambique was as well pondered and carefully examined political decision, aimed at achieving one objective, the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the territory.’  
(Ganhão, 1979, p.2, quoted in Lopes, 1997, p.486)

This decision was a follow-up of the vision pursued during the liberation struggle, when Frelimo adopted Portuguese as the unifying language for fighting the enemy (see, e.g., Katupha, 1994). This is spelled out in the following statement by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Graça Machel:

‘The need to fight the oppressor called for an intransigent combat against tribalism and regionalism. It was this necessity of unity that forced on us that the only common language – the language which had been used to oppress – could assume a new dimension.’ (Graça Machel, 1979, p.6, quoted in Lopes, 1997, p.485)

That is, Frelimo constructed the view that Portuguese, the language of the former enemy, should be adopted and used ‘in the service of social change’ (Ricento, 2006, p.4). This ideological stance was epitomised by the declaration of Portuguese as the *língua da unidade nacional* (language of national unity). In contrast, multilingualism

had been conceptualised as the seed source of tribalism and regionalism, which should be combated vigorously (see also a recent retrospective critical analysis by Honwana, 2009). This explains why the use of local languages in formal domains and functions was not tolerated until recently, including in schools.

However, it should be noted that despite the overall negative approach in relation to African languages, there were also positive inside-views in relation to these same languages. In fact, the changes that occurred from the late-1980s were, to a large extent, a consequence of a process of negotiation within the Frelimo party and also between the party and the civil society. Luís Bernardo Honwana, who, among other positions, was once Minister of Culture, is one of the actors within Frelimo's high ranks who often expressed (and continues to express) positive views about African languages and associated cultural traditions (cf. Stroud, 2007). However, as Honwana himself has recently conceded (Honwana, 2009), this does not exempt him (no any of the other moderate thinkers) from the responsibility for the consequences of the policies adopted in the past, as he was an integral part of the Frelimo political machinery.

#### 5.3.2.2.2 Towards the Institutionalisation of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism

The 1990 Constitution mentioned above marked the turning point in the State's view about the relationship between Portuguese and African languages. For the first time in Mozambican history, it is enshrined in the Constitution that the State promotes the development and increased use of national languages in public life, including in education (cf. RM, 1990, Article 5). Despite the change in structure, the spirit of the 1990 Constitution was maintained in the revised version now in force. In its Article 9, the new text of the Constitution reads as follows:

Article 9: ‘The state values the national languages as a cultural and educational heritage and promotes their development and increased use as vehicles of our identity’ (RM, 2004, p.7, Chapter I)

This embracing of the principle of unity in diversity has been further reinforced by successive legal provisions, such as the Country’s Cultural Policy adopted in 1997 (RM, 1997). In that document, the government of Mozambique restated its commitment to promoting cultural development and its role in creating the conditions for respect for cultural diversity, including religious and ethno-linguistic differences. In relation to the local languages, the document reads as follows:

‘National languages are important assets as they are the main repositories and vehicles of national traditions, the communication instruments for the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans and key elements for the involvement of citizens in social, economic and political life.’ (RM, 1997, p.122)

This multilingual and multicultural ethos was also a dominant feature in a recent National Conference on Culture, held in May 2009 (MEC, 2009). Therefore, the political climate in Mozambique is favourable for the promotion and upgrading of local languages and associated cultural practices. As will be shown in the next chapter, the introduction of bilingual education in 2003 is a clear consequence of the current openness of ‘ideological and implementational spaces’ in the country (Hornberger, 2002).

## **Chapter 6: Education in Mozambique**

### *Overview*

This chapter presents some of the key features of the current education system in Mozambique. My focus is on primary education, with special reference to bilingual education.

The chapter comprises two sections: Section 6.1 summarises some salient characteristics of education in colonial and post-colonial Mozambique. This is followed by a description of the current education system in Section 6.2. Here I present the general structure of the system (6.2.1) and I also describe the bilingual programme in place in the country (6.2.2). I trace the genesis of the programme and outline its purpose and structural organization; I also provide an analysis of some of the constraints currently faced in the implementation process.

### **6.1 Historical Background**

Like in other settings, in Mozambique, the education of indigenous people during the colonial era was initially left in the hands of missionaries, specially Catholic missionaries. The aim was allegedly to civilise the local ‘primitives’ by imparting the word of God and Portuguese values and practices.

According to Belchior (1965), quoted in Mazula (1995), colonial education proper only started in the 1930s, with the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (1926-1974), and the associated *de jure* collaboration between the Portuguese State and the Catholic Church in an educational and ideological mission. A discriminatory education system was then established. This system encompassed two types of education: official education (*ensino oficial*), designed for children of colonial settlers and *assimilados*, and a rudimentary education (*ensino rudimentar*), aimed for

indigenous people and run by missionaries (Mazula, 1995; Errante, 1998). While official education was geared towards the preparation of an educated elite that could best serve the colonial interests of the State, the aim of rudimentary education was to equip the indigenous people with rudimentary knowledge and moral values and nurture in them the spirit of Portuguese citizenship. Consistent with this ideology, Portuguese was defined as *the* language of instruction, while African languages could only be used for religious instruction (Barreto, 1977; Mazula, 1995).

As in other colonial contexts, access to education in Mozambique was so restricted that only very few had access to it. For example, up to 1950 only 24% of eligible children were at primary school (Mateus, 1999, p.27). The situation changed slightly from the mid-1960s, thanks to a number of factors such as the abolishment of the so-called Indigenous Status (*Estatuto do Indígena*) in 1961, which extended Portuguese citizenship to all indigenous people; international pressure on the Portuguese colonial education policy; and also the intensification of the liberation struggle, not only in Mozambique but also in the other Portuguese colonies in Africa (Barreto, 1977; Mazula, 1995; Errante, 1998; Mateus, 1999). Major improvements included the expansion of the education network, a relative increase in enrolment rates, and the authorization of the use of local languages as instruments for teaching the Portuguese language in primary schools (Mazula, 1995, p.88, and references therein). Even so, the system still failed to reach substantial numbers of native Mozambicans. Indeed, by the time of Independence in 1975, the illiteracy rate was estimated at 93% (Comissão Nacional do Plano, 1985).

With the sudden departure of the Portuguese after independence, the country also lost most of the few trained teachers and other educational specialists who had been working in the system. This scenario posed a serious challenge to the newly

formed government, which had set education as one of the national priorities. Based on a Marxist ideological framework, the aim of education was the formation of a new citizen (literally ‘new man’ - *homem novo*) (Machel, 1975), defined as a citizen free of obscurantism, superstition and bourgeois mentality, one who assumed the values of socialism (RPM, 1983).

In response to the human resources crisis in education, the new government determined that those who, at the time, were at upper grades should put their academic aspirations on hold and teach their compatriots at lower grades. The national teaching staff was reinforced, among others, by teachers from fellow socialist countries, who were mainly deployed at secondary and, later, at tertiary levels. As a result of the expansion of formal education, coupled with a successful mass adult literacy campaign started in 1978, by 1980 the illiteracy rate had reduced to about 72% (Conselho Coordenador de Recenseamento, 1983).

However, these educational efforts suffered a setback with the intensification of the civil war in the 1980s. The school network, especially in rural areas, was severely destroyed and populations displaced. Consequently, enrolment rates fell drastically and, at the same time, the illiteracy rate rose.

## **6.2 National Education System**

The current national education system, which has been in force since 1992 (RM, 1992), represents an adjustment of the 1983 system (RPM, 1983) to new socio-political circumstances. Indeed, in addition to pedagogical factors, the review of the system was also influenced by political and socio-economic changes that took place in the 1990s, as described in Chapter 5.

### **6.2.1 General Structure**

The structure of the National Education System of Mozambique, locally referred to as *Sistema Nacional de Educação* (SNE), has three main components: Pre-School Education (*Educação Pré-escolar*), Formal Education (*Educação Escolar*) and Non-formal Education (*Educação Não-Escolar*) (RM, 1992).

Pre-school education, which is not compulsory, is provided for 1 to 5-year old children in *creches* and *jardins infantis* (kindergartens). Formal education is provided from primary through tertiary level. There are two modalities of formal education: regular (or normal) and special modalities. The regular modality encompasses general education (primary and secondary education), technical and professional education, and higher education. The special modality encompasses special education (for children with disabilities), vocational education, adult education, distance education and teacher training. Non-formal education includes literacy and professional development programmes provided outside the formal education system (see the diagram in Figure 1, Appendices 2).

The education system in Mozambique is now being rebuilt and expanded, after being severely destroyed during the civil war. The reconstruction process is involving not only the government of Mozambique but also national and international agencies. As a consequence, the number of schools and education providers has increased over the last years, with a consequent increase in educational opportunities and options.

Much of the Mozambican population has only access to the lower levels of primary education: in 2007, the primary level absorbed about 93% of the school population, being 79.9% at the lower levels (grades 1-5) and only 12.7% at higher levels (grades 6 and 7) (MEC, 2007). Most of the illustrative statistics used here refer to 2007, the year I conducted my main fieldwork.



### ***6.2.2 Bilingual Programme***

Since 2003 there have been two programmes in place at primary level in Mozambique: a monolingual Portuguese programme, which, given its representativeness across the country, can be regarded as the mainstream programme, and a bilingual programme, in which, in addition to Portuguese, a local language is also used as a medium of instruction. So far, the bilingual programme has only been gradually introduced into selected rural schools (there were 14 bilingual schools in 2003; 23 in 2004; and 81 in 2008 (INDE, 2008b)).

#### *6.2.2.1 Background*

Until recently, Mozambique appeared in the educational literature on Africa as one of the few countries that had never experimented or made any official statement on the use of African languages as media of instruction (e.g. Obondo, 1994; Fafunwa, 1990). This state of affairs has changed since the 1990s, following the first primary bilingual education experiments in the country, especially the PEBIMO project or *Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique* (1993-1997). This project was conducted in the provinces of Gaza (Changana-Portuguese) and Tete (Nyanja-Portuguese).

The discussions about the role of African languages in education in Mozambique were ignited in the 1980s (e.g. Katupha, 1985a,b; Wieseman, 1986; Firmino and Heins, 1988). However, it was only in the 1990s when the debate became more overt and was in some way institutionalized. In that period, the Ministry of Education, and INDE in particular, commissioned studies and organized seminars aimed at exploring the possibilities of using African languages in education (e.g. Machungo and Ngunga, 1991; Firmino, 1998; Stroud and Tuzine, 1998).

One view shared by those who were for the use of African languages in education was that, in a country where Portuguese was spoken by a tiny minority (only 24.4%, in 1980), the use of this language as the sole language of instruction was excluding the vast majority of Mozambican children from learning. The high rates of school failure (dropout and repetition rates) were then used as evidence for this claim. Portuguese was, therefore, viewed as a barrier for learning. It was generally argued that this situation could be reversed through the introduction of L1-based bilingual education, though there were different views as to how this should be implemented. For example, while some authors recommended the use of African languages as initial media of instruction for all Mozambican children, others, suggested that, despite being a tiny minority, those who had Portuguese as their first language, especially in urban areas, also had the right to be taught in this language (see Firmino, 1998, and references therein).

From the outset, the idea of using African languages in education has faced some opposition. As in other multilingual settings, the arguments were political, financial and pedagogical (see Arquivo do Património Cultural, 1992; Veloso, 2002). From the political point of view, it was argued that the use of African languages in education would fuel tribalism and regionalism, which, as shown in Chapter 5, were contrary to Frelimo's project of national unity. Financial arguments had to do with the high costs that would be involved in the development of learning/teaching aids and capacity building, particularly considering the number of African languages spoken in the country. From the education perspective, one of the pervasive arguments was that instruction in African languages would hinder pupils' learning of Portuguese, defined as the official language, the language of national unity and international communication.

By mentioning the use of African languages in education for the first time in Mozambican history, the 1990 Constitution (followed by the 1992 decree on the National Education System) not only accommodated the desire of an important segment of the intelligentsia and of ordinary citizens but also lent legitimacy to the then ongoing debate over the language question in the country. This context favoured the launch of the first bilingual education experiments in the early 1990s, in both formal (see Benson, 1997, 1998, 2000, on PEBIMO) and adult education (see Veloso, 2002, on the Sena-Portuguese and Changana-Portuguese bilingual projects). Despite constraints of different sorts, including lack of expertise in bilingual education, scarcity of resources, and discontinuity of financial flows, these experiments were regarded as successful overall (cf. Benson, 1997, 1998, 2000; Fuchs and Macavi, 1999; Veloso, 2002). In the case of PEBIMO, for example, Benson (1997, 1998, 2000) found that, compared with the monolingual Portuguese programme, this bilingual project reached higher passing rates, had better retention rates (especially for girls), and generated better interaction in the classroom.

The results of these experiments revealed the potential of bilingual education for improving the quality of education in the country and, as a consequence, contributed to a shift in public opinion in relation to the role of African languages in education. Institutionally, the ‘International Conference on the Use of African Languages in Education and the Role of Languages of Wide Communication’, organized by INDE in 1997, can be regarded as the event that marked a key turning point of the debate on the role of African languages in education in Mozambique and set the stage for the current use of these languages in initial schooling. In this conference, national and international experts (and also ordinary members of the community) recommended the immediate introduction of African languages as media

of instruction in primary school (see Stroud and Tuzine, 1998). This recommendation was taken into account in the new curriculum that has been in force since 2003.

The *de facto* education policy now in place in Mozambique can be regarded as multilingual: in addition to Portuguese, 16 African languages are now being used as initial media of instruction (see Table 1).

<b>Province</b>	<b>African Languages in Education</b>
Cabo Delgado	Maconde, Macua and Mwani
Niassa	Macua, Nyanja, Yao
Nampula	Macua
Zambézia	Chwabo and Lómwè
Tete	Nyanja, Nyungwe and Sena
Manica	Ndau and Utee
Sofala	Ndau and Sena
Inhambane	Gitonga, Choje , Ndau and Tswa
Gaza	Changana and Choje
Maputo	Ronga

Table 1: Distribution of the 16 African languages used in education in 2008 per province

In addition to the Article 9 of the Constitution mentioned in the previous chapter, the use of African languages in education is backed by article 4 of decree 6/92 on the National Education System, which states that:

‘Under the framework defined within the current decree, the National Education System must value and develop the national languages, promoting their gradual introduction in the education of the citizens’ (RM, 1992, p.104).

Despite the relevance of these provisions, I find them rather vague, thus prompting different interpretations. Indeed, given the vagueness of these legal provisions and the absence of an explicit language policy for Mozambique, a number of questions can be raised in relation to the current role of African languages in education. For example: What legal criteria were used to select the 16 local languages currently used for

instruction? Considering that Portuguese is the only *the jure* official language, what may be motivating pupils (and their parents) to learn local languages in the official domain of school?

This lack of explicitness may have negative consequences on long-term educational provision, as has happened elsewhere in Africa. For example, in the absence of explicit and precise policies, there is no means of holding decision-makers and policy-makers accountable. In the case of Mozambique, despite the increasing demand for bilingual education in rural areas, central education authorities have been reluctant to expand the programme to new schools and areas. This reluctance has led some communities and local level education authorities to provide bilingual education without recognition from central decision-makers, as they should do under the current system (INDE, 2008). Others are questioning whether bilingual education has in fact ‘come to stay’, as presented in the official discourse, or whether it is something that is still being tested out, and likely to be discontinued, as has happened elsewhere in Africa.

#### *6.2.2.2 Purpose and Structural Organization of the Programme*

In the Mozambican context an early-exit transitional bilingual programme has been designed. Given its structure and declared aim, it is officially defined as ‘a transitional programme with maintenance characteristics’ (INDE/MEC, 2003, p.31).

The justification for introducing bilingual education in Mozambique is based on linguistic-pedagogical, cultural and language rights arguments (cf. INDE/MEC, 2001, pp.119-121). However, from the structure of the programme and considering the historical developments that led to the consideration of bilingual education (see above and also INDE/MEC, 2001), it can be said that the underlying purpose of this

form of education is primarily to improve the effectiveness of education in Portuguese. That is, although it is officially claimed that the aim of the programme is ‘to ensure the development of pupils’ additive bilingualism’ (INDE/MEC, 2003, p.31), there is evidence showing that this form of bilingual education is, above all, a platform designed to help children to make a smooth transition from the language and informal education of the home and community to the formal education of the school, which is overwhelmingly conducted in Portuguese (see also Extract 7 in Chapter 11, and Extracts 20 and 82 in Appendices). Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the chapters on data analysis, in addition to purely educational outcomes, the implementation of bilingual education is having the ‘concurrent’ effect of strengthening a sense of cultural identity and also raising awareness of the value of African languages as cultural capital among the beneficiary communities and in the society at large.

The programme has been designed so as to introduce basic literacy and numeracy in a local language and subsequently in Portuguese. The local language used in each bilingual school is the one used in its catchment area, which is typically the first language of most children entering that school.

In the first three years of schooling, in addition to being taught as a subject, a local language is used as a medium of instruction. This role is taken up by Portuguese at grade 4. In the first three years, Portuguese is taught as a subject. The objective in the first two years is to develop oral skills (listening and speaking). Pupils start reading and writing in Portuguese at grade 3. After ceasing their role as media of instruction, local languages continue to be taught as subjects up to the end of primary school (see Table 1 in Appendices 2). This is the structural feature used to lend

legitimacy to the ‘maintenance characteristics’ claimed for the programme: L1 is *maintained* within the school curriculum.

As can be understood from the description (see also Table 1 in Appendices 2), this programme is organised on a language separation basis. The language boundaries are established in terms of subjects, though the policy adopted allows for flexibility. Indeed, policy guidelines encourage the use of local languages as scaffolding languages when teaching Portuguese or when teaching content subjects in Portuguese (INDE/MINED, 2003), a move which, in fact, came to ratify a practice that was long being used in Mozambican schools, especially in rural primary contexts. In the first years, teachers are also encouraged to use Portuguese in Physical Education. As a consequence of this policy, codeswitching or ‘translanguaging’ (García, 2009) is commonplace in bilingual classrooms in Mozambique, although teachers vary in terms of how strict or flexible they are about the use of these communicative strategies.

Despite the long history of monolingual education in the country, the use of 16 African languages in education now places Mozambique as one of the countries with the most audacious language-in-education policies in Africa. Although this move has received internal and international support, there are also voices, including those in favour of bilingual education, who question the feasibility and sustainability of such a policy. This scepticism is, at least technically, legitimate, especially when considering the poor development of the African languages in question, the limited in-country expertise in language development and bilingual education, and financial constraints faced by most African countries in rolling out educational provision, including Mozambique.

The analysis of the process that led to the selection of the 16 languages of instruction seems to indicate that, as happens in many African contexts, this was essentially a political decision. Indeed, taking into account the factors listed above, the initial proposals advanced by experts in public fora were that the programme should start with about 5-7 African languages as media of instruction, and progressively extend this role to other languages as human capacity was built and once corpus planning for the initial languages had been consolidated and expanded to new languages (cf. INDE/MINED, 2001). However, as successive proposals were publically discussed, some language groups felt excluded and lobbied the government to include their language(s) in the set of local languages chosen for education. Thus, in a certain stage of the debate there were 11 languages. Certainly for the sake of national harmony, instead of excluding, the decision-makers opted for integrating as many languages as possible in the system. This led to the eventual increase in the number of languages selected from the initial 5-7 to the current 16 languages.

#### *6.2.2.3 Human Resources and Learning/Teaching Materials*

Although there may be other interesting topics to consider in this characterization of bilingual education in Mozambique, such as political will and academic results obtained so far, I concentrate my attention here on the issues of human and material resources, as these may help predict and appreciate other interrelated topics, including that of academic outcomes. As will become apparent in the data analysis presented in this study, these two topics dominate the current assessments of the bilingual programme in Mozambique. This was also apparent in the First National Seminar for the Review of the Implementation of Bilingual Education in Mozambique (INDE, 2008a). Held in December 2008, this seminar was organized by INDE and involved



the participation of representatives of all provinces, including teachers in the programme, and also some international delegates and donor representatives.

#### 6.2.2.3.1 Human Resources

As mentioned above, bilingual education in Mozambique is a new phenomenon. It therefore poses challenges not only to teachers, but also to all educational actors involved: these include teacher trainers, linguists, educational researchers and administrators. A unifying characteristic is that, overall, these actors have been educated in a monolingual Portuguese system and, although the overwhelming majority includes native speakers of African languages, they lack literacy skills in these languages. When bilingual education was introduced in 2003, most of these actors were not ready to provide a technically sound response to the programme. They were, therefore, pushed to develop their literacy skills in African languages with a relatively short period of time and, at the same time, to devise aids and strategies to teach these languages and to teach through them.

So far, no pre-service training or certification in bilingual education has been developed in Mozambique. The teachers currently deployed in the bilingual education programme were trained for teaching the monolingual Portuguese curriculum. Moreover, just as in the monolingual programme, there are also those who have not received any pre-service pedagogical training. These teachers either volunteer themselves to teach in the bilingual programme or they are appointed by school directorates, mainly based on their level of proficiency in local languages and willingness to teach in this programme. In order to adjust to the bilingual programme, teachers are provided with limited in-service training, focussing on bilingual education philosophies and methodologies and also on orthographies and structure of

the African languages used in their school contexts. Training workshops, which are usually conducted during school breaks, often last between 1 to 2 weeks. Some teachers have attended more than one of these workshops. Teachers also receive some supportive supervision although not always on a systematic basis. These activities, which are coordinated by INDE/MEC, involve teacher trainers from teachers colleges, linguists and educationalists from local universities, as well as trainers from INDE.

Whereas at the inception of the bilingual education programme in the country as a whole, training and supervision initiatives were centrally-based, now they are increasingly planned and implemented locally, with the involvement of local level education bodies and some national and international NGOs, such as *Organização PROGRESSO* (PROGRESSO), *Unidade de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica* (UDEBA-LAB), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and the *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ) (cf. INDE, 2008b). It should be mentioned that, as has been reported in relation to other African contexts (Alidou, 2004), these in-service initiatives, both central and local level initiatives, are dependent on the availability of funds from donor agencies. As a result, they are never systematically implemented, though in some cases well planned.

Although much is still to be done, as a result of the activities mentioned above, there have been remarkable improvements in terms of capacity building for bilingual education countrywide. Indeed, compared with when the programme started in 2003 (see Chimbutane, 2003), there is now a growing number of teachers and other educational actors who have not only improved their literacy skills in African languages but also their understanding of bilingual education philosophies and methodologies. Also linguists and educationists involved in the programme have further consolidated their expertise.

Despite the positive results of in-service training initiatives, for a sustained long-term perspective, it is legitimate to suggest that a more proactive pre-service training system should be in place by now, especially given the increasing number of schools that are providing bilingual education. A recent review of the one-year long teacher-training course offered in the country included efforts to incorporate bilingual education, although it still focuses on preparing the trainees for teaching in the monolingual Portuguese programme. The adjustment of the curriculum to bilingual education comprised only the extension of content areas in a course called ‘Linguistics of Bantu Languages’. In my conversations with teacher-trainers and trainees, I found that they were unanimous in stating that this adjustment is not enough to provide trainees with the skills they need to teach in local languages. They mentioned the lack of preparation in literacy in these languages as one of the major gaps that make trainees not fully qualified to teach in the bilingual programme. The ineffectiveness of the current teacher training programme in preparing the trainees to teach in African languages was also raised in the 2008 INDE seminar (INDE, 2008a). Recommendations as to how the situation might be improved included a review of the current objectives and content of the course on Linguistics of Bantu Languages and also the consideration of a separate teacher training certificate for bilingual education teachers, though, for pragmatic reasons, this latter proposal did not receive full support of the participants in the INDE review seminar.

#### 6.2.2.3.2 Teaching and Learning Resources in African Languages

Despite the use of African languages in education and the acknowledgement that these languages have not been adequately developed for educational purposes, there is absence of corpus planning in Mozambique, in the sense of mapping out what has

been done, what is yet to be done, by whom and until when. What we have been witnessing are isolated, un-coordinated language development initiatives by individual citizens and some government and non-government institutions. The proposals for standardized and harmonized orthographies for 17 local languages advanced by NELIMO/INDE (NELIMO, 1989; Siteo and Ngunga, 2000), the production of a couple of bilingual dictionaries, and the production of some leisure reading in local languages can be regarded as the major achievements registered in post-colonial Mozambique.

The paucity of printed materials in African languages in Mozambique is such that, up to 2008, that is, five years after the introduction of the bilingual programme, pupils were yet to receive the first textbooks in their home languages. Exceptional cases pertain to those pupils from bilingual schools in the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, who had been provided with textbooks right from the beginning of the programme, thanks to PROGRESSO. In addition to training relevant bilingual education actors, this NGO has been producing books in the 5 languages used in these areas, namely, Kimwani, Maconde, Macua, Nyanja and Yao.

Since 2002, INDE has also been producing textbooks for the remaining 11 local languages used in education. However, these textbooks have never been printed and allocated to the pupils and teachers using these languages (cf. INDE, 2008b). In the best scenario, teachers are given a photocopy of the drafts of the textbooks to guide their lessons. Pupils have access to the content of the textbooks through teachers' expositions and through texts laboriously and not always correctly copied from the chalkboards. The reasons why the textbooks have never been printed and distributed is still unclear. Official justifications include lack of funds for printing the textbooks and 'inexperience of publishers in dealing with materials in local

languages' (INDE, 2008b, p.17, also Mr Sendela's account in Extract 82, Appendices 9).

The lack of textbooks in local languages has been one of the weaknesses of the bilingual programme that has been acknowledged so far (see also accounts in Extracts 76-85, Appendices 9). This gap has been criticised not only by relevant stakeholders but also by the public in general. Considering that, in the same schools, pupils in the monolingual Portuguese programme are provided with conventional textbooks, the failure to equip pupils in the bilingual programmes accordingly has been interpreted by pupils, teachers and parents as unfair.

The seriousness of this concern is also recognised by education authorities. Indeed, according to INDE (2008b, p.17), the lack of materials is: (i) compromising the successful implementation of the bilingual programme; (ii) making some teachers lose interest and even abandon the bilingual programme, thus (re)joining the monolingual Portuguese programme; and (iii) leading parents and the society in general to discredit the bilingual programme.

Therefore, despite the current positive attitudes towards bilingual education in Mozambique, this unequal treatment of pupils from the two concurrent programmes in place not only may be contributing to the reinforcing of the prestige of Portuguese but also perpetuating the construction of African languages, and education in such languages, as something marginal, when compared to Portuguese and education in this language.

**Part III - Bilingual Education in Action in Mozambique: Its Purpose  
and Value**

## **Chapter 7: Research Approach and Methodology**

### *Overview*

In this chapter, I present and justify the approach adopted and the methodological decisions made for this study.

Specifically, I justify why and how I used a combination of different frames of reference in my data collection and analysis. I also present and justify the data collection techniques employed. In addition, the chapter describes how I selected and gained access to the research sites, how I established my relationships with the participants as well as how the ethical considerations were taken into account in the field and throughout the reporting process. In the last sections of the chapter, I describe how I organized, transcribed and analysed the data gathered.

### **7.1 Ethnographically-Informed Research on Classroom Discourse**

As indicated in Chapter 1, instead of being exclusively bound to a particular approach, this study adopts an interdisciplinary perspective combining close study of discourse and ethnography. In addition, the study also uses insights from prior research on bilingual education policy and practice, with special reference to that from critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education (e.g. Heller, 2006, 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001).

Following Blommaert (2001a), I take ethnography as being an essential component of any research that starts from a view of language as a social practice. In this sense, this study is designed to be a qualitative analysis based on discursive and observational data. Although quantitative or experimental studies are more likely to be compelling for education planners and decision-makers, in this study it has been assumed that socio-cultural and political-economic phenomena impacting on

education are better captured through qualitative-interpretive processes of enquiry since these processes are often discursive in nature. In this way, and following Watson-Gegeo (1988), ethnography offers perspectives and methodologies that allow us to investigate

‘how institutional and societal pressures are played out in moment-to-moment classroom interaction, and how to gain a more holistic perspective on teacher-student interactions to aid teacher training and improve practice.’ (p.575)

I bring in linguistic ethnography in conducting the detailed analysis of discursive practices in the classroom, while at the same time recognizing that such discursive practices are located in specific institutional and socio-historical contexts. This is in tune with the ideal of ‘tying ethnography down’ (Rampton, 2007), through the use of heuristic tools from linguistics and linguistically sensitive discourse analytical approaches for a principled and nuanced analysis of discursive processes, at the same time, it is in tune with the aim of ‘opening up linguistics’ (Rampton, 2007), through the recognition that speakers adapt their discourses to different situational purposes and contexts and therefore when analysing linguistic data there is a need to take into account contextual factors that may impact on communicative behaviour (see also Blommaert, 2007).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, one of the key features of critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education is the use of Bourdieu’s conceptual framework to understand social, political and economic conditions impacting on educational phenomena (cf. Martin-Jones, 2007). This orientation allows me to describe and discuss the linkages between the interactional practices in the classroom and institutional, community and societal discourses on bilingual education. The use of this conceptual framework is justified by the fact that it captures



well the relationships people establish between language and social and economic mobility, an issue which is particularly relevant for the multilingual context of Mozambique, where Portuguese and African languages are associated with different functions, social spaces and uneven affordances.

The rationale behind the adoption of a broad approach to classroom interaction is to provide a balanced account of discursive, local and societal dimensions of communicative behaviour. Indeed, by combining ethnographic description, discourse analysis and socio-political dimensions, this broad approach allows me to provide a more comprehensive description and interpretation of the communicative interaction in the classrooms in my study.

Nevertheless, from the beginning, I was aware of the fact that there could also be drawbacks in using a broad approach since it is not easy to provide a balanced account of different methods and conceptual perspectives. Indeed, although there are recognised advantages in adopting different approaches to the study of classroom phenomena, some authors are cautious about such an endeavour (e.g. Edwards and Westgate, 1994; Rampton et al., 2002; Tusting and Maybin, 2007). For example, Edwards and Westgate (1994, p.55) warn that ‘some approaches are so incompatible one with another that combining them brings more problems than solutions’. There may even be conflicting views and foci among different approaches, which, if not well managed, may jeopardise the consistency of a study.

In this study, I assume that, although there may be some crucial differences, methodological tools and perspectives from ethnography, discourse analysis and social theory can, in general, be applied in a complementary way. Moreover, as I showed in Chapter 1, linguistic ethnography intercepts with critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism. My methodological choices built on previous insightful

studies of language-related educational phenomena combining ethnography, discourse analysis and social theory (e.g. Heller, 2006, 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Stroud, 2001, 2003, 2004). The common ground of such studies is that this broad approach provides a comprehensive account of the relationship between communicative behaviour, language ideologies and social order. It is in the same vein that Miller and Fox (2004) suggest the possibility of analytic dialogue between ethnography, conversation analysis and Foucauldian social theory.

## **7.2 The Research Sites**

### ***7.2.1 Selection of the Sites***

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study builds on my previous involvement in an INDE research project. Escola Primária Completa de Bikwani (EPC-B) and Escola Primária Completa de Gwambeni (EPC-G) are two of the three sites involved in that project, whose aim was to monitor the roll-out of the bilingual programme in the country. The key criteria that led to the choice of these schools in that project partially justify the sampling choices I have made for the current study.

The local language used in schools, the degree of linguistic homogeneity and location were the three main criteria used to select these schools in that project. These criteria were relevant for my selection, since, as assumed in the INDE project, these two schools are conveniently located and their diversity seems to display key sociolinguistic features shared by many bilingual schools in the country. These are as follows: (i) so far all schools offering bilingual education in the country are located in rural areas; (ii) whereas some of the African languages used in some of the schools are widely spoken in particular areas of the country (e.g. Changana, spoken at Bikwani), others are very local and have relatively small numbers of speakers (e.g.

Chope, spoken at Gwambeni); and (iii) whereas some African languages are spoken across national boundaries, have a long tradition of being used as languages of instruction in neighbouring countries, and enjoy, therefore, a relatively advanced state of development (e.g. Changana), others are only spoken in-country and have no tradition of being used in formal education (e.g. Chope). Although these schools may not be representative of the schools providing bilingual education in Mozambique, I assumed that the contrasts emerging from my research in these two sites would help to build an understanding of the processes contributing to the shaping of discourses on the purpose and value of this type of education in the country.

The study is primarily based on ethnographic data collected and audio recorded from grade 4 and 5 bilingual classrooms. The rationale was to capture the transitional phase of the programme, when Portuguese starts to be used as the medium of instruction. This phase is considered to be critical for the programme since it is a critical moment from the point of view of all stakeholders concerned (educational planners, teachers, parents, pupils, sponsors, etc.) and the public in general, who, among other things, may want to assess how pupils cope with the transition and from there judge the mid-term linguistic and academic outcomes of the initiative. It was hypothesised that, depending on the outcomes and participants' perspectives, this could either be a moment of tension or fulfilment and, either way, would be worth documenting and analysing.

Since in each of the schools in this study there was only one grade 4 class and also one grade 5 class, there were no choices to be made, either in terms of classes or in terms of teachers studied. Therefore, I focussed my observations on four classes and four teachers, that is, two classes and two teachers from each school. Details about the classes and teachers studied are given in the next chapter.

The description presented above shows how I conducted this research in what were, effectively, familiar settings – I returned to well known fields. Considering the time constraints associated with any doctoral project, researching familiar locales was an advantage but at the same time challenging, as I shall substantiate in the following sub-sections.

### ***7.2.2 Access to the Sites***

Before entering the sites, I sought full informed consent from relevant education authorities. This was accomplished through letters and face-to-face meetings in which I basically stated the nature and purposes of my study and set out how ethical issues would be managed (The English and Portuguese versions of the letters are presented in Appendices 3, Docs 3a,b).

Following customary procedures, I first sent a letter to INDE, as the national entity responsible for curriculum development, monitoring and assessment. My request was promptly accepted.

After the approval of INDE, I approached the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture of Gaza (see Doc 4 in Appendices 3). I first sent them the same letter I had sent to INDE, but in this case I also attached the approval letter from INDE. After I was authorized to work in the schools, I then arranged and managed to meet the Head of the Sector for Pedagogical Assistance, whom I already knew from my previous work in the province. In this meeting, I reiterated my research objectives and procedures. He welcomed the research and gave me a briefing on the implementation of bilingual education in the province. At my request, he gave me the authorization to browse the archives on bilingual education kept at the Directorate.

Having obtained approval from INDE and from the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture of Gaza, I went further down the hierarchy, approaching first the relevant District Sectors of Education, Youth and Technology and then the schools themselves. In both district headquarters for EPC-B and EPC-G I was received by the respective heads of the Directorate of the District Sector of Education, Youth and Technology. Both had already received a copy of the letter I had sent to the Provincial Directorate as well as a copy of the corresponding approval. I gave each of them an outline of the main procedures of my research and discussed with them the implementation of the programme in their districts. They both expressed their gratitude to me for returning to research in their district and expressed the hope that my expertise would help improve the quality of teaching in bilingual education.

In my first visit to EPC-G, I met the Director of the school, Mr Mondlane, and the head of the pedagogical section, Mr Gwambe. Mr Gwambe is also one of the teachers observed. I had worked together with both of them from 2003 to 2006 in the INDE project and also trained them in bilingual education philosophies, orthographies and structure of African languages.

In a more detailed way than at the district and provincial levels, I explained the nature and purpose of my research and the nature of the contribution I was expecting from the school board, teachers and local communities. I explained the connection between this new research enterprise and my previous work but I stressed the differences in terms of purposes and procedures. I also explained how I would deal with issues of ethics, including the management of anonymity and confidentiality. They were both very receptive and expressed their gratitude to me for having chosen their school for my research. They gave me a quick overview of the

implementation process, highlighting both positive and negative aspects identified thus far.

My way into this school was completed two days later when I had a chance to participate in a meeting with parents and the local traditional leader. As commonly happens at the beginning of each school term, a meeting had been called by the school board in order to review the previous term and plan for the new one, including parents' participation in school activities. The Director invited me to join the gathering and introduced me to the school community. Speaking in Changana, he explained my previous involvement with the school as well as my new purpose. I was then invited to address the gathering. Also speaking in Changana, I briefly explained the purpose and potential contribution of my study. I also mentioned that, in due course, I would ask to interview some parents and children in order to understand the implementation of the programme.

The entry into EPC-B was slightly different from that in Gwambeni. On my first visit I was received by the Director of the school, who was new to me. In my introduction, I took the same approach taken in Gwambeni. We briefly touched on the implementation of the programme in his school and I outlined how I expected to involve the participants in my study. I asked him to notify the School Council about my presence in the school and also to introduce me to them as the opportunity arose. I also informed him about my intention to meet and interview the local traditional leader. This was arranged some weeks later.

### **7.3 Relationship between the Researcher and the Researched**

As far as the fieldwork relations were concerned, the fact that I had worked in both settings and with the same main actors for three consecutive years was both an

advantage and a challenge (for a comprehensive account, see Chimbutane, Forthcoming).

It was an advantage in the sense that I saved time on the process of gaining trust and building rapport with the participants. The pupils, teachers, school management boards, education authorities and some local community members knew me already and were also familiar with my work in the field. I had already established working relationships with key participants.

Nevertheless, instead of accommodating myself to pre-existing good working relations, I had to work continuously in order to reinforce them and also widen my network of relations: new teachers had been recruited to the schools in my study or had joined the bilingual programme. I used different strategies, including getting closer to the teachers, talking about mundane things and using local languages. In what can be called a traditional way of showing mutual appreciation, after some time in the field I was exchanging gifts with teachers, bringing small presents from the city and taking back others from the research sites. With the pupils, I found that calling them by their names was a magic way of getting their smiles and attracting them closer to me. In view of this, I made an effort to remember some of the pupils' names I had once learned them and to learn new ones. I also found that they preferred to speak with me in their mother tongues rather than in Portuguese, so I tried to use their languages or follow the language they chose to use when addressing me.

My ability to speak Changana and my understanding of Choje were crucial in building trust with local communities. Changana speakers seemed to have perceived my use of their language as an expression of shared identity, and the speakers of Choje showed appreciation of the fact that I was attempting to speak their language.

Parents were pleased to have an interlocutor who was interested in hearing about and discussing their views about the bilingual programme.

Being familiar with the participants was also challenging since there was always the risk of being over committed to them. Indeed, before I re-entered the sites I was already aware of the challenges that would arise from my multiple roles in both sites given that, as mentioned above, I had worked in these same sites as a teacher trainer and as a state monitor of the programme, and I was returning as a researcher and likely to act as a teacher trainer and/or as a teacher should the opportunities arose.

In order to minimise the impact of my previous roles on this new research project, I explained to those who had previously worked with me, in particular the teachers, that this particular study had different purposes and procedures. I made it clear that I was not working as a representative of the state education authorities nor as an evaluator of their performance but as an independent researcher whose goal was to learn from them and co-produce knowledge based on local views about bilingual education. Moreover, I also offered myself to help the participants in whatever they felt I could.

With the teachers I observed, the absence of reflective debriefing sessions after the observation of lessons, as was the case in the INDE project, was crucial in easing the tension which characterizes observer-observed relationships, and, at the same time, it served to signal a change in my role in the classroom and beyond. This did not, however, preclude me from making informal, non evaluative comments on the classes observed when relevant or helping the teachers talk through certain doubts related to their teaching activities.

Nevertheless, in various moments in the field, my previous roles and established relationships emerged and shaped specific encounters with the



participants. As I was expecting, these roles and relationships gave rise to shifting representations and positionings, not only on my part but also on the part of the participants themselves. Indeed, the teachers presented themselves and saw me differently often depending on the topic being discussed in our encounters or evoked from previous encounters. Their stances also shifted depending on what identity they were assigning to me. I was addressed by them as a researcher, trainer, educational planner, a representative of the state education authorities, their messenger or advocate (see Chimbutane, Forthcoming). When evaluating the programme, teachers associated the merits and also the demerits of the bilingual programme with me and when it came to corrective actions I was viewed as part of the solution or as an ideal messenger to channel their calls to the appropriate decision makers. On their part, the teachers assumed the identity of representatives of the state education authorities, members of the local communities, trainees, the participants.

The pupils viewed me as a member of staff but at the same time as an outsider to whom they could express their aspirations and perceptions about the bilingual programme, including their perceived value of learning in their first language and the symbolic capital associated with the mastering of Portuguese. They addressed me as ‘professor Chimbutane’, using the same title they used to address their teachers. Here the Portuguese term ‘professor’ is equivalent to ‘teacher’.

Community members saw me as a representative of the state education authorities but at the same time as a valid interlocutor and channel for taking up to the state education authorities their messages of appreciation at witnessing the use of their languages in schools and also their concerns. They called me to help in finding solutions to the problems associated with the implementation of the bilingual programme, such as those regarding the lack of teaching and learning resources in the

bilingual programme. That is, I was called to assume the role of a ‘circumstantial activist’ (Marcus, 1995).

#### **7.4 Fieldwork Procedures**

The nature of this study determined the use of fieldwork procedures which allowed me to collect and analyse data from different levels of discourse: interactional, institutional and societal levels. Following the ethnographic method adopted in this study, this multidimensional perspective required the use of different data collection techniques such as observation, audio recording, note taking, interviewing, questionnaires, and review of documents.

The use of the different techniques indicated above was tailored to the research questions presented in Chapter 1. Thus, in order to seek the answers for my main research question (1), which has to do with interactions in the classroom, data was mainly gathered through audio recordings of classroom discourse, notes taken from classroom observations, interviews with teachers and pupils and review of school materials.

To get insights into the wider context in which the targeted schools are embedded (question 2), I undertook three kinds of research: First, I reviewed institutional documents on language policy in education and interviewed relevant education officials involved in the development and implementation of the current language-in-education policy and school curricula. Secondly, I administered questionnaires to teachers and pupils aiming at collecting information about the teachers’ professional trajectories and the pupils’ sociolinguistic backgrounds and I also conducted interviews with parents/caretakers, community leaders and other stakeholders. Thirdly, I reviewed documents on debates over language policies and

bilingual education in Mozambique. This was complemented by the socio-historical contextualisations that I undertook as part of the analysis of the data gathered.

In order to respond to question (3), which deals with the relation between the findings from this study and the findings from other contexts, I engaged in a review of relevant research reports on the implementation of bilingual programmes in-country and in the developing world more broadly.

Despite mapping the different data gathering techniques to particular fields of inquiry and/or participants, the reality though is that the data obtained from applying each of the techniques fed into all of the levels of inquiry considered in this study as the three research questions are in fact intertwined.

I spent three months collecting data in the schools selected for this study, in the local communities and at the national level. This happened from August to October 2007, the third and last school term. As I will describe in Section 7.7.2, I returned to the scenes later for debriefing sessions. Initially I had planned to spend three alternate days a week visiting the schools, while using the other days of the week for planning my next field activities and managing the data I gathered. However, there were delays at the start of the term due to the fact that a national census had taken place just before I started my fieldwork, so I had to redo my schedule, adopting a more intensive plan of activities. As a result, I visited the schools 4 to 5 days a week. My decision to go to one school or another was dependent on the number of language lessons I would be able to observe on a given day, the activities on schedule at the schools (for example, community activities or special meetings) and interview arrangements I may had made. However, I always tried to find some sort of balance between the number of visits to each school and also between the number and diversity of lessons observed per teacher/class.

### ***7.4.1 Observation***

Right from the outset, I defined classroom interactions as the central unit of observation and analysis for this study. This was in tune with the main focus of the study. However, consistent with the layered approach adopted in the study, I had also to spent time observing day to day life in the wider school environment. In addition, I had opportunities to observe teachers' self-training workshops as well as workshops on the production of language learning materials. During most of the time spent in the field I took the role of a direct observer, however there were moments when I actively participated in pedagogically-related activities.

#### *7.4.1.1 Observation in the Classroom*

The teachers and pupils in the study were not only familiar with me but they were also used to the presence of external observers and recording apparatuses in their classrooms. This was because, as 'pioneers' of the bilingual programme, they had been subject to monitoring and study by personnel from the local and central education authorities as well as by other researchers. This scenario may have helped to reduce participants' 'reactivity' to the researcher's presence.

As mentioned in 7.2.1, I chose to study grades 4 and 5, focusing my observations on language classes – Portuguese and Changana/Chope (see the list of classes observed and recorded in Table 2, Appendices 3). The rationale behind focusing on language classes was that, in these contexts, attitudes regarding the symbolic and instrumental value associated with languages are made more apparent than in content subjects, as languages are not only targets of learning but also vehicles through which cultural and socio-political beliefs and stances are interactionally played out and negotiated in the classroom.

Following the ethnographic mode of inquiry, I did not have any coding scheme to orient what to look for in the classroom, I was open to whatever verbal and non-verbal indexical information that would find that was relevant to my research purposes. In spite of the fact that, when I entered the sites, I already had initial presuppositions, a framework and a set of initial research questions, I did not take these preliminary orientations as ‘templates’ but rather as ‘prisms’ (Burawoy, 1998, p.11) that guided me towards what to observe.

With this rather holistic framework in mind, my observations took account of aspects such as the organization of the classrooms, the resources available, the participation structures, the functions of Portuguese and African languages, the nature and form of explorations of curricular and extra-curricular content and teachers’ pedagogical practices. Above all, I was particularly interested in exploring what languages were used, by whom, the kind of messages that were exchanged, the communicative functions conveyed by language choices and codeswitching and the reactions to these bilingual practices.

As mentioned above, although I mainly took a role of an observer, I also participated in some classroom events, helping both students and teachers. Indeed, without moving from the place where I was carrying out my observations, on various occasions I helped pupils sitting nearby to understand the teachers’ instructions, resolve exercises and also the required reading.

On three of the occasions when the teachers whose classes I had planned to observe did not turn up, I took over ‘teaching’. I had not prepared a lesson and I did not want to follow up the previous lessons, so I chose to engage pupils with slightly different activities. On one of these occasions, I improvised writing and reading exercises, based on some problematic sounds/graphemes I had identified so far from

my previous observations of Chope classes. I dictated and wrote words and sentences and asked pupils to write or read them.

On the other two occasions (one in a Chope class and the other in a Changana class), I asked pupils to tell traditional stories in their mother tongues. On both occasions, the pupils were delighted and vied for their turn. I tried to get the pupils to interpret the stories narrated and reflect on the lessons learned from them but I found out that they were not interested in that, what they wanted was simply to tell and listen to the stories themselves. I had to respect their preference. These sessions were so successful that pupils not only vividly reported to their teachers but also, on other occasions when their teachers did not come to school, they came to me and pleaded: '*hilava kucha minkaringana*'/'we want to tell stories'. Pupils and teachers revealed to me that they had never done this before I introduced this activity on the occasions reported above. This suggests that I may have contributed to the introduction of a traditional practice in these school contexts.

On various occasions, usually after and before classroom observations, teachers came to me seeking help in matters of structure, orthography and terminology in African languages. On some of those occasions, I managed to give straight answers to their concerns but on others we found joint solutions, some of them very pragmatic in nature. I also asked the help of participants in cases where I needed to clarify aspects that were not clear to me from mere observations, these included clarifying the meaning of words, in particular in Chope, as well as culturally-specific practices and unusual behaviours.

#### 7.4.1.2 *Observation in the School Environment*

As it will be shown in the following Chapter, both schools I researched had serious constraints in terms of infra-structure, being deprived of basic facilities such as a staffroom or library, sites which have been regarded as important focus of observations in many studies of language practices in schools. Instead, both schools had areas in the shade of nearby trees which served various purposes such as venues for meeting and chatting or playing. Interestingly, in both schools there seemed to be a tacit perception about what kind of activity and who should be engaging in it in a given area of shade in the school. For example, pupils rarely sat or played in areas where teachers usually convened during the breaks; when there were community activities or meetings, men and women gathered in different shaded areas or at least sat in different corners of the same shaded area. In both schools there was a space tacitly 'reserved' for more formal activities, a kind of a *b'andla* ('formal arena'). This was usually where visitors to the school waited until they were attended to, where the school board addressed the teachers and where meetings with parents and members of the local communities took place. I had to work out the significance of different spatial arrangement in order to better decide where to position myself depending on what I wanted to observe and who I wanted to interact with.

In the broader school environment my observations focused on the schools' environmental conditions and routines, language uses and attitudes. As far as the language issue was concerned, I was interested in finding out what languages were used in the school environment, by whom, the kind of messages that were exchanged, the communicative functions conveyed by language choices and the reactions to these bilingual practices.

I also observed two meetings with parents in Gwambeni. One was devoted to reviewing the second school term and planning the third term, as already mentioned, and the other dealt with preparations for the examination period. In contrast, during the time I worked in Bikwani I did not witness any general meeting with parents.

#### *7.4.1.3 Observation of Teachers' Self-training Workshops and Production of Language Materials*

I observed teachers' self-training workshops in Gwambeni and Bikwani, and also two sessions of a workshop on the production of school materials in Xai-Xai.

In teachers' self-training workshops, teachers of the schools of the localities of Gwambeni and Bikwani regularly gathered to discuss methodological and content issues identified by teachers in their daily activities. Teachers of Gwambeni meet at the school of Gwambeni and those from Bikwani meet at the school of Bikwani, these are the headquarters of the schools of respective localities. The aim of these sessions had been to create a forum for the teachers to exchange ideas and collaboratively respond to challenges faced in the classroom, such as those related to orthographies, terminology and structural description of local languages. The activities had been sponsored by UDEBA-LAB. Although, in some sessions, they had the assistance of provincial and/or national level educational officials or university lecturers, the workshops were, in general, planned and implemented by the teachers themselves.

I was also invited to take part in sessions on the production of school textbooks, which took place in Xai-Xai. There were five groups working with different languages (Changana, Chope, Gitonga, Ronga and Xitswa) and producing grade 6 language learning materials. These groups included teachers in service in bilingual schools as well as other teachers and education officials selected according



to their linguistic and methodological skills. The participants took the opportunity to raise difficult issues they were facing in their production work. Most of them had to do with the interpretation of technical linguistic terms and also the translation of metalinguistic terms from Portuguese into the local languages concerned. I helped clarify some of the issues raised and we jointly found solutions for some others.

#### ***7.4.2 Audio Recordings***

Recording of interactional data inside and outside the classroom was one of the fundamental components of my fieldwork. I used a DS-50 digital Olympus voice recorder, a very small device but with a very good recording range. I was able to obtain very good quality recordings from any place in the classrooms. Always sitting on a chair at the back of the classroom, I placed the small device on my lap, to the left side, while using the right side to place my A5 notebook. I did not need to place the recorder on the teacher's desk and move back and forward to stop and/or play it, as usually happens in classroom audio recording processes. This contributed to the reduction of obtrusiveness. In fact, after some time, the recorder was taken by many participants to be a phone handset. When I went back to the schools and gave the teachers some transcripts of their own classes to revise and comment on them, one of them confessed that he had forgotten that I was recording the classes. This account may be taken as an indication of how unobtrusive my recordings were.

#### ***7.4.3 Field Notes***

I engaged in a careful note taking, taking account of contextual information: non-verbal behaviour, description of physical scenes, identification of participants (including naming the speakers), annotations from the blackboard, and classroom

management. In addition to contextual information, I also annotated what I considered to be interesting verbal accounts and my reflections prompted by what I was observing or listening to. The brief notes I took in class were very helpful when I later wrote detailed notes and also at the transcription stage since it was easy to contextualise the speech recorded. On average, I observed three lessons each day I went to the field sites. This allowed me plenty of time to observe and take note of facts and events outside the classroom.

In both schools in my study, grades 4 and 5 had morning classes. So, once I was back home I used part of the afternoon and evening to revisit my field notes, listen to and label the recordings and, in some cases, transcribe part of the data recorded in the day. I also did this on the days when I did not go to the field. As a result, with a fresh memory of the happenings, I could, among other things, expand my field notes, identify interesting episodes that could eventually use as supporting data in the analyses, and identify themes that were worth pursuing in my subsequent conversations with the participants. From the same field notes and afterthoughts, I wrote a research diary, describing not only the facts of the fieldwork experience but also my initial interpretation of participants' actions and perceptions. The fieldwork experience I have been reporting throughout this chapter is mainly based on a crosscheck of my field notes and research diary.

#### ***7.4.4 Interviews***

In addition to the informal questions to participants that accompanied my observations inside and outside the classroom, I also conducted one-to-one interviews and focus group interviews with key participants in order to glean their views and feelings about the purpose and value of bilingual education in Mozambique. I use the

term ‘focus group interview’ in the sense of a group interview in which the interviewer asks very specific questions about a specific topic (Robson, 2002).

Most of the informal questions that I asked to the participants were designed to ascertain the significance of behaviour recorded in the course of observations. These informal encounters were not recorded. In what follows I describe how I conducted one-to-one interviews and focus group interviews (lists of the interviewees and their roles are provided in Tables 4-8, Appendices 3).

Both one-to-one interviews and focus group interviews were unstructured, in the sense that, although I had a set of topics to discuss with each group of interviewees, I did not follow a fixed set and order of questions. Instead, I always tried to use open-ended questions with each particular group as well as adding other questions based on the actual themes emerging from individual/group encounters.

The interviews took place during the second and third months of my 3-month long fieldwork, after gathering substantial amounts of information and having (re)established relations of trust and rapport with several key participants. Prior to each interview, I (again) explained the nature and purpose of my research to the interviewees and reassured them that their privacy would be protected, mainly through the use of pseudonyms throughout the research process and when reporting the findings and by maintaining confidentiality.

As a general strategy, I decided to begin the actual conversations by presenting the interviewees with key topics of a general interest which I found relevant for each category of interviewees. Then I invited them to talk freely about those themes, with a minimum of intervention from my part. My role during the conversations was mainly to redirect the conversations, ask for clarifications and elaborations and pursue new themes introduced by the interviewees. The general

approach adopted was to let the interviewees take the role of ‘experts’ while assuming myself the role of an interested listener willing to learn from them. However, this did not prevent me from overtly expressing my feelings and points of view as the opportunities arose. Overall, this approach worked well with most groups of interviewees but not with some parents or with most pupils.

Indeed, I soon realised that in one-to-one encounters, some parents and most pupils were less vocal and also seemed more comfortable with the traditional question-answer interview format. In view of this, I still held one-to-one interviews with some parents, but I decided to embark more on focus group interviews with some other parents and most of the pupils as well as playing a more active role in eliciting their responses and helping them to feel more comfortable in our encounters. The strategy seemed to have worked well as many spoke more freely and produced more elaborate responses, especially the pupils, who on various occasions expressed such divergent opinions that this even led to heated discussions.

In addition to the four teachers who formed the core of my observation, I also interviewed six other teachers in the same schools (three from each school) who were teaching the first three grades in the bilingual programme.

The topics addressed during the interviews with the teachers included their assessment of the implementation of the current phase of bilingual education, their views about the value of bilingual education, their comments on the parents’ views about the programme and their opinions on the impact of the programme on the life of the local communities. Although I gave the teachers the choice to speak in Portuguese or their first languages, all but one preferred to speak in Portuguese. Nevertheless, even those who preferred to speak in Portuguese also switched from time to time into the local languages.

I interviewed 6 groups of 5-6 pupils each and two larger groups of 8 and 12 pupils. These included volunteers, pupils indicated by the teachers in this study and others chosen by me. All pupils were from the four classes observed in both schools. In the interviews with pupils from Bikwani, I spoke in Changana while with those from Gwambeni there was a mixture of Changana and Choape. During the interviews I asked the pupils to speak about their experiences and feelings regarding learning in their first languages and in Portuguese; the importance they ascribed to these languages; their use of these and other languages outside the school, including their written modes; and their future aspirations.

Twenty-four adults were interviewed: 14 in one-to-one and 10 in focus group interviews. These included parents of the children in the study and members of the local communities where my study was based. With the exception of community leaders and a few other members of the communities who were interviewed on demand, the others were included in the sample by chance, as they came to the schools to take part in community activities or school meetings and accepted my request to interview them. In both research sites, the interviews with this category of participants were almost entirely in Changana. Given my limitations in Choape, in Gwambeni I always asked the Choape speakers permission to speak in Changana but gave them the option to respond in Choape. However, almost all preferred to speak to me in Changana, which, as already noted, is widely spoken in that Choape area. With this category of participants, I asked them to express their views and feelings regarding the introduction of bilingual education in their communities; the value(s) they associated with this programme; their assessment of the dynamics and management of its implementation; their views regarding the (potential) impact of the programme on the life of the communities and on their children's future.

With the representatives of the education authorities and NGOs, the interviews focused more on the administrative and pedagogical dimensions of bilingual education. But they were also asked to comment on the reactions from teachers, local communities and the society at large to the bilingual education programme. In essence, we talked about how they were responding to expectations and constraints identified in the field, such as the lack of teaching and learning resources in African languages, teacher-training, and the community calls for expansion of the bilingual programme to new schools.

#### ***7.4.5 Questionnaires***

In order to obtain information about the sociolinguistic background of the pupils and the teachers in the bilingual programme and also about aspects of the professional trajectory of teachers, I administered two different questionnaires, one for each of these two categories of participants (see Questionnaires 1-2 in Appendices 3). All 12 teachers in the bilingual programme in both schools responded to the questionnaire but, mainly for management reasons, I only targeted pupils in the four classes observed.

After I realised that pupils were not able to fill the forms on their own, I asked teachers to help them respond to the questionnaire. Using their spare time, teachers sat with each of their pupils, asked the same questions asked in the questionnaire (modifying or translating them into pupils' mother tongues, as appropriate) and filled the forms for them. The data gathered through these questionnaires forms part of the description of the background of teachers and pupils provided in the next chapter.

#### ***7.4.6 Gathering of Relevant Documents and Textual Materials***

I gathered a range of documents on language policy and bilingual education in Mozambique, including curricular documents and research reports. I also gathered archival records, such as minutes of meetings and reports of training seminars. I also scrutinized Portuguese language learning aids, pupils' notebooks and written essays. When possible and with the permission of the relevant actors, I took copies of the documents and texts that were pertinent to my study.

#### **7.5 Ethical Considerations**

I followed the ethical standards adopted by the University of Birmingham (Code of Conduct for Research) and by the British Association for Applied Linguistics (Recommendations for Good Practice in Applied Linguistics: Student project version), see Docs 1 and 2 in Appendices 3, respectively. I also followed customary research practices in Mozambique.

From the letters of consent I had sent to the various education authorities, including the school boards, and from face-to-face contacts with local authorities, the school communities were aware of my presence and of the purpose of my research in the schools. However I found it ethically appropriate to re-state the nature and purposes of my study before I involved the participants directly in the study. The participants were also informed about their right to ask not to be audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the research process if they wished to do so.

The teachers observed provided written consent (Docs 5-6 in Appendices 3), whereas the pupils, parents and education officials interviewed provided oral assent. None of the subjects contacted refused to take part in the study, although some

parents needed additional explanation of the purpose of the study or of their role before deciding to contribute.

Following the above mentioned standards, I am using fictional names for the schools and sites where they are located and pseudonyms for the participants. The aim was to protect their integrity, although, as with Erickson (1992), I also do recognize that it is difficult to mask the identity of participants in ethnographic work.

The ethical importance of disguising the identity of the participants and the settings researched is undisputable, as it helps to protect the integrity of those being researched. However, I believe that disclosing the identity of the settings would give the Mozambican readers of my research report the opportunity to relate my findings with what they might already know about the same or related sites, which would enhance their understanding of the research (Yin, 2003). At the same time, by disclosing such identities, I believe would also be exposing my study to readers' scrutiny allowing therefore that it be readily criticised and challenged.

## **7.6 Data Preparation: Transcription Process**

The transcription process followed three major steps. I first transcribed almost all the audio recordings of lessons and interviews using the standard orthographies of the languages used by the participants as well as canonical punctuation. For the transcription of Changana and Chope utterances, the standardised orthographies proposed in Siteo and Ngunga (2000) were used.

The second and third steps were taken after selecting the episodes that I would eventually use as evidentiary data, based on the 'first-pass' transcripts. Following Tannen (1984), cited in Hornberger and Chick (2001, p.32), I use the term 'episode' to refer to 'interactional sequences bounded by change of activity or topic'. After this



first selection, I listened once more to the parts of the audio recordings corresponding to each of the episodes selected and applied the transcription conventions provided in Table 10, Appendices 3. The third step consisted of providing the English translation for the utterances transcribed in Portuguese, Changana and Chope. This happened after deciding on the episodes that would effectively be considered in the analysis.

Instead of following any particular set of transcription conventions in full, I decided to devise a set of conventions relevant to the purpose of this particular study, mainly based on a synthesis of conventions presented and discussed in Roberts (2007). The fundamental criterion adopted was to devise a set of conventions that could capture relevant non-linguistic nuances while at the same time allowing readability of the transcripts for a non specialist audience.

As illustrated below, the relevant details are presented in four columns in the transcripts: in the left hand column I number the transcripts line by line in order to make referencing easier throughout the analysis; in the second column I provide the speakers' identification codes, which, depending on the case, can be speakers' fictional names/initials or categories (e.g. **F**(eliciano) or **S**(tudent)); in the third column I present the actual transcripts of the speakers' utterances in Portuguese, Changana and/or Chope; and in the right hand column I add the corresponding English translations.

#### Extract 1: An example of the organization of transcripts

1	F:	e como é que se sentiu na ortografia	and how did you feel in using the
2		na sua língua?	orthography
3			of your language?
4	Mr G:	((riso)) ortografia,	((laughter)) orthography,
5		penso eu que o doutor Chimbutane	I think doctor Chimbutane
6		tanto nos valeu	was very helpful

The transcripts are the result of cross-referencing of audio recordings and my field notes. The field notes taken from my observations were used to contextualize the utterances recorded and, in some cases, to make sense of what was going on in certain instances of talk. This explains the level of contextual detail offered in the transcripts. In fact, the transcripts seem to give vivid accounts of lessons I have observed, which surprised the teachers when they had access to them later: '*ei, o sô doutor gravou tudo, tudo mesmo!*'/'wow, you have recorded every, everything, indeed!' - this is a comment made by Mr Muhati, very impressed with the level of detail and accuracy in the transcripts.

Although it was laborious and time consuming, transcribing the audio materials myself was worthwhile. Given that the transcription task demands careful and repeated listening to the recordings, the process allowed me not only to have a comprehensive grasp of the whole corpus but also to identify initial thematic units of analysis and connect behaviours and stances taken by different participants.

### **7.7 Approaches to Data Analysis**

As Robson (2002) points out, with qualitative-interpretive research designs, 'it is difficult to separate out the data collection and analysis phases of an inquiry' (p.315). Indeed, as shown above, the analysis of data started at the fieldwork stage and continued throughout the subsequent phases of the research process. For example, the selection of what to observe and record on the spot involved some sort of analysis of the different options available; the refinement of field notes and production of a research diary entailed preliminary interpretation of data; and the transcription of lessons and interviews also involved analysis which prompted initial identification of key themes emerging from the data as well as initial interpretations.

The analysis of data proper (recorded lessons and interviews) comprised two interrelated steps: (1) selection of evidentiary data and identification of themes and (2) an interpretive process.

### *7.7.1 Selection of Evidentiary Data and Identification of Themes*

As commonly recognised, bringing together multiple perspectives into the same study, as I do here, ‘can be very challenging, in terms of data collection, analysis, and reporting’ (Duff, 2002, p.294). One strategy used to overcome this constraint is to reduce the amount of data taken into consideration, through a principled selection of representative/typical and atypical data (cf. Edwards and Westgate, 1994; Ryan and Bernard, 2000; Duff, 2002; Yin, 2003).

The selection of episodes for close analysis was mainly informed by the broad research questions as presented in Chapter 1. From both corpora of lessons and interviews, I selected episodes that I found relevant to respond to such questions, that is, those interactional sequences that were indexical of participants’ perceptions and views on the purpose and value of bilingual education in Mozambique. I tried to include in my sample cases that seemed to point to some sort of convergent tendencies and those which seemed to depart from such central tendencies. In addition, I always tried to keep a sort of balance in terms of representation of the voices of the different participants of both schools in the study as well as the three languages used in the lessons observed – Portuguese, Changana and Chope.

The identification of the episodes for close analysis was thematically driven. The episodes were initially grouped in three broad themes: episodes related to discourses that were indexical of the (i) pedagogical, (ii) socio-cultural or (iii) socio-economic value of bilingual education. The identification of these themes was a result

of the interception between, on one hand, my background knowledge accumulated from my experience in the field and readings on bilingual education, and, on the other hand, the analysis of the actual content of the texts themselves.

After identifying these broad themes, I went on to refining the thematic groupings as well as identifying possible thematic connections between the selected texts. As a result, I came up with some sub-themes or multiple instances of the broad themes referred to above and I was also able to relate some of them with my previous readings as well as making some tentative interpretations of them. For example, in relation to the pedagogical value ascribed to bilingual education, I could identify several thematic instantiations such as the value of using the first language of the pupils in: (i) facilitating teacher-pupil classroom interactions, (ii) allowing pupils to challenge or ease the traditional power relations of teacher-as-expert and pupil-as-ignorant (iii) bridging the gap between school and home forms of knowledge, and (iv) allowing parents to contribute to their children's learning.

### ***7.7.2 Interpretive Process***

As shown in this chapter, in this study I employed both the analytical approaches commonly used in conventional ethnography, and those used in linguistic ethnography. Following the critical, interpretive work mentioned above, I also drew on Bourdieu's conceptual framework as a way to capture the relationship between language, schooling and the wider social order. Insights from other language-related interdisciplinary studies were also brought into the analysis.

From an ethnographic perspective, and in keeping with the multiple method approach adopted for data collection, the interpretation and analysis of the data involved triangulation of different sources of evidence. All sources of evidence

mentioned above were reviewed and analysed together and, as a consequence, the findings are based on convergence of information from those different sources.

One element of triangulation that I employed and one that is worth describing here was debriefing. After the data collection phase, I went back to some key participants to check the accuracy of my data and my initial interpretations. I did this on two occasions. The first time was two months after the fieldwork, when I took full transcripts of all lessons and interviews with the pupils in Chope and asked the respective teachers to check for their accuracy and comment on any aspect that eventually struck them. I decided to give priority to these materials because Chope is the language I am not proficient in, and therefore did not want to engage in any kind of selection and/or interpretation of evidentiary data before the transcripts were checked for accuracy, both in terms of form and content.

The second time was about a year after the initial collection of data. In this case, I presented all four of the teachers I had observed with selected extracts of their own lessons, my provisional interpretive comments on them, and I raised a few reflexive questions prompted by the transcripts. I asked the teachers to go through the extracts and comment on the accuracy of the transcripts as well as on my own interpretations. I allowed them some days to go through the materials before I met separately with each of them for discussion. Although I did raise some of the key questions that I had initially attached to the excerpts, the conversations were in fact open-ended. All the sessions were recorded.

The outcome of both of these debriefing sessions was positive, not only from the researcher's perspective but also from that of the participants (see, e.g., Extract 12 in Appendices 6.2). The general comment from the teachers was that the experience had given them the opportunity to look back into and reflect on their own interactional

and pedagogical practices. Indeed two of them even said that if they were to deliver the same lessons again they would do it better. Apart from corrections of the transcripts in terms of form, the facts conveyed in my account and my descriptions and interpretations were not questioned, though in some cases the teachers tried to explain their actions and choices in the classroom. Two of the teachers asked me to ‘sanitise’ part of the transcripts of their lessons (mainly taking out false starts, repetitions and borrowings) before using them in my final report. However, they both felt comfortable when I explained to them that such ‘noises’ were common place in any spontaneous talk so they should not worry about them and also reminded them that the data would be used anonymously.

Interestingly, in their analysis and comments on the extracts, the teachers focussed on their roles and actions in the classroom and spoke less about their pupils’ roles and actions. I had to prompt and ask them questions to get them speak about the pupils. On the few occasions when they commented spontaneously on the pupils, it was to criticise their silence in Portuguese classes or Portuguese-medium subject classes, as opposed to their very active participation in classes in local languages. The perspective taken by the teachers may, on one hand, be an indication that when they looked at the excerpts they paid special attention to their own performance in class, probably having in mind a possible evaluative component of my work, even though I had several times explained to them that this was not the case. On the other hand, this may also reflect the centrality of the teachers in the classroom business – they were omnipresent and omnipotent in the classroom.

These debriefing meetings also allowed me to check the transcripts for errors and misunderstandings on my side, especially those in Chope. Notably, my weakness in Chope had led me to write some words in Changana instead of Chope and there

were also some words in the recordings that I had not understood at all. There were also some typos both in the transcripts in Changana and in Choje. These errors of form and content were jointly clarified and corrected.

A shared reaction from the Choje teachers was that they were surprised to see so many Changana words in their discourse as well as in that of their pupils. Although as I mentioned above some of them had resulted from my transcription errors, it was confirmed from the recordings that most of them had in fact been employed and recorded as such. When the teachers checked the excerpts they tried to 'fix' this by amending the Changana words and translating them into Choje. The same happened with Portuguese words employed in speech in Choje. These corrections were more systematic in Mr Gwambe's materials than in Mr Muhati's. In our discussions, however, instead of being defensive as would be expected, the teachers recognised their use of Changana words in their talk and presented the corrections made as what should have been the ideal performance, that is, the use of 'pure' Choje in the classroom. As agreed with both teachers, these facts confirm the strong influence exercised by Changana into the Choje spoken in Gwambeni.

By employing the debriefing method in this study the idea was not to try to impose or seek confirmation of my own interpretations but rather expose them to participants' scrutiny and open avenues for alternative interpretations. On the other hand, I did not take their interpretations at face value, as I was always aware of the conflict between the spontaneous nature of talk and the re-elaborative process involved in its interpretation. I also took stock of the common assumption that some forms of behaviour are so familiar to the participants that they are not necessarily aware of them. As McCutcheon (1981, p.6) notes, 'these [patterns of behaviour] are more likely to be accessible to, and thus deduced and understood by an outsider'. The

end result is that part of my interpretations drew upon some shared understandings of the reality observed though I attempted to go beyond that by bringing into the analysis a combination of considerations from different fields, some of that the participants were not aware of. I therefore take the view that ‘a carefully done emic analysis precedes and forms the basis for etic extensions that allow for cross-cultural or cross-setting comparisons’ (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, pp.580-581)

Linguistic ethnography was key in guiding the study towards a detailed analysis of discursive data. The analysis consisted of making inferences of what was meant from what was said, using ‘discourse and its organization as evidence’ (Edwards and Westgate, 1994, p.137). The inferences were not only based on ‘purely’ linguistic forms but also on contextual dimensions of their production, including interactional, historical and socio-political dimensions. Taking context as ‘dynamic and segmented’ (Mehan, 1984, p.178), the general principle followed in the analysis was that any claim about the social, political or educational significance of communicative behaviour should be reflexively justified on the basis of the description of linguistic and non-linguistic clues emanating from the available and documented data (Stubbs, 1981; Edwards and Westgate, 1994; Rampton, 2007). The detail in the data analysis in this study is in keeping with this methodological principle, which underscores the view that there is no direct relation between talk and interactional, educational and social structures and processes, hence the need to explain to what extent the utterances selected in fact justify the claims made.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, one of the criticisms to conventional ethnographic studies is the absence of theory for doing science (Hammersley, 1993a) or display of a general distrust of theorizing (Robson, 2002). This is linked to the ethnographic ideal of representing the phenomena studied as they are or as they are



understood by the researched. In this study I have tried to go beyond the facts as they are or as they are represented by the participants. The employment of elements of Bourdieu's conceptual framework was the strategy I adopted to achieve this.

## **Chapter 8: The Research Sites: Communities, Schools and Classrooms**

### *Overview*

This chapter describes the research sites, focusing on salient characteristics of the communities, schools and classes in the study.

Both research sites are located in Gaza Province. Although there are groups of speakers of other Bantu languages, Changana and Chope are the only two languages with which the local ethnic groups identify themselves. Chope, with 332,924 native speakers in the country as a whole in 1997 (Firmino, 2000), is also spoken in the Province of Inhambane whereas Changana, with 1,444 187 native speakers (Firmino, 2000), is also spoken in Maputo City and Province of Maputo and also in neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe, where it is known as Tsonga. As mentioned, although there are some differences between the two communities and schools, overall they display similar characteristics. Relevant similarities include those relating to communities' lifestyles as well as school infrastructure and organization. The relative development of Changana (i.e. more researched and more resourced) and the higher number of speakers as compared with Chope can be regarded as some of the salient differences between the two research sites.

This chapter comprises three sections: In Section 8.1, I describe the two research communities in the study, highlighting their socio-economic activities and linguistic profiles. Section 8.2 presents the schools, with particular attention given to their population, infrastructure and resources. Section 8.3 describes the four classes observed in both schools in the study. I describe the physical structure of the classrooms and the resources and I present profiles of the pupils and teachers observed.

## **8.1 The Communities**

### ***8.1.1 The Community of Gwambeni***

The village of Gwambeni is located 65 Km from the City of Xai-Xai, the capital of Gaza Province. Gwambeni relies chiefly on subsistence agriculture, labour migration, and informal trading.

The lack of formal work in the area has, for years, forced men to emigrate and seek work in the cities of Xai-Xai and Maputo and also in South Africa. In fact, working as a miner in South Africa has long been a dream for many local young men, who see it as a way of escaping from absolute poverty. Besides feeding their families, the incentives for working in South Africa traditionally included building a concrete house in the home village, getting a pickup vehicle, a plot of a land, cattle, etc., with the three latter factors taken as a guarantee of subsistence after retirement. No wonder why, in almost every family, there is at least someone who worked or is working in South Africa.

However, unlike the old days, with the international crises of the gold and diamond industry and the competition from the locals and other immigrants from across Africa, nowadays the chances of working as a miner in South Africa are fewer. This has led many to enter the country illegally and do whatever job they find there, including farming. This way of getting to South Africa is known as *kufohla*, that is, ‘jumping the fence’. In fact, many end up on the streets, jobless. Given their illegal status, these immigrants are subject to abuse and exploitation, especially those working in the building industry and in farms in remote areas of the country. The xenophobic riots that took place in South Africa in 2008 were directed against black African immigrants, including Mozambicans. These were allegedly driven by the fact

that these immigrants were ‘stealing’ the jobs of the locals as they were preferred by employers because, unlike the locals, they accepted very low payments.

There are other consequences of emigrating to South Africa: In the southern part of Mozambique, the HIV/AIDS pandemic seems to be particularly affecting emigrants working in South Africa, with many dying in this country or coming back home terminally ill. Indeed, in both sites for my study there were many orphan pupils whose parent(s) were reported to have been victim(s) of AIDS. In many cases, the male parent had been a former emigrant in South Africa. This scenario has been casting a shadow over the traditional ‘promises’ associated with the ‘golden land’, although there are still many nurturing such dreams, including children now at school (see Extracts 70 and 71 in Appendices 8.3).

Farming is done on traditional models - using traditional farming techniques and depending heavily on the fortunes of the weather. Only very few can afford to use a plough pulled by cattle for tilling the land and planting. Maize, cassava and peanuts are the crops mainly grown in the village. They also grow fruits such as mangoes, oranges, mandarins, pineapples and *mafurra* on a small scale. *Mafurra* is an indigenous fruit. It is also used to extract *n’tona*, a very much appreciated, multiple-purpose oil. Besides feeding families, these products are also commercialised, mainly for markets in the cities of Maputo and Xai-Xai. The agricultural work is chiefly developed by women, who usually stay at Gwambeni raising the children while men work in the cities. However, this activity is also done by men, mainly returnees, after years of work in Maputo and/or South Africa. These men are usually the ones who have a few cattle that they use both in their fields and in the fields of those who can afford to pay for the work.

In addition to agriculture and migrant labour movements, informal trading has been growing in the last few years. In the past, the traders from Xai-Xai and Maputo were the ones who came to Gwambeni to buy agricultural products and resell them in these cities. However, there is now a growing number of locals who are also involved in trading, selling the products directly not only in Maputo and Xai-Xai but also in South Africa and bringing mainly finished products from these sites to resell in Gwambeni. The traders include both men and women.

Although many of the traders sell their products from home, there are also those who prefer to do their business in Marumbine, a local market located on the borders of the Main National Road, some 3 Km from the school. This market is the only commercial centre in the village: it comprises a few small permanent stalls and some open stands. Some of these stands have a few rooms which are usually rented to traders, mainly women, who come to get products from Gwambeni and Dahula, the other village across the Main National Road.

Although Gwambeni is a Choje area, it has a considerable Changana influence. This is mainly because it is a kind of a transition zone between Choje and Changana communities. In fact, many members of the community, including children, speak or at least understand Changana. The speakers themselves acknowledge this fact and point to Zavala as where the 'pure' Choje is spoken. Moreover, the fact that many members of the community worked or simply lived in areas of Changana influence such as Xai-Xai, Maputo and South Africa may also contribute to explaining the impact of this language on the Choje spoken in the area. This has been reinforced by the exposure to broadcasting in Changana. Since 1994, the locals have been exposed to some radio programmes in Choje offered by the Provincial Branch

of Rádio Moçambique, the state owned national broadcaster. Before that they could only listen to radio programmes in Changana or Portuguese.

### ***8.1.2 The Community of Bikwani***

The village of Bikwani is located 47 Km from Xai-Xai. Like in Gwambeni, the population of Bikwani relies heavily on subsistence agriculture, labour migration, and informal trading.

The gains from agriculture are even poorer than in Gwambeni, mainly due to the poverty of the soils, aggravated by severe cycles of drought. As themselves say, in spite of hard work, they get very little from agriculture. They produce maize and vegetables, mainly for family consumption.

The unproductive nature of agriculture have led the population to develop other parallel survival strategies such as wood carving, production of charcoal and alcoholic drinks such as *thonthonho*, a home-made brandy mainly distilled from *masala*, a local wild fruit. These activities also involve very young children, who in some cases miss school to perform them. The big market of Maputo City is the main destination of these products.

As in Gwambeni, the lack of formal work locally and the uncertainty associated with agricultural production and other income generating activities have left men with no other alternative than to emigrate and seek work elsewhere, mainly in Maputo and South Africa. This has been so for generations. In effect, Bikwani and other surrounding villages are known as the homeland of *majoni-joni*, a name originally given to people working in South Africa as miners, but nowadays also extended to emigrants doing other sorts of work in this same contry. The dreams of the emigrants are the same as those from the people of Gwambeni: feeding the

families back home, building a concrete house, getting a pickup vehicle, a plot of a land, cattle, etc., again having always at the back of their mind preparation for the future, after retirement.

If traditionally only men had access to South Africa, nowadays women and even children also go and live there. This pattern of migration seems to be more apparent here than in Gwambeni. Women travel to South Africa either as accompanying spouses or as traders, whereas children either live there with their parents or visit them from time to time when on school holidays. This intense contact with South Africa has an impact not only on the life styles of the people of Bikwani but also, and more notably, on their language repertoires (and perhaps language attitudes). Indeed, many not only speak various languages spoken in South African, such as Zulu and Xhosa but also their speech in Changana is full of borrowings from these languages, including the speech of those who have never been to that country.

As in Gwambeni, trading is increasingly becoming one of the major sources of revenue for the locals - men and women. The liberalization of the Mozambican economy, the difficulties in getting a job locally and the risks of working in South Africa as well as the current openness of women to the world outside the home may explain why many people are increasingly turning to trading. Furthermore, trading may be profitable and the returns may be quicker and more visible than those from other activities, in particular agriculture.

As in Gwambeni, whereas some opt for doing business from home, there are also those who prefer to trade in the local market, located at both edges of the main National Road, a few metres from the school. The market comprises a few small market-stalls and selling tables in the open. There are also some small eating houses and informal bars, called *barracas*. The major local marketable products comprise

firewood, charcoal and *thonthonho*. This situation drives the local traders to get fresh and finished products from elsewhere, mainly from Maputo and South Africa. The products brought from outside and traded locally include vegetables, dried and smoked fish, cashew nuts, and construction materials. The targeted clients are not only the locals but also travellers and tourists. For example, tourists are the main targets of the cashew nuts business, which is very popular in the area.

## **8.2 The Schools**

### ***8.2.1 The School at Gwambeni***

The School at Gwambeni is located some 3 Km from the Main National Road. Access to the school is made through a track which links the Main National Road to another track leading to the district headquarters.

The school was founded in 1943 by Father João of the Roman Catholic Church and Domingos Tamele, the first local teacher in the school. In fact, as in many rural schools at the time, when it started, Domingos Tamele was the only teacher in the school. It was first called *Escola Nossa Senhora de Fátima de Gwambeni* and consisted of a single tent, which also served as a venue for indoctrination of the locals. As a missionary school, only catholic children could attend at the time.

As happened with all other so-called non-official schools in the country, this school was nationalised in 1976, on Independence, when it changed its name to *Escola Primária de Gwambeni* and ceased its linkages with the Roman Catholic Church.

In 2007, the school had a total number of 1,147 pupils on roll, 597 boys and 550 girls (Table 1). 758 (396 boys and 362 girls) were at the first level of primary education (grades 1 to 5) and 393 (201 boys and 188 girls) at the second level (grades



6 and 7). The pupils in the bilingual programme were 346 (166 boys and 180 girls), which was about 30.2% of the school population.

Table 1: Numbers of pupils on roll by gender and level of primary education in 2007

	<b>EP1</b>	<b>EP2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male pupils</b>	396	201	597
<b>Female pupils</b>	362	188	550
<b>Total</b>	758	393	1147

These pupils were assisted by a total number of 22 teachers, 11 female teachers and 11 male teachers (Table 2). 14 (6 male teachers and 8 female teachers) taught at the first level of primary education (EP1) and 8 (5 male teachers and 3 female teachers) at the second level (EP2). All teachers at EP2 were trained teachers whereas 7 (50%) of the teachers at EP1 had not received pre-service pedagogical training.

Table 2: Numbers of teachers by gender and level of primary education in 2007

	<b>EP1</b>	<b>EP2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male teachers</b>	6	5	11
<b>Female teachers</b>	8	3	11
<b>Total</b>	14	8	22

At the first level of primary education, the average pupil-teacher ratio was 54:1 whereas at the second level it was 49:1. Note that, given the shortage of teachers, some of them had to do double shifts. The class sizes varied from 42 to 63 pupils, at the first level, and from 42 to 54, at the second level.

In terms of infrastructure, the school comprised two concrete blocks, with two classrooms each and 10 other classrooms made of sticks and covered either by thatch (4) or corrugated zinc (6). The main block had also two small rooms, one serving as the Director's office and the other as the office of the Deputy-Director. There was also a new small concrete building, an attachment to the main block which served as

the administration office. This building had also a small compartment which served as a storeroom.

The two blocks were constructed through an Oxfam funded aid project. The other 10 classrooms had been constructed and maintained by the community members. There was a gendered biased distribution of labour: Men built the classrooms and teachers' houses whereas women plastered the floors using a mixture of sand, sap and water. When necessary, each parent or caretaker contributed with construction materials, which could be sticks, palm fronds, thatch, ropes, sap, water, etc. The zincs and rafters used to cover the rooms were financed by the school itself or donated by the locals, including migrant workers. There were 16 huts where teachers from outside Gwambeni lived, some of them with their families. These huts were also built and maintained by the local community.

### ***8.2.2 The School at Bikwani***

The school precinct starts right at the edge of the Main National Road, though the buildings are some metres in. This makes access to the school very easy.

This school was established in 1936 by Father Maximiano Rafael Baptista of the Roman Catholic Church. It was first called *Escola Santa Margarida de Bikwani*. The building constructed at that time is still in place. Abel Cossa was the first teacher in the school and, like Domingos Tamele of Gwambeni, this was the only teacher in the school at the time. Also, as at Gwambeni, the school also served as a venue for indoctrination sessions and only catholic children could attend it.

As with the school at Gwambeni, this school was nationalised in 1976, ceasing the linkage with the Roman Catholic Church and receiving the name *Escola Primária de Bikwani*.

In 2007, the school had a total number of 1,251 pupils on roll, 614 boys and 637 girls (Table 3). Of these, 751 (380 boys and 371 girls) were at the first level of primary schooling and 500 (234 boys and 266 girls) at the second level. The pupils in the bilingual programme were 197 (109 boys and 88 girls), about 15.8% of the school population.

Table 3: Numbers of pupils on roll by gender and level of primary education

	<b>EP1</b>	<b>EP2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male pupils</b>	380	234	614
<b>Female pupils</b>	371	266	637
<b>Total</b>	751	500	1251

These pupils were assisted by a total number of 23 teachers, 14 female teachers and 9 male teachers (Table 4). 14 (2 male teachers and 12 female teachers) taught at the first level of primary schooling and 9 (7 male teachers and 2 female teachers) at the second level. As at Gwambeni, all teachers at EP2 had received pre-service pedagogical training whereas 6 (42.8%) of the teachers at EP1 were untrained.

Table 4: Numbers of teachers by gender and level of primary education

	<b>EP1</b>	<b>EP2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male teachers</b>	2	7	9
<b>Female teachers</b>	12	2	14
<b>Total</b>	14	9	23

At the first level, the average pupil-teacher ratio was 54:1 whereas at the second level it was 56:1. As at Gwambeni, some teachers had to do double shifts. The class sizes varied from 22 to 66, at the first level, and from 42 to 54, at the second level. Note that the class size of 22 pupils, the size of the only grade 4 bilingual class in the school, has to be considered unusual, considering the minimum number of pupils required to constitute a class in primary schools in Mozambique, which is 35.

In terms of infrastructure, the school had two concrete blocks of buildings. The main block, the one built in 1936, comprised two classrooms, the Director's office, the Deputy-Director's office (serving also as the administration office) and a storeroom. The other block comprised two classrooms. There were also 6 single storey classrooms made of reeds and covered with corrugated zinc, and 6 huts made of reeds and covered with thatch.

Apart from the concrete buildings, the other buildings had been constructed and maintained by the local community. As at Gwambeni, the parents contributed with construction materials such as sticks, reeds and thatch when needed. When I left the school in 2007, there was also a private contractor who was building 4 concrete classrooms and a house for the Director of the school under a government funding scheme. There were 16 huts for teachers, built next to the school. These had also been built and maintained by the community.

### ***8.2.3 Schools in a Context of Orality***

A feature worth mentioning in this description is that both sites studied are immersed in and reproduce communities of practice oriented to orality and the face-to-face exchange of knowledge. There is scarcity of printed texts. Indeed, I found that in both schools there was a little to be classed as official documents. The schools only possessed some basic documents such as curricular plans and organizational documents. Apart from a curricular handbook, which spelled out general guidelines about basic education, there was not any specific reference document about bilingual education philosophy and/or the process of implementing the bilingual programme. All teachers and school boards knew about bilingual education had been mainly acquired orally in training seminars.

The lack of teaching and learning materials in local languages seems to provide additional evidence that orality is the main channel for exchange of knowledge. Indeed, as will emerge throughout the data analysis, when I conducted the fieldwork, teaching and learning in/of Chope and Changana was based primarily on oral exposition by the teachers and texts written on the chalkboards. From grade 1 to 5 there was neither a textbook nor any other printed material available for the pupils in these languages.

There is a general scarcity of printed materials in these languages. In this regard, the situation of Chope is even worse compared to that of Changana. Whereas there are some publications in Changana, including fictional and religious materials, there is almost nothing printed in Chope, not even a bible. I have learnt that, in their services, the local churches in Gwambeni either use the bible written in Changana or the one in Xitswa, even though they preach in Chope. Whereas a few can still manage to access reference materials in Changana, including educational materials produced and used in South Africa, the same is not true of Chope. The imbalance in terms of resources not only gives an indication of the level of development of Chope but also of the place of this language in the Mozambican language ecology. This may explain, at least in part, why Chope speakers are in some way compelled to learn Changana.

I also found that with the popularity of mobile phones, even important information that not long ago was only rendered official when transmitted from the relevant education authorities to the schools via written documents is now disseminated through the phone. In many cases, official written documents only arrive at schools many days or weeks later, following arrangements made by phone, and usually when there is someone who happens to carry such documents to the schools.

The lack of printed resources not only makes the work of the teachers/pupils and administrators at the school hard but it also makes it difficult for a researcher to contrast language use in the school context and official language policies. These circumstances reinforce the importance of using observation and interviewing as key tools for research in these contexts.

### **8.3 The Bilingual Classes Observed**

From this section onwards, I use the labels class 4A and 5A to designate grades 4 and 5 from the school at Gwambeni, and class 4B and 5B to designate their counterparts from the school at Bikwani. That is, the numbers (4 and 5) indicate the grades and the letters (A and B) indicate the schools. Classes 4A and 5A were taught by Mr Gwambe and Mr Muhati, whereas classes 4B and 5B were taught by Ms Constância and Ms Marta, respectively. These details are summarised below.

Table 5: Classes and teachers observed

<b>Class</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Teacher</b>
<b>4A</b>	Gwambeni	Mr Gwambe
<b>5A</b>	Gwambeni	Mr Muhati
<b>4B</b>	Bikwani	Ms Constância
<b>5B</b>	Bikwani	Ms Marta

#### **8.3.1 The Classrooms**

All four classes were located in poor classrooms. The only exception was class 4A: their classroom consisted of a single storey building covered with corrugated zinc; each pupil had a desk and a chair. The other three groups had lessons in huts covered by thatch and the pupils set on the ground and wrote on their laps. None of the four classrooms had doors or windows. Daylight and air penetrated through the entrances and the transparent walls made of sticks and/or reeds.

With regard to furniture in the classrooms, classroom 4A was again unique. In addition to pupils' desks and chairs, this classroom also had a teacher's table and chair placed at the front of the room and two small chalkboards bound to the wall. In contrast, inside classroom 5A there were only a teacher table and chair and two small chalkboards. The situation in Bikwani was even worse as in both classrooms in the study there were only a small chalkboard and a teacher's chair. The chalkboards in classes 5B and 4B were so small that when there was a need for the pupils to copy long texts from the board teachers found their work even more challenging. For example, on various occasions in class 5B, Ms Marta had to ask pupils to bring an additional mobile chalkboard from the storeroom or other classroom and very often class time elapsed while pupils were still struggling to copy what she had written on the boards.

With the exception of class 4B, which had very few pupils (22), all other classrooms were very small considering the numbers of pupils on roll. In classes 5A and 5B pupils sat very close to each other and usually in an unordered way. This made it difficult for the teachers to move around the classrooms – in some cases they had to jump over pupils in order to assist others in less accessible spots of the classroom. In contrast, in class 4A, the pupils' desks were arranged in three blocks of parallel rows. In summary, the physical arrangement in all classrooms followed a platform format, in which the teacher stood in front of the class and transmitted information to the pupils. In fact, with the exception of reading sections in class 5B, during all my fieldwork experience I did not see pupils engaging in group work.

### 8.3.2 The Pupils

As can be seen from Tables 6 and 7 below, the numbers of pupils on roll in the classes observed ranged from 22 to 62, with the two classes from Gwambeni exhibiting more pupils (105 in total) than those from Bikwani (55 in total).

Table 6: Pupils on roll at Gwambeni

<b>Class</b>	<b>Number of Male pupils on roll</b>	<b>Number of Female pupils on roll</b>	<b>Total</b>
5A	28	34	62
4A	27	16	43
Total	55 (52.3%)	50 (47.7%)	105

Table 7: Pupils on roll at Bikwani

<b>Class</b>	<b>Number of Male pupils on roll</b>	<b>Number of Female pupils on roll</b>	<b>Total</b>
5B	22	11	33
4B	13	9	22
Total	35 (63.6%)	20 (36.4%)	55

There were two sets of reasons for this disparity: differences in terms of the overall number of pupils initially enrolled and pupil losses (pupils' drop outs and failure) in both sites. First, when the bilingual programme was introduced in these schools in 2003, two classes of 46 and 47 pupils each were formed at Gwambeni, whereas at Bikwani only one class with 50 pupils was formed. Second, although pupil losses had been quite high in both schools, Bikwani appears to have been slightly more affected than Gwambeni. For example, regarding the pupils enrolled in 2003, from a total number of 93 pupils from Gwambeni, only 62 (68%) were at grade 5 in 2007, which represented a loss of (32%). In contrast, from a total number of 50 pupils enrolled in 2003 in Bikwani, only 33 (64.7%) were at grade 5, a loss accounting for 34.3%. As a consequence, when I returned to the school of Bikwani in 2008, I found that they did not have a grade 6 bilingual class as there were only about 13 pupils on roll. The school had been instructed by the District Directorate to distribute these pupils among



the grade 6 monolingual classes, thus cutting short their exposure to the bilingual programme.

The high rates of pupil loss in both schools are worrying, particularly if one of the policy drivers for the introduction of a mother tongue based bilingual education in Mozambique has been to counteract the high drop out and failure rates associated with the traditional monolingual programme in Portuguese.

As shown in the tables above, whereas at Gwambeni there was a relative balance in terms of overall gender rates, at Bikwani there were far more boys (63.6%) on roll than girls (36.4%). However, when the classes observed are taken individually, the gender imbalance becomes apparent in all four cases.

The data on the ages of the pupils in the classes observed shows remarkable similarities. In both schools, the ages of the pupils at grade 5 ranged from 10 to 13 years, with an average age of 10.6 years. The ages of grade 4 pupils ranged from 9 to 13 years, though there were also two boys over 13, one from each school. One boy (Tony) from 4A was 15 years old whereas the other boy (Elísio) from 4B was 14. Curiously, when I returned to the sites in 2008, I found that both boys had dropped out and apparently for the same reason – they both alleged that did not feel comfortable to study with younger peers. The average age at grade 4 was 10.2 years in both schools. In both schools and grades there were no significant differences in terms of pupils' age by gender.

All 105 pupils from Gwambeni reported that Chope was their first language. Fifty three (96.6%) out of 55 pupils from Bikwani reported that Changana was their first language. Ninety four pupils (89.5%) from Gwambeni reported that they spoke Chope at home, whereas 11 (10.5%) said that they spoke both Chope and Changana. In fact, during the interviews with the pupils from Gwambeni, I understood that

almost every child could speak or at least understood Changana. All pupils from Bikwani reported to speak Changana at home.

Regarding parents language profiles, 82% of the pupils from Gwambeni said that their mothers' first language was Chope and 16% reported to be Changana, whereas 81% of the pupils' fathers were reported to have Chope as their first language and 9.5% Changana; In contrast, all 55 pupils from Bikwani reported that Changana was their mothers' first language and 92.7% said that this was also the first language of their fathers.

Pupils' and parents' language profiles give an indication of the continuity between the language that pupils used at home and the language they used in their first years of schooling in the bilingual programme. The substantial number of Changana parents in Gwambeni (where Chope is the language used in the bilingual programme) and the use of this language by some of the pupils at home confirm the strong influence exercised by this language in this Chope dominated area.

In terms of use of Portuguese, with the exception of 8 pupils from class 5A, all pupils from the classes observed reported that they did not speak any Portuguese before entering school. All grade 4 pupils from both schools reported that they did not speak Portuguese at home, whereas 23 (30%) from class 5A and 5 (9%) from 5B said that they spoke Portuguese at home, most of them with their parents and/or siblings. This data confirms how, in rural Mozambique, Portuguese is, at most, a language only used in the classroom. Pupils are not exposed to Portuguese in rural Mozambique outside the classroom/school setting. In fact, most of the grade 5 pupils who reported 'speaking' Portuguese at home said that they did so when their parents and/or elder siblings helped them to do their home-work.

Most pupils from both schools reported living with both parents (58% at Gwambeni and 40% at Bikwani) or only with their mothers (18% at Gwambeni and 41.8% at Bikwani). But there were also a substantial number living with their grandparents (19% at Gwambeni and 16.3% at Bikwani). Migratory work, split marriages and death of one or both parents are some of the reasons associated with the low numbers of pupils living with both parents.

Regarding parents' occupations, the data confirms the primary reliance on local farming and mining in South Africa in both research sites. Indeed, at Gwambeni 29.5 and 23.8% of the pupils reported that their fathers were peasants and miners, respectively. While 84.7% reported that their mothers were peasants. At Bikwani, 16.4 and 40% of the pupils' fathers were reported to be peasants and miners, respectively. Whereas 94.5% of the mothers were reported to be peasants. A salient feature of both sites was that most of the households relied exclusively on agriculture: 43% of the pupils from Gwambeni and 45% pupils from Bikwani reported that both parents or their mothers were peasants. Other occupations for men reported by the pupils included car driving, building, carpentry, nursing and informal trading. As can be seen, migrant labour movements to South African was more dominant in Bikwani than in Gwambeni; at both sites, women were primarily peasants; whereas at Gwambeni there was a balance between the rates of men working as farmers and those working as miners, at Bikwani there were clearly more men miners than peasants. Taking into account the poor outcomes from farming in both settings and the current insecurity in the mining industry, this data gives an indication of the high level of poverty faced by the communities in the study. The lack of occupational diversity in both sites may explain why, in my interviews with the pupils, most of them pointed to mining and farming as the occupations they aspired to, the

occupations of their close relatives, which may be a result of absence or lack of access to alternative role models (see Extracts 68 and 70-72 in Appendices 8.3).

### 8.3.3 *The Teachers*

Table 8 below shows the profiles of the four teachers observed in both schools in the study. The first two teachers in the table are from Gwambeni whereas the last two are from Bikwani. A general picture of the teachers in the bilingual programme in both schools is provided in Tables 11-12, Appendices 4.

Table 8: teachers observed in Gwambeni and Bikwani

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>First language</b>	<b>Training (general + teacher training)</b>	<b>Teaching experience (years)</b>	<b>Bilingual education experience (years)</b>	<b>Grade taught</b>
Pedro Muhati	M	Chope	6 <sup>a</sup> + 3	25	5	5
Alberto Gwambe	M	Chope	9 <sup>a</sup> + 2	29	4	4
Marta Mucavele	F	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	11	2	5
Constância Langa	F	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	5	4	4

All four teachers observed were native speakers of the local languages used at the corresponding schools. In addition to their first language (Chope), both teachers from Gwambeni were fluent speakers of Changana. Although, compared with the teachers from Bikwani, Mr Muhati and Mr Gwambe had had fewer years of formal education (6 and 9, respectively), they were qualified teachers – they had had 3 and 2 years of pedagogical training, respectively. In contrast, neither of the teachers from Bikwani had received any formal pre-service pedagogical training, which is a common feature in Mozambican schools (according to MEC (2007), 46.1% of the teachers at EP1 in Gaza Province had not received pedagogical training in 2007). Moreover, both teachers from Gwambeni were far more experienced than those from Bikwani. As

with all teachers in the bilingual programme, all four teachers observed had received some in-service training in order to be able to teach in this programme.

It is worth mentioning here that three out of the four teachers observed (Mr Muhati, Mr Gwambe, and Ms Constância) had been teaching the same classes from grade 1, whereas Ms Marta had taken up the teaching of her class from grade 3.

## **Chapter 9: Bilingual Education and Pedagogy**

‘The context-specific view [of cognitive skills and abilities] proposes that intelligence display and language use are dependant on the context.’  
(Mehan, 1984, p.177)

### ***Overview***

This chapter discusses the educational value of bilingual education in Gwambeni and Bikwani. The argument put forward in this chapter is that, although bilingual education is contributing to the transformation of some traditional education practices in the sites studied, its potential is still not fully explored.

The chapter comprises two main sections. Section 9.1 presents some of the key features of interaction and pedagogy observed in the classrooms in the study. More specifically, I contrast interactional and pedagogical practices in L1 and L2 classroom contexts, considering both classroom routines and participants’ accounts. Section 9.2 discusses the features presented in the previous section, taking into account aspects of policy, theory and practice of bilingual education.

### **9.1 Interactional and Pedagogical Practices in the Classrooms at Gwambeni and Bikwani**

Assessments of the first years of the implementation of the bilingual programme and evidence from my fieldwork suggest that the use of local languages in education is providing an environment which is conducive to learning: the quality of classroom interactions, an important prerequisite for pupils’ learning, has been enhanced. However, although this learning environment is manifested in L1 and L1-medium subject classes, the same cannot be said about Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes, where the communication flow is problematic.

I will argue that despite the potential of bilingual education for transforming educational practices, thus enhancing the quality of education, this potential is still not fully realised in Mozambican schools, mainly because crucial preconditions are still to be fulfilled. The quality of teaching and learning is being constrained by, among others, the lack of reference resources, the reliance on untrained and poorly trained teachers and, consequently, the use of inappropriate teaching practices.

### ***9.1.1 Features of Interaction and Pedagogy in L1 and L1-Medium Subject Classes***

The nature of the interaction between teachers and pupils and among pupils themselves is one of the barometers that can be used to gauge the quality of the teaching and learning environment in a classroom. In L1 and L1-medium subject classes the quality of interactions can be regarded as supportive to pupils' learning.

#### ***9.1.1.1 Pupils' Exuberant Participation***

In L1 and L1-medium subject classes, pupils felt at ease, participated in class and were visibly motivated to learn. They not only replied to the questions asked by the teacher, but, when the opportunities arose, also took the initiative to make conversational moves in whole-class exchanges (see also Extracts 5 and 6 in Appendices 6.1).

The following extract was taken from a grade 5 Chope lesson on the degree of adjectives (*'mapimo ya sikombazumbelo'*). The objective of the lesson was to introduce the notions and Chope words used to rate the degree of adjectives: *'tshukwana'* and *'kufananisela'*, the equivalent to the notions 'normal' and 'comparative'. The aim of this initial part of the lesson was to revise the notion of adjective presented in previous lessons: pupils were required to identify adjectives

from sentences provided by the teacher and also produce their own sentences using adjectives.

Extract 1: A grade 5 Chope lesson on ‘degree of adjectives’ (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 17/9/07)

1	Mr M:	i mani angawumbako cigava	Mr M:	who can produce another sentence
2		cimwanyani cidi ni cikombazumbelo?		containing an adjective?
3		emmm i mani angathumisako yo		ummm who can use that same table
4		meza yile futshi,		again but using a word other than
5		mas asithumisi kutshura		the adjective beautiful, since each
6		porque mazumbela ya comaha maan-		thing has ma- many different
7		matate		characteristics
8	Farida:	ngani, ngani ((não deixa o professor	Farida:	it’s me, it’s me ((she doesn’t let the
9		acabar de falar))		teacher finish his utterance))
10	Mr M:	mitipfisisile?	Mr M:	did you understand?
11	Ss:	ngani ((vários alunos falam ao mesmo	Ss:	it’s me ((many pupils speak at the
12		tempo, a pedir a vez e com as mãos no		same time, bidding for a turn and
13		ar))		with their hands up))
14	Ss:	sou ((alguns pedem a vez em	Ss:	it’s me ((some bid for the turn in
15		Português))		Portuguese))
16	Mr M:	((para a desilusão de muitos outros,	Mr M:	((he points to Lito, perhaps because
17		aponta para o Lito, se calhar porque		he hadn’t spoken yet, which makes
18		ainda não tinha falado))		many others feel frustrated))
19	Lito:	meza yiku ni makhona ((fala muito	Lito:	the table has sides ((he speaks
20		baixo))		in a very low voice))
21	Mr M:	hem? ((mostra não ter percebido o que	Mr M:	what? ((he shows that he didn’t
22		o aluno disse))		understand what the pupil said))
23	Lito:	meza yi ni makhona	Lito:	the table has sides
24	Mr M:	yi ni makhona ((com um tom que	Mr M:	it has sides ((he says in a voice
25		mostra insatisfação, mas sem reprovar		indicating that he is not happy, but
26		a resposta))		without disqualifying the answer))
27		emm cikombazumbelo cingava cidi		umm is there any adjective in that
28		kona aho? atoyiwomba mazumbelo ya		sentence? he has characterized the
29		yona mas emm... ngu ti- ngu nzila		table but umm... in a di- different
30		yimwanyani. mas hitilava ku didi		way. but we wanted that sentence
31		dipswi dadimwedo diya dikombako		to have one word expressing a
32		eeh mazumbelo ya.. ya yona		characteristic of... of it
33		emm hingawomba ((aponta para uma		umm you, say a sentence ((he
34		aluna))		points to a girl))
35	S:	meza yiya ... ((de pé, muito baixinho))	S:	that table... ((standing, in a very
36				low voice))
37	Mr M:	wombawomba nitipfa ((o professor	Mr M:	speak so as I can hear ((the teacher
38		interrompe))		interrupts the pupil))
39		ni co cicopi miwombawombi tipfala?		why can’t you even speak out loud
40		((no seu discurso está subjacente uma		in Chope? ((in his speech there’s
41		comparação com a participação dos		implicit comparison with the
42		alunos nas aulas de Português))		pupils’ participation in Portuguese
43				lessons))
44	S:	meza ayiya yikomile	S:	that table is short
45	Mr M:	meza yiya yikomile	Mr M:	that table is short
46		ngu tonto uwombako?		is that what you are saying?
47	S:	imm	S:	yes
48	Mr M:	emm ka cigava ci angawomba...	Mr M:	umm in his utterance...
49		hingawomba awe Mércia,		it is for you Mércia to respond,



50	ngu cihhi cikombazumbelo?	which is the adjective?
51	ngu cihhi cikombazumbelo?	which is the adjective?
52	Mércia: ((silêncio))	Mércia: ((silence))
53	Mr M: him? meza yiya yikomile.	Mr M: what is it? that table is short.
54	ngu ti angawomba wule.	that is what that one has said.
55	nikombe ngu di- dihi ka ka cigava	show me whi- which word
56	dikombako zumbelo	qualifies the table in that sentence
57	Mércia: yikomile ((baixinho))	Mércia: [it is] short ((in a low voice))
58	Mr M: aah yikomile	Mr M: umhum [it is] short
59	ma- ma- mamupfisisa to ditshuri?	do you understand that she is right?
60	Ss: imm	Ss: yes

As illustrated in this extract, pupils were eager to participate in class. They volunteered themselves to respond, in some cases anticipating their teacher's call for participation (lines 8-9). The bid for the turn was so competitive that the teacher often had to find ways of managing turn allocation fairly, for example, by spotting the less exuberant or less vocal pupils (lines 16-18). Moreover, although in a few of the cases above, pupils' utterances comprised single words or phrases, there were also cases in which they produced complete and accurate sentences (lines 19, 23 and 44). These sentences were produced by the pupils' themselves, using their own ideas and words, which provides evidence of their creativity in language use. In addition, the teacher also engaged the pupils with a linguistic analysis of the sentences, specifically by asking them to identify adjectives in the sentences produced (lines 48-57).

#### 9.1.1.2 Pupils Challenging Teachers' Expertise

Pupils could temporarily challenge their teachers' epistemic authority in whole-class exchanges.

In the following episode, Mr Muhati attempted to introduce the notion of '*tshukwana*'/'normal' in the classification of adjectives. To help his pupils grasp this notion, Mr Muhati used the word '*kutshukwala*'/'to be better' in a context where it described someone in a '*better* or *normal* health condition'. Some pupils disagreed with the Choqe variety used by their teacher.

Extract 2: A grade 5 Chope lesson on ‘degree of adjectives’ (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 17/9/07)

1	Mr M:	ahigondeni ((aponta para a frase escrita no quadro))	Mr M:	let’s read ((he points to the sentence on the chalkboard))
2				
3	Ss:	meza yahombe	Ss:	big table
4	Mr M:	meza^	Mr M:	big^
5	Ss:	yahombe	Ss:	table
6	Mr M:	ngu cih cikombazumbelo?	Mr M:	which is the adjective here?
7	Ss:	yahombe	Ss:	big
8	Mr M:	naha- nahabhala ndenda para kukomba cikombazumbelo ((sublinha a palavra ‘yahombe’))	Mr M:	let me un- underline it in order to highlight the adjective ((he underlines the word ‘big’))
9				
10				
11		yahombe		big
12		mitipfisisile?		did you get it?
13	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
14	Mr M:	mi ni na nani?	Mr M:	are you with me?
15	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
16	Mr M:	emm ngu wuhi mpimu wa cikombazumelo uwa?	Mr M:	umm what is the degree of that adjective there?
17				
18	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
19	Mr M:	i^...	Mr M:	it is^...
20	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
21	Mr M:	vagondi, nila kumiwotisa tomaha ((pensa numa forma de ajudar os alunos a chegarem à noção de grau ‘normal’ dos adjetivos))	Mr M:	pupils, I want to ask you something ((he thinks of a way to help pupils to get to the notion of ‘normal’ in the classification of adjectives, as opposed to superlative and comparative, for example))
22				
23				
24		loko... udi ni xaka daku nadilwala ((fala devagar))		when... you have a relative who is sick ((he speaks slowly))
25				
26		u ya uyadipfuxela uyadimana dici... ((fala devagar))		you go to visit him/her and he/she says... in diale- in Changana it is said <i>kuyampsa</i> ‘to improve’ eeh and s/he says... we say that /ja□□uk□ala/ ‘s/he is feeling better’ or we say /jats□uk□ala/ ‘s/he is feeling better’
27				
28		ngu cila- ngu cichangana va ngu kuyampsa		
29				
30		eeh se dici phimbu <b>yachukwala</b>		
31		/ja□□uk□ala/		
32		kumbe hi <b>yatshukwala</b> /jats□uk□ala/		
33				
34				
35				
36				
37	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	[ <b>yatshukwala</b> ]	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	[ <b>yatshukwala</b> ]
38	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	[ <b>yachukwala</b> ((alguns dizem <b>yatshukwala</b> ao passo que outros dizem <b>yachukwala</b> ))]	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	[ <b>yachukwala</b> ((some say <b>yatshukwala</b> whereas others say <b>yachukwala</b> ))]
39				
40				
41	Mr M:	him?	Mr M:	what?
42	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	[ <b>yatshukwala</b> ]	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	[ <b>yatshukwala</b> ]
43	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	[ <b>yachukwala</b> ]	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	[ <b>yachukwala</b> ]
44	Mr M:	<b>yatshukwala</b>	Mr M:	<b>yatshukwala</b>
45	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	<b>yachukwala</b>	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	<b>yachukwala</b>
46	Mr M:	<b>yatshukwala</b> hinga tona?	Mr M:	<b>yatshukwala</b> isn’t it?
47	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	im ((poucos alunos concordam))	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	yes ((some pupils agree))
48	Mr M:	i <b>tshuko</b>	Mr M:	he/she is <b>tshuko</b> ‘feels better’
49	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	im ((poucos alunos parecem concordar com o professor, principalmente as meninas é que parecem defender a versão ‘ <b>chuko</b> ’, a Neta e Mércia lideram esta ala))	Ss <sub>1</sub> :	yes ((only a few pupils seem to agree with the teacher, girls seem to be the ones who mainly defend the form ‘ <b>chuko</b> ’, Neta e Mércia lead this wing))
50				
51				
52				
53				
54	Mr M:	hinga <b>chuko</b>	Mr M:	we don’t say <b>chuko</b>
55	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chuko</b> ((os grupos divergem agora de forma mais clara, alternando na vez em jeito de confrontação))	Ss <sub>2</sub> :	he/she is <b>chuko</b> ((the divergence between the groups is now made more apparent, they alternate the
56				
57				

58			turns in a confrontational way))
59	SS <sub>1</sub> :	i <b>tshuko</b>	SS <sub>1</sub> : he/she is <b>tshuko</b>
60	SS <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chuko</b>	SS <sub>2</sub> : he/she is <b>chuko</b>
61	SS <sub>1</sub> :	i <b>tshuko</b>	SS <sub>1</sub> : he/she is <b>tshuko</b>
62	SS <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chuko</b>	SS <sub>2</sub> : he/she is <b>chuko</b>
63	Mr M:	pronto, i <b>tshukwana</b> hingatona?	Mr M: so, it's <b>tshukwana</b> , isn't it? ((he
64		((parece impor a sua posição inicial))	seems to impose his initial
65			position))
66	SS <sub>1</sub> :	ya ((um grupo concorda com o	SS <sub>1</sub> : yes ((a group of pupils agree with
67		professor))	the teacher))
68	SS <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chukwana</b> ((insiste o outro grupo))	SS <sub>2</sub> : he/she is <b>chukwana</b> ((the other
69			group insists on its stance))
70	Mr M:	mini nani?	Mr M: are you with me?
71	SS <sub>1</sub> :	im	SS <sub>1</sub> : yes
72	SS <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chuko</b>	SS <sub>2</sub> : he/she is <b>chuko</b>
73	Mr M:	ahiwuyeni ka cigondo	Mr M: let's get back to the lesson
74	SS <sub>2</sub> :	i <b>chukwana</b>	SS <sub>2</sub> : he/she is <b>chukwana</b>

In this episode, whereas there was a group of pupils (S<sub>s1</sub>) who legitimated the form *kutshukwala/tshuko/kuts□uk□ala//ts□uko/*, favoured by their teacher, there was another group of pupils (S<sub>s2</sub>) who contested this form, opting for the form *kuchukwala/chuko /ku□□uk□ala/□□uko/* instead. The discussion reached such a deadlock that, in order to regain control of the class and get back to the subject of the lesson, the teacher literally imposed his position (line 63), though the opposing group remained stubborn and defiant (lines 68, 72 and 74). Note, however, that at any moment Mr Muhati or his pupils attempted to justify their options. In fact, I observed that only on rare occasions did Mr Muhati and other teachers ask why-questions or those open to different acceptable responses. Most of the questions asked were what-/which-questions, as can be seen from extracts 1 and 2.

The episode above can be used as an example of how pupils could challenge the teacher-as-expert tenet of traditional education. Indeed, as he himself recognised in the debriefing session reported in extract 3, Mr Muhati was not sure about the form that should be legitimately used in the classroom (lines 52-55). His uncertainty was made more apparent when he sought his wife's clarification (lines 56-81), just to find that both forms at stake were used as alternatives in their community (lines 79-81).

Extract 3: Debriefing session with Mr Muhati (EPC-Gwambeni, 15/8/08)

1	F:	a dado passo nesta aula	F:	at a certain moment in this lesson
2		levanta-se uma discussão em termos		there is a discussion revolving...
3		de... em torno das palavras		around the words <i>ku</i> -...
4		<i>ku</i> -... <i>kuchukwala</i> /ku□□uk□ala/ e		/ku□□uk□ala/ and /kuts□uk□ala/
5		<i>kutshukwala</i> /kuts□uk□ala/		'to improve/ be in a stable
6		há uma discussão muito forte aqui...		condition'
7		[[risos]]		there is a heated debate here...
8		[[risos]]		[[laughing]]
9	Mr M:	até eu sorri sozinho ((diz ainda a rir))	Mr M:	[[laughing]]
10				I even laughed while on my own
11		quando viu [...]		((he says, still laughing))
12	F:	[quando eu estava a fazer	F:	when you saw [...]
13	Mr M:	o trabalho no Maputo ((em alusão à	Mr M:	[when I was doing
14		sua análise prévia dos excertos		the work in Maputo ((in reference
15		discutidos na sessão de feedback))		to his previous analysis of the
16		até.. até perguntavam: 'mas está a rir		excerpts we discussed during the
17		o quê? esse trabalho que você está a		feedback session)) even... they
18		fazer ali...'		even asked 'what are you laughing
19				at? the work that you are doing
20	F:	emhem	F:	there...'
21	Mr M:	eu está bom... só dá isto mesmo	Mr M:	umm
22		só dá rir ((risos))		I said ok... this is what it leads to
23	F:	((risos))	F:	it makes you laugh ((laughing))
24	Mr M:	só dá rir	Mr M:	((laughing))
25	F:	então que comentários faz disso aí?	F:	it makes you laugh
26				so, what are your comments about
27	Mr M:	emm eu até fiz uma mensagem	Mr M:	that?
28		para o Rogério ((Rogério é um		I even sent a message to Rogério
29		colega falante da variante chope de		((Rogério is a college, a speaker of
30		Zavala)) ontem...		the variety of Chope spoken in
31		a pedir que ele me desse um subsídio		Zavala)) yesterday...
32	F:	im	F:	asking some insights from him
33	Mr M:	do seu variante	Mr M:	yeah
34	F:	imhim	F:	from his variety
35	Mr M:	só que ele não me respondeu	Mr M:	yeah
36	F:	ya	F:	but unfortunately he didn't answer
37	Mr M:	aqui... as crianças discutiam porque...	Mr M:	yeah
38		cada um defende a sua produ-...		here... the children quarrelled
39		defendia a sua pronúncia,		because... each supports his produ-
40		como diz a palavra.		... was supporting his
41		mas de uma forma geral as du- os		pronunciation, the way he/she says
42		dois termos são usados		the word. but in general bo- both
43	F:	imhim	F:	forms are used
44	Mr M:	aqui no nosso chope	Mr M:	ok
45		há quem diz /kuts□uk□ala/,		in our Chope here
46		há quem diz /ku□□uk□ala/		there are those who say
47	F:	im	F:	/kuts□uk□ala/, there are those
48	Mr M:	agora... mesmo eu quando disse que	Mr M:	who say /ku□□uk□ala/
49		ah não o que estava certo era aquilo...		yeah
50		era <i>kuchukwala</i> ora <i>kutshukwala</i> ...		now... even myself when I said
51		pronto...		that well that was what was
52		eu não estava certo em nenhuma		right... it was <i>kuchukwala</i> or
53		parte porque... afinal de conta tudo...		<i>kutshukwala</i> ... well...
54		quando fiz a análise com tempo,		I wasn't sure about any of those
55		eu pude ver que... tudo é usual		because... in fact both... when I

56		até há pouco tempo conversei com a		analysed it carefully, I could see
57		minha senhora		that... both forms are common
58				a short while ago I even spoke to
59	F:	ok	F:	my wife
60	Mr M:	eu perguntei a ela assim	Mr M:	ok
61		“emm imagine que você quer visitar		I asked her like this
62		alguém que esteja doente		“umm imagine that you want to
63		e encontra lá em estado melhor		visit someone who is sick and find
64		como é que você pode dizer... dar o a		that person in a stable condition
65		a notícia..?”		how would you report... give the
66	F:	imhim	F:	news...?”
67	Mr M:	ela diz	Mr M:	yeah
68		“ha nitiyamumana... ninga kene		she said
69		nitiyamumana <i>acichukwala</i> ”		“well, I found him/her... I would
70				say I found him/her <i>acichukwala</i>
71	F:	imm	F:	/‘ in a better/stable condition”
72	Mr M:	então é <i>kuchukwala</i>	Mr M:	ok
73	F:	imhim	F:	therefore it is <i>kuchukwala</i>
74	Mr M:	e eu pergunto de novo	Mr M:	ok
75		“não pode dizer		and I asked further
76		nitiyamumana a-... <i>acitshukwala</i> ?”		“can’t you say I found him/her a-
77	F:	imm	F:	... <i>acitshukwala</i> ?”
78	Mr M:	é quando ela diz que	Mr M:	yeah
79		“não, os dois termos são usados.		then she said that
80		posso dizer <i>kutshukwa</i> -...		“well, both forms are used. I can
81		<i>kutshukwala</i> como <i>kuchukwala</i> ”		either say <i>kutshukwa</i> -... <i>kutshukwala</i> or <i>kuchukwala</i> ”

This suggests that, by imposing the form *kutshukwala/tshuko*, Mr Muhati wanted to avoid losing face before his pupils and, at the same time, reassert his authority in the classroom. In addition, Mr Muhati’s attitude also confirms the observation that even when teachers hand over the mantle of expert such ‘empowering of pupils is... not all-or-nothing but temporary and provisional’ (Edwards, 1992, p.240). Indeed, when Mr Muhati found it appropriate to do so, he reclaimed the floor, imposed what he considered to be the correct answer and redirected the course of the lesson.

The ease with which pupils communicated in L1 and L1-medium subject classes as well as their capacity to temporarily challenge teachers’ authority was not only observable in the classroom but also acknowledged by teachers and other educational actors. The following vignette illustrates this point:

Extract 4: Field notes (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/07)

1	é hora de intervalo. estou à sombra de uma	it's break time. I am under the shade of a mango
2	mangueira com cerca de 6 professores.	tree together with about 6 teachers. we are
3	estamos a conversar sobre a natureza dos	talking about the characteristics of the pupils in
4	alunos bilingues. todos são unânimes em	the bilingual programme. all are unanimous in
5	afirmar que, diferente dos alunos do programa	saying that, unlike the pupils in the
6	monolingue, os alunos do programa bilingue	monolingual programme, those in the bilingual
7	não têm papas na língua. a dado passo a	programme are outspoken. at certain moments
8	professora Carla diz	Ms Carla says
9	“estes de bilingue estes	“these (pupils) from the bilingual (programme)
10	FALAM MUITO.	do SPEAK A LOT.
11	se não estás preparado, podem te envergonhar	if you are not prepared (for the lessons), they
12	eles não têm medo.	can make you feel ashamed.
13	eh, quando uma coisa não está certa	they are fearless.
14	eles dizem mesmo ‘nga tona mugondisi’”	oh, when something is not correct,
15	((risos, rimo-nos todos))	they openly say : ‘teacher, that is not correct’”
16		((laughter, we all laugh))
17	corroborando com a professora Carla, o	adding to Ms Carla’s account, Mr Neto reports
18	professor Neto conta como um dia ficou	how, one day, he was surprised to hear a pupil,
19	surpreendido ao ouvir um seu aluno,	a “very tiny” one, as he said, “explaining
20	“pequenino”, como ele diz, “a explicar sem	unashamedly” how to use a condom... “he
21	vergonha” como se usa o preservativo e por	explained very well that that was to prevent
22	que se deve usar o preservativo... “ele	HIV/AIDS”...
23	explicou bem que era para prevenir	
24	HIV/SIDA”...	

In this extract, Ms Carla pointed that pupils in the bilingual programme not only ‘speak a lot’, which in this case means being talkative (line 10), but also challenge teachers’ expertise (lines 13-14). In Ms Carla’s account it is implied that pupils’ propensity to challenge their teachers makes them prepare their lessons very well (line 11). Otherwise, she suggests, teachers may not be able to respond to pupils’ queries or can even expose themselves to pupils’ corrections, which may make them lose face ‘publicly’. Although she did not make this explicit in her account, she was referring to classes which are conducted in pupils’ L1. Corroborating with Ms Carla, Mr Neto also reported how, using their first languages, pupils’ could provide detailed and accurate explanations of complex phenomena such as how to use a condom and its function in HIV/AIDS prevention.

### 9.1.1.3 Pupils' Participation in L1 Contexts Taken as Given

The teachers' expectations of pupils' responsiveness in L1 contexts were so high that they did not even tolerate instances where pupils remained temporarily silent or were less confident to speak. This can be illustrated by Mr Muhati's positioning in extract 1, lines 37-39: '*wombawomba nitipfa/ni co cicopi miwombawombi tipfala*'/'speak so as I can hear/why can't you even speak out loud in Chope?' As this excerpt shows, from Mr Muhati's point of view, there is no reason why pupils should speak with little confidence in a Chope lesson, given that this is their language. His positioning was made more apparent in the debriefing session (lines 10-19, in the extract below), when I asked him to comment on his approach to this issue, based on transcripts of the lesson from which extracts 1 and 2 have been taken.

#### Extract 5: Debriefing session with Mr Muhati (EPC-Gwambeni, 15/8/08)

1	F:	sim, nesta aula aqui	F:	well, in this lesson here I notice
2		vejo que há passagens em que		that there are moments in which
3		o professor emm de certo modo...		you umm in some way you... you
4		o professor não tolera que nestas		do not tolerate lack of
5		aulas... em chope alguns alunos não		participation by some pupils in
6		participem...		these lessons... in Chope...
7	Mr M:	im	Mr M:	yes
8	F:	qual é o comentário [que...	F:	what is your comment [on...
9	Mr M:	[imm ya	Mr M:	[yes, ok
10		em con- em condições normais		under normal circum-
11		não não há nenhuma razão de os		circumstances there is no reason
12		alunos não participarem numa aula		for the pupils not to participate in
13		da L1		a lesson in L1
14	F:	im	F:	ok
15	Mr M:	imm porque... é uma língua que eles	Mr M:	yes, because... that is the
16		dominam		language that they master
17		falam desde casa		they speak it at home
18		entendem aquilo que o professor...		they understand what the teacher.
19		aquilo que é exigência do professor.		what teacher's demands are.
20		ya caso o professor tenha formulado		yeah in situations where the
21		mal a pergunta		teacher doesn't put a question
22		o professor pode pode notar.		properly, s/he can can notice that.
23		pode-se pode-se aperceber e ainda		s/he can can notice and still
24		mudar e a criança entende.		change and a child will
25		por isso, não não há razão de haver		understand. so, there is no no
26		monotonia nes- neste tipo de aulas		reason for monotony in in this
27		porque... ENTENDEM.		type of lesson because... THEY
28		entendem.		UNDERSTAND. they understand.
29		agora... quando isso acontece		now... when this happens
30		para mim... eh eh os alunos		for me... umm the pupils show

31		demonstram a preguiça mental.		mental laziness.
32	F:	im	F:	ok
33	Mr M:	por isso que	Mr M:	because of that,
34		eu sempre tenho insistido		I have always insisted that
35		não há razão de de manterem-se em		there is no reason for for keeping
36		si- em silêncio		qui- quiet in a lesson in Choje
37		numa aula de choje		because it has to do with things
38		porque trata-se de coisas que nós		that we have learnt.
39		aprendemos.		
40		bom, se tratar de um assunto... talvez		well, if it is about an issue...
41		muito novo para as crianças, até aí		perhaps a very new one for the
42		pode haver talvez um... uma razão		children, then in that case there
43				may be a... a justification
44	F:	imhim	F:	ok
45	Mr M:	mas tratando-se de uma aula	Mr M:	but being a ordinary lesson...
46		simples...		one which is about things... real/
47		fala-se de coisas... reais...		concrete things... there's no...
48		não... não... há razão [para silêncio]		there's no reason [for silence]

Although in the debriefing session Mr Muhati conceded that, in certain circumstances, such as when new curriculum materials are presented in class, pupil may be silent or not feel confident to speak (lines 40-43), the general approach taken by him and, indeed, by all teachers observed, was that pupils' participation in L1 contexts ought to be exuberant, otherwise pupils were classed as mentally lazy (lines 29-31) or uncommitted. The main line of argument put forward by these teachers in my discussions with them was that pupils speak local languages from home and that they are familiar with the topics addressed in these classes, as expressed in Mr Muhati's account above (lines 15-17, 38-39, 45-48). That is, pupils' participation in L1 contexts was taken as given, not something that teachers and pupils needed to collaboratively work on.

### ***9.1.2 Features of Interaction and Pedagogy in L2 and L2-Medium Subject Classes***

In contrast with L1 contexts, in Portuguese-language and Portuguese-medium subject classes the teacher-pupil interaction was very limited. To cope with the situation, classroom participants resorted to strategies such as safetalk and codeswitching (see also Extracts 8-11 in Appendices 6.2).



### *9.1.2.1 Pupils' Taciturnity and the Use of Safetalk Strategies*

In Portuguese contexts, not only did the pupils not understand many of the basic instructions given by the teachers, but they also barely spoke and took virtually no initiative in whole-class exchanges.

In all classrooms observed, there were very few pupils, only the most capable ones, who often volunteered to speak. Most of the pupils remained quiet and even avoided eye contact with their teachers. When pupils spoke in class, they often did so with little confidence. It was interesting to observe that even pupils who were very active in lessons in local languages practically 'disappeared' in the lessons in Portuguese.

Invariably, Portuguese-language classes comprised three main stages: reading of a text, answering written exercises about the text, and corrections of those exercises in a whole-class format. Readings usually involved a sequential ritual in which pupils first read a text silently, followed by teacher's model reading, pupils repeating aloud bits of text after the teacher, and group and individual reading aloud of passages indicated by the teacher. The exercises, which were usually taken from the textbooks, consisted of batteries of comprehension questions answered individually. Most of the time teachers were happy with literal transcriptions or oral reproductions of passages of the texts considered. The following extract illustrates some of the main features of the interactional practices in Portuguese-language classes.

Extract 6: A grade 4 Portuguese lesson around a text on the parts of the human body (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 12/9/2007)

- |   |       |                                      |       |                                      |
|---|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Ms C: | estão a ver o quê nesta figura aqui? | Ms C: | what can you see in this picture     |
| 2 |       | ((com o livro levantado, ela mostra  |       | here? ((with the textbook raised up, |
| 3 |       | uma figura de um menino com as três  |       | she shows a picture of a boy with    |
| 4 |       | partes principais do corpo humano    |       | the three main parts of the human    |
| 5 |       | indicadas))                          |       | body specified))                     |
| 6 | Ss:   | ((silêncio))                         | Ss:   | ((silence))                          |

7	Ms C:	estão a ver o quê aqui?	Ms C:	what can you see here?
8	Carla:	estou a ver um menino	Carla:	I can see a boy
9	Ms C:	hem?	Ms C:	what?
10	Ss:	estou a ver um menino ((alguns alunos fazem eco da resposta da Carla))	Ss:	I can see a boy ((Carla's answer is echoed by a few pupils))
11				
12	Ms C:	está aqui um menino e... só estão a ver menino só?	Ms C:	there is a boy in here and... is it just a boy that you can see here?
13				
14	Ss:	sim ((respondem timidamente))	Ss:	yes ((they answer timidly))
15	Ms C:	hem?	Ms C:	what?
16	Ss:	sim/não ((respostas opostas – alguns alunos dizem 'sim', outros dizem 'não'))	Ss:	yes/no ((there are contradictory answers – some pupils say 'yes', whereas others say 'no'))
17				
18				
19	Ms C:	está a ver o quê mais	Ms C:	what else can you see here?
20	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
21	Ms C:	estão ver mais o quê?	Ms C:	what else can you see here?
22	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
23	Ms C:	neste menino...	Ms C:	this boy...
24		não dividiram nada?		was anything divided up?
25	Ss:	dividiram	Ss:	it was divided up
26	Ms C:	dividiram em quantas partes? neste menino aqui...?	Ms C:	into how many parts did they divide it? [the picture of] this boy here...?
27				
28	Ss:	dividiram em três partes	Ss:	they divided it into three parts
29	Ms C:	HAM? ((grita muito alto))	Ms C:	WHAT? ((she shouts very loudly))
30	Ss:	dividiram em três partes	Ss:	they divided it into three parts
31	Ms C:	dividiram-se em três partes	Ms C:	they divided it into three parts
32		quem pode ler a primeira parte?		who can read the first part for me?
33		((exibe o livro aos alunos, que olham alternativamente para ela e para os seus próprios livros))		((she shows the book to the pupils, who look alternately at her and at their own books))
34				
35				
36	Dina:	cabeça	Dina:	head
37	Ms C:	ham?	Ms C:	what?
38	Ss:	cabeça	Ss:	head
39	Ms C:	cabeça	Ms C:	head
40		im, outra pessoa		ok, somebody else
41	S:	tronco	S:	trunk
42	Ms C:	ham?	Ms C:	what?
43	Ss:	troco ((pronunciam mal a palavra))	Ss:	trunk ((they miss pronounced the word))
44				
45	Ms C:	TRO:N-CO	Ms C:	TRU:N-K
46	Roger:	membros	Roger:	limbs
47	Ms C:	ME:MBROS	Ms C:	LI:MBS
48		estão ouvir bem?		did you get it right?
49	Ss:	sim	Ss:	yes
50	Ms C:	aqui neste menino aqui	Ms C:	this boy here
51		dividiram-se em três parte		they divided it into three parts
52		quer dizer que		this means that
53		o corpo humano		the human body
54		é constituído por... três partes		is composed of... three parts
55		estão ouvir bem?		did you get it right?
56	Ss:	sim	Ss:	yes
57	Ms C:	estão ouvir bem?	Ms C:	did you get it right?
58	Ss:	sim	Ss:	yes
59	Ms C:	quantas partes que... quantas partes	Ms C:	how many parts... how many parts
60		que está constituído o corpo humano?		make up the human body?
61	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
62	Ms C:	levantar uma pessoa para responder	Ms C:	someone should stand up and give the answer
63				
64	Ss:	três ((respondem uns poucos alunos baixinho e timidamente))	Ss:	three ((a few pupils respond quietly and timidly))
65				
66	Ms C:	uma pessoa para responder	Ms C:	someone to give the answer

67		quantas parte que está constituído o		how many parts make up the human
68		corpo humano?		body?
69	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
70	Ms C:	hei hei é para me responder	Ms C:	come on come on I need the answer
71		estou a perguntar		I am asking
72		quem me responde...?		who can respond to my question...?
73		em quantas parte que está constituído		how many parts make up the human
74		o corpo HU-MA:::NO		BO::DY?
75	Roger:	o corpo humano [é....	Roger:	the human body [is...
76	Ms C:	[fala em voz alta	Ms C:	[speak loudly
77	Roger:	o corpo humano é constituído por três	Roger:	the human body is composed of
78		partes principais... ((lê do livro))		three main parts... ((he reads from
79				the book))
80	Ms C:	eu perguntei quantas partes	Ms C:	I asked how many parts
81		se são quatro...		if they are four...
82		vai fala em voz alta		come on speak loudly
83		em quantas partes?		how many parts?
84	Roger:	três partes	Roger:	three parts
85	Ms C:	o corpo humano é constituída por	Ms C:	the human body is composed of
86		TRÊS PARTES		THREE PARTS
87		diz lá isso aí		say that
88	Roger:	o corpo humano é constituído por três	Roger:	the human body is composed of
89		partes		three parts
90	Ms C:	ouviram todos?	Ms C:	did you all hear that?
91	Ss:	sim	Ss:	yes
92	Ms C:	ouviram todos?	Ms C:	did you all hear that?
93	Ss:	sim	Ss:	yes
94	Ms C:	vamos respon-... repetir dizer	Ms C:	let's respon-... let's say it again
95		o corpo humano é constituído por três		the human body is composed of
96		partes		three parts
97	Ss:	o corpo humano é constituído por três	Ss:	the human body is composed of
98		partes		three parts
99	Ms C:	o corpo humano é constituído por três	Ms C:	the human body is composed of
100		partes		three parts
101	Ss:	o corpo humano é constituído por três	Ss:	the human body is composed of
102		partes		three parts

As this transcript illustrates, in most of this lesson, there was a lack of communication between the teacher and her pupils, as shown by various instances of pupil silence after her initiations (lines 6, 20, 22, 61, 69) and also by the pupils' misunderstandings (lines 14, 16).

Despite Ms Constância's attempts to elicit responses from individual pupils (lines 66, 70-72), a salient pattern in this lesson was the use of group chorusing or recitation mode. Most of the pupils' utterances comprised group chorused responses and chanting. They chorused responses initially provided by the most capable pupils (lines 8-11, 36-44) or those prompted by the teacher herself (lines 94-102). Ms

Constância also helped pupils respond to her questions by providing cues to the information required. For example, after a few unsuccessful attempts to get pupils see and state that the picture of the human body in the textbook had been divided into three parts, in lines 23-24 she asked the yes/no question ‘was anything divided up?’.

Moreover, there seems to be evidence that most of the pupils did not understand the statements that they were chanting or reading from the textbook. For example, after repeating a few times in chorus the statement ‘the human body is composed of three parts’, most pupils could not provide the same answer when Ms Constância restated the question few minutes later (lines 59-74).

Drawing on Chick (1996) and Hornberger and Chick (2001), it can be hypothesised that the teacher and her pupils were aware of the lack of communication between them, so, in order to preserve their dignity and give the sense of accomplishment they colluded in using safetalk strategies such as group chorusing and clued elicitation. In the classrooms I have considered, it can be argued that the use of safetalk strategies was prompted by the language barrier and by the teachers’ limited preparation to using appropriate second language teaching strategies to minimise this barrier.

#### *9.1.2.2 The Use of Pupils’ L1 as a Resource in Portuguese and Portuguese-Medium Subject Classes*

Despite the pervasive use of local languages to scaffold learning in Portuguese-language and Portuguese-medium classes in bilingual classrooms, there were some teachers who tended to limit or avoid the employment of this strategy. The possible reasons why some teachers were more strict or flexible than others about language

separation are explored in 9.2.2. The language separation policy adopted in the bilingual programme is clearly enacted in the following opening of a Changana class:

Extract 7: A grade 5 Chanagana lesson (EPC-Bikbwani, Ms Marta, 18/9/2007)

1	Ms Ma:	imhi:m... svosvi i nkarhi wa...	Ms Ma:	okey... now it's time for...
2		waku hivulavula hi lirimi la hina la		for us to speak in our heritage
3		ntumbunuku		language
4		anga xichangana hasvo...?		which is Changana, isn't it?
5	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
6	Ms Ma:	se hi-... hita-... hitakhohlwanyana	Ms Ma:	so le-... let's... let's forget
7		xiputukezi		Portuguese for a short while
8		hikanyingi mujondzisi wamubzela		your teacher often tells you that
9		lesvaku		when we in a Portuguese class
10		loko hili ka nkama wa xiputukezi		we should leave our heritage
11		ahitshikeni xilandi		language aside
12		hikusa hina hi ni nkarhi lowu		because there's time reserved for us
13		hivulavulaku xilandi... xichangana		to speak our heritage language...
14		hi wona ha svo?		Changana, isn't it?
15	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
16	Ms Ma:	hi wolowo wufikeke hasvo?	Ms Ma:	that time has come, hasn't?
17	Ss:	[im	Ss:	[yes
18	Obadias	[ya mukhuluma xichangana	Obadias	[yeah, you must speak good
19		xitwakala la ((diz sorridente))		Changana in here ((he says while
20				smiling))

In this opening, Ms Marta reasserts the language boundaries, as institutionally defined. Although this was a Changana-language class, the emphasis here was on Portuguese: she used the occasion to remind the pupils that they should not speak Changana in Portuguese classes since there were appropriate spaces reserved for them to speak this language (lines 14, 16). This reminder had to do with the fact that, although pupils were also aware of the language separation policy and tended to follow it in whole-class encounters, in their unofficial interactions with each other they spoke their first languages almost exclusively, instead of Portuguese. In a debriefing session, Ms Marta argued that, by doing so, she wanted to ensure that the pupils thought and wrote in Portuguese when in Portuguese lessons (see Extract 13 in Appendices 6.2).

The episode transcribed below was taken from a Portuguese lesson. The pupils were engaging in unofficial conversations, while doing individual seat work. I was positioned close to the pupils recorded here.

Extract 8: A grade 5 Portuguese lesson (EPC-Bikbwani, Ms Marta, 31/8/2007)

1	Obadias:	Lena parece que está maluca	Obadias:	Lena seems to be crazy
2	Alex:	<i>vanitekeli kaneta ya mina</i>	Alex:	they took my ball-point pen ((he speaks in Changana))
3				
4	Olívio:	<i>vali ha para ukhuluma xichangana, awusvitwi?</i> ((diz em voz sussurante, a recordar a admoestação que pouco antes a professora fizera a uma aluna que tinha estado a falar Changana))	Olívio:	they said you must not speak Changana, why can't you listen to that? ((also in Changana and in a whispering voice, he reminds an earlier remark by the teacher to a girl who had been speaking Changana))
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11	Jo:	não fala Changana	Jo:	don't speak Changana
12	Olívio:	está falar Changana ((levanta a voz, se calhar para chamar a atenção da professora))	Olívio:	he is speaking Changana ((he raises his voice, maybe to call the teacher's attention))
13				
14				
15	Obadias:	não fala Changana ((diz autoritário, o chefe da turma))	Obadias:	don't speak Changana ((uttered in an authoritative way, as <i>chefe da turma</i> /'class monitor'))
16				
17				

As illustrated in this extract, pupils were aware of the language separation convention. Whereas some pupils violated this convention (cf. Alex), others helped their teacher to ensure that this was observed in class (cf. Olívio, Jo and Obadias). When those who violated the convention were unnoticed by the teacher, they were reminded by their peers to refrain themselves from speaking Changana in that context (lines 4-6, 11-15). The reminders were expressed either in Changana (lines 4-6), the discouraged or disallowed language in that context, or in Portuguese, the legitimate language (lines 11-15). It was interesting to observe Obadias functioning as an authoritative gatekeeper, clearly asserting his role as *chefe da turma* (cf. line 15). From this description, one can argue that pupils either colluded with or contested the institutional policy of language separation. I shall note, however, that pupils were not consistent in their positioning in this regard. The same pupils who, at some moments,

took on the discourse position of gatekeeper, at other moments breached the same conventions they were helping to enforce.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I illustrate how teachers negotiated the application of the language separation policy and the use of L1 to scaffold pupils' learning (see also accounts in Extracts 13-17, Appendices 6.2). The next episode was taken from a grade 4 Portuguese class based on the reading of a text on healthy eating. The teacher attempted to get the pupils to name some of the negative effects of eating large amounts of foods that are high in sugar.

Extract 9: A grade 4 Portuguese reading lesson on healthy eating (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 21/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |   |
|----|-------|--|-------|---|
| 1  | Ms C: | porquê que não podemos comer muitos alimentos ricos em açúcar?   | Ms C: | why shouldn't we eat lots of foods high in sugar?   |
| 2  |       |  |       |   |
| 3  | Ss:   | porque comer muitos alimentos ricos em açúcar faz mal à saúde ((lêem do livro))                        | Ss:   | because eating lots of foods high in sugar is harmful for our health ((they read from the textbook))  |
| 4  |       |  |       |   |
| 5  |       |  |       |   |
| 6  | Ms C: | então, quer dizer que nós não podemos comer muitos alimentos ricos em açúcar... porque faz mal à saúde | Ms C: | so, it means that we should not eat lots of foods high in sugar... because it is not good for health umm we should not eat many sugary things (...) |
| 7  |       |  |       |   |
| 8  |       |  |       |   |
| 9  |       |  |       |   |
| 10 |       |  |       |   |
| 11 |       |  |       |   |
| 12 |       |  |       |   |
| 13 |       |  |       |   |
| 14 |       |  |       |   |
| 15 |       |  |       |   |
| 16 |       |  |       |   |
| 17 |       |  |       |   |
| 18 |       |  |       |   |
| 19 |       |  |       |   |
| 20 |       |  |       |   |
| 21 | Ss:   | ((silêncio))   | Ss:   | ((silence))   |
| 22 | Ms C: | qual é a doença que ataca muito?   | Ms C: | what is the illness that we can easily get?   |
| 23 |       |  |       |   |
| 24 | Ss:   | ((silêncio, mas os alunos se entreolham, como que a indicarem que conheciam a resposta))               | Ss:   | ((silence, but the pupils look to each other, as if they are signalling that they knew the answer))   |
| 25 |       |  |       |   |
| 26 |       |  |       |   |
| 27 | Ms C: | him?... quem pode dizer em Changana... esse tipo de doença?  | Ms C: | hamm?... who can say it in Changana... that kind of illness?  |
| 28 |       |  |       |   |
| 29 | Ss:   | ((silêncio))   | Ss:   | ((silence))   |
| 30 | Ms C: | qual é essa doença?  | Ms C: | what is the illness?  |
| 31 | Ss:   | ((silêncio))   | Ss:   | ((silence))   |
| 32 | Ms C: | <i>i mani</i> ... quem pode dizer em Changana? essa doença...  | Ms C: | who... who can say it in Changana? this illness...  |
| 33 |       |  |       |   |
| 34 | Ss:   | ((silêncio, mas uns alunos perto de mim cochicham a palavra 'nyongwa' entre                            | Ss:   | ((silence, but some pupils close to me whisper the word 'diabetes'  |
| 35 |       |  |       |   |

36	si))		among themselves))
37	Ms C: você não é para encherem muito açúcar ali no chá	Ms C:	you should not add too much sugar into your tea
38			
39	porque vai ficar doente ((volta a dizer de forma teatral, como uma mãe a dirigir-se a um filho))		because you will get ill ((again she says this theatrically, as a mother to her child))
40			
41			
42	qual é... <i>utavagwa hi yi?</i>		what is... what is the illness that you may suffer from?
43			
44	Ss: <i>HI NYONGWA!</i>	Ss:	FROM DIABETES!
45	Ms C: hem?	Ms C:	what?
46	Ss: <i>hi nyongwa</i>	Ss:	from diabetes
47	Ms C: então, emm aquilo ali chamamos de...	Ms C:	so, umm to that we call... what is... what are you going to suffer from?
48	qual é... <i>utavagwa hi yi?</i>		
49	Ss: <i>HI NYONGWA!</i>	Ss:	FROM DIABETES!
50	Ms C: hem?	Ms C:	what?
51	Ss: <i>hi nyongwa</i>	Ss:	from diabetes
52	Ms C: então, emm... aquilo ali chamamos de	Ms C:	so, umm... what we call BILE ((she meant diabetes))
53	BILIS ((queria dizer diabetes))		

After various failed attempts to get the pupils to name at least one of the negative effects of eating large amounts of sugary foods, the teacher suggested that they did so in Changana. Ms Constância may have assumed that they knew the answer but were unable to deliver it in Portuguese or she may have heard them whisper the desired word, as I had heard them do so (lines 34-36). Contrary to what one would expect, no one volunteered immediately to provide the answer, despite a few attempts by the teacher to encourage them to do so (lines 27-28, 32-33). However, it was interesting to note that, when she asked the same question in Changana (line 42, 48), most of the pupils replied in chorus and aloud (line 44, 49): *HI NYONGWA*/'FROM DIABETES'. This suggests that her permission for the pupils to respond in their first language was not enough to get them speak, perhaps because this permission had been expressed in Portuguese. She needed to 'violate' the norm herself to get them follow her steps – releasing the answer that had been unofficially circulating for some time among them. After getting to the desired answer in Changana, Ms Constância 'restored order' in the classroom by returning to Portuguese, the legitimate language in that context. She switched into Portuguese to disclose what she thought was the Portuguese word equivalent to *nyongwa*: '*então, emm... aquilo ali chamamos de BILIS*'/'so umm...



what we call *BILE*' (lines 52-53). Perhaps, influenced by Changana, in which the same word '*nyongwa*' is used to refer to both '*bile*' and '*diabetes*', Ms Constância picked the Portuguese word '*bilis*' instead of the equivalent '*diabetes*'.

From the above description it can be concluded that the use of Changana served chiefly to oil the teacher-pupil interaction, which had been temporarily blocked. Pupils' initial reluctance to use their language to respond to the teachers' query may have been a consequence of the fact that, although the use of local languages in Portuguese classroom contexts is official, this communicative strategy seems only to be available for teachers, as also found by Arthur (2001a) in relation to Botswana: teachers use local languages in Portuguese classroom contexts whenever they deemed it to be appropriate, whereas pupils have been discouraged or refrain themselves from doing so. In addition, it can also be argued that, by allowing the use of this language, Ms Constância also helped the pupils to link the knowledge transmitted through the textbook to that acquired during their socialization at home. Indeed, through successive contextualisation clues, including the use of theatrical strategies, she made the pupils aware of the fact that also in their home contexts people have valid knowledge about healthy eating (lines 16-17, 37-43).

As I mentioned above, teachers differed in terms of how much they used and/or allowed their pupils to use local languages in Portuguese classroom contexts. For example, unlike Ms Constância who used Changana in Portuguese contexts more frequently, Mr Muhati tended to limit or avoid the use of Chope in the same contexts. The following two extracts illustrate Mr Muhati's practices and views about the role of L1 in L2 teaching/learning contexts.

The episode transcribed below was taken from a Portuguese lesson on the components of the communicative act. Mr Muhati had written a text on the

chalkboard and asked the pupils to identify three components of the communicative act that they had learned in previous lessons: transmitter, receiver, and message. While moving around the classroom and checking pupils work, he found that most of them could not specify the message conveyed in the text under analysis. After various failed attempts to explain, individual and collectively, what the pupils were supposed to do, Mr Muhati decided to address the class in Chope:

Extracto 10: A grade 5 Portuguese lesson on the components of the communicative act (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 30/8/2007)

1	Mr M:	he he, vagondi! ((demonstra alguma frustração))	Mr M:	look look, my students! ((he shows some frustration))
2		hinganga... hi ka cigondo ca cilungu		we aren't... we are in a Portuguese
3		hinganga tona?		lesson, aren't we?
4	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
5	Mr M:	maxji, nidivaleleni kambe	Mr M:	but, forgive me
6		nila kumichamuxela ngu ci- ngu		I want to explain to you in our
7		cilandi.		indigenous language.
8		hici <i>mensagem</i> hiwomba dihungu,		we said that by <i>mensagem</i> we
9		nga tona?		mean message, didn't we?
10	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
11	Mr M:	hiwomba cani?	Mr M:	what are we referring to?
12	Ss:	dihungu	Ss:	message
13	Mr M:	DIHUNGU, di dingawombwa!	Mr M:	MESSAGE, the one conveyed!
14		loko vaci "dihungu muni		when someone asks "what is the
15		dingawombwa"		message conveyed"
16		uci khene "dihungu ngu do dile		you say "the message is what was
17		dingawombwa!"		said!"
18	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
19	Mr M:	injhe uxamude, mesmo?	Mr M:	have you actually answered the
20				question?
21	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
22	Mr M:	vaci "dihungu muni hawa	Mr M:	if they ask "what is the message
23		dinganikelwa hawa" ((aponta para o		conveyed here" ((he points to the
24		texto no quadro))		text on the chalkboard))
25		uci "eh dihungu dile dinganingelwa.		you say "umm the message is
26		ngu dondi dile dingawombwa dile"		what was passed on. it is what was
27		((diz de forma dramática, enfatizando		said" ((he says this in a dramatic
28		o carácter ilógico da resposta))		way, emphasising the oddness of
29				the answer))
30	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
31	Mr M:	ti- ta- tapfisiseka?	Mr M:	do- do- does it make sense?
32	Ss:	imhimhim	Ss:	no
33	Mr M:	hiku niwombawomba ngu cicopi,	Mr M:	since I am now speaking in
34		tapfala?		Chope, you tell me whether that
35				makes sense!
36	S:	TIPFISISEKI! ((uma aluna antecipa-	S:	IT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE! ((a
37		se e sobrepõe-se aos demais))		girl responds before and louder
38				than everyone))
39	Ss:	imhimhim	Ss:	no
40				

41	Mr M:	maxji ngu ti mubhalaku phe ka	Mr M:	but, you know, this is what you
42		tisamulu		are writing down in your answers
43	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
44	Mr M:	him? ha::a ha, minganidaniseni, him!	Mr M:	come on, don't let me down, ok!
45		((volta a circular pela sala a corrigir		((resumes moving around the
46		os cadernos dos alunos))		class, marking pupils' notebooks))

Mr Muhati started with a caveat in order to insert his speech in Choape, in a lesson where both parties (teacher and pupils) assumed that it was in Portuguese that they were supposed to be communicating (lines 3-8). By asking pupils' forgiveness for using Choape in that context (lines 6-8), Mr Muhati signalled that he was aware that he was "violating" a rule. It is also implied that this violation was necessary in order to help pupils to get the right answer. Using the Socratic method, Mr Muhati reviewed the concept of 'message' together with the pupils and then evaluated the answers that they had been providing. A few minutes after this clarification in Choape, Mr Muhati was happy with the answers that the pupils were then giving to the problematic question. This could be taken as evidence that they had finally understood the concept of 'message' and/or how to present the gist of a message conveyed in a given text or speech. In the following extract, Mr Muhati explained why he was so reluctant to use Choape in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium classes:

Extract 11: Mr Muhati commenting on the role of L1 on L2 and L2-medium classes (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007, interview)

1	Mr M:	há uma atenção que nós precisamos	Mr M:	we should pay attention to one
2		de ter		thing
3		é em relação à L2.		it has to do with L2.
4		eu como estou a dar a quinta classe		since I am teaching a grade 5 class
5		se eu... se eu for pegar uma primeira,		if I... if I had to teach a grade 1
6				class,
7		estou minimamente preparado		I would be basically prepared as to
8		o que devo fazer em relação à L2.		what to do in relation to L2.
9		ya, não posso...		yeah, I cannot...
10		porque é uma disciplina que tem		because it is a subject with 4
11		quatro tempos semanais		lessons a week
12		e as crianças como geralmente falam		and since the children usually
13		L1... e se... acham mais fácil falar L1		speak their L1... and if... since
14		a tendência deles é que MESMO NA		they find it easier to speak their L1
15		L2 falem L1 .		they tend to speak their L1 EVEN

16		IN CLASSES IN L2.
17	então, precisa de uma atenção do	so, the teacher needs to pay
18	professor	attention to that
19	ser um pouco rigoroso	he needs to be demanding
20	fazendo-lhes FALAR PORTUGUÊS.	making them SPEAK
21		PORTUGUESE.
22	fazendo-lhes falar... dizer nomes de	making them speak... making
23	objectos em L2	them say names of objects in L2
24	inclusivé se puderem fazer frases	including making them construct
25	na base daquelas palavras ali.	sentences using such words.
26	um trabalho mesmo que merece se	this is work that has to be done
27	fazer logo no princípio	right from the beginning in such a
28	dessa maneira podemos recuperar...	way that we can catch up...
29	esse é um problema... até os meus	this is a problem... I have already
30	colegas eu já disse a eles ((alusão ao	told my colleagues ((he is
31	colegas que estão a dar as primeiras	referring to colleagues teaching
32	classes do ensino bilingue))	the initial grades in the bilingual
33	que se não tiverem cuidado	programme))
34	esta dificuldade que eu estou a	that if they fail to take precautions
35	encarar,	they will end up facing the same
36	que eu vi...	difficulty that I am facing now,
37	hão-de ter quando forem na na no	I have faced...
38	período de transição,	they will feel it when they reach
39	sobretudo nas ciências...	the transition phase,
40	aliás na quarta classe em que... eh...	especially in natural sciences...
41	todo... tudo é dado na L1 ((queria	I mean at grade 4, when... umm...
42	dizer L2))	when all... everything is taught in
43		L1 ((he meant to say L2))
44	a criança não tem vocabulário	the child doesn't have enough
45	suficiente para suportar aquela	lexicon to cope with that content
46	matéria na... aliás na L2 eu disse L1	in... sorry, in L2, I said L1 but I
47	mas eu ia dizer que na L2	meant L2

From this extract it becomes apparent that Mr Muhati's avoidance of Chopec in the context of L2 was based on his critical analysis of language and pedagogical practices in his own classroom. He pointed out that pupils' poor performance in Portuguese, especially at the transition phase, was a result of their excessive use of L1 when they were supposed to use Portuguese (lines 12-16). To counteract this situation, he suggested that teachers should be very careful and demanding in L2 lessons, forcing pupils to use Portuguese maximally right from grade 1 (lines 17-28).

The concern about pupils' performance in Portuguese at the transition phase was also expressed by Mr Gwambe (extract 12) and other teachers. Unlike Mr Muhati, Mr Gwambe pointed to curriculum design as the source of the problem (lines 10-32). He suggested that pupils' performance could be improved if pupils started

reading and writing in Portuguese at grade 2, instead of grade 3, as it is currently (lines 41-50). Despite appealing to different causes, the solutions advanced by Mr Muhati and Mr Gwambe (also Ms Marta in Extract 13 and Mr Roberto in Extract 17, Appendices 6.2) to address pupils' performance in Portuguese suggest that they were both apologists of the maximum exposure hypothesis, which is based on the view that proficiency in L2/FL can only be attained if learners are maximally exposed to the target language (cf. Wong-Fillmore, 1985).

Extract 12: Gwambe commenting on the transition phase (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007, interview)

<p>1 Mr G: então, dizia que  2 esta inquietação que eu tenho com a  3 turma é que  4 a fase da transição...  5 há um PROBLEMA que que existe  6 ((levanta o tom de voz))  7 só para quem de longe está  8 não consegue ver isto  9 mas nós que estamos dentro  10 já conseguimos descobrir que  11 aquela fase em que a criança NÃO  12 ESCREVE,  13 na primeira e na segunda ((alude ao  14 que acontece na disciplina de  15 Português))  16 apenas só conse- ... quer dizer  17 CONVERSA,  18 só só há diálogo em Português...  19  20 A SITUAÇÃO NÃO ESTÁ BOA!  21 porque para nós falarmos assim é que  22  23 quando se chega já na na terceira,  24 que é a fase da da transição,  25 é preciso conhecer o alfabeto  26 e ao mesmo tempo a criança  27 ESTÁ OBRIGADA JÁ A  28 ESCRECER E LER AO MESMO  29 TEMPO ((levanta o tom de voz, como  30 que a sublinhar o carácter ilógico da  31 situação))  32  33 então, há esta guerra aqui.  34 se ali... na quarta... chega a ler um  35 aluno  36 é um ESFORÇO muito enorme que  37 está que está a acontecer ali.  38 mas é claro lêem  39 mas... mas sem segurança!</p>	<p>Mr G: well, I was saying that  this concern I have regarding the  class is because  the transition phase...  there's a PROBLEM that that exists  ((he raises the tone of his voice))  only for those who are a long way  away are not able to see this  but for those of us who are inside  we are already able to find out that  that phase in which children DON'T  WRITE,  at grade one and two ((he alludes to  what happens in the Portuguese  subject))  they are only ab- ... I mean they  TALK  there's only only dialogue in  Portuguese...  THE SITUATION ISN'T GOOD!  because for us to talk like that it is  because  when we arrive at at grade three,  which is the phase for for transition,  it is necessary to know the alphabet  and at the same time  children ARE ALREADY  REQUIRED TO READ AND  WRITE AT THE SAME TIME ((he  raises the tone of his voice, as if he  were highlighting the oddness of the  situation))  therefore, there is this war here.  if there... at grade four... a pupil  manages to read  that is a huge EFFORT that is  that is happening there.  but of course they read  but... without confidence!</p>
--	---

40	sem segurança (...)	without confidence (...)
41	então, nós tentamos propor alguma	so, we tried to propose the idea that
42	ideia que na segunda classe	at grade two
43	se houvesse uma possibilidade DE...	if there were a possibility FOR ...
44	ou é no terceiro trimestre	perhaps at the third term
45	em que a criança podia começar	for children to start
46	mesmo com a escrita de algumas	even with the writing of some letters
47	letras e e... algumas leituras aí	and and... some reading there
48	talvez pudesse entrar já na quarta	maybe they could reach grade four
49	classe com com um conhecimento um	with with some knowledge
50	um pouco sólido.	in some some way solid.

Despite the different views they advanced with regard to the perceived causes and solutions for pupils' poor performance in Portuguese and the consequent difficulties in dealing with the transition phase, the practices and accounts of the teachers considered above show that these practitioners were not passive consumers of institutional language policies. These teachers were constructing their own views about language pedagogy, including the role of local languages in the teaching and learning of Portuguese/L2, based, among other things, on a synthesis of institutional policies and their own teaching experiences.

### *9.1.2.3 Portuguese Constructed as an Unattainable Language*

The attested and commonly acknowledged difficulties in teaching and learning the Portuguese language seems to be leading some teachers and pupils alike to construct this language as something unattainable, which is further jeopardising pupils' chances of learning it. As illustrated below, on various occasions I found that, instead of encouraging, some teachers teased the pupils about their poor performance in Portuguese. On the other hand, despite their willingness to learn Portuguese, some pupils had come to believe that they would never master this language, so they opted for keeping quiet in class, only 'participating' when nominated by the teacher or when under the cover of safetalk strategies, such as group chorusing.

Extract 13: A grade 5 Portuguese lesson based on the reading of a text entitled ‘the newspaper’ by Manuel Vieira (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Marta, 31/8/07)

1	Ms Ma:	quem pode me dizer de que fala... este texto?	Ms Ma:	who wants to tell me what is this text about?
2				
3	Elson:	o texto fala o jornal	Elson:	the text deals with the newspaper
4	Ms Ma:	o texto fala sobre o^... jornal	Ms Ma:	the text is about the^ ... newspaper
5		((reformula a frase do Elson))		((she reformulates Elton’s sentence))
6		muito bem.		very good
7		amm... em que... em que tempo		umm... when... when was the
8		nasceu o jornal?		newspaper born?
9	Ss:	((silêncio, a pergunta não parece clara para os alunos))	Ss:	((silence, the question doesn’t seem clear to the pupils))
10				
11	Ms Ma:	em que tempo nasceu o jornal?	Ms Ma:	when was the newspaper born?
12	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
13	Ms Ma:	YHUU... agora já não há... não há	Ms Ma:	OH... now there is no more...
14		luta de... de falar ((faz alusão ao		there is no more competition to...
15		contraste com a participação activa		speak ((she is alluding to the
16		na aula de Changana))		contrasting active participation in
17				lessons in Changana))
18	Joaquim:	o jornal nasceu de... na máquina de	Joaquim:	the newspaper comes from... from
19		escrever		the typewriter
20	Ms Ma:	outra pessoa.	Ms Ma:	someone else.
21		que tem outra ideia?		who has a different idea?

The subject of the lesson from which this extract was taken was reading and interpretation of a text entitled ‘the newspaper’. This text was in a highly formal register, which made it difficult for the teacher and pupils to deal with it. After the rather formulaic question ‘what is the text about’, which was easily answered by the pupils, Ms Marta started to ask questions using the language of the text almost literally. Most of the pupils could not understand the questions asked, so they remained silent. Given the pupils’ taciturnity, Ms Marta teased them at some points in the lesson (e.g. lines 13-15): ‘OH... now there is no more... there is no more competition for... speaking’. Implied in this statement was the comparison Ms Marta made between pupils’ active participation in classes in/of Changana and their taciturnity in lessons in/of Portuguese. It could be the case that Ms Marta’s intention was to steer pupils’ participation in class, but her words may have had the adverse effect of making pupils believe that, in contrast with Changana, they were useless in Portuguese, a language that has been historically constructed as not for everyone (see,

e.g. Firmino, 2002). Note that, unlike L1 contexts in which teachers tended to select the next speaker, in this lesson, Ms Marta let the pupils select themselves: only those who knew or thought they knew the correct answers volunteered to speak. It can be said that she was playing safe: she did not want to risk selecting those who could display incompetence in public thus revealing the ineffectiveness of the teacher-pupil communication.

Teachers' unfavourable judgements of pupils' performance in Portuguese or Portuguese-medium subject lessons took other forms, such as explicitly dubbing pupils level of Portuguese as poor. The following transcript is illustrative of this:

Extract 14: A grade 5 Portuguese reading lesson, (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 27/9/2007)

1	Mr M:	menina,	Mr M:	young girl,
2		pode usar até as palavras que não		you can even use words that are
3		vem no texto.		not in the text.
4		faz de conta você está a contar o que		just pretend that you are telling
5		aconteceu com o Jeremias a uma		somebody else what happened to
6		peessoa.		Jeremias.
7		pode usar quaisquer palavras		you can use any words
8		desde o momento que... estejam de		as long as...they translate what
9		acordo com o que aconteceu na		actually happened
10		realidade, não é?		that is right, isn't it?
11	Mércia:	sim	Mércia:	yes
12	Mr M:	meus meninos	Mr M:	my boys and girls
13		não podemos ser...		we should not be...
14		não vamos ser escravos das palavras		we should not be slaves of the
15		que estão ali ((refere-se ao texto em		words that are there ((he alludes to
16		análise))		the text being analysed))
17		temos aquelas nossas palavras pobres		we have those poor words of ours,
18		não é?		don't we?
19	Ss	sim ((alguns alunos riem-se às	Ss	yes ((some pupils laugh loudly))
20		gargalhadas))		
21	Mr M:	aquele nosso Português pobre, não é?	Mr M:	that poor Portuguese of ours, isn't
22				that right?
23	Ss	sim ((risos))	Ss	yes
24	Mr M:	podemos usar aquele Português	Mr M:	we can use that Portuguese to
25		para explicar o quê que aconteceu.		explain what happened.
26		quem podia dizer o quê que		who can explain what happened to
27		aconteceu com o Jeremias?		Jeremias?

In this episode, Mr Muhati did a great job of encouraging pupils to use their own words when interpreting a given text (lines 1-16), which may have contributed to



boosting their interpretive skills and linguistic creativity. However, by classifying pupils' level of Portuguese as 'poor' (lines 17-18, 21-22), he may have created or maintained a classroom environment in which pupils did not feel confident and proud of using this language.

The extract below illustrates how some pupils themselves perceived Portuguese as an unattainable language. In group interviews with pupils, I asked them which language they preferred to learn or be used as a medium of instruction and why. The responses to these questions were mixed, showing no clear tendencies (see illustrative examples in Extracts 49-54, Appendices 8.1). There were three main categories of responses: there were those pupils who reported liking both Portuguese and their first language; there were those who expressed a preference for Portuguese; and those who preferred their first languages. Ramos was one of those students who preferred his first language, Changana. After listening to his account about Changana, I wanted to know his views about Portuguese:

Extract 15: Ramos' view about Portuguese lessons (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007, group interview)

1	F:	axilungu ke?	F:	how about Portuguese?
2	Ramos:	axinitsakisi ((diz baixinho))	Ramos:	I don't like it ((he says quietly))
3	F:	xakutsakisa ((nãO tinha percebido o	F:	you like it ((I had not understood
4		que ele dissera))		what he had said))
5	Ramos:	imhim-him ((diz resolutamente))	Ramos:	no ((he replies firmly))
6	F:	axikutsakisi?	F:	you don't like it...?
7	Ramos:	im	Ramos:	no
8	F:	hi mhaka mu?	F:	why?
9	Carla:	hi mhaka angaxikoti	Carla:	it's because he doesn't know it
10	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
11	Ramos:	hi mhaka xokarhata	Ramos:	because it is difficult
12	F:	hi mhaka xakarhata?	F:	because it is difficult...?
13	Ramos:	im	Ramos:	yes
14	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
15	F:	xokukarhatela we?	F:	you find it difficult...?
16	Ramos:	im	Ramos:	yes
17	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))

Ramos' account indicates that his 'dislike' of Portuguese had eminently to do with the difficulties he found in attaining the language rather than, for example, any negative perception about the symbolic value of this language. Interestingly, in line 9, Carla had already anticipated the reason why Ramos did not like Portuguese: '*hi mhaka angaxikoti*'/'it's because he doesn't know it', which may be evidence of a common perception about Portuguese among the pupils. Pupils like Ramos felt so uncomfortable in Portuguese lessons that they ended up hating them, though not necessarily expressing unwillingness to learn the language. Ramos was a typical example of those pupils who were exuberant in Changana classes but silent in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes.

As has been widely documented (e.g. Dörnyei, 1994, 1998), lack of confidence and self-esteem are motivational factors that can hinder learners' second language development. In this context, teachers' criticism and negative evaluation of pupils' performance in Portuguese, instead of steering pupils' participating, may lead them to avoid public displays of the incompetence that their teacher has already alluded to in class. This may further jeopardise their chances to learn the language.

## **9.2 Bilingual Education and Pedagogy: A Potential not yet Fully Explored**

The description presented in 9.1 suggests at least two main themes worth being considered here: the interface between interaction and pedagogy and the relation between policy, theory and classroom practice. Despite being interrelated, I decided to discuss these themes separately for the sake of clarity.

### ***9.2.1 Interaction and Pedagogy***

The contrast between the pupils' participation in the L1 and L2 classes considered in this study corroborates the general finding in the research literature that language use and knowledge display are situationally conditioned (Au and Jordan, 1981; Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Mehan, 1984). For example, pupils may appear intelligent in some contexts but not in others. Context is perceived here as dynamic and, hence, subject to be favourably changed.

As illustrated above, unlike Portuguese classroom contexts, the climate in L1 classroom contexts is conducive to pupils' participation and learning. Although the reasons for this contrast may seem obvious, I find it relevant to address in more detail some of the factors that may be at play in the sites in this study. In L1 contexts, teachers and pupils share a common language and cultural values, which enables pupils to negotiate with and challenge their teachers on both language and cultural issues. This shows that, although less experienced when compared to their teachers, pupils are equally resourceful agents when they negotiate local knowledge in their home language. As argued, these spaces for negotiation of knowledge were above all prompted by the pupils' familiarity with the languages and matters discussed, but also because the teachers temporarily allowed those spaces to be created. These interactive spaces fit within the scope of the social constructivist pedagogy, particularly as regard to the perception of the teacher not as an infallible knower and pupils as active social agents who can judge the information in negotiation, hence opting to accept or challenge it.

Despite these positive outcomes, I found that there is still plenty of room for maximising the potential of teaching a language or in a language which is familiar to the pupils. For example, the classes were still mainly teacher-centred, with limited

space for the pupils to express themselves, even though they knew the language used, they could exchange cultural meanings and were eager to express themselves in the classroom. Although some teachers brought references to local culture and knowledge into the classroom talk, mainly as a way to scaffold pupils' learning of Portuguese and content in this language, others did so only on rare occasions. When such local themes were brought into the classroom, it was usually the teacher who talked about them and not the pupils. In instances like this, pupils' role was to ratify their teacher's accounts.

Without minimising participants' agency and individual differences, the features described may lead one to posit that the positive learning environment attested in L1 contexts was something that happened spontaneously rather than intentionally co-created by the classroom actors. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the assumption commonly held by teachers that in these contexts pupils must necessarily be participative because they speak the language from home and have previous knowledge of the cultural matters usually discussed. Based on this assumption, one can conclude that the teachers were acting as if their role was just to ratify pupils' previous linguistic and local knowledge, instead of building on it and expanding it.

The features above suggest that teachers still need to learn pedagogically appropriate ways to explore the L1 climate to the benefit of pupils learning. These include the consideration of challenging tasks, ones that appeal to pupils' creativity and intellectual engagement (e.g. Howe and Mercer, 2007). Therefore, despite the lively interactive climate in L1 contexts, we still need to investigate how much learning is in fact taking place in these contexts. As Stubbs (1975) reminds us, we should not equate learning with public pupil talk. Indeed, although it can give a strong

indication, participation *per se* is not a sufficient criterion to gauge pupils' effective learning, the same way silence may not mean that pupils are not learning at all.

In contrast, in L2 contexts, the use of Portuguese changes the tenor of the communication between teacher and pupils, rendering it more constrained. As a result, the relationship between teacher and pupils is constructed as more distant. The asymmetry of power between them is also made more evident since the teacher has greater control over Portuguese as a communicative resource. Teachers (not pupils) have access to Portuguese and are also the sole custodians of the knowledge conveyed through that language, hence the authoritative nature of their discourse. This is aggravated by lack of teaching and learning resources and the teachers' limited preparation to deal with this constraining environment, hence the recourse to safetalk strategies. These factors may, at least in part, explain pupils' taciturnity and related limited performance in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes.

Apart from the interactional differences described above, it can be said that, overall, the pedagogical practices observed in L1 and L2 contexts are similar. In both cases, pedagogy is teacher-centred: invariably organised in a platform-format, classes gravitate around the teacher. Instead of facilitating learning, the teacher functions as a transmitter of knowledge. Pupils' role is to receive knowledge imparted by the teachers and respond to their queries. Little room is given to the pupils for them to express themselves at length and in a creative way, even when they could eventually do so. In both contexts, I noticed the absence of pair- and group-work, which, if well planned, can stimulate pupils' collaborative learning and help them develop important communicative skills for intellectual engagement (Howe and Mercer, 2007). Small group-work also allows those pupils who are afraid to speak in public to interact with their peers and also with the teacher, including in their weaker language. Thus, the

pedagogical culture followed does not help to produce ‘independent thinkers’, those who can ‘formulate and attempt to solve their own problems’ (Wells, 1992, p.297).

The features related to interaction and pedagogy in L1 and L2 contexts presented above suggest that the language barrier is not the only reason why pedagogy is teacher-centred and discourse authoritative, as has been posited in studies conducted in post-colonial contexts. The *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) associated with teachers’ trajectories also has a bearing on classroom pedagogical practices: teachers tend to teach as they were taught themselves. Indeed, although most of the teaching patterns discussed here are present worldwide, including in industrialised countries, one can argue that they are more pervasive in contexts where practitioners are untrained or have limited pedagogical training. They use those strategies, in part, because they are usually not acquainted with alternative teaching methods, such as task-based and communicative methods.

### ***9.2.2 Bridging Policy, Theory and Practice***

In this section, I discuss two policy aspects of bilingual education in Mozambique: the language separation policy and the transition from L1 to L2 as the medium of instruction at grade 4. As can be understood from the data presented in Section 9.1, these policy provisions are burning issues in bilingual education in Mozambique.

Regarding language separation, I illustrated through the data that teachers differed to some extent in their approach to this policy. Whereas some were in fact flexible about language separation, others appeared to be reluctant to use and/or allow pupils to use local languages in Portuguese classrooms. The explanation for the attitudes observed seems to lie in a combination of factors, including (i) teachers’ *habitus* associated with residues of policies of the times when local languages were

banned from school, (ii) the difficulty in implementing the policy of language separation in these contexts, and (iii) practitioners' attempts to find solutions for the difficulties that both teachers and pupils are, respectively, facing in teaching and learning Portuguese or through the medium of Portuguese.

Historically, decisions on language pedagogy in Mozambique were based on the policy of total exclusion of local languages from the education system. In addition to the interference argument, the ban of these languages from Portuguese classrooms was also politically motivated. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, in colonial Mozambique the use of local languages was perceived as contrary to the 'civilising' mission of the Portuguese state, after independence their use was seen as divisive, contrary to the project of national unity, hence their exclusion from official arenas, including in education. The teachers in the bilingual programme were educated in this pedagogical and political setup, which may explain, at least in part, why some of them were still reluctant to take up the new policy that ascribes a role to local languages in Portuguese classrooms. This attitude may be further reinforced by the observation that pupils in the bilingual programme are failing to attain desirable levels of proficiency in Portuguese, which is more apparent at the transition phase. In this context, avoiding the use of pupils' L1, while at the same time maximizing the use of the target language, is perceived by some teachers, such as Mr Gwambe and Mr Muhati, as the correct way to deal with the situation.

The position taken by these teachers is, to a certain extent, understandable, especially taking into account their pupils' poor performance and the claim that extensive use of L1 may have a negative impact on L2 learning (Wong-Fillmore, 1985; Turnbull, 2001). However, although the language policy may have a bearing on the pupils' low performance level, we shall not forget that the conditions in which

teaching of Portuguese is conducted in rural Mozambique are not conducive to pupils' effective learning. As mentioned, in both schools studied the Portuguese reading textbook was the only printed material available for the pupils. There was not a single Portuguese grammar book, dictionary, or any other reading materials. In addition, the teachers themselves acknowledged that teaching Portuguese as a second language was one of their weakest sides. Therefore, the use of pupils' L1 in Portuguese classrooms by itself should not be considered *the* reason why pupils are not so far exhibiting satisfactory levels of Portuguese language proficiency and academic achievement in the content areas in this language.

I subscribe to a principled use of L1 in L2 contexts, as suggested by Cook (2001), but taking Turnbull's (2001) cautionary note on the drawbacks of relying excessively on the L1. The use of the target language in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes should be maximised, but that should not mean excluding or minimising the use of learners' L1. That is, teachers should not avoid or feel guilt for using or allowing the use of local languages in Portuguese learning contexts.

I am aware of the difficulties of putting this policy in practice. These include the difficulty of defining the amount and the appropriate moment for using the L1 in the classroom, as discussed, for example, by Merritt et al. (1992) and Macaro (2006). However, I believe that if teachers are made aware of the communicative, pedagogical and social functions of L1 in L2 classrooms, they may be able to take principled decisions that may prove to be helpful for them and for the pupils in their specific classrooms, as some are in fact already doing. I take the view that rather than hindering pupils' learning of L2 or academic content through the medium of L2, a principled use of L1 can facilitate this learning. There are plenty of studies showing how learners' L1s can play this facilitating role in L2 classrooms (e.g. Merritt et al.,



1992; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003). In this study, for example, I showed in extracts 9 and 10 how Ms Constância and Mr Muhati, respectively, used the learners' L1s to facilitate interaction and learning in Portuguese lessons.

The use of L1 in L2 contexts is compatible with a pedagogy which underscores the value of learners' prior knowledge as a cognitive basis for further learning, as is the case of constructivist pedagogy. As has been acknowledged, the use of pupils' L1 in L2 contexts is one of the powerful tools for linking L2 linguistic knowledge and academic knowledge imparted through this language with the knowledge already developed in L1 (see Cummins, 2008).

The use of African languages in Portuguese classroom contexts was discussed at length here because this is a contentious issue in the sites studied. However, one could also raise the issue of using Portuguese in L1 classes. Although borrowing of Portuguese words and concepts has been a common practice in L1 classrooms, as in the society at large, I found that there were teachers who discouraged pupils' use of Portuguese in L1 contexts and also those who, like Mr Roberto, were for the use of local languages 'purely', that is, without 'mixing' them with Portuguese. That is, 'translanguaging' practices (García, 2009) were discouraged. The reality, though, has been that, in part given the lack of tradition of using local languages in formal education, these languages are still developing the necessary conceptual and metalinguistic apparatus for their effective use in these new functions, being Portuguese one of the sources of this corpus expansion. The areas of science and technology are clear examples of the fields where borrowings occur more frequently. Moreover, as a consequence of linguistic and cultural contact, there are cases in which teachers and pupils are more familiar with Portuguese terms and concepts than with their equivalents in local languages (in fact, in some cases there are no equivalents).

In these circumstances, the use of Portuguese for teaching local languages and through the medium of these languages may be more effective than trying to stick to the target language. Therefore, in the same way that L1 can facilitate interaction and learning in L2 classrooms, there is also space for the teacher and pupils to use Portuguese positively in L1 contexts. This is consistent with the view of transfer as a two-way movement: from L1 to L2 and vice-versa (Verhoeven, 1994).

Now I am turning to the issue of transition. Compared with the Portuguese-monolingual system, the transitional bilingual programme has, among others, the merit of supporting pupils' access to the curriculum at least during the first years of schooling. However, as illustrated, so far it is not providing the basis for the pupils to develop enough competence in Portuguese to respond to the curriculum demands in this language from grade 4 on. Despite pupils' limited levels of proficiency in Portuguese, they are required to learn content-subject material through the medium of this same language, which, as noted by Chick (1996) in relation to a comparable South African context, 'constrain[s] classroom behaviour in powerful ways.' (p.32) The same pupils who, from grades 1 to 3, were active participants and exhibited high levels of engagement with the topics discussed in the classroom, at grade 4 (and onwards) became taciturn and appeared to have regressed just because their level of Portuguese did not enable them to cope with the higher curricular demands at this level. During this period, they appeared to have been 'submersed' in a Portuguese monolingual curriculum, which contradicts the stated purpose of implementing bilingual education in the first place.

Pupils' difficulty in coping with curriculum demands in the transition period has led some stakeholders to propose adjustments in the programme design. There are two proposals which seem to be pervasive: some stakeholders (e.g. Mr Gwambe)

suggest that children should start to read and write in Portuguese earlier (instead of in grade 3), whereas others suggest postponing the transition to grade 5 or later. The first solution reminds us of the traditional theory according to which the earlier a child is exposed to a L2 or foreign language, the better s/he learns it. It also contradicts the theory that initial literacy skills are better acquired in one's first language so that, once acquired, these skills can be transferred into a second language (Cummins, 2000, 2008). The second solution is, in a way, consistent with current theory and international practice in bilingual education. For example, from a review of international experiences of bilingual education, Tucker (1999, quoted in Freeman, 2006, p.9) concluded that 'if the goal is to help the student ultimately develop the highest possible degree of content mastery and second language proficiency, time spent instructing the child in a familiar language is a wise investment'.

Although there is lack of consensus about the right moment to effect the transition, the advantages of extended instruction in a familiar language or delayed switch into a second language have been sufficiently demonstrated across contexts (e.g. Ramirez et al., 1991; Thomas and Collier, 2002; Bamgbose, 2000; Alidou et al., 2006; Heugh et al., 2007). However, I would argue that time spent teaching an L2 does not necessarily guarantee pupils proficiency or readiness to cope with instruction in this language, if the conditions for its effective teaching and learning are not in place. A comparison of the Nigerian Six Year Primary Project in Yoruba and the Seven Year Kiswahili-medium primary schooling in Tanzanian may help us substantiate this point. I am aware of validity issues arising from comparing an experiment and a large-scale implementation of educational programmes, but I still find this comparison useful for the point I want to make here.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, evaluations of the Ife project found that pupils in this project performed better both in English and other content subjects than those who switched to English medium after 3 years of first language instruction (Fafunwa, 1990; Bamgbose, 2000). More significantly, the status of English as a subject (rather than as a medium) for the first six years of schooling ‘did not adversely affect achievement in secondary and tertiary education’ (Fafunwa, 1990, p.106), where instruction was in English. In contrast, research reports indicate that, despite 7 years learning English as a subject at primary level, pupils in Tanzania are not ready to learn through the medium of English at the secondary level (cf. Abdulaziz, 1991, 2003; Campbell-Makini, 2000; Roy-Campbell, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2005). Thus, despite the fact that it involved fewer years of pupils’ exposure to English, the Nigerian project delivered better results than Tanzanian primary schooling. These cases show that what is at stake is not just the length of exposure to the second language but above all the processes involved. The Nigerian experience was well resourced, especially in terms of human capacity. It counted on specialised teaching of English as a subject and technical assistance from the research team in charge of the project. In contrast, studies of the Tanzanian case have pointed to constraints in the teaching of English as a subject (see Campbell-Makini, 2000; Roy-Campbell, 2003, and references therein).

As Bloch (2002) states in relation to Namibia, ‘using mother tongues as media of instruction at the first three years of schooling can be taken as a good point of departure’ (p.4). Mozambique has taken the same step, which should be appreciated. In fact, I believe that, under optimal conditions, the impact of this move on pupils’ learning could be more substantial than it has been now. However, taking the international experience and also the appraisal of the current stage of implementing

bilingual education in the country, I would also suggest the need to postpone the point of transition in the programme design. Although it would be desirable to effect the transition as late as possible (for example, along the lines suggested by Heugh (s/d)), I think that, for the time being, the transition should be at grade 6, that is, after 5 years of first language instruction and exposure to Portuguese as a subject. In order to make the transition smoother, some subjects, such as mathematics and science, could still be taught in local languages at grades 6 and 7, the last years of primary education.

Following on the discussion above, I shall note, however, that extending the period of instruction in African languages will not be the magic solution for pupils' underachievement if the learning and teaching conditions remain unchanged. It is crucial to invest in teaching and learning materials and capacity building, including the development of teachers' capacity to teach Portuguese as a second language. The phased solution I propose here would allow a period of development and consolidation of local languages as medium of instruction before they are eventually extended to other levels of education. On the other hand, this solution would also allow some time for clear counter-arguments to be developed on the language medium issue, namely that Portuguese can only be better acquired if it is used as a medium of instruction (rather than simply as a subject) and as early as possible. These counter-arguments also need to be widely disseminated to stakeholders, namely pupils, parents and practitioners. As the international experience has shown us, failure to negotiate and/or accommodate pupils' and parents' educational goals may ignite resistance and consequent policy failure, no matter how well intended such policy might be.

## **Chapter 10: Socio-Cultural Value of Bilingual Education**

### *Overview*

This chapter discusses the socio-cultural value ascribed to bilingual education in the sites in this study. The main argument I pursue is that bilingual education is contributing to change in the participants' (and societal) perceptions about local languages and cultures: in addition to their old function as symbols of identity, these now tend also to be perceived as equally valid resources for education and progress.

The chapter consists of two main sections. In Section 10.1, I present the main themes emerging from the data, namely ethnolinguistic identity and maintenance (10.1.1); literacy practices in the communities (10.1.2); language awareness and language development (10.1.3); and incorporation of local knowledge and local communities in schools (10.1.4). In Section 10.2, I discuss how bilingual education is impacting on three related fronts: legitimisation of historically marginalised languages and their speakers; maintenance and development of local languages; and promotion of community expertise and agency.

### **10.1 The Main Themes Emerging from the Data**

#### ***10.1.1 Ethnolinguistic Identity and Maintenance***

In this section, I describe how bilingual education is contributing to the construction of a distinct local cultural identity in the two areas in which I worked as well as to the maintenance of the local languages and associated cultural values (see also Extracts 26-28 in Appendices 7.1).

The song *hoyohoyo Cicopi* 'welcome Chope', which I transcribe below, seems to aptly convey the cultural value that the Chope community of Gwambeni associates with the introduction of bilingual education. This song, which is very much

appreciated by pupils, teachers and parents, was sung on various occasions during my fieldwork, including in classes and in special events involving not only the school community but also outsiders. The first time this song caught my attention it was being sung by a grade 2 class, led by their young class monitor. They were waiting for their teacher who was late returning to the classroom after a break. I found out later that the song had been written by Ms Carla, a bilingual teacher in the school.

The use of Chope in the formal context of the school is viewed by their speakers not only as an official recognition of their own existence as an ethnolinguistic group but also as a vital step towards the rescuing and reviving of their marginalized language and cultural practices. Although the same fundamental sentiments were also captured in Bikwani, the way they were expressed seemed more intense in Gwambeni. This was probably because, as has been argued throughout this thesis, although both Changana and Chope are low-status languages when compared to Portuguese, Chope is historically a much lower-status language than Changana.

Extract 1: *Hoyohoyo Cicopi*, a very popular song at EPC-Gwambeni

1	Hoyohoyo		Welcome	
2	Hoyohoyo, hoyohoyo Cicopi	(2x)	Welcome, welcome Chope	(2x)
3				
4	II		II	
5	Ahitsakeni...		Let's be happy...	
6	Ahitsakeni, hitsakela Cicopi	(2x)	Let's be happy, happy about Chope	(2x)
7				
8	III		III	
9	Hizumbile		For long time	
10	Hizumbile mbimo yolapha		We kept	
11	Hicichipisa...		Overlooking...	
12	Hicichipisa lidimi lathu	(2x)	Overlooking our own language	(2x)
13				
14	IV (Tekeleto)		IV (Chorus)	
15	Nyansi hagonda		Today we're learning	
16	Nyansi hagonda ngu lidimi lathu		Today we're learning in our language	
17	Nyansi habhala		Today we're writing	
18	Nyansi habhala ngu lidimi lathu		Today we're writing in our language	
19	Nyansi hagwira		Today we're showing off	
20	Nyansi hagwira ngu lidimi lathu	(2x)	Today we're showing off in our language	(2x)

This is a telling tribute to the advent of a new era for Choje and its speakers. The title celebrates the Choje language but behind that also lies the celebration of the introduction of bilingual education, the event that provided the context for the upgrading of the language and its speakers. There are two contrasting historical moments expressed in the lyrics: a long period characterised by speakers' negative attitudes towards their own language ('for long time/we kept overlooking/overlooking our own language', lines 8-12); and a second moment, marked by the introduction of bilingual education and characterised by the use of Choje in new functions ('today we are learning in our language...today we are writing in our language', lines 15-18), coupled with the pride associated with these new functions. That is, instead of feeling ashamed for speaking their language, as it was the case before, they now show off in Choje (lines 19-20).

The next transcript provides some contextual background which helps appreciate the enthusiasm expressed through the song above.

Extract 2: Interview with Mr Taela, a father from Gwambeni (Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

<p>1 F: se ok, handle ka lesvi unghalaya svaku  2 vatwisisa kwhatsi  3 loko vali lomu xikolweni... hi lihi  4 lisima lin'wani ulivona la kujondza hi  5 Xicopi?  6 Mr T: lisima lin'wani i kuve  7 lirimi lahina se alilova  8 F: imhim  9 Mr T: ((tosse)) se lirimi lahina nalilova  10 se akuve litlela lifundhisiwa xikolweni  11 i i mhaka ya lisima hiku svimaha  12 akuve an'tumbunuku wa hina  13 hingawukohlwi... HINGALAHLI  14 svaku hina hitumbuluka kwihhi  15 F: im  16 Mr T: se i lisima lakusungula lesvi  17 nisviwonaku.  18 hambhi hi hina [vavakulu], kuva  19 hivulavula Xicopi  20 se axihikaratela hikusa  21 hita hidhivanyisela ni Xiputukezi  22 kuve hivulavula Xicopi kahle.</p>	<p>F: ok, in addition to the fact that it  allows pupils to understand better  the school materials, as you said...  what are the other values that you  associate with learning in Choje?  Mr T: the other values come from the fact  that our language was getting lost  F: ok  Mr T: ((he coughs)) so since it was getting  lost, the fact that it is being taught in  school is is a valuable thing because  it prevents us from losing our  origins... IT MAKES US NOT  FORGET our roots  F: yes  Mr T: so in my view that is the prime  value.  even us [adults], speaking Choje  was getting difficult because some  times we mix it with Portuguese  although we can speak Choje very  well. this is because it was a DOGS'</p>
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23		hikusa iili <i>LÍNGUA DE CÃO</i>		LANGUAGE
24	F:	imhim	F:	ok
25	Mr T:	<i>se tinha que</i> hizama kutumbela kola ka	Mr T:	so we needed to try to hide ourselves
26		Xiputukezi		under the Portuguese language
27		maxji lava [vatsongwana] se vasvitiva		but these [children] know the bottom
28		amayentelela yakona ya Xicopi ((em		line of Chope ((he alludes to the
29		alusão aos alunos no ensino bilingue))		pupils in bilingual education))
30	F:	im	F:	ok
31	Mr T:	im, se lirimi lahina ungaku se lathela	Mr T:	yes, so it seems that our language is
32		lipfuka		reviving again
33		hi hi vatsongwana lava.		because of these children.
34		awuwoni ntiru wa xikolweni!		can you see the work of the school!
35	F:	im, loko uku “ <i>era língua de cão</i> ”	F:	ok, when you say “it was a dogs’
36		uvula^...		language” you mean^...
37	Mr T:	svaku ankama wakona wa muputukezi	Mr T:	that during the Portuguese rule
38		haa loko... <i>se</i> ahifunda kola ((refere-se		oh, if... we studied here ((he refers
39		à escola de Gwambeni))		to the school at Gwambeni))
40		loko wozwa uvulavulanyana Xicopi		if you happened to speak Chope
41		uli saleni		while inside the classroom
42		AWUBIWA SVAKU HE WENA!		YOU WERE BEATEN SO MUCH!
43		vaku “Iweyi avulavula alirimi la		they would say “this person is
44		mbzana”		speaking a dogs’ language”
45	F:	imhim	F:	ok
46	Mr T:	ubiwela toto ntsem...	Mr T:	you were beaten just because of
47		svaku “alwe avulavulile lirimi la		that... the fact that “this person is
48		mbzana”		speaking a dogs’ language”

In a previous account, Mr Taela had underscored the value of using Chope as a medium of instruction in facilitating pupils’ learning, based on a comparison of the performance of his two children in the bilingual programme with that of a third child of his in the Portuguese monolingual programme. After that account, I asked him to talk about other perceived values of bilingual education. He then noted that the prime value of teaching Chope in schools had to do with the fact that it prevented their language and culture from getting lost: ‘it prevents us from losing our origins/it makes us not forget our roots’ (lines 12-14). The use of Chope mixed with Portuguese can be regarded as the evidence he used to justify the alleged loss of the heritage language. From his account, one can argue that Mr Taela’s main concern was not much the disappearance of the language as such, but above all the use of Chope in its ‘unauthentic’ forms, a theme that recurrently emerged both in Gwambeni and Bikwani. The school and the pupils in the bilingual programme were then viewed as

the actors who would guarantee the revival and maintenance of the language (lines 31-34). The pupils were regarded as knowing ‘the bottom line of Chope’ (lines 27-28). Although he may have exaggerated in the credit he gave to those young children, what one cannot deny is that, although still modestly, these children were already acting as language experts and regulatory agents in their communities, a role that they would potentially strengthen as they grew older.

Another important aspect in Mr Taela’s account is the reason he attributed to the downgrading of their own language: the fact that Chope ‘was a dogs’ language’/‘*era língua de cão*’ (lines 22-23). Interestingly, in his utterance, Mr Taela switched into Portuguese, perhaps as a way of lending authenticity to what he was reporting. Through this rhetorical strategy, he invites one to revisit the colonial period, when African languages were constructed as languages of less human peoples, hence banned from official arenas, particularly from schools (see also Katupha, 1994). One of the consequences of the Portuguese colonial language policy was the stigmatisation of African languages and cultures, including by their own speakers, as expressed in the song in extract 1. In Mr Taela’s view, this also explained why Chope speakers were mixing Chope and Portuguese, though they could speak Chope very well, that is, in its ‘authentic’ form (lines 18-22). Therefore, among others, the use of Chope in the formal context of school had a ‘humanising’ effect on Chope speakers: they were being promoted from dogs to humans. These features help explain the warm celebration of bilingual education, partly expressed through the song which opened this chapter.

The extract below makes the symbolic linkage that Chope speakers established between the use of their language in school and their ethnic identity even more

apparent. The fact that the following account comes from the local traditional leader illustrates the power of the cultural symbolism of bilingual education in this setting.

Extract 3: Mr Gwambe, the traditional leader of Gwambeni (Gwambeni, 17/9/2007)

1	Mr Ge:	Xicopi xikwhatsi	Mr Ge:	Chope is good
2		hiku xinyika <i>vantage</i> yakuveni		because it has the advantage of
3		n`wana atapasa kudondza hi Xichopi,		allowing a child to achieve in
4		atapasa akudondza hi Xilungu,		Chope,
5		hinkwasvu svifamba sviya		[and also] achieve in Portuguese,
6		phambheni		moving forward in both
7	F:	im	F:	ok
8	Mr Ge:	im, wawona, matiku lawa	Mr Ge:	yes, look, in countries that are a
9		mangahluwuka hi khale seni...		long time developed...
10		kufana ni ka <i>África do Sul</i> ,		like South Africa,
11		lihlowo lakahina leni		people of this race of ours,
12		lakahina vantima leli		of this black race of ours
13		hambi loko vali mintirhweni		even when they are at work
14		uvakuma vatirha hi lirimi		you will find them speaking in
15		LAKAVOHO!		THEIR language!
16	F:	imhim	F:	ok
17	Mr Ge:	loko aza atakhuluma xilungu	Mr Ge:	when s/he ends up speaking the
18		se kuni mulungu la		white man's language, it means
19				that there is a white person there
20	F:	ya, im	F:	ok, yes
21	Mr Ge:	im, se mhaka leyi ya kujondzisa hi	Mr Ge:	yes, so this issue of teaching in
22		lirimi la hina leyi		our language
23		yitlakusa tiku lahina,		lifts our homeland up,
24		hitiva ku... hikhuluma hi lirimi		it makes us learn to... speak in our
25		lakahina.		own language.

In the first part of this episode, Mr Gwambe suggested that the advantage of bilingual education was that it allowed the children to achieve both in Portuguese and Chope. This may be taken as an indication that, contrary to what happens in other multilingual contexts: parents wanted both the high- and the low-status languages for their children. This theme is explored further in the next chapter.

He then moved on to convey the South African case as the ideal one. As he pointed out, in this country the locals use their vernaculars when they communicate among themselves, including when at the workplace, only switching into the 'white man's language' when there is a white man in that context. Although he did not articulate this, implicit in his account was that this is the model that should be adopted

in Mozambique. In fact, in the last part of the transcript, he suggested that the use of Chope in education could be a pathway towards such a model as ‘it makes us learn to speak in our own language’ (lines 24-25). I interpreted this as meaning that people would start to appreciate the pride that derives from using their own languages, including in formal institutions other than the school. As can be seen through the data, including that provided in the Appendix, reference to the South African case as a good example of promoting native languages and cultures was commonplace in both settings in this study. In fact, this case was also used by both educational officials and some community members as a good reference in their bid to convince parents about the worth of an educational system based on pupils’ native languages (see Extracts 1 and 64 in Appendices 5 and 8.2, respectively).

The extract below shows how a group of pupils from Bikwani reacted to what they seemed to have interpreted as their peer’s ‘rejection’ of his/their own native language, Changana. This episode may be used as evidence of how bilingual education may have been contributing to create in some children a sense of pride of being Changana. At this phase of the interview, I wanted to know pupils’ preferences in relation to the language media for instruction.

Extract 4: Group interview with grade 4 pupils (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007)

1	F:	Xichangana ke?	F:	how about Changana?
2	Rui:	Xichangana naxikota mas	Rui:	I know Changana but I don’t like it
3		anixirhandzi ((diz sorrindo))		((he says smiling))
4	Ramos:	agwira njani! ((diz baixinho mas de	Ramos:	look at how he is taking on so
5		forma audível e a estalar a língua em		many airs! ((he says quietly but
6		jeito de desprezo ou reprovação. a sua		audibly, he clicks his tongue in
7		expressão facial condiz com o que		annoyance or contempt. his facial
8		diz))		expression is consistent with what
9				he is saying))
10	F:	waxikota Xichangana...	F:	you can speak Changana...
11	Rui:	im, mas anixirhandzi	Rui:	yes, but I don’t like it
12	F:	awuxirhandzi	F:	you don’t like it
13	Rui:	im	Rui:	no
14	José:	yhoo! ((uma exclamação de surpresa e	José:	ooh! ((he expresses surprise and
15		distanciamento))		detachment))
16	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))

17	F:	hi mhaka mu?	F:	why?
18	Ramos:	fuseke, wohlanya Rui!	Ramos:	fuck off, you are crazy Rui!
19		utiva xilungu we?		do you know Portuguese?
20	Leo:	hambe hi xilungu angativi nchumu	Leo:	he doesn't even know much
21				Portuguese
22	Ramos:	ha nhambe hi xaxitsongo eeh	Ramos:	oh [you don't know] not even
23				much [of Portuguese]
24	Rui:	fuseke ((responde ao Ramos, a rir))	Rui:	fuck off ((he replies to Ramos,
25				laughing))
26	F:	((riso))	F:	((laughter))
27	Ramos:	lesvi unge Xichangana awuxirhandzi,	Ramos:	since you are saying that you don't
28		svosvi ukhuluma hi yi?		like Changana, in what language
29				are speaking right now?
30	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
31	Elísio:	ukhuluma hi yini lanu? ((também	Elísio:	in what language are speaking
32		transporta o mesmo tom sério de		there? ((he also expresses the same
33		condenação e repulsa, como o		sense of serious condemnation and
34		Ramos))		repulse as Ramos))

In a previous utterance, Rui had expressed his preference for Portuguese, a preference that he justified on the grounds that he was comfortable with the language. After that, I asked Rui what he thought about Changana. His response was point-blank: ‘I know Changana but I don’t like it’ (lines 2-3), a response that was not welcome by some of his peers. Although one can argue that Rui’s response was not necessarily an expression of disdain for Changana, the reaction from his colleagues seemed to indicate that that was their interpretation. The immediate reaction from Ramos was that Rui was ‘putting on airs’ (lines 4-5), he then classed him as a crazy man (line 18). The same approach was taken by other colleagues, such as José, Leo and Elísio, having all distanced themselves from Rui’s dislike of Changana. There were two lines of argumentation used by these pupils to dismiss Rui’s stance: they considered that Rui did not have enough command of the legitimate variety of Portuguese to justify his alignment with this language (lines 19, 20-21, 22-23), on the other hand, they questioned his stated dislike for Changana while actually speaking it. Note that in the previous chapter, extract 15, Ramos was the centre of attention because he said that he did not like Portuguese classes.

It was interesting to note the seriousness with which Rui's opponents were dealing with the matter. That was not only expressed verbally, but also non-verbally. For example, for Changana people, in addition to the use of the expletive 'fuseke'/'fuck off', clicking ones tongue, as Ramos did (lines 4-9), is one of the most overt ways of expressing annoyance or disdain for somebody. Therefore, one can claim that the reaction by Ramos and his colleagues conveyed their condemnation to what they may have interpreted as Rui's downgrading of one of his/their most valuable symbols of cultural identity, the Changana language.

### ***10.1.2 Literacy Practices in the Communities***

This section explores the functions of literacy in local languages in the communities of Gwambeni and Bikwani and the impact of bilingual education on the way literacy is valued and practiced in these communities (see also Extracts 29-35 in Appendices 7.2). Two main uses of literacy are considered here: informal correspondence and reading of religious materials.

As mentioned, with some rare exceptions, most of the teachers had their first literacy experience in their native languages when they joined the bilingual programme. The few who could write these languages before were doing so using non-standardised orthographies. Among other things, the following two extracts illustrate how teachers regarded the development of literacy skills as one of their major personal gains from bilingual education. The second extract also illustrates how teachers had been using their skills to change literacy practices in their communities.

Extract 5: Interview with Mr Neto, a grade 3 teacher (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

1	F:	antes de entrar para o ensino bilingue	F:	did you know how to write Chope
2		já escrevia Chope...?		before going into bilingual
3				education [programme]...?

<p>4 Mr N: eu escrevia Chope,  5 aquele Chope eh...  6 Chope mesmo errado!  7 quando já fui ver lá em Vilanculo  8 porque foi em Vilanculo no ano 2005  9 ((refere-se à primeira vez em que  10 participou numa capacitação em  11 ensino bilingue))  12 e então é dali onde comecei ver que  13 afinal aquilo que eu estava escrever,  14 a pensar que estou a escrever Chope,  15 afinal não era Chope!  16 era uma aproximação de algumas  17 palavras que...  18 para mim eu dizia que está certo.  19 porque o meu velho emm...  20 quando trabalhava na África do Sul  21 ele sempre insistia-me para escrever  22 usando a... quer dizer Chope  23 porque ele não compreende nada em  24 Português  25 então, dali eu comecei então... escrever  26 aquilo que eu queria escrever para ele  27 mas fazendo comparação de algumas  28 letras ali [com Português]  29 era dessa maneira que eu estava  30 aprender escrever Chope  31 mas que Chope dele também não era  32 aquele CHOPE CHOPE mesmo!  33 im, era Chope com problemas  34</p>	<p>Mr N: I could write in Chope,  a sort of Chope umm...  it was incorrect Chope really!  [I realised that] when I saw it in  Vilanculo  since it was in Vilanculo in the year  2005 ((he alludes to the first time he  took part in an upgrading course in  bilingual education))  so it was from there that I started to  realise that what I was writing,  thinking that I was writing Chope,  in fact wasn't Chope!  that was an approximation of some  words that... they were correct for  me.  because my father umm...  when he was working in South  Africa he always insisted that I  should write using... I mean Chope  since he understood nothing in  Portuguese  so, from there I started... to write  what I wanted to write to him  but always making approximations  between some [Chope] letters [and  those in Portuguese]  that's how I learned to write Chope  but, that Chope wasn't the PROPER  CHOPE anyway! yeah, it was a  kind of Chope with problems</p>
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As this transcript illustrates, Mr Neto was one of those few teachers who had had some experience in the written mode of his language before joining the bilingual programme. Although he could communicate with his father, he stressed that what he used to write before embarking on a career in bilingual education ‘wasn’t the proper Chope anyway’ (line 31-34; also lines 4-6). Notably, Mr Neto only reassessed his writing skills in Chope when he was first introduced to the standardised orthographies in 2005, as part of his preparation before joining the programme (lines 7-10).

Mr Neto may have been a bit harsh in his self-assessment. However, this is understandable when one considers how he learnt to write Chope. As he said, he taught himself to write the language, transferring what he knew about written Portuguese into Chope (lines 16-19). Therefore, the structural differences between the

two languages were not taken into account in the written form: Chope was literally written in Portuguese. Given the emphasis on the standardised use of the orthography in the bilingual education programme, no wonder Mr Neto looked back and regarded his previous writing as ‘not proper Chope’.

Another important aspect of Mr Neto’s account is the reason why he started to write in Chope: the need to communicate with his father who worked as a miner in South Africa (lines 20-25). In fact, in addition to religious purposes, this was one of, if not, *the* main reason why most of the literate people in both settings in this study learned how to read and write in local languages. As Mr Neto’s father, most of those who worked in South Africa and other domestic labour markets knew no Portuguese. Thus, the use of written African languages was the only means of communication between those emigrants and their relatives back home.

In addition to the transformation of local teachers, the next extract illustrates the importance of literacy in local languages in the religious field and the associated dissemination of the standardised orthographies in use in schools.

Extract 6: Interview with Ms Marta (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

- |    |        |  |        |                                      |
|----|--------|--|--------|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:     | imm e o que é que a levou a cobiçar    | F:     | umm what made you keen to enter      |
| 2  |        | o ensino bilingue?                     |        | the bilingual education?             |
| 3  | Ms Ma: | ah, é a questão de eu dar              | Ms Ma: | well, I was taken by the desire to   |
| 4  |        | as coisas na minha língua materna      |        | teach things in my mother tongue     |
| 5  | F:     | imhim, ok                              | F:     | yeah, ok                             |
| 6  | Ms Ma: | o desenvolver a leitura e a escrita    | Ms Ma: | the [desire] to develop reading and  |
| 7  |        | na minha língua materna                |        | writing [skills] in my mother        |
| 8  |        |  |        | tongue                               |
| 9  | F:     | você já já escrevia e lia Changana     | F:     | could you already read and write     |
| 10 |        | antes de entrar para o ensino          |        | Changana before joining the          |
| 11 |        | bilingue...?                           |        | bilingual education...?              |
| 12 | Ms Ma: | eu... tinha dificuldade para a escrita | Ms Ma: | I... had difficulties in writing but |
| 13 |        | mas para LER... porque já conseguia    |        | in READING... I was already          |
| 14 |        | ler bíblia                             |        | capable of reading the bible         |
| 15 |        | im, lia bíblia                         |        | yes, I could read the bible          |
| 16 | F:     | ok, e agora como é que te sentes       | F:     | ok, so how do you feel now           |
| 17 |        | depois destas [capacitações]...        |        | after these [upgrading courses]...   |
| 18 | Ms Ma: | agora eeh me sinto mais à vontade.     | Ms Ma: | I now feel umm more confident.       |
| 19 |        | às veze, como já Changana que estou    |        | sometimes, since the Changana        |
| 20 |        | a tratar aqui na escola é diferente    |        | that I am dealing with here in the   |
| 21 |        | daquele que vem na bíblia,             |        | school is different from that used   |



22		até consigo já... ver... corrigir alguns		in the bible, I am even capable
23		erros que vêm na bíblia		of... seeing... correcting some
24				errors in the bible
25	F:	emhem, então significa que tens	F:	umhum, it means that in some way
26		contribuído para a tua comunidade		you have been contributing to
27		religiosa... de alguma forma...		your religious community...
28	Ms Ma:	sim, tenho contribuído	Ms Ma:	yes, I have been contributing
29	F:	queres falar um pouco dessa	F:	do you want to talk a little bit
30		experiência...?		about that experience...?
31	Ms Ma:	às vezes quando leio bíblia...	Ms Ma:	sometimes when I read the bible...
32		às vezes não leio da maneira como		sometimes I don't read the way it
33		vem ali na bíblia.		has been written there.
34		eu leio da minha maneira como eu		I read in my own way, the way I
35		estou a dar.		am teaching.
36		então, eles procuram saber...		so, they try to find out...
37		eles tentam me corrigir.		they try to correct me.
38		então eu explico por que é que eu leio		then I explain why I'm reading
39		dessa maneira		that way "it is because we are no
40		"é porque essa maneira já não		longer using that way, we are
41		estamos a usar, estamos a usar		using a standardized Changana"
42		Changana padronizado" ((refere-se à		((she meant the standardization of
43		padronização da ortografia))		the orthography))

Ms Marta had been so keen to join the bilingual education programme that she had lobbied her bosses to be given a chance to enter the programme. Here she pointed to two reasons why she was keen to enter the programme: to be able to teach in her mother tongue (lines 3-4), which is Changana, and also to be able to develop her own reading and writing skills in this same language (lines 6-8). Implied in both justifications is her focus on ethnolinguistic ties. Although she did not articulate this in the account above, on various other occasions Ms Marta revealed to me how much she regretted not mastering writing in her native language but only in Portuguese. This same sentiment was overtly expressed by other teachers such as Ms Maura and Ms Constância (Extracts 31 and 32 in Appendices 7.2).

Ms Marta also reported that, although she could read the bible in Changana before joining bilingual education, she had difficulties in writing in this language. Ms Marta's new literacy skills in Changana had opened up the opportunity to contribute more to her religious community: in addition to reading religious materials in services, as she had been doing before, she had also been challenging the written form

in which such materials were presented (lines 31-35) and influencing other members of her church to be aware of and acquire the standardised Changana orthographies (lines 36-43). Therefore, after their own transformation via bilingual education, teachers were contributing to change in local literacy practices.

The extract below shows how the popularisation of mobile phones has been lessening the need for letters in informal contacts, one of the traditional functions of literacy in rural areas, as shown earlier through Mr Neto's experience.

Extract 7: Interview with Ms Tânia, a mother from Bikwani (Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

<p>1 F: yena... n'wina matsalelana ni vanhu  2 van'wani hi Xichangana  3 kumbe mutirhisa xo xilungu...?  4 Ms T: lexi xiyencelaka svosvi  5 sviyenca ingi... svoka svingahatalanga  6 sva kutsalelana.  7 svaku usviwona svaku se wasvikota ku  8 <i>pode</i> atsala munhu papila  9 i mhaka ya matelefone.  10 se ankama lowuya asvivevukile  11 hikusa... awuhantla umutumbula  12 n'wana svaku wasvikota kutsala papilo  13 hikusa  14 aloko ulava kutsalelana ni munhu  15 <i>às vezes pode</i> urhuma ye atsala  16 lesvaku UMUTESTARA usviwona  17 svaku wasvikota <i>ou</i> angasvikoti.  18 se svosvi <i>como</i> kutali wo matelfone  19 <i>só pode</i> utirhisa hi ko kuligarelana.  20 se svakarhata kuhantla usviintendera  21 svaku... watsala <i>ou</i> angatsali.  22  23</p>	<p>F: he... do you people write letters to  other people in Changana  or do you use Portuguese...?  Ms T: what happens nowadays is that  it looks like... it's no longer  common to communicate with  others using letters.  the current use of [mobile] phones  is what makes difficult to see  whether or not someone is capable  of writing a letter.  but during the old days it was easy  to find out whether a child is  capable of writing a letter or not  because when you wanted to write  to someone, you could sometimes  ask him/her to write the letter so  that you could CHECK whether  s/he can do it or not.  but since [mobile] phones are now  everywhere, you can only make  phone calls. so, it's difficult to find  out whether... s/he can write or not.</p>
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In this part of the interview, I wanted to know from Ms Tânia the extent to which her son's literacy skills had been useful at home and in the community. As with some other parents, Ms Tânia, a young mother who used a good deal of Portuguese while speaking Changana, could not point to any specific use of her son's literacy skills in those contexts. When I brought forward the issue of using letters to contact relatives, she was quick to point out that, due to the spread of mobile phones, 'it's no longer

common to communicate with others using letters' (lines 5-7). More revealing was her view in relation to the consequences of this new means of communication on parents' ability to access their children's literacy skills: since, unlike in the 'old days', nowadays there is no need to write letters to relatives, and so it is 'difficult to see whether or not someone is capable of writing a letter.' (lines 9-11)

In addition to the lessening of the need for reading and writing informal letters, teachers and parents also pointed to the fact that the children in the bilingual programme were still very young and so this was another reason why their literacy skills were not yet exploited at home and in the communities. However, there were participants who foresaw a role for these youngsters as they grew up. Some participants pointed to the religious field as the one in which these children were more likely to make their contribution, especially through the reading of scriptures in religious ceremonies (e.g., Extract 34 in Appendices 7.2).

### ***10.1.3 Language Awareness, Negotiations over Language Variation and Terminology Development***

In this section, I show how bilingual education is prompting language awareness and language development in the settings in this study. I also show that these two processes involve not only educational actors, including teachers and pupils, but also the beneficiary communities at large (see also Extracts 36 and 44 in Appendices 7). The term language awareness is perceived here as 'a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Donmal, 1985, p.7, quoted in Kleifgen, 2009, p.9). Drawing on this definition, I assume that language development, especially as described here, also entails language awareness.

The following extract, taken from my research diary, illustrates how parents are learning new terms in their native languages from their own children which are related to particular registers, at the same time that they are appreciating the fact that these languages are capable of fulfilling technical and scientific functions.

Extract 8: Parents' accounts taken from my diary (Xai-Xai, 13/9/2007)

<p>1 depois da entrevista, a Sra Tânia apresentou  2 depoimentos interessantes. de forma  3 entusiasmada, ela conta que, como estudou em  4 Português, nunca tinha imaginado que  5 houvesse palavras changanas equivalentes a  6 “adição”, “subtracção”, “divisão” e  7 “multiplicação”, usados em matemática. no  8 meio de risos e emocionada, ela disse “svaku  9 kuni <i>VUPATSI</i>, <i>VUSUSI</i>, <i>VUYAVANISI</i> ni  10 <i>VUVUYELELI</i>, mina aningasvitivi.  11 nisvifundha ka yena ((refere-se ao filho, que  12 está na quinta classe))”. Esta revelação faz-me  13 recordar depoimento semelhante dado por  14 uma mãe de Gwambeni, quando na  15 companhia de colegas do INDE tivemos um  16 encontro com os pais em 2003. na linha da Sra  17 Tânia, essa senhora disse “nikulile nigama  18 lana, svaku kuni HAVA hi xicopi,  19 aningasvitivi”, numa alusão ao número  20 ZERO, importante em operações matemáticas.</p>	<p>after the interview, Ms Tânia offered an interesting account. in an emotional way, she reported that, since she studied through the medium of Portuguese, she had never imagined that there were Changana equivalents to “addition”, “subtraction”, “division” and “multiplication”, used in mathematics. laughing, she said “I did not know of the words ADDITION, SUBTRACTION, DIVISION and MULTIPLICATION. I learned them from him ((she meant her son who is at grade 5)). this account reminds me of a similar one from a mother from Gwambeni, when my colleagues from INDE and I had a meeting there with parents in 2003. in the same vein as Ms Tânia, that mother said “up to this age of mine, I did not know that there’s a ZERO in Chope”, in a clear reference to the number ZERO, which is important in mathematical operations.</p>
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As sufficiently described in this extract, educated in a Portuguese monolingual system, Ms Tânia could not contain the emotion she experienced when she learned the Changana technical words. I later related Ms Tânia’s account with a similar one provided by a mother from Gwambeni in 2003, who ‘confessed’ that, in all her life, she had not known that there was an equivalent to the term ‘zero’ in Chope. In both cases, the mothers involved reported that they had learnt the new terms from their own children.

The emotional reaction from those two women can be better understood when framed against the ideological assumption that African languages are incapable of conveying technical and scientific knowledge, an assumption that dates back to the

colonial rule but still prevails today across Africa. In this context, when they heard the above terms from their children, they may have reconsidered this ideologically-based representation of African languages and, as a consequence, they may have begun to readjust their own values regarding their languages.

Reactions such as the ones considered above were also expressed by other parents and also teachers. In addition to mathematical terms, parents were also eager to learn metalinguistic terms from their children and other terms used to designate ordinary phenomena such as months and colours, which, in ordinary discourse in local languages, are usually referred to in Portuguese. Faced with these new uses of Chope and Changana, a recurrent reaction by many speakers has been to reassess their own linguistic credentials, with some revealing something like “oh, I thought I knew my language, but I have realised that I don’t” (cf. Mr Neto’s self-assessment of his writing skills in extract 5 above). I take all the reactions describe here as manifestations of speakers’ heightened language awareness, as defined above.

The following transcript illustrates one of the ways teachers in the bilingual programme negotiated the use of linguistic terms for teaching Chope and for teaching through this language. As happened regularly in both sites in this study, the teachers in the schools of Gwambeni met on a Saturday to discuss pedagogical and terminological issues emerging from their daily activities. Three teachers were in charge of the sessions of the day: Mr Muhati and Ms Carla, from EPC-Gwambeni, and Mr Chico, from the school at Dahula. Each of them led one of the following three sessions: (i) Chope metalanguage; (ii) mathematical operations of multiplication and division in Chope; (iii) and the monetary counting system in Chope. During the weeks that had preceded this workshop, the three teachers had identified a set of issues that had concerned practitioners in the five primary schools of Gwambeni and, as a group,

they had tried to find solutions for those issues. This included reviews of the few Chope teaching/learning materials available and consultations with peers and also experienced members of the communities served by those schools.

The discussion transcribed below, which was in Portuguese and Chope, was taken from the session on metalanguage, led by Mr Muhati (Mr M). This came after Mr Muhati had presented a long list of metalinguistic terms in Portuguese followed by their Chope equivalents on the chalkboard. The list included terms such as verb/‘*cimaho*’, sentence/‘*cigava*’, and text/‘*ndima*’.

Extract 9: Teachers’ discussion about Chope metalanguage (Gwambeni, 15/9/2007)

- |    |        |  |        |   |
|----|--------|--|--------|---|
| 1  | Ms S:  | pode-me aclarar por parte daquela              | Ms S:  | can you please give me some             |
| 2  |        | palavra aí <i>URARAVINGWA</i>                  |        | clarification about that word           |
| 3  |        | ((a palavra Chope cunhada para                 |        | <i>URARAVINGWA</i> ((the Chope word     |
| 4  |        | designar ‘figuras de estilo’))                 |        | coined for ‘figures of speech’))        |
| 5  |        | os meus colegas aqui puderam-me                |        | my colleagues here could explain to     |
| 6  |        | dizer que bom                                  |        | me that <i>URARAVINGWA</i> is like      |
| 7  |        | <i>URARAVINGWA kufana ni</i>                   |        | TAKING OR PUTTING ON AIRS               |
| 8  |        | <i>KUTIGULETA kumbe KUTIKULISA</i>             |        | umm... I don’t know whether... if I     |
| 9  |        | <i>eeh... nikatizivi to... nicyatiwomba ha</i> |        | say to the pupils that “PUTTING         |
| 10 |        | <i>ka vagondi ti to kheno</i>                  |        | ON AIRS” and s/he says “I DON’T         |
| 11 |        | “ <i>UNI WURARAVINGWA</i> ”                    |        | UNDERSTAND THAT”                        |
| 12 |        | <i>aci “NIKHATIPFI”</i>                        |        | what should I do?                       |
| 13 |        | <i>nifela ku nimaha cani?</i>                  |        |   |
| 14 | Mr M:  | <i>eeh... hiveni ni tixamulo timbidi hi</i>    | Mr M:  | umm... we had two answers to that       |
| 15 |        | <i>mhaka leyi</i> ((faz alusão a sessões de    |        | issue ((he alludes to the sessions on   |
| 16 |        | produção de materiais em Chope com             |        | material production in Chope with       |
| 17 |        | os seus colegas de Zavala))                    |        | his colleagues from Zavala))            |
| 18 |        | <i>URARAVINGWA wuthumisiwa ngutu</i>           |        | the word <i>URARAVINGWA</i> is more     |
| 19 |        | <i>Zavala.</i>                                 |        | frequently used in Zavala.              |
| 20 |        | <i>maxji athu mawonbelo UJIKAJIKA</i>          |        | but our way of referring to it is       |
| 21 |        |  |        | <i>UJIKAJIKA</i> /‘INDIRECTNESS’        |
| 22 | Ms S:  | im im ((concorda com a explicação))            | Ms S:  | yes yes ((she accepts the               |
| 23 |        |  |        | explanation))                           |
| 24 | Mr M:  | im   | Mr M:  | yeah                                    |
| 25 | Ms S:  | <i>im, nitilava ku khanu tatumeleka ku</i>     | Ms S:  | ok, since we also have the Chope        |
| 26 |        | <i>nga nkonko hiku ni Cicopi conco co</i>      |        | word <i>KUJIKAJIKA</i> , what I want to |
| 27 |        | <i>KUJIKAJIKA</i>                              |        | know is whether we are allowed to       |
| 28 |        | <i>loko niwomba to URARAVINGWA</i>             |        | use this word in cases where, in        |
| 29 |        | <i>aci “NIKHATIPFI”</i>                        |        | response to the use of                  |
| 30 |        | <i>já pode nitaku khene hib’ala</i>            |        | <i>URARAVINGWA</i> , a student may      |
| 31 |        | <i>KUTIKULISA</i>                              |        | say “I DON’T UNDERSTAND                 |
| 32 |        |  |        | THAT” can I then say we mean            |
| 33 |        |  |        | PUTTING ON AIRS                         |
| 34 | Group: | xxx  | Group: | xxx                                     |
| 35 | Ms S:  | admite-se?                                     | Ms S:  | is it allowed or not?                   |
| 36 | Mr M:  | pode... xxx                                    | Mr M:  | you can... xxx                          |
| 37 | Mr V:  | eu tenho um pensamento                         | Mr V:  | I’ve got an idea                        |

38	Mr M:	sim	Mr M:	yes
39	Mr V:	já que esta maneira vem de Zavala,	Mr V:	since this way [of expressing it]
40		porquê que nós não colocamos esta		comes from Zavala, why don't we
41		nossa que usamos aqui?		enlist this word that we use here?
42		porque parece que não...		because it doesn't seem...
43		não é a forma errada que nós usamos		the term we use here isn't wrong
44		É NOSSA MANEIRA [DE DIZER!		IT IS OUR WAY [OF SAYING IT!
45	Mr M:	[sim sim	Mr M:	[yes yes
46	Mr V:	então, VALE TAMBÉM!	Mr V:	so, IT'S ALSO VALID!
47		eu tenho essa ideia		that's my point of view
48	Mr F:	sim, é muito fácil ((diz calmamente	Mr F:	ok, it's very easy ((he says calmly
49		mas seguro de si))		but self-confidently))
50		trata-se de vocabulário		it has to do with the lexicon
51		quando já temos URARAVINGWA		having URARAVINGWA already
52		e aquela outra palavra		and that other word
53		trata-se [de...		it means [that...
54	Mr V:	[DE UM GANHOS PARA	Mr V:	[THAT WE ARE
55		NÓS!		BETTER OFF!
56	Mr F:	sim sim é o que se quer	Mr F:	yes yes that's what we need
57		por isso não é imperioso colocar eh...		so, it is not an imperative to
58		apenas a nossa língua só.		consider umm... only our variety.
59		aquela palavra também é importante		that word is also important
60		questão de vocabulário [até...		it's a matter of lexicon [in fact...
61	Mr M:	[pronto	Mr M:	[ok, fine
62	Mr F:	até porque se houvesse mais outro	Mr F:	in fact if we had another Chope
63		Chope que designasse		[variety] which referred to
64		URARAVINGWA doutra maneira		URARAVINGWA in a different way
65		podíamos colocar MAIS		we would enlist MORE
66		ou vinte vezes palavras dessas		or twenty other words like that
67	Group:	((gargalhadas))	Group:	((big laughter))
68	Mr F:	[seríamos ricos em vocabulário	Mr F:	[we would be rich in lexicon
69	Mr V:	[SIM... é um ganho	Mr V:	[YES... that's a gain
70	Mr F:	por isso, não há problema	Mr F:	so, there isn't a problem
71	Group:	((gargalhadas))	Group:	((big laughter))
72	Ms S:	até porque recordei que às vezes que	Ms S:	I even remember that there were
73		admitíamos que assim que		times when, if we found two words
74		encontrássemos palavras como		like those, we were allowed to put a
75		aquelas admitíamos colocar uma barra		slash and write in our own way
76		e escrever à nossa maneira		
77	Mr V:	SIM	Mr V:	YES
78	Ms S:	porque vou carregar URARAVINGWA	Ms S:	because it may happen that I carry
79		chego lá esqueci		this word URARAVINGWA with me
80		não me recordei de nada		but when I get there [in my
81		de URARAVINGWA		classroom] I remember nothing
82				about URARAVINGWA
83	Mr M:	emmm tá bom BARRA ((no quadro,	Mr M:	umm ok SLASH ((he writes a slash
84		coloca uma barra depois da palavra		after the word <i>uraravingwa</i> on the
85		<i>uraravingwa</i> e escreve <i>ujikajika</i> ))		board and then the word <i>ujikajika</i> ))
86	Mr V:	a nossa maneira de dizer aqui...	Mr V:	our way of saying it over here...
87		a nossa maneira de dizer		our way of saying URARAVINGWA
88		URARAVINGWA AQUI! ((bate com o		OVER HERE! ((he punches the
89		punho na carteira))		desk with his fist))
90	Mr G:	im	Mr G:	ok
91	Mr V:	im é essa maneira que temos que	Mr V:	yes, that's the form we have to
92		escrever ali ((aponta para o quadro))		write down there ((he points to the
93				chalkboard))
94	Mr F:	já relaciona com Changana!	Mr F:	you are now relating it to
95		((ironiza))		Changana! ((he says ironically))
96	Mr V:	se... ((mostra ter sido apanhado de	Mr V:	if... ((he seems to have been caught
97		surpresa com a revelação, pára de		by surprise with that remark, he

98	falar, como que a admitir o	stops speaking, as if he were
99	comentário do professor Faela))	admitting Mr Faela's comment))
100	Ms S: oh, não há problema ((socorre o	Ms S: well, it doesn't matter ((she rescues
101	professor Vasco que está engasgado))	Mr Vasco who appears speechless))
102	nós queremos fazer entender a criança	what we need is to make the child
103	aquilo que estamos a tratar num	understand what we're addressing
104	determinado tema	with regard to a given topic
105	Mr V: SIM ((diz aliviado))	Mr V: YES ((he says relieved))
106	porque a criança já conhece a nossa	because the child already knows the
107	maneira de dizer aqui	way we say it over here

As the transcript shows, the discussion here revolved around the issue of the language variety that should be legitimated in the classroom. The initial term ‘*uraravingwa*’, suggested by Mr Muhati for ‘figures of speech’, was not well received by some of the participants, particularly Ms Samira (Ms S) and Mr Víctor (Mr V). This term, which is from the Chope variety spoken in Zavala, was considered by these teachers as uncommon in Gwambeni. They suggested the term ‘*ujikajika*’, instead, perceived as the equivalent word used in the variety of Gwambeni, hence the one both teachers and pupils were familiar with. Although not disputing the arguments put forward by Ms Samira and Mr Víctor, other participants, including Mr Faela (Mr F), were for the use of both terms ‘*uraravingwa*’ and ‘*ujikajika*’, suggesting that that was an added value to the language, as speakers would have different lexical possibilities to choose from.

In the last part of the discussion transcribed above, it emerged that ‘*ujikajika*’ was in fact a borrowing from Changana, which illustrates the influence of this language on the Chope spoken in Gwambeni. Interestingly, from Mr Víctor’s reaction to Mr Faela’s revelation (line 96), it became apparent that he, and perhaps also Ms Samira, was not aware of this fact. Nevertheless, the proponents of this term argued that that did not matter because, as Ms Samira put this, what they needed was to aid pupils’ learning (lines 102-104). In the end, both terms were taken on board, and the recommendation was that both should be introduced to the pupils as synonymous.



This episode illustrates not only how heated negotiations on the issue of language variation were but, above all, how the issue of ‘authenticity’ was, on occasion, pragmatically sacrificed for the sake of inclusiveness.

The transcript below shows how the negotiations about the language varieties used in schools not only involved educational actors but also the communities served by the bilingual schools in this study. In this transcript, Mr Bikwani expressed his concern in relation to aspects of the counting system used in the schools of Bikwani.

Extract 10: Interview with Mr Bikwani, the traditional leader (Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1 F: se xikona lexi uxivonaku svaku<br/>2 xingalungisiwa ka majondzisela<br/>3 lawa... xingahombonyoka...<br/>4 kumbe kuni svin’wani lesvi<br/>5 svikutsakisaku nawenawu,<br/>6 <i>pode</i> usvikhuluma<br/>7 Mr B: ha ahiwoni lesvi svingahombonyoka<br/>8 ((mostra-se cauteloso))<br/>9 ova lirimu lolelo,<br/>10 ungehesvicinci hikuva i Xichangana<br/>11 xolexo!<br/>12 F: im<br/>13 Mr B: im, se lomu kahina...<br/>14 lomu kahina lesvi hisvitivaku<br/>15 i svaku kuni “xin’we, svimbirhi,<br/>16 svinharhu, muni, ntlhanu, ni xin’we, ni<br/>17 svimbirhi, ni svinharhu, ni muni,<br/>18 chume”<br/>19<br/>20<br/>21<br/>22 se senyia svoyavadida tingqhondho<br/>23 ((refere-se às crianças no contexto de<br/>24 escola))<br/>25 hiku kuna NHUNGU na KAYI<br/>26 se AMAKAYI lawaya! ((diz com<br/>27 algum humor))<br/>28 kolava ku uza se usvitovelola<br/>29 kuve loko uku “ntlhanu ni svimbirhi,<br/>30 ntlhanu ni xin’we, i machume mabirhi,<br/>31 i zana, i mazana mambirhi, i khulu”<br/>32 ha svivevukile<br/>33 F: im<br/>34 Mr B: se KAYI ni NHUNGU<br/>35 hilesvi sviyendlaku ku...<br/>36 athhela aku “nhungu i nxini?”<br/>37 se uzwa uya lahaya vayaku...<br/>38 kumbe i OITO kumbe i SETE kee<br/>39 F: im</p> | <p>F: so, is there anything that you think<br/>needs to be fixed in this way of<br/>teaching... something you think<br/>that is off the tracks... or other<br/>things that make you feel happy,<br/>you can also speak about those<br/>there’s nothing we consider to be<br/>off the tracks ((he seems careful))<br/>it’s how the language is,<br/>you can no longer change it because<br/>that is Changana also!<br/>F: ok<br/>Mr B: yes, but over here in our<br/>homeland...<br/>what we know over here is that<br/>there is “<i>xin’we, svimbirhi,</i><br/><i>svinharhu, muni, ntlhanu, ni</i><br/><i>xin’we, ni svimbirhi, ni svinharhu,</i><br/><i>ni muni, chume</i>”/“one, two, three,<br/>four, five, six, seven, eight, nine,<br/>ten”<br/>so, they are getting confused down<br/>there ((he alludes to the children in<br/>the school context))<br/>because there is <i>NHUNGU</i>/‘eight’<br/>and <i>KAYI</i>/‘nine’.<br/>so, these <i>MAKAYI</i>/‘nines’ here! ((he<br/>says with a sense of humour))<br/>you need to get used to them<br/>whereas if you say “seven, six,<br/>twenty, hundred, two hundred,<br/>thousand” oh, it is easy<br/>F: ok<br/>Mr B: so, it’s the use of <i>NHUNGU</i> and<br/><i>KAYI</i> which makes this a problem<br/>that... leads one to ask “what do<br/>you mean by <i>NHUNGU</i>?” I’m not<br/>sure whether it’s EIGHT or SEVEN<br/>F: ok</p> |
|---|--|

40 Mr B: kati loko aku NTLANU NI  
41 SVIMBIRHI  
42 awahatlheli uvutisa

Mr B: whereas if one says *NTLHANU NI SVIMBIRHI* “seven”, you don’t need to explain any further

In this last part of the interview, I opened a space for Mr Bikwani to talk about any aspect that had not been addressed but which he found important to be talked about. Mr Bikwani started diplomatically by saying that everything in the bilingual programme was well on track. However, he then raised the issue on the use of the terms ‘*nhungu*’/‘eight’ and ‘*kayi*’/‘nine’ in the counting system adopted in schools (lines 22-32). He argued that these terms, locally perceived as being from the Changana spoken in Gazankulu in South Africa, were significantly different from the ones traditionally used in the Changana variety of Bikwani and, above all, were confusing for the children and also for adults, including himself (lines 22-23, 34-38). He suggested that the use of the equivalent terms found in the variety of Bikwani would facilitate children’s learning and also the interaction between those children and the adults, who were used to that old system (lines 28-32, 40-42).

At the time, this was a big issue in Bikwani. I had heard about this concern before and, in fact, Mr Bikwani was echoing the concern of many parents who had children in the bilingual programme. Some teachers were not happy with the Gazankulu solution either, which also included the use of the terms ‘*tsevu*’/‘six’ and ‘*kovo*’/‘seven’, not mentioned by Mr Bikwani in the interview.

Interestingly, when I returned to the field in 2008, I found that the schools in Bikwani had agreed to abandon the Gazankulu counting system and follow the locally-based and familiar system instead. I was told that parental pressure and also teachers’ discomfort with that counting system had been the main reasons for change. This case illustrates how bilingual education has been paving the way for community

agency concerning educational matters: the community of Bikwani had a say in aspects of the language variety that the school had been teaching to their children.

#### ***10.1.4 Funds of Knowledge: Capitalising on Home/Community Knowledge for Teaching/Learning***

In the previous chapter, I showed that the use of pupils' first languages and home knowledge is providing an environment which is conducive to learning, both in L1 and Portuguese contexts. Here, I provide further evidence for this claim by showing how bilingual education is facilitating the incorporation of culturally relevant topics into the curriculum and the involvement of parents in the schooling of their children (see also Extracts 16, 39 and 42 in Appendices).

The next transcript, from a Chope lesson based on a reading text on hygiene, provides evidence for the potential of bilingual education for making connections between school and home knowledge. This lesson shows how, instead of downgrading local knowledge, as had been the case until recently, the school can incorporate this knowledge into the curriculum as a complement of or even an alternative to what can be referred to as metropolitan knowledge.

Extract 11: A grade 5 Chope lesson based on a text on hygiene (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 11/9/2007)

1	Mr M:	kuni simaha si hingasiwona nyanova	Mr M:	there are things that we talked about
2		hici singathuma ka basiselo		yesterday, that can be used for
3		hinga tona?		hygiene, didn't we?
4	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
5	Mr M:	i cani ni cani?	Mr M:	what are they?
6		hiti cani hingasithumisako ka basiselo		what are the things that we said that
7		ya nthu?		we can use for personal hygiene?
8		wamweyo...		someone [to respond]...
9	Cesse:	((levanta o braço, oferecendo-se para responder))	Cesse:	((she raises her hand, offering herself to reply))
10				
11	Mr M:	im	Mr M:	yes
12	Cesse:	sephu ((fala muito baixinho))	Cesse:	soap ((she speaks very quietly))

13	Mr M:	sephu ((o professor vai repetindo o que a aluna diz))	Mr M:	soap ((the teacher repeats the word she is saying))
14				
15	Cesse:	mati	Cesse:	water
16	Mr M:	mati	Mr M:	water
17	Cesse:	dikhuma	Cesse:	ash
18	Mr M:	dikhuma	Mr M:	ash
19	Cesse:	((silêncio, se calhar a assinalar que já não tem mais a dizer))	Cesse:	((silence, perhaps signalling that she has nothing else to say))
20				
21	Mr M:	i mani alavako kutatisako?	Mr M:	who wants to add something?
22	S:	<i>sou eu</i>	S:	it's me
23	Ss:	<i>sou sou</i> ((os alunos competem para ter a vez, pedem a vez em Português))	Ss:	me me ((the pupils compete for the turn, they bid in Portuguese))
24				
25	Mr M:	se i mani asewomba?	Mr M:	so, who hasn't spoken yet?
26	Ss:	[ <i>sou eu</i>	Ss:	[it's me
27	S:	[ngani ngani	S:	[it's me it's me
28	Mr M:	awo asewomba	Mr M:	that one hasn't spoken
29	S:	<i>escova</i> ((diz uma aluna muito baixinho))	S:	toothbrush ((a girl says in a very low voice))
30				
31	Mr M:	<i>escova</i>	Mr M:	toothbrush
32	S:	kolgete ((diz um aluno baixinho))	S:	toothpaste ((a boy says quietly))
33	Mr M:	ham kolgete	Mr M:	oh yes, toothpaste
34		loko usiyimani kolgete?		how if you don't have toothpaste?
35	Ss:	<i>sou sou</i>	Ss:	it's me it's me
36	S:	<i>sou sô prossor</i> ((suplica um aluno))	S:	me Sir ((a boy begs for the turn))
37	Ss:	sou ((mais uma vez os alunos lutam para ter a vez, gritam e levantam os braços bem alto))	Ss:	it's me ((once again, the pupils fight for the turn, they scream and raise their hands high))
38				
39				
40	Mr M:	em ((dá a vez à Flávia))	Mr M:	yes ((gives the floor to Flávia))
41	Flávia:	hingathumisa n'lala	Flávia:	we can use <i>n'lala</i>
42	Mr M:	hingathumisa n'lala	Mr M:	we can use <i>n'lala</i>
43	Flávia:	sitsheketsheke	Flávia:	<i>sitsheketsheke</i>
44	Mr M:	sitsheketsheke	Mr M:	<i>sitsheketsheke</i>
45	Flávia:	cikhese	Flávia:	<i>cikhese</i>
46	Mr M:	i njhe mayiziva mindonga yi ayiwombaku ((dirige-se à turma. há um tom de elogio à aluna na sua pergunta))	Mr M:	do you really know the herbs she is naming? ((he addresses the class. there's some sort of praise for the girl's performance in his query))
47				
48				
49				
50	Ss:	IM ((respondem em uníssono e bem alto, como que a manifestarem que conheciam o mundo cultural em causa))	Ss:	YES ((they respond in chorus and aloud, as if they were expressing that they knew the cultural world at stake))
51				
52				
53				

In this episode, the teacher asked the pupils to recall the means used for personal hygiene that they had learnt in a previous lesson. As can be seen from the pupils' contributions, in addition to 'conventional' means such as toothbrush, toothpaste and soap, they also named some of those means used locally, such as '*dikhuma*'/'ash', '*n'lala*', '*sitsheketsheke*', '*cikhese*'. Whereas '*dikhuma*'/'ash' is used as an alternative to soap, the last three are herbs used as alternatives to both toothbrushes and toothpaste. While '*n'lala*' had also been mentioned in the previous lesson,

*'sitsheketsheke'* and *'cikhese'* had not. This explains why the teacher praised Flávia's contribution in particular (lines 46-49). Since these two herbs had been mentioned for the first time in class, Mr Muhati was checking whether the other pupils knew about them. The pupils were quick to respond in chorus and said out loud: 'YES', which I took as an expression of their familiarity with the cultural universe evoked by the mention of the plants by Flávia.

Flávia's initiative indicates that she, and certainly other pupils, were already aware of the fact that home knowledge was welcome in the classroom, as indicated by Mr Muhati's prompt in line 34: 'how if you don't have toothpaste?' This openness to the local culture had the effect of boosting pupils' creativity as they had a wealth of cultural capital to draw upon. This did not happen when they were confined to the Portuguese language and the metropolitan cultural worlds associated with it.

The following extract, taken from a Changana lesson built around a text on community leaders, shows how socio-political changes were having an impact on school curriculum. In this case, topics such as religious observance, traditional kingdoms and folk medicine, which had been marginalised within the official curriculum of public schools in Mozambique until recently, were evoked in this class as a result of changes in the political discourse. In addition, this lesson also illustrates how parents have been called upon to serve as resources for formal education (extract 13).

Extract 12: A Grade 4 Changana lesson based on a text on local leaders (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 12/9/2007)

1	Ms C:	i mani angayihlayaku hosi ya muganga lomu kaBikwani...	Ms C:	who can name the local leader of Bikwani...
2				
3	Roger:	((levanta o braço))	Roger:	((raises his hand))
4	Ms C:	im pfuka uyihlaya	Ms C:	yes, stand up and name him
5		hila kuyitiva hosi ya muganga phe		we want to know the local leader
6		aningayitivi		I don't know him
7		nyamuntlha nitayitiva		I will know him today

8		i mani hosi ya muganga?		who's the local leader?
9	Roger:	i vovo Bikwani	Roger:	it's grandpa Bikwani
10	Ms C:	i vovo Bikwani	Ms C:	it's grandpa Bikwani
11		vovo Bikwani i nxini?		what's the position of grandpa Bikwani?
12				
13	Ss:	i hosi ya muganga	Ss:	he's the local leader
14	Ms C:	i hosi ya muganga.	Ms C:	he's the local leader.
15		handle ka vovo Bikwani		in addition to grandpa Bikwani
16		vakona van'wanyani		there are other [leaders]
17		i va mani?		who are they?
18	Ss:	((alguns alunos cochicham nomes entre eles))	Ss:	((some pupils whisper some names among themselves))
19				
20	Ms C:	him?	Ms C:	what?
21	Ss:	((ninguém se oferece))	Ss:	((nobody offers him/herself))
22	Ms C:	vasakaratani...	Ms C:	the secretaries...
23		i va mani vasakaratani va va va va		who are the secretaries of of of these neighbourhoods of ours?
24		lomu kahina?		are there any secretaries over here?
25		akuna vasakaratani lomu?		
26	Ss:	vakoho	Ss:	yes, there are
27	Ms C:	mavativa... va mani?	Ms C:	do you know them... who are they?
28		ka ka ndhawu ya n'wina i mani		Vanda, who is the secretary of your neighbourhood?
29		sakaratani wa n'wina Vanda?		in your neighbourhood...
30		seni ka n'wi...		
31	Vanda:	((silêncio, apenas sorri))	Vanda:	((silence, she only smiles))
32	Ms C:	i mani amutivaku sakaratani wa wa	Ms C:	who knows the secretary of his/her place?
33		ndhawu ya ye?		
34	Elísio:	((levanta o braço, sorridente))	Elísio:	((raises his hand, smiling))
35	Ms C:	im hingapfuka umuhlaya Elísio	Ms C:	yes, Elísio, stand up and name him/her
36				
37	Elísio:	i vovo Florinda	Elísio:	it's granny Florinda
38	Ms C:	vovo Florinda	Ms C:	granny Florinda
39		ahlamula ndhawu leyi ya Gwava leyi		she is in charge of this area of Gwava
40		se la vali ala ((retoma o texto no quadro))		so, in here they say that ((she turns back to the text written on the chalkboard))
41		kuni ahosi ya muganga		there is a local leader,
42		kuni vasakaratani		there are leaders of religious congregations, folk doctor leaders and others. they are the venerable leaders in a given community.
43		ni varhangeli va tikereke		
44		varhangeli va tinyanga		
45		ni van'wani.		
46		hivona vachaviseki vakulu		
47		mugangeni.		
48				

This lesson focussed on teaching the children to respect the same local cultural practices and local social structures that until recently had been stigmatised and marginalised (the exception here are the secretaries of neighbourhoods, who represent the interests of the ruling political party). In the above episode, Ms Constância asked the pupils to name the leaders of some of the local institutions, such as the traditional leader of Bikwani, secretaries of neighbourhoods, religious leaders and folk doctor leaders. The pupils managed to name some of the leaders, but not all of them. Note

the treatment ‘*vovo*’/‘grandpa’/‘granny’ used by the pupils, which is consistent with the way youngsters like them are traditionally supposed to treat those who are of their grandparents’ age. The respect that these and other leaders should be devoted was reasserted by Ms Constância when she concluded that those were ‘the *venerable* leaders in a given community’ (lines 47-48).

Since the pupils had not managed to name some of the leaders, at the end of the lesson, the teacher recommended them to seek their mothers’ help and bring the responses back to her in the following lesson, as shown in the extract below. Ms Constância was therefore constructing pupils’ mothers as ‘intellectual resources’ (Moll, 1992, p.22), and she saw them as actors who could co-operate with her in the education of their own children.

Extract 13: A Grade 4 Changana lesson based on a text on local leaders (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 12/9/2007)

1	Ms C:	kula ku mundzuku...	Ms C:	tomorrow I want you...
2		i ntirhu wa le kaya lowo,		that’s the home-work,
3		munhu ni munhu ata atatanigwela		each of you must come here and tell
4		avitu la murhangeli wa nkereke leyi		me the name of the leader of the
5		akhongelaka, musvitwi?		religious congregation you belong
6				to, did you get it?
7	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
8	Ms C:	munhu ni munhu ayafiki avutisa	Ms C:	each of you must ask your mother
9		mamani wakwe kaya aku “mama, kasi		when you get home “mum, what’s
10		avitu la la... i mani amurhangeli wa		the name of of... who is the leader
11		nkereke ya hina kasi?” ((diz simulando		of our church?” ((she says in a
12		uma voz de criança))		childish voice))

Mr Peleves’ account transcribed below indicates that parents’ involvement in pupils’ learning would be more effective if textbooks in local languages were available. As he suggested, without textbooks, parents hardly followed what pupils learn at school and also did not have the wherewithal to help them to review school materials at home.

Extract 14: Mr Peleves in a group interview with parents (Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	Mr P:	asvilava kuveni ni mabhuku vakumeka	Mr P:	it's required that they also have
2		vali nawoho.		books.
3		eeh, vatatahikomba		umm, so that they could come and
4		nahinavu vab'ava vako loko hili kaya		show them to us
5		hasvikota kuvakombisa...		we parents can also explain [things]
6		loko ili ya Xichangana, hasvikota		to them when at home...
7		svin'wanyani ni svin'wanyani...		if the books are in Changana, we
8		hivakombisela		can understand something...
9		como hina hixitolovelile hintamu.		we could explain to them since we
10		hikusa lesvi hingafundha...		are more experienced in Changana.
11		tipo hina hifundhe hi xo Xichangana,		this is because we learnt...
12		mara aali Xilungu,		it's as if we had learnt in Changana,
13		mara asvingatalanga kuva		though it was [officially] in
14		hibzeleteliwa hi Xilungu ntsena hikusa		Portuguese. it wasn't common to be
15		ahali ka nkama wolowu wakuveni		instructed in Portuguese only
16		vhela svahatshamisi svosvesvo...		because that was at the time when
17		se ka hina xiwupfile hikuva		the situation was in fact like that...
18		hambi loko hingaxitsali kufana ni lexi		so, we are proficient [in Changana]
19		xinga mabhukweni		even if we cannot write it as it is
20		mara haxitsala Xichangana xitwakala		written in the textbooks,
21		kuvulavula!		we write Changana which is
22				meaningful, though!

From Mr Peleves' account, one understands that, despite their commonly acknowledged limitations in Portuguese, some parents were capable of contributing to their children's learning, especially when the materials were in their native languages. As he noted, some parents, like himself, could read and write Changana, though, as he also conceded, not 'as it is written in the textbooks' (lines 20-23). In this final point, he is alluding to the difficulties arising from the use of the standardised orthographies.

## 10.2 Bilingual Education and Socio-Cultural Transformation

In this part of the chapter, I discuss three co-terminous topics: the role of bilingual education in the legitimisation of marginalised cultural practices, languages and their speakers, in the maintenance and development of local languages, and in facilitating the integration of local forms of knowledge and communities in schools.



### ***10.2.1 Pluralism and Legitimation of Marginalised Cultural Practices, Languages and their Speakers***

The legitimation of local languages and cultural practices can be regarded as one of the outcomes of bilingual education in Mozambique. As a consequence, there is an increased sense of ethnolinguistic pride and identity affirmation among the communities concerned. As argued, this transformation is intimately linked with changes in the socio-political arena, which is now imbued with principles of multilingualism and multiculturalism. I have also illustrated how bilingual education is, in turn, impacting on citizens' attitudes towards local languages and cultural practices. In this way, bilingual education can be perceived as both an outcome and a driver of socio-political transformation.

The current celebration of diversity in the political discourse in Mozambique has contributed to the shaping of new forms of multilingual and multicultural provision in education. This ideological change has impacted not only on the school domain, but also on the community and societal domains. Indeed, while substantiating the view that bilingual education policy 'supports the maintenance of students' cultural identities by publicly recognizing the importance and equal worth of the students' heritage language and culture' (Moses, 2000, p.336, quoting Taylor, 1994), the data presented in 10.1 also shows that the impact of the policy extends beyond the school context.

At the school level, the use of local languages and reference to local forms of knowledge and cultural practices is prompting pupils' learning and also the affirmation of their ethnolinguistic identity. The school has also been embracing the ideals of pluralism and tolerance which prevail in the society. For example, the positive reference to and recognition of local leaders, religious observance and folk

doctors in the classroom context were regarded as a clear evidence of a change in state ideology towards diversity (see, e.g. RM, 1997). Note that, in a recent past, characterized by a monolithic Marxist ideology, local cultural practices and social structures were associated with exploitation, obscurantism and idealism (as opposed to materialism), or they were perceived as residues of colonialism that should be combated. However, nowadays, traditional leaders, religious leaders and folk doctors are treated with respect and seen as important partners of the state in local mobilisation and governance. This new context of ‘retraditionalization in the modernization of Mozambique’ (Stroud, 2007, p.42) explains the positive reference to the local cultural practices, social structures and roles in the lesson discussed in Section 10.1.4.

At the community level, I showed how people in Gwambeni and Bikwani not only are reacting positively to the advent of bilingual education but also revisiting the image of themselves as inferior groups. Due to language ideologies which date back to the colonial rule, Portuguese has been perceived as the language of modernity and progress, while African languages have been associated with ‘tradition and obsolescence’ (May, 2008, p.18). These ideologies explain, at least in part, why many speakers of these languages are still sceptical about their use in education. The analysis of these specific ideological forms of representation can also help us to understand the mixture of surprise and joy expressed by those speakers who, for the first time, heard about or experienced the use of these languages with reference to scientific and technical functions: they were surprised because these languages are now being used to impart knowledge that was only thought to be related to and passed through Portuguese. This can be viewed as a step towards the re-construction of

African languages as languages of modernity and progress, in keeping with the African renaissance discourse (Alexander, 1999, 2003).

As a consequence of the upgrading of their languages and cultures through school, speakers from both sites in this study are now starting to affirm their ethnolinguistic identity more openly and they are also beginning to regard the children in the bilingual programme as the ones who will guarantee the reproduction of their linguistic and cultural heritage. In some cases, identity affirmation is taken to such extremes that some speakers advocate ‘purism’ in the use of these languages, for example, aiming to speak local languages without mixing them with Portuguese. Schools are thus viewed as the institutions which promote local languages and as likely to ensure the ‘authenticity’ of these languages, that is, to contribute to the construction of ‘legitimate local languages’ (Stroud, 2003).

These claims about an ‘authentic’ use of local languages can be linked with a longstanding tendency to view African languages as markers of identity. When it came to accounts of collective identity, Chope and Changana were constructed by the participants in my study as ‘our’ languages in Gwambeni and Bikwani, respectively. That is, these languages were perceived as ‘symbol[s] of identity and belonging’ (Heller, 2003, p. 481), whereas Portuguese was perceived as ‘their’ language (still metropolitan), the language needed for pragmatic ends, an issue that I will take up in the next chapter. This suggests that, despite colonial efforts to make Mozambicans ‘Portuguese citizens’ via the Portuguese language and associated culture, as well as post-independence attempts to promote Portuguese as the language of *Moçambicanidade* (Mozambicanhood), the majority of citizens, especially rural citizens, remained ideologically attached to their local languages and cultural traditions. If that symbolic attachment was made covertly, at least outside the

ethnolinguistic group, the current pluralist ethos in the country and the introduction of bilingual education seem to be encouraging speakers to express these symbolic linkages more overtly.

However, this contrast between ‘our’ and ‘their’ language needs to be problematised. As a matter of fact, the way speakers presented themselves and what they said about the languages in their repertoires did not always match with the purposes they assigned to these languages or to the ways in which they used them. The case of Gwambeni offers a particularly rich context for the exploration of this issue. Overall, participants defined themselves as Chope speakers and as having Chope roots. However, their day to day language practices indicated that this symbolic identity was not static but dynamic. I will illustrate this point with reference to three insights gleaned during my study:

First, although they recognised that the variety of Chope spoken in Zavala was the ‘authentic’ one, not all of them identified themselves with that variety. Overall, they spoke and were proud of their hybrid variety of Chope, a variety highly influenced by Changana. This was partially illustrated by the teachers’ discussion documented in extract 9. As showed, that discussion revolved around the variety that the school tended to disseminate, a kind of a compromise between the Chope varieties spoken in Gwambeni and Zavala. Whereas some teachers were open to the use of technical terms based on the Chope variety of Zavala, others defended the use of terms from the local variety, even if they were borrowings from Changana.

Second, in an area officially regarded as homogeneously Chope, almost all community members spoke Changana. Some had a Changana background whereas others had learned Changana from their life experiences in Changana-speaking areas, including those who had learned the language in South Africa while working with

fellow Changana speakers. Those who could speak Changana seemed to be proud of their skills in this language. For example, although I gave my interviewees the option of talking in Chope, almost all of them preferred to speak to me in Changana. Given my poor skills in Chope, one could say that this was their way of being cooperative with me, making my life easier. However, their pride to show me their Changana skills as well the returnees' eagerness to share with me their life experiences in Changana-speaking areas indicate that there was some particular form of symbolism attached to Changana.

Third, those who could speak Portuguese, in various instances, showed a distinct alignment with this language. These speakers included teachers, pupils and other members of the community. For example, most of the teachers declared that they could express themselves better in Portuguese in formal contexts than in Chope, including when dealing with topics related to the Chope language and cultural traditions. This explains why all teachers from Gwambeni preferred to speak to me in Portuguese in our interviews, though we spoke Changana and some Chope in other contexts. Moreover, when speaking in Chope, in addition to switching into Changana, this category of speaker tended also to resort to Portuguese very often, which can be understood as a way of indexing not only a particular academic background but also their membership of a distinct social group, a group with access to Portuguese highly prized symbolic resource (for further discussion of the function of codeswitching in indexing social group affiliation and differentiation in Mozambique, see Stroud, 2004, and references therein).

The contrast between what the speakers said about their ideological alignment with Chope and their day to day language practices are best explained if we adopt a post-modern view of 'identity as multiple, shifting and contingent' (May, 2000,

p.373). The sociolinguistic conditions in Gwambeni were more conducive to linguistic and cultural hybridity, than ‘authenticity’. These conditions included: (i) the mixture of origins (Chope and Changana) among members; (ii) the strong exposure to Changana via radio, religious materials, and Changana speakers, including traders; (iii) the strong presence of returnees who, mainly for socioeconomic reasons, had been exposed to different linguistic and cultural experiences elsewhere; (iv) and the influence of Portuguese mainly via formal schooling. All these conditions challenge any attempt to conceptualise a uniform identity built around an ideal authentic Chope language and cultural values. The same fundamental claim, *mutatis mutandis*, also applies to the site of Bikwani.

### ***10.2.2 Bilingual Education, Language Maintenance and Language Development***

García (1997) states that ‘Low-status languages most often need the support of an educational setting in their maintenance and development. Bilingualism, and especially biliteracy, are rarely obtained without the support of an educational setting.’ (p. 416) While recognising the role of educational settings in the maintenance and development of low-status languages, this statement also concedes that their level of importance may vary from context to context. García considers the level of sociolinguistic vitality of a low-status language in a local community or home as a conditioning factor. It is within this framework that I analyse the cases of Gwambeni and Bikwani, which typify rural Mozambique.

Overall, both Changana and Chope have strong sociolinguistic vitality in the local communities as well as in the children’s homes. Portuguese does not pose any threat to either of the languages. As shown throughout the thesis, in the case of Gwambeni, Chope is competing with Changana. However, what I found was that, in

this setting, Chope speakers merely added Changana to their repertoires, rather than replacing Chope with Changana. Thus, practice suggests that Chope has considerable vitality in this setting, at least for the time being.

As Brock-Utne (2005) points out in relation to rural Africa, also in Gwambeni and Bikwani people ‘conduct their lives entirely in local languages’ (p.180). In fact, even before the introduction of bilingual education, Chope and Changana were also the *de facto* languages in the respective school contexts, for large part of the instruction. I have argued elsewhere in this regard that, by introducing bilingual education and the use of local languages as resources in Portuguese-medium instruction, the new curriculum came to ratify a practice that had already been in place in rural Mozambique since the colonial era (Chimbutane, 2005a,b). In this sense, one could argue that the advent of bilingual education did not make a significant difference with respect to the maintenance of Chope and Changana, though, as discussed in the previous section, it has been instrumental in changing peoples’ perceptions and in raising the status of these languages.

The sociolinguistic vitality of these languages, coupled with the impact that bilingual education is having on the affirmation of local identities, raises questions about the common view in bilingual education research that transitional models lead (necessarily) to language shift and cultural assimilation (e.g. Hornberger, 1991; García, 1997, Baker, 2006). My view is that the sociolinguistic context for transitional models of bilingual education can shape their linguistic and cultural outcomes. In contexts where pupils from low-status linguistic groups are surrounded by high-status languages, as is usually the case with pupils speaking low-status languages in the U.S., transitional models of bilingual education are more likely to lead to monolingualism and acculturation. However, in those contexts like Gwambeni and

Bikwani, where pupils are surrounded by their local languages, these models are likely to strengthen the maintenance of low-status languages and associated cultural values, instead of weakening them. In fact, considering that even the Portuguese-monolingual education system has failed to influence language and cultural shift in these rural contexts, how can one expect the transitional model of bilingual education to do so? I acknowledge that the relative linguistic/cultural stability of these rural areas is, in part, a result of the inefficiency of a second language-based system of education and that this scenario may change as impact of current intra-national and global political and economic forces are felt more intensively. However, I would argue that, at least so far, acculturation and language shift (from local languages into Portuguese) are essentially urban phenomena in Mozambique. Actually, even in urban contexts, only a tiny minority can be regarded as being effectively detached from their linguistic and cultural origins. Most urban dwellers shift between the languages in their repertoires as they take on different identities, as they pursue different social and political ends. This is in tune with the post-modern, critical view of speakers as social actors who, strategically, ‘draw on linguistic resources which are organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions’ (Heller, 2007, p.1).

Another notable contribution of bilingual education in the sites in this study has been in the area of language development and in the generation and use of new genres and registers in local languages. This corroborates the finding that ‘using a language as a medium of instruction may raise its status and expand its corpus, as new language users come about and new language uses evolve’ (García, 2009, p.219, drawing on King and Benson, 2004). Indeed, the demands resulting from the use of local languages for educational purposes is encouraging efforts aimed at establishing or reviewing standardised orthographic systems, developing terminologies and



producing teaching/learning materials in these languages. At the same time, in addition to the pupils in bilingual schools, other speakers, especially those in the education field, are being introduced to new formal functions and uses of local languages. As mentioned so far, although the overwhelming majority of educated Mozambicans are bi-/multilingual, they are in general monoliterate: with very few exceptions, they cannot read and write in African languages, but in Portuguese. In this context, bilingual education is providing a demanding context for citizens' language development. This explains why practitioners in bilingual education have regarded the development of their literacy skills in their native languages as the major personal gain out of the programme. Following on from their own personal transformation, these practitioners are not only transferring their skills to their pupils but also to other community members.

The development of local languages has involved local teachers and communities. The process is not one in which experts or central level institutions orchestrate and impose forms of language to local teachers and communities, but a joint enterprise. This arrangement has the advantage of building local ownership of the bilingual programme, one of the conditions recurrently associated with the effectiveness and sustainability of this form of education, including in Africa (e.g. Bamgbose, 1999; Stroud, 2001; Alidou, 2004; Tadadjeu and Chiatoh, 2005).

Regarding the literacy practices in Changana and Chope in the communities, there is some evidence that it is mainly confined to religious functions, especially reading (see also accounts in Extracts 33 and 34, Appendices 7.2). If, until recently, these functions were combined with the use of local languages for informal correspondence among relatives (both reading and writing), the popularisation of mobile phones has now undermined this trend. The fact that this pattern of

correspondence is on the wane has been negatively impacting on literacy development in the areas of Gwambeni and Bikwani, particularly given its historical role in pushing rural citizens to develop literacy in local languages. As one can read from participants' accounts (e.g. extract 7 above), the impact of bilingual education would by now be more visible if mobile phones had not replaced informal letters, since the children now learning in native languages would be requested to act as literacy brokers, reading and writing letters on behalf of those who cannot do so, thereby reproducing a practice that had spanned several generations.

Nevertheless, there are new literacy uses of local languages, including the use of printed materials for education for health, especially as regard to HIV/AIDS prevention. This suggests that, following on the introduction of local languages in formal education and also in adult literacy, the use of literacy in these languages to improve the lives of rural communities should be the next step. In fact, this has now become one of the development strategies being implemented in various parts of Africa. For example, Stroud (2001) shows how through materials produced in local languages in Ghana, 'adults now have access to discursive spaces where they can negotiate and deal with global and national political issues of major concern, such as general elections or AIDS' (p.352). Among other literacy-based initiatives, also Omoniyi (2007) reports on the Kenyan DrumNet project whose aim was 'to equip rural farmers with market literacy so that they can access useful information relevant to the production and distribution of their commodities' (p.544). The success associated with these kinds of initiative, which are usually linked to NGOs, speaks for the efficiency and efficacy of using literacy in community languages for rural development in Africa. The mote of the II National Conference of Culture - 'Culture:

key for sustained development' (MEC, 2009) - underscores the embracement of this locally-base vision of development in Mozambique also.

### ***10.2.3 Local Expertise and Agency: Minding the Gap between the School and the Home/Community Contexts***

The data presented in 10.1 suggests that bilingual education is contributing to the transformation of rural schools, from being islands detached from the communities they serve to settings where school/academic and local knowledge meet and cross-fertilise. This is in tune with the funds of knowledge perspective regarding educational change and school improvement (Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1992). In what follows, I discuss how a set of practices in bilingual education in Gwambeni and Bikwani mirror the funds of knowledge concept, though still only partially.

As in other traditional models of education, a salient feature of the Portuguese-monolingual educational provision in Mozambique has been that knowledge has been cascaded in a unidirectional and unchallenged fashion from the top to the bottom levels of the educational structure. In this context, knowledge has been transferred from teacher trainers to teachers who, in turn, impart the received knowledge to the pupils. In addition, especially in rural areas, schools and teachers have been constructed as the sole custodians of legitimate knowledge, with little if anything to learn from the local communities.

The advent of bilingual education is destabilising this architecture, at the same time that is nurturing a new order in which the flow of knowledge is two-way. Teachers are no longer *the* unchallenged experts, but co-actors who can also learn from their pupils and from the communities. As I mentioned, faced with the need for technical terms in local languages, teachers have turned to experienced community

members to learn specialised terms that they have then adapted to their teaching needs. Conversely, the communities are also learning technical terms and new genres in their own languages from teachers and pupils. For example, I illustrated how teachers are contributing to the dissemination of the standardised orthographies of local languages in the communities, especially in the religious field. I also showed how pupils are teaching their parents technical terms that they had never thought existed or were possible in their native languages. In turn, parents are also serving as intellectual resources for their children, as they help them with their homework. As I mentioned, teachers now view parents as valid intellectual partners in the education of the pupils. In this new setup, teachers and pupils function as the main vehicles of knowledge transfer between the fields of the school and the home/community.

Although meso-level practitioners, such as the linguists involved in bilingual education, have more technical expertise than local level practitioners (e.g. the development of standardised orthographies), they either do not speak the languages they are required to work with or, when they speak them, they usually do not have full command of them. In this context, these experts are ‘forced’ to negotiate with the locals, who are usually more proficient in their languages, in order to find joint solutions to the complex challenges encountered in bilingual education, including that of coining technical terms and improving the orthographies of those languages. This is what can be called symmetrical collaboration among social networks for the purpose of enhancing teaching and learning experiences (Moll et al., 1992).

In addition to co-operating in the transfer of local knowledge to schools, parents and other community members are also overseeing and influencing the form of the language and content that the schools are passing onto their children. The issue on the counting system in Bikwani substantiates this claim. The local community

influenced change in the approach adopted in local schools: terms in the counting system perceived as being from the Gazankulu variety of Changana were abandoned in favour of the most common terms in that region. Also Veloso (s/d) reports, for example, on how the Ibo community in Cabo Delgado province negotiated with the local education authorities with regard to the variety of Kimwani that should be used in local schools there.

I shall note that community involvement is now possible because the curriculum now in force sets the conditions for that to happen: there are now provisions for the use of local languages as media of instruction and as resources in Portuguese-medium classes, as well as the required focus on local knowledge for 10% of the school curriculum. This is referred to as '*currículo local*' (see Chapter 6). The use of local languages in the school domain has empowered the locals because, among other things, they are no longer constrained to express themselves in these now legitimate codes in this domain: they are experts in these languages and also in the cultural perspectives expressed through them, which gives them authority in their negotiation bids with the representatives of educational institutions. The allocation of 10% of the school curriculum to local knowledge contributes to an upgrading and legitimation of this form of knowledge, which makes teachers and pupils seek to mobilise it from community sources and legitimately use it in the classroom. In the end, the incorporation of funds of knowledge is rendering the curriculum relevant and facilitating pupils learning, as also documented in relation to other contexts (see, for example, Moll et al., 1992; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003).

However, I found that practitioners in both sites in this study were still not clear about the meaning of the notion '*currículo local*' and, above all, how to operationalise it. For example, they were not certain about how aspects of local

knowledge and skills should be collected and integrated into the curriculum or by whom. Although there was recurrent reference to aspects of the local cultural knowledge and practices in the classes I observed and recorded, this tended to happen spontaneously and depended on individual teachers' awareness and ability to do so. There were no coordinated and programmatic efforts to document and capitalise on local funds of knowledge in the spirit of the *currículo local*, as would be expected. Moreover, although some practitioners reported inviting parents or other community members to share their expertise with the pupils, in three months of fieldwork I did not document a single session of this nature in either of the schools in this study.

Another constraint is the lack of textbooks and other printed materials in African languages. As discussed, this is limiting community involvement in pupils' education. Indeed, evidence indicates that the availability of printed materials in local languages would facilitate parents' role as aids for pupils' learning at home as well as allowing schools to be held more accountable. That is, with printed materials, it would be easier for (literate) parents to oversee both the content of materials used with their children and also the form in which these materials were being presented, including the orthographic systems used. Indeed, as Veloso (s/d) points out in relation to Kimwani and Nyanja (languages spoken in the northern provinces of Mozambique), the orthographies of these languages have been a matter of heated discussions between educational institutions and local communities, especially religious groups. This is mainly because these groups are more familiar with the orthographies that have been developed by missionaries in the colonial era and used in religious materials for generations, than with the standardised orthographies now in use in bilingual schools. In fact, even in the case of Chope, there is at least one influential Catholic Father who has been contesting important aspects of the new orthographies

for this language. This Father has even lobbied high ranking members of the political leadership in order to keep at least some aspects of the old Chope writing system. The evidence above suggests that the apparent settlement in Gwambeni and Bikwani may be due to the fact that the communities do not have the opportunity to see printed versions of the curriculum materials taught to their children.

Disputes surrounding standardisation efforts in the context of bilingual education have also been reported in other contexts, such as in the Andean region (see Hornberger and King, 1998; King and Benson, 2004). In all documented cases, the issue revolves around speakers' perceptions that the proposed unifying norms differ from their language practices and also generate 'inauthentic' varieties.

## Chapter 11: Bilingual Education and Socio-economic Mobility

Local languages in Africa are closely connected to generation of capital, as they are part and parcel of the development and promotion of a survival (literally and figuratively) from the market hegemony of European languages.  
(Djité, 2008, p.138)

### *Overview*

This chapter considers aspects of the socio-economic value attributed to bilingual education. I argue that, although the general trend in both sites in this study is to regard Portuguese as *the* language of access to formal labour markets and associated socio-economic mobility, the introduction of bilingual education is contributing to destabilising this ‘consensus’ by raising community awareness about the actual and potential capital value of African languages.

The chapter comprises two main sections. In the first section, I present the main themes emanating from the data: the issue of language choices (11.1.1); the functions attributed to Portuguese and African languages in the workplace (11.1.2); and the consideration of the capital value of African languages in formal and informal markets (11.1.3). The second section discusses two interrelated themes emerging from the data: the allocation of different spaces and values to Portuguese and African languages (11.2.1) and the emergence of new markets for African languages (11.2.2).

### **11.1 A Take on Key Themes**

#### *11.1.1 Language Choices*

As research has shown, the fact that speakers see certain languages as valuable forms of capital whereas others are not has been one of the main reasons why bilingual education has been a site of struggle. This is partly because ‘education serves as a means of assigning value to language and literacy resources and, at the same time, as



a means of regulating access to them.’ (Martin-Jones, 2007, p.163) This role of education justified my interest in participants’ views about the value of using African languages in education in a country where the formal linguistic market is dominated by Portuguese (see also Extracts 45-54 in Appendices 8.1).

The extract below shows how many parents reported having initially reacted when they were confronted with the idea of sending their children to a bilingual education programme where initial instruction is conducted in an African language. It also gives an indication of the reasons why they reacted unfavourably to the initiative.

Extract 1: Interview with Ms Jacinta, a grandmother from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	F:	usviwona njani wena	F:	how do you see
2		amajondzisela lawa ya Xicopi lawa?		this system of teaching in Chope?
3	Ms J:	((sorriso))	Ms J:	((smile))
4		ningab’ala svaku		I would say that,
5		majondzisela ya Xicopi		since we didn’t study in Chope,
6		lesvi hina hingakala hingajondzanga hi		we find teaching/learning in Chope
7		Xicopi		somehow difficult.
8		hixiwona na xikarhata.		in addition to that
9		e Xicopi futsi hi lexi vafun-...		Chope is what they lear-... learn at
10		vawulawulako xona kaya,		home,
11		vatlela xikolweni vatakuma Xicopi!		they come to school and find Chope
12		se svoo-... svohinyika ku hikanakana		again! so, this ma-... makes us very
13		hintamu.		doubtful.
14		wawona ku loko avo Xicopi lexi		you see that, if they said that
15		i <i>para</i> ajondza primera		[children] should study in Chope at
16		ka <i>segunda</i> aya ka xilungu		grade 1 and then start to learn in
17		ka trasera se angenile ka xilungu...		Portuguese at grade 2, that would
18		svayampsa lesvo!		be better! but that’s not what’s
19		maxji imhim-him		happening. they say that until... I
20		vale anze... kumbe vale anze ka ma-...		don’t know whether it is until grade
21		((mostra-se duvidosa))		fou-... ((she is doubtful))
22		ka makwarta, <i>quinta</i>		it’s only at grade four, five when
23		hikona acincaka awuya ka xilungu		they switch into Portuguese
24	F:	im	F:	ok
25	Ms J:	se hilesvo svihinyikaku kukanakana hi	Ms J:	so, that’s what makes us doubtful
26		svona		we think “oh, what are these
27		hisviwona ku “aah, vatativa yini vana		children going to achieve since
28		hiku Xicopi hi xoxi vaxitivaku kaya!”		Chope is what they know from
29				home!”
30	F:	im	F:	ok
31	Ms J:	hixoxo xihikanakanisaku	Ms J:	this is what makes us doubtful
32		(...)		(...)
33	F:	se wena awuwona svaku	F:	so, you think that it would be better
34		asvitayampsa loko asungula		if [your child] started to learn in

35		<i>ka primera</i>		Chope at grades 1 and then
36		naafundha hi Xicopi		switched into Portuguese...
37		aguma acinca aya ka xilungu...		is it that what you would like to
38		hilesvi unghasvilavisa svona?		see?
39	Ms J:	im, <i>para</i> ku hinkwasvu vasvitiva ka!	Ms J:	yes, so that they can master both
40				[languages]!

In this episode, Ms Jacinta revealed that she cast doubts about the effectiveness of bilingual education for her grandson's education. She pointed to two reasons why she had doubts: first, she mentioned the fact that she had not been educated in Chope, but in Portuguese, which made her regard it difficult to teach/learn in Chope (lines 4-7), though she did not substantiate this claim; second, she said that she found the use of Chope to be counterproductive as this was the language that children learnt at home. As she put this: 'what are these children going to achieve since Chope is what they know from home'? (lines 25-29) The underlying rationale here is that schools are for teaching the high-status language and cultural values, the ones children are not exposed to at home. From her account, one can understand that this was, in fact, the main reason why she was questioning the effectiveness of bilingual education. This view was also expressed by other participants, including the pupils interviewed.

While she did not rule out the use of Chope at all, she suggested that it should be used in the first year of schooling, followed by a switch into Portuguese (lines 14-23). She concluded that this model would allow children to master both languages (lines 39-40). Ms Jacinta's view resonates the popular belief that the earlier the child learns a second language, the better, a view already discussed in Chapter 9.

In a later development in this interview, I learned that, for some reason, Ms Jacinta had not attended any of the sensitising meetings that the school reported having held at the beginning of each school year. This may explain, at least in part, why she was not well informed about bilingual education, hence her doubts about it.

The next account illustrates how some parents who, like Ms Jacinta, had initially expressed concerns at their children's fate in bilingual education but had changed their minds as their children progressed in the programme.

Extract 2: Ms Kátia in a group interview with parents in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	Ms K:	<i>tá bom</i> mina nitahlamula.	Ms K:	ok, I will answer [this question].
2		mina akusungula kakona akusvitwa		when I first learned that there was
3		svaku i <i>para</i> kufundhiwa hi Xicopi		provision for learning in Chope, I
4		anivaviseka niku “xii, n’wana wa mina		was worried and thought “gosh, at
5		kaya nimufundhisa Xicopi,		home I teach Chope to my child,
6		<i>já</i> xikola ayavulavula Xicopi		then he comes to school and speaks
7		KAMBE...”		Chope ALSO ...”
8		<i>já</i> niku “ <i>eh pa</i> , i nkama wakona		then I thought “well, times keep
9		wucincacincaka!”.		changing!”.
10		se nkama lowu angasungula kufundha		however, when my child started to
11		Xicopi <i>já</i> n’wana wa mina		learn Chope and started to
12		asvitwa <i>já</i> ... <i>akompreendera</i> ... ativa		understand it... to comprehend it...
13		<i>bem</i>		and mastered it well,
14		se nitsaka <i>já</i>		I then felt happy
15	F:	im	F:	ok
16	Ms K:	awasvitiva kutsala Xicopi...	Ms K:	he can now write Chope...
17		se natsaka svosvi <i>porque</i> se n’wana wa		I am now happy because my child
18		mina		can now write Chope
19		se Xicopi waxitiva kutsala		he also knows Portuguese now
20		xilungu kambe se waxitiva		he can now write in both
21		se hinkwasvu wasvitiva kutsala hi svo		[languages]

The start of this account shows that Ms Jacinta was not alone in her concerns: also for Ms Kátia, teaching in Chope was initially at odds with her concept of schooling (lines 2-7). One can argue that both parents were not only associating schooling with Portuguese, but above all were aware of the currency of this language and associated cultural capital at the societal level.

However, unlike Ms Jacinta, Ms Kátia's views had undergone some transformation, as a result of the progress she had noticed in her child's education. Ms Kátia's views had started to change when she noticed that her child was grasping and mastering Chope (lines 10-14). However, it seems that her mindset became solid when she realised that her son was showing ability to speak and write in both

languages: Chope and Portuguese. Irrespective of the extent to which her son could in fact perform in these languages, what this account highlights is that Ms Kátia's positive attitude towards bilingual education had to do with her perception that, in addition to Chope, the programme also allowed children to acquire Portuguese. This focus on Portuguese is made more apparent in the following account.

Extract 3: Ms Cristina in a group interview with parents (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	Ms Cr:	akuna svin'wanyani	Ms Cr:	I have nothing to add
2		hiko ku avafundhi hisvasvimbirhi ka		the only thing I would say is that
3		svo.		they must learn both [languages].
4		vafundha xilungu ni Xichangana.		they must learn both Portuguese
5				and Changana.
6		vangafundhi Xichangana ntse		they should not only learn
7		((parece expressar alguma crítica ou		Changana ((she seems to express
8		insatisfação))		some criticism or unhappiness))
9		<i>mara</i> nahingo xixandza Xichangana.		but this doesn't mean that we are
10				underrating Changana.
11	F:	im, lesvikumahaku uvula ku kulaveka	F:	fine, what are the main reasons
12		vafundha ni xilungu naxonawu, hisvi		why you say that they should also
13		ntshimantshima yakona?		learn Portuguese?
14	Ms Cr:	em avafundhi Xichangana,	Ms Cr:	yes, they should learn Changana
15		vave ni bhuku la Xilungu		they should have a Portuguese
16		ni bhuku la Xichangana		reading book
17		<i>para</i> vatasvikota hinkwasvu		and also a Changana reading book
18				so that they can master both

As with the accounts considered above, Ms Cristina also underscored the need to learn/teach both Portuguese and the local language. However, from her remarks, one could infer that, unlike Ms Kátia, she was not happy with the outcomes of the programme. Based on my understanding of the scenario, I interpret Ms Cristina's remarks alongside the general understanding that pupils in the bilingual programme were achieving far better in local languages than in Portuguese, as I illustrated in Chapter 9. This was made more apparent when she remarked: 'they should not only learn Changana' (lines 6-7). In this passage, she signalled that the balance was tipping towards Changana, so something should be done in order to ensure a balance of opportunities between this language and Portuguese, by devoting more attention to the

(effective) teaching of the latter. In what I can consider a politically correct move, she stated that this reminder ‘...doesn’t mean that we are underrating Changana’ (lines 9-10). Her repair was completed in the last part of the episode, when she suggested that both languages should be treated equally: both should have reading books so that children can master both of them (lines 14-18), which is appealing, specially considering that Portuguese had reading books, but not Changana.

The need to learn Portuguese and the local languages in school was also expressed by some pupils, such as Higídio in the following extract. Interestingly, most of those who were for the teaching/learning of both languages focussed on the functional value of bilingualism.

Extract 4: Higídio, a grade 5 boy in a Group interview (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

- |    |          |  |          |                                     |
|----|----------|--|----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:       | hingahigela awe, Higídio                         | F:       | Higídio, tell us [your thoughts]    |
| 2  | Higídio: | totshe [tidimi] natidhunda                       | Higídio: | I like both [languages]             |
| 3  | F:       | hamm, totshe watidhunda. ngu cani?               | F:       | ok, you like them both. why?        |
| 4  | Higídio: | nilava kutiziva totshe                           | Higídio: | I want to know both of them         |
| 5  | F:       | ula kutiziva totshe                              | F:       | you want to know both of them       |
| 6  | Higídio: | im   | Higídio: | yes                                 |
| 7  | F:       | im <i>para</i> tikuthumela cani?                 | F:       | how useful will they be for you?    |
| 8  | Higídio: | <i>para</i> ninaziva kuwomabawomba ni            | Higídio: | I will be able to speak to those    |
| 9  |          | vava vawombawombako cilungu                      |          | who speak Portuguese                |
| 10 |          | ni vava vawombawombako Cicopi                    |          | and to those who speak Chope        |
| 11 | F:       | imhim votshe unakota                             | F:       | ok, you will be able to speak to    |
| 12 |          | kuwombawomba navo                                |          | both                                |
| 13 | Higídio: | im   | Higídio: | yes                                 |
| 14 | F:       | <i>ok</i> , lisima la la cilungu <i>hi lihi?</i> | F:       | fine, what’s the value of           |
| 15 |          | <i>lakona?</i>                                   |          | Portuguese?                         |
| 16 | Higídio: | ((silêncio))                                     | Higídio: | ((silence))                         |
| 17 | F:       | cina ni lisima cilungu?                          | F:       | does Portuguese have any value?     |
| 18 | Higídio: | im   | Higídio: | yes                                 |
| 19 | F:       | <i>hi lihi lisima lakona?</i>                    | F:       | what is that?                       |
| 20 | Higídio: | nguku ku ni vathu vo vacikoti                    | Higídio: | because there are those who can’t   |
| 21 |          | kuwombawomba cicopi                              |          | speak Chope                         |
| 22 |          | vakota cilungu                                   |          | they can only speak Portuguese      |
| 23 |          | ninawombawomba navo ngu cilungu                  |          | I will speak to those in Portuguese |

In this part of the interview, I wanted to find out more about pupils’ language preferences and the reasons for their choices. As I have mentioned in this report, the answers to these questions varied a lot. Higídio was one of those pupils who argued

for both languages of schooling. For this young boy, the value of knowing both languages was that it would allow him to communicate with the members of his Chope community as well as with those who could not speak Chope, but Portuguese (lines 8-10, 20-23). That is, his bilingualism would allow him to function in different contexts: whereas Chope was regarded as the prime language of communication locally or within the Chope community, Portuguese was the language of communication with outsiders or the outside world.

### *11.1.2 Function of Languages in the Workplace*

The accounts considered in this section illustrate how some participants assumed the hegemony of Portuguese in the workplace as something given and regarded African languages just as conduits for communication between servants in formal institutions and those local citizens who are not acquainted with Portuguese (see also Extracts 62-66 in Appendices 8.2).

#### Extract 5: Group interview with parents (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	loko upeza xilungu ni Xichangana,	F:	when you compare Portuguese and
2		hi xihi lexi uvonaka svaku		Changana, which of these do you
3		xitavatirhela ngopfu... ka... ka		think will be most useful to them...
4		wutomi? ((estávamos a falar sobre as		in... in... their lives? ((we were
5		crianças no ensino bilingue))		talking about the children in the
6				bilingual programme))
7	Ms R:	hinkwasvu ((é peremptória e algo	Ms R:	both ((she says peremptorily and
8		convicta))		surely))
9	F:	hinkwasvu svafana...	F:	they are both the same...
10	Mr P:	svafana ((as respostas são	Mr P:	they are both the same ((the
11		categóricas, espontâneas e		answers are categorical,
12		unânicos))		spontaneous and unanimous))
13	Ms J:	hinkwasvu svalaveka	Ms J:	both are needed
14	Mr P:	hiku hi ka mintirho... xilungu	Mr P:	because in terms of the job
15		svosvi... xilungu xikumeka xili		market... now Portuguese...
16		phambheni		Portuguese is at the top position
17	Group:	IM ((todos concordam))	Group:	YES ((everyone agrees))
18	Mr P:	como hixona xinyi-... xinyikaku	Mr P:	since it is the language that gi-...
19		mintirho		gives access to jobs
20	Ms J:	xingakhoma tiko!	Ms J:	[the language] that sustains the
21				nation!
22	Mr P:	se Xichangana xoyendlela ku...	Mr P:	so, Changana is more for...

23	kufana ni loko uli ka ka kaku	for example, if you have been
24	vakuvekile svaku umanyani,	placed in a high profile position,
25	vhela kulaveka utiva hinkwasvu.	in fact you will need to know both
26	hiku kutatshika svikombela svaku	[languages].
27	vakurhumela svaku famba uyayendla	because you may be asked to go
28	svaku karhi	somewhere and do a certain job
29	ukuma lesvaku lavaya uvayelaku	and you may find that the people
30	lavaya	you are going to work with don't
31	axilungu avaxikoti	know Portuguese.
32	<i>mara</i> svikombela kuva ulerha hi	in that case you will be required to
33	Xichangana.	read in Changana and if you can't
34	se loko ungaxitiva svikumeka sviva	do that, then the situation becomes
35	svitika.	very difficult to handle.

The perception about the (functional) need for both languages of schooling (in this case Portuguese and Changana) was again unanimously expressed in this episode (lines 7-16). However, from the reasons advanced by Mr Peleves (Mr P) to justify why both languages were needed, one understands that he associated these languages with different functions: Portuguese was portrayed as the language which dominates the labour market, the one which gives access to jobs (lines 14-21); whereas the role of Changana was to allow those who were in high profile jobs to carry out their duties smoothly when dealing with those who could not speak Portuguese (lines 22-35).

Mr Peleves was backed by the other interviewees, like Ms Josina (Ms J), who stated that Portuguese is the language that 'sustains the nation' (line 20-21). The following extract, taken from the same interview, also speaks for the 'supplementary' role attributed to Changana.

Extract 6: Mr Mutevuye in a group interview with parents (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	Mr Mu: ngopfungopfu kolomu ka	Mr Mu: it's mainly in public institutions
2	mintirhontirho leyi kutirhaka mfumu	where people suffer most.
3	hilomu vanhu vakumekaku	because most of them [public
4	vaxaniseka ngopfu hintamu.	servants] do not know Changana,
5	hikusa vanyinge vakona avaxitivi	they only know Portuguese.
6	Xichangana	so, I am very happy because it
7	vativa xilungu ntse.	shows that after all our
8	se nitsakile svasvinene	government likes us
9	hiku svikomba svaku mfumu wa hina	since it brought us Changana
10	<i>então</i> wahirhandza	to this school
11	<i>porque</i> wute wutahivekela	so that our children can grow up

12	Xichangana la xikolweni	knowing it.
13	aku vana va hina vakula navaxitiva.	because, in the past, if you visited
14	hikusa ahixaniseka masiku ndzhaku	institutions and spoke Portuguese
15	loko unghena <i>mahofisi</i> ukhuluma hi	to then, since you didn't look in
16	xilungu	their faces... ((he alludes to the
17	se ungamucuvukisi... ((refere-se à	manifestation of shyness for
18	manifestação de vergonha de falar em	speaking in Portuguese to
19	Português com funcionários))	servants))
20	se van'wanyani vagama VAKWATA	some could get ANGRY and send
21	vakuhumesa hi kukwata	you out
22	Grupo: (((risos))	Group: (((laughter))
23	Mr Mu: (((riso)) ka svaku ka svigafanelanga...	Mr Mu: (((laughter )) in a situation that
24	vakholwa svaku oka angalitivi lirimi	they shouldn't do that...
25	leliya.	they forget that [that person]
26	se vatsongwani lavamasiku lawa	doesn't know that language.
27	van'wanyani vahlundzuka hintamu	so, in those situations, some of the
28	vaku "ya, SAI, SAI, SAI" ((muda de	children from these days get very
29	tom de voz e representa algum	irritated and then say "GET OUT,
30	desprezo))	GET OUT, GET OUT" ((he
31	se uhuma ungaku wokala ungativi.	changes the intonation, expressing
32	kasi lesvi svitave svisasekile svinene	contempt))
33	hikusa vatave vakula nasvona	then you get out [of the office] as
34	vasvitiva KUSVIHLAYA	if you were a fool.
35	ni KUSVITSALA.	so [learning Changana] is
36		wonderful, because [the children]
37		will grow up knowing how TO
38		READ and WRITE IT.
39	vatasvikota kuyamukela wihi na wihi	when they grow old and work for
40	lweyi angatave anghena <i>mahofisi</i>	the government or for any other
41	loko ili vakulu vatirha ka mfumu	institutions, they will be able to
42	nhambi ova ka tin'wanyani tindhawu.	serve anyone who visits their
43	svitave svitsakisile svinene lesvo.	offices. that will be great.

In this account, Mr Mutevuye stressed the ordeal that those who cannot or have difficulties in using Portuguese have to go through when they visit formal institutions, especially public institutions (lines 1-2). He described how some public servants get irritated when dealing with people with difficulties in expressing themselves in Portuguese. He reported that some of these servants get so irritated that send their clients out of the offices bluntly, which makes them feel as they were fools (lines 23-34). Given these circumstances, he underscored the importance of teaching/learning Changana in schools because, as he argued, when children grew old would be prepared to serve anyone who visited their offices (lines 39-43).

Considering that in rural areas local languages are the *de facto* languages of administration and service delivery, Mr Mutevuye's account is somewhat



exaggerated. In fact, one could argue that the scenarios he was describing were typical in the colonial rule, but not nowadays. However, the bottom line is that situations in which citizens looking for services in formal institutions often feel humiliated for not mastering the Portuguese language still occur today, particularly in urban areas, which tend to be more linguistically heterogeneous. These situations occur either because the servants show impatience to deal with these citizens or because these users are unable to deal with the necessary bureaucratic procedures that would allow them to get the services needed, especially the difficulty in dealing with filling forms. In an era of computerised self-services, these peoples are often left with no alternative but to confide their personal information, including passwords, to strangers who help them access services such as banking via automated teller machines, despite the acknowledged risks associated with this practice.

In summary, the accounts in both extracts above indicate that Portuguese is seen as a barrier to the communication between institutions and the public, and Changana is perceived as the language that can appropriately serve this function, hence the value of teaching it in schools. This is viewed as a way of preparing those who will deliver (public) services to citizens who are not acquainted with Portuguese but with that language. That is, Changana is not viewed as a potential ‘working language’ inside the institutions, but as a default language for communication with those members of the public who cannot communicate in Portuguese.

### ***11.1.3 Capital Value of African Languages: The Formal and Informal Market Divide***

In the previous section, the importance of using local languages in formal institutions focussed on the public, that is, the underlying argument revolved around the role of

these languages in facilitating public access to formal institutions and services. This section illustrates a new trend in participants' view about local languages: these now start to be perceived as assets that can boost speakers' chances of accessing formal labour markets.

Extract 7: Interview with Mr Roberto, a grade 1 teacher and former PEBIMO student (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

<p>1 F: você quando começou disse que 2 os seus pais também estavam contra o 3 ensino bilingue...? 4 Mr R: o meu pai 5 de princípio esteve contra mas... 6 F: im, mesmo com a experiência dele da 7 África do Sul...? 8 Mr R: emm... o quê que estava a acontecer? 9 a primeira... o primeiro problema 10 era emprego 11 F: im 12 Mr R: porque o que faz com que as pessoas 13 estejam contra este ensino aqui 14 é talvez a questão de emprego, 15 porque eles acham que 16 “ham, se a pessoa está a aprender 17 Português, ele há-de^...” ((parece 18 deixar um espaço para eu completar 19 com algo como ‘ter emprego’)) 20 F: im 21 Mr R: e outra coisa é que 22 eles acham que o bilingue vai ser 23 para... todos os níveis, não... 24 aquilo é só para 25 facilitar a aprendizagem dos alunos. 26 eles não sabem disso. 27 mas se eles pudessem entender isso, 28 nenhum pai ia já estar eeh... 29 contra este ensino aqui 30 F: im 31 Mr R: então o grande problema que eu tenho 32 visto quando estive em conversa 33 é que esses acham que eeh... não vai 34 ter emprego, mas o que não é verdade. 35 o que não é verdade. 36 porque ele há-de aprender Português, 37 ele há-de aprender Português. 38 só que nós queremos um 39 conhecimento base 40 para ele saber o quê está a aprender 41 imhim 42 Mr R: então já quando a criança está na 43 terceira classe... está na quarta classe, 44 é onde você já consegue ver 45 que olha a criança tenta falar alguma 46 coisa em Português</p>	<p>F: when you started, you said that your parents were also against bilingual education...? Mr R: my father was initially against it but... F: ok, even after having had the South African experience...? Mr R: umm... what was going on? the first... the first issue was employment F: ok Mr R: because the reason why many are against this form of education is perhaps the employment issue, since they think that “well, if someone is learning Portuguese, s/he will^...” ((he seems to leave a gap for me to fill with something like ‘have a job’)) F: yes Mr R: and the other thing is that they think that bilingual education is for... all levels, no... that is simply to facilitate pupils’ learning. they don’t know that. but if they could understand that, no parent would be against umm... against this form of education here ok Mr R: so, the main problem that I have seen when talking [to people] is that those think that umm... they will not find a job, but that is not true. that is not true. because s/he will learn Portuguese, s/he will learn Portuguese. what we want is that s/he acquires basic knowledge, we want her/him to master what s/he is learning. F: ok Mr R: so, when the child is at grade three... is at grade four, it is when you start to see that the child tries to say something in Portuguese</p>
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47	mas também vai depender de como...	but it will also depend on the way...
48	eeh... a aprendizagem ocorre, não é?	umm... the way learning takes
49	mas é aí onde já vê que	place, isn't it? but it is there when
50	“ah, a criança aprendeu isto e aquilo”.	you can see that “ah, the child has
51		learned this and that”.

Mr Roberto, a fervent supporter of bilingual education, had been one of the pupils who were originally integrated into the PEBIMO bilingual education pilot project (1993-1997). Although he was later trained as a teacher of English, his PEBIMO experience made him one of the most important resources for the local bilingual teachers.

As he reported, his father had also been against his schooling in Changana initially (lines 4-5). According to his account, the reason why his father and other people were reluctant about education in local languages had to do with their perception about the value of Portuguese in the labour market: they equated Portuguese with employment prospects (lines 12-19, 31-35). Mr Roberto suggested that this perception could be deconstructed if people were informed about the foundations of bilingual education (lines 21-29). In his view, the purpose of teaching in local languages ‘... is **simply** to facilitate pupils’ learning’ (lines 24-25), that is, ‘what we want is that s/he acquires **basic knowledge**, we want her/him to master what s/he is learning’ (lines 38-40). He also argued that the use of local languages was not at the expense of children’ acquisition of Portuguese, which, according to him, starts to come out when they are at grades 3 and 4 (lines 42-51). Implied in Mr Roberto’s account is a justification for the transitory nature of the bilingual education model in place in Mozambique and its concomitant emphasis on the acquisition of Portuguese and associated cultural capital (see also Extract 55 in appendices 8.2). In fact, this has been the line of argument that education authorities have been following when sensitising parents about the purpose and value of bilingual education. Rather than

cultural or human rights considerations, parents' fears seem to dissipate when they are assured that their children will eventually acquire Portuguese.

Mr Roberto's academic and professional trajectory has been used locally as an illustrative example of how bilingual education does not hinder the acquisition of Portuguese or academic achievement as well as how it can contribute to generate resourceful biliterate citizens like him.

Ms Maura, a teacher from Gwambeni, was one of the few participants who could point to specific cases in which skills in local languages could be viewed as assets in the formal labour market.

Extract 8: Maura, a grade 2 bilingual teacher in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 11/9/2007)

<p>1 F: não aparecem pessoas a questionar “o 2 quê que eu vou fazer depois, 3 com o Chope... ou quando crescerem 4 os meus filhos o quê que vão fazer...?” 5</p> <p>6 Ms Mr: bom, essa interrogação eu nunca tive. 7 pode haver em pessoas, 8 mas estão esconder, ainda não... 9 não fizeram claramente essas 10 perguntas. 11</p> <p>12 F: mas se fossem a fazer, 13 como responderia... como professora 14 do ensino bilingue...?</p> <p>15 Ms Mr: como professora, 16 eu havia de DEFENDER ((ela mostra- 17 se resoluto)) 18 nos anos próximos, há-de ter 19 ocupação. 20 vamos lá ouvir 21 ali na Rádio Moçambique, 22 eu cresci a não ouvir Chope a falarem, 23 mas agora existem programas de 24 Chope. 25 hoje estão a gostar em ouvir... 26 ((refere-se aos falantes de Chope em 27 Gwambeni)) 28 na... chegada aquela hora, eles abrem 29 o radio, querem saber 30 o quê que se passa, em Chope 31</p>	<p>F: are there people who question “what am I going to do later with Chope... or when my children grow older, what are they going to do...?”</p> <p>Ms Mr well, I have never been asked such a question. if people have that question in mind, they may be hiding it, they haven't... they haven't asked those questions overtly.</p> <p>F: but if they asked you that, how would you answer... as a bilingual education teacher...?</p> <p>Ms Mr: as a teacher, I would DEFEND it ((she expresses firmness)) in the coming years, s/he will have a job. let's consider Radio Mozambique, I grew up without hearing them speak Chope, but there are now radio programmes in Chope. now they like to listen to that... ((she is alluding to Chope speakers in Gwambeni)) when that time [of the Chope programme] arrives, they tune in to their radios, they want to know what is going on, in Chope</p>
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Drawing on my knowledge of the international experience and also on participants' accounts such as the previous one by Mr Roberto, in this part of the interview, I wanted to know what kind of responses practitioners like Ms Maura would give to those who consider that bilingual education hinders the possibilities of employment. In the first part of her account, Ms Maura answered that she had never come across community members questioning the value of instruction in Choze based on employment arguments. As she said, if there were people with this kind of thought, they were not making them public (lines 6-11). However, in response to my insistence, she said that, as a teacher, she would back the bilingual education initiative. According to her, children in the programme would have Choze related jobs in the future (lines 18-19). She used the recent introduction of radio programmes in Choze as an example of a labour opportunity requiring Choze linguistic skills. Note the temporal element in her account: '*in the coming years*, s/he will have a job' (lines 18-19) and '*I grew up without* hearing them speak Choze' (lines 22-24), which seems to convey the message that times are changing. That is, in the past Choze was of no use in the formal labour market, but things have changed: now Choze skills are required for one to be a broadcaster/journalist and in the future there may be more labour opportunities demanding these same skills.

In the next extract, Ms Josina, like Ms Maura, was optimistic about future job opportunities requiring Changana language skills, but, unlike Ms Maura, she could not point to any immediate use of these skills in the formal labour market.

Extract 9: Ms Josina in a group interview with parents (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	amm anisvitivi kumbe n'wina...	F:	umm from your point of view...
2		loko mithlela miwona svaku...		when you analyse it, what do you
3		i ncini lexi apfunaka		think... in what aspect is the child
4		kumbe atafuna lakaya kumbe ka...		contributing or will contribute at
5		xitshungu...		home or for... the community...

6		hi kutiva kulerha ni kutsla		based on her/his Changana reading
7		Xichangana...?		and writing skills...?
8	Ms J:	angahapfuneka	Ms J:	he may benefit from it
9		hiku svingahayenceka kuva vakutiva		because, when they grow old, it
10		Xichangana vatshika valaveka		may happen that they need people
11		ka ntirho vakukarhi, loko se vali		who know Changana for a certain
12		vakulu.		job position. so, in that case, if you
13		loko ungangaxifundhanga Xichangana		didn't learn Changana, you cannot
14		ange- awungexikoti loko já...		know it when you are... when you
15		loko utave ukulile.		are old. but if they happen to find
16		<i>mas</i> loko wotshika vafamba		some job for which the candidates
17		vakumanyana ka kutirha na vaku		are required to speak and write
18		valava vakuvulavula ni kutsala		Changana, they will capitalise on it
19		Xichangana, vatapfuneka hikusa		because they will find where to
20		vatakuma ka kukwhekela ko kolanu.		squeeze themselves in.
21		vataxitirhisa Xichangana lexo		[so] they will use the Changana
22		vafundhaka.		they are learning.

Ms Jacinta portrayed learning Changana as an investment from which the children then in the bilingual programme, like her son, would capitalise upon when they grew old. She expected them to take advantage of job opportunities ‘for which the candidates are required to speak and write Changana’ (lines 16-19). This message of hope was also expressed by other participants in both sites in this study, as also illustrated in Extracts 56 and 60-62, Appendices 8.2.

Although there were no explicit claims about the value of local languages as assets in informal labour markets, the following two extracts show that these languages are, in fact, of capital importance in these markets. In the first extract, Laurinda, a grade 4 pupil from Gwambeni, talked about her job aspirations. Although, for various reasons, she might change the way she imagined herself in the future, her account typifies the phenomenon of social reproduction, attested in both sites in this study (see also Extracts 68 and 70-72 in Appendices 8.3). Despite the relevance of this topic, my focus here is the function of African languages in the informal economy.

Extract 10: Laurinda, a grade 4 girl in a group interview (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	im unathuma cani awe ucikula?	F:	ok, what are you going to do when you grow old?
2				
3	Lau:	niya Maputo	Lau:	I am going to Maputo
4	F:	unaya Maputo	F:	you will go to Maputo
5	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
6	F:	uyathuma cani?	F:	what are you going to do [there]?
7	Lau:	niyaxavisa tipahla ni cimati ni <i>salada</i>	Lau:	I am going to trade in clothing and tomatoes and lettuce and cabbage
8		ni makhofu		
9	F:	aMaputo	F:	in Maputo
10	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
11	F:	i mani axavisaku ntini?	F:	who does trading at home?
12	Lau:	hotshetu haxavisa ((é peremptória e segura))	Lau:	we all trade in ((she replies peremptorily and surely))
13				
14	F:	hem? ((apanhou-me de surpresa))	F:	what? ((she caught me by surprise))
15	Lau:	hotshetu haxavisa ((levanta a voz, parece sentir-se orgulhosa do que fazem ))	Lau:	we all do trading ((she raises her voice, she seems to feel proud of what they are doing))
16				
17				
18	F:	motshetu maxavisa	F:	you all trade in
19	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
20	F:	mixavisa hani? mame axavisa hani?	F:	where do you sell [your products]? where does your mum sell [her products]?
21				
22				
23	Lau:	axavisa Joni	Lau:	she sells in South Africa
24	F:	mame axavisa Joni	F:	your mum sells in South Africa
25	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
26	F:	hamm ateka soxavisa ahawa asiteka siya Joni...?	F:	ok, she takes products from here to South Africa...?
27				
28	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
29	F:	sofana ni ca?	F:	like what?
30	Lau:	nrende	Lau:	[herbal] medicines
31	F:	hem? ((fiquei surpreendido de ouvir isso))	F:	what? ((I was surprised to hear that))
32				
33	Lau:	nrende	Lau:	medicines
34	F:	nrende...?	F:	medicines...?
35	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
36	F:	hamm <i>ok</i> papayi...?	F:	ok, how about dad...?
37	Lau:	axavisa ntini	Lau:	he sells at home
38	F:	axavisa ntini	F:	he sells at home
39	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
40	F:	axavisa cani?	F:	what does he sell?
41	Lau:	mpunga ni cimati ni mafofo...	Lau:	rice and tomatoes and match-boxes...
42				
43	F:	hamm <i>já</i> ninawe ula kuxavisa	F:	ok, so you also want to be a trader...?
44				
45	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes

As can be seen from this account, Laurinda was from a family of informal vendors. As she proudly reported, all members of her family, including herself, were involved in some form of informal trading. While her father was a home-worker, doing business from home, her mother was involved in cross-border trading. Laurinda's mother's main activity consisted of buying herbal medicines from Gwambeni and

selling them in South Africa; from South Africa she brought some finished goods which were sold in Gwambeni by her husband and children. While, historically, men emigrated to and worked in urban areas and women stayed in rural hometowns busy with farming and raising the children, Laurinda's family can be regarded as an example of how socio-economic pressures have been destabilising some of the key tenets of traditional social structures, including the spaces and roles ascribed to women and men in the families.

Thanks to their relatively successful trading activities, Laurinda's family was one of the few well-to-do households in Gwambeni. This may explain why Laurinda not only was proud to share her family's experience but also was considering carrying on with her trading activities in the future. The next development of Laurinda's account provides a clue about the link between trading and language skills demands.

Extract 11: Laurinda, a grade 4 girl in a Group interview (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	mayengisela diradhu?	F:	do you listen to the radio?
2	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
3	F:	mayengisela	F:	you do
4	Beto:	im	Beto:	yes
5	F:	i radhu ma? Laurinda	F:	what is the radio station you listen to? Laurinda
6				
7	Lau:	((pensa um pouco e depois de repente	Lau:	((she thinks a little bit and then says
8		dispara))		suddenly))
9		i radhu kaseti		it's radio cassette player
10	F:	i radhu kaseti	F:	it's radio cassette player
11	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
12	F:	nilava kuziva to kumbe i Radu Xai-	F:	I want to know whether it is Radio
13		Xai i Radhu Mosambiki... i radhu ya		Xai-Xai or Radio Mozambique...
14		hani? ya Joni... i radhu ya hani?		which radio is that? from South
15				Africa... which radio is that?
16	Lau:	Radhu Maputo	Lau:	it is Radio Maputo
17	F:	awe uyingisela Radhu Maputo	F:	you listen to Radio Maputo
18	Lau:	im, ni radhu kaseti	Lau:	yes, and also to a radio cassette
19				player
20	F:	ni radhu kaseti	F:	and also to a radio cassette player
21		Radhu Maputo va- vawombawomba		in which language do they speak in
22		ngu lidimi lihi?		Radio Maputo?
23	Lau:	da Cichangana	Lau:	in Changana
24	F:	da Cichangana,	F:	in Changana



25		waciziva Cichangana awe?		do you know Changana?
26	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
27	F:	waziva Cichangana ni Cicopi	F:	you know Changana and Chope
28	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
29		ni cilungu		and Portuguese
30	F:	ni cilungu	F:	and Portuguese
31	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
32	F:	ei uziva tidimi totala!	F:	gosh, you know many languages!
33	Lau:	ni Cizulu	Lau:	and Zulu
34	F:	ni Cizulu waciziva...?	F:	you know Zulu also...?
35	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
36	F:	uci- ucigonda hani Cizulu?	F:	whe- where did you learn Zulu?
37	Lau:	ka mame ((a sorrir))	Lau:	I learnt from mum ((she smiles))
38	F:	ka mame	F:	from your mum
39	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
40	F:	mame wa- wawombawomba Cizulu?	F:	your mum ca- can speak Zulu...?
41	Lau:	im	Lau:	yes
42	F:	awe wakuziva Joni?	F:	have you been to South Africa?
43	Lau:	imhim-him	Lau:	no
44	F:	hingondisa to to	F:	teach us how to to say
45		“dicite” ngu Cizulu		“good morning” in Zulu
46	Lau:	((sorri, acanhada))	Lau:	((she smiles, shy))

In this part of the interview, I was interested in finding out more about pupils' language repertoires and practices outside the school context. As many other pupils in both sites in this study, Laurinda reported speaking languages other than those used in school. In addition to Chope and Portuguese, she reported also speaking Changana and Zulu. Among other functions, Changana was the language which allowed her to be in tune with radio programmes. She reported learning Zulu from her mother, who, as mentioned above, was a trader in South Africa, where it is spoken.

Irrespective of Laurinda's or Laurinda's mother level of performance in Zulu, the reference to this language merits attention in this analysis for a number of reasons. First, it suggests that, in order to succeed in her trading activities in South Africa, Laurinda's mother had had to learn Zulu, a language widely spoken in that market, but not in her domestic market; that is, she had to expand her linguistic repertoire for economic reasons. Second, and more generally, this case illustrates how multilingualism is part of the set of resources that peripheral communities use in their response to socio-economic challenges.

The language practices described here illustrate how rural sites like Gwambeni, which are officially regarded as linguistically and culturally homogeneous, are in fact linguistic and cultural mosaics.

## **11.2 Bilingual Education and Socio-Economic Mobility: Towards the Commodification of African Languages**

### ***11.2.1 Different Spaces and Values for Portuguese and African Languages***

Despite some signs of change, the evidence presented in the previous sections indicates that there is a sort of general ‘consensus’ among the rural communities in this study about different functional roles that should be assigned to Portuguese and African languages: Portuguese is attributed a role as an asset for access to formal labour markets and associated socio-economic gains, whereas local languages are seen as having an integrative role, as the languages that establish the links among community members and also mediate between locals and the formal sectors, including the administrative and economic sectors. More significantly, although these languages have a powerful role in the field of informal economy, many speakers seem not to be aware of their value as form of capital. This may probably be because both the acquisition of the language skills, a form of ‘vernacular bilingualism’ (Heller, 2003), and their economic application occur as part of day to day activities within the informal economy, that is, without the intervention of formal institutions such as schools. Drawing on Ricento (2000), I would argue that this ‘consensus’ on the differential distribution of language functions reflects the ideological legacy of colonial and post-colonial language policies, which have constructed Portuguese as *the* language for official and specialised functions and African languages for informal

functions (see also Stroud, 2007). Overall, speakers of African languages seem to accept this division as given, that is, it has become “naturalised”.

As I illustrated above, many of the parents I interviewed reported reacting unfavourably when they first learnt that their children would be initially educated in their native languages, though some changed their minds as they got informed about the philosophies of bilingual education and when they started to appreciate their children’s linguistic and academic progress. However, there were those who were still sceptical about the efficiency of bilingual education. I showed that in either case, parents were concerned about their children’s chances of acquiring Portuguese. The question usually raised was: what will these children learn in local languages, if these are the languages they speak at home? As I pointed out, this is an indication that Portuguese (and not the home languages) is perceived as the legitimate language of schooling, that is, the language associated with the legitimate knowledge (Bourdieu, 1991). As a consequence, even those who are for the use of local languages for instruction tend to suggest that either the switch into Portuguese should be made as soon as possible or more attention should be paid to the teaching of this language.

Parents’ concerns are in keeping with the concern of practitioners, as described in Chapter 9. At the outset, it may be said that the concerns by parents and practitioners are a reflex of their anxiety to see pupils’ achievement in Portuguese in a short period of time. However, the same concerns may also be taken as an indication that these participants understand that, at least for the time being, ‘minority languages are taught for identity, and metropolitan languages for pragmatic and economic purposes.’ (Stroud, 2003, p.22) As demonstrated in Chapter 9, practitioners’ and societal perceptions on language values have implications for language policy and practice in the classroom. In this regard, I suggested that the language separation

policy, associated with the avoidance of codeswitching by some teachers, has largely to do with the belief that pupils will acquire Portuguese better when it is kept separated from their home languages and when they are maximally exposed to the target language.

With some differences, the above concerns about pupils' achievement in Portuguese parallel those manifested in other post-colonial settings in Africa. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, research reports have pointed that, for example, in Kenya (Bunyi, 2001, 2008), South Africa (Martin, 1997; Banda, 2000), Tanzania (Rubagumya, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2005), parents, especially middle class parents, prefer to educate their children in English because they associate this language with socio-economic mobility. The common principle underlying these attitudes reflects the speakers' tendency to assign different values to different forms of linguistic capital in different linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Peirce, 1995; Heller, 2006, 2007).

However, a cautionary note is needed here. Despite the recognition of the currency of Portuguese when compared to local languages, the cases in this study cannot be fully equated with the international cases mentioned above, in which there is a sort of obsession with the acquisition of the high-status language. As I documented earlier in this chapter, as far as the rural communities in this study are concerned, what is at stake is not a choice between Portuguese and African languages: they need both Portuguese and African languages for their children. Put differently, while on the one hand they feel proud of seeing their languages and cultural traditions recognized officially through school, on the other hand, they understand that it is through Portuguese, the legitimate language, that their children can aspire to socio-economic mobility. This latter factor may explain participants' concerns about pupils'

achievement in Portuguese. I suspect, though, that, if bilingual education were in urban areas, where parents tend to be more empowered and oriented towards social mobility, we could have a different scenario, perhaps one that would parallel the international cases mentioned above. That is, we could have a scenario in which parents would tend to focus on material rewards rather than on authenticity.

Parents' tendency to focus on pupil's acquisition of Portuguese can be regarded as legitimate if we consider the current linguistic market in Mozambique. As in the past, Portuguese continues to be the key for access to higher education, meaningful jobs and social respect. For example, to get access to competitive degree courses like Law, Public Administration, Social and Political Sciences in public or private institutions, one needs, among other prerequisites, to get high marks in Portuguese entry exams. Moreover, all advertised prestigious jobs require that applicants be fluent in spoken and written Portuguese. In parliament, Portuguese is *the* sole official working language. In contrast, only a few job descriptions mention that knowledge of a relevant local language may be an advantage, particularly those advertising positions in NGOs working in the field of rural development (see job Adverts 1-4 in Appendices 10). These are more than sufficient conditions to drive anyone to invest in the acquisition of Portuguese. Using Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, Peirce (1995) captures this appetite for second languages in an apt way:

'I take the position that if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital.' (p.17)

Therefore, while the fulfilment of cultural pride makes local communities and learners value the acquisition of local languages in the formal context of school, the awareness of the fact that, so far, these languages are in some sense deprived of capital value in

public and official domains makes them also invest (perhaps more) in the acquisition of Portuguese symbolic capital, the language which opens up wider avenues for social, economic and political power fulfilment within the mainstream markets of the society. However, the data analysed here indicates that, with proper advocacy around the purpose and value of bilingual education, and, above all, through meaningful educational results, including pupils' linguistic and academic achievement, it is possible to operate change in citizens' language ideologies and practices.

The tacit acceptance of language distribution by the local communities in this study is at odds with the African renaissance discourse, which is shared by certain circles of the Mozambican intelligentsia. The evidence generated by this thesis indicates that the communities of Gwambeni and Bikwani have not expressed interest in arriving at a parity between Portuguese and African languages, at least for the time being (this contrasts with aspirations of speakers of French in relation to English in Ontario (Heller, 2006) or speakers of Corsican in relation to French in Corsica (Jaffe, 2001), whose linguistic claims were linked with self-determination). This is understandable. Indeed, taking into account the short history of promoting African languages in the country and the limited power of the speakers who depend exclusively on them to conduct their lives, especially in rural Mozambique, one should not expect a high level of language awareness and agency, which take time and effort to build. However, given the current domestic and international multilingual ethos, one may expect that quest for language equity to emerge at some stage in the future.

### *11.2.2 Emergent Markets for African Languages*

Most of the participants interviewed expressed surprise when I asked them to comment on the potential use of African languages as assets in the labour market. Among other things, this may be taken as an indication that these participants were happy with the use of African languages as symbols of cultural identity but had barely equated them with employment prospects and associated socio-economic rewards. That is, these participants perceived African languages as symbols of authenticity but not as marketable assets.

Nevertheless, after a few more focussed questions, some participants were able to provide interesting accounts about the potential value of African languages in the formal labour market, but not in the informal market. In fact, when I asked community members what they did for a living, many said: '*anitirhi nchumu, hi ko kuxavisa*' or '*andziritirhi, ndzorima*' / 'there's nothing I do, the only thing I do is trading' or 'I don't work, I do some farming'. Implied here is that an activity only merits to be called 'work' if carried out in the formal sector and/or is paid. I take these reactions as evidence of the marginal role attributed to informal activities as well as the speakers' unawareness of the value of local languages in these markets. This is in conflict with the fact that, as of 2004, about 75% of the active population was involved in some form of informal activity in Mozambique (INE, 2004).

The successful story of Laurinda's family (Section 11.1.3) illustrates not only the importance of informal markets for the socio-economic wellbeing of families but also the role of African languages in mediating the transactions in those markets. Laurinda's mother had to learn Zulu in order to carry out her trading activities in South Africa. Taking into account the key role of language in business transactions, and particularly the importance of the 'bargaining ritual' in the informal economy

(Djité, 2008, p.146), one can conclude that, more than being a simple medium of communication, Zulu was an asset that that woman used to negotiate goods. The involvement of that woman in trading also illustrates how global economic pressures have been changing the social dynamics in rural areas. The scarcity of employment opportunities in domestic formal markets as well as in the South African mining industry is having devastating economic effects on the families from both sites in this study, which, as illustrated, had originally been dependant upon male emigrant work. The involvement of women like Laurinda's mother in trading has been one of the strategies used to respond to the crisis. Women are no longer only confined to agriculture and domestic work, and therefore bound to the local, but can now also do profitable business and open their eyes to the outside world. As a consequence, Maputo and South Africa are no longer exclusive men's havens but also opened to a new class of women traders. Women's trading activities have had substantial, positive consequences for their empowerment as they can now enjoy some economic autonomy. Stroud (2003) also underscored the role of African languages in the mediation of informal economic transactions in Mozambique, both internally and across borders. The point here is that these actors use their multilingual resources to gain access to symbolic and capital rewards.

The importance of multilingualism in the generation of socio-economic wealth among marginalised groups in Africa, specially women, as well as the contribution of these groups in state economies has been well explored by authors such as Ufomata (1998), cited in Stroud and Heugh (2004), and Djité (2008). Citing Ufomata (1998), Stroud and Heugh (2004) highlight the fact that women in West Africa have successfully used local and regional languages to do and manage their trading activities in informal markets. Among other rewards, these activities give the women



social visibility and economic independence in relation to their husbands. Drawing on a number of African cases, including that of Mozambique, Djité (2008) also demonstrates how local languages are being used in the African informal sector to generate economic value. Based on those cases and also on experiences from other parts of the world, Djité (2008) calls for a consideration of African economies mediated through African languages instead of European languages, which have proven not to meet the business communicative needs of the masses.

Experiences such as the ones mentioned above, which are clear examples of the socio-economic function of funds of knowledge, should be considered in the bid to raise pupils' and society's awareness about the value of African languages in national and individual economies in Mozambique and elsewhere. One way of doing this could be through the capitalisation on these funds of knowledge in adult education and literacy campaigns with the view of helping linguistic agents to optimise their trading activities, which can be translated into an increased income generation and sustainability. As Djité (2008) puts this:

'Being able to read and write in the de facto language(s) of the market, which may not be the official languages, will help these people improve their skills in setting up and running efficient business.' (p.144)

In fact, the case of Mozambique has revealed that mastery of Portuguese and employment in the formal sector are not a necessary and sufficient condition for socio-economic mobility, which, in part, justifies Stroud's (2004) classification of this context as a non integrated linguistic market. As the case of Laurinda's parents, there are plenty of actors from the informal sector who have enjoyed far more economic prosperity and social respect than many of those in formal labour markets, including those in the public sector. On the other hand, given poor wages in formal markets,

coupled with a rise in the cost of living, most of those employed in this sector are forced to carry out extra activities in the informal sector (including stock-farming, poultry-breeding and trading) in order to supplement their income-earnings.

Based on the African context, Stroud (2001) pointed out that lack of consideration of the value of local languages in the state economy reflects a nation-state approach to language issues, which tend ‘to delimit and characterize language practices solely in terms of formal and public spheres.’ (p.350) This same remark is also expressed in Djité (2008), as can be seen from the quote that opened this chapter.

However, the future is not as bleak as it used to be. Indeed, evidence indicates that citizens are starting to perceive African languages as assets to capitalise upon also in formal labour markets. Indeed, although much more is yet to be done for the upgrading of African languages in Mozambique, in allowing the use of these languages in formal education, the Mozambican state may have taken a decisive step towards the endorsement of their use in other official arenas.

As a matter of fact, the use of African languages in education has been prompting the development of a new area of interest in the language industry in the country. Essentially, the demand for teaching and learning materials in African languages is stimulating the study and modernisation of these languages as well as the emergence of new professional areas such as translation (Portuguese-African languages and vice-versa) and production of school materials in these languages. Bilingual education has also been the appealing justification used by students in their degree thesis on African languages and also by writers seeking sponsorship for their books in and on these languages. The suggestion has been that these initiatives will, in one way or another, contribute to the production and dissemination of knowledge around the local languages now in use in bilingual education. In addition to

educational functions, the use of African languages in political and social campaigns, such as HIV/AIDS prevention, has also been opening up new promising markets for the competent users of these languages (Chimbutane, 2005a). Notably, when literacy skills in African languages are required in job advertisements, the demand is for the mastery of the standardised orthographies used in schools, that is, a particular form of a legitimate language that not every speaker has access to. This suggests that literacy competence in African languages, including the ability to use standardised orthographies, is a scarce resource that may, progressively, serve to secure a ‘profit of distinction’ to its holders (Bourdieu, 1991).

Therefore, the evidence produced above speaks against Fyle’s (2003) pessimistic view about the link between practices of language and (official) policies on language. According to Fyle:

‘it is no use educating someone in the mother tongue or community language, even only in the beginning years, when all national communication, all public business and administration, and even all access to meaningful jobs are dependent upon a knowledge of only one language, the official international language’. (p.201-211)

As shown from the Mozambican case, despite the fact that Portuguese is the official language of the country, it is through the medium of African languages that life is conducted at the local level, including in official institutions. In fact, these languages also permeate official domains at the national level. Although access to the formal labour market is so far dependent on the knowledge of Portuguese, evidence indicates that the use of these languages in schools is contributing to the creation of a local language industry and also stimulating employers to consider the knowledge of these languages as one of the requisites for accessing certain jobs demanding that knowledge. So, yes, it is worth teaching these languages even if they do not enjoy

official status, as their use in schools can contribute to change their historically dead-end status. As Ricento (2006) points out, the values associated with a language ‘do not depend exclusively, or even necessarily, on any official or legal status conferred by a state through its executive, legislative, or judicial branches.’ (p.5) In fact, in the case of Mozambique, just as legislation about the use of African languages in schools came after their *de facto* use in these domains, their *de jure* use in other official domains may follow actual practice. As Stroud (2003), paraphrasing Bourdieu (1991), puts this ‘the use of local languages in School is one prime institutional means of lending social authority and legitimacy to an extended use of local languages in society at large’ (p.18). While it is true that, so far, the African experience does not confirm this direction, one can still hope for change as the continental and intercontinental multilingual ethos has never been as high as it is currently. That is, the political and ideological conditions for extended use of African languages in official domains are now in place, what is needed is action to capitalise on them.

Therefore, even if the material rewards associated with African languages are fewer when compared with those attached to Portuguese, the mastery of specialised functions in these languages can be an asset that can help local actors to optimise their activities in the informal market and, in a near future, boost their economic opportunities in the formal labour market also.

## **Part IV - Conclusion**

## **Chapter 12: Conclusion**

### *Overview*

This closing chapter summarises the findings of the study and explores their implications for research, policy and practice of bilingual education. In Section 12.1, I summarise my main findings, linking them with my research perspective and with my research questions. I explore three sets of considerations about the purpose and value of bilingual education, highlighting the role of this educational provision in social and cultural transformation. Section 12.2 considers the potential contribution of this study and a few suggestions for improving practice in Mozambique. Section 12.3 addresses some of the limitations of the study and suggests a couple of research lines that can be pursued in future projects.

### **12.1 Summary of the Main Findings**

My aim in this study was to explore the purpose and value attributed to bilingual education by participants in Gwambeni and Bikwani. Drawing on epistemic perspectives of linguistic ethnography and critical, interpretive approaches to bilingual education, I focussed on the analysis of the relationships between discourse practices in bilingual classroom and institutional, local and societal discourses on multilingualism and multiculturalism. My account drew on a combination of different data sources and different analytical perspectives.

The study points to three broad sets of considerations associated with the purpose and value of bilingual education in both research sites, and in Mozambique more generally: pedagogical, socio-cultural, and socio-economic considerations. The analysis suggests that, while in institutional discourse greater emphasis was placed on the pedagogical value of bilingual education, the beneficiaries in the local

communities focussed more on its socio-cultural value. My analysis indicates that there was disagreement and lack of awareness about the socio-economic value of bilingual education, though some agents had already begun to consider the potential material and symbolic affordances associated with their multilingual resources.

### ***12.1.1 Pedagogical Considerations***

The evidence gathered indicates that the main official purpose of using local languages in education in Mozambique has been to facilitate pupils learning, including the learning of Portuguese, in the first years of schooling. This claim is based on the analysis of policy documents, practitioners' accounts and also language practices in the classroom. Although, in official documents, bilingual education is also justified under the grounds of linguistic human rights and cultural affirmation, language practices in the classroom and also the discourses of practitioners point to a focus on pedagogical aims. This is manifested in the adoption of an early-exit model of bilingual education; in the adoption of the policy and practice of language separation, coupled with attempts by certain practitioners to maximise the use of Portuguese, while at the same time minimising the use of pupils' L1s as resources; and in practitioners' adoption of a line of advocacy for bilingual education which emphasises the good that this educational provision does to pupils' acquisition of Portuguese, and not what it does to the acquisition of local languages and local knowledge, a process which is taken as given.

I found two contrasting language-based learning scenarios in the classrooms in this study: a supportive communicative and learning environment in L1 and L1-medium subject classes as opposed to a very constrained environment in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes. In L1 and L1-medium learning contexts,

pupils were actively involved in the lessons, could challenge their teachers' expertise, and showed willingness to learn. I argued that pupils' active participation and ability to negotiate knowledge in these contexts were largely fostered by their familiarity with the languages used and the matters addressed, and also by the fact that teachers temporarily allowed those interactive spaces to be created.

In contrast, in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium contexts, the learning environment was more constrained and the asymmetry of power between teacher and pupils was more visible as the teachers had greater control over Portuguese and associated cultural resources. In these contexts, pupils were, in general, unwilling to participate in class and, when they did participate, their contributions were relatively limited both linguistically and in terms of content. As a way of coping with this difficult environment, teachers and pupils resorted to safetalk strategies. I argued that the language barrier was aggravated by the paucity of teaching and learning resources and the constraints on teachers' abilities to deploy appropriate L2 teaching strategies to help minimise the effects of that barrier.

Based on the findings above, the conclusion is that, despite the potential of bilingual education for transforming educational practices, thus enhancing the quality of education, this potential is still not fully realised in the schools in this study. This is mainly because crucial preconditions still need to be fulfilled, including the provision of relevant learning/teaching materials, both in Portuguese and in local languages, and more support for the professional development of practitioners so that they can be better acquainted with bilingual education philosophies and pedagogical practices.



### ***12.1.2 Socio-cultural Considerations***

I found that, in both sites in this study, bilingual education had been making a substantial contribution in three main socio-cultural domains: the upgrading and legitimisation of marginalised languages/cultures and their speakers, the maintenance and development of local languages, and the integration of local knowledge and communities in schools.

The use of local languages in schools had been pushing practitioners and language experts to modernise and adapt these languages to educational purposes, a process which had been carried out with the collaboration of beneficiaries in the communities. In addition, these new uses of local languages had been pushing practitioners and other citizens to reassess and develop their language skills in their own native languages, with special reference to literacy skills. Bilingual education had also been contributing to the transformation of rural schools, from being islands detached from the communities they serve to sites where metropolitan and local knowledge intersect and cross-fertilise. The use of familiar languages and the valuing of local knowledge in schools allowed teachers and pupils to legitimately capitalise on those funds of knowledge, thus facilitating teaching/learning and rendering the curriculum more relevant. On the other hand, community members could be easily involved in education as intellectual resources and watchdogs. I argued that these innovations have been contributing to the empowerment of people in local communities. Despite this notable progress, I also found that community involvement in education was being constrained by the lack of printed school materials in African languages. Based on participants' accounts and also on domestic evidence, I suggested that printed materials would enhance parents' contribution in education.

The conclusion to draw from these findings is that bilingual education is contributing to the changing of local perceptions about African languages and cultures as well as to bringing the school closer to the communities benefitting from it. In addition to their longstanding role as symbols of authenticity, local languages tend now to be also perceived as equally valid resources for formal education and progress.

### ***12.1.3 Socio-economic Considerations***

I found that, despite some changes, in both communities in this study, there was a tendency to attribute an instrumental role to Portuguese and an integrative role to African languages. While Portuguese had been constructed as an asset for access to formal labour markets and associated socio-economic rewards, African languages were viewed as vehicles of communication amongst members of specific groups and also as conduits for mediating between local people and institutional representatives. That is, African languages were not generally equated with the generation of capital or perceived as assets to capitalise upon in formal labour markets. I suggested that this ‘consensus’ reflected the legacy of colonial and post-colonial language ideologies and policies, which has constructed Portuguese as *the* language for public and official domains and functions and African languages for informal functions. I also suggested that these ideologies largely explained parents’ concerns about a form of bilingual education provision that was based on local languages: their concern had to do with allegations that their children would not be equipped with the Portuguese linguistic and cultural resources needed for socio-economic advancement.

Despite the above trends, the study also revealed that some participants had begun to consider the potential capital value of African languages in the formal labour market, though not in the informal market. The introduction of bilingual education

had been increasing the visibility of African languages: a new industry around African languages was coming into existence, and some employers were beginning to consider knowledge of local languages as a relevant requirement for certain job positions. I noted that when literacy skills in African languages were required, the demand was for mastery of the standardised orthographies used in schools. The prediction here has been that, in addition to socio-cultural motivations, learning African languages could soon be driven by socio-economic goals as well, and schools could come to play their traditional role in fashioning and distributing the legitimate skills in these languages.

In relation to the informal market, I found that despite the powerful role of African languages in this sector, speakers seemed not to value or to be only barely aware of the capital value of these languages. However, based on ethnographic data and also on reports on other African contexts, I made the case that, in both sites in this study, community members had been using their multilingual resources as tools to participate in the country's economy and to improve their living conditions. Based on those experiences, I suggested that these specific practices of multilingualism in African languages should be taken into account in formal and informal education contexts to raise speakers' awareness about the capital value of these languages as well as equip them with resources that would allow them to optimise their informal economic activities.

The conclusion here is that, although the general tendency in both sites in this study is to regard Portuguese as *the* language of access to formal labour markets and associated socio-economic mobility while African languages are equated with traditional values, the introduction of bilingual education is contributing to the destabilisation of this received wisdom. This innovative educational provision is

lending greater visibility to African languages in the formal labour market and also represents an opportunity to assert their importance in the informal market.

#### ***12.1.4 The Transformative Potential of Bilingual Education***

As can be seen from the findings summarised above, the transformative potential of bilingual education emerges as a dominant feature in this study, hence its special consideration in this sub-section. The study reveals that the use of local languages in the official domain of school has a bearing on transformations taking place not only in the school context, but also in the local communities and in the society at large. These transformations can be situated in three main areas: classroom social relations, speakers' attitudes towards local languages, and school-community ties.

The use of local languages and the valuing of local knowledge in the classrooms are contributing to change in the nature of classroom communication and reducing the power asymmetries between teacher and pupils. It is also facilitating community members' involvement in school life, bringing in intellectual resources from outside the classroom.

Bilingual education is creating the conditions for the development of local languages as well as reinstating their socio-cultural value. With this shift in the values associated with local languages, people are beginning to believe that, in addition to their value as symbols of authenticity, these languages can also be used for education and modernization. In addition, the introduction of bilingual education is perceived as a remarkable signal of the state's recognition of the country's linguistic and cultural diversity.

As I suggested, bilingual education and the social and cultural effects it is having in the classrooms and communities are not occurring in a vacuum. These are

intimately linked with ideological changes taking place both internally and internationally. These changes include the perception that African development can be conceptualised based on African knowledge and through the mediation of African languages and also the ideological shift towards a political view of unity in diversity. Based on this contextual backdrop and on the cases analysed in this study, I regarded bilingual education in Mozambique as both an outcome and a driver of socio-political transformation. This study confirms, therefore, ‘the need for sociolinguists working on bilingualism to recognise how some research on bilingual education is actually contributing to the deepening of our understanding of the role of language in social and cultural change’ (M. Martin-Jones, personal communication).

## **12.2 Contribution of the Study**

### ***12.2.1 Contribution to Research***

As stated so far, linguistic ethnography and critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education share common methodological perspectives, including the combination of ethnography and discourse analysis and the adoption of a multilayered analysis of linguistic and social phenomena.

The use of ethnography allowed me to explore the interrelationships between classroom interactions and local, institutional, and societal processes. This perspective also allowed me to trace the origins of bilingual education in Mozambique and explore its connections with social and cultural change. The general conclusion that bilingual education in the country is both an outcome and a driver of socio-political transformation mirrors this epistemic orientation.

Following the linguistic ethnographic principle of using discourse analysis to ‘tie ethnography down’ (Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, 2007), all my claims about

the phenomena studied were carefully substantiated based on a critical analysis of actual linguistic data. This justifies the massive amount of linguistic data considered in the report, including transcripts from classroom interactions, participants' accounts and field notes. In addition to allowing the substantiation of the claims made, bringing in linguistic data from different sources has the advantage of opening up the study to falsification checks (Rampton, 2007). In the end, this methodological procedure renders researchers accountable to their audiences, including the research participants.

Contrary to the commonly held view of traditional ethnography, instead of hindering the research process and outcomes, my familiarity with the sites studied and with most of the participants allowed me to achieve a level of analytical depth that otherwise would not have been possible to achieve, particularly considering the short periods of time that characterised my two-stages of fieldwork. At the same time, I assume that our mutual familiarity allowed my participants to feel less constrained in speaking and also to express their views more openly. The good quality of the data gathered attests to this claim.

Critical, interpretive approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education have been followed by researchers from different quarters, including those from or based in post-colonial multilingual settings. Despite the notable contribution from researchers from or based in Africa (e.g. Arthur, 2001a; Bunyi, 2001, 2008; Ndayipfukamiye, 2001; Rubagumya, 2003; Stroud, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007), studies from/on this context are still scarce. In this context, I take this study as an African contribution to a growing body of empirically informed work on the ideological and ideologised nature of bi-/multilingualism and bi-/multilingual education. The fact that this study is about a post-colonial context where bilingual education is a new phenomenon adds a special

interest to it, as it explores the first reactions to the use of low-status languages in the formal domain of school.

The fact that most theories on bilingual education have been based on practices from the North calls for necessary critical adaptations when applied to countries of the South. While some conceptual frameworks have been applicable to the Mozambican context, context-specific phenomena led me to question some key assumptions. Based on language learning theories that state that it takes 5 to 7 years of exposure to acquire the desired levels of academic language proficiency (Cummins, 1987, 2001) and longer when learners' daily life is conducted in a non-L2 language (Mitchell et al., 1999), there is a tendency to consider that bilingual education is only linguistically and academically worthwhile if students' first languages are used as media of instruction for a long period of time (e.g. Heugh, 2008, in relation to the African context). In other words, only additive and, to a lesser extent, late-exit transitional models are considered to be worth the investment. I do not dispute the academic affordances of extended instruction in a familiar language, since I also share the view that pupils in Mozambique would eventually benefit more if the transition were postponed to grade 5. However, drawing on my analysis of other African cases, I have suggested that extension is only likely to lead to pupils' proficiency or readiness to cope with instruction in a L2 if, among other conditions, support to professional development and effective teaching and learning resources are guaranteed. This has not yet been achieved in Mozambique and in most African contexts. In addition to that, I have also suggested that, in certain socio-political contexts, it may be wise to adopt an early-exit transitional model of bilingual education, even if that is not the most widely condoned, while the material and ideological ground is prepared for an extended use of low-status languages as

instructional media. Failure to address stakeholders' educational goals may lead to resistance and consequent policy failure, no matter how well intended and theoretically grounded such a policy might be.

In the same vein as above, I also challenged the common assumption in bilingual education research that transitional models of bilingual education lead (necessarily) to language shift and cultural assimilation (e.g. García, 1997, Backer, 2006). Based on the positive impact that the programme had on cultural affirmation in both sites in this study, I argued that in those contexts where pupils are surrounded by their native languages (instead of a second/foreign language), a transitional model may strengthen the vitality of low-status languages and associated cultures, instead of weakening them. This seems to be particularly true in contexts where bilingual education is viewed as an emancipatory force, as has been the case in Gwambeni and Bikwani. Indeed, although we still need to see the long term linguistic and cultural effects of bilingual education on the pupils who went through it, the cultural outcomes of the transition model captured so far in both sites in this study mirror those commonly associated with the so-called strong forms of bilingual education. These findings underscore the view that a given programme type may be identified with goals associated with different models (Hornberger, 1991).

Therefore, the analysis offered here calls for the need for adaptation when importing models of bilingual education to new socio-political contexts. I assume that this is true either when we use those models as frames for programme design and implementation or as sensitising lenses for researching particular cases of policy and practice of bilingual education.



### ***12.2.2 Contribution to Bilingual Education Policy and Practice in Mozambique***

This study provides empirically grounded insights for diagnosing as well as informing policy and practice of bilingual education in the country. Throughout the thesis I have considered the strengths and limitations of the bilingual education provision based on evidence gathered in both sites in this study. My suggestions for reinforcement and/or change follow from that empirical evidence.

The study has emphasised the pedagogical, social and cultural advantages of using pupils' home languages for educational purposes, as sufficiently illustrated above. However, there is a set of major constraints that need to be overcome if the programme is to deliver meaningful educational results and continue to enjoy the support of local communities and the society at large. The ineffectiveness of the teaching and learning in Portuguese and Portuguese-medium subject classes is one of the major weaknesses of the bilingual programme in both sites studied. As I showed, pupils' lack of proficiency in Portuguese and the challenges this poses to teachers who are dealing with the situation need to be addressed. Investment in initial and in-service teacher training, especially along the lines of the bilingual education pedagogy and practices suggested in García (2009), as well as in the development and provision of teaching and learning materials both in Portuguese and in local languages could be the starting point to tackle the problem. As I have already mentioned, it also seems appropriate to postpone the transition to grade 5, which, in ideal conditions, would allow time for the pupils to develop the levels of academic language and literacy they need to cope with instruction in Portuguese. Contrary to the view expressed by some practitioners and parents, I discourage any attempts at embarking on an earlier use of Portuguese as the medium of instruction and/or avoiding codeswitching as measures to address the problems of transition.

The lack of teaching and learning materials in African languages is a serious constraint on successful implementation of bilingual education in the country. In fact, when the education authorities provided learning materials in Portuguese to pupils in the Portuguese programme but did not provide materials in African languages to those in the bilingual programme, they were being unfair to these pupils. This is an instance of social injustice, a point also made by some participants in this study. As illustrated, lack of materials in African languages not only hinders teaching and learning in the bilingual programme, but, above all, may reinforce the traditional prestigious position accorded to Portuguese and to instruction in this language and, at the same time, may send the message that African languages and education in these languages is peripheral or something that the state is still not sure about. As also recognised by educational authorities, the lack of resources has been affecting the credibility of the programme. Therefore, there is an urgent need to correct this situation before it is too late. What is urgently needed is a joint corpus planning effort aimed at resourcing African languages for educational purposes. The recent government initiative aiming at setting a language plan for the country is a promising step forward.

Despite some positive changes, African languages are still officially peripheral in Mozambique. Competence in Portuguese and academic success are commonly considered important preconditions for social mobility, so one can predict that, if bilingual education fails to deliver positive academic outcomes in the short and medium run, then its current popularity may be overshadowed. That is, the relative success in classroom interaction in L1 contexts and the symbolic value ascribed to local languages by the communities will not be sufficient to sustain the programme if children do not attain Portuguese language proficiency and achieve academically in the content areas in both languages of schooling. My point is that the delivery of

meaningful linguistic and academic results may prove to be the best and most effective way of advocating for bilingual education.

Contrary to what has happened across Africa and elsewhere, there is popular support for bilingual education in Mozambique, particularly when rural areas are concerned. There is also considerable political will within the current government. International experience indicates that these are crucial conditions for success of bilingual education, yet they have not been adequately exploited in the country. Therefore, Nancy Hornberger's words also ring true in relation to Mozambique. As she puts it: 'there is urgent need for language educators, language planners, and language users to fill those ideological and implementational spaces as richly and fully as possible, before they close in on us again.' (Hornberger, 2002, p.30)

### **12.3 The Way Forward**

As many have noted, education is about processes and outcomes. In this study, I chose to focus on educational processes, although I have also speculated about potential linkages between the processes I observed and analysed and eventual outcomes. As mentioned, my main interest was to provide an account of the nature of communicative practices in the classroom and the ways these practices were influenced by and influenced institutional, local and societal processes. This suggests that, in order to provide a full account of bilingual education and make strong claims about its relevance, this study needs to be complemented by studies concerned with educational outcomes. For example, it would be worthwhile following some of the pupils who went through bilingual education and trying to understand how they fared in Portuguese-medium classrooms and what kind of support they received, if any, from their teachers. The results from such studies could provide relevant insights for

informing policy and practice, especially considering that, at least so far, the monolingual-bilingual education divide tends to be collapsed after grade 5.

Multilingual practices in community contexts and the impact of bilingual education on those practices could also be investigated. Although I have partially considered these topics in this study, my account was based on interview data. I did not incorporate recordings of actual interactional practices nor data from ethnographic observations. I believe that triangulation of evidence from these different data sources would have yielded a ‘thicker’ account of multilingual practices in both communities in this study. Judging from participants’ accounts, it would have been interesting to document multilingual practices in the fields of religion and informal trading in particular. I believe that observing and recording these types of encounter would have allowed me to provide a robust account of how different languages were actually used and for which functions. The religious field is also a particularly rich site for investigating how the communities have been responding to standardisation of the orthographies of local languages. This is justified by the fact that this is the field where local languages have long been used in their written form in the country, coupled with internal and international reports pointing to the power of religious groups in influencing language-related decisions.

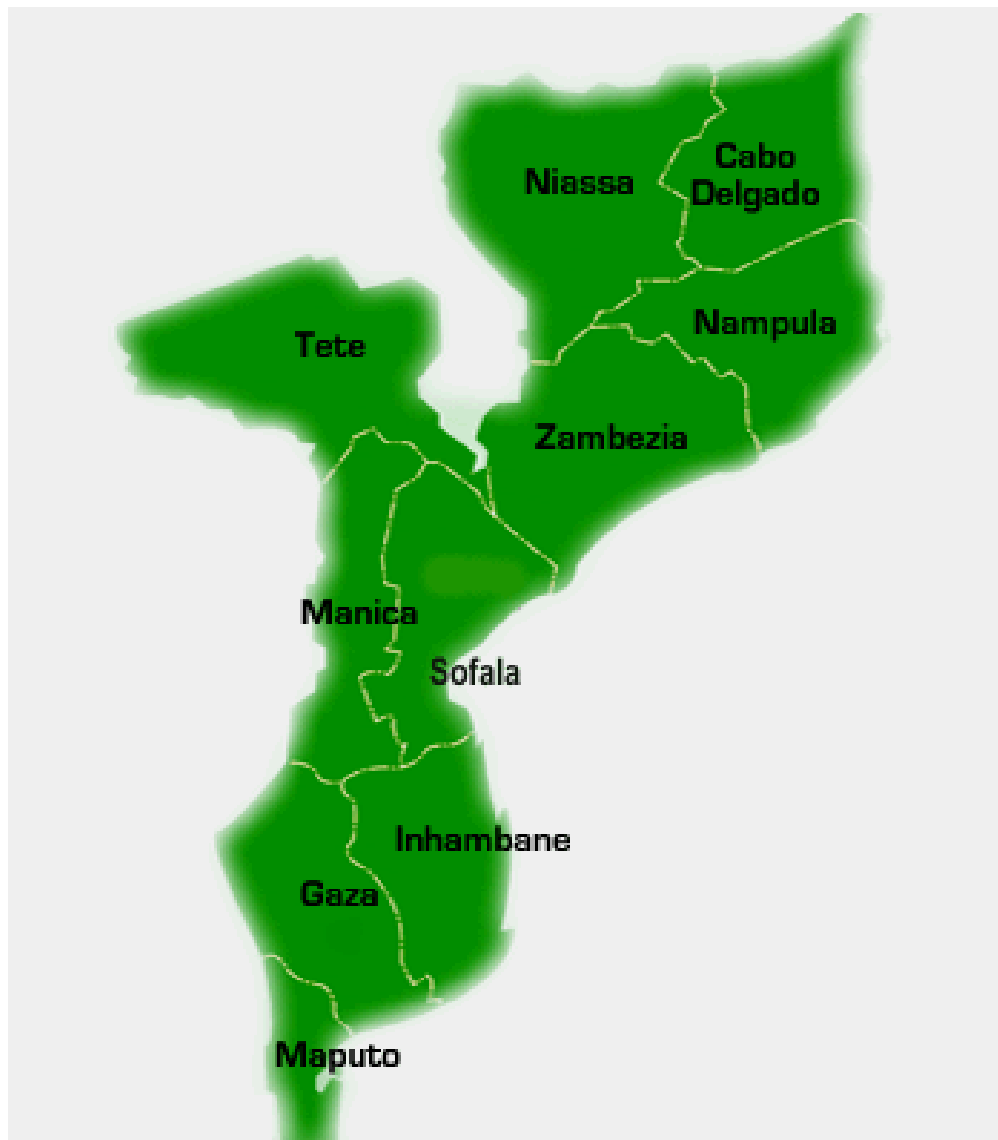
I consider this study relevant as a reference for future research projects. It has the merit of being one of the first empirical studies documenting the initial phase of large scale implementation of bilingual education in the country, a phase where institutional actors as well as local citizens are still working out their strategies for implementing this form of educational provision. In this context, it will be interesting to follow how these processes unfold and, more specifically, how future ideologies

about bilingual education follow or depart from the processes documented in this initial phase of implementation.

Although I drew on a few reports about other in-country contexts and also believe that many domestic contexts are represented in this study, I do not claim any generalisation from the settings studied to the entire country. I assume that there is a need for more empirical studies of other settings if we are to make meaningful generalisations about the practice and effects of bilingual education in Mozambique.



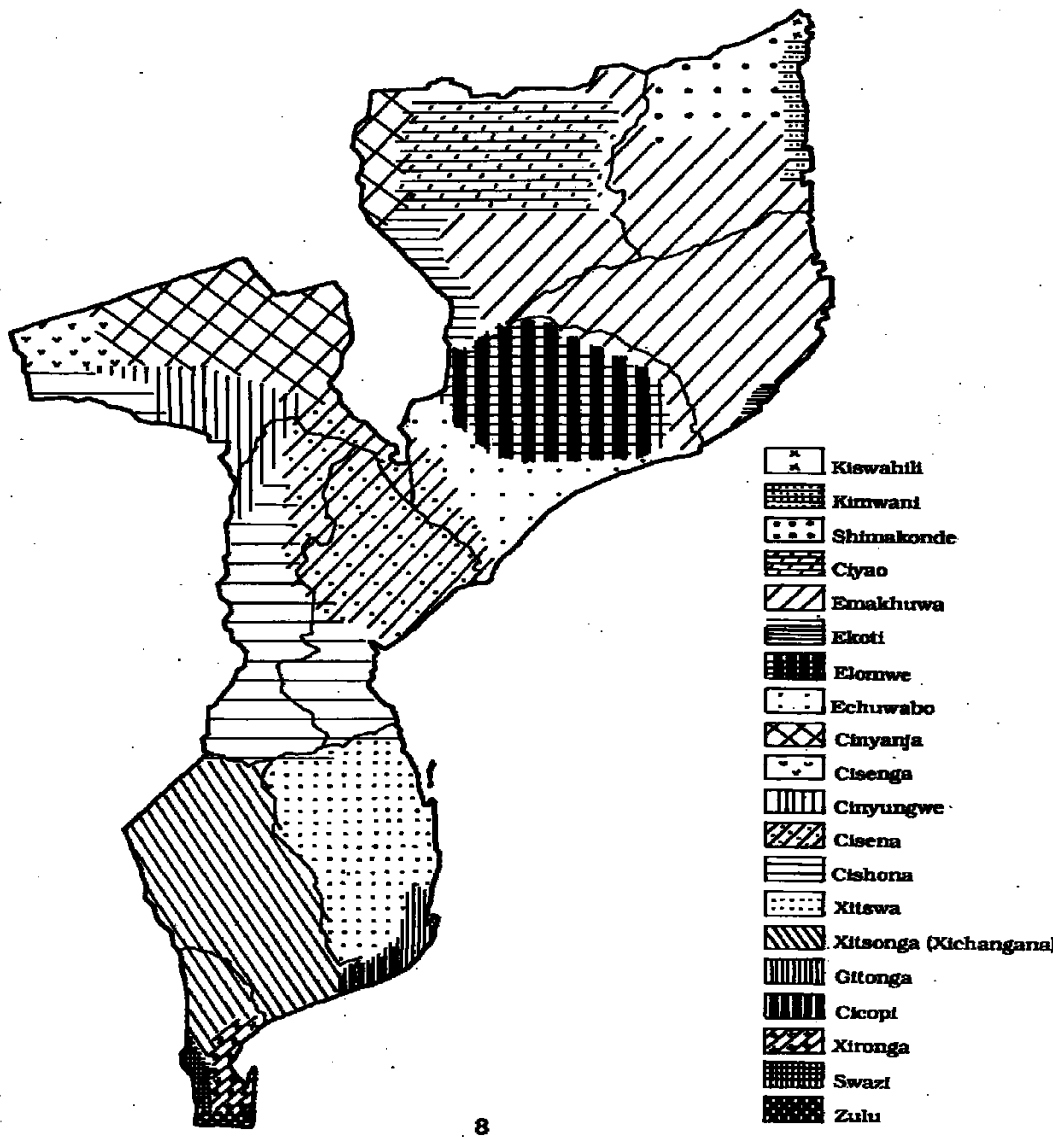
Map 2: The Provinces of Mozambique



From: [www.ine.gov.mz](http://www.ine.gov.mz) [Accessed June 20, 2009]

Map 2: Linguistic Map of Mozambique

### Mapa Lingüístico de Moçambique

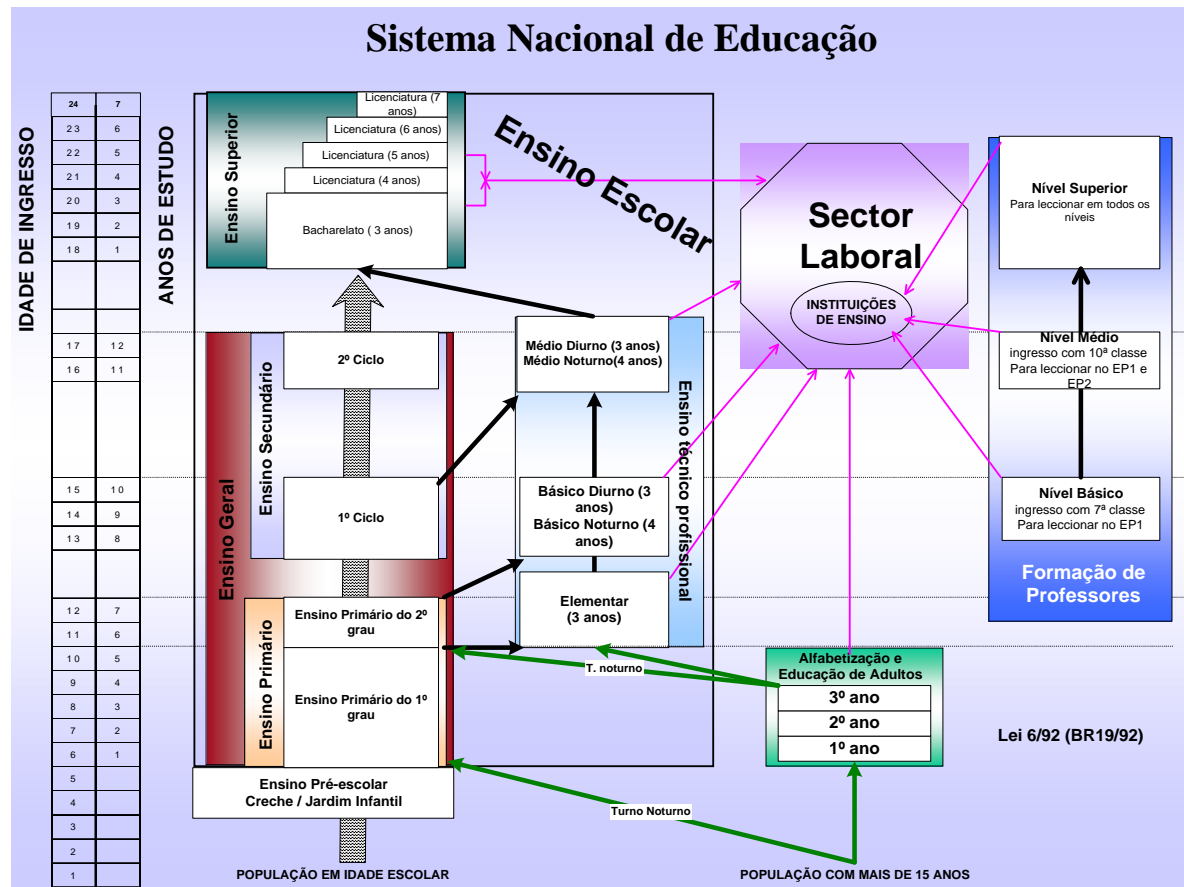


From: NELIMO (1989, p.8)



## Appendices 2: Education System in Mozambique

Figure 1: Diagram of the National Education System



From: RM (1992)

Table 1: Bilingual Education Curriculum – EP1 and EP2

Subject	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6		Grade 7	
	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium	Hours /week	Language medium
Portuguese	3.0	Port	3.45	Port	5.15	Port	6.0	Port	6.0	Port	5.15	Port	5.15	Port
African Language	6.0	L1	5.15	L1	3.45	L1	2.15	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1
Maths	6.0	L1	6.0	L1	4.30	L1	4.30	Port	4.30	Port	4.30	Port	4.30	Port
Natural Science	-	-	-	-	1.30	L1	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port
Social Science	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port
Handcraft	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port
Physical Education	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	0.45	Port	1.30	Port	0.45	Port	0.45	Port
Moral Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.30	Port	1.30	Port
Musical Education	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	0.45	Port	0.45	Port
English	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.15	Eng	2.15	Eng
Art	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	L1	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port	1.30	Port
Hours /week	<b>21.0</b> = Total 18.0 = L1 3.0 = Port		<b>21.00</b> = Total 17.15 = L1 3.45 = Port		<b>21.00</b> = Total 15.45 = L1 5.15 = Port		<b>21.00</b> = Total 2.15 = L1 18.45 = Port		<b>21.00</b> = Total 1.30 = L1 19.30 = Port		<b>22.30</b> = Total 1.30 = L1 18.45 = Port 2.15 = Eng		<b>22.30</b> = Total 1.30 = L1 18.45 = Port 2.15 = Eng	

Port – Portuguese

L1 – African language used in each school

Eng – English

### **Appendices 3: Fieldwork and Methodological Procedures**

Doc 1: Code of conduct for research (University of Birmingham)

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**UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM**

Code of Conduct  
For Research  
2008-09

**UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM  
CODE OF CONDUCT FOR RESEARCH**

## 1. Principles

### 1.1 Statement of Guiding Principles

This Code of Conduct ('the Code') prescribes standards of work performance and ethical conduct expected of all persons engaged in research in The University of Birmingham ('the University') based upon the following guiding principles:

- 1.1 .1 research involves, inter alia, the pursuit of truth in furtherance of the advancement of knowledge;
- 1.1 .2 research workers should, in all aspects of their research:
  - (a) demonstrate integrity and professionalism;
  - (b) observe fairness and equity;
  - (c) avoid, or declare, conflicts of interest;
  - (d) ensure the safety of those associated with the research; and
  - (e) observe all legal and ethical requirements laid down by the University or other bodies properly laying down such requirements.
- 1.1 .3 Research methods and results should, subject to appropriate confidentiality in relation to personal or commercially protected information, be open to scrutiny and debate.

### 1.2 Observance of the Code

Teaching staff, research workers and research students must familiarise themselves with the Code and ensure that its provisions are observed. Heads of School have a general responsibility to seek to ensure general compliance with the Code in their Schools. The University will draw attention to the Code of Conduct in its induction processes for newly appointed researchers and research students. Supervisors of students involved in research will seek to ensure compliance with the Code on the part of students.

### 1.3 Breach of the Code

Failure to comply with the provisions of the Code may be grounds for a disciplinary action.

### 1.4 Advice

Where a research worker is in doubt about the applicability of provisions of the Code, or about the appropriate course of action to be adopted in relation to it, advice should be sought from a member of the Joint Ethics and Research Governance Committee of the Council and Senate. A member of the Joint Ethics and Research Governance Committee should provide this advice on a confidential basis.

## 2. Specific Requirements

**2.1 Research Data**

- 2.1 .1 Research data must be recorded in a durable and auditable form, with appropriate references so that it can readily be recovered.
- 2.1 .2 Research data must be retained intact normally for a period of at least five years from the date of any publication which is based upon it.
- 2.1 .3 It is the duty of the principal investigator in any research project to comply with the Data Protection Act, and to ensure that copyright is not breached.
- 2.1 .4 Specific arrangements should be made to protect the security of research data where there is a contractual requirement to do so.
- 2.1 .5 A research unit, Principal Academic Unit or College must establish procedures for retention of research data in a form which would enable retrieval by a third party, subject to any limitation imposed by the confidentiality of personal data.
- 2.1 .6 Research workers must comply with these retention procedures.
- 2.1 .7 Research data related to publications should be available for discussion with other research workers, except where confidentiality provisions prevail.
- 2.1 .8 Confidentiality provisions relating to publications may apply in circumstances where the University or the research worker has made or given confidentiality undertakings to third parties or confidentiality is required to protect intellectual property rights. It is the obligation of the research worker to enquire as to whether confidentiality provisions apply and of the head of unit, Principal Academic Unit or College to inform research workers of the obligations with respect to these provisions.

**2.2 Publications**

- 2.2 .1 A publication must contain appropriate reference to the contributions made by all participants who have made what might reasonably be regarded as a significant contribution to the relevant research.
- 2.2 .2 Any person who has participated in a substantial way in conceiving, executing or interpreting at least part of the relevant research should be given the opportunity to be included as an author of a publication derived from that research.
- 2.2 .3 Any person who has not participated in a substantial way in conceiving, executing or interpreting at least part of the relevant research should not be included as an author of a publication derived from that research.
- 2.2 .4 In addition to meeting the requirements of paragraph 2.2(b), an author must ensure that the work of research students, research staff and support staff is recognised in a publication derived from research to which they have made a significant contribution as defined in 2.2(a) above.

2.2 .5 A publication which is substantially similar to another publication derived from the same research must contain appropriate reference to the other publication.

2.2 .6 A research worker who submits substantially similar work to more than one publisher should disclose that fact to the publishers at the time of submission.

### 2.3 Supervision of Research Programmes/Projects

2.3 .1 Each research unit, department or School must adopt guidelines for supervision of research programmes/projects in accordance with any requirements which may be prescribed from time to time by the Senate or delegated authority.

2.3 .2 A supervisor of research programmes/projects must observe and undertake the responsibilities set out in these guidelines.

2.3 .3 A person must decline appointment as a supervisor of a research programme/project unless that person expects to be able to discharge the responsibilities set out in the guidelines.

### 2.4 Conflict of Interest

2.4 .1 A research worker must make full disclosure of any personal potential or actual conflict of interest in research. Conflict of interest means any personal or close family affiliation or financial involvement with any organisation sponsoring or providing financial support for a project undertaken by a research worker. Financial involvement includes direct personal financial interest, provision of personal benefits (such as travel and accommodation) and provision of material or facilities for personal use. (For the avoidance of doubt, the provision of sponsored studentships, or elements of travel/accommodation for a students, should be excluded from this definition.)

2.4 .2 A disclosure of a personal conflict of interest in research must be made to the Head of College as soon as reasonably practicable.

2.4 .3 A research worker must comply with a direction made by the Head of College in relation to a personal conflict of interest in research. Heads of College may seek advice from the Registrar and Secretary in cases of doubt.

### 3. Additional Requirements

3.1 Any special standards of work performance and ethical conduct imposed by law or by the University in relation to particular categories of research are deemed to be included in this code in its application to persons engaged in that research in the University.

3.2 In the case of work involving animals, there is a general requirement for research workers to demonstrate that they have considered seriously the use of alternative methods of research before the use of animals is proposed, and that the likely costs to animals have been weighed against the improvement in knowledge and understanding of the living world. The Named Veterinary

Surgeon has an explicit duty to advise research workers about welfare issues in relation to the use of animals for research purposes, which may also raise ethical concerns.

- 3.3 It shall be the duty of the Director of Biomedical Services Unit to bring forward to the sub-committee on ethics in animal research, through the Certificate Holder, any matters raising issues of ethical concern. In such cases Home Office licensees (or potential licensees) shall have the opportunity to make a submission to the sub-committee, in writing, or, exceptionally, orally.
- 3.4 Colleges in which research workers undertake non-clinical research where human beings are the subject of physical or other tests must submit protocols on ethical, health and safety procedures for approval by the Joint Ethics and Research Governance Committee. Such protocols must involve the establishment of College Ethics Sub-Committees to approve all investigations involving human subjects. Such College Ethics Sub-Committees shall comprise at least the College of School, two members of staff, the College Safety Officer, two members external to the School, and one female and one male student member of the School.

#### 4. **Misconduct**

- 4.1 Misconduct in research is constituted by a failure to comply with the provisions of the Code and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing provisions, includes:
- 4.1 .1 the fabrication or falsification of research data;
- 4.1 .2 the use of another person's ideas, work or research data without appropriate acknowledgement; or
- 4.1 .3 misleading ascription of authorship to a publication.
- 4.2 Members and employees of the University have a duty to report misconduct in the prosecution of research, where they have good reason to believe it is occurring, to the Head of College or some other person in authority. In the first instance, the person to report to will normally be a Head of Principal Academic Unit or Head of College. The procedures and protections set out in the University's Code of Corporate Governance in relation to Public Interest Disclosure ('Whistle blowing') shall apply as appropriate in the area of the conduct of research.
- 4.3 It will be the responsibility of the University, using its normal procedures, to investigate allegations or complaints about misconduct in research or scientific or scholarly fraud. At an appropriate stage, the University will inform relevant sponsors of a particular research project of allegations of scientific fraud.





## The British Association for Applied Linguistics

### Recommendations for good practice in Applied Linguistics student projects

BAAL (The British Association for Applied Linguistics) has developed guidelines for applied linguists in their relation to the profession, colleagues, students, informants, and sponsors. The recommendations are relevant to professional applied linguists, and the core recommendations identified here apply as much to a student doing an essay for an undergraduate course as they do to a professor managing a large funded project. The numbers at the end of each section of this document refer to the corresponding section in the full "Recommendations", available at <http://www.baal.org.uk/goodprac.pdf>.

1. **General responsibility to informants.** You should respect the rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy of people who provide you with your data ("informants"). You should think about and respect all aspects of identity including their culture, gender, and age. On the basis of this, try to anticipate any harmful effects or disruptions to informants' lives and environment, and to avoid any stress, intrusion, and real or perceived exploitation. [6.1]
2. **Obtaining informed consent.** You must get permission from anyone who provides you with data, whether spoken or written. To do this, you should let informants know anything about your project that might affect their willingness to participate: what your objectives are, what you will need from them, how much time it will take, and how you will keep their identities confidential, if that is necessary. When informants are under 16, you also need their parents' permission too. [6.2]
3. **Respecting a person's decision not to participate.** Informants have a right to refuse to participate in research, even if they said at the outset that they would. It is best to plan your project so that it does not depend entirely on the consent of one or two people. (6.3)
4. **Confidentiality and anonymity.** If you have not been given the right to identify participants, they must not be identifiable in any way (confidentiality) and in particular you must not use real names (anonymity). You should try to anticipate ways identities might accidentally be revealed: by including identifying details, pictures, or moving images, playing voices, or allowing unauthorized access to data on your computer or in your files. (6.4)

**5. Deception and covert research.** Deception is unacceptable because it violates the principles of informed consent and the right to privacy. When linguists do not want informants to alter their usual style of speech, and anticipate they might do so if they know the purpose of the study, it may be defensible

- to tell them the general purpose of the research without revealing specific objectives
- to ask them to agree to be deceived at some unspecified time in the future (for instance, if there is going to be a role play)
- (if there is no alternative) to explain the research immediately after gathering the data, and ask for permission then. But if they do not give permission then, you will have to destroy the data without using it (and they may be very angry).

While deception is unacceptable, distraction is generally ethical. Distraction might involve introducing multiple activities into a study to prevent informants monitoring themselves, or asking them to tell about an event in their lives, when what you are interested in is not the story but its form. (6.5)

**6. Sponsors and users.** If your academic project is done in co-operation with an agency, group, or company in the community, you must usually provide an account of your work that is useful to the user. In turn, they must understand that you have to be evaluated on your work as an academic product, and must meet academic deadlines and standards. (7)

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From: <http://www.bal.org.uk/googprac> [Accessed April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2007]

Doc 3a, b: Letter of Permission sent to education authorities

a) Portuguese version

Exmo Senhor Director do INDE

Maputo

Maputo, 24 de Julho de 2007

**Assunto:** Pedido de autorização para a realização de pesquisa na Escola Primária Completa de xxxx e na Escola Primária Completa de xxxxxxxx

Exmo Senhor Director,

Venho através desta carta solicitar a vossa autorização para realizar o meu trabalho de investigação nas escolas supracitadas, de Agosto a Outubro do corrente ano.

Sou docente de Linguística na Universidade Eudardo Mondlane e de 2003 a 2006 trabalhei como consultor do INDE na área de Educação Bilingue, onde coordenei um projecto de monitoria e avaliação centrado nas duas escolas acima referidas e na Escola Primária de xxxxxxxx. Neste momento estou a fazer Doutoramento em 'Línguas na Educação' na Universidade de Birmingham, na Grã-Bretanha. O trabalho de investigação a realizar em xxxxx e xxxxx servira de base para a minha dissertação de doutoramento.

Nesta pesquisa pretendo estudar as interacções linguísticas em turmas bilingues tendo em conta os contextos institucional e social da sua produção. O meu objectivo é explorar o posicionamento de professores e alunos em relação ao valor e propósito do ensino bilingue em Moçambique. Espero que este estudo contribua para a investigação e melhoria da actual política e implementação do ensino bilingue no país.

O estudo terá como base a observação e gravação áudio e em vídeo de práticas comunicativas na sala de aulas bem como entrevistas a actores relevantes (professores, alunos, pais e encarregados de educação e autoridades da educação).

O estudo vai ser conduzido no quadro de padrões éticos prescritos pela Universidade de Birmingham, pela Associação Britânica de Linguística Aplicada e pelas autoridades moçambicanas de pesquisa. A cada participante será solicitada permissão para o seu envolvimento no estudo e eu vou assegurar a observância de anonimato em todas as fases do processo de pesquisa e divulgação dos resultados. Nenhum participante será identificado pelo seu nome e as gravações serão ouvidas/vistas apenas por mim e por um número bastante limitado de assistentes que me ajudarão nas transcrições. Os participantes serão informados sobre o seu direito de pedir para não serem gravados bem como de se retirar da pesquisa em qualquer fase da pesquisa caso considerem conveniente fazê-lo.

Em retribuição vou mandar um sumário bilingue (Português e Changana ou Chope) dos principais resultados da pesquisa a cada uma das escolas envolvidas e a todos os níveis de educação directamente envolvidos no estudo. Vou também procurar organizar encontros com professores e pais e encarregados de educação das escolas estudadas para a apresentação e discussão dos resultados da pesquisa. Mais ainda, uma vez que tenho sido convidado por autoridades da educação e ONGs para dar o meu contributo em acções de capacitação de professores bilingues ao nível nacional,

como parte dos meus subsídios, espero usar estas ocasiões para incorporar e promover discussões em torno dos resultados relevantes a obter do estudo.

Antecipadamente grato pela atenção que dispensarem a este meu pedido.

Feliciano Chimbutane

b) English version

Dear Director do INDE

Maputo

Maputo, 24 of July 2007

I am writing to ask permission to conduct my research at Escola Primária Completa de xxxxxx and at Escola Primária Completa de xxxxxxx. I am a lecturer in Linguistics at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane and from 2003 to 2006 I worked as a consultant at INDE in the area of bilingual education. I am now doing my PhD in Languages and Education at the University of Birmingham, in the United Kingdom. This work will form the basis for my PhD dissertation.

In this research I am studying language interactions in bilingual classrooms taking into account the institutional and societal contexts of their production. My aim is to explore the positionings of teachers and students as regards the value and purpose of bilingual education in Mozambique. I expect this study to contribute in diagnosing and improving the current policy and implementation of bilingual education in the country.

The research will involve observation and video and audio recording of classroom communicative practices as well as interviews with some relevant participants (teachers, pupils, parents/guardians and education representatives).

The study will be conducted fully within the ethical standards prescribed by the University of Birmingham, by the British Association of Applied Linguistics and by relevant Mozambican research boards. All people involved will need to give their full informed consent, and I will ensure unqualified anonymity at all stages of the research process and when reporting the findings. No participants will be identified by name, and all recordings will be transcribed and listened to only by myself and a very limited number of assistants who will help me with the transcriptions. Participants will be informed about their right to ask not to be video or audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the research process if they feel appropriate to do so.

In return I will send a bilingual summary (Portuguese and Changana/Chope) of the main findings to the schools concerned and to all levels of education authority directly involved in the study. I will also arrange meetings with teachers and parents/guardians from the schools studied with the view to presenting and discussing the research findings. Moreover, since I have been invited by education authorities as well as by NGOs to contribute to in-service training of bilingual teachers countrywide, I expect to use these occasions to incorporate and discuss relevant findings of the study as part of my inputs to such training initiatives.

Thank your for your collaboration.

Yours Faithfully

Feliciano Chibutane

Doc 4: Letter of approval issued by the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture of Gaza and then signed by representatives of the two District Sectors of Education, Youth and Technology to which the schools in the study are directly accountable

A  
Dr<sup>a</sup>. CELIA DINIZ  
THE AFRICA.AMERICA INSTITUTE  
("Country Representative") MOZAMBIQUE

= MAPUTO =

9303 / SEC / 534 / 2007

01 AGOSTO 2007

, Credencial

Maputo, 27 de Julho de 2007

ASSUNTO: Transcrição de despacho

Sobre o assunto versado no vosso pedido de autorização de pesquisa nas Escolas Primárias Completas de [REDACTED], a seguir se transcreve o despacho de 31/07/07 do Exm<sup>o</sup> Senhor Director Provincial de Educação e Cultura. Subst<sup>a</sup>, cujo teor é o seguinte:

"AUTORIZO AO SR: FELICIANO SALVADOR CHIBETANE A SUA PESQUISA NOS LOCAIS PRETENDIDOS.  
NA AUSÊNCIA DO DIRECTOR PROVINCIAL, ASSINA O CHEFE DO DDP.  
dr: FANUEL ALBINO CHENAT

Sem mais assunto de momento, as nossas cordiais saudações.-



c/c  
-SEJUT de [REDACTED]  
-SEJUT de [REDACTED]

/AVG.

VISTO  
M.P.C. do [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

ENTRADA N.º 754  
EM 10/08/2007  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Doc 5a, b: Letter of consent sent to the four teachers observed

a) Portuguese version

Caro(a) professor(a) \_\_\_\_\_

Escrevo esta carta para pedir a sua colaboração na pesquisa que estou a realizar. Sou docente de Linguística na Universidade Eduardo Mondlane e de 2003 a 2006 trabalhei como consultor do INDE na área de Educação Bilingue, onde coordenei um projecto de monitoria e avaliação do qual a sua escola era parte integrante. Neste momento estou a fazer o meu Doutoramento em 'Línguas na Educação' na Universidade de Birmingham, na Grã-Bretanha. O trabalho de investigação a realizar na sua escola e na Escola Primária de xxxx servirá de base para a minha dissertação de doutoramento.

Nesta pesquisa pretendo estudar as interacções linguísticas em turmas bilingues tendo em conta os contextos institucional e social da sua produção. O meu objectivo é explorar o posicionamento de professores e alunos em relação ao valor e propósito da educação bilingue em Mocambique. Espero que este estudo contribua para a investigação e melhoria da actual política e implementação da educação bilingue no país.

O estudo terá como base a observação e gravação áudio e em vídeo de práticas comunicativas na sala de aulas bem como conversas ocasionais de curta duração consigo. Assim, para além das conversas, a pesquisa não lhe vai roubar muito do seu tempo. O estudo não se destina a avaliar o seu trabalho ou a sua capacidade de comunicação, por isso conduza o seu trabalho normalmente e à-vontade.

O estudo vai ser conduzido no quadro de padrões éticos prescritos pela Universidade de Birmingham, pela Associação Britânica de Linguística Aplicada e pelas autoridades moçambicanas de pesquisa. Tal como todas as outras pessoas a envolver no estudo, o(a) senhor(a) professor(a) terá de dar a sua permissão para eu (o/a) envolver no estudo e eu vou assegurar a observância de anonimato em todas as fases do processo de pesquisa e divulgação dos resultados. O(a) senhor(a) professor(a) não será identificado(a) pelo seu nome (vou usar uma alcunha) e as gravações serão ouvidas/vistas apenas por mim e por um número bastante limitado de assistentes que me ajudarão nas transcrições. O(a) senhor(a) professor(a) tem o direito de pedir para não ser gravado(a) bem como de se retirar da pesquisa em qualquer fase da pesquisa caso considere conveniente fazê-lo.

Professores que participaram em pesquisas similares consideram a experiência valiosa, declarando, por exemplo, que tem uma oportunidade para reflectir sobre a forma como as trocas linguísticas se processam nas suas próprias salas de aula. Por isso, a sua participação na pesquisa poderá ajuda-lo(a) a levar avante o seu trabalho.

No final do trabalho, vou mandar um sumário bilingue (Português e Changana ou Chope) dos principais resultados da pesquisa à sua escola. Vou também procurar organizar encontros com professores da sua escola para apresentação e discussão dos resultados da pesquisa.

Espero que a sua participação forneça importantes subsídios que ajudem a configurar o futuro da educação bilingue no país.

Antecipadamente grato pelo seu tempo e colaboração. Aguardo ansiosamente pela sua resposta.

Feliciano Chimbutane

### **Declaração de Aceitação**

Eu,....., através desta declaração aceito tomar parte como participante no estudo conduzido pelo Sr. Feliciano Salvador Chimbutane sobre práticas discursivas em turmas bilingues em Moçambique. Confirmo a minha compreensão do propósito e processo envolvido no estudo. Também compreendo que não serei identificado(a) pelo meu nome em qualquer fase do processo de pesquisa e que tenho o direito de pedir para não ser filmado(a) e/ou gravado(a) bem como de me retirar em qualquer fase do estudo se eu considerer apropriado fazê-lo.

.....  
(Assinatura do Participante)

.....  
(data/mês/ano)



b) English version

Dear teacher \_\_\_\_\_

I am writing to ask if you could help me with my research. I am a lecturer in Linguistics at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane and I am now doing my PhD in Languages and Education at the University of Birmingham, in the United Kingdom. This work will form the basis for my PhD dissertation.

In this research I am studying language interactions in bilingual classrooms taking into account the institutional and societal contexts of their production. My aim is to explore the positionings of teachers and students as regards the value and purpose of bilingual education in Mozambique. I expect this study to contribute in diagnosing and improving the current policy and implementation of bilingual education in the country.

The research will involve observation and video and audio recording of communicative practices in your classroom as well as few interviews with you of no longer than 60 minutes. Thus, apart from the interviews, the research will not take you substantial extra time. The study is not intended to judge the adequacy of your work or your communicative performance, so feel free to conduct your work in an unconstrained and natural way.

The study will be conducted fully within the ethical standards prescribed by the University of Birmingham, by the British Association of Applied Linguistics and by relevant Mozambican research boards. As well as all people involved (teachers, pupils and parents/guardians), you will need to give your full informed consent, and I will ensure unqualified anonymity at all stages of the research process and when reporting the findings. You will not be identified by name, all recordings will be transcribed and listened to only by myself and a very limited number of assistants who will help me with the transcriptions. You have the right to ask not to be video and/or audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the research process if you feel appropriate to do so.

Teachers participating in similar studies have found the exercise worthwhile, reporting that they have a chance to reflect on their own language uses in their own classrooms. Therefore, your participation may support you in taking forward your work. In return I will send a bilingual summary (Portuguese and Changana/Chope) of the main findings to your school. I will also arrange meetings with teachers and parents/guardians from your school with the view to presenting and discussing the research findings.

I expect your participation to provide important inputs that may help to shape the future of bilingual education in the country.

Thank you very much for your time and I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Feliciano Chimbutane

**Statement of Consent**

I, ....., hereby accept to take part as a participant in the study conducted by Mr Feliciano Salvador Chimbutane on discourse practices in bilingual classrooms in Mozambique. I confirm my understanding of the purpose and processes involved in the study. I also understand that I will not be identified by name at any stage of the research process and that I have the right to ask not to be video and/or audio recorded as well as to withdraw at any point from the study if I feel appropriate to do so.

.....  
(Signature of the participant)

.....  
(date/month/year)

Doc 6a,b,c,d: Statements of consent signed by the four teachers observed  
[not available in the web copy of this thesis]



Doc 7: Endorsement letter issued by The Africa America Institute, the institution responsible for the management of the “Ford Foundation International Fellowship Programme” in Mozambique  
[Not available in the web copy of this thesis]

Table 2: Summary of classes observed and audio recorded at Gwambeni and at Bikwani

Teacher	Subjects		School
	L1 (Nr of lessons and duration)	Portuguese/L2 (Nr of lessons and duration)	
Mr Muhati	4 (180 min)	6 (270 min)	EPC-Gwambeni
Mr Gwambe	6 (270 min)	4 (180 min)	EPC-Gwambeni
Ms Marta	5 (225 min)	10 (450 min)	EPC-Bikwani
Ms Constância	4 (180 min)	11 (495 min)	EPC-Bikwani
Totals	19 (855 min)	31 (1395 min)	

Table 3: Debriefing sessions with teachers observed at Gwambeni and Bikwani

Name	Role	Language of interview
Mr Muhati	Grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni	Portuguese
Mr Gwambe	Grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni	Portuguese
Ms Marta	Grade 5 teacher at Bikwani	Portuguese
Ms Constância	Grade 4 teacher at Bikwani	Portuguese

Table 4a: School director and teachers interviewed at Gwambeni

Name	Role	Language of interview
Mr Mondlane	School Director	Portuguese
Mr Gwambe	Deputy Director and grade 4 teacher	Portuguese
Mr Muhati	Grade 5 teacher	Portuguese
Mr Neto	Grade 3 teacher	Portuguese
Ms Carla	Grade 2 teacher	Portuguese
Ms Maura	Grade 1 teacher	Portuguese

Table 4b: School director and teachers interviewed at Bikwani

Name	Role	Language of interview
Mr Chissano	School Director	Portuguese
Ms Marta	Grade 5 teacher	Portuguese
Ms Constância	Grade 4 teacher	Portuguese
Ms Cacilda	Grade 3 teacher	Portuguese/Changana
Ms Flora	Grade 2 teacher	Portuguese
Mr Roberto	Grade 1 teacher	Portuguese

Table 5a: Pupils interviewed at Gwambeni

<b>Name/Group</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>
Group of grade 4 pupils (6)	students	Chope/Changana
Group of grade 4 pupils (6)	students	Chope/Changana
Group of grade 4 pupils (6)	students	Chope/Changana
Group of grade 4 pupils (6)	students	Chope/Changana
Group of grade 5 pupils (5)	students	Chope/Portuguese
Group of grade 5 pupils (5)	students	Chope/Portuguese
Jorge	a former student	Changana

Table 5b: Pupils interviewed at Bikwani

<b>Name/Group</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>
Group of grade 4 pupils (12)	students	Changana
Group of grade 5 pupils (8)	students	Changana

Table 6a: Parents/caretakers interviewed at Gwambeni

<b>Name/Group</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>
Ms Argentina	Parent	Chope
Mr Joaquim	Parent	Chope
Ms Felizarda	Parent	Changana/Chope
Mr Tomo	Grandparent/member of the school council	Changana
Mr Taela	Parent	Chope/Changana
Ms Jacinta	Grandparent	Changana
Group of parents (5)	parents	Changana

Table 6b: Parents/caretakers interviewed at Bikwani

<b>Name/Group</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>
Ms Laura	Parent	Changana
Ms Zubaida	Parent	Changana
Ms Tânia	Parent	Changana
Group of parents (5)	Grandparents/parents	Changana

Table 7: Local authorities and other members of the local communities interviewed at Gwambeni and Bikwani

<b>Name</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>	<b>Community</b>
Mr Gwambe	traditional leader	Changana	Gwambeni
Mr Pedro	elected judge/retired public servant	Changana	Gwambeni
Mr Muhati	religious leader	Changana	Gwambeni
Mr Bikwani	traditional leader	Changana	Bikwani
Mr Macie	retired teacher	Portuguese	Bikwani

Table 8: Education authorities and leaders of NGOs interviewed

<b>Name</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Language of interview</b>
Mrs H. Vera	Head of district sector for pedagogical assistance (the district to which EPC-G is accountable)	Portuguese
Mr Charra	Head of district sector for pedagogical assistance (the district to which EPC-B is accountable)	Portuguese
Mr R. Sendela	Leader of the bilingual education group at the National Institute for Development of Education (INDE)	Portuguese
Mrs J. Jesus	National coordinator of bilingual education at the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)	Portuguese
Mr E. Chirime	Director of UDEBA-LAB (NGO)	Portuguese
Mrs E. Sequeira	Director of Progresso (NGO)	Portuguese

Table 9: Meetings/sessions attended

<b>Groups Involved</b>	<b>Nature</b>	<b>Languages used</b>	<b>Date</b>
All teachers from the region of Gwambeni	Training workshop (methodological and terminological aspects)	Chope/ Changana/ Portuguese	15/9/2007
All teachers from the region of Gwambeni	Training workshop (methodological and terminological aspects)	Chope/ Changana/ Portuguese	24/7/2008
Parents/caretakers and the school directorate at Gwambeni	Reviewing of the second school term and planning of the third term	Chope/ Changana	23/8/2007
General meeting at Gwambeni (teachers, parents, students)	End of the school year and preparation for the examination period	Chope/ Changana	18/10/2007
All teachers from the region of Bikwani	Training workshop (methodological and terminological aspects)	Changana/ Portuguese	23/7/2008 25/7/2008
Selected practitioners from the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane	Production of textbooks for grade 6 in Changana, Chope, Gitonga, Ronga and Xitswa	Changana/ Chope/ Gitonga/ Ronga/ Xitswa/ Portuguese	8-9/8/2007



Table 10: **Transcription Symbols and Conventions**

.	stopping fall in tone, with some sense of completion
,	a slightly rising tone giving a sense of continuation
...	pause
?	raising intonation (marking uncertainty or a question)
!	emphasis (marked prominence through pitch or increase in volume)
^	raising intonation on accented syllables, followed by an oral gap that a speaker (e.g. teacher) expects the listener(s) (e.g. pupils) to fill with a syllable, word or phrase
[	overlapping turns
[	
xxx	completely unintelligible utterances
“ ”	indicates the beginning and end of a direct quotation (reported speech) or parts of reading from textbooks, blackboard, etc.
‘ ’	translation (Portuguese or English glosses)
(...)	indicates that parts of the episode transcribed have been omitted
((text))	contextual information
[word or text]	word, phrase or text not uttered but implicit in speaker's speech
<i>Italics</i>	marks an utterance in a different language or the use of borrowed words (codeswitching)
UPPER CASE	indicates louder speech than the surrounding talk
CAPITAL	initial capitals only used for proper names, language names, place
LETTERS	names, titles and months
no::o	one or more colons indicate a stretched sound (marks the length of the preceding vowel)
/ri/	phonological representation
S:	non identified student
Ss:	several or all students speaking simultaneously





b) English version

Pupil's name	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Mother tongue	Could you speak Portuguese before starting schooling?	With whom do you live?	Your father's occupation	Your mother's occupation	Your father's mother tongue	Your mother's mother tongue



Questionnaire 2a, b: Questionnaire to the teachers

a) Portuguese version

QUESTIONÁRIO AOS PROFESSORES DO ENSINO BILINGUE

Nome do(a) Professor(a) \_\_\_\_\_  
Escola Primária Completa de \_\_\_\_\_ Tempo no Ensino Bilingue \_\_\_\_\_  
Língua materna \_\_\_\_\_

1.1. Como ficou integrado(a) no ensino bilingue?

- A. opção voluntária \_\_\_\_\_
- B. indicação da escola \_\_\_\_\_
- C. negociação entre a escola e o(a) professor(a) \_\_\_\_\_
- D. sugestão do INDE \_\_\_\_\_
- E. outra(s) \_\_\_\_\_ (qual(is) \_\_\_\_\_)

1.2. Que razão pesou para a sua integração no ensino bilingue?

- A. vontade individual de experimentar novos desafios \_\_\_\_\_
- B. falta de professor(a) alternativo(a) \_\_\_\_\_
- C. domínio da língua local \_\_\_\_\_
- D. experiência anterior em ensino bilingue \_\_\_\_\_
- E. outra (s) \_\_\_\_\_ (qual(is)? \_\_\_\_\_)

2.1. Beneficiou de capacitação em matéria de ensino bilingue?

- A. sim \_\_\_\_\_ B. não \_\_\_\_\_

2.2. Se sim, diga quando, onde, durante quanto tempo, o tema do seminário e mencione a entidade organizadora.

Ano	Duração	Local	Tema(s) do Seminário	Organizador

3.1. Considera que a capacitação que recebeu é suficiente para a realização das suas actividades de leccionação?

- A. sim \_\_\_\_\_ B. não \_\_\_\_\_ C. mais ou menos \_\_\_\_\_

3.2. Se a sua resposta é B ou C, diga em que aspectos considera que apresenta lacunas:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3.3. Que aspecto(s) considera que deviam merecer atenção especial em futuras capacitações? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4.1. Que disciplina(s) é que considera que lecciona com facilidade?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Português \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Matemática \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Educação Visual \_\_\_\_\_
- E. Educação Musical \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Ofícios \_\_\_\_\_

4.2. Que factores considera que contribuíram para o seu bom desempenho nessa(s) disciplina(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5.1. Que disciplina(s) é que considera que lecciona com dificuldades?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Português \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Matemática \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Educação Visual \_\_\_\_\_
- E. Educação Musical \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Ofícios \_\_\_\_\_

5.2. Que factores considera que estiveram por detrás das dificuldades que enfrentou nessa(s) disciplina(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6.1. Em que disciplina(s) é que os alunos captam as matérias ministradas com facilidade?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Português \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Matemática \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Educação Visual \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Educação Musical \_\_\_\_\_
- G. Ofícios \_\_\_\_\_

6.2. Que factores considera que contribuem para essa facilidade na captação das matérias por parte dos alunos? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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7. Que avaliação faz do apoio recebido por parte dos instrutores e dos técnicos do INDE? \_\_\_\_\_

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8. Sente-se melhor como professor de ensino bilingue ou como professor do ensino monolingue? Explique porquê.

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9.1. Em sua opinião, quais são os aspectos positivos que se salientaram nestes primeiros anos de implementação do ensino bilingue?

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9.2. Que aspectos considera que não estão a correr bem e gostaria de ver alterados ou melhorados? (se possível, apresente sugestões)

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b) English version

### QUESTIONNAIRE TO TEACHERS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
The Primary School at \_\_\_\_\_ Experience in bilingual education \_\_\_\_\_  
Mother tongue \_\_\_\_\_

1.1. How have you been deployed in the bilingual education programme?

- A. voluntarily \_\_\_\_\_
- B. indicated by the school \_\_\_\_\_
- C. through negotiation with the school \_\_\_\_\_
- D. suggested by INDE \_\_\_\_\_
- E. other(s) \_\_\_\_\_ specify \_\_\_\_\_

1.2. What was the main criterion considered in your deployment in the bilingual education programme?

- A. my personal desire to face new challenges \_\_\_\_\_
- B. lack of alternative teachers \_\_\_\_\_
- C. my mastery of the local language \_\_\_\_\_
- D. my previous experience in bilingual education \_\_\_\_\_
- E. other(s) \_\_\_\_\_ specify \_\_\_\_\_

2.1. Have you received training in bilingual education matters?

- A. yes \_\_\_\_\_ B. no \_\_\_\_\_

2.2. If your answer is yes, indicate when, where, for how long, the topic(s) approached in the seminar/workshop and the organiser/sponsor.

Year	Duration	Place	Topic(s) of the seminar/workshop	Organiser/sponsor

3.1. Do you consider that the training receive was sufficient for you to carry on your teaching activities?

- A. yes \_\_\_\_\_ B. no \_\_\_\_\_ C. more or less \_\_\_\_\_

3.2. If your answer is B or C, indicate the areas in which you feel that there are gaps to be filled : \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3.3. Which topic(s) do you consider that should receive special attention in future training initiatives? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4.1. Which subjects do you think that you teach more easily?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Maths \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Visual Arts \_\_\_\_\_
- E. Musical Education \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Handcraft \_\_\_\_\_

4.2. What are the factors that you consider to be prompting your good performance in that/those subject(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5.1. Which subjects do you think that you teach with some difficulties?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Maths \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Visual Arts \_\_\_\_\_
- E. Musical Education \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Handcraft \_\_\_\_\_

5.2. What are the factors that you consider to be constraining your performance in that/those subject(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6.1. In which subject(s) have the pupils grasped the matters taught more easily?

- A. L1 \_\_\_\_\_
- B. Portuguese \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Maths \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Visual Arts \_\_\_\_\_
- E. Musical Education \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Handcraft \_\_\_\_\_

6.2. What are the factors that you consider to be contributing to pupils' easy understanding of the matters in that/those subject(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. What is your assessment of the support that you have been receiving from teacher educators and from INDE technical officials? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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8. Do you feel better as a teacher in the bilingual education programme or as a teacher in the Portuguese monolingual programme? Explain why.

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9.1. In your view, what are the most salient positive aspects that you have noticed during these first years of implementation of the bilingual education programme?

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9.2. Which aspect(s) of the programme you consider not to be working well and you would like to see it/them changed or improved? (make suggestions, if you can)

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## Appendices 4: Research Sites

Table 11: Teachers in the Bilingual Education Programme at Gwambeni in 2007

Name	Gender	First language	Training (general + teacher training)	Teaching experience (years)	Bilingual education experience (years)	Grade taught
Pedro Muhati	M	Chope	6 <sup>a</sup> + 3	25	5	5
Alberto Gwambe	M	Chope	9 <sup>a</sup> + 2	29	4	4
Neto Chiziane	M	Chope	7 <sup>a</sup> + 3	20	3	3
Carla Magune	F	Chope	7 <sup>a</sup> + 3	8	2	2
Maura Cossa	F	Changana	6 <sup>a</sup> + 2	26	2	2
Arnaldo Bengo	M	Chope	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	7	1	1
Fernando Malate	M	Chope	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	8	1	1

Table 12: Teachers in the Bilingual Education Programme at Bikwani in 2007

Name	Gender	First language	Training (general + teacher training)	Teaching experience (years)	Bilingual education experience (years)	Grade taught
Marta Mucavele	F	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	11	2	5
Constância Langa	F	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	5	4	4
Cacilda Mazuze	F	Changana	7 <sup>a</sup> + 3	31	3	3
Flora Valoi	F	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 0	7	2	2
Roberto Muthemba	M	Changana	10 <sup>a</sup> + 2	1	1	1

## Appendices 5: Purpose and Advocacy for Bilingual Education

Extract 1: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |                                      |
|----|-------|--|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | Mr C: | imm, o ensino bilingue nesta escola    | Mr C: | well, bilingual education            |
| 2  |       | está a caminhar a um bom ritmo         |       | at this school is running smoothly   |
| 3  |       | porque nós não chegamos de obrigar     |       | because we do not coerce people      |
| 4  |       | as pessoas que...                      |       | to..                                 |
| 5  |       | matricula os seus filhos emm...        |       | to enroll their children umm...      |
| 6  |       | obrigatoriamente.                      |       | compulsorily.                        |
| 7  |       | primeiro explicamos a necessidade      |       | we first explain the reasons for...  |
| 8  |       | de...                                  |       | enrolling the children in bilingual  |
| 9  |       | matricular as crianças no ensino       |       | education.                           |
| 10 |       | bilingue.                              |       | then, with the help of other parents |
| 11 |       | então, com ajuda de outros pais que já |       | who have lived in other countries,   |
| 12 |       | andaram noutros países,                |       | such as South Africa...              |
| 13 |       | como o caso da África do Sul...        |       | where education is first provided in |
| 14 |       | que lá têm aprendido primeiro pela sua |       | the child's own language... umm...   |
| 15 |       | língua... eeh... [língua] local        |       | local [language] and only after that |
| 16 |       | depois é que aprende... eeh...         |       | s/he learns... umm... a foreign      |
| 17 |       | estrangeira ((suspira fundo))          |       | language ((he takes a deep breath))  |
| 18 | F:    | im                                     | F:    | ok                                   |
| 19 | Mr C: | então esses ajudaram-nos bastante      | Mr C: | so, those [parents] help us a lot in |
| 20 |       | para fazer compreender os outros que   |       | our bid to get the others, who have  |
| 21 |       | tinham algumas dificuldades.           |       | difficulties in understanding it, to |
| 22 |       |  |       | understand [the rationale of         |
| 23 |       |  |       | bilingual education]                 |

Extract 2: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |                                       |
|----|-------|--|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | im, e não há nenhum pai, por exemplo,  | F:    | ok, is there any parent who, for      |
| 2  |       | que tenha descoberto que o seu filho   |       | example, after finding out that       |
| 3  |       | está no ensino bilingue                |       | his/her child had been placed in the  |
| 4  |       | e o retire para o ensino monolingue... |       | bilingual programme, has moved        |
| 5  |       | ou o contrário...?                     |       | him/her to the monolingual            |
| 6  |       |  |       | programme... or the other way         |
| 7  |       |  |       | round...?                             |
| 8  | Mr C: | immm... aqui não                       | Mr C: | well... not over here.                |
| 9  | F:    | im                                     | F:    | ok                                    |
| 10 | Mr C: | aqui não.                              | Mr C: | not over here                         |
| 11 |       | eeh... apenas o... o ano passado       |       | umm... only last year that was        |
| 12 |       | isto quis acontecer                    |       | about to happen, but we tried to      |
| 13 |       | mas nós procurámos saber eeh...        |       | find out umm.. why.                   |
| 14 |       | porquê.                                |       | the issue that that parent raised was |
| 15 |       | então só que ele colocou questão de    |       | that "some pupils are getting         |
| 16 |       | que                                    |       | learning materials but... my          |
| 17 |       | "os outros receberam os materiais e... |       | children are not getting them" ((he   |
| 18 |       | então os meus filhos não receberam"    |       | is alluding to the differential       |
| 19 |       | ((faz alusão à diferença de tratamento |       | treatment between pupils in the       |
| 20 |       | entre os alunos no ensino bilingue e   |       | bilingual programme and those in      |
| 21 |       | aqueles no ensino monolingue))         |       | the monolingual programme))           |
| 22 |       | só falou apenas nos termos apenas dos  |       | this parent only raised the issue of  |
| 23 |       | materiais                              |       | learning materials                    |
| 24 | F:    | imhim                                  | F:    | ok                                    |
| 25 | Mr C: | im, porque os outros...                | Mr C: | yes, because the others...            |

26		era fase de receber os livros		it was at the phase when we were
27		então, aqueles [do programa bilingue]		providing textbooks to the pupils
28		não recebiam os materiais.		[in the monolingual programme]
29				but those [in the bilingual
30				programme] were not receiving
31				materials.
32	F:	im, depois como é que vocês	F:	ok, and how did you convince that
33		convenceram esse pai a manter os		father to keep his children in the
34		filhos no programa bilingue?		bilingual programme?
35	Mr C:	então, nós dissemos que “este ensino	Mr C:	we told him that “so far we do not
36		neste momento ainda não temos		have materials for this educational
37		material.		provision.
38		então, quando é que vamos receber		and we don’t know when we are
39		material,		going to have materials,
40		nós não podemos dizer		so, we cannot tell when we are
41		quando é que vamos receber o		going to receive materials”
42		material”		
43	F:	im	F:	ok
44	Mr C:	só que mais tarde tivemos algumas	Mr C:	but we later received some
45		brochuras,		manuscripts,
46		que... eh... demos às crianças		which we... umm... we gave to the
47		eeh... para eles fazerem trabalhos em		children umm for them to share in
48		grupos...		their working groups...
49		para fazerem leituras em grupos		for them to read in groups

Extract 3: Interview with Mr Taela, a father from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	F:	se ankama vngasungula kujondza hi	F:	so, when they started to learn in
2		Xicopi		Chope
3		wena uyosvila::nga		did you choo::se it
4		kumbe vayo-... uyosvikuma svaku		or you just found out that your child
5		n’wana wa wena vamuvekile ka		had been placed in a class where
6		Xicopi?		instruction was in Chope...?
7	Mr T:	<i>não</i> , vasungulile hi kuvitana <i>reunião</i> .	Mr T:	no, they first notified us about a
8		vataku “se lani		meeting. they told us that they
9		hila kupfula masala ya ya Xicopi”		wanted to introduce classes in
10				which instruction would be in
11				Chope
12	F:	im	F:	ok
13	Mr T:	kuve se anini ntsongwana mun’we	Mr T:	at that time I had a child who
14		angafanele akusungula ku- ku-		should should sta- sta- start
15		kudondzela xikolwe.		schooling
16		se <i>pronto</i> , vatanivutisa		so, they consulted me
17		nive nisinara niku he mina napfumela		and I even signed a document
18		svaku n’wana wa mina <i>pode</i> anghena		saying that I accepted that my child
19		ka <i>nova sistema</i>		was included in the new system of
20		yaku a- a- adondza hi Xicopi		lear- lear- learning in Chope
21	F:	imhim	F:	ok
22	Mr T:	avayendlanga hi kunisindzisa	Mr T:	they did not coerce me
23		kumbe kutshika vamuveka		or place my child without
24				consulting me
25	F:	im, se wena awusvitsakela	F:	ok, so were you happy before
26		naungasesvitiva svaku svimahisa		knowing how it would work...?
27		kuyini...?		
28	Mr T:	anisvitsakela ((diz convicto))	Mr T:	I was happy ((he says firmly))
29		hiku anilava kuvona majondzisela		because I wanted to see the new

30	yamampsa.	way of teaching.
31	maxji makumeka svaku	and in the end I found that
32	majondzisela lawa yamampsa lawaya	this new way of teaching
33	makumeka na manitsakisa ngopfu	makes me feel very happy indeed!
34	futshi!	
35	F: imhim	F: ok
36	Mr T: im, vakona lava vangayala vaku	Mr T: yes, there were some [parents] who
37	“n’wana wa mina angeyi ka Xicopi”	refused it, saying that “my child
38	maxji se svosvi vanavela!	cannot go to classes in Choape”
39		but now they are jealous!

Extract 4: Interview with Ms Jacinta, a grandmother from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	F:	wena awukumanga a-... a-... nhlengeletani	F:	so, you did not attend any meeting in which they explained how bilingual education would be implemented or...
2		waku vamithamusela svaku		
3		svimahisa... svitamahisa kuyini		
4		majondzisela yakona...?		
5				
6	Ms J:	((silêncio, pensativa))	Ms J:	((silence, she thinks for a while))
7	F:	lava vangamutsalisa... nkama	F:	those who received his registration paperwork... when they placed your grandson in the bilingual programme
8		vangatsalisa ntukulu wa wena		
9		vaku aya ka Xicopi		
10				
11	Ms J:	e::h! avab’alanga ku aya ka Xicopi!	Ms J:	no::! they did not say that he was going to learn in Choape! ((she denies veemently))
12		((nega de forma categórica))		
13		vayotsala vitu lahaya		
14		se nkama lowu wo hingena <i>reunião</i>		they only registered his name and when we gathered for the opening of the school year they said “this [child] has been placed in the bilingual programme, that in the monolingual programme”
15		yopfula xikolwe		
16		vab’ala ku “lweyi aya ka Xicopi,		
17		lweyi aya ka xilungu”		
18				
19				
20				
21	F:	im	F:	ok
22	Ms J:	im	Ms J:	yes
23	F:	se avazanga... avasangulanga hi	F:	so, they didn’t... didn’t they first talk to you people?
24		kubula na n’wina?		
25	Ms J:	ku vatajondza Xicopi?	Ms J:	about teaching in Choape?
26	F:	im	F:	yes
27	Ms J:	e::hh! amhimhim	Ms J:	no::! they didn’t but over here they started to teach in Choape a few years ago
28		maxji kona lana		
29		vasungulile lembe leli::ya		
30		kusungulisa kujondzisa Xicopi		
31	F:	im	F:	ok
32	Ms J:	im	Ms J:	yes
33	F:	se wena uyoza ku vamucinca	F:	did you try to move him to a Portuguese class?
34		anghena ka Xiputukezi...?		
35	Ms J:	imhimhim	Ms J:	no
36	F:	nkama ungasvitiva svaku ale ka	F:	when you found out that he had been placed in the bilingual programme...
37		Xicopi...		
38				
39	Ms J:	<i>nada</i> , ahali ka Xicopi	Ms J:	no, he is still in the bilingual programme
40				
41	F:	im awulavanga kucinca futshi?	F:	ok, and you did not even try to move him...
42				
43	Ms J:	imhimhim, aningatacinca	Ms J:	no, I will not move him

44		nitavona vona futshi			I will see what they do about it
45	F:	im		F:	ok
46	Ms J:	svohikanakanisa ntsem		Ms J:	it only makes us feel doubtful
47		hiku kaya vajondza Xicopi...			because they learn Chope at home...
48		se nisvosvi ningecinci			but even so, I cannot move him
49		nitatwa vona kambe			I will wait for them to tell me that
50		vacinca vaku			“well, he has now moved from
51		“eh, se a- a- asukile seni ka Xicopi			Chope to Portuguese” ((she is
52		ayile ka xilungu”			alluding to the transition phase))
53	F:	im		F:	ok
54	Ms J:	hinkwasvu svafana		Ms J:	it is all the same

## Appendices 6: Educational Value of Bilingual Education

### 6.1: Features of Interaction and Pedagogy in L1 Classes

Extract 5: A grade 5 Changana lesson on adjectives (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Marta, 18/9/2007)

1	Ms M:	mahlawuli makomba matshamele	Ms M:	adjectives qualify nouns
2		ya maviti.		that is, adjectives are words which
3		lesvingo, mahlawuli i marito		qualify nouns.
4		lamakombaka matshamele ya maviti.		we can produce a given sentence...
5		hingahlaya xiga xokarhi...		for example ((she picks a piece of
6		tani hi xikombiso ((pega no giz e vira-		chalk and turns to the chalkboard))
7		se para o quadro))		we can produce the sentence...
8		hingahlaya xiga lexingo...		a sentence which says “Mariya... is
9		hingatsala xiga lexingo		beautiful” ((she writes the sentence
10		“Mariya... asasekile” ((escreve a frase		on the chalkboard))
11		no quadro))		let’s read this sentence
12		ahingahlayeni xiga lexi		
13	Ss:	“Mariya asasekile”	Ss:	“Mariya is beautiful”
14	Ms M:	hem?	Ms M:	again
15	Ss:	“Mariya asasekile”	Ss:	“Mariya is beautiful”
16	Ms M:	hem?	Ms M:	again
17	Ss:	“Mariya asasekile”	Ss:	“Mariya is beautiful”
18	Ms M:	hem?	Ms M:	again
19	Ss:	“Mariya asasekile”	Ss:	“Mariya is beautiful”
20	Ms M:	“Mariya asasekile”	Ms M:	“Mariya is beautiful”
21		ahi svo?		isn’t it?
22	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes
23	Ms M:	i mani angasaseka?	Ms M:	who is beautiful?
24	Ss:	i Mariya	Ss:	it’s Mariya
25	Ms M:	hem	Ms M:	again
26	Ss:	i Mariya	Ss:	it’s Mariya
27	Ms M:	hem	Ms M:	again
28	Ss:	i Mariya	Ss:	it’s Mariya
29	Ms M:	emhe::mm!	Ms M:	goo::d!
30		se rito leli lingo asa-... ayendlile yini		so, the word which says that she
31		Mariya...?		is... how is Mariya...?
32	Ss:	asasekile	Ss:	[she] is beautiful
33	Ms M:	ayendlile yini Mariya?	Ms M:	how is Mariya?
34	Ss:	asasekile	Ss:	[she] is beautiful
35	Ms M:	Mariya asasekile ((sublinha na frase	Ms M:	Mariya is beautiful ((she underlines
36		escrita no quadro a palavra		the word ‘asasekile’/‘is beautiful’
37		‘asasekile’))		in the sentence on the chalkboard))



38	rito leli ((aponta para a palavra		this word here ((she points to the
39	sublinhada))		underlined word))
40	ningabhala ndzhati hanshi ka lo		which I have underlined here
41	hi lona likombaka matshamele		is the one which describes how
42	ya Mariya.		Mariya is.
43	mun`wani ni mun`wani		everyone who looks at Mariya, the
44	loko acuvuka Mariya lweyi vahlayaka		one referred to here,
45	ye		will see how Mariya is,
46	atavona svaku matshamela ya Mariya		that "Mariya is BEAUTIFUL".
47	hi lawa "Mariya ASASEKILE"		did you get that right?
48	musvitwile?		
49	Ss: im	Ss: yes	
50	Ms M: se rito leli	Ms M: so, this word here,	
51	hingalibhala ndzhati		the one which we have underlined,
52	i MA-HLA-WU-LI.		is an AD-JECT-IVE.
53	misvitwi?		did you get that right?
54	Ss: im	Ss: yes	

Extract 6: A grade 4 Chope lesson on 'telegram' (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Gwambe, 23/8/2007)

1	Mr G: dipasi	Mr G: card
2	dipasi kumbe kumbe papilo	card or or letter
3	hatidziva ati to loko tate	we know that when dad
4	loko tate	when dad
5	adikhukhile atsula Joni...	is away in South Africa...
6	kuveni hidziva ti ta ku mwendo ahanya	what should he do in order for us to
7	nene adziva ti to hahanya kheno	know whether he is fine or not
8	<i>tem que aci cani?</i>	and for him to know whether we are
9	ana cile cowombawomba ngu cona	fine over here?
10	ca fone anganayo	he has that thing through which he
11	maxji amana inthu wo	can speak to us, the [mobile] phone
12	wo ala kuwuya kheno mwani	but he may find someone there who
13	<i>tem que aci cani?</i>	who is coming back home
14	anamaha cani <i>para</i> ku ahigela	what should he do?
15	to... to... to ahanya	what does he do in order to tell us
16	kumbi ahanyi?	that... that... that he is fine
17	a... a... anabhala cani?	or he is not well?
18	yi mani atidzivaku?	what... what... does he write?
19		who knows it?
20	Ss: nghani... nghani ((vários alunos	Ss: it's me... it's me ((many pupils
21	respondem ao mesmo tempo e com as	answering at the same time, with
22	mãos no ar))	their hands raised))
23	Mr G: anamaha ku cani?	Mr G: what will he do?
24	Ss: nghani... nghani...	Ss: it's me... it's me...
25	Mr G: anabhala cani?	Mr G: what will he write?
26	Ss: pa-pi-lo	Ss: a le-tter
27	Mr G: anabhala papilo	Mr G: he will write a letter
28	anabhala dipasi	he will write a card
29	adi kadona	in which
30	anohigwela ku khene	he will tell us
31	"ani niho kheno	"I am fine over here,
32	no mwendo ano miho mahanya	how about you? are you alright?
33	kumbi mi... mizumbisile ku cani?"	or how are... how are you doing?"
34	se hitayimana papilo,	so, when we receive the letter,
35	se hitsaka	we feel happy

36		aci “namidungula NGUTO:”		and he says “I send you VERY
37		hitipfite?		VERY warm wishes”
38				did we get that right?
39	Ss:	im	Ss:	yes

## 6.2: Features of Interaction and Pedagogy in Portuguese Classes

Extract 7: A grade 5 Portuguese lesson based on sentence structure (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Marta, 28/9/2007)

1	Ms M:	agora vamos acompanhar a	Ms M:	now let’s follow the correction
2		correção dos exercícios.		of the exercises.
3		temos aqui a primeira frase vinha		here in the first exercise we had
4		alínea a)		a “the student...” ((she reads
5		“o aluno...” ((lê do livro))		from the reading book))
6		eu vou ler as frases da maneira		I will read the sentences in the
7		como vinham no livro.		way that they came in the
8		vinha assim “o aluno estuda”.		reading book.
9		era uma frase simples.		it was like this “the student
10		a outra vinha		reviews [the school materials]”.
11		“o aluno passa de classe”.		that was the first sentence.
12		era a segunda frase.		the other was “the student
13		para nós juntarmos essas duas ou		passed”
14		ligarmos essas duas frases		that was the second sentence.
15		com o pronome relativo^... QUE		we were required to join these
16		e ele ligou ((refere-se ao Obadias))		two sentences together using the
17		“o aluno QUE estuda,		relative pronoun^... WHO
18		passa de classe” ((lê a frase escrita		and he combined the sentences
19		pelo Obadias no quadro))		like this ((she is referring to
20		tem sentido essa frase ou não tem		Obadias))
21		sentido?		“the student WHO reviews [the
22				school materials], passes” ((she
23				reads the sentence written by
24				Obadias on the chalkboard))
25				does this sentence make sense
26				or not?
27	Ss:	tem sentido	Ss:	it does make sense.
28	Ms M:	tem sentido	Ms M:	it makes sense.
29		quer dizer que o QUE		it means that the [pronoun]
30		foi encaixado no lugar próprio.		WHO has been inserted in the
31		vamos à segunda frase		right place.
32		alínea b) vinha “a Joana comprou		let’s now move to the second
33		um vestido”.		sentence
34		era a primeira frase.		exercise b) was “Joana bought a
35		segunda “o vestido é bonito”.		dress”.
36		era para fazermos a ligação dessas		that was the first sentence.
37		duas frases simples		the second [was] “the dress is
38		com o rela-... com o pronome		beautiful”
39		relativo QUE		we were required to join these
40		e ela ligou... e ele ligou ((refere-se		two simple sentences together
41		ao Elson))		using the rela-... the relative
42		“a Joana comprou um vestido		pronoun THAT.
43		que é bonito ((lê a frase escrita pelo		and she... and he combined
44		Elson no quadro))		[them like this] ((she is referring
45		o que é bonito? é o livro... ah aliás		to Elson))

46		é o vestido.			“Joana bought a dress which is beautiful” ((she reads the sentence written by Elson on the chalkboard))
47		então fizemos a ligação da nossa frase... das duas nossas frases simples			what is beautiful? it is the book... oh, sorry, it is the dress.
48		com o pronome relativo QUE.			so, we linked our sentence... we linked the two simple sentences using the relative pronoun THAT/WHICH.
49		vinha a terceira frase			the third exercise also presented two simple sentences which were “the team won the game”.
50		também as duas frases simples vinham assim “a equipa ganhou o jogo”.			the second [was] “the team is from our school”.
51		a segunda “a equipa é da nossa escola”.			then she linked them this way ((she is referring to Lídia))
52		então			“the team which won the game is from our school” ((smiling, she reads the sentence written by Lídia on the chalkboard))
53		ela ligou assim ((sorrindo, refere-se à Lídia))			can you see how we should have done it at home?
54		“a equipa que ganhou o jogo é da nossa escola” ((lê a frase escrita pela Lídia))			yes
55		viram como nós devíamos ter feito em casa?			who are those who did it like this... at home?
56					those who did this like this ((she knocks on the chalkboard, where the correct answers are))
57					raise your... bamboo! ((smiling, she means ‘raise your hands’))
58					((only a very few raise their hands))
59					oh... you are not sure...?
60	Ss:	sim		Ss:	you should have done it like this. let’s copy this very quickly
61	Ms M:	quais são aqueles que fizeram assim... em casa?		Ms M:	come on, start writing there.
62		aqueles que fizeram assim ((bate no quadro, onde tem as frases corrigidas))			I can hear that you are mistreating Portuguese there ((using Changana, Obadías dirige-se ao Alex, sentado num tronco ao lado))
63		levantar... bambu! ((sorrindo, refere-se a levantar o braço))			
64	Ss:	((poucos levantam os braços))		Ss:	
65					
66	Ms M:	yhaa... estão a duvidar...? devíamos ter feito assim		Ms M:	
67		vamos passar isto muito rápido			
68	Obadías	<i>tsala lanu eeh</i>		Obadía	
69		<i>woxikhenyakhanya [xilungu] lanu</i>			
70		((usando Changana, Obadías dirige-se ao Alex, sentado num tronco ao lado))			
71					
72					
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Extract 8: A grade 5 Portuguese reading lesson based on the text “A história de Cananau” (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Muhati, 23/8/2007)

1	Mr M:	nós lemos o texto, não lemos?		Mr M:	we have read the text, haven’t we?
2	Ss:	lemos		Ss:	we have read it
3	Mr M:	o senhor professor leu...		Mr M:	the teacher read it...
4		os meninos leram...			you kids read it...
5		então, é a vez de			so, now is the time for us to say
6		dizermos aquilo que nós			what we have understood out of
7		compreendemos			the text.
8		sobre o texto.			who wants to say something?
9		quem quer dizer alguma coisa?			or, who wants to ask a question
10		ou, quem quer fazer uma pergunta			about the text?
11		sobre o texto?			

12	Ss:	((ninguém se oferece, mas muitos estão ocupados a olhar para o texto))	Ss:	((no one volunteers him-/herself, but many are busy looking at the relevant text in their reading books))
13				
14				
15				
16	Mr M:	him?	Mr M:	come on
17	S:	((uma aluna oferece-se, levantando-se))	S:	((a girl offers a response, standing up))
18				
19	Mr M:	menina Cesse	Mr M:	yes, Cesse
20		quer fazer pergunta,		do you want to ask a question,
21		ou quer dizer aquilo que		or do you want to tell us what you
22		compreendeu?		understood out of the text?
23	Cesse:	quer fazer pergunta ((baixinho,	Cesse:	I want to ask a question ((she says
24		timidamente))		quietly, timidly; she misused the
25				subject-verb agreement))
26	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
27	Mr M:	quer fazer pergunta...	Mr M:	you want to ask a question...
28	Cesse:	sim	Cesse:	yes
29	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
30	Mr M:	prestem atenção.	Mr M:	please, pay attention.
31		vão responder à pergunta		you shall answer her question.
32		da menina.		ask your question
33		faça lá a pergunta		
34	Cesse:	o que é que aconteceu à menina	Cesse:	what happened to this girl [called]
35		Cananau? ((em voz baixa))		Cananau? ((she utters in a low
36				voice))
37	Mr M:	entenderam a pergunta da menina?	Mr M:	did you understand her question?
38	Ss:	[sim	Ss:	[yes
39	Ss:	[não	Ss:	[no
40	Mr M:	repete	Mr M:	say it again
41	Cesse:	o que é que aconteceu à menina	Cesse:	what happened to Cananau? ((she
42		Cananau? ((agora em voz alta))		utters in a louder voice this time))
43	Mr M:	façam favor, um menino para	Mr M:	please, a boy to provide the answer
44		responder		
45	Ss:	((ninguém se oferece))	Ss:	((nobody volunteers a response))
46	Mr M:	quem responde à pergunta?	Mr M:	who wants to answer the question?
47	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
48	Mr M:	quem responde?	Mr M:	who offers an answer?
49	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
50	Mr M:	eh... está... ela... precisa da resposta	Mr M:	come on... she is... she... she
51				needs the answer
52	S:	((uma menina oferece-se para	S:	((a girl volunteers a response))
53		responder))		
54	Mr M:	ah está aí a menina para responder	Mr M:	good, there is a girl to answer
55	Mércia:	a menina Cananau... ((baixinho))	Mércia:	Cananau... ((in a low voice))
56		quando a mãe dela		when her mother received a card at
57		recebeu na maternidade...		the maternity... a red card for the
58		um cartão vermelho		registration of vacc-
59		para o controle do va-		of my...
60		do meu... ah... ((está com dificuldades		oh... ((she is struggling to express
61		de se expressar))		herself))
62	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
63	Mércia:	do seu vacina ((refere-se à vacinação	Mércia:	of her vaccination ((she meant the
64		do bebé da mãe da Cananau))		vaccination of Cananau's mother's
65				baby; she misused the gender
66				agreement between the noun
67				'vacina' and its specifiers))
68	Mr M:	de^... ((tenda dar a entender à aluna	Mr M:	of^... ((he is trying to get the pupil
69		que a sua frase tem um erro de		to understand that he needs the
70		concordância))		appropriate grammatical
71				agreement))

72	Mércia:	de seu vacina	Mércia:	of her vaccination ((she still can't get it right))
73				
74	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
75	Mr M:	da sua vacina ((acaba revelando a	Mr M:	of her vaccination ((he ends up
76		forma correcta))		revealing the correct gender
77				agreement))
78	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
79	Mr M:	esses RISOS aí ((diz o professor em	Mr M:	that LAUGHTER there ((he says
80		tom de ameaça))		in a threatening tone))
81	Mércia:	e peso ((refere-se ao registo do peso	Mércia:	and weight ((she is alluding to the
82		do bebé))		registration of the baby's weight))
83	Mr M:	entenderam o que disse a menina?	Mr M:	did you understand what she said?
84	Ss:	[não	Ss:	[no
85	Ss:	[sim	Ss:	[yes
86	Mr M:	him? quem... quem pode repetir	Mr M:	what? who... who can repeat what
87		o que ela disse?		she has just said?
88	S:	eu não entendeu ((falha na	S:	I did not understand that ((she
89		concordância entre o sujeito e o		misuses the number agreement
90		verbo))		between the subject and the verb))

Extract 9: A grade 4 Portuguese lesson on time and place adverbs (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 31/8/2007)

1	Ms C:	temos aí “os animais selvagem	Ms C:	here it says “wild animals live^...”
2		vivem^...”		who has already found the answer
3		quem apanhou a resposta pode		can stand up and supply it, you
4		levantar, dizer		must answer the question using
5		usando estes adverbos aqui ((aponta		these adverbs here ((she points to
6		para o quadro onde, num quadro, estão		relevant adverbs listed in a table
7		registados os advérbios em causa))		drawn on the chalkboard))
8		temos “os animais selvagem vive^...”		here we have “wild animals
9				live^...”
10	Dina:	perto do homem ((diz baixinho,	Dina:	close to people ((she says quietly,
11		sentada; a professora parece que não		while seated; the teacher doesn't
12		ouviu a resposta))		seem to have heard the answer))
13	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
14	Ms C:	vamos responde::re! ((diz com alguma	Ms C:	let's answer the que::stion! ((she
15		impaciência))		expresses some impatience))
16	Ss:	((silêncio))	Ss:	((silence))
17	Ms C:	<i>he n'wi, amusvitwanga lesvi</i>	Ms C:	come on, people ((she switches into
18		<i>ningab'ala hi xilungu?</i>		Changana))
19		<i>nite para hihlamula asvi-... lesvi</i>		you did not get me as I spoke in
20		<i>ka tinhlayu... ka mindzendza leyi</i>		Portuguese...?
21		<i>yikalaku yingatsaliwanga nchumu leyi</i>		I said that we should give the
22		((aponta para os espaços em branco		answer ((she points to the gaps in
23		nas frases dadas no livro))		the statements provided in the
24		<i>nahitirhisa maadiverbu lawa</i> ((aponta		reading book))
25		para os advérbios escritos no quadro))		using these adverbs ((she points to
26		<i>hikheta svaku ah hi lini leli</i>		the adverbs listed on the
27		<i>hingalipimisa svaku hiliveka la?</i>		chalkboard))
28		<i>hi leli laku</i> “longe... perto... aonde...		we shall choose from the list
29		onde”		the one which best fits in a given
30		<i>ni la ka maadiverbu</i> de tempo <i>ni la</i>		sentence
31		“sempre... tarde... cedo... quando...”		whether it is the adverb “far...
32		<i>se i para loko hilerhile la</i>		close... where... where...”
33		<i>hicuvuka svaku ah hi lini adverbu leli</i>		the same in relation to time adverbs
34		<i>hingalivekaku la</i>		“always... late... early... when...”

35	temos aqui “os animais vivem... os	after reading each sentence, we
36	animais selvagem vivem^...”	shall decide which adverb we can
37	então nós vamos escolher ali	use to fill the gap in case.
38	qual é o... qual é o adverbos que nós...	here we have “animals live... wild
39	dá para colocar aqui ((aponta para os	animals live^...”
40	espaços em branco no livro))	so, we shall choose from the list
41		which... which adverb we think...
42		that can best fill the gap ((she
43		points to the gaps in the reading

Extract 10: A grade 4 Portuguese lesson in preparation for an assignment (EPC-Bikwani, Ms Constância, 13/9/2007)

1	Ms C: <i>he we kula ku uakompanyara</i> texto	Ms C: hey, you must follow this text
2	<i>leli!</i> ((dirige-se à Laila que parece	!((she is addressing Laila, who
3	estar distraída))	seems to be disengaged))
4	<i>haku uteka kaneta ujima uku imm</i>	you should not just hold your
5	<i>ungasvitivi svaku hikwihi</i> ((imita a	ballpoint like this,
6	posição em que se apresenta a Laila))	unaware of where we are ((she
7	<i>kasi svo-... svo-... hi kwihhi svosvi?</i>	represents Laila’s posture))
8	<i>svi kwihhi svosvi svaku</i> “os solos férteis	to start with... whe- where are we
9	são aqueles que permite...” ((chega	now?
10	junto da aluna))	where does it say in the text that
11		“fertile soils are those which
12		allow...” ((she gets closer to Laila))
13	Laila: ((silêncio))	Laila: ((silence))
14	Ms C: está aonde isso?	Ms C: where is that [in the text]?
15	amostra-me está aonde?	show me, where is that?
16	os solos férteis são aqueles que	“fertile soils are those which
17	permite...	allow...”
18	Laila: ((olha para o seu livro aberto, mas não	Laila: ((she looks at her open textbook,
19	parece conseguir localizar a parte do	but she doesn’t seem to be able to
20	texto em causa))	locate the statement in question in
21		the text))
22	Ms C: está aonde?	Ms C: where is that?
23	os solos férteis são aqueles que	“fertile soils are those which
24	permite...	allow...”
25	Laila: ((silêncio))	Laila: ((silence))
26	Ms C: him? está aonde?	Ms C: tell me, where is that?
27	Laila: ((silêncio, cabisbaixa))	Laila: ((silence, looking down))
28	Ms C: Laila, aon-... está aonde?	Ms C: Laila, whe-... where is that?
29	Laila: ((silêncio))	Laila: ((silence))
30	Ms C: him? estamos aonde agora?	Ms C: tell me, where are we?
31	não é só para cantar aquilo que eu	you people should not only echo
32	estou a dizer! ((agora, dirige-se a toda	what I am saying! ((she now
33	a turma))	addresses the class as a whole))
34	é para vocês também... acompanhar a	you should also... follow what is
35	leitura	being read
36	para saber onde... onde está isso aí de	you must know where... where in
37	“solos férteis...”	the text the bit “fertile soils...” is
38	<i>se lesvi ukalaku ungakompanyari,</i>	located
39	<i>nisvaku svi kwihhi awusvitivi...</i>	((she switches into Changana))
40	está a acompanhar a leitura isso aí?	given that you cannot even tell
41	está aonde você? ((dirige-se ao	where in the text that is located...
42	Júnior))	do you think that that is what is
43		meant by following the reading?

44			[now] you, tell me where is that?
45			((she addresses Júnior this time))
46	Júnior:	((olha para o seu livro aberto mas não indica a parte pedida pela professora))	Júnior: ((he looks at his open reading book but he doesn't indicate the part of the text that the teacher is asking him to indicate))
47			
48			
49			
50	Ms C:	nós estamos AQUI!	Ms C: we are HERE!
51		“os solos férteis...”	“fertile soils...”
52		<i>hina... hina HI LA!</i> ((aponta algures para o livro que a Laila partilha com a Dina))	we... we ARE HERE! ((she points to a place in the textbook that Laila is sharing with Dina))
53			
54			
55		“os solos férteis...”	“fertile soils...”
56		<i>hi lesvi, hi lesvi la</i> ((dirige-se à Laila))	it's here, it's in here ((she is addressing Laila in Changana))
57		<i>wena wotshama ukudlhodho...</i>	you are just sitting, disengaged...
58		nem... nem... nem <i>awutipreocupari hi kulava kusvivova ka vanghani.</i>	you don't even... even... even care to check other people's work.
59		afinal está aonde teu livro?	after all, where is you reading book?
60			
61			
62			
63	Laila:	((silêncio))	Laila: ((silence))
64	Ms C:	him?	Ms C: where is it?
65	Laila:	((não responde))	Laila: ((she doesn't answer))
66	Ms C:	<i>livru la we li kwihi?</i>	Ms C: where is your reading book?
67	Laila:	<i>nilikhohlwile</i> ((responde muito baixinho))	Laila: I forgot to bring it ((she answers in a low voice))
68			
69	Ms C:	<i>him?</i>	Ms C: what?
70	Laila:	<i>nilikhohlwile</i>	Laila: I forgot to bring it?
71	Ms C:	imm, os solos férteis são aqueles que permitem ((retoma a leitura))	Ms C: ok, “fertile soils are those which allow...” ((she resumes the reading of the text))
72			
73			

Extract 11: A grade 4 Portuguese lesson on cooking recipes (EPC-Gwambeni, Mr Gwambe, 30/8/2007)

1	Mr G:	im, exercícios	Mr G: ok, practice
2		vamos cozinhar agora ((diz escrevendo no quadro ‘vamos’))	let's cook now ((he says while writing on the chalkboard ‘let's’))
3			
4	Ss:	vamos... ((enquanto escreve no quadro alguns alunos vão tentando ler))	Ss: let's... ((some pupils are trying to read at the same time as he is writing on the chalkboard))
5			
6			
7	Mr G:	im, enquanto o professor escreve	Mr G: yes, you read while I am writing
8		vocês vão lendo	[let's ((he points to what he has already written))
9		[vamos ((aponta para o que escreveu))	
10	Ss:	[vamos	Ss: [let's
11	Mr G:	pre-	Mr G: pre-
12	Ss:	pre-pa-rar	Ss: pre-pa-re
13		uma	a
14	Mr G:	uma	Mr G: a
15	Ss:	re-cei-ta	Ss: re-ci-pe
16	Mr G:	uma receita	Mr G: a recipe
17		DE^	FOR^
18	Ss:	de	Ss: for
19	Mr G:	de xi-	Mr G: for xi-
20	Ss:	<i>xiguinha</i> ((alguns antecipam-se ao professor, completando a palavra antes de o professor terminar de escrever, desatam aos risos))	Ss: <i>xiguinha</i> ‘a traditional dish’ ((some pupils anticipate the teacher, uttering the full word before he finishes writing it down, they start
21			
22			
23			

24			laughing))
25	Mr G:	<i>xiguinha</i> ((volta-se para a turma, também sorridente))	Mr G: <i>xiguinha</i> ((he turns to the class, also smiling))
26			
27	Ss:	eeh!... <i>XIGUINHA</i> ((dizem mais alunos, sorridentes e em jeito de gozo))	Ss: ooh!... <i>XIGUINHA</i> ((more pupils uttering the word, smiling and treating it like a jock))
28			
29			

Extract 12: Debriefing session with Ms Marta, a grade 5 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/8/2008)

1	F:	então, antes de olharmos passo a passo para cada aula.	F:	so, before we look into each lesson step by step,
2				
3		eu gostava que...fizesse o balanço... qual foi a sua primeira...		I would like you to... to provide a general overview...
4				what was your first...
5		qual foi a sua impressão quando viu isto aqui ((refiro-me às transcrições das suas próprias aulas))		what was your impression when you saw this ((I mean the transcripts of her own lessons))
6				what was your impression...?
7		com que impressão é que ficou...?		what was your impression...?
8		qual é o comentário que faz, no geral?		what is your comment, in general?
9				
10				
11	Ms M:	imhim... por minha parte emm... senti-me à vontade por ver o trabalho por mim realizado no ano passado.	Ms M:	ok... for me erm... I felt comfortable when I saw the work I did last year.
12				
13		também pude ver onde eu tropecei ou erre durante o meu trabalho.		I could also see where I slipped or where I made errors while doing my work.
14				
15		mas em alguns aspectos, eu consegui ver... onde pude trabalhar minimamente bem		however, in some other cases, I could see... I could see where I worked minimally well and I could understand the objectives well ...
16				or I could [pass] the contents to the pupils well
17		e consegui me inteirar bem os objectivos... ou os conteúdos aos alunos		and... also where the contents were well grasped by the pupils.
18		e... também... os conteúdos foram bem acatado pelos alunos.		
19	F:	im	F:	ok
20				
21	Ms M:	mas existe partes onde... eu não consegui... expresser-me bem aos alunos durante a simulação das minhas aulas	Ms M:	however, there are parts in the lessons delivered where... I couldn't... express myself well in front of the pupils
22				
23	F:	im	F:	ok
24	Ms M:	então, com aquelas questões ali ((refere-se às questões de reflexão que lhe pus antes do nosso encontro)) pude ver onde é que... como é que eu devia ter feito o trabalho.	Ms M:	so, with those questions there ((she is alluding to the questions that I had sent to her before our debriefing encounter)) I could see where... how I should have done my work.
25				
26		e... gostei porque daqui em diante vou poder... corrigir-me a um e outro aspecto que eu não pude trabalhar bem		and... I liked it because from now on I will be able to... correct myself in one or another aspect in which I couldn't do well
27				
28	F:	imhim	F:	ok
29				
30	Ms M:	mas, de facto, principalmente nas aulas de Changana, encaminhei muito bem os conteúdos às crianças.	Ms M:	but, in fact, mainly in Changana lessons, I was able to transmit the contents to the children very well.
31		e eles sempre eram muito activas		
32				
33				
34				
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
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41				
42				
43				
44				
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46				
47				



48		durante as minhas aulas		and they were always very active
49				during my lessons
50	F:	ya	F:	ok
51	Ms M:	im, eles eram activas	Ms M:	yes, they were active,
52		sempre trabalhava com as crianças.		I always worked together with the
53		eu não trabalhava sozinha,		children.
54		trabalhávamos juntos		I did not work alone,
55				we worked together

Extract 13: Debriefing session with Ms Marta, a grade 5 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/8/2008)

1	F:	eu digo aqui que no início da aula	F:	here I say that at the beginning of
2		a professora recorda os alunos		your lesson, you reminded the
3		que se está na aula de...		pupils that you were in a... in a
4		de Changana, o tempo apropriado para		Changana lesson, the appropriate
5		se falar esta língua,		space to speak this language, which
6		o que sugere que você está a		suggested that you were
7		reconhecer que eles...		recognising that in lessons... IN
8		durante as aulas...EM Português		PORTUGUESE the pupils... they
9		geralmente falam Changana...?		often speak Changana...?
10	Ms M:	im	Ms M:	yes
11	F:	emm... também que acha que se deve	F:	erm... also that you think that in a
12		falar Português na aula de Português		Portuguese lesson, it is Portuguese
13		e Changana na aula de Changana...		that must be spoken
14				and in a Changana lesson,
15				Changana must be spoken...
16	Ms M:	imhim	Ms M:	yes
17	F:	como é que... qual é a política que	F:	how do you... what is the policy
18		está por detrás disto?		behind this?
19	Ms M:	para mim ((suspirando fundo))	Ms M:	for me ((taking a deep breath))
20		a polí-... a política disto é porque...		the poli-... the policy here has to do
21		aquelas crianças foram crianças que		with... the fact that those children
22		sempre vinham trabalhando		had been learning in Changana,
23		com Changana,		while also learning to speak
24		Português oralidade ((refere-se aos		Portuguese ((she is referring to her
25		seus alunos na 5ª classe))		grade 5 pupils))
26		então, isso é para eles poder-se...		so, that is for them to be able to...
27		aperfeiçoar... se integrar melhor na		master... for them to be better
28		língua portuguesa		integrated in the Portuguese
29		e sempre quando estiverem na língua		language and for them to always
30		portuguesa		THINK in Portuguese and WRITE
31		PENSAR em Português,		in Portuguese when in Portuguese
32		para ESCREVER em Português.		language lessons.
33		porque se eu continuar a deixar a		because if I keep allowing them to
34		trabalhar...		work... to speak in Changana while
35		a falar em Changana nas aulas de		in Portuguese language lessons,
36		Português,		they will often approach most of the
37		geralmente em muitos assuntos eles		topics in Changana, while we are in
38		vão tratar em Changana		Portuguese language lessons.
39		enquanto já estamos na língua		so, I always REMIND the children
40		portuguesa.		to speak in Portuguese when in
41		então, eu sempre EXORTO as		Portuguese language lessons and in
42		crianças		Changana when in Changana
43		que falem Português na disciplina de		language lessons.
44		Português		this doesn't mean that they should
45		e Changana na disciplina de		not speak Changana,

46	Changana.		but they should know WHERE we
47	não que eles não podem falar		can speak [this language].
48	Changana,		when we are in a Portuguese lesson,
49	mas devem ver ONDE é que nós		let's approach ALL our matters in
50	devemos falar.		Portuguese!
51	se estamos em Português,		
52	vamos tratar TODOS os nossos		
53	assuntos em Português!		
54	F: imhim	F:	ok
55	Ms M: im	Ms M:	yes
56	F: e há algum momento em que eles...	F:	so, is there any space where they...
57	em que você os autoriza a falar		where you allow them to speak
58	Changana nas suas aulas?		Changana in your lessons?
59	Ms M: nas minhas aulas...?	Ms M:	in my lessons...?
60	quando estivermos a tratar Changana.		when we are dealing with
61			Changana
62	F: não, [queria dizer] na aula de	F:	no, [I meant] in a Portuguese
63	Português... não... não podem...?		lesson... they can't... can't...?
64	Ms M: não... na aula de Português, não!	Ms M:	no... not in a Portuguese lesson,
65			no!
66	F: imhim. em nenhum momento então...	F:	ok. so, under no circumstances...
67	Ms M: só numa determinada coisa	Ms M:	only in certain cases when I find
68	que eu vejo que eles não estão a		that they cannot understand
69	entender [alguma coisa]		[something]
70	F: imhim	F:	ok
71	Ms M: eu posso explicar essa coisa em	Ms M:	it may happen that I explain
72	Português		something in Portuguese and they
73	e eles não conseguem entender.		do not understand that.
74	então, eu RECORRO a Changana		then I RESORT to Changana
75	então para poder dar horizonte... abrir		so that I can provide the context...
76	horizonte às crianças...		to open up the children's
77	ver que "ah, o que a senhora		horizons... for them to realise that
78	professora está a dizer em Português,		"oh, what the teacher is saying in
79	está a tratar deste assunto"		Portuguese,
80	então, depois de novo ligo a Português		she is approaching this topic"
81			then I get back to Portuguese
82	F: imhim. mas geralmente nunca usa	F:	ok. but, in general, you don't use
83	Changana...		Changana ...
84	é diferente de outros professores		you are different from other
85	((riso))		teachers ((laughter))
88	há outros [professores...]		there are some [teachers...]
89	Ms M: [não, não uso	Ms M:	[no, I don't use
90	F: não usa Changana...	F:	you don't use Changana...
91	Ms M: não	Ms M:	no
92	F: tem alguma razão especial para...	F:	do you have any special reason
93	EVITAR... parece que nas suas aulas		for... AVOIDING... it seems that
94	evita mesmo falar Changana		you in fact avoid the use of
95			Changana in your classes
96	Ms M: evito porque... não sei porque tem o	Ms M:	I avoid because... perhaps it is
97	momento próprio [para se falar esta		because there is an appropriate
98	língua],		space [for speaking this language],
99	eu EVITO.		I AVOID it.
100	Changana, U:SO,		I do USE Changana,
101	nas determinadas questões que eu acho		in certain cases where I think that
102	que as crianças não estão a entender		the children do not understand
103	[algo]...		[something]...
104	para poder... eles ficarem claro		this is for them... to help them
105	mas não usar sempre		understand, but I do not use it often
106	porque estou a tratar questões em		because I am approaching matters
107	Português		in Portuguese

Extract 14: Debriefing session with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 15/8/2008)

1	F:	agora podemos falar do uso de	F:	now we can talk about the use of
2		Changana nas aulas de Português...		Changana in Portuguese lessons...
3		quando é que você usa Changana nas		when do you use Changana in
4		aulas de Português?		Portuguese language lessons?
5	Ms C:	usar Changana na aula de Português...	Ms C:	the use of Changana in a
6		enquanto é na aula de Português...		Portuguese lesson... while in a
7		é porque... quando FALA,		lesson in Portuguese...
8		os alunos olham para si...		that is because... when YOU
9		eu apercebo que eles nao entenderam		SPEAK, and the pupils look at
10		NADA!		you... I understand that they
11		então é por isso eu... vou correr a		understood NOTHING!
12		língua materna.		so, that is why... I resort to [their]
13		porque eles... você fala...		mother tongue.
14		quando olhar a cara das crianças,		because they... you speak... when
15		vê que PARECE QUE NÃO		you look at the children's faces,
16		OUVIRAM NADA!		you realise that THEY LOOK AS
17		sim, então tem que correr na língua		IF THEY HEARD NOTHING!
18		materna		yes, so you have to resort to [their]
19				mother tongue
20	F:	então, considera que usa a língua	F:	so, you consider that you use [their]
21		materna nos casos em que		mother tongue in cases when you
22		você acha que^...		think that^...
23	Ms C:	os alunos não entenderam nada	Ms C:	the pupils understood nothing
24	F:	inhim	F:	ok
25	Ms C:	sim. há um dia que eu ali... mandei...	Ms C:	yes. there was a day when I
26		lancei uma pergunta para um aluno...		asked... I directed a question to a
27		então eu perguntei "onde é que		pupil...
28		CIRCULA o o o carro?"		I asked "where do vehicles
29		então o aluno nao respondeu.		TRAVEL?"
30		então eu... falei já em Changana		the pupil couldn't answer this
31		" <i>amovha wufamba kwihî... movha</i>		question.
32		<i>wufamba kwihî?</i> "		then I... I spoke in Changana
33		<i>hiko angô "wufamba xitaratini"</i>		"where do vehicles travel... where
34		((sorrindo))		do vehicles travel?" ((smiling))
35				then he could answer "they travel
36				on roads"
37	F:	im	F:	ok
38	Ms C:	mas ele não sabe o que é	Ms C:	he did not know the meaning of the
39		CIRCULAR...		word TO TRAVEL...
40		onde que circula o carro...		where vehicles travel on...
41		então eu... ele me olhou assim mesmo		so I... he looked at me like that.
42		então eu... já falei na língua		so... I then spoke in the [Changana]
43		então ele respondeu.		language,
44		mas há outros [alunos] que		then he could provide the answer.
45		mesmo não correr para língua		but there are other [pupils] who can
46		eles entendem...		understand even if you do not resort
47				to the [Changana] language...

Extract 15: Interview with Mr Muhati, a grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007)

<p>1 Mr M: ya, eu dou... recorro a Chope  2 em casos de eu dar... um conteúdo  3 novo.  4 uso para explicar...  5 em caso de pedir correspondência  6 e não não não me satisfazerem as  7 crianças.  8 então dou exemplos  9 ainda em Português  10 dou exemplo para ver se as crianças  11 descobrem [a resposta].  12 se não descobrem,  13 a terceira vez,  14 eu recorro já à língua.  15 isso muito mais para ganhar tempo,  16 ver que as as crianças não não estão a  17 entender aquilo que eu quero,  18 então eu recorro à língua  19 como recurso</p>	<p>Mr M: well, I give... I resort to Chope in  cases in which I teach... some new  matters.  I use it to explain...  in cases when I ask the pupils to  respond but they are not not able to  satisfy me.  then I give examples in Portuguese  I use examples to see whether the  children can figure out [the  answer].  when they cannot find the answer,  at the third round,  I then resort to the [Chope]  language.  this is more to save time,  when I see that the children cannot  understand what I want,  in that case I resort to the [Chope]  language</p>
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Extract 16: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

<p>1 Mr G: a criança de de bilingue  2 tem muita vantagem.  3 nesses termos de que eu de que eu  4 expliquei...  5 porque enquanto um termo sai em  6 Português,  7 toda aquela turma ali fica de boca  8 aberta! ((refere-se à sua da 4ª classe))  9 às vezes quando quando estamos, por  10 exemplo,  11 em ciências naturais  12 já que como se sabe que na quarta  13 classe já é em Português  14 mas como as crianças não estão em  15 condições lá  16 de trocaram o que não apanham  17 em Português,  18 trocaram com o professor já na língua.  19 para dizer que ESSA  20 é uma das vantagens.  21 saber interpretar um fenómeno em  22 Português  23 e ao mesmo tempo na na língua  24 é muito bom</p>	<p>Mr G: the child in bilingual education is in  an advantageous position.  in those terms that I have  explained...  because when a term is said in  Portuguese,  all that class is rendered speechless!  ((he is referring to his grade 4  class))  sometimes when when we are, for  example, in a natural sciences  lesson  since, as we know, at grade 4  instruction is in Portuguese,  and because the children are not yet  prepared to express their  understandings in Portuguese, they  interact with the teacher in Chope.  this is to say that THAT is one of  the advantages.  being able to interpret a given  phenomenon in Portuguese and at  the same time in in the [Chope]  language is something great</p>
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Extract 17: Interview with Mr Roberto, a grade 1 teacher at Bikwani and former PEBIMO student (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	você não fala Changana na aula em	F:	you do not speak Changana in
2		Português...		Portuguese lessons...
3	Mr R:	difícilmente falo Changana	Mr R:	I barely speak Changana
4	F:	ok	F:	ok
5	Mr R:	difícilmente falo Changana!	Mr R:	I barely speak Changana!
6		Então, outro lugar onde eu		so, the other space where I also face
7		tenho tido dificuldades é		difficulties is when we deal with
8		quando, por exemplo, quando falamos		visual arts, for example.
9		de educação visual.		let's talk about gluing.
10		vamos falar de colagem.		gluing involves demonstration...
11		porque colagem utiliza		however, sometimes the children
12		demonstração...		ask me...
13		mas as crianças às vezes me		they ask me in Changana
14		perguntam...		because what the children have is
15		eles usam Changana para me		the willingness to speak... most of
16		perguntar		the times they speak in Portuguese
17		porque o que as crianças têm		because I tell them "when we speak
18		é vontade de falar...		Portuguese, we have to speak in
19		muitas vezes falam em Português		Portuguese"
20		porque eu digo "nós quando falamos		however, sometimes they ask me in
21		Português, temos que falar Português"		Changana
22		mas às vezes me perguntam em		and I say "we have to do this" ((he
23		Changana		makes a gesture representing
24		e eu digo "temos que fazer isto aqui"		someone sticking something
25		((faz o gesto de quem cola algo		somewhere))
26		algures))		sometimes umm... I can take,
27		às vezes emm... eu posso levar...		for example, in the case of of
28		por exemplo, para questões de de		gluing
29		colagem		so we have "to glue, to glue" ((he
30		então nós temos que "colar, colar"		makes a gesture representing
31		((faz gesto de quem cola algo em		someone sticking something on a
32		papel))		paper))
33		é para entenderem o que é COLAR		this is for them to understand the
34		mas as minhas crianças dizem		meaning of GLUING
35		" <i>mujondzisi anisvitivi lesvi</i> " ((coloca-		but my pupils say "I don't
36		se no lugar de uma criança a repetir o		understand this, Sir" ((speaking in
37		mesmo gesto de colagem, sorrindo))		Changana, he puts himself in a
38				child's shoes, repeating the gesture
39				of someone gluing something))
40	F:	im	F:	ok
41	Mr R:	e você terá que ser obrigado a dizer	Mr R:	so, you will be forced to say it in
42		em Changana...		Changana
43	F:	ya	F:	yeah
44	Mr R:	eu sei que ESSA é uma das falhas que	Mr R:	I know that THAT is one of my
45		eu tenho		mistakes
46		mas eu quero fazer a criança entender		but what I want is to help the child
47		"colagem, colar, colar, colar" ((volta a		understand the concept of "gluing,
48		fazer o gesto de quem cola algo em		to glue, to glue, to glue" ((he again
49		papel))		makes the same gesture
50		"hamm colar"		representing someone sticking
51		então é quando a criança já vê aquilo		something on a paper))
52		ali		"ok, gluing" then the child starts to
53		e às vezes diz "ham isto é COLAR"		understand that
54				and sometimes s/he says "oh, that is
55				what is meant by GLUING"

### 6.3: Accounts on the Educational Value of Bilingual Education

Extract 18: Interview with Ms Carla, a grade 2 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 17/9/2007)

- |    |        |                                       |        |                                     |
|----|--------|---------------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:     | quais são os aspectos que...          | F:     | what are the other reasons that     |
| 2  |        | que fazem com que goste de ensinar    |        | make you... make you like to        |
| 3  |        | no programa bilingue... para além     |        | teach in the bilingual              |
| 4  |        | daqueles que já disse?                |        | programme... in addition to those   |
| 5  |        |                                       |        | that you have already mentioned?    |
| 6  | Ms Ca: | para além desses que eu já disse...?  | Ms Ca: | in addition to those that I have    |
| 7  |        |                                       |        | mentioned...?                       |
| 8  | F:     | im                                    | F:     | yes                                 |
| 9  | Ms Ca: | o facto de eu gostar                  | Ms Ca: | the reason why I like it            |
| 10 |        | é a própria relação com o aluno na    |        | has to do with the relationship I   |
| 11 |        | sala de aula.                         |        | have with the pupils in the         |
| 12 |        | im, o aluno expressa-se livremente    |        | classroom.                          |
| 13 |        | mesmo,                                |        | yes, the pupils speak freely        |
| 14 |        | sem receio.                           |        | indeed,                             |
| 15 |        | consegue expor as suas ideias.        |        | without fear.                       |
| 16 |        | im, ao passo que monolingue,          |        | they can communicate their ideas.   |
| 17 |        | às vezes a criança pode ter           |        | yes, whereas in the monolingual     |
| 18 |        | conhecimento dum coisa                |        | [programme], sometimes the child    |
| 19 |        | mas com receio de falar aquela língua |        | has the knowledge about certain     |
| 20 |        | ((refere-se à língua portuguesa))     |        | matters but s/he may not be         |
| 21 |        | agora Chope                           |        | confident to speak that language    |
| 22 |        | até o aluno consegue corrigir o       |        | ((she is alluding to the Portuguese |
| 23 |        | próprio professor na sala             |        | language))                          |
| 24 |        |                                       |        | whereas in Chope                    |
| 25 |        |                                       |        | the pupils can even correct the     |
|    |        |                                       |        | teacher in the classroom            |

Extract 19: Interview with Mr Neto, a grade 3 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

- |    |       |   |       |                                      |
|----|-------|---|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | como já deu aulas no monolingue e       | F:    | since you have taught in the         |
| 2  |       | agora está no programa bilingue... que  |       | monolingual programme and now        |
| 3  |       | diferenças é que nota... entre os dois  |       | are teaching in the bilingual        |
| 4  |       | programas...?                           |       | programme... what kind of            |
| 5  |       |   |       | differences do you notice... between |
| 6  |       |   |       | the two programmes...?               |
| 7  | Mr N: | as próprias minhas crianças             | Mr N: | my pupils themselves                 |
| 8  |       | são crianças vivas,                     |       | they are very active,                |
| 9  |       | não têm problema                        |       | they have no problems in speaking    |
| 10 |       | para para falar...ou para... quer dizer |       | or for... I mean, TO EXPRESS their   |
| 11 |       | DIZER aquilo que eles sentem,           |       | feelings/ideas,                      |
| 12 |       | conseguem narrar tudo.                  |       | they can communicate everything.     |
| 13 |       | só na parte da da língua portuguesa     |       | the only problem has to do with the  |
| 14 |       | AÍ ainda há problemas.                  |       | Portuguese language                  |
| 15 |       | há problemas e...                       |       | THERE, there are still problems.     |
| 16 |       | quando trata-se da da ESCRITA           |       | there are problems and...            |
| 17 |       | às vezes misturam                       |       | when it comes to WRITING             |
| 18 |       | alfabeto em... de L2 e de L1            |       | they sometimes mix up the            |
| 19 |       |   |       | alphabets... the L2 and L1 alphabets |
| 20 | F:    | im, tem alguns exemplos?                | F:    | ok, do you have any example?         |
| 21 | Mr N: | por exemplo... às veze quando...        | Mr N: | for instance... sometimes when they  |

22	querem escrever /k□mi/	want to write /k□mi/ 'eat'
23	às veze emm... ainda vão se recordar	sometimes umm... they pick up the
24	daquele 'kê' do Chope	letter 'k' of Chope,
25	então, às veze começam por por essa	so, sometimes they start the [word]
26	letra ali (ao invés da letra 'c').	with that letter (instead of the letter
27	mas tenho lutado com... com com as	'c').
28	crianças	but I have been fighting with... with
29	no sentido de eles	the children so that they acquire the
30	terem eh o conhecimento do alfabeto	Portuguese alphabets
31	na na língua portuguesa	

Extract 20: Interview with Mr Muhati, a grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007)

1	Mr M:	ya, por enquanto o ensino bilingue é	Mr M:	well, in fact, bilingual education is
2		fácil, em princípio porque...		easy in principle because...
3		cria aquela vontade... quer dizer... a		it prompts eagerness... I mean...
4		criança está livre de de se expressar.		the child is free to express her-
5		é a primeira vantagem que a criança		/himself. that is the first advantage
6		tem.		to the child.
7		e... segundo... porque...		and... secondly... because... if a
8		um conceito não bem entendido na L2,		concept is not well grasped in L2,
9		por exemplo,		for example, one can resort to L1.
10		se recorre à L1.		that is an opportunity for the child
11		é uma possibilidade para a criança		to expre-... to express her-/himself,
12		expre-... se expressar,		the advantage is particularly greater
13		sobretudo nas primeiras classes		in the initial grades
14		a vantagem é maior		because... what has been the... the
15		porque... o que tem sido dificuldade		child's difficulty
16		de... na criança		is the fact that s/he may understand
17		é ele entender o que o professor quer		what the teacher wants [from
18		e em simultâneo a dificuldade de		her/him] but at the same time
19		escrever aquilo que o professor quer		experiencing the difficulty of
20		que [ele] escreve.		writing what the teacher wants
21		são logo dois problemas.		her/him to write. so, s/he faces two
22		mas se se ele usa a língua dele		problems.
23		pelo menos já entende que o professor		but if if s/he uses her/his first
24		quer.		language, s/he can at least
25		pode ter dificuldade de fazer...		understand what the teacher wants
26		corresponder		[from her/him].
27		como o professor quer...		s/he may have difficulties in doing
28		(...)		it... in responding to it
29		mas explicado isto em Português		the way the teacher may want
30		já é problema.		her/him to respond...
31		im, então posso dizer que este ensino		(...)
32		tem vantagem		but when it is explained in
33				Portuguese,
34				then there are problems.
35				yes, so I can say that this kind of
36				education has advantages

Extract 21: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

<p>1 Mr G: fiquei pasmado eu na turma!  2 eu com livro de ciências naturais  3 em que eu não consigo manusear...  4 folhear o livro ((faz alusão aos tabus  5 relacionados com as imagens sobre  6 órgãos sexuais humanos no livro))  7 mas como toda a gente já tem este  8 livro aqui  9 ((sorriso)) puderam abrir avançarem  10 numa página  11 em que eu não não imaginasse que que  12 podia acontecer...  13 então eu estou numa de dar a aula  14 então eu vejo gargalhada das  15 crianças...  16 eu procurei saber o quê o quê que  17 estava a acontecer...  18 percebi que as crianças já sabem  19 interpretar [aquelas imagens]  20 AQUELA propaganda  21 sobre como evitar doença de SIDA.  22 já conhecem na língua  23 tudo isso, quer dizer  24 a- a- aqueles cuidados todos.  25 como avançaram para essa página,  26 e me chamaram atenção,  27 eu tentei vasculhar isso na língua  28 eu vi que, muito bem, estão dentro da  29 matéria.  30 conhecem aquelas situações todas  31  32  33  34 F: ok, é educação [sobre SIDA  35 Mr G: [sim sim  36 sabem muito bem  37 como evitar as doenças não sei quanto  38 na língua  39 conhecem as crianças  40</p>	<p>Mr G: I was once astonished in the  classroom!  I was holding the natural sciences  textbook, a textbook that I myself  cannot comfortably run through it  ... ((he is alluding to taboos  associated with the images of  sexual organs in the textbook))  but since everyone has that  textbook ((smile)) they [the pupils]  could open a page that I never  thought they could open...  so, when I was delivering the  lesson,  I heard the children laughing...  when I wanted to know what was  going on...  I realised that the children already  knew how to interpret [those  images], THAT message about how  to prevent AIDS  they know that in the [Chope]  language  they know everything, that is  tho-... tho- all those precautions.  since they went to that page,  they called my attention  and led me to try to find out how to  express the same message in the  [Chope] language and I found that  they knew the bottom line of the  matters.  they knew everything  ok, it was education [about AIDS  Mr G: [yes yes  they know it very well  how to prevent the diseases and so  on  the children know it in the [Chope]  language</p>
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Extract 22: Interview with Mr Muhati, a grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007)

<p>1 Mr M: a vantagem existe [no ensino bilingue]  2 a maior vantagem é que  3 a criança na minha turma sabe ler e  4 escrever as duas línguas  5 [Chope/Português]  6 não tenho caso de aluno que sabe ler  7 Português e não lê L1, NÃO!  8 eles podem fazer aque- aquela  9 confusão</p>	<p>Mr M: there are advantages in [bilingual  education]  the most important advantage is  that the children in my class know  how to read and write in both  languages [Chope/Portuguese]  I don't have a case of a pupil who  can read in Portuguese but not in  L1, NO!</p>
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10		e geralmente na escrita de de		they may still be unclear mainly in
11		tratar uma letra da L1 na na L2...		their writing
12		eles fazem essa confusão		as they mix up L1 and L2
13				alphabets...
14				they mix up these systems
15	F:	sim sim	F:	yes yes
16	Mr M:	sim sim	Mr M:	yes yes
17		eles fazem essa confusão		they mix them up
18		por exemplo, eles querem escrever		for example, when they want to
19		/dik□□k□□/ ‘coco’		write /□e/ ‘coconut’
20		então ao invés de usar ‘kapa’		instead of using [the letter] ‘k’
21		eles escrevem o /□e/.		they write ‘c’.
22		já esquecem que na língua /k/ é ‘kapa’.		they forget that in [Chope] /k/ is
23		então existe esse problema		written as ‘kei’.
24		mas... em relação à leitura		so there is that that problem
25		ah, eles não têm problemas graves		but... in relation to reading...
26				well, they don’t have serious
27				problems

Extract 23: Interview with Mr Taela, a father from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	Mr T:	aah, mina ka ka majondzisela ya	Mr T:	well, I am very happy with this way
2		Xicopi lawa		of teaching using Chope.
3		makumeka na manitsakisa ngopfu.		for example, I now have three
4		<i>por exemplo</i> , svosvi nini vatsongwana		children studying over here.
5		vavanaru vafundhaka la.		the one who started schooling in
6		lweyi angasangula kujen’we hi Xicopi		Chope is now in grade 5
7		svosvi afundha kinta kalasi		
8	F:	imhim	F:	ok
9	Mr T:	akumeka ali <i>avançada</i> .	Mr T:	she is well advanced.
10		hambi prisori wayena wamukhensa		even her teacher praises her very
11		ngopfu.		much.
12		se na mina lesvi atsalaka svona		I am also very happy with what she
13		hi lesvi namina svinitsakisaka,		writes,
14		kutlula lweyi angasangula hi		in contrast with the one who started
15		Xiputukezi...		schooling in Portuguese...
16		ni lesvi afundhaku hi Xiputukezi.		despite studying in Portuguese.
17		hiku, xakusungula,		this is because, first of all,
18		nem Xiputukezi xakona		he DOESN’T EVEN KNOW the
19		ANGAXITWI! ((diz com ar de		Portuguese language he is learning!
20		desalento))		((he says this in a regretfull way))
21	F:	im	F:	ok
22	Mr T:	se svikumeka na ani madificuldade	Mr T:	so, he has many learning difficulties
23		ngopfu la ka majondzela la		
24	F:	im	F:	ok
25	Mr T:	kasi lwe ajondzaku hi Xicopi...	Mr T:	but the one who is studying in
26		ni le kaya hivulavula hi Xicopi		Chope...
27		svihantla svinghena		since we also speak in Chope at
28				home, she understands [school
29				matters] easily
30	F:	im	F:	ok
31	Mr T:	nini mun’wani svosvi se afundha	Mr T:	I have another child who is now at
32		<i>segunda</i> kalasi.		grade 2.
33		nayena watwisisa.		she also understands [the school
34		hambi kukonta, ni svaku hambu mina		matters] well.
35		nivan’wani		even counting,

36		vohleka loko akonta hi Xicopi			something that even me myself and
37					other people
38					we just laugh when she counts in
39					Chope
40	F:	imhim		F:	ok
41	Mr T:	akubzela...		Mr T:	she tells you...
42		hambi tolo [himuvutisile] “eh kasi			even yesterday [we asked her]
43		nyamuntla i <i>dia</i> mani Dora?” ((note o			“well, what is the <i>dia</i> ‘date of
44		uso da palavra Portuguesa ‘dia’))			today’, Dora?” ((note his use of the
45		yena aku “kasi <i>DIA</i> muhlaya svaku			Portuguese word ‘ <i>dia</i> ’))
46		yi?”			and she said “what do you mean by
47		hiku “eh, i siku la wheti”			<i>DIA</i> ?”
48		aku “ooh, namuntla digumi ni nchanu			we said “oh, we mean the day of
49		ni mune”			the month”
50					she said “oh, today is nineteenth”
51					((she answered in Chope))
52	F:	imhim		F:	ok
53	Mr T:	“masvitwa?”		Mr T:	“do you understand?”
54		hiku “OK... i dzanove!” ((simula ar de			we said “OK... it’s nineteenth!”
55		admiração))			((he represents someone surprised))
56	F:	ok ((riso))		F:	ok ((laughter))
57	Mr T:	kuve <i>DEZANOVE</i> LWEYO vhela		Mr T:	in fact, we did not know THAT
58					NINETHEENTH
59		ahingamutivi hina (((riso))			we did not know that (((laughter))
60	F:	(((riso))		F:	(((laughter))
61	Mr T:	se xalisima ahikutiva lirimi,		Mr T:	what is most important is not to
62		xalisima i kuve ativa lesvi			know the language,
63		vamudondzisaka svona			what is most important is for her to
64					understand what she is being taught
65	F:	imhim		F:	ok
66	Mr T:	se mina ka majondzisela lawa		Mr T:	so, I am very happy with this kind
67		manitsakisa ngopfu...			of education...
68		lawa lawa ya Xicopi lawa			the the education in Chope
69		hiku vahantla vatwisisa			because they understand easily
70	F:	imhim		F:	ok
71	Mr T:	nikutsala kambe		Mr T:	even writing
72		vatsala minchumu leyi yitwisisekaka.			they write things that are
73		<i>por exemplo</i> lweyi wa- wakufundha			understandable.
74		teresera kalasi lwe ((refere-se ao filho			for example, the one who is at
75		no programa monolingue))			grade 3 ((he is alluding to his son in
76		hambi kutsala vitu layena ahani			the monolingual programme))
77		madifikuldade			he is still struggling to write even
78					his own name
79					
80	F:	im		F:	ok
81	Mr T:	maxji lweyi ajondzaka Xicopi,		Mr T:	but the one who is learning in
82		wa wa <i>segunda</i> kalasi svosvi,			Chope,
83		wantsongwana ngopfu,			who is now at at grade 2,
84		se atsala svakuvoneka <i>bem</i> .			who is younger,
85		vitu layena...			she can write very clearly.
86		(...)			her name...
87					(...)
88	F:	im loko usvihlela		F:	ok, when you analyse it
89		uvona svaku svimahiwa hi yini svaku			why do you think the one who is
90		lweyi wa Xicopi ahantla yena apasa			learning in Chope understands the
91		[lwiya mun’wani...			matters easily
92					[whereas the other...
93	Mr T:	[sviyendliwa hi nambisanana		Mr T:	[that is due to
94		hi hi hi lirimi!			to to the language!
95	F:	im		F:	ok
96	Mr T:	hikusa alirimi leli la Xiputukezi		Mr T:	because he only finds Portuguese

97		otaxivula wo nkama wolowu wa		when he is in the classroom
98		maaula		so, he doesn't even understand what
99		se nisvaku vali yini hi Xiputukezi		they are talking about!
100		angasvitwi!		
101	F:	im	F:	ok
102	Mr T:	se lweyi wa Xicopi ahantla asvitwa	Mr T:	whereas the one learning in Chope
103		hiku		understands because, from the
104		kusukela ahasungula... ni svosvi		beginning... now even a one-year
105		hambi lweyi wa wa lembe,		old child starts to acquire the
106		asungulaku kufundha kukhuluma...		language...
107		asungula akukhukuma hi hi Xicopi.		starts speaking in Chope.
108		se akutave Xiputukezi		so, he only starts to be in contact
109		ataxisungula kola		with Portuguese over here,
110		hi nkamanyana wolowo wa maaula só		just in the short periods when he is
111		<i>basta</i> ahuma <i>pronto</i>		in classes
112		avulavula Xicopi		so, as long as they finish classes
113				they start speaking in Chope

Extract 24: Interview with Ms Zubaida, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	se xilungu yena se awaxitiva <i>bem</i> ?	F:	how about Portuguese, can he speak
2				it?
3	Ms Z:	((pensa um pouco antes de responder))	Ms Z:	((she thinks for a while before
4		<i>quase</i> yena angaxitoloveli kukhuluma		giving the answer))
5		hixona <i>sempre</i>		I can say that he is not used to
6		<i>mas</i> emm... i munhu waku loko		speaking Portuguese
7		ukhuluma naye [hi xilingu]		but umm... he is a kind of person
8		wasvientendera.		who, if you speak to him [in
9		<i>pode</i> arespondera lesviya ni lesviya		Portuguese],
10		nivulavulaka naye, im		he understands it.
11				he can reply to this and that when I
12				speak to him, yes
13	F:	se ungasvitiva svaku hi mhaka muni	F:	so, do you know why he is not used
14		akalaka angaxitoloveli xilun- xilungu?		to Portu- Portuguese?
15	Ms Z:	((suspira fundo, como que a assinalar	Ms Z:	((she has a deep breath, as if she
16		que esta era também a sua		were signalling that it had also been
17		preocupação))		her own concern))
18		nasvilava kusvitiva <i>mas</i> ((riso))		I would also like to know why
19		kumbe hiko ku lana xikola atalisa		((laughter))
20		Xichangana		I don't know whether that is
21		anisvitivi ((parece falar com		because over here at school
22		prudência))		he speaks Changana very often
23				I don't know ((she seems to speak
24				cautiously))

Extract 25: Ms Cristina in a group interview with parents at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	Ms Ca:	ha mina anina rito hi lolelo,	Ms Ca:	well, I have nothing to add to the
2		laku svantsakisa lesvi afundhisaka		view already expressed,
3		svo n'wana wa mina.		that that I am happy with the way
4		vhela <i>pode</i> atsandziwa hi svakutala		my son is studying here.
5		<i>mara</i> svin'wani ni svin'wani sva		in fact, he may not be capable of
6		kulera wasvikota		doing many things

7	sva Xichangana.	but he can do other things such as
8	<i>pode</i> angaxikoti <i>bem</i> xilungu	reading in Changana.
9	hikusa xilungu ingi kumbe...	he may not know Portuguese very
10	i sva lembe loli ((faz menção à	well, since it has been introduced
11	transição da língua de ensino, do	this year ((she meant the transition
12	Changana para o Português como	from Changana into Portuguese as
13	língua de ensino))	the instruction medium))
14	<i>mas</i> kusukela avafundha hi	since they had been learning in
15	Xichangana.	Changana from the beginning.
16	kambe naxonavu [xilungu] se	however, he is now trying some
17	waxizamazama	[Portuguese] also

## Appendices 7: Socio-Cultural Value of Bilingual Education

### 7.1: Ethnolinguistic Identity and Maintenance

Extract 26: Mr Gwambe, the traditional leader of Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 17/9/2007)

1	Mr Ge:	im, se mhaka leyi ya kujondzisa hi	Mr Ge:	yes, so this issue of teaching in
2		lirimi la hina leyi		our language
3		yitlakusa tiko lahina		lifts our country up
4		hitiva ku... hikhuluma hi lirimi		it makes us learn to... speak in our
5		lakahina.		own language.
6		wawona		you see,
7		kuni mabuku lawa mangahuma		there are now those booklets,
8		svosvi lawa,		the ones which came out recently,
9		lawa manga-... mangahumanyana		those which... which deal with
10		ya...		with...
11		ya kufambelana ni... ni <i>programa</i> la		with the programme which has to
12		la mavagwe lawa mangakona lawa		do with those diseases that now
13		((não parece sentir-se à vontade na		exist ((he doesn't seem
14		abordagem da questão; refere-se a		comfortable about approaching
15		brochuras sobre educação para a		this issue; he means booklets
16		saúde, poduzidas pela ONG N'weti))		about education for health
17				produced by N'weti, an NGO))
18	F:	im, ya SIDA	F:	yes, [you mean] AIDS
19	Mr Ge:	im, ya SIDA	Mr Ge:	yes, AIDS
20	F:	im	F:	ok
21	Mr Ge:	kulava...	Mr Ge:	[those booklets] must be...
22		mabaliwile hi tirimi HINKWATU		they have been written in ALL
23		loko lili seni hitalikuma		languages
24		hi tirimi hinkwatu		so that we can have access to them
25		ta Xichangana... Xicopi		here in all languages
26		<i>ou norte ou kwini kwini</i>		in Changana... Chope
27		ndhawu ni ndhawu,		and in northern [Mozambique] or
28		<i>província ni província</i>		in any other place,
29		svibaliwile lahaya ka ka buku leliya		in every province
30		vasvikota vasvitiva svaku lesvi hi		people know... can understand
31		lesvi		what has been written in those
32		lesvi hi lesvi.		booklets.
33		tiko hinkwalu liyatlhanga ka		the entire country should be united
34		Xilungu		around Portuguese
35		maxji tiko ni tiko		but [people from] every place in
36		litivulavulela hi lirimi lalona		the country should speak in their
37				own language

Extract 27: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Mr G: bom, o que é valorização dos pais<br/> 2 naquilo que é o ensino bilingue é que<br/> 3 ele, como pai, ((riso sarcástico))<br/> 4 tem dificuldade em escrever a sua<br/> 5 própria língua<br/> 6 e crianças que são<br/> 7 JÁ ESCREVEM...<br/> 8 e JÁ LÊEM<br/> 9 aquilo que não é possível para com o<br/> 10 pai.<br/> 11 é claro, alguns pais têm terceira,<br/> 12 quarta por lá<br/> 13 mas na forma de como a nossa criança<br/> 14 até quarta, quinta classe<br/> 15 lê e escreve<br/> 16 não estão em condições<br/> 17 em Chope<br/> 18 F: em Chope...?<br/> 19 Mr G: sim, não estão em condições mas...<br/> 20 mas já já crianças já conseguem!<br/> 21 portanto, [os pais] passam a gostar e<br/> 22 valorizam of facto de a<br/> 23 criança ler e escrever na língua.<br/> 24<br/> 25</p> | <p>Mr G: well, for me what parents value in<br/> bilingual education has been the<br/> fact that s/he, as a parent, ((sarcastic<br/> laughter))<br/> has difficulties in writing her/his<br/> own language<br/> whereas their children<br/> although they are still young<br/> they can ALREADY READ<br/> and WRITE it<br/> which is something that their<br/> parents cannot do.<br/> of course some parents have<br/> completed grade 3, 4 and so on<br/> but they are not prepared to read<br/> and write in Chope as our pupils at<br/> grade 4 or 5 can<br/> in Chope...?<br/> F: yes, they are not prepared to do that<br/> but... the children can already do<br/> that!<br/> so, because of that, [parents] begin<br/> to like and to value the fact that the<br/> child can read and write in the<br/> [Chope] language</p> |
|---|--|

Extract 28: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1 F: qual é o aspecto que eles... os pais<br/> 2 valorizam mais no ensino bilingue...<br/> 3 quando eles aparecem a defender<br/> 4 que as crianças podem aprender nas<br/> 5 suas línguas?<br/> 6 Mr C: eles valorizam mais...<br/> 7 primeiro, para além de falar a sua<br/> 8 língua,<br/> 9 [as crianças] conseguem escrever a sua<br/> 10 língua...<br/> 11 emm... conseguem escrever em sua<br/> 12 língua.<br/> 13 então que isso é muito bom<br/> 14 do que aprender coisas que...<br/> 15 deixar a sua língua para aprender a<br/> 16 língua dos outros.<br/> 17 então eles valorizam muito mais esta<br/> 18 parte de as crianças aprender em sua<br/> 19 língua para não esquecer<br/> 20 aquilo que é exactamente as nossas<br/> 21 línguas</p> | <p>F: what is the aspect that they... the<br/> parents value most in bilingual<br/> education...<br/> when they argue that their children<br/> should learn in their languages?<br/> Mr C: they value more...<br/> first of all, in addition to speaking<br/> their own language,<br/> [the children] can also write in [the<br/> Changana] language... umm they<br/> can write in their language.<br/> so, that is what is great<br/> instead of just learning things that...<br/> learning other peoples' language<br/> instead of your own language.<br/> so, that is the side they value most,<br/> the fact that the children learn in<br/> their language<br/> for them not to forget what are in<br/> fact our own languages</p> |
|--|---|

## 7.2: Literacy Practices in the Communities

Extract 29: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |                                    |
|----|-------|--|-------|------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | e como é que se sentiu na ortografia   | F:    | and how did you feel in using the  |
| 2  |       | da sua língua?                         |       | orthography of your language?      |
| 3  | Mr G: | ((riso)) ortografia,                   | Mr G: | ((laughter)) orthography,          |
| 4  |       | penso eu que o doutor Chimbutane       |       | I think Mr Chimbutane              |
| 5  |       | tanto nos valeu                        |       | was very helpful                   |
| 6  | F:    | ((riso))                               | F:    | ((laughter))                       |
| 7  | Mr G: | saí com um pouco de dúvida             | Mr G: | I went away a bit doubtful         |
| 8  |       | quando pela primeira vez               |       | when for the first time            |
| 9  |       | em 2001 ou 2002,                       |       | in 2001 or 2002,                   |
| 10 |       | quando estivemos em Chibututuine       |       | when we were in Chibututuine       |
| 11 |       | com o doutor X...                      |       | with doctor X...                   |
| 12 |       | saí dali ZERO mesmo                    |       | I went away completely BLANK       |
| 13 |       | mas ((riso irónico))                   |       | but ((ironic laughter))            |
| 14 |       | eu agora leio                          |       | I can now read                     |
| 15 |       | e escrevo.                             |       | and write.                         |
| 16 |       | já CONHEÇO exactamente o alfabeto      |       | I already KNOW the alphabet        |
| 17 |       | EU,                                    |       | exactly,                           |
| 18 |       | de Cicopi,                             |       | of Chope,                          |
| 19 |       | conheço, não há problemas              |       | I know, no problems.               |
| 20 | F:    | im                                     | F:    | ok                                 |
| 21 | Mr G: | escrevo até correctamente.             | Mr G: | I even write correctly.            |
| 22 |       | é... é claro, existem algumas da da... |       | of... of course, there are some... |
| 23 |       | expressões, não é                      |       | expressions, you know              |
| 24 |       | que talvez as palavras                 |       | may be the words                   |
| 25 |       | não são tão usuais                     |       | are not very common                |
| 26 |       | na língua aqui                         |       | in the language here               |

Extract 30: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

- |    |       |   |       |  |
|----|-------|---|-------|--|
| 1  | Mr G: | ya fiquei com muita surpresa quando     | Mr G: | I was very surprised when when I       |
| 2  |       | quando quando começo a ver o /□e/       |       | started to notice that the /□e/ that I |
| 3  |       | quando eu escrevia à maneira            |       | wrote in my own way                    |
| 4  |       | quando o /□e/ afinal já é assim ((alude |       | should be written in a different way   |
| 5  |       | à diferença entre a escrita tradicional |       | ((he is alluding to the difference     |
| 6  |       | 'tx' e a padronizada 'c'))              |       | between the old written form 'tx'      |
| 7  |       | quer dizer, aquelas junções             |       | and the standardised 'c'))             |
| 8  |       | ya aquele alfabeto.                     |       | that is, those combinations of         |
| 9  |       | é aquilo que                            |       | letters.                               |
| 10 |       | que pareceu ser problema [para mim].    |       | that is what seemed to be a problem    |
| 11 |       | mas que no fundo não não chegou a       |       | [for me].                              |
| 12 |       | ser problema                            |       | but in the end it did not pose any     |
| 13 |       |   |       | problem                                |
| 14 | F:    | [como é que...                          | F:    | [how did you...                        |
| 15 | Mr G: | [mas da primeira vez foi problema       | Mr G: | [but it was a problem initially        |
| 16 | F:    | como é que se sentiu quando viu         | F:    | how did you feel when you noticed      |
| 17 |       | esses [diferenças de /□e/...?           |       | those [differences of /□e/...          |
| 18 | Mr G: | [aah                                    | Mr G: | [well...                               |
| 19 |       | a- aquilo me pareceu...                 |       | tha- that seemed to me...              |
| 20 |       | quer dizer, estar num espaço mesmo,     |       | I mean, as if I were lost in the       |
| 21 |       | como se não conhecesse mesmo o          |       | clouds indeed,                         |

22		alfabeto!			as if I did not know the alphabets!
23	F:	ok		F:	ok
24	Mr G:	quer dizer, aque- aquela mudança, não		Mr G:	I mean, tha- that change, you know
25		é			from the Portuguese alphabets
26		alfabeto Português			and then the [Chope] alphabet in
27		depois alfabeto já da língua materna			[my] first language
28		quer dizer, quer dizer, essa foi a			I mean, I mean, that was the
29		dificuldade.			difficulty.
30		deu para... para parecer que alguém			there were reasons for... for one to
31		podia recuar,			step back,
32		mas, é claro,			but, of course,
33		a força da vontade sempre			our eagerness [to learn] is what
34		foi aquela que obrigou a termos que			always pushed us forward
35		adiantar			

Extract 31: Interview with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	muito bem		F:	very good
2		e... para ti em particular			and... for you in particular
3		para além de teres ganho			in addition to having had the gain
4		aprender a escrever [em Changana],			of learning how to write [in
5		há algum ganho que tu tenhas			Changana],
6		registado			is there any other gain that you
7		neste ensino bilingue?			have underscored in bilingual
8	Ms C:	((fica pensativa))		Ms C:	education?
9	F:	algum valor que tu associas a... a		F:	((she is musing))
10		ensinar em línguas locais...? ((procuro			any value that you associate with...
11		reformular a pergunta))			with teaching in local languages...?
12	Ms C:	sim, eu já adquiri muita coisa...		Ms C:	((I try to reformulate the question))
13		porque... mesmo eu já sei...			yes, I have acquired a lot of
14		posso escrever...			things...
15		eu nem sabia escrever um POUCO de			because... I myself now know...
16		Changana			I can write...
17		mas agora posso imm... posso escrever			I couldn't write even a LITTLE in
18		uma carta que uma pessoa pode ler			Changana
19		dizer que "este aqui queria escrever			but I can now, yes... I can write a
20		isto"			letter that someone can read
21		eu ganhei isso aí com base neste			and say "this person wanted to say
22		ensino.			this and that"
23		por exemplo, aqueles que agora estão			that is what I have gained with this
24		só a trabalhar com monolíngue...			educational provision.
25		há outros que nem sa-...			for example, those who are now
26		não sabem bem Changana			only... working in the monolingual
27		((subentende-se aqui à falta de			programme... some of them cannot
28		domínio da forma formal ou escrita da			they don't know Changana very
29		língua))			well ((implied here is the lack of
30					proficiency in the formal or written
					form of the language))

Extract 32: Interview with Ms Maura, a grade 2 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 11/9/2007)

1	F:	quais são as vantagens que vê no	F:	what are the advantages that you
2		[ensino bilingue...?		see in [bilingual education...?
3	Ms Mr:	[eu só falava	Ms Mr:	[I used to speak only
4		nem se quer uma letra conseguia		I didn't know how to write a
5		escrever em Chope		single grapheme in Chope
6		mas... já estando a trabalhar mesmo		but... since I am now actually
7		com a própria língua		working with the language
8		já estou a ver que há uma vantagem		I can now see that there's
9		((riso))		advantage ((laugther))
10	F:	((também me junto ao riso))	F:	((I also laugh with her))
11	Ms Mr:	ei ((ainda no meio do riso))	Ms Mr	hey ((still amid the laughter))
12		eu dou valor a esta aprendizagem do		I value this form of leaning
13		ensino bilingue.		offered in bilingual education.
14		desde há muito... há anos atrás		since long ago... many years ago I
15		penso eu que NÃO HOUVE		think there HADN'T BEEN a
16		consideração de um ensino como		consideration of a kind of
17		este.		education like this.
18		talvez se tivesse consideração eu		if there had been any
19		estaria a saber escrever Changana,		consideration perhaps I would be
20		como sou Changana,		writing in Changana by now,
21		mas só sei falar,		since I'm Changana, but I only
22		não escrever.		speak it, I don't know how to
				write it.

Extract 33: Interview with Mr Taela, a father from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	F:	ok wena... wakhongela nawenawu	F:	ok, do you... you also go to church
2		kumbe...?		or...?
3	Mr T:	im nakhongela	Mr T:	yes, I do go to church
4	F:	im ukhongela... gerexja ya wena hi yi?	F:	ok, do you go... what is your
5				religion?
6	Mr T:	i Plesbiteriana	Mr T:	it is Presbyterian church
7	F:	Plesbiteriana...?	F:	Presbyterian...?
8	Mr T:	im	Mr T:	yes
9	F:	ok, mitirisa... Xicopi nakonawu	F:	ok, do you also use... Chope there?
10		seniya?		
11	Mr T:	ha hitirisa nhambisanani...	Mr T:	well we use the...
12		i bibela la Xichangana		we use the bible in Changana
13	F:	im	F:	ok
14	Mr T:	im	Mr T:	yes
15	F:	sviyendliwa hi yini mitiririsa la xi-...	F:	why do you use the bible in
16		bibela la Xichangana?		Changana?
17	Mr T:	bibela la Xichangana...	Mr T:	the bible in Changana...
18		la Xicopi ungaku alikona		I think there isn't a bible in Chope
19		hambi liyohumanyana		if there is one, that must have been
20		lingave liyohuma svosvi		released very recently
21		maxji kusukela nkama... khali ni khali		but since long long time ago
22		alizanga livekona		there hasn't been one
23	F:	im	F:	ok
24	Mr T:	i Xichangana ntsem	Mr T:	it is only in Changana
25		ni Xitswa, wawona		and Xitswa, you see
26	F:	ya	F:	ok



27	Mr T:	ya i mabibela lawa makumekaka	Mr T:	these are the available bibles
28	F:	se mumahisa kuyini?	F:	so, how do you people handle the situation?
29				
30	Mr T:	hiko kufundha i xo Xichangana	Mr T:	the only solution is to read in Changana, who can read in Changana,
31		lweyi ativaku kufundha Xichangana		then they interpret it
32		se vagama vatlhamusela		but they interpret it... there are those... it depends on the person [in charge of a ceremony]... there are those who are well capable of interpreting it in Chope but there are those who also interpret it in Changana
33		maxji vatlhamusela... kuni...		
34		svihambana hi munhu wakona...		
35		kuni lweyi angayenta kuva asvikota		
36		akutlhela ahitlhamusela hi Xicopi		
37		ni mun'wani wotlhela aexplikara hi xo Xichangana lexiya		
38				
39				
40				
41	F:	im	F:	ok
42	Mr T:	im	Mr T:	yes
43	F:	namusvikuma...?	F:	do you people understand that...?
44	Mr T:	haxikuma	Mr T:	we do
45	F:	imhim	F:	ok
46	Mr T:	van'wani kutala ka tiko leli	Mr T:	most people in this setting understand Changana because we from this area are known as Makhambane ((this is a Changana sub-group))
47		Xichangana vaxitwa hikusa hina lomu		
48		hivitiwa svaku hi makhambani		
49				
50				
51	F:	im	F:	ok
52	Mr T:	ahifani ngopfu ni <i>provincia de Inhambane</i>	Mr T:	we are different from the Chope people from Inhambane Province who also speak Chope but they are different from us as we borrow a lot from from Changana
53		vavulavula Xicopi kambe hihambanile		
54		navona		
55		hikusa hina hayivela ngopfu ka ka Xichangana		
56				
57				
58	F:	ok	F:	ok
59	Mr T:	ya ahivulavuli Xichan-... Xicopi	Mr T:	we don't speak Chan-... original Chope
60		xantsindza		
61	F:	imhim	F:	ok
62	Mr T:	ahivulavuli Xicopi xantsindza	Mr T:	we don't speak pure Chope we mix up Changana with... with Chope
63		hodivanyisela Xichangana ni nhambisanani... ni Xicopi		
64				

Extract 34: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

1	F:	ya, e... em que medida é que este ensino pode ser útil para a comunidade...?	F:	ok, and... to what extent this kind of education can be useful for the community...? for example, how is the child applying what s/he is studying here in her/his community...?
2		como é que a criança, por exemplo, o que está a aprender aqui está a usar na comunidade...?		
3				
4				
5				
6				
7	Mr G:	ah eu eu penso que como... como a nossa comunidade aqui até certo ponto... é religiosa... há grande vantagem da escrita da própria criança aquela em que a família tem como hábito levar a criança para a igreja.	Mr G:	well, I think that since... our community over here is to a certain extent... devoted to religion... the fact that the child can read and write is a huge advantage [I mean] the child whose family takes her/him to church usually. there is what is called church
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				

16	existe aquilo que é o programa da	programme, the reading of the
17	igreja, a leitura da bíblia.	bible.
18	as crianças vão poder ajudar ou	the children will be able to help or
19	substituir os pais	replace their parents
20	que são lá... digamos... são pastores lá.	who are... let's say... who are
21	ver que, se é uma criança capaz de	priests down there.
22	PEGAR NA BÍBLIA E LER LÁ NA	you see that if the child can PICK
23	IGREJA...	UP THE BIBLE AND READ AT
24	é muito vantajoso.	THE CHURCH...
25	ela numa cerimónia qualquer	that's a huge advantage.
26	a criança ser capaz de se pronunciar	if the child can express her-/himself
27	sem problemas na língua [Chope]	in Chope without problems in a
28	e não em Português	given ceremony
29	é uma vantagem,	and not in Portuguese,
30	[porque] há muitos que em Português	that is an advantage
31	não não poderiam estar a acompanhar	[because] there are people who
32	[o que se está a dizer].	wouldn't follow [what is being
33	então isto é muito positivo para mim.	said] in Portuguese.
34		so, for me, that is very positive.

Extract 35: Interview with Mr Bikwani, the traditional leader of Bikwani (Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	se nisviwonile svaku utsalile...	F:	so, I have seen that you have
2		umahile maconvocatória		written... you wrote letters to those
3		<i>para</i> kuvitana lava uvalavaku ku vata		you wanted to come here to the
4		lana b'andla		headquarters
5		utsala hi yini?		which language did you use?
6		utsala hi ximaji kumbe utsala hi		did you write in Portuguese or in
7		Xichangana?		Changana?
8	Mr B:	hiku ximaji ningaxitiviki	Mr B:	given that I don't know Portuguese
9		nitsala hi lirimi la mina.		I write in my own language.
10		hiku ni volava vangatalerha i		also because those who will read
11		machangana.		[these letters] are also Changana.
12		vatasvitwa svaku		they will understand that
13		“aah, wahivitana,		“ooh, he is calling us,
14		ali hinkama wo im		at this or that time
15		wahilava n'wahosi”		the leader wants us”
16		se vata		then they come
17	F:	im	F:	yeah
18	Mr B:	im, avasoli vaku “hindha ungatsalanga	Mr B:	yes, they don't ask the question
19		hi xilungu”		“why did he not write to us in
20		eeh, avasoli.		Portuguese”.
21		nitsala hi xilandi, im		nor do they criticize that.
22				I write in vernacular, yes.
23	F:	im, se vona vasvikota kuxilerha ni	F:	ok, are they capable of reading and
24		kutsala kumbe vakuhlamula hi xo		writing [Changana] or to respond to
25		xilandi?		you in written Changana?
26	Mr B:	haa, valerha vatlhela vanihlamula ((diz	Mr B:	yes, they can read and reply to me
27		peremptório e seguro))		((he says promptly and surely))

### 7.3: Negotiations over Language Variation and Terminology Development

Extract 36: Interview with Ms Cacilda, a grade 3 teacher at Bikwani (EPC- Bikwani 18/9/2007)

- |    |       |   |       |                                       |
|----|-------|---|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | se Xichangana lexi mifundhisaku             | F:    | now, this Changana that you are       |
| 2  |       | la xikolweni lexi                           |       | teaching here at school               |
| 3  |       | xafana ni lexi va- vakhulumaku              |       | is it the same as the one spo- spoken |
| 4  |       | seniya handle?                              |       | outside [in the community]?           |
| 5  | Ms C: | im, hi xo                                   | Ms C: | yes, it is                            |
| 6  | F:    | im  | F:    | yeah                                  |
| 7  | Ms C: | kuni lesvi svikalaka svingali svoho,        | Ms C: | there are some aspects that are not,  |
| 8  |       | hi la ka ku RA RA RA                        |       | when it says RA RA RA                 |
| 9  |       | nakula loko hiku RA, hina lomu hili         |       | when RA is said, over here we say LI  |
| 10 |       | LI  |       |                                       |
| 11 | F:    | imhim, ya                                   | F:    | ok, yeah                              |
| 12 | Ms C: | loko hiku LIRIMI                            | Ms C: | when we say LIRIMI/‘language’         |
| 13 |       | van’wanyani vali TINDZIMI                   |       | others say TINDZIMI/‘languages’       |
| 14 |       | kambe hina hili LIRIMI,                     |       | but we say LIRIMI,                    |
| 15 |       | HINA LOMU                                   |       | WE OVER HERE                          |
| 16 | F:    | ya  | F:    | yeah                                  |
| 17 | Ms C: | hili LIRIMI.                                | Ms C: | we say LIRIMI.                        |
| 18 |       | lomu kahima hitirhisa <i>muuto muuto</i> LI |       | here in our place we mostly use LI    |
| 19 |       | LI LI                                       |       | LI LI                                 |
| 20 | F:    | im  | F:    | yeah                                  |
| 21 | Ms C: | im  | Ms C: | yes                                   |
| 22 |       | ahitirhisi RA RA RA                         |       | we don’t use RA RA RA                 |
| 23 |       | RA MINA...                                  |       | RA MINA/‘of mine’...                  |
| 24 |       | hili I LA MINA                              |       | we say I LA MINA/‘it is mine’         |
| 25 |       | loko ili LA MINA, ingali RA MINA            |       | when it is LA MINA/‘of mine’, and     |
| 26 |       | sviku yini yini.                            |       | not RA MINA/‘of mine’                 |
| 27 |       | hitirhisa LI <i>muuto muuto</i> lomu        |       | and so on.                            |
| 28 |       |   |       | we use LI the most over here          |
| 29 | F:    | se mimahisa kuyini                          | F:    | then how do you handle this           |
| 30 |       | lesvi lomu ka mabuku vangatsala RA          |       | since in the textbooks they wrote RA  |
| 31 | Ms C: | hikuva vangahlaya svaku                     | Ms C: | since they say that                   |
| 32 |       | ahiretifikareni lesvi hisvionaka            |       | we have to adjust to this             |
| 33 |       | lesvaku sviva <i>de acordo</i> ni lomu,     |       | so that it is in accordance with what |
| 34 |       | loko sviku RA, hili LI                      |       | we say over here,                     |
| 35 |       | la kunge LI, hisviyendlisa                  |       | when it says RA, we say LI            |
| 36 |       | xisvosvesvo.                                |       | when it says LI, we proceed like      |
| 37 |       | maxji nasvo [vajondzi] vasvitiva            |       | that.                                 |
| 38 |       | hikusa utshika u- uvabzela                  |       | however [the pupils] know it as well  |
| 39 |       | vasvikompriyendera.                         |       | since some times you tell them and    |
| 40 |       |   |       | they understand it.                   |

Extract 37: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |   |       |                                       |       |                                  |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | F:    | ya, em relação à variação do          | F:    | ok, what about the issue of      |
| 2 |       | Changana,                             |       | variation in Changana            |
| 3 |       | como é que os pais têm... têm         |       | how have... how have the parents |
| 4 |       | reagido... nao têm levantado          |       | reacted... haven’t they raised   |
| 5 |       | problemas?                            |       | concerns?                        |
| 6 | Mr C: | não... não, não têm                   | Mr C: | no... no no they haven’t         |
| 7 | F:    | não têm aparecido a dizer que estão a | F:    | haven’t they come to you people  |

8		falar Changana de Magude? ((riso))		and said that you are using the Changana variety of Magude?
9				((laughter))
10				
11	Mr C:	nao não não	Mr C:	no no no
12		eeh... o que nós explicamos		umm... what we explain to them
13		mesmo aos professores...		and also to the teachers...
14		nós dissemos aos professores que		we tell the teachers that umm... if
15		eeh... se existe uma palavra		there is a word that appears in the
16		que essa palavra por exemplo aparece		textbook... a word which is
17		no livro		different from the equivalent one(s)
18		mas... essa palavra não está dito		that we use over here in Bikwani...
19		que não é da maneira como nós		similar to the variety spoken in
20		falamos aqui em Bikwani...		Chóckwe [for example]...
21		é da maneira como se fala no		then we should replace it with the
22		Chóckwe...		equivalent word that we use over
23		então procura outra maneira que		here
24		nós falamos		as long as it doesn't change the
25		mas desde momento que não se altera		meaning conveyed in the original
26		o próprio conteúdo.		text.
27		para não haver isso de que é Changana		this is to avoid people saying that
28		de Magude		this Changana is from Magude or is
29		é Changana de onde onde.		from somewhere else.
30		o que nós queremos é é dizermos a		what we want is is that the
31		verdadeiramente... palavra		appropriate word is used
32	F:	ok	F:	ok
33	Mr C:	sim	Mr C:	yes
34	F:	então a verdadeira é aquela que se fala	F:	so, the appropriate [word] is the one
35		aqui...?		used over here...?
36	Mr C:	há... há casos em que	Mr C:	there are... there are cases in which
37		tem um... tem uma palavra no livro		there is a word used in the textbook
38		mas que a... descobrimos que ESTA		but... we find out that THAT
39		PALAVRA é... se diz desta maneira		WORD is... pronounced in the same
40		em Magude		way in Magude
41		então procuramos saber		in that case we try to find the
42		AQUI como que se diz		equivalent word used over HERE
43	F:	ok	F:	ok
44	Mr C:	im, há casos em que não existe	Mr C:	yes, there are cases in which there
45		nenhuma diferença		isn't a [substantial] difference
46		só que ali		apart from the diffence in the way
47		o que se colocou		the word has been written
48		é da maneira como se diz em Magude		which can be as it is pronounced in
49				Magude
50	F:	ok	F:	ok
51	Mr C:	então nós admitimos que	Mr C:	in those circumstances we accept
52		alguém pode usar esta palavra que		that someone uses a word which is
53		não é esse que está escrito ali no no no		different from the one written in in
54		livro ou da maneira como se pronuncia		in the textbook or different from the
55		lá em Magude		way it is pronounced in Magude
56	F:	ya	F:	ok
57	Mr C:	sim	Mr C:	yes
58	F:	mas os pais não reagem mal...?	F:	but do not the parents react
59				negatively to that...?
60	Mr C:	não, não reagem mal	Mr C:	no they don't react negatively
61	F:	im, têm... têm cooperado [convosco]	F:	ok, they have... they have co-
62				operated [with you people]
63	Mr C:	têm têm cooperado [connosco]	Mr C:	they have co-operated [with us]

Extract 38: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	e em relação ao Changana que se	F:	and what about the Changana
2		ensina na escola		taught at school
3		e Changana que se fala [na		and the Changana spoken [in the
4		comunidade]		community] is that the same or
5		é a mesma coisa ou há alguma		there are any differences that you
6		diferença que estão a notar...?		may have noticed...?
7	Mr C:	há casos em que há alguma diferença	Mr C:	there are aspects which are different
8	F:	im	F:	ok
9	Mr C:	porque... há casos em que	Mr C:	because... there are cases in which
10		por exemplo lá falamos erradamente!		for example, over there we speak
11		((diz sorrindo, refere-se na		wrongly! ((he says while smiling,
12		comunidade))		he means in the community))
13	F:	imhim	F:	ok
14	Mr C:	às vezes alguém manda uma criança	Mr C:	sometimes someone asks a child
15		eeh... a dizer		umm... like this "go there and
16		" <i>hingayakamba... b'ava Khosa</i>		check... whether Mr Khosa is at
17		<i>svaku ako ke</i> "		home" ((he says in Changana))
18		então há casos em que		so, in circumstances like this, some
19		alguém quando volta		times when the child comes back
20		ahlaya svaku " <i>nimukumi angali ko!</i> "		tends to say something like "I found
21		((sorri))		him not there!" ((he switches into
22				Changana again, smiling; this is a
23				literal translation of his utterance))
24	F:	imhim	F:	ok
25	Mr C:	então já na escola	Mr C:	but at school the child learns how
26		a criança aprende já como deve dar a a		s/he is supposed to give the
27		resposta		appropriate answer
28	F:	imhim	F:	ok
29	Mr C:	eeh... " <i>loko amukuma angali ko</i> "	Mr C:	umm... "finding him not there"
30		é mesma coisa "não..."		((he says in Changana))
31		" <i>angamukumanga</i> "		is the same as "not..."
32				"[the child] did not find him there"
33				((again in Changana))
34	F:	imhim	F:	ok
35	Mr C:	mas já na escola	Mr C:	but at school
36		se ensina de boa maneira que não pode		the child is taught in the appropriate
37		dar aquela resposta		way so that s/he cannot give an
38				answer like that

**7.4: Funds of Knowledge: Linking School and Home Knowledge**

Extract 39: Interview with Mr Chirime, director of UDEBA (Xai-Xai, 27/9/2007)

1	Mr Ch:	a escola tinha uma tendência de ser	Mr Ch:	the school tended to be a strange
2		um objecto estranho na família		object within the families
3		mas com o ensino bilingue		but with bilingual education
4		a escola já muda de figura		the school has changed its status
5		e a criança que vem da escola		and the child who comes to school
6		e vem aprender como se escreve		and learns how to write his first
7		a língua materna...		language...
8		quer dizer TEM UM OUTRO		I mean, it has a DIFFERENT
9		VALOR		VALUE
10		o o ambiente é outro.		the the enviroment is different.

11	portanto, para nós emm...	so, for us umm...
12	é isto que posso dizer.	this is what I can say.

Extract 40: Interview with Mr Chissano, the director of EPC-Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	ok, no currículo também tem aquela...	F:	ok, in the curriculum there is what
2		aquilo que chamam currículo local		is called local curriculum
3	Mr C:	sim sim	Mr C:	yes yes
4	F:	como é que eles têm...	F:	how have they...
5		como é que eles têm participado nisso		how have they [the parents] been
6		aí?		involved in that?
7	Mr C:	eeh...	Mr C:	umm...
8	F:	algum envolvimento deles...?	F:	have they been involved at all?
9	Mr C:	há envolvimento só que...	Mr C:	there is some involvement but...
10		eeh...havia aquela questão de... do...		umm... there was that issue of...
11		de alguns [pais] quererem que os seus		the fact that some [parents] wanted
12		filhos devia aprender carpintaria...		their children to learn carpentry...
13		actividade da carpintaria.		carpentry skills.
14		primeiro... tentámos para ver se		we first... tried to see whether we
15		podíamos dar... eles podiam explicar		could offer this subject... with them
16		((como actividade extra-curricular)).		helping in teaching it ((as an extra-
17		então, explicaram		curricular subject)).
18		mas alguns diziam que, bom,		so, they taught it
19		tinha que a escola ter alguns materiais		but some said that, well, the school
20		para podermos... quando aparecermos		should have its own carpentry tools
21		não aparecermos		so that they would not have to carry
22		com a nossa ferramenta.		their own tools here to the school.
23		para explicar com o material da escola		they wanted to teach using school's
24		porque isso é um pouco difícil		tools as they said that it was
25		levar aquele material...		difficult to carry their tools to the
26		então mais ou menos foi nesse sentido		school... so, that is what happened

Extract 41: Interview with Mr Muhati, a grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007)

1	Mr M:	eu... só tive uma ideia	Mr M:	I... I only had an ideia
2		mas não coloquei a ninguém		but I did not share it with anyone.
3		porque nós temos alfabetização e		because we have adult literacy and
4		educação de adulto		education over here, I had this ideia
5		eu tive esta ideia		“since we provide adult literacy and
6		“porquê que,		education, why don't we teach in
7		assim que nós temos este alfabetização		our language?” ((they were using
8		e educação de adulto,		Changana and Portuguese instead))
9		não se dá em nossa língua?” ((estavam		THAT would be an opportunity to...
10		a usar Português e Changana))		it would be enough to train the
11		porque ESSA seria uma oportunidade		literacy teachers in this... in this
12		para...		new... in the standardised
13		bastava capacitar os alfabetizadores		orthographies...
14		neste... neste novo... nesta		that way these [parents] would no
15		padronização		longer contradict the children at
16		assim estes [pais] já não iam criar		home, they would appreciate the
17		contradição com as crianças		situation,
18		lá em casa		would improve and would advocate

19	viam a situação,	for [the new orthographies]
20	melhoravam e	
21	haviam de defender [a nova ortografia]	
22	F: a alfabetização aqui é em	F: the literacy programme is in
23	Português...?	Portuguese over here...?
24	Mr M: é... parece que... parece que é em	Mr M: it is... I think it is... I think it is in
25	Português e Changana	Portuguese and Changana
26	F: Changana? porquê em Changana?	F: Changana? why in Changana?
27	Mr M: ya, também não sei não sei ((mostra-se	Mr M: yeah, I don't know myself why ((he
28	também confuso))	also seems confused))
29	mas é Changana mesmo!	but it is in Changana indeed!
30	F: imhim	F: ok
31	Mr M: ya, eu... em conversa com um	Mr M: yes, I... in a conversation with one
32	alfabetizador no ano passado,	of the literacy teachers last year,
33	ele disse que tinham livro em	he told me that they had a textbook
34	Changana	in Changana
35	F: imhim	F: ok
36	Mr M: im, Changana e Português	Mr M: yes, in Changana and Portuguese
37	F: não é uma questão de falta de livro de	F: isn't because of the lack of a
38	Chope?	textbook in Chope?
39	Mr M: am até pode... ya pode ser a razão	Mr M: well, it may be... yes, that may be
40		the reason why
41	F: im	F: ok
42	Mr M: ya pode ser a razão	Mr M: yes, that may be the reason
43	sim, mas se fosse Chope...	yes, but if it were in Chope...
44	eu até havia de de contribuir	I would even offer my contribution
45	só para fazer ver os pais...	just to make parents understand
46	quer dizer, só para os pais valerem-nos	that...
47	nas nossas crianças.	I mean, just to enable the parents to
48	ya, porque assim podiam ajudar	aid us in the teaching of the
49	e nunca podiam desmentir a uma	children.
50	criança!	yes, because that way they could
51	porque as crianças tratam o o alfabeto	help and would never contradict the
52	como nós ensinamos na escola	children [at home]!
53	chega em casa diz	this is because the children use the
54	“eh pá, papá eu escrevo o /□e/ assim”	new orthographies as we teach
55	então o papá diz “não, /□e/ é isto	them at school
56	‘tx’ aqui” ((escreve ‘tx’ no ar))	so, when they are at home they say
57	então há contradição entre o pai	“oh, dad I write /□e/ this way”
58	o pai os pais co- sabem escrever desta	then the parent says “no, /□e/ is
59	maneira aqui ((riso))	like this ‘tx’” ((he writes ‘tx’ in the
60		air))
61		so, there is contradiction between the
62		way parents write and the way we
		write over here ((laughter))

Extract 42: Debriefing session with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 15/8/2008)

1	F: ok. e o facto de ser em Changana,	F: ok. and the fact that it is in
2	acha que é isso que faz com que	Changana, do you think that this is
3	colaborem...?	why [parents] co-operate... that
4	que faz com que ajudem as crianças	makes them help the children at
5	em casa...?	home...?
6	como é que vê isso?	how do you see this?
7	Ms C: sim ajudam os filhos...	Ms C: yes, they help their children...
8	até que eles falam aqui que	in fact they say that “we

9		“nós entendemos...”		understand...”
10		porque há outros pais...		because there are some parents...
11		há outros pais que		there are some parents who can
12		eles só sabem ler em Changana		read in Changana although they
13		e Português têm problema, sim.		have problems in Portuguese, yes.
14	F:	imhim	F:	ok
15	Ms C:	sim. até que dizem... costumam dizer	Ms C:	yes. they even say... they often say
16		que		“if they had textbooks, we could
17		“se eles tivessem livro, nós podíamos		help them,
18		ajudar,		because I can read in Changana
19		porque eu sei ler em Changana		but since they do not have
20		mas como não têm livros...		textbooks...
21		aquilo que está a escrever		I cannot read what s/he writes”
22		eu nao consigo ler” ((implícito aqui é		((implied here is the fact that some
23		o facto de algumas crianças não serem		children cannot write in a legible
24		capazes de escrever de forma legível))		way))
25		mas há outras crianças que quando		however, there are some other
26		escrevem		children who write clearly and their
27		os pais vão ajudar lá em casa		parents are able to help them at
28		porque conseguem ler aquilo que a		home, since they can read what the
29		criança escreveu.		child writes
30	F:	imhim	F:	ok
31	Ms C:	im. até porque há um pai que apareceu	Ms C:	yes. there is even a parent who
32		aqui e disse que “o meu filho		came here and said “my son wrote
33		escreveu-me a carta em Changana,		me a letter in Changana, I liked it”
34		eu gostei” ((sorriso))		((she smiles))

Extract 43: Interview with Ms Laura, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	se... hi majondzisela ya Xichangana...	F:	so... regarding bilingual
2		i ncini lexi xikutsakisaku wena...		education... is there anything that
3		hasvitiva svaku khale ni khale		makes you feel happy... we know
4		avajondzisa hi Xiputukezi,		that for a long time instruction has
5		se hicinca hinghenisa Xichangana		been in Portuguese, but we have
6				now changed it and we have
7				introduced Changana
8	Ms L:	nitsakisiwa hiku ajondza tirimi	Ms L:	what I like is that he learns both
9		hinkwatu, im ((fala pouco, não		languages, yes ((she doesn't speak
10		desenvolve as suas respostas))		much, she doesn't expand her
11				answers))
12	F:	im se khuluma nje	F:	yeah, speak freely ((I try to make
13		tlhatlheka ((procuro fazer com que se		her feel comfortable))
14		sinta à-vontade))		
15	Ms L:	mina nitsakisiwa hiku ajondza tirimi	Ms L:	what I like is that he learns both
16		hinkwatu ((refere-se ao seu filho na 5ª		languages ((she means her son at
17		bilingue))		grade 5 in the bilingual
18				programme))
19		hikusa aka nkama wolo hinga ka		since, these days,
20		wona,		if a child only learns one language
21		loko ntsongwana ajondza lirimi lin'wi		and s/he doesn't know the other
22		le lin'wani angalitivi,		language,
23		se para kuve alitiva naali nkulu		it becomes very difficult for
24		angahasvikumi svaku ale ka sva ku		her/him to try to learn it when s/he
25		yini.		is older, s/he gets lost.
26		se lesvi ajondzaku svo svanitsakisa,		so, I am happy with what he is
27		hiku svin'wa vatati vako avasvitivi,		learning, because he ends up



28	se vatlhela vamaha... pritori wa ko ali	teaching some of those things to his
29	ye!	own elder siblings!
30	avafundhisa Xichangana, im	he teaches them Changana, yes

Extract 44: Interview with Ms Tânia, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	Ms Co:	haa mina nokhensa,	Ms Co:	well, I am thankful
2		hikusa <i>mesmo</i> nhambe mina		because he is even better than me
3		wanitlula ((riso, refere-se ao filho		((laughter, she is referring to her
4		que está no ensino bilingue))		son in the bilingual programme))
5		Xichangana emmm... navulavula		I speak ummm... Changana
6		<i>mas</i> aningesvikoti kubala		but I cannot write it
7		anisvikoti kubala		I am not capable of writing it.
8		hikusa anifundhanga Xichangana.		because of that, I can say that he is
9		<i>já</i> nitahlaya svaku nhambe mi		better than me.
10		awanitlula.		if things go his way...
11		loko svimukata...		if he learns and shows enough
12		adondza asvilandzelela <i>bem</i> ,		commitment, he may end up
13		<i>pode</i> atshika nhambe mi anifundhisa		teaching me some matters,
14		minchumu yimbenyani,		there may be things that I may
15		<i>pode já</i> svili ko nisvilavaka ka ye hi		need from him in Changana...
16		Xichangana...		because I don't know [Changana]
17		hikusa anixitivi mina.		myself.
18		só mina notlangela, nokhensa,		so, I am thankful, I wish that...
19		svaku loko... asvomurhandza,		things go his way, and that he
20		naye asvilandzisela...		himself shows commitment...
21		asvitamupfuna hi nkama		[what he is learning] would be
22		wumbenyani.		useful for him in the future.

## Appendices 8: Socio-Economic Value of Bilingual Education

### 8.1: Language Choices

Extract 45: Ms Sandra in a group interview with parents in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	Ms S:	namina hisvolesvu	Ms S:	I have nothing to add to what has
2		akusunguleni namina anikanakana		been said
3		hisvona niku		I was also initially doubtful about
4		“hei, n’wana wa mina atodondza		[instruction in Chope]
5		Xicopi... atodondza Xicopi só...		I thought “gosh, my son will learn
6		xilungu angatidondza...”		Chope... he will only learn
7		maxji svosvi awasvitiva kufundha		Chope... he will not learn
8		awasvitiva hambu <i>carta</i> kutsala hi		Portuguese...”
9		Xicopi		but he can now read,
10		xilungu kambe wasvitiva kutsala		he can even write a letter in Chope
11		awasvitiva akufundha.		he can also write in Portuguese
12		se svaninyoxisa <i>como</i> atinzimi		he can read.
13		hinkwatu tatimbiri watitiva		so, I am pleased because he knows
14				both languages

Extract 46: Interview with Ms Jacinta, a grandmother from Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1 F: maxji loko afundha Xicopi<br/> 2 axitiva kuxitsala<br/> 3 awungasviwoni svaku asvitamupfuna?<br/> 4 ((refiro-me ao filho no programa<br/> 5 bilingue))<br/> 6 Ms J: ((riso)) xamupfuna<br/> 7 hiku wawona<br/> 8 hambu mina nijondzile<br/> 9 niyogamela ka kwarta... maxji...<br/> 10 lweyi wa xikhale...<br/> 11 maxji wawona ku ka nkama luwa<br/> 12 hingajondza hi wona<br/> 13 Xicopi avaku mingajondzeni<br/> 14 Xilungu hixona inga xaxinene<br/> 15 se hikholwa ku eh loko... ((tosse))<br/> 16 hijondza Xilungu hitanasika... hitativa,<br/> 17 wawo.<br/> 18 se hifundha, hifundha, hifundha<br/> 19 hifundha higama ((a repetição parece<br/> 20 marcar o tempo de duração dos<br/> 21 estudos))<br/> 22 nigameliwa mina hikupfumala<br/> 23 vakuniheleketa phambeni<br/> 24<br/> 25<br/> 26<br/> 27<br/> 28 F: im<br/> 29 Ms J: nanigumela ka Xilungu svigamile<br/> 30 F: im<br/> 31 Ms J: im, se lesvi svakutanghena seni...<br/> 32 ((refere-se ao ensino em Chope))<br/> 33 oh, masani mampsa lawa!<br/> 34<br/> 35<br/> 36 F: im<br/> 37 Ms J: se, hiyengisa lesvi svilavekaku<br/> 38 ka vatsongwana!<br/> 39 wawona, vali ahiyakeni [svilawu sva<br/> 40 jondzo],<br/> 41 hayaka.<br/> 42 ahitshuleni,<br/> 43 hatshula.<br/> 44 ni vo vana loko vajondza kambe<br/> 45 vajondza Xicopi<br/> 46 hinkwasvu hisvona ((parece expremir<br/> 47 obediência ou conformismo em<br/> 48 relação a decisões institucionais))<br/> 49</p> | <p>F: but by learning Chope,<br/> learning how to write it,<br/> don't you think it would be useful<br/> for him? ((I refer to her grandson in<br/> the bilingual programme))<br/> Ms J: ((laughter)) it is useful for him<br/> because, look<br/> I also went to school<br/> though I quitted at grade 4... but...<br/> the old grade 4...<br/> but, you know that at that time<br/> when we went to school<br/> they said that we should not learn<br/> Chope, that Portuguese was the<br/> right [language].<br/> we believed in that<br/> which made us forget that...<br/> ((coughing))<br/> we thought that by learning<br/> Portuguese we would... we would<br/> be smart, you know.<br/> so, we studied, studied, studied,<br/> studied until we finished ((the<br/> repetition seems to signal the long<br/> duration of the schooling process))<br/> I quit because I did not have anyone<br/> to pay for my further studies<br/> ok<br/> Ms J: I only learnt Portuguese<br/> F: ok<br/> Ms J: yes, so this thing which started<br/> here... ((she is alluding to the<br/> introduction of instruction in<br/> Chope))<br/> well, these are winds of change!<br/> F: ok<br/> Ms J: so, we are following what is needed<br/> from the children!<br/> you see, they say that we should<br/> build [classrooms],<br/> we are building them.<br/> [they say] that we should plaster the<br/> classrooms,<br/> we are plastering them.<br/> also when the children come to<br/> school, they learn in Chope.<br/> all that is fine [for us] ((she seems<br/> to express obedience or conformity<br/> to institutional decisions))</p> |
|--|--|

Extract 47: Ms Podina in a group interview with parents in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 20/9/2007)

1	Ms P:	hee tonto vaxamulaku vangana ngu	Ms P:	what the others have said is right
2		ntonto		since [the children] are learning
3		ku mule vagondaku cilungu ni Cicopi,		Portuguese and Chope,
4		svotshelele vasiziva		they know both [languages]...
5		hee totselele hatsaka ngu tona.		yes, we are happy with that.
6		só loko iti votandeka ka tona totshelele		there would only be a problem if
7		maxji ku tosthe vatikotaku kumaha		they failed in both of them,
8		im hatsaka ngu tona		but since they know both
9		maxji kukhateni katona vhela ti		languages,
10		tihakaratela ngutu		we are happy with that.
11		hiti “aku nimugondisaku Cicopi ani		however, at the inception [of
12		ntini muwa		bilingual education] we were in fact
13		niku cicolwani kambe ayagonda		concerned about it
14		Cicopi...?”		we thought “given that I teach
15		se ((riso)) titihakaratela		Chope to my child at home, what is
16				the point of him learning Chope at
17				school also...?”
18				so ((laughter)) that is what
				concerned us

Extract 48: Interview with Mr Neto, a grade 3 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

1	Mr N:	im, só no no princípio alguns [pais]	Mr N:	yes, at at the beginning some
2		estavam a dizer		[parents] were saying “what are
3		“o que é que eles vão vão aprender?		they going to learn? they only speak
4		só falarem em em Chope,		in in Chope, so our children will not
5		então as nossas crianças não... não vão		not... will not get any job, because
6		ter emprego,		when they get there [to the job
7		porque quando chegarem lá		market] they will will need people
8		vão vão pedir pessoas que		who know Portuguese and can also
9		então sabem falar Português e		write Portuguese”.
10		ainda escrever em Português”.		then we explained to them that
11		então nós explicámos que eh... eh...		umm... umm... it is only at at
12		é só na na primeira e segunda		grades 1 and 2 that children only
13		que só escrevem usando L1		write in their L1,
14		enquanto já na terceira classe		at grade 3 they start to learn and
15		começa já aprender e escrever eh... a		write umm... in Portuguese... and
16		língua portuguesa...		they carry on like that.
17		até adiante.		now is when [parents] begin to see
18		então é dali eh onde já estão a ver que		that “this [bilingual education] is
19		“então isto dá...tem tem valor”.		feasible... it has a value”.
20		porque até já estão a ver		they can now see that the children
21		que mesmo já estão a aprender		are in fact learning how to write in
22		escrever		Portuguese.
23		já em Português.		so, at at the beginning
24		então no no início		they couldn't understand that this
25		eles não estavam a ver que há-de haver		would happen,
26		isso		they thought that the children
27		só estavam a pensar que estavam a		would only learn Chope.
28		aprender só Chope		because of that, some said
29		então alguns estavam a dizer		“gosh, my child... it may be better
30		“eh pá, a minha criança...		to move her/him to another class

31		eh pá, ou tirar daqui para outra classe			[where teaching is in Portuguese]
32		porque ele só vai falar Chope.			because [where s/he is] will only
33		em casa fala Chope			learn Chope. s/he speaks Chope at
34		na na escola fala Chope			home, at school also speaks Chope,
35		então ele não vai ter emprego”.			so, s/he will not get a job.”
36		mas agora já estão a ver que NÃO, há			but they can now see that YES,
37		vantagem			there are advantages
38	F:	tem alguns casos desses pais que	F:		do you have any cases of parents
39		quiseram transferir [para turmas			who wanted to move their children
40		monolingues]?			[to monolingual classes]?
41	Mr N:	não, só... alguns estavam a falar	Mr N:		no, some were just... they were just
42		comigo			talking to me
43		então eu expliquei			then I gave them some explanation
44		mas deixaram as crianças,			and they kept their children,
45		deixaram mesmo no [programa]			they kept them in the bilingual
46		bilingue			[programme]

Extract 49: Serra, a grade 4 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/09/2007)

1	Serra:	nidhunda kugonda ngu cilungu	Serra:		I prefer to learn in Portuguese
2	F:	udunda cilungu awe	F:		you prefer Portuguese
3	Serra:	im	Serra:		yes
4	F:	ngu cani?	F:		why?
5	Serra:	hiku hikatile ka pirimera	Serra:		because when we started at grade 1
6		hisigondi cilungu, hicigonda Ci-			we did not learn [in] Portuguese,
7		Cicopi			we were just learning [in] Cho-
8		hiza hitahoka ka teresera hicigonda			Chope
9		Cicopi			up to grade 3 we were learning [in]
10		<i>por isso</i> nicidundaku cilungu			Chope
11					that is why I like Portuguese
12	F:	ya ula kugonda cilungu konko	F:		so, you now want to learn
13					Portuguese
14	Serra:	im	Serra:		yes
15	F:	im, ngu cani?	F:		ok, why?
16	Serra:	nguku cilungu... cilungu nacidhunda	Serra:		because I like... I like Portuguese

Extract 50: Fred, a grade 4 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	awe mo Fred...?	F:		how about you Fred?
2	Fred:	nidhunda cilungu	Fred:		I prefer Portuguese
3	F:	awe udhunda cilungu...	F:		you like Portuguese...
4	Fred:	im	Fred:		yes
5	F:	ngu cani?	F:		why?
6	Fred:	nguku ninawombawomba...	Fred:		because I will speak...
7	F:	wombawomba nitipfa	F:		speak so that I can hear
8	Fred:	nguku ninawombawomba, nicilera	Fred:		because I will speak while reading
9		dibhuku...			the textbook...
10		niwombawomba... niciyalera kwadru			I will speak it... when I stand in
11					front of the class and read
12	F:	imhim ngu cilungu...?	F:		ok, in Portuguese...?
13	Fred:	im	Fred:		yes
14	F:	khawucidhundi Cicopi awe?	F:		don't you like Chope?
15	Fred:	im	Fred:		no

16	F:	ngu cani?	F:	why?
17	Fred:	nguku cinitsakisi ((é permptório))	Fred:	because it doesn't make me feel pleased ((he replies promptly))
18				
19	F:	cikutsakisi Cicopi...?	F:	because Chope doesn't make you feel pleased...?
20				
21	Fred:	imhim	Fred:	no
22	F:	yinga didimi daku?	F:	isn't it your language?
23	Fred:	nitsakiswa hi ci- ngu Cicopi loko nidi	Fred:	I like Cho- I like Chope when I am at home
24		ntini		
25	F:	ahaa	F:	ok
26	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
27	F:	utsakiswa ngu Cicopi loko udi ntini...?	F:	you like Chope when you are at home...?
28				
29	Fred:	im	Fred:	yes
30	F:	loko udi hawa cicolwani^...	F:	when you are here at school^...
31	Fred:	nitsakiswa ngu cilungu	Fred:	I like Portuguese
32	F:	ahaa <i>só</i> ntini <i>pode</i> uwombawomba Cicopi...?	F:	ok, so you can only speak Chope when you are at home...?
33				
34	Fred:	im	Fred:	yes
35	F:	ahawa udhunda kuwombawomba cilungu	F:	over here you like to speak Portuguese...
36				
37	Fred:	im	Fred:	yes

Extract 51: Carmo, a grade 4 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	Carmo:	n'tini niwo- niwombawomba cilungu	Carmo:	I spea- I speak Portuguese at home
2		loko nicigonda dibhuku ni mame.		when I read the textbook with my mum.
3		loko nidi...		when I am...
4		Cicopi ni- nicidhunda nidi n'tini		I li- I like Chope when I am at home but I don't like it when I am... when I am at school ((he says seriously))
5		<i>mas</i> nici... nidi cicolwani		
6		nikacidhundi ((diz sério))		
7				
8				
9	Júlia:	E::H! ((exclama em jeito de censura))	Júlia:	O::H! ((she utters this in a way of condemnatory fashion))
10				
11	F:	imhim loko udi ntini wacidhunda kuwombawomba Cicopi ..?	F:	ok, you like to speak Chope when you are at home...?
12				
13	Carmo:	im	Carmo:	yes
14	F:	ucita cicolwani udhunda cilungu...	F:	but when you are at school, you prefer Portuguese...
15				
16	Carmo:	im	Carmo:	yes

Extract 52: Leonel, a grade 5 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	ok, im hingahigela awe ((viro-me para o Leonel))	F:	ok, you tell me ((I turn to Leonel))
2				
3	Leonel:	nidhunda cilungu	Leonel:	I prefer [to learn in] Portuguese
4	F:	im	F:	ok
5	Leonel:	nguku nicithuma ninawombawomba cilungu ni vava vasiciziviko Cicopi ni vamwanyani vasiliziviko lidimi la Cicopi	Leonel:	because when I start working I will be able to speak with those who do not know Chope with those who do not know the
6				
7				
8				

9					Chope language
10	F:	imhim, <i>já</i> Cicopi khawucidhundi?	F:	ok, does it mean that you don't like Chope?	
11					
12	Leonel:	nawombawomba ((riso))	Leonel:	I do speak Chope ((laughter))	
13	F:	<i>já hi</i> lihi lisima la Cicopi?	F:	so, for you, what is the value of Chope?	
14		waciwona ku ci ni lisima Cicopi?		do you think that Chope has any value?	
15					
16					
17	Leonel:	((silêncio))	Leonel:	((silence))	
18	F:	hem, ci ni... cinayo?	F:	hummm, does it... does it have any value?	
19					
20	Leonel:	im	Leonel:	yes	
21	F:	ngu lihi lisima la Cicopi?	F:	what is the value of Chope?	
22	Leonel:	nguku hawombawomba hidi ntini	Leonel:	[it has a value] because we speak it at home	
23					
24	F:	imhim	F:	ok	
25	Leonel:	hambi cicolwani hagonda	Leonel:	even here at school, we do learn it, and in other places	
26		ni kumwani			
27	F:	<i>já</i> wacithumisa Cicopi awe... wabhala	F:	so, do you use Chope... do you write in Chope at home?	
28		Cicopi ntini?			
29	Leonel:	im	Leonel:	yes	
30	F:	ubhala ucithuma cani?	F:	when do you write it?	
31	Leonel:	nicibhala ka nthumu wa ntini	Leonel:	when I do my home-work	

Extract 53: Gilda, a grade 5 girl in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	hamm, ok... Gilda	F:	yes, ok... Gilda
2	Gilda:	nidhunda kugonda ngu cilungu	Gilda:	I prefer to learn in Portuguese
3	F:	imhim, ngu cani?	F:	ok, why?
4	Gilda:	nguku cicolwani loko kucibwaka	Gilda:	because this will allow us to speak with those who visit our school
5		vapfumba hinawombawomba navo		
6	F:	imhim <i>já</i> ngu Cicopi...?	F:	ok, how about in Chope...?
7	Gilda:	hambi cona Cicopi nacidhunda	Gilda:	I also like Chope... because I speak it at home
8		nicona...		
9		nguku nawombawomba ntini		
10	F:	im wawombawomba Cicopi ntini	F:	ok, you speak Chope at home that is why here at school you want to learn... you want to learn^...
11		<i>já</i> ahawa cicolwani ula kugo- ulava kugonda...^		
12	Gilda:	cilungu	Gilda:	Portuguese
13	F:	cilungu para uwombawomba ni	F:	you want Portuguese so that you can speak to people who visit the school...
14		vapfumba loko vacita ahawa		
15		cicolwani...		
16	Gilda:	im	Gilda:	yes
17	F:	unacithuma cani kambe cilungu?	F:	for what else are you going to use Portuguese?
18				
19				
20	Gilda:	cilungu?	Gilda:	Portuguese?
21	F:	im	F:	yes
22	Gilda:	kucithuma cani? ((parece surpreendida com a pergunta))	Gilda:	[are you asking] what I am going to do with it? ((she seems surprised with the question))
23				
24				
25	F:	im	F:	yes
26	Gilda:	kuwombawomba! ((a sua expressão é como se dissesse que era óbvio que havia de usar a língua para falar))	Gilda:	I will speak it! ((she seems to convey the idea that it's obvious that she will use it to communicate orally))
27				
28				
29				
30	F:	kuwombawomba	F:	you will use it to communicate

31 Gilda: im ((como se fosse ‘claro’)) Gilda: yes ((as if she were saying “of  
32 course”))

Extract 54: Dina, a grade 5 girl in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	emhem, awe ke Dina ((aproveito a sua	F:	umm, how about you Dina ((I take
2		vontade de falar))		advantage of her willingness to
3				speak))
4	Dina:	nidhunda ku- kugonda ngu cilungu	Dina:	I prefer to learn in Portuguese
5	F:	imhim ngu cani?	F:	ok, why?
6	Dina:	hikusa ka <i>exame</i> ... ((riso))	Dina:	because for exams... ((laughter))
7	F:	hem?	F:	what?
8	Dina:	<i>hikusa</i> ka izame nambahamba exame	Dina:	because for examinations I will not
9		ngu Cicopi ((fala baixinho e a rir, é		write in Chope ((she speaks quietly
10		difícil de perceber o que ela está a		while laughing, it is not easy to
11		dizer))		understand what she is saying))
12	F:	hem?	F:	what?
13	Dina:	<i>hikusa</i> izame nambahamba ngu Cicopi	Dina:	because I will not write my exams
14				in Chope
15	F:	kahitimani kwati	F:	we cannot quite understand [what
16				you are saying]
17	Yola:	Dina ((chama a colega, se calhar para	Yola:	Dina ((she calls her colleague,
18		lhe pedir para falar claramente or		maybe to ask her to speak clearly or
19		seriamente))		seriously))
20	Dina:	<i>hikusa</i> izame nanguhamba ngu Cicopi	Dina:	because I will not write my exams
21		((está mais claro agora))		in Chope ((it is clear now))
22	F:	im, unahamba ngu cilungu...	F:	ok, you will write in Portuguese...
23	Dina:	im	Dina:	yes
24	F:	amham, <i>já</i> udhunda kugonda ngu	F:	ok, so you like to learn in
25		cilungu <i>para</i> u- ucipasa...?		Portuguese so that you can pass
26				your exams...?
27	Dina:	((sorri))	Dina:	((she smiles))
28	F:	hingatona?	F:	is it right?
29	Dina:	im ((diz sem hesitar desta vez))	Dina:	yes ((this time she replies without
30				hesitation))

## 8.2: Capital Value of African Languages

Extract 55: Interview with Mr Roberto, a grade 1 teacher at Bikwani and former PEBIMO student (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	F:	não sei se tens... alguma resposta a	F:	I wonder whether you have... any
2		algumas pessoas por exemplo que...		answer to those people who say, for
3		têm problemas de aprender essas		example, that... who are concerned
4		línguas... Changana...		about learning these languages...
5		porque consideram que no futuro...		Changana... because they think
6		não vão ter colocação... adequada		that... they will not get a
7		você já passou pela... por aquela fase		meaningful job in the future... you
8		o quê que tem a dizer...? ((note que o		went through... that stage... what do
9		professor Roberto foi aluno do		you have to say...? ((note that Mr R
10		PEBIMO))		had been a former PEBIMO
11				student))

12 Mr R: muito bom  
13 emm... uma das perguntas  
14 que eu tenho colocado  
15 para muitos... eeh... é que é  
16 eu gosto de perguntar  
17 “fala-me sobre a sua origem”  
18 e a pessoa diz “eu sou um  
19 Machangana”.  
20 depois pergunto “então me diz uma  
21 coisa, se você, por exemplo, sair,  
22 por exemplo, para um outro país  
23 você chega lá diz EU SOU  
24 MACHANGANA  
25 mas que, por exemplo, dizem  
26 vamos escrever... escreve-me essa  
27 língua changana aí  
28 você não escrever  
29 como é que você  
30 há-de se sentir?”  
31 e alguns indivíduos desta  
32 comunidade [de Bikwani] que...  
33 que eu já conversei com eles,  
34 eles às vezes não  
35 não têm... resposta para tal.  
36 e para questões de emprego,  
37 eu tenho dito  
38 eeh... tenho explicado talvez devido...  
39 à influência de muitas tribos que nós  
40 temos aqui [em Moçambique]  
41 em que Português é um recurso  
42 mas que pouco a pouco  
43 se nós todos respeitássemos  
44 estudar as nossas línguas,  
45 nós emprego íamos ter.  
46 porque o conhecimento do Changana  
47 não vai privar você... não  
48 aprender... não não ter emprego  
49 porque você não há-de estudar  
50 Changana até... NÃO!  
51 você há-de utilizar Português  
52 para poder já se comunicar com os  
53 outros [que não falam Changana].  
54 mas aquelas classes iniciais é para  
55 você saber... ter domínio  
56 da sua própria língua!  
57 F: im  
58 Mr R: então, por exemplo  
59 algumas pessoas que eu já conversei  
60 com eles  
61 eu já pude amostrar que  
62 nós aprendemos Changana  
63 para conhecermos e valorizarmos a  
64 nossa língua,  
65 mas que não quer dizer que  
66 até décima primeira décima segunda  
67 mesmo faculdade  
68 vamos continuar a estudar Changana  
69 somente, NÃO, NÃO!

Mr R: very good  
umm... one of the questions that I  
have asked to many of those...  
umm... I like to ask “tell me about  
your origin”  
and the person says “I am  
Changana”.  
I then ask “tell me something, if  
you, for instance, went to, for  
example, to another country, you  
got there and said I AM  
CHANGANA  
and they, for example, said let’s  
write... please, write that Changana  
language for us,  
and you were unable to write it,  
how would you feel?”  
and some people from this  
community [of Bikwani] who...  
with whom I have talked,  
sometimes they don’t have...  
an answer for that question.  
and regarding employment,  
I have said  
well... I have explained to them that  
maybe due to... the fact that we  
have many tribes here [in  
Mozambique]  
Portuguese is a resource  
but if we all valued instruction in  
our languages, little by little, we  
would get jobs.  
because knowledge of Changana  
will not prevent you... from  
learning... from being employed.  
this is because you are not just  
going to learn Changana up to the  
end of your schooling... NO!  
you will use Portuguese  
so that you can communicate with  
other people [who don’t speak  
Changana].  
but in the initial grades you are  
required to know... to master your  
own language!  
F: ok  
Mr R: so, for example  
some people to whom I have talked  
I have had the chance to show that  
we learn Changana in order to  
know and value our language,  
but that doesn’t mean that  
we will keep learning only  
Changana up to grade 10, 12 or  
even at the university, NO, NO!



Extract 56: Interview with Mr Roberto, a grade 1 teacher at Bikwani and former PEBIMO student (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

<p>1 Mr R: na realidade os pais reconhecem o  2 valor do ensino bilingue  3 mas o que eles estão com medo era...  4 o que está em causa é emprego para  5 muitos.  6 esse é o grande problema  7 que quando a pessoa quando vê uma  8 pessoa que está a estudar  9 ele vê o emprego.  10 eu tenho dito, por exemplo,  11 para tentar defender isso aí,  12 eu tenho dito  13 por exemplo, quando um caçador  14 coloca uma armadilha,  15 ele tem garantia que todos os dias  16 vai... vai vai ter pelo menos um animal  17 lá armadilhado ou NÃO?  18 diz que “não, não é sempre assim”  19 você pode eeh... estudar mas às vezes  20 não ter emprego  21 é possível isso aí ((muda de tom de  22 voz, como que a indicar o fim do  23 discurso que estava a reportar))  24 mas quando você já tem um seu  25 conhecimento  26 pode chegar um outro indivíduo  27 por exemplo, que vem dos Estados  28 Unidos e diz  29 “eh pá, eu quero falar com esta gente  30 aqui, mas eu não entendo Changana...”  31 você que entende Changana  32 que entende Português  33 pode tentar ajudar neste sentido aqui.  34 mas muitas pessoas aqui nossas aqui  35 não entendem Changana  36 é verdade ou não? ((faz alusão à falta  37 de domínio de Changana formal,  38 including escrito))  39  40  41</p>	<p>Mr R: in fact parents acknowledge the  value of bilingual education. but  what they fear is...  for many what is at stake is  employment.  that is the main concern  the fact that when someone sees  another person studying [through  the medium of Portuguese]they see  employment [prospects].  in an attempt to respond to that, I  have been asking people, for  example, whether when a hunter  sets a trap,  is he always sure that,  every time he returns there,  he will... he will find a prey  trapped there or NOT?  the answer is “no, it isn’t always  like that”,  you go to school umm... but  sometimes you may not find a job,  that is possible ((he changes the  intonation, as if he were signalling  the end of the conversation he had  been reporting))  but when you have some  knowledge, someone else can come  to you, for example, from the  United States and say “I want to  speak to this people here, but I do  not understand Changana...”  so, in those circumstances, since  you know Changana and  Portuguese, you can try to help in  that.  but many of our people over here  do not know Changana, is that true  or not? ((he is alluding to the lack  of proficiency in formal Changana,  including the written mode))</p>
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Extract 57: Interview with Mr Neto, a grade 3 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

<p>1 F: im, e àqueles que dizem que as  2 crianças...[no ensino bilingue] depois  3 não-ter problemas de emprego...  4 qual é a resposta que vocês dão...?  5 Mr N: bem, eu já disse que  6 não há-de haver problemas  7 de falta de emprego.  8 eles vão ter vantagem</p>	<p>F: ok, and how about those who say  that the children... [in bilingual  education] will later have  difficulties in finding a job  Mr N: well, I have already said that there  won’t be any employment  problems.  they will be in an advantageous</p>
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9		e TÊM VANTAGEM...		position
10		porque... eles não vão parar ali		and THEY ARE IN A BETTER
11		na na L1.		POSITION...
12		eh... na terceira classe vão começar ler		because... they will not stop at the
13		e escrever em Português		phase of instruction in in L1.
14		e é aquilo que está acontecer		umm... at grade 3 they start to read
15		e é aquilo que já estão a ver		and write in Portuguese
16		por isso que alguns [pais]		which is what is happening now,
17		emm, já conseguem ver que		that is something that they [parents]
18		“afinal estes já escrevem Português”.		can erm already see.
19		e as crianças estão a dizer		that is why some of them
20		“afinal aquilo que a gente dizia assim		umm now say
21		[em Changana], afinal em Português é		“in the end, these [children] can
22		ASSIM!” ((imita a fala de uma criança		write Portuguese”
23		e com um tom de quem descobre		and the children have also been
24		algo))		saying “wow, what we used to say
25		eles também ficam assim mesmo		like that [in Changana], it is said
26		satisfeito		like THIS in Portuguese!” ((he says
27				in a childish voice, and as someone
28				finding out something new))
29				they also feel very happy
30	F:	ok	F:	ok
31	Mr N:	im, por apre-... por ver essa coisa de	Mr N	yes, because of lear-... because of
32		aprender duas línguas		that thing of learning two languages

Extract 58: Interview with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	imhim, e como é que tu achas que este	F:	ok, and how do you think bilingual
2		ensino bilingue... este ensino vai		education... this form of education
3		ajudar as crianças no... no seu futuro?		will help the children in... in the
4		quer ao longo dos estudos em si		future?
5		como também depois dos estudos,		both in their educational career and
6		quando começarem a trabalhar.		after schooling, when they enter the
7		achas que... vai ajudar em alguma		job market. do you think that... it
8		coisa ou não...?		will help them in some way or
9				not...?
10	Ms C:	[quer saber como vai] ajudar às	Ms C:	[you want to know how it] will help
11		crianças?		the children?
12	F:	imhim	F:	yes
13	Ms C:	((pensa um pouco))	Ms C:	((she thinks for a while))
14		sim vai ajudar no... vai ajudar as		yes, it will help them in... it will
15		crianças porque...		help the children because...
16		há outros que mesmo escrever cartas		some of them can write a letter...
17		sabem... conseguem escrever cartas		they can write a letter in Changana
18		em Changana e... fazer outras coisas		and... they can also do other things
19		em Changana...		in Changana...
20		se aparecer um sítio dizer que ah “nós		if it happens to be a place in which
21		queremos... tantas pessoas que falam		it is said well “we want... a certain
22		bem a língua e escrevem...”		number of people who can speak
23		eles podem chegar até lá [candidatar-		and write the [Changana] language
24		se]		very well...” they can go there [and
25				apply]
26	F:	imhim	F:	ok
27	Ms C:	sim, acho que.... pode ajudar	Ms C:	yes, I think that... it can help them
28		porque a... pode acontecer que “nós		because... it may happen that they
29		queremos três		say “we want three or four people
30		ou quatro pessoas que falam e		who can speak and write

31	escrevem Changana”	Changana”
32	se eles saberem escrever e ler	so, if they can read and write
33	eles podem par- participar, sim.	[Changana] they can apply [for
34	daí já estão beneficiado	that], yes. that way they would be
35		benefiting from [their skills in
36		Changana]

Extract 59: Interview with Ms Marta, a grade 5 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	F:	imhim, tá bem	F:	ok, fine
2		e... considerando os seus alunos,		and... considering your pupils,
3		como é que acha que eles vão		how do you think that they will
4		beneficiar do ensino bilingue...?		benefit from bilingual
5		quer no seu estudo futuro ou também		education...?
6		depois de começarem a trabalhar...?		either in their future studies or
7				when entering the job market...?
8	Ms Ma:	ooh, eles vão beneficiar-se no seu	Ms Ma:	oh, they will take advantage of it
9		futuro		in the future
10		porque ultimamente já...		because nowadays...
11		quando uma pessoa é... quer um		when someone is... wants a job
12		emprego		they always require people who
13		sempre falam de uma pessoa que		can speak Portuguese
14		sabe falar Português		can speak Changana
15		sabe falar Changana		can speak and read Changana.
16		sabe falar e escrever Changana.		so, they will be in an
17		então eles vão ter uma vantagem.		advantageous position.
18		já que estão a estudar Changana,		since they are learning Changana,
19		vão saber escrever		they will know how to read
20		e ler em Changana.		and write in Changana.
21		hã-de entrar já no terceiro ciclo ((6 <sup>a</sup>		those [pupils] when they enter the
22		e 7 <sup>a</sup> classes)),		third cycle ((grades 6 and 7)),
23		hã-de ver Português		they will learn Portuguese
24		hã-de escrever em Português e		they will write in Portuguese and
25		Inglês		in English
26		eles sempre hã-de caminhar assim		they will always carry on like this,
27		com essas línguas,		with these languages,
28		não vão ter muitos problemas.		they will not have many problems.
29		não são como as pessoas que		they are not like people who
30		estudaram no ensino monolingue.		studied in the monolingual
31		esses dominam Português e Inglês		programme. those master
32		mas Changana já não... já têm		Portuguese and English but not
33		problema.		Changana... they have problems
34		falam Changana porque		in Changana.
35		sempre você apanha a falar Changana		they speak Changana because you
36		mas não sabem escrever.		always find them speaking
37		im, não sabem escrever em Changana		Changana, but they can't write it.
38		e assim vão ter problema.		yes, they can't write in Changana
39		enquanto que para estes aqui		so, they will have problems.
40		será... vai ser mais vantajoso ((refere-		while for these ones here, it will
41		se aos alunos do ensino bilingue)).		be an advantage ((she is alluding
42		e para quem já estudou em Changana		to the pupils in the bilingual
43		entrou na língua inglesa		programme))
44		dizem que é muito fácil ((em alusão		and they also say that it's easier to
45		ao caso do professor Roberto))		learn English for someone who
46				has learnt in Changana before
47				((she is alluding to the case of Mr
48				Roberto))

Extract 60: Interview with Ms Laura, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |  |
|----|-------|--|-------|--|
| 1  | F:    | se hi lihi lisima likulu ka wena             | F:    | so, for you, what is the greater       |
| 2  |       | ka loko afundha Xichangana?                  |       | value arising from the fact that your  |
| 3  |       |  |       | son is learning in Changana?           |
| 4  | Ms L: | hi lesvi svaku yena ativa kujondzisa         | Ms L: | it is the fact that he can teach his   |
| 5  |       | vamakwavu...                                 |       | siblings...                            |
| 6  | F:    | kumbe kuni svin'wani?                        | F:    | is there anything else?                |
| 7  | Ms L: | imhim-him, mina lisima likulu le             | Ms L: | no, for me the greater value,          |
| 8  |       | linitsakisaku                                |       | what makes me feel happy               |
| 9  |       | <i>é que</i> nitsakela kuveni afundha tirimi |       | is the fact that he is learning both   |
| 10 |       | hinkwatu...                                  |       | languages...                           |
| 11 | F:    | se hiku upimisa svaku svitamupfuna           | F:    | so, do you think it will be useful for |
| 12 |       | yena loko akula...                           |       | him when he grows old...               |
| 13 | Ms L: | im   | Ms L: | yes                                    |
| 14 | F:    | se lesvi amintiro ya Xichangana              | F:    | in what aspect, since there are no     |
| 15 |       | yikalaka yingaseva kona...                   |       | Changana related jobs yet...           |
| 16 | Ms L: | imhim-him,                                   | Ms L: | well, if he happens to know it,        |
| 17 |       | loko yena asvitiva,                          |       | even if there are still none           |
| 18 |       | hambi svingasiva kona,                       |       | [Changana related jobs],               |
| 19 |       | svitahumelela... hi nkama wun'wani           |       | they will emerge... some time in       |
| 20 |       | ((há esperança na sua voz))                  |       | the future ((there are signs of hope   |
| 21 |       | hikusa tirimi hinkwatu aniti vafundha        |       | in her voice))                         |
| 22 |       | emm avafundhi lirimi lin'we.                 |       | in fact they are learning both         |
| 23 |       | angave loko avonyima ka kufundha             |       | languages, umm they are not just       |
| 24 |       | lirimi lin'we ntsem,                         |       | learning one language.                 |
| 25 |       | lesvi vafundhaku hinkwasvu.                  |       | there would be a problem if they       |
| 26 |       | Xiputukezi vafundha,                         |       | learned one language only,             |
| 27 |       | Xichangana vafundha.                         |       | but they are learning both instead.    |
| 28 |       | se svi- svitave ko lesvi svingataveke        |       | they are learning Portuguese,          |
| 29 |       | svimupfuna ka mahanyela ya ye                |       | they are also learning Changana.       |
| 30 |       |  |       | so, there will be something useful     |
| 31 |       |  |       | for him in his life                    |

Extract 61: Interview with Ms Tânia, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |    |       |   |       |                                      |
|----|-------|---|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | kuni ntirho lowu                                  | F:    | is there any job that you think that |
| 2  |       | uwupimisaka svaku                                 |       | [your son] could eventually get      |
| 3  |       | loko akula angatshika awutirha na                 |       | when he grows old,                   |
| 4  |       | apfumiwa hi kutiva... hi kulera ni                |       | one which could be related to his    |
| 5  |       | kutsala lirimi la Xichangana?                     |       | knowledge... his reading and         |
| 6  |       |   |       | writing skills in the Changana       |
| 7  |       |   |       | language?                            |
| 8  | Ms T: | aniwutivi <i>até</i> svosvi mas                   | Ms T: | I don't know of any up to now        |
| 9  |       | <i>pode</i> sviyenceka wuhumelela ntirhu          |       | but that job may happen to emerge    |
| 10 |       | lowo,   |       | when he will be at an age at which   |
| 11 |       | na <i>já</i> ali ka <i>idade</i> yaku <i>pode</i> |       | he can take that job                 |
| 12 |       | awuyamukela                                       |       |                                      |

Extract 62: Interview with Ms Tânia, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1 F: lisima lakona le lalikulu wena...<br/> 2 ulinyikau ka lesva majondzela ya<br/> 3 Xichangana hi li lakona?<br/> 4 Ms T: lisima lakona... ((diz pensativa))<br/> 5 svayenca... afamba ka kufamba...<br/> 6 kumbe i ka kufamba alava ntirho,<br/> 7 kumbe i ka kuyini...<br/> 8 <i>às vezes</i> ayawukuma ntirho waku<br/> 9 wufambelana ni Xichangana,<br/> 10 hikuva atava ani... ani tijondzo ta yena<br/> 11 letiya, ta Xichangana xa yena,<br/> 12 <i>pode</i> atinyikela<br/> 13 lesvaku atirha.<br/> 14 <i>pode</i> ayafika ka mbangu waku<br/> 15 <i>às vezes</i> votiva lo lirimi lololelo la<br/> 16 Xichangana kuhela,<br/> 17 akuna limbeni lirimi valitivaka,<br/> 18 hiku angatava adonzile,<br/> 19 naye atanghena ndleleni yakona.</p> | <p>F: what is the greatest value that you...<br/> attribute to this form of education<br/> based on Changana?<br/> Ms T: the value of it... ((she says while<br/> musing))<br/> it may happen that... he goes<br/> somewhere... whether looking for a<br/> job or whatever...<br/> he may happen to find a job which<br/> has to do with Changana<br/> so, since he will have... he will have<br/> that knowledge of his,<br/> he can offer himself to do that job.<br/> he may arrive at a place where the<br/> people there only know Changana,<br/> they don't know any other language,<br/> so, since he will have learned it, he<br/> will also align with them.</p> |
|---|---|

Extract 63: Mr Mutevuye in a group interview with parents at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Mr Mu: <i>no</i> mina mavonela ya mina...<br/> 2 lesvi vajondzisaka svona<br/> 3 vatsongwana MAKAHLE!<br/> 4 hambi kuni kuhambana hi<br/> 5 mavulavulelo...<br/> 6 ungaku RI kumbe LI,<br/> 7 kahinkwasvu svahavulavula ili<br/> 8 Xichangana ((faz alusão à diferença<br/> 9 entre o Changana de Magude e o de<br/> 10 Bikwani))<br/> 11 se i mavulavulela mangayotala.<br/> 12 <i>mara</i> hi mavulavulele.<br/> 13 <i>sempre</i> svasaseka kuveni vaxitiva<br/> 14 Xichangana<br/> 15 <i>porque</i> van'wanyani vatsongwana<br/> 16 loko vafundha exikola<br/> 17 vakula navangaxitivi Xichangana xa<br/> 18 voho.<br/> 19 loko kutolovela ku hinghena lomu<br/> 20 mahofisi<br/> 21 ya lomu vativaka xilungu kuhela<br/> 22 hi- hina vakukala hingaxitivi xilungu<br/> 23 hikarhateka svinene.<br/> 24 hiku loko hiza...<br/> 25 hifika ka vona<br/> 26 <i>tem que</i> vahilavela nterepeti<br/> 27 lweyi angata hiterpretara <i>para</i> hiza<br/> 28 hikumana hivulavula na vo.<br/> 29 kasi loko vatsongwana vahina vakula<br/> 30 navaxitiva Xichangana</p> | <p>Mr Mu: well, in my view...<br/> the way children are learning IS<br/> GREAT!<br/> even if there are differences in the<br/> way people speak...<br/> you can say RI or LI,<br/> it is all Changana ((he is alluding<br/> to the difference between the<br/> variety from Magude and the one<br/> from Bikwani))<br/> what happens is that there are<br/> different ways of speaking.<br/> it is always great that they [the<br/> kids] know Changana<br/> because when some children go to<br/> school, they grow up without<br/> knowing their Changana.<br/> people like us who do not know<br/> Portuguese suffer a lot when<br/> visiting institutions where the civil<br/> servants only know Portuguese.<br/> this is because when we...<br/> when we get there and want to<br/> address them,<br/> they need to find us an interpreter<br/> who can mediate our<br/> communication with them.<br/> so, if our children grow up<br/> knowing Changana,<br/> even if they grow up and work in</p> |
|--|---|

31	nhambe loko vokula vayanghena	distinguished institutions,
32	tihofisi tokarhi	they will be able to serve whoever
33	<i>então</i> vatasvikota kuyamukela	visits them and speaks in the
34	wihi na wihi lweyi angatonghena	language of their origins.
35	avulavula hi lirimi leli inga la	that would be wonderful.
36	ntumbuluku wa voho.	
37	svitave svisasekile svinene lesvo.	

Extract 64: Mr Mutevuye in a group interview with parents in Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 21/9/2007)

1	Mr Mu: <i>antão</i> havona svaku vana vahina	Mr Mu: so, we can see that our children
2	vatadondza kuya phambheni [hi	will learn further [in Changana].
3	Xichangana].	we do not want the schooling in
4	se ahilava kuveni xikole lexi xa	Changana to stop,
5	Xichangana lexi	we would like to see Changana
6	xinganyimi, xifundhisiwa svinene,	being taught indeed,
7	hinkwavu lava vadondzaka la	so that all those who study here [at
8	xikolweni la [kaBikwani]	Bikwani]
9	vahuma na vasvitiva kuvulavula	leave school while knowing how
10	Xichangana	to speak and also to write
11	ni kuxitsala <i>futhi</i> .	Changana.
12	kasi se mintirhweni vatasvikota ku	this will allow them to serve the
13	vayamukela vapapayi vavo	elder members of their
14	lavakalaka vangaxitivi xilungu	communities who cannot speak
15	ni vamamani vavo.	Portuguese when this people visit
16	<i>antão</i> tiko la hina litakumeka	their offices.
17	nalitsakisa svinene	this way our country would be
18	<i>porque</i> hitaveni hiyamukeliwa hi	really enjoyable because [people]
19	tirimi kahinkwatu	would be served in all languages
20	hititivaka la Moçambique.	known here in Mozambique.

Extract 65: Debriefing session with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 15/8/2008)

1	Ms C: os pais...	Ms C: the parents...
2	há outros pais que... até que gostam...	there are some parents who...
3	gostaram que os filhos estivesse na	even like... appreciated the fact
4	L1	that their children have been
5	porque sempre falam que	placed in bilingual education
6	“nós não sabemos Português,	because they often say “we don’t
7	quando estamos para ser atendidos	know Portuguese, when we are
8	ou nos registos... nós apanhemos ali	served [in institutions] such as the
9	pessoas...	registry office... the civil servants
10	quando nós falamos Changana,	we find there... when we speak
11	ele fala Português...	Changana,
12	enquanto nós não estamos a entender	s/he speaks Portuguese...
13	nada.	but we understand nothing of that.
14	e se os nossos filhos aprendessem em	so, if our children learnt in
15	Changana era melhor	Changana it would be better
16	porque eles hao-de trabalhar	because they would work and they
17	e hão-de nos atender com essa	would serve us using that
18	língua”	language”
19	e até que falaram que era só aqui [em	they even said that this only has

20	Moçambique]	happened here [in Mozambique]
21	mesmo lá na África do Sul	because even in South Africa
22	a... as criança a primeira língua a	the... the first language that
23	saber na escola...	children know at school... the first
24	a primeira língua aprender é a sua	language they learn is their own
25	língua,	language, it is only later when
26	depois é que vai aprender outras	they learn other languages.
27	línguas.	

Extract 66: Interview with Ms Zubaida, a mother from Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 13/9/2007)

1	Ms Z:	mina nitsakisiwa hi ku atapfuneka	Ms Z:	I am happy because he will take
2		awutom'wini la yehe ((refere-se ao		advantage of it in his life ((she is
3		filho no ensino bilingue)).		referring to her son in bilingual
4		kumbe atalava kufundha		education)).
5		ayaphambheni...		whether he will want to carry on
6		alava mintirho... akuyini...		with his studies...or look for jobs...
7		tirimi hinkwatu [Xichangana ni		or whatever...
8		Xiputukezi] atava na atitiva		he will know both languages
9				[Portuguese and Changana]
10	F:	im, se amfuneko yakona hi yini lanu?	F:	ok, so what are the benefits of it?
11		umuvona na ahambana kwihi ni lwe		how different is it for him from one
12		afundhaka hi xilungu ntsem?		who studies in Portuguese only?
13	Ms Z:	svini kuhambana,	Ms Z:	there are differences.
14		akutiva tirimi hinkwatu i nchumu xa		to know both languages is
15		lisima.		something valuable.
16		hikusa svahumelela kolomu ka		because it may happen sometimes
17		mintirho,		that someone like me, who doesn't
18		kuta mina, mina xilungu anixitivi,		know Portuguese, who did not learn
19		anifundhanga,		Portuguese, comes to an institution
20		nifika nilava ku muvutisa		and wants to get information from
21		yena ativa Xiputukezi ntsem,		someone who only knows
22		lexi angafundhisiwa xona,		Portuguese, which is what s/he was
23		angatasvitwa.		taught, this person will not
24		atalava munhu wa <i>testemunho</i> ...		understand what I want.
25		wakuve atamuyangulela		s/he will need to find someone else
26		lesvi mina niyangulisaka svona.		to witness... someone to interpret
27		se kasi loko ntsongwana ativa tirimi		what I am saying to her/him.
28		hinkwatu,		but if a child knows both languages,
29		itave munhu lweyi akatekeke ka		s/he will be a blessed person when
30		vamakwavu van'wani.		compared to other fellows.

### 8.3: Pupils' Aspirations

Extract 67: A group interview with grade 4 pupils in Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007)

1	F:	eh, natonawu tintombhi	F:	oh, the girls also,
2		atilavi kumaha nchumu to...?		don't they also want to work...? ((I
3		((convido também as meninas a		also invite the girls to express their
4		falarem sobre os seus desejos))		wishes))
5	Ron:	avalavi kumaha nchumu lava	Ron:	these [people] don't want to do

6			anything
7	Leo:	valava kutshama <i>para</i> vasveka wusva	Leo: these [people] just want to stay at
8		lava ((refere-se às meninas))	home and cook <i>wusva</i> /'thick paste
9			usually made of ground maize or
10			maize flour'
11	F:	hem?	F: what?
12	Ramos:	Lara ali alava kuya awukatika ka José	Ramos: Lara is saying that she wants to live
13			with José
14	Lara:	EH, unganihembeli mi! ((diz furiosa))	Lara: NO, don't tell lies about me! ((she
15			utters this angrily))
16	Ss:	((explosão de risos))	Ss: ((a burst laughter))
17	Ron:	vatachada lava	Ron: these [people] will get married
18	Ramos:	hi we ungab'ala	Ramos: you are the one who said that
19		uku ulava kuya ka b'ava lwiya	that you want to live with that man
20		((aponta para o José))	there ((he points to José))
21	Dito:	atachada na Ronaldo,	Dito: she will get married to Ronaldo,
22		nuna wakwe	who is her man
23	F:	((riso))	F: ((laughter))
24		wena Mutevuye, wena ((apelido do	you, Mutevuye ((this is José's
25		José))	surname))
26	Lara:	he he he mi ahimina! ((a rir))	Lara: no no no, it's not me! ((laughing))
27	Ramos:	hi wena njhe	Ramos: you are the one who said that
28	Lara:	nikugwele kwi?	Lara: where did I tell you that?
29		hikhanga hinyima kwihhi hibula? ((diz	where have we ever met and talked
30		num tom de desafio))	[about that] ((she utters in a defiant
31			way))
32	Ss:	((risos))	Ss: ((laughter))
33	F:	hingahigwela ka Lara ((a rir))	F: ok, you tell us, Lara ((laughing))
34	Lara:	mi onihembela mi!	Lara: he is telling lies about me!
35	F:	ina ka b'ala svaka we	F: ok, fine, now you yourself tell us
36		ulava kuyi loko ukula ((procuro	what would like to do when you
37		acalmar a menina))	grow old ((I try to calm her down))
38	Leo:	ala kuya wukatini ka Mutevuye	Leo: she wants to live with Mutevuye

Extract 68: Serra, a grade 4 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	mucikula... muna- munathuma cani?	F: what will you people do when...
2			when you grow old
3	Serra:	hinateka vavasikati ((responde	Serra: we will get married ((he answers
4		imediatamente, eu ainda não estava	promptly, I was still not prepared to
5		preparado para a resposta))	hear the answer; here the term
6			'marriage' is used in the sense of
7			traditional marriage))
8	F:	awe Serra ((viro-me para ele e	F: yes, Serra ((I turn to him, placing
9		aproximo o dictafone))	the dictaphone closer to him))
10	Serra:	hinateka vavasikati...	Serra: we will get married...
11	Júlia:	((riso))	Júlia: ((laughter))
12	Serra:	hiyaka minti navo,	Serra: and we will build our families with
13		hichadha navo.	our wives,
14			we will formalise our marriages
15			with them
16	F:	emhem	F: ok
17	Serra:	im	Serra: yes
18	F:	<i>já</i> ntumu uwulavaku <i>hi hi wini</i> ?	F: now, what kind of job would you
19			like to get?
20	Serra:	ni- nilava hambu wo- wothuma awu	Serra: I woul-... even a job in an



21		wa maxamba niku nidi Maputo ((diz sério))		agricultural field in Maputo would do for me ((he says this seriously))
22				
23				
24	F:	uthuma... maxamba...?	F:	you want to work... in a farm...?
25	Serra:	im nidi Maputo	Serra:	yes, while living in Maputo
26	F:	Maputo	F:	in Maputo
27	Serra:	im, nirumela sakudya <i>para</i> ka wu	Serra:	yes, I will send food to my wife so
28		wansikati atadyisa vanana ((é impressionante a forma séria com o que ele diz isto, parece ter convicção no que quer fazer))		that she can feed [our] children ((I am amazed at the seriousness with which he utters this, he seems to be sure about what he wants to do))
29				
30				
31				
32	F:	amhamm	F:	ok
33	Júlia:	((sorriso))	Júlia:	((laughter))
34	F:	nsikati ana- ana- anazumba hawa?	F:	your wife will live over here?
35	Serra:	im, ninarumela sakudya adi ha ntini	Serra:	yes, I will send her food while she is here at home
36		ninarumela sakudya <i>para para para</i>		I will send food so that she can cook for for for [our] children so that they can grow up well
37		atabhikela vanana vanadya vana- vanamana kukula <i>bem</i>		
38				
39				
40	Ss:	((os colegas sorridentes, mas muito atentos e com uma expressão de admiração por aquilo que o Serra vai dizendo))	Ss:	((his colleagues are all smiling, but very concentrated and in some way admiring what Serra is saying))
41				
42				
43				
44	F:	imhim	F:	ok
45	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes
46	F:	se awe unazumba Maputo...?	F:	so, you will live in Maputo...?
47	Serra:	na- ninawiya nicitahamba nicitapfluxela	Serra:	I will come here from time to time to visit
48				
49	F:	imhim, <i>ok</i> unazumba Maputo...	F:	yes, ok, you will live in Maputo...
50	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes
51	F:	<i>já</i> nsikati anasala ni ni ni vanana ahawa	F:	so, your wife will stay here with with the children
52				
53	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes
54	F:	<i>utirha</i> maxamba...	F:	you will work in a field
55	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes
56	F:	uziva nthu ntini athumaku ka nthumu <i>lowu</i> wa maxamba?	F:	is there anyone in your family who is working in an agricultural field?
57				
58	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes
59	F:	i mani?	F:	who is that?
60	Serra:	i papayi	Serra:	it is my father
61	F:	hamm... athuma Maputo?	F:	ok... does he work in Maputo?
62	Serra:	im	Serra:	yes

Extract 69: Júlia, a grade 4 girl in a group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	F:	amm, Júlia^...	F:	umm, Júlia^...
2	Júlia:	nila... nila kudima maxamba, niphaya <i>salada</i> ... ni makhofu ((fala decidida))	Júlia:	I want... I want to have a field, where I will grow lettuce... and cabbage ((she speaks firmly))
3				
4				
5	F:	imhim, awe ula kudima maxamba	F:	ok, you want to work in a field
6	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	yes
7	F:	uphaya <i>salada</i> ni makhofi...?	F:	you want to grow lettuce and cabbage...?
8				
9	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	yes
10	F:	ngu cani?	F:	why is that?
11	Júlia:	((riso))	Júlia:	((laughter))

12	F:	unaphaya ha- hani?	F:	whe- where will you grow those?
13	Júlia:	Cikhogwe ((uma região próxima, com	Júlia:	in Cikhogwe ((a region nearby,
14		a melhor terra para a produção		with the best soil for agricultural
15		agrícola))		production))
16	F:	hamm Cikhogwe...	F:	ok, in Cikhogwe
17	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	yes
18	F:	hi mani athumaku Cikhogwe	F:	is there anyone who you know
19		umuzivaku?		who is working in Cikhogwe?
20	Júlia:	kuna nthu	Júlia:	no, there isn't anybody I know
21	F:	hem?	F:	what?
22	Júlia:	kuna awe athumaku Cikhogwe	Júlia:	there isn't anybody working in
23				Cikhogwe
24	F:	<i>já...</i> ngu cani awe... udhunda	F:	so... how come you... would like to
25		kuthuma... Cikhogwe?		work... in Cikhogwe?
26	Júlia:	((silêncio))	Júlia:	((silence))
27	F:	ngu cani awe ulanga Cikhogwe?	F:	why do you prefer Cikhogwe?
28	Júlia:	ngu kutshurile	Júlia:	because it is beautiful
29	F:	kutshurile...	F:	it is beautiful...
30	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	yes
31	F:	<i>ok</i> awe khawulavi kuthuma...	F:	ok, you don't want to work ... in
32		Maputo... kumbe Xai-Xai...		Maputo... or in Xai-Xai... you don't
33		khawutilavi...?		like that...?
34	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	no
35	F:	khawutilavi?	F:	you don't like that...
36	Júlia:	im	Júlia:	no
37	F:	ngu cani?	F:	why?
38	Júlia:	ngu kula mali	Júlia:	because you need money to get
39				there

Extract 70: Brito, a grade 4 boy in a Group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	Brito:	ninakula niteka wansikati nichadha	Brito:	when I grow up, I will get married
2		nithuma Joni		and work in South Africa
3		nigwita niya cicolwani		and after that I will go to [a driving]
4		nigwita nitsimbitisa mimovha.		school
5		nicirumela sakudya ntini		and then I will be a driver.
6		<i>para</i> adya nivanana		I will send food home
7				so that she [my wife] can eat with
8				[our] children
9	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
10	F:	nsikati waku... nsikati waku	F:	your wife... your wife
11		se nsikati waku anazumba hawa?		so, your wife will live over here?
12	Brito:	im	Brito:	yes
13	F:	hamm awe utsu- utsula uya Joni...?	F:	ok, you will work in South
14				Africa...?
15	Brito:	im	Brito:	yes
16	F:	im... uyathuma <i>wofambisa</i> mimovha...	F:	ok... you will work as a driver
17				there...
18	Brito:	im	Brito:	yes
19	F:	ngu mani athumaku Joni?	F:	who is working in South Africa [in
20				your family]?
21	Brito:	i papayi	Brito:	it is my dad
22	F:	se ni nawe ulava kuthuma Joni...	F:	so, you also want to work in South
23				Africa...
24	Brito:	im	Brito:	yes

Extract 71: Leonardo, a grade 4 pupil in a group interview in Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007)

1	F:	Eeh, ahiyngiseni...	F:	people, let's listen...
2		i ntirhu muni ulavaku kutirha wo?		what kind of job do you want to do?
3				
4	Leo:	xxx	Leo:	xxx
5	F:	hem?	F:	what?
6	Leo:	ni la kuya Joni	Leo:	I want to go to South Africa
7	Ramos:	HA::, b'ava! ((como se dissesse 'coitado'))	Ramos:	O::H, man! ((as if he were saying, 'poor boy'))
8				
9	F:	ula kutirha Joni?	F:	you want to work in South Africa
10	Leo:	im	Leo:	yes
11	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
12	F:	im, hi mhaka mu?	F:	ok, why?
13	Leo:	NITADLA MALI HINTAMU!	Leo:	SO THAT I CAN GET A LOT OF MONEY!
14				
15	Ss:	((explosão de risos))	Ss:	((a big laughter))
16	F:	emhem ((riso))	F:	ok ((laughter))
17		uli... utadla mali hintamu...		you are saying that... you will get a lot of money...
18				
19	Leo:	im ((sorridente))	Leo:	yes ((smiling))
20	F:	em Joni kuni male hintamu?	F:	ok, is there a lot of money in South Africa?
21				
22	Leo:	im ((diz de forma convicta))	Leo:	yes ((he says firmly))
23	F:	imhim...	F:	ok...
24	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
25	F:	i mani angakugwela?	F:	who told you that?
26	Leo:	nosvitiva	Leo:	I know that
27	F:	b'ava wa wena afambela Joni?	F:	does your father work in South Africa?
28				
29	Leo:	im	Leo:	yes
30	José:	he Leo, utalikota foxolo? ((está aqui subjacent o trabalho nas minas))	José:	Leo, will you manage to deal with the shovel? ((implied here is work in the mining field))
31				
32				
33	Leo:	ya ((diz resoluto))	Leo:	yes ((he responds firmly))
34	Carla:	yha:!!... ((uma exclamação de descrença))	Carla:	o:h!... ((an expression of disbelief))
35				
36	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
37	Ramos:	utalikota foxolo?	Ramos:	will you manage to deal with the shovel?
38				
39	Ron:	amabhunu mapfana MAKUBA ((riso))	Ron:	[do you know that] the Boers meanwhile will BEAT YOU
40				
41	Leo:	VABA MI?	Leo:	[you mean that they will] BEAT ME?
42				
43	Ron:	im	Ron:	yes
44	Leo:	((silêncio))	Leo:	((silence))
45	Ron:	loko uni wulolo	Ron:	if you are lazy
46	F:	hem Ron...?	F:	what Ron...?
47	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
48	F:	uli mabhunu mata mavaba...?	F:	are you saying that the Boers meanwhile beat them...?
49				
50	Ron:	ya ani wulolo ((riso))	Ron:	yes, he is lazy ((laughter))
51	F:	uli yini Leo?	F:	what do you have to say Leo?
52	Leo:	wahlanya we ((responde ao Ron))	Leo:	you are crazy ((he responds to Ron))
53				
54	Ron:	uni wulolo njhe!	Ron:	you are lazy indeed!
55	Roger:	vatomaba	Roger:	they will beat him

56	F:	Leo, wasvitwa lesvi vange...	F:	Leo, can you hear what they are
57		amugodini mabunu mata maba?		saying... that in the mines the
58				Boers beat people?
59	Roger:	se loko wudilika ke?	Roger:	what if the the mine collapses?

Extract 72: Roger, a grade 4 pupil in a group interview in Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007)

1	F:	ute ulanga kuyini wena?	F:	what did you say that you would
2				prefer to do?
3	Roger:	nila kuyaka baraka	Roger:	I want to build a market-stall
4	F:	ula kuyaka baraka...	F:	you want to build a stall...
5	Roger:	im	Roger:	yes
6	F:	im akwi kako?	F:	ok, whereabouts?
7	Roger:	kola bazara	Roger:	here at the market
8	F:	kola bazara la?	F:	in this market over here?
9	Roger:	im	Roger:	yes
10	F:	emhem i ncini xikutsakisaka ka	F:	ok, what do you like in a stall? why
11		baraka? hindha ula kuyaka baraka?		do you prefer to build a stall?
12	Roger:	((silêncio))	Roger:	((silence))
13	F:	i ncini xikutsakisaka ka baraka?	F:	what makes you feel happy with a
14				stall?
15	Roger:	nila kukuma mali	Roger:	I want to get money
16	F:	ulava kukuma male...	F:	you want to get money...
17	Roger:	im	Roger:	yes
18	F:	kuni male ya yinyingi [ka kuxavisa ka	F:	does one get a lot of maney [from
19		baraka a bazara]?		selling in a market-stall]?
20	Roger:	im	Roger:	yes
21	F:	usvitivisa kuyi?	F:	how do you know that?
22	Roger:	nosvitiva ((diz com segurança,	Roger:	I know that ((he says firmly, while
23		sorrindo))		smiling))
24	Ss:	((risos))	Ss:	((laughter))
25	F:	kuni munhu umutivaka axavisaka la	F:	is there anyone who you know who
26		baraza?		is selling at the market?
27	Roger:	im	Roger:	yes
28	F:	hi ma?	F:	who is that?
29	Roger:	i papayi	Roger:	it's my dad

Extract 73: Célia, a grade 4 pupil in a group interview in Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 26/9/2007)

1	Célia:	[loko nicikula] ninaya Maputo ((a	Célia:	[when I grow old] I will go to
2		sorrir))		Maputo ((smiling))
3	F:	hem?	F:	what?
4	Célia:	ninaya Maputo	Célia:	I will go to Maputo
5	F:	awe unaya Maputo	F:	you will move to Maputo
6	Célia:	im	Célia:	yes
7	F:	uyathuma cani?	F:	what will you do there?
8	Célia:	niyathuma woxavisa	Célia:	I will work as a vendor
9	F:	woxavisa...?	F:	you will be a vendor...?
10	Célia:	im	Célia:	yes
11	F:	uxavisa cani?	F:	what will you sell?
12	Célia:	cimati	Célia:	tomatoes
13	F:	ni cani?	F:	what else?

14	Célia:	ni tinyala	Célia:	and onions
15	F:	ni tinyala	F:	and onions
16	Célia:	im	Célia:	yes
17	F:	humm <i>já</i> ugondela cani?	F:	ok, so why are you studying?
18	Célia:	kuziva	Célia:	[in order to] know
19	F:	<i>para</i> ukota kuxavisa kwati...	F:	so that you can sell well...
20	Célia:	im	Célia:	yes

Extract 74: A group interview with grade 5 pupils in Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 24/9/2007)

1	F:	hingahigwela Lídia...	F:	you tell us, Lídia...
2		nayenawu Mirza [atahigwela...		then Mirza [will also tell us...
3	Lídia:	[mi nilanga	Lídia:	[I prefer to be a
4		kufundhisa		teacher
5	F:	hem? (( <i>não</i> percebi o que ela disse))	F:	what? ((I did not understand what she said))
6				
7	Lídia:	mi nilanga kufundhisa	Lídia:	I prefer to be a teacher
8	F:	ula kufundhisa...?	F:	you want to be a teacher...?
9	Lídia:	im	Lídia:	yes
10	F:	em, ula kufundhisa kwi kako?	F:	umm, where do you want to teach?
11				
12	Lídia:	kola kaBikwani	Lídia:	over here at Bikwani
13	F:	kola kaBikwani...?	F:	here at Bikwani
14	Lídia:	im	Lídia:	yes
15	F:	ka xikolwe lexi?	F:	at this school?
16	Lídia:	im	Lídia:	yes
17	F:	ok	F:	ok
18	Lídia:	im, loko nipasa (( <i>sorrindo</i> ))	Lídia:	yes, if I pass (( <i>smiling</i> ))
19	F:	loko upasa...	F:	if you pass...
20	Lídia:	im, vamakhwerhu vambenyani	Lídia:	yes, I want to transmit knowledge to other fellows,
21		nilava kuvanyika tijondzo		since I myself have received knowledge from others
22		kota hambu hi mina vanganinyika		
23		tijondzo		
24	F:	amham	F:	ok
25	Obadias:	mina loko vonisusa niyafundhisa ka	Obadias:	in my case, if they send me to teach in other regions,
26		matiko man'wani,		I will go and teach there,
27		nigayafundhisa		I can teach anywhere,
28		hinkwaku,		I will not say that I don't want this or that
29		anilavi kukheta niku lexi anixilavi		
30				
31	Alex:	aloko usviba hintamu,	Alex:	if you beat them so much,
32		svotshova nhonga svikukwapa		they will get a cane and lash at you ((he meant Obadias' imaginary pupils))
33		(( <i>refere-se a possíveis alunos do Obadias</i> ))		
34				
35	Ss:	(( <i>explosão de risos</i> ))	Ss:	(( <i>big laughter</i> ))
36	F:	(( <i>riso</i> )) we:na Alex, wena!	F:	(( <i>laughter</i> )) yo:u, Alex!
37		hi mhaka mu?		why?
38		loko aba hintamu va ma?		you mean if he beats who so much?
39				
40	Ss:	(( <i>risos</i> ))	Ss:	(( <i>laughter</i> ))
41	Alex:	(( <i>silêncio, apenas sorri</i> ))	Alex:	(( <i>silence, he only smiles</i> ))
42	F:	avaalunu?	F:	[you mean] the pupils?
43	Alex:	im	Alex:	yes
44	Obadias:	naminawu nibiwili hi kukala	Obadias:	I was also beaten for knowing nothing
45		ningativi nchumu		
46	F:	se nawenawu utaba?	F:	that is why you will also beat

47					[them]?
48	Lídia:	se wena loko upsala vana,		Lídia:	how about if you have children,
49		loko vava xikolweni...			and they go to school...
50		loko voho [vajondzi va wehe] vativa			supposing that [your pupils] study
51		vayendla vapirisoni, vatavaba... hiku			and become teachers, they will
52		se na we unghafundhisi ((ela estava			also beat your children... since
53		a considerar uma situação em que			you will be an old man by that
54		ex-alunos de Obadias ensinavam os			time ((she was considering a
55		filhos deste))			situation where Obadias's former
56					pupils happened to teach his
57					children))
58	F:	im		F:	yes
59	Obadias:	ah, mi nitave se nigugile njhe		Obadias:	well, I will be old then
60	Lídia:	((riso))		Lídia:	((laughter))

Extract 75: Cesse, a grade 5 girl in a group interview in Gwambeni (EPC- Gwambeni, 27/9/2007)

1	F:	<i>já</i> awe ula kuthuma cani Cesse...		F:	now, what do you want to do
2		ucikula...?			Cesse... when you grow old...?
3	Cesse:	nicikula nilava kuya nthumwini,		Cesse:	when I grow old I want to work,
4		nitakota kuxayisa vaveleki			so that I can look after my parents
5	F:	imhim		F:	ok
6	Cesse:	im		Cesse:	yes
7	F:	i nthumu mu?		F:	what kind of work?
8	Cesse:	((silêncio, olha para baixo))		Cesse:	((silence, she looks down))
9	F:	i nthumu muni u- u- ula kuthuma?		F:	what kind of work do you you want
10					to do?
11	Cesse:	((silêncio))		Cesse:	((silence))
12	F:	Neta ahigeti ku ala ku ala kugondisa...		F:	Neta has already told us that she
13		ala kumaha mugondisi			wants to teach... she wants to be a
14		awe^...			teacher
15					you^...
16	Cesse:	nthumu wa cipiritani		Cesse:	a job in the hospital
17	F:	<i>pode</i> uthuma cipiritani.		F:	you can work in a hospital.
18		nthumu mu?			what kind of job?
19	Cesse:	<i>enfermeira</i>		Cesse:	[I want to be] a nurse
20	F:	im, ngu cani ulanga kumaha		F:	ok, why do you choose to be a
21		<i>enfermeira</i> ...?			nurse...?
22	Cesse:	hiku loko valwala vathu nikota		Cesse:	because I will be able to treat
23		kuvathuma			people when they are ill
24	F:	amhamm utavathuma vathu...?		F:	ok, you will treat people...?
25	Cesse:	im		Cesse:	yes

## Appendices 9: Constraints in the Implementation of Bilingual Education – The Lack of Teaching and Learning Materials in African Languages

Extract 76: Interview with Ms Cacilda, a grade 3 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 18/9/2007)

1	Ms C:	eeh... svaku sviyengetela anina svona	Ms C:	well... there is nothing I can add
2		((diz com ar submisso))		((she says in a submissive way))
3	F:	im, TLHATLHA lesvinga xifuveni	F:	well... RELEASE whatever you
4				have in your heart
5	Ms C:	((riso))	Ms C:	((laughter))
6	F:	ahili hitasvilunghisa	F:	we are not saying that we will fix it
7		kambe svalaveka ku hisvitiva		but it is necessary for us to know it
8	Ms C:	lexi nixilavaka <i>muuto muuto</i> ... ((ainda	Ms C:	what I want the most... ((still
9		a rir))		laughing))
10		hikusa kusukela vaalunu anili navona		because since I have been... I have
11		ninganavu lavaya...		been with those pupils there...
12		nako hambi vo nivasolaka, novasola		in fact though I have been blaming
13		kambe		them but
14		NASVIKARHATA lesvaku		THE REALITY IS THAT IT IS
15		avaalunu VAFUNDHA		DIFFICULT for
16		hikusvitwa ka mina,		pupils to LEARN
17		navasvivona ko ka xileti...		by hearing it from me,
18		<i>é por isso</i> svitekaka nkama wakuleha		just seeing it from the chalkboard...
19		hikuva		that is why it takes a long time
20		uvabzeletela...		because
21		vasvitwa...		you tell them...
22		ugama se uyasvitsala...		they understand...
23		uvaobrigara lesvaku avasviteketeleli.		then you write it...
24		<i>às vezes</i> vasviteka svona		you require that they should copy it.
25		<i>às vezes</i> vasviteka <i>MAL</i>		sometimes they copy it well
26		ugama uku avasvitivi!		other times they copy it <b>WRONGLY</b>
27				and in the end you want them
28				to know!
29		(...)		(...)
30		se lani hi lani nikuvonaka svaku...		so here is where I see that...
31		MINA, kumbe nivan'wanyani hitirha		I, and maybe others as well we are
32		<i>mal!</i>		working under bad conditions!
33		hitirha <i>mal</i>		we are working under bad
34		(...)		conditions
35		se mina la aniku		(...)
36		vana... ingava kuva kaku hikuma		so my view is that
37		materiyali!		they... we should have materials!
38		hitalwa navona navani materiyali.		we will struggle with the pupils
39		hikuva akulwa navona svosvi hilwaka		until they have materials.
40		navona		because struggling with them
41		holwa navona uvavangela guwa		as we are struggling
42		maxji nhambi we nawutlhela		making a clamour for them
43		usviwona svaku vanani <i>razão</i> .		but even you yourself you turn out
44		avasvivoni mbangu!		seeing that they are not to blame.
45		avasvivoni mbangu.		they don't see it anywhere!
46		(...)		they don't see it anywhere.
47		se la nakuvona svaku kuni... aku-...		(...)
48		akukarhateka kakukulu lanu.		so I find that here there is... suff-... a
49		hisvaku loko lona <i>bilingue</i> lila		lot of suffering here.
50		kufamba,		because if the bilingual programme
51		alihumensi materiyali!		wants to move on,
52				it has to provide materials!

Extract 77: Interview with Ms Cacilda, a grade 3 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 18/9/2007)

- |    |       |  |       |                                       |
|----|-------|--|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:    | imm, se loko mibhula ni vaveleki... vali | F:    | umm, so when you people talk with     |
| 2  |       | yini hi to timhaka ta mabuku? eh...      |       | parents... what do they say about     |
| 3  |       |  |       | this issue of textbooks? umm..        |
| 4  | Ms C: | ahingangavavitana hivagwela lesvo        | Ms C: | we have never called them to tell     |
| 5  |       | kambe navonavu navasola hiku             |       | them that                             |
| 6  |       | vatsongwana avana mabuku.                |       | but they themselves are unhappy as    |
| 7  |       | ankama lowu lavaya vaphakaka             |       | children do not have textbooks.       |
| 8  |       | mabuku va monolingue,                    |       | when those from the monolingual       |
| 9  |       | lavaya navangaphaki mabuku...            |       | programme receive textbooks           |
| 10 |       | wasvivona svaku la se kuni               |       | those [from the bilingual             |
| 11 |       | xikweqenyana la!...                      |       | programme] don't receive              |
| 12 |       | kuni lava vaphakeliwaka mabuku           |       | textbooks...                          |
| 13 |       | kuni lava vangaphakeliwiki mabuku!       |       | can't you see that there is something |
| 14 |       | I VANA VA KA MA? ((diz com               |       | wrong here?...                        |
| 15 |       | mágoa na voz))                           |       | there are those who are given         |
| 16 |       |  |       | textbooks,                            |
| 17 |       |  |       | [but] there are those who are not     |
| 18 |       |  |       | given textbooks!                      |
| 19 |       |  |       | WHOSE CHILDREN ARE                    |
| 20 |       |  |       | THOSE? ((she says in a sorrow         |
| 21 |       |  |       | voice))                               |

Extract 78: Debriefing session with Ms Constância, a grade 4 teacher at Bikwani (EPC-Bikwani, 15/8/2008)

- |    |       |   |       |                                     |
|----|-------|---|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 1  | Ms C: | os pais estão mesmo a gostar deste      | Ms C: | parents in fact like this kind of   |
| 2  |       | ensino                                  |       | education                           |
| 3  |       | só que eles... o que estão a pôr como   |       | but what they... what they are      |
| 4  |       | problema                                |       | raising as a problem is... is that  |
| 5  |       | é de... é esse problema que nós         |       | problem that we have always been    |
| 6  |       | sempre estamos a andar a falar de       |       | talking about, that of textbooks!   |
| 7  |       | livros! ((ela parece transmitir a ideia |       | ((she seems to convey the           |
| 8  |       | de que eles já estão cansados de falar  |       | message that they are already tired |
| 9  |       | deste assunto)).                        |       | of talking about this issue)).      |
| 10 |       | porque as crianças mesmo na             |       | because from grade 1 to... to       |
| 11 |       | primeira até... até terceira            |       | grade 3, children only take a       |
| 12 |       | só leva um caderninho só para a         |       | single notebook with them to        |
| 13 |       | escola ((há um claro tom de crítica na  |       | school ((there is a salient tone of |
| 14 |       | sua voz))                               |       | criticism in her voice))            |
| 15 | F:    | ok                                      | F:    | ok                                  |
| 16 | Ms C: | im, não tem nem sequer um livro!        | Ms C: | yes, [the children] do not have a   |
| 17 |       | mas eles estão a falar isso porquê?     |       | single textbook!                    |
| 18 |       | ((refere-se aos pais))                  |       | but why do they say that? ((she     |
| 19 |       | porque estão a ver crianças de          |       | meant the parents))                 |
| 20 |       | monolingue COM LIVROS                   |       | because they see the children from  |
| 21 |       | e estes aqui sem livros ((refere-se às  |       | the monolingual programme           |
| 22 |       | do programa bilingue))                  |       | TAKING TEXTBOOKS WITH               |
| 23 |       | é só um caderninho que mete na          |       | THEM, while these ones here do      |
| 24 |       | pasta.                                  |       | not carry textbooks ((she is        |
| 25 |       | então, eles estão a gostar              |       | alluding to pupils in the bilingual |
| 26 |       | mas o que já cria problema              |       | programme))                         |
| 27 |       | é esta coisa de não ter NADA            |       | they only carry a single notebook   |
| 28 |       | que levam para a escola ((refere-se à   |       | in their bags.                      |



29	falta de livros))	so, they like [the programme] but
30		what poses problems is this thing
31		of carrying NOTHING to school
32		((she meant the lack of textbooks))

Extract 79: Interview with Mr Muhati, a grade 5 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 14/9/2007)

1	Mr M: ya, mas... material é é problema!	Mr M: yes, in fact... materials are a matter
2	ya, é problema.	of concern!
3	porque o aluno contenta-se com o	yes, they are a matter of concern.
4	livro	because pupils feel happy when
5	ya, contenta-se com o livro.	they have textbooks.
6	até alguns encarregados... ((faz uma	yes, they feel happy when they
7	hesitação)	have textbooks.
8	bom, AQUI nunca se manifestaram	even some parents/caretakers... ((he
9	BEM,	hesitates))
10	mas acompanhei que em	well, they have never reacted
11	em... em algumas partes...	SUBSTANTIALLY over HERE,
12	por exemplo tenho uns colegas na	but I heard that in in... in some
13	província de Inhambane...	areas...
14	Chissebuca...	for example, I have colleagues in
15	dizem que os pais começam a...	Inhambane Province...
16	a não gostar do ensino bilingue	in Chissebuca...
17	porque comparam o aluno do	who report that parents are starting
18	monolingue	to...
19	com o do bilingue...	to dislike bilingual education
20	o do monolingue tem livro	because they compare the pupil in
21	e o do bilingue não tem livro!	the monolingual programme with
22	((sorriso))	the one in the bilingual
23	eles não sabem que... se aquilo é uma	programme...
24	experiência ou quê...	the pupil in the monolingual
25	eles só querem ver o aluno a aprender	programme has textbooks
26	e com com as mesmas condições [que	while the one in the bilingual
27	aquele no ensino monolingue].	programme doesn't! ((he smiles))
28	então isso é problema.	they do not want to know... whether
29	mas aqui em Gwambeni...	this is an experiment or not...
30	talvez se se eles sentem isso	they just want to see the pupil
31	nunca manifestaram	learning and with with the same
32	pelo menos a mim nunca	conditions [as the one in the
33	manifestaram	monolingual programme].
34		so, that is a problem.
35		but over here at Gwambeni...
36		whether they [the parents] feel that
37		problem or not,
38		they have never expressed their
39		concerns, at least in front of me

Extract 80: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

1	Mr G: o ensino bilingue em si	Mr G: unless textbooks are provided,
2	enquanto não tiver livro	bilingual education itself will

3	há-de parecer que não pega bem!	appear not to hold very well!
4	porque é muito trabalhoso	this is because it is laborious for the
5	ao professor	teacher to copy a text on the
6	passar o texto no quadro,	chalkboard,
7	para depois dessa aula ter que apagar,	erase it at the end of the lesson,
8	mas amanhã pode precisar de voltar a	while s/he may need to work on the
9	falar do mesmo texto,	same text,
10	do mesmo tema.	the same topic,
11	então, sempre é obrigado a escrever	in the following lesson.
12	outra vez!	so, s/he is forced to write [the text]
13	então, isto aqui não traz muito	again!
14	rendimento,	so, this is not productive,
15	não traz rendimento sólido.	it doesn't lead to effective results.
16	este é que é o problema	this is the problem

Extract 81: Interview with Mr Gwambe, a grade 4 teacher at Gwambeni (EPC-Gwambeni, 19/9/2007)

1	F:	imhim, ya ((consulto as minhas	F:	well, ya ((I check my notes))
2		notas))		and what has... has the reaction of
3		e qual tem... tem sido a reacção dos		the parents been in relation to
4		pais em relação a isso...? o problema		that...? the problem of materials...
5		de material...		
6	Mr G:	((aclara a garganta)) bom, re- reagem	Mr G:	((clears throat)) well the parents re-
7		os pais		react
8		numa de quererem saber de de de		wanting to know of course
9		certo		FROM US AS TEACHERS but
10		A NÓS COMO PROFESSORES mas		since we understand what the
11		como nós entendemos aquilo que são		difficulties are,
12		dificuldades,		even at... at the central level,
13		mesmo a... a nível central,		putting together such materials
14		a angariação desses materiais		and the conditions for purchasing
15		e condições para a compra disso,		them,
16		o que... o que nós temos feito a eles		what... what we have done with
17		é... é nós fazermos entender a eles		them is... is we get them understand
18		e eles ficaram convencidos...		and they have been convinced...
19		porque NÃO É FÁCIL uma criança		because IT ISN'T EASY for a child
20		dominar a leitura		to master reading
21		do pouco... como tem...		from the little... as you have...
22		o doutor Chimbutane tem... tem...		Mr Chimbutane has... has...
23		está a acompanhar ali ((alude à suas		you are following there ((alluding to
24		sala de aulas))		his classroom))
25		aquelas crianças lêem		those children can read
26		e só pelo... por por esta habilidade de		and just from from... from from this
27		as crianças lerem sem o livro		children's ability to read without the
28		então os pais puderam ver que		book
29		de facto		so the parents could see that, in fact,
30		o professor tem tido um trabalho		the teacher has been doing a very
31		muito positivo		positive job
32		porque é ESFORÇO aquilo que nós		because it is an EFFORT that we are
33		estamos a fazer.		making.
34		portanto, para dizer que		therefore, to say that
35		GOSTARAM e GOSTAM		they LIKED and LIKE this
36		e... e já não digo se chegar a vez de a		and... and I'm not mentioning
37		criança chegar a ter o livro.		the time when the child will finally
38		então é quando muito mais passarão a		have textbooks.
39		gostar de melhor.		then it is when they will really start

40	mas não... não há guerra,	to like it most.
41	até agora! ((sorrindo))	but there is no... no war,
42		so far! ((laughing))

Extract 82: Interview with Mr Sendela, the Head of the Bilingual Education Group at INDE (Maputo, 2/10/2007)

1	Sendela:	agora, sobre a situação dos materiais	Sendela:	now, about the issue of materials
2		eh... aqui... eu consigo... encontrar...		umm... here... I can see... find...
3		três...		three...
4		aah... eh... três... como vou dizer...		well, erm... three... how can I
5		três aspectos a a desenvolver		say... there are three aspects to to
6		na produção dos materiais		be addressed with regard to the
7				production of school materials
8	F:	im	F:	ok
9	Sendela:	o primeiro aspecto é	Sendela:	the first aspect has to do with
10		aquilo que o Estado está a fazer.		what the State has been doing.
11		o esforço que está a fazer para		the effort being made to develop
12		desenvolver os materiais.		materials.
13		quer dizer		that is, erm... the State has the
14		eeh... tecnicamente		technical capacity to DEVELOP
15		o Estado tem capacidade		materials.
16		de PRODUZIR os materiais.		in methodological terms... in
17		as questões metodológicas...		terms of structure of the
18		questões das estruturas dos livros...		textbooks... the State has the
19		o Estado tem capacidade para isso.		capacity to do that.
20		tem capacidade porque tem técnicos		[I claim that] it has capacity
21		capazes de o fazer.		because it has a pool of technical
22		razão eh... que explica isso é que		officials who are capable of doing
23		temos livro da primeira,		the job.
24		da segunda, da terceira,		the reason umm... the evidence
25		da quarta,		which substantiates this is that we
26		e da quin-tá...		have reading books for grades 1,
27		já produzidos		for grade 2, for grade 3, for grade
28				4, and for grade fi-ve...
29				already produced
30	F:	imhim	F:	ok
31	Sendela:	não sei se são livros...	Sendela:	I don't know whether we can call
32		quer dizer materiais,		those books...
33		vou dizer assim.		I mean, they are materials,
34		vou dizer MATERIAIS,		I can call them like that.
35		que depois podem ser maquetizados,		I will say MATERIALS,
36		ilustrados		which can later be laid out,
37		e impressos.		illustrated
38		não sei qual é o melhor termo aqui		and printed.
39		que vou usar		I don't know the term that can
40				best be used here
41	F:	ya	F:	yeah
42	Sendela:	agora, outra situação,	Sendela:	now, the other situation,
43		que é a segunda de que vou falar,		which is the second situation I
44		é que... eh...		will talk about,
45		as editoras [locais] não estão		is that... umm...
46		suficientemente preparadas		the [local] publishers are not
47		em termos técnicos específicos		technically prepared enough to
48		para a área das línguas eh... bantu...		deal with the area of languages
49		não estão preparadas as editoras		umm... Bantu languages...
50				the publishers are not prepared

51	F:	ok	F:	ok
52	Sendela:	porque nós estamos a lidar com 16	Sendela:	because we are dealing with 16
53		línguas...		languages...
54		e a lidar com 16 línguas,		dealing with 16 languages,
55		eles podem pensar...		they may think...
56		porque maquetizar um livro de		because conceiving a layout for a
57		Português para todo o país		single textbook in Portuguese for
58		não é a mesma coisa que maquetizar		the entire country
59		livros para 16 línguas!		is not the same as preparing
60		porque cada língua... cada livro		layouts for textbooks in 16
61		é uma identidade		languages!
62				because each language... each
63				textbook is an individual entity
64	F:	im	F:	ok
65	Sendela:	é uma realidade específica,	Sendela:	it is a specific reality,
66		com ortografia DIFERENTE		with orthographies that are
67		da outra		DIFFERENT from those of other
68				languages
69	F:	ya	F:	ya
70	Sendela:	o que quer dizer que	Sendela:	which means that
71		uma maquete não pode servir para		the same layout cannot be used
72		todas as línguas ((sorrindo))		for all languages ((smiling))
73	F:	ya	F:	yes
74	Sendela:	tem que fazer maquete para cada	Sendela:	each textbook must be
75		língua		individually laid out
76		e... se eles forem a digitar,		and... when there is a need for
77		digitam... aquilo que digitam já não		them to type [some text],
78		pode cair no automatismo,		they type... what they type should
79		têm que digitar fazendo cópia de		not be done automatically,
80		verdade		they must typeset it closely [from
81				the originals]
82	F:	im	F:	ok
83	Sendela:	daí que ehh... quando nos chegam	Sendela:	this is why erm... when the laid
84		aqui os livros... emm...		out textbooks are returned to us,
85		maquetizados,		sometimes, as happened last year,
88		há vezes, como no ano antepassado,		they come with mixed up
89		misturavam línguas.		languages.
90		havia mistura de línguas.		we found that they had mixed up
91		isto para provar que		languages.
92		as editoras algumas		this demonstrates that some
93		não estão ainda preparadas		publishers are not yet prepared to
94		para lidar com estas línguas,		deal with these languages,
95		há problemas		there are problems

Extract 83: Interview with Mr Sendela, the Head of the Bilingual Education Group at INDE (Maputo, 2/10/2007)

1	F:	a falta de livros foi uma questão	F:	the lack of textbooks was an issue
2		que... que foi muitas vezes levantada		that... that was often raised by
3		pelos pais		parents
4		e professores também... ((estou a		and also by teachers... ((I am
5		relatar a minha experiência de		reporting my fieldwork
6		campo))		experience))
7	Sendela:	im. esta questão dos livros	Sendela:	ok. this issue of textbooks...
8		e e ya...		and and yes...
9		de facto... aqui há duas situações.		in fact... there are two situations
10		o... os professores vêem-se muito		here.
11		afritos		the... the teachers find themselves

12					in an uncomfortable position
13	F:	im		F:	yes
14	Sendela:	os professores estão aflitos porque		Sendela:	teachers feel themselves
15		eehh... estão a trabalhar			uncomfortable because they have
16		numa situação em que eles não têm			been working in a context in
17		materiais.			which they do not have materials.
18		este problema tem um impacto			this constraint has had a very
19		muito complicado... como é que			complicated impact... how can I
20		chama... DESANIMA			put this... it is DEMORALISING
21		sobretudo nos professores.			especially as far as teachers are
22		o aluno não vou dizer que o aluno			concerned.
23		não fica desanimado			I can't say that the pupils do not
24		porque ele não conhece bem a coisa,			feel demoralised
25		mas vou dizer			because they do not understand
26		pode ter impacto a nível científico			very well what is going on,
27		da qualidade,			but I can say that [this problem]
28		quer dizer, a qualidade daquele			may have a bearing on the quality
29		aluno que nós desejaríamos que			of education, at the scientific
30		fosse			level,
31					that is, the quality of the ideal
32					pupil that we would like to have
33	F:	imhim		F:	ok
34	Sendela:	isto já... nós já não vamos conseguir		Sendela:	this is already... we will no longer
35		o nível desejado do aluno,			achieve the desired quality level
36		porque não há uma forma			for the pupils,
37		disciplinada de implementar este			because there isn't a disciplined
38		programa			way of implementing this
39					[bilingual] programme
40	F:	im		F:	ok
41	Sendela:	outra situação é que		Sendela:	the other situation that teachers
42		como os professores lidam...			are dealing with... has been that
43		fazendo escrita manual			they work is based on handwritten
44		estes alunos			texts,
45		até à terceira classe			these pupils reach grade 3 while
46		não dominam a escrita de imprensa			still unfamiliar with printed text,
47		escrita de imprensa			they are not acquainted with
48		não dominam a escrita de imprensa.			printed text.
49		e quem é que vai viver num mundo			and who is going to live in a world
50		sem imprensa?			without printing?
51	F:	imhim		F:	ok
52	Sendela:	há este... este este problema		Sendela:	now there is... there is this this
53		agora de alguns pais,			problem of some parents,
54		não digo muitos...			I will not say that they are many...
55		ALGUNS PAIS que se apercebem			SOME PARENTS who have
56		da situação			noticed the problem even say
57		até dizem			"well, it is better to move my child
58		"ah, vala pena eu tirar o meu filho			to other classes!" ((implied here is
59		para outras turmas!" ((implícito aqui			the idea of moving pupils from the
60		é a ideia de mudar os alunos do			bilingual to the Portuguese
61		programa bilingue para o			monolingual programme))
62		monolingue em Português))			
63	F:	imhim		F:	yes
64	Sendela:	mas sem eles...		Sendela:	but they...
65		eles não tiram porque não querem o			they do move their children
66		ensino bilingue,			not because they don't like
67		não tiram porque os filhos não estão			bilingual education,
68		a aprender,			they don't move them because
69		mas porque não têm livros			they are not learning,
70					but because they don't have
71					textbooks

Extract 84: Interview with Mr Chirime, the director of UDEBA-LAB (Xai-Xai, 27/9/2007)

<p>1 F: mas amm... lembro-me que 2 abordámos também 3 aqui que... para alguns pais... essa 4 falta de material 5 é um senão do ensino bilingue... 6 Mr Ch: yaa ((respira fundo)) 7 ESTE é um problema... ((respira 8 fundo outra vez, adoptando um tom 9 mais sério)) 10 F: ya ya ya 11 Mr Ch: e ISSO também... é é preciso que seja 12 bem realçado... 13 aliás é é é uma das consequências da 14 experiência [de ensino bilingue]. 15 porque agora 16 o que está a acontecer 17 em relação ao livro escolar 18 é que quando se chega no início do 19 ano 20 o estado manda para a escola 21 o livro monolíngue 22 no lugar do livro bilingue 23 nas escolas que dão o bilingue. 24 e então os pais têm o dilema 25 entre o filho ir à escola sem material 26 ou levar aquele material... 27 e fica um problema político 28 29 30 31 32 33 34</p>	<p>F: but umm... I remember that we also discussed here the fact that... for certain parents, lack of materials is one of the negative aspects of bilingual education... Mr Ch: yes ((he takes a deep breath)) THAT is a problem... ((he takes a deep breath again while taking a more serious tone)) F: yes yes yes Mr Ch: and THAT also... needs needs to be well stressed... in fact that is is is one of the consequences of the [bilingual education] experiment. because what is happening now in relation to textbooks is that at the beginning of each school year the state delivers the textbooks designed for the monolingual programme to those schools which provide bilingual education, instead of sending bilingual textbooks. so, parents find themselves in a dilemma, either accepting that their children receive the textbooks conceived for the monolingual programme or opt out of those textbooks but subject their children to study without textbooks... and that becomes a political issue</p>
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Extract 85: Interview with Mr Chirime, the director of UDEBA-LAB (Xai-Xai, 27/9/2007)

<p>1 F: noutro dia também estava a falar do 2 ressurgimento de turmas 3 monolíngues na... na zona de 4 Bikwani ((recordo-lhe uma conversa 5 informal que tivemos dias antes 6 referente ao facto de as escolas locais 7 estarem a preferir reintroduzir turmas 8 monolíngues ao invés de criar mais 9 turmas bilingues)) 10 11 Mr Ch: sim, tem a ver com esse fenómeno de 12 falta de material. 13 é uma uma resistência assim... 14 e e tem... bem nem nem nem é 15 resistência</p>	<p>F: the other day you also talked about the reappearance of monolingual classes... in the area of Bikwani ((I remind him of a conversation we once had regarding the fact that the local schools were increasingly reducing the number of bilingual classes while reintroducing monolingual classes)) Mr Ch: yes, that has to do with that issue of lack of school materials. that is in some way a form of resistance... and and it has... well, in fact it is</p>
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16		podemos dizer que estamos a		not not a form of resistance
17		sucumbir perante		I can say that we are surrendering
18		a hegemonia do ensino monolingué,		to the hegemony of monolingual
19		não é		education, aren't we?
20	F:	imhim	F:	ok
21	Mr Ch:	nós entrámos no ensino bilingue	Mr Ch:	we embarked on bilingual
22		e quando olhamos para atrás		education
23		vimos que continuamos		but when we look back
24		extremamente pobres como a nossa		we find that we are still very poor
25		própria língua.		as far as our own language is
26		então, a língua dominante está ali a		concerned.
27		exibir-se! ((sorrindo))		so, the dominant language
28		então os pais estão a render-se por		[Portuguese] is there showing off!
29		assim dizer		((smiling))
30		não é porque é do agrado deles		so, it can be said that parents are
31				surrendering.
32				but that is not what they wanted
33	F:	im	F:	ok
34	Mr Ch:	mas como o filho está a estudar...	Mr Ch:	but since their children are
35		e não tem livro		studying...
36		mas está ali armazenado o livro		and they don't have textbooks
37		[monolingué] na escola		[parents] end up saying
38		acabam dizendo		"well, let's take advantage of the
39		"bom, vamos aproveitar o livro		[monolingual] textbooks" stored
40		[monolingué]".		in the schools.
41		mas não é porque eles querem assim		but this doesn't mean that <u>that</u> is
42		exactamente.		what parents really want.
43		quer dizer, numa situação em que		that is, in a context where
44		houvesse os os dois livros na escola		textbooks for the monolingual
45		talvez não houvesse nenhuma escola		programme and textbooks for the
46		que que enveredasse [pelo ensino		bilingual programme are
47		monolingué]...		available, perhaps no school
48		esse assunto do livro já provocou		would opt [for the monolingual
49		muitos debates		programme]
50		e e é mesmo uma injustiça social.		that issue of textbooks has been a
51		os alunos têm que ser iguais na		matter of debates
52		escola! ((diz com alguma mágoa na		and and in fact it is a form of
53		voz))		social injustice.
54				students must be equal in school!
55				((he utters this in a sorrowful
56				voice))
57	F:	ya	F:	ok
58	Mr Ch:	já que é uma decisão do governo	Mr Ch:	since piloting [bilingual
59		fazer a experimentação,		education] has been a government
60		o mesmo governo deve fornecer		decision,
61		o material para a experimentação!		the same government has to
62				provide school materials for that
				pilot programme!

## Appendices 10: Illustrative Job Advertisements Requiring Knowledge of African Languages

Advert 1: Position for a coordinator for the field of child healthcare

### ANÚNCIO DE VAGAS

#### Coordenador da área de Saúde Infantil

Organização Não-Governamental Internacional que apoia a implementação do Plano Estratégico Nacional para Combate às ITS/HIV/SIDA em Moçambique pretende recrutar um Coordenador da área de Saúde Infantil para apoiar a integração da área de Saúde Infantil e o programa de TARV Pediátrico.

#### LOCAL:

Províncias de Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Zambézia, Nampula.

#### REQUISITOS:

1. Técnico de Medicina ou Enfermeira de SMI;
2. Conhecimento das normas de cuidado pediátrico (AIDI, CCR, TARV Pediátrico)
3. Conhecimento do Sistema de Saúde a nível do Centro de Saúde
4. Não possuir vínculo com o aparelho do Estado
5. Habilidade para trabalhar em equipa;
6. Sentido de planificação e organização;
7. Dinamismo e pró-actividade;
8. Fluência obrigatória da língua Portuguesa e conhecimento das línguas locais
9. A experiência de pelo menos 3 anos no sector da Saúde Materno Infantil é uma vantagem.

#### DEVERES E RESPONSABILIDADES:

1. Apoiar o pessoal dos Centros de Saúde na organização e integração dos serviços de atendimento de crianças no CS (CCR, CCS, PAV, Consulta TARV Pediátrico)
2. Participar na formação e supervisão de pessoal de saúde (Técnicos e Agentes de Medicina, Enfermeiras de SMI) sobre o cuidado a crianças saudáveis, doentes e em particular expostas e infectadas com HIV a nível das Unidades Sanitárias.
3. Implementar e garantir o funcionamento do sistema de informação relativo a todos os serviços atendendo crianças em particular CCR, TARV Pediátrico.

Os interessados deverão enviar carta de candidatura com o nome do posto e o Currículo Vitae, indicando três referências profissionais, para o seguinte e-mail: [REDACTED] em Maputo, até o dia 17 de Abril de 2009

4427

noticias - 30.03.09



**Hiring Institution:** Anonymous international NGO working in the field of  
HIV/AIDS prevention

**Position Advertised:** Coordinator for the field of child healthcare

**Professional Requirement(s):** health technician or maternity and child healthcare  
nurse

**Language Requirement(s):** must be fluent in Portuguese and have knowledge of  
relevant local languages

DIÁRIO DE MOÇAMBIQUE, 22 DE ABRIL DE 2009

# ANÚNCIO DE VAGA

Para o quadro de pessoal do Projecto de Restauração do Parque Nacional da Gorongosa, baseado em Gorongosa pretende-se recrutar:

## 1 Gestor de Avaliação de Impacto Ambiental e Saúde

A função tem como principal tarefa assegurar o cumprimento dos processos de impacto ambiental das actividades do Parque Nacional da Gorongosa, bem como prevenir, aconselhar e controlar os riscos de poluição e monitorar os riscos de saúde que possam afectar os turistas, trabalhadores e comunidades em geral.

### Principais responsabilidades:

- Compilar e manter actualizado regulamentos internos (do Parque Nacional da Gorongosa) relativos à protecção ambiental, poluição e limpeza.
- Elaborar e implementar planos de gestão de resíduos sólidos e águas negras.
- Monitorar a qualidade de água para consumo humano.
- Acompanhar os estudos ambientais feitos por entidades externas ao Parque, relativas ao desenvolvimento das actividades do Parque.
- Implementar mecanismos de control e uso sustentável de recursos naturais e outros.
- Promover acções de formação em matéria ambiental.

### Requisitos:

- Licenciatura em Gestão Ambiental ou área equivalente.
- Idade compreendida entre os 20 e 35 anos.
- 3 anos de experiência em trabalhos na área.
- Conhecimentos sólidos de legislação ambiental em vigor.
- Conhecimentos de informática na óptica do utilizador em pacotes Excel e Word.
- Facilidade de comunicação nas línguas portuguesa, inglesa e locais.
- Alto sentido de responsabilidade, maturidade e relacionamento interpessoal.
- Nacionalidade Moçambicana.

Ter residência ou trabalho no distrito de Gorongosa ou Nhamatanda é uma vantagem.

As candidaturas deverão ser enviadas para o endereço electrónico [redacted] ou depositadas em envelope fechado até ao dia 30 de Abril corrente, num dos seguintes endereços:

- Parque Nacional da Gorongosa, Distrito de Gorongosa
- [redacted] Cidade da Beira
- [redacted] direito, Maputo

**Hiring Institution:** Gorongosa National Park

**Position Advertised:** Manager for Health and Environmental Impact Assessment

**Professional Requirement(s):** Degree in Environmental Management or equivalent

**Language Requirement(s):** must be able to communicate easily in Portuguese, English and in relevant local languages



Save the Children

## ANÚNCIO DE VAGAS

A Save The Children Federation Inc. pretende recrutar para o seu quadro de pessoal. Oficiais para o Programa de Gestão do Vale do Rio Zambeze, baseados em Tambara e Caia.

### Qualificações e experiências técnicas requeridas

- Nível médio em agricultura, pecuária, pesca, gestão dos recursos naturais;
- Experiência na implementação de projectos numa das seguintes áreas: produção agrícola, pecuária, pesca e subvenções comunitárias;
- Experiência em Associativismo, concretamente na área de formação e capacitação de grupos comunitários;
- Experiência na condução de pesquisas ao nível comunitário;
- Experiência em trabalhar no âmbito de emergência.

### Outros requisitos:

- Possuir carta de condução de motociclos;
- Excelentes habilidades inter-Pessoais;
- Capacidade para trabalhar de forma independente e com iniciativa, e como membro de uma equipa;
- Comprovada capacidade de organização incluindo habilidades para planificar, estabelecer prioridades e assegurar o cumprimento do trabalho de acordo com as exigências e metas estabelecidas;
- Conhecimento de pacotes de informática (Excel, Word);
- Bom domínio na fala e escrita da língua Portuguesa;
- A fala em língua Sena constituiria uma vantagem;
- Capaz de trabalhar sob pressão;
- Compromisso para entender e aplicar os valores, objectivos e princípios da Save the Children.

Os candidatos interessados são convidados a submeter a carta de candidatura, o CV com a indicação de três referências **até ao dia 03 de Abril de 2009**, aos Escritórios da Save the Children, sitos no Bairro 4, Chimoio, à atenção do Departamento de Recursos Humanos.

ou,

Email: [REDACTED] Fax [REDACTED]

Encoraja-se a candidatura de mulheres. A política da Save the Children é de sempre atribuir igual oportunidade de emprego a todos indivíduos sem qualquer referência a deficiência, raça, estado serológico, religião, etc. "Os procedimentos de recrutamento e selecção bem como a verificação reflectem o nosso compromisso de protecção a criança do abuso".

**NB: Somente os candidatos seleccionados serão contactados.**

CL. 16785

**Hiring Institution:** Save the Children Federation

**Positions Advertised:** programme officials

**Professional Requirement(s):** a qualification in agriculture, animal breeding, fishing, or management of natural resources

**Language Requirement(s):** good Portuguese language speaking and writing skills; Sena speaking skills as an advantage

Advert 4: Position for a social welfare

**Hiring Institution:** HelpAge International and Ministry of Women and Social Welfare

**Position Advertised:** Vulnerable children welfare adviser

**Professional Requirement(s):** Bachelor in Social Science

**Language Requirement(s):** knowledge of relevant local languages as an advantage

**HelpAge  
International**

a idade ajuda

**ANÚNCIO DE VAGA**

A HelpAge International - Programa em Moçambique (HAIM), Organização Não Governamental Britânica de ajuda humanitária ao idoso com Sede em Maputo, pretende recrutar um/a Assessor/a Técnico/a para crianças vulneráveis, para trabalhar na Direcção Provincial da Mulher e Acção Social (DPMAS) de Tete.

**Responsabilidades:**

- Recolha de dados de crianças vulneráveis
- Trabalho de campo com os beneficiários dos programas da Organização
- Estabelecer a ligação entre a HAIM e a DPMAS
- Coordenar as actividades de resposta aos vários problemas de crianças órfãos e vulneráveis
- Realizar outras tarefas que se julgarem necessárias para a posição

**Requisitos:**

- Bacharel num curso de Ciências Sociais
- Experiência na recolha de informação no campo
- Experiência na elaboração de relatórios baseados em resultados
- Mínimo de 1 ano de experiência de trabalho no Sector Social
- Conhecimentos de mecanismos de coordenação de actividades
- Conhecimentos das línguas locais é uma vantagem
- Ter residência em Tete (ou ter possibilidades de residência lá) é uma vantagem
- Responsável, dinâmico e criativo
- Disponibilidade imediata (início de actividades previsto para Março de 2009 - contrato válido até 31 de Dezembro de 2009, com possibilidade de renovação dependendo da extensão do projecto).

Os candidatos interessados deverão mandar os seus CV's por email, até o dia 20 de Fevereiro de 2009, para os seguintes endereços electrónicos:

[Redacted]

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