MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE POLICIES AND CLASSROOM PRACTICES IN
POSTCOLONIAL MOZAMBIQUE: EXPLORING CLASSROOM DISCOURSES AND
TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARDS BILINGUALISM USING A MIXED-METHODS
APPROACH

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Multilingual Language Policies and Classroom Practices in Postcolonial Mozambique: Exploring
Classroom Discourses and Teacher Attitudes towards Bilingualism Using a Mixed-Methods
Approach

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it reproduces no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

Simao Elias Luis

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother Elisa Oliveira, my father Elias Luis, and my fiancé Catarina

Davide André, for their unconditional love and support during my PhD journey.

ABSTRACT

Mozambique is a multilingual and multicultural nation in Southern Africa with a population of over twenty-eight million people and between twenty and forty-three indigenous languages. International languages, including French, Spanish, Chinese, among others are also spoken as foreign languages by foreigners and a significant number of Mozambicans. Due to the country's colonial past, Portuguese remains the dominant language in formal settings, Government administration and schools. This mixed-methods study draws on theoretical frameworks applied to language attitudes, interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging (1) to investigate teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching (CS) in central Mozambique, (2) to examine the impact of socio-biographical variables (e.g. gender, age, multilingualism in schools and linguistic diversity during childhood) on language attitudes, and (3) to assess the manifestation of language attitudes in classroom discourses.

The data were concurrently collected through an attitude questionnaire (n=201), semi-structured interviews (n=16) and audio-recordings (8 hours from two teachers), and analysed using SPSS and NVivo. The findings demonstrate that teachers hold more positive attitudes towards Portuguese than indigenous languages, suggesting the possibility of raising awareness of the historical, cultural and educational values of Mozambican indigenous languages in schools in order to promote their use as the medium of instruction (MoI). Another finding is that the teachers hold favourable attitudes towards CS, bilingualism and bilingual education. The teachers, who work in multilingual schools and grew up in linguistically diverse environments, demonstrate their linguistic repertoires in everyday unwritten rules of communication that involve CS depending on situational and environmental factors. These multilingual teachers

reported using CS with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in the classroom as (1) an instructional and communication strategy, (2) a contextualisation cue highlighting multilingual identities, and (3) a tool to reproduce or transform broader societal norms such as language education policies. Notably, the classroom data highlights the use of Portuguese/L2 as a pedagogical and communication strategy in Citewe/L1 lessons to accommodate to students and teachers with limited proficiency in the L1. The present interdisciplinary study draws on concepts from applied linguistics (e.g. language learning), education (e.g. education policies) and social psychology (e.g. attitudes) and contributes to a broader understanding of mixed-methods research and the potential impact of culture, language and identity on language policies and classroom discourses.

These findings have several implications, including the possibility of adopting more flexible language education policies, encourage multilingualism in schools, and find innovative ways of using CS as a communication and pedagogical strategy that goes beyond the traditional concept of switching between two distinct languages. Future studies in Mozambique could draw on more longitudinal data and involve teachers as researchers to systematically examine their classroom discourses in order to improve pedagogical practices.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA – One-way between-groups analysis of variance

BoE – Board of Examiners

CPS – Canyanga Primary School

DEC - Distance Education Centre

DPECH – Provincial Directorate of Education and Human Development

ERIC - Educational Resources Information Center

GPS – Gondola Primary School

INDE – National Institute of Development of Education

LPP – Language Policy and Planning

MINEDH – Ministry of Education and Human Development

PEBIMO – Bilingual Education Project of Mozambique

PolyU – The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

SDEJT - District Offices of Education, Youth and Technology

UN – United Nations

WBG – World Bank Group

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This introductory chapter sets the foundation of the present study by outlining the motivation for the study, locating and reviewing language attitude research within the broader interdisciplinary fields of language policy and planning (LPP), bilingual education and classroom discourse. In addition, the chapter provides an overview of the context of language education policies and classroom practices in Mozambique before and after independence in 1975. Furthermore, the chapter indicates the current gaps in knowledge, language education policies and practices; and outlines the overarching research objectives and research questions. Finally, the chapter outlines the theoretical, methodological and practical contribution of the present study, and outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.2. Motivation for the study

The present research emerged from my experience as a primary school pupil growing up in a rural village in central Mozambique. As a native of both Cimanyika and Shona languages with no basic understanding of Portuguese, I was enrolled (aged six) at a primary school, located five kilometers away from home, where the sole medium of instruction (MoI) was Portuguese, and Cimanyika and Shona were used as a pedagogical resource in the classroom through code-switching (CS). During the first semester in 1994, I could not understand anything the teacher was saying in Portuguese and my grades were fairly low. When the teacher was asking questions, in some cases, I knew the answers, but I could not volunteer to speak in Portuguese due to lack of courage and vocabulary to make an argument in the classroom. Outside the classroom, we frequently communicated in our mother tongues with the risk of being punished and ridiculed for

speaking indigenous languages. When I was in primary school during this period, there was a stick that was supposed to be handed to a person found speaking Cimanyika and Shona, the students' mother tongues. The last person to be handed the stick at the end of the day was supposed to clean the toilets and, in some cases, suffer corporal punishment. When I graduated Grade five, I was enrolled in Grade six in Manica town, located about 50 kilometers away from my village. As a Grade five graduate unable to speak Portuguese, most of my Grade six fellow students spoke Portuguese, and during the first semester, they ridiculed the way I expressed myself in Portuguese. I had no control of Portuguese syntax, phonetics and morphology. I felt traumatised because each time I tried to speak Portuguese, my classmates were laughing and ridiculing me. Luckily, I learned Portuguese gradually until the completion of secondary school level and subsequently enrolled at a Teacher Training Institute in 2006. When I became a teacher in a rural village situated about 30 kilometers away from Manica town, most of my students in Grades six and seven could not express themselves in Portuguese despite having constructive ideas in their own mother tongues. As someone who had lived the same experience, I resonated with those students' predicament and I could use indigenous languages through CS as a pedagogical and communication strategy in the following activities: assisting individual students in seatwork, explaining key concepts, giving classroom instructions, and engaging in informal conversations outside the classroom. When I was pursuing a Master's degree at University College London in 2016, I decided to investigate the challenges facing the key stakeholders when implementing the bilingual education programme in Mozambique. The results demonstrated that bilingual education was a reality in Mozambique despite the lack of learning materials, financial resources and teacher training, and early exit (Grade three) from using indigenous languages as the MoI (Luis, 2017). After reviewing existing studies conducted in

Mozambique by Benson (2004), Chimbutane (2009, 2013), Chimbutane and Benson (2012), Spolsky (2017b), among other publications, I found that those studies were largely qualitative and none had systematically examined teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages and CS using larger sample sizes. I thus decided to conduct a mixed-methods study through an attitude questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and an examination of classroom discourses to identify teacher attitudes and their manifestation in classroom discourses. The following section situates language attitude research and its interconnection with language education policies and classroom practices.

1.3. Situating language attitude research

Research into language attitudes has attracted the attention of many scholars in education, psychology, sociology, political science and media studies across the globe (Baker, 2017; Edwards, 2010; Garrett, 2010; Palviainen & Huhta, 2015; Spolsky, 2017a; Wardhaugh, 2015). Language attitudes impact education policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011; Lewis, 1981; Li Wei, 2011), language learning (Baker, 1992; Gardner, 1985), language variation and maintenance (Fishman, 1985), language use (Moriarty, 2010), and the construction and manifestation of social identities (Lapresta & Huguet, 2008; Lapresta Rey, Huguet, & Janés Carulla, 2010). Hornberger and McKay (2010) argue that multilingual classrooms are increasingly becoming the norm, and it is salient to undertake critical studies on language attitudes and the ideologies behind classroom discourse. Wardhaugh (2015) maintains that language attitudes are an integral component of research in multilingual education because they shape teacher practices and students' achievement. Garrett (2010) demonstrates that we judge other people's competence, honesty, enthusiasm, intelligence, group membership and social

status based on the way they speak. In other words, we express positive and negative attitudes towards various dimensions of language use, including 'accent, choice of words, speed of speech, grammar and language variety' (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a, p. 235). More importantly, language attitudes evolve along with societal developments (Gumperz, 1982); therefore, researching language attitudes helps to understand the role of societal changes and influence on people's socio-psychological perceptions across their lifespan (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a).

Language attitude research is particularly important in postcolonial contexts such as Mozambique, a multilingual and multicultural country in Southern Africa, where Portuguese, the colonial language, coexists with between twenty and forty-three indigenous languages (Lopes, 2004) and other international languages (e.g. French, Spanish and Chinese) spoken by over twenty-eight million people (National Institute of Statistics, 2017). Most Mozambicans speak multiple home languages such as Citewe, Cimanyika and Ndau in Chimoio city. Language attitudes are becoming increasingly relevant partly because of the Bilingual Education Project (PEBIMO - Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique), which was implemented in linguistically homogenous zones from 1992 to 1997 (Benson, 2004). The majority of people within these zones have a similar linguistic repertoire – speakers of the same set of languages such as Citewe and Ndau in Manica Province. The results from PEBIMO were encouraging and led the Government of Mozambique to include sixteen Mozambican indigenous languages as the MoI in the 2002 primary education curriculum and to expand the programme to most of the provinces in 2003 (Benson, 2004). As attitudes inform LPP, it is salient to appreciate the origins and development of LPP as an academic field and a tool for language revitalisation and bilingual and multilingual education.

1.4. Language policy and planning

Haugen (1959) is credited to be the first to use the term language planning in 1959 to describe the language codification in Norway, which involves the development of orthography, grammar and lexicon in a prescriptive and descriptive manner. Much of this work goes beyond the selection of a language for specific purposes and codification. It includes an attempt to spread the language and its respective revisions (Haugen, 1966b).

Language planning is a process that consists of changing the internal structures of a linguistic variety and its status or use in different domains. This involves policy decisions; therefore, language planning is interconnected with language policy. However, language policy does not always lead to language planning and vice versa (Hornberger, 2006). Some people in the position of power use language policy to benefit themselves and to maintain their hegemony (Wardhaugh, 2015), while the powerless internalise and accept this hegemony as natural.

For Spolsky (2004) language policy involves language use in a given community, ideologies and attitudes and different attempts aimed at shaping the linguistic landscape through planning endeavours and management. Spolsky's definition encompasses the perspectives of grassroots and those in policy and technical positions; however, this does not necessarily reflect the reality in many postcolonial contexts, such as Mozambique, where the key stakeholders (e.g. teachers, students and parents) are largely excluded from the policy and planning exercise. Since this top-down approach being implemented in Mozambique mostly excludes the role of essential stakeholders, a bottom-up approach based on the contributions of grassroots organisations, researchers, practitioners and the public in general (King, 2000) would perhaps improve the current educational practices.

There are three different types of language planning: status, corpus and acquisition. What Haugen (1959) described in the context of Norway would become known as corpus planning, which consists of changing the internal structures of a linguistic variety by undertaking standardisation. This process involves the development of orthographies, dictionaries and possibly new vocabularies as well as literature and teaching materials (Spolsky, 2004). The Government of Mozambique and its partners have standardised about sixteen indigenous languages in the country and they continue to codify more languages to ensure children learn in their own languages and to placate international declarations established by the United Nations (1948). For example, Article 14 of the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People stipulates that individual states, countries and jurisdictions have a fundamental right to establish educational systems of their choice in their own languages (Baker, 2017).

While many language planners (e.g. Haugen, 1966a) engage in language codification, other scholars (e.g. Kloss, 1969) focus on changing the function or use of a language in various domains. This became known as status planning, a term introduced by Heinz Kloss (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Spolsky, 2004). Kloss also defines acquisition or language education planning (Spolsky, 2017a) as an attempt to teach linguistic varieties to children in schools or teach the content through the target language. These processes may or may not privilege particular languages. For instance, after independence in 1975, Mozambican education policymakers continued with the idea that Portuguese could be the only legitimate MoI at all levels until 1992 when the bilingual education project was introduced in linguistically homogenous zones (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1999).

According to Ricento (2000) and Johnson and Ricento (2013), three major forces have influenced LPP developments. The first is the macro-sociopolitical factor, which includes wars,

migrations of people and disintegration of political organisations. The second is the epistemological factor, which involves the development of theoretical frameworks and philosophical assumptions about knowledge production. The final is the strategic force, which involves the transformative paradigms or application of research to challenge linguistic inequalities and inform policy and practice.

For Ricento (2000) and Johnson and Ricento (2013) these three factors also inform the history of LPP as an academic field. The first period is that of classic language planning, which includes the independence of many former colonies. In this period, scholars used structuralism as a theoretical framework to solve language problems that arose during decolonisation. This involves the selection of national and official languages and the codification of these linguistic varieties. Some researchers endeavour to be neutral in order to serve the interests of their countries in terms of democratisation, efficiency and modernisation; however, they encounter challenges because it is difficult to separate language planning from societal norms and political considerations of the elites (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). For instance, while Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) advocated that all linguistic varieties were supposed to be treated equally, Kloss (1968) maintained that particular languages could serve as a drive for national development.

The second phase is that of critical language policy, which dates from the 1970s with the introduction of neocolonialism when researchers (e.g. Hymes, 1972) started to challenge earlier language planning models and positivist research paradigms, which divorced linguistic features from cultural and social contexts. They also started to discuss social stratification in various societies and the role of languages in these inequalities. In this period, researchers adopted a critical stance and began to focus on the sociopolitical and economic consequences of LPP (Johnson & Ricento, 2013).

These events also led to the intermediary stage, which extended to the late 1980s. This was influenced by the "new world order" movement, the continued creation of national identities, independence of former colonies such as Mozambique, the decline of the Soviet Union, creation of supranational organisations/institutions (e.g. European Union and African Union), and the emergence of globalisation and capitalism. In this phase, postmodernism as a theoretical framework played a crucial role in advocating language rights, multilingualism, learning of international languages, and a focus on language attitudes (Johnson & Ricento, 2013).

This critical generation of research developed fast and by the 1990s, researchers commenced to advocate bottom-up approaches. All the stakeholders would contribute to the language policy, the role of schools in LPP gained momentum and consequently Cooper (1989) introduced acquisition planning, and research on the link between language policies and attitudes became influential (Johnson & Ricento, 2013).

While earlier studies (e.g. Cooper, 1989; Ruiz, 1984) had already raised issues of language ideologies and inequalities, the sociopolitical role in LPP, and the need for change, the book by Tollefson (1991) entitled *Language planning, planning inequality* is regarded by many as the most influential on critical language policy (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). Tollefson (1991) distinguishes a neo-classic approach, which is neutral and interested in the individual, from the historical-structural approach, in which language policies serve the interests of the powerful. This is partly influenced by critical theory because the aim is to promote democratic approaches to language policies in order to reduce linguistic inequalities and enhance the status of indigenous languages. Following this work, Hornberger (2009) and other scholars have demonstrated that national language policies can open ideological and 'implementational spaces' for bilingual and multilingual education across the globe.

Since the first decade of the 21st century, many ethnographic studies on language policies have been conducted and the longstanding finding is that schools alone cannot solve the problem of language shift and that despite effective language policies that promote multilingualism, many people still hold entrenched beliefs and negative attitudes towards particular languages (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). For example, the standard language ideology regards colonial languages (e.g. Portuguese, English and French) as languages of higher prestige and value and they are often used in education, Government institutions and formal businesses in many postcolonial contexts. The local languages are largely devalued and accorded lower status (Wardhaugh, 2015). Consequently, many parents, members of the elite and policymakers in Mozambique, for instance, prefer their children to learn in these prestigious languages to ensure access to higher education, upward social mobility and economic opportunities (Chimbutane, 2009; Luis, 2017; Terra, 2018).

As opposed to a pluralist ideology in which all languages are valued equally, the exclusion of indigenous languages as a pedagogical resource is associated with monoglossic ideology, which advocates that languages should be kept separate in the classrooms (Wardhaugh, 2015). In other words, CS, which is the alternation and mixing of languages (intra-clausal or inter-clausal alternation) within a conversation (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a; Lin, 2017) is not welcome. These feelings also lead to the so-called prestigious languages to be relevant for literacy because they have grammars, dictionaries and other teaching materials, and they are considered legitimate and correct ways of speaking (Garrett, 2010). The problem with this is that in many postcolonial contexts such as Mozambique, most students are from rural areas where they use indigenous languages in their everyday life. When they first come to school at the age of six in monolingual schools where Portuguese is the sole MoI, the content is entirely in Portuguese, leading to lack of

meaningful learning. The following section outlines the linguistic and educational background of Mozambique, a multilingual country with various indigenous and international languages.

1.5. The linguistic and educational background of Mozambique

Mozambique is a multilingual and multicultural nation in Southern Africa, which borders and shares indigenous languages with the former British colonies of Zimbabwe, Swaziland, South Africa, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. According to the National Institute of Statistics (2017, pp. 82-94), Mozambique has a population of over twenty-eight million people. Regarding their first language (L1), Emakhuwa is the widely spoken language with over 5.8 million, followed by Portuguese (3,686,890), Xichangana (1,919,217) and Cinyanja (1,790,831). Over 10.5 million of the population aged five and above years can speak Portuguese as a second language (L2) and 56.1% of them live in urban areas. Over 11.7 million of the same age group cannot speak Portuguese and 84.9% of them live in rural areas.

The general consensus among researchers is that there are between twenty (Guthrie, 1967; Katupha, 1985) and forty-three indigenous languages spoken in Mozambique (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2021). French, Spanish, Chinese, among other international languages, are also spoken in Mozambique. In the present study, Mozambican indigenous languages refer to all local languages regardless of their level of standardisation. Map 1.4.1 shows the linguistic profile of Mozambique.

Portugal colonised Mozambique for almost five hundred years (from 1498 to 1975). The Portuguese defeated the Arab Muslims who had been engaged in the slave trade in the country in the fifteenth century (Spolsky, 2017b). During this period of colonisation, the Portuguese promoted assimilative language attitudes. That is, no indigenous languages were promoted or

used as the MoI in schools (Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Ngunga, 2011). Formal education in Portuguese was limited to the elite living in the urban areas. According to Portuguese legal benchmarks, these Mozambicans could theoretically qualify as Portuguese citizens, 'assimilados', after reaching a level of 'civilisation' through formal education, while the majority received informal education from the Catholic Church missionaries (Ngunga, 2011; Spolsky, 2017b). At independence in 1975, only 7% of Mozambicans were literate, and as the assimilative language attitudes were already internalised, the Government decided to continue using Portuguese as the official language in all public institutions, thereby excluding several indigenous languages, which were widely used by the local population. Like many former colonies, Portuguese, the colonial language, was chosen as the official language after independence largely because there are many indigenous languages in Mozambique. If one indigenous language was to be chosen – and a common belief was that one language is needed to ensure that everyone is unified – a colonial language appeared to be a more neutral choice than an indigenous language, which would show favouritism for one language/ethnic group over others. Perhaps it is noteworthy that just one language was chosen in a country that has many indigenous languages.

Despite the country's linguistic diversity, there is still a significant gap between language education policies and the linguistic landscape because Portuguese is the dominant official MoI at all levels, and indigenous languages are mostly neglected. As a result, many Mozambican primary school graduates cannot read and write; they underperform and drop out, or simply use memorisation techniques (Benson, 2004).

The current policy for bi- and multilingual education (hereafter MLE) for monolingual and bilingual schools in terms of language use are different. In monolingual schools, teachers are

required to use follow a language separation policy. In this context, Portuguese is the MoI. The use of indigenous language can only be justified on pedagogical grounds such as translating key terms, helping individual students and giving classroom instructions. These monolingual schools include primary education (Grade One to Seven) and secondary schools which comprise Grade Eight to Twelve. There are professional secondary schools that focus on specific areas such as agriculture, engineering and mechanics. In bilingual schools, languages are supposed to be kept separate as well but code-switching is also common just as in monolingual classrooms. Bilingual education currently is being implemented in primary education. The teachers perceive the policy or information coming from the Ministry of Education and Human Development in different ways. In other words, teachers use code-switching to reproduce and/or contest national language education policies (Chimbutane, 2011).

Map 1.5.1. The linguistic profile of Mozambique. Used with permission (Eberhard et al., 2021).
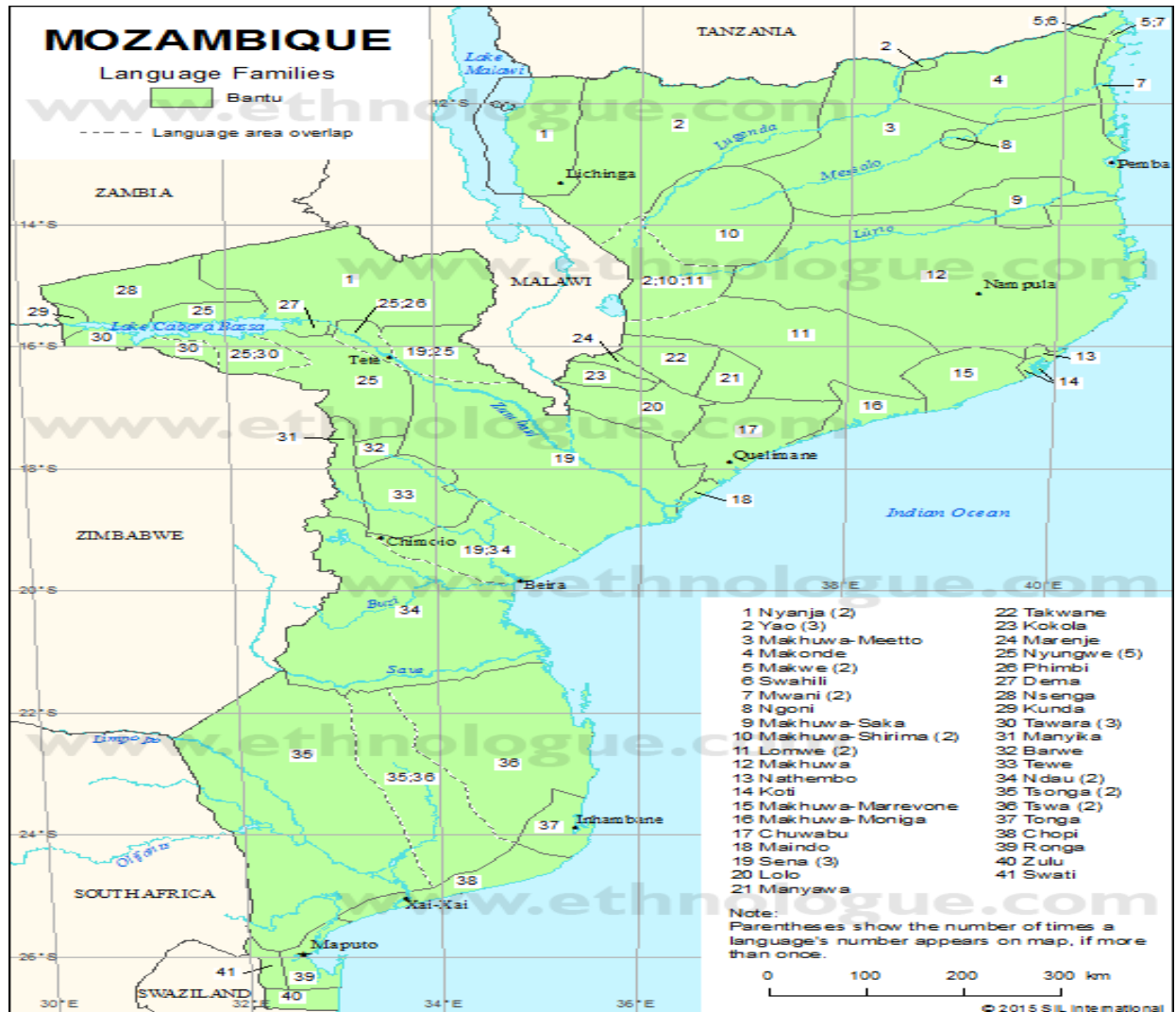
Through a sponsorship from the UN and World Bank Group (WBG), the Ministry of Education and Human Development (MINEDH) in Mozambique piloted a Bilingual Education Programme (PEBIMO) from 1992 to 1997 in two different regions using Xichangana and Cinyanja languages (Chimbutane, 2009; Chimbutane & Benson, 2012). The linguistic landscape of Mozambique, evidence from research demonstrating the benefits of bilingual education, the need to support indigenous languages, and the support from international organisations led to the

implementation of the 2002 curriculum (Chimbutane & Benson, 2012). In the 2002 curriculum, ten of the 16 languages that had been developed as a preparation for the bilingual education programme were incorporated as the MoI in bilingual classrooms (Benson, 2004).

In Mozambique, the term 'bilingual education' means the use of the mother tongues as the MoI from Grade one to three. In this phase, Portuguese is a language subject with a focus on reading and speaking skills. From Grade four to seven, Portuguese becomes the MoI, and indigenous languages serve as a language subject (Benson, 2004; Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Luis, 2017). This model is often called transition with maintenance, and evidence from interviews and education manuals demonstrate that the main aim is both assimilation and bilingualism because there is currently an attempt by the Government to keep these indigenous languages as the MoI beyond primary education (Luis, 2017). There are teacher training arrangements to train in-service and novice teachers for bilingual education. Although significant concessions have been made, some policymakers are still reluctant to revise the programme by invoking the students' skills in Portuguese in secondary education. They want the students to speak 'good Portuguese' (Luis, 2017), which suggests that schools act as middle-class settings where students should abandon their nonstandard speech and master the standard language that will further advance their career and upward social mobility (Edwards, 2004; Wardhaugh, 2015).

After a successful experiment in Tete and Gaza provinces, the bilingual education project expanded to other provinces in 2003: Maputo, Sofala, Nampula, Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Manica and Zambezia (INDE, 2008). The Government of Mozambique began implementing this bilingual education programme across the nation from 2017, and the programme is currently offered in sixteen indigenous languages: Xirhonga, Xichanga, Cicopi, Gitona, Citshwa, Ndau, Ciutee, Sena, Nyanja, Yao, Shimakonde, Kimwani, Echuwabo, Elomwe, Hunmgwe and

Emakhuwa (INDE, 2008). Some of these languages (e.g. Emakhuwa) were picked because of large number of native speakers and the choice for other languages were politically motivated (Ngunga, 2011).

Research into language attitudes in Mozambique has demonstrated that teacher attitudes may signal the manifestation of broader societal norms and language education policies at the ministry level. In an ethnographic study drawing on interpretive paradigm (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001), Chimbutane (2013) conducted classroom observations and interviews in bilingual primary schools in Mozambique and found that some teachers avoid CS because they are following the language education policies that recommend an exclusive use of one language at a time, while others code-switch frequently as an instructional and communication strategy. My research – based on the same datasets that will be used in the present study – investigated attitudes towards Portuguese and indigenous languages among primary school teachers through an attitude questionnaire and interviews, and found that teachers hold more positive attitudes towards Portuguese than indigenous languages. This suggests the possibility to raise awareness of the historical, cultural and educational values of Mozambican indigenous languages in order to promote their use as the MoI. There was a link between multilingualism in schools and attitudes towards mother tongues, suggesting that linguistic diversity in schools does have an impact on the development of positive attitudes towards indigenous languages (Luis, 2020).

There are many bilingual education philosophies, models and programmes across the globe. The current bilingual education programme in Mozambique shares features with monolingual models (e.g. submersion programmes in the US) that aim for assimilation and promotion of the standard and most prestigious language, while largely ignoring students' meaningful learning in early grades. The transitional models involve the use of home languages

in early grades and substitute with the dominant or L2 (Baker, 2017). According to Baker (2017), strong forms of bilingual education promote the use of home and foreign languages as the MoI with equal balance across subjects in schools and Government domains. These models aim to help students become bilingual or multilingual. Examples include immersion programmes, which aim to make majority language students (e.g. English speakers in Canada) acquire an additional language (e.g. French) through the learning of content in that language. However, the context of Canada is unique because it involves two prestigious and international languages (Baker & Lewis, 2015). This is different from postcolonial contexts, such as Mozambique, where Portuguese is the official and prestigious language while indigenous languages are mostly neglected in official domains. Another famous dual-language immersion model is that of Coral Way Elementary School in the US that incorporates Spanish and English (Mackinney, 2016). In this case, English is more prestigious as the dominant language, but Spanish is important as half of the students' heritage language.

1.6. Research gaps, objectives and research questions

There are many studies on attitudes towards bilingual behaviours in postcolonial contexts with a focus on the functions and status of indigenous and colonial languages (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010), particular dimensions of languages such as 'pronunciation or spelling' (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a, p. 235), motivations for CS (Li & Tse, 2002), the number of switches in the classroom (Lin, 2017), among other uses of CS. Research into attitudes towards CS is still underdeveloped (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Lin, 2017). In particular, scholars have ignored examining the impact of individual differences – linguistic/ethnic diversity during childhood (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a), L2 CS tendency (Rodriguez-Fornells, Kramer,

Lorenzo-Seva, Festman, & Münte, 2012), multilingualism in schools and attitudes towards bilingualism – on attitudes towards CS and CS frequency. In the present study, L2 CS tendency measures the respondent's tendency to switch from mother tongues to Portuguese possibly due to the impact of the MoI in secondary education. Li and Tse (2002) asked twelve university students in Hong Kong not to use English for one day and record any words they wanted to use but could not use, and share insights in a focus-group interview. They found that perhaps due to the impact of MoI (English), the respondents faced many challenges in their communication, including the lack of synonymous words and expressions in Cantonese that could be expressed meaningfully in English. In the Mozambican context, some words and expressions such as *Teoria* (theory) and *Geometria* (geometry) are communicated well in Portuguese than in local languages.

Theoretically, there is a significant knowledge gap in the disciplinary inquiry on attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, and bilingual education and CS, which may further justify the present study. These include the lack of understanding of how different teachers perceive the same sociolinguistic behaviour, such as CS, and what 'historico-cultural, pyschological, socio-political' (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a, p. 236) as well as economic and educational conditions that may affect teacher's perceptions about CS between Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages. Understanding these questions is important because attitudes towards CS and language attitudes in general are a reflection of changes in a given community, or at the individual level (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a). Examining the impact of individual differences on attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages and CS thus helps us to understand significant changes that may occur at different levels, including language-in-education policies and classroom practices, and social, cultural and educational transformations,

and how teachers and students reproduce or contest such changes in classroom discourses. The present study thus investigates individual differences in attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, CS and CS frequency in an educational context in central Mozambique.

The present study also makes significant methodological contributions in relaion to previous research. The respondents were selected according to their gender, age, level of education and the type of school where they work. Second, this study transcends disciplinary boundaries by examining both 'socio-ideological and psychological factors' (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a, p. 236) such as attitude-behaviour relationship (Ladegaard, 2000). A teacher may deem it appropriate to code-switch with friends but inapropriate to code-switch in the classroom, but still engage in CS practices with students in the classroom. As the first large-scale study on this topic in central Mozambique, the data collection and research intruments (e.g. Baker, 1992) were translated to fit the educational context and language use of the respondents. There is scarcity of research on this topic in the African context, particularly in Mozambique where CS goes beyond the traditional concept of two languages. In Mozambican classrooms, most teachers and students draw on multilingual resources fluidly through CS to make meaning of the contents and to highlight their cultural heritage. This study thus advances the frontiers of language attitude research and paves the way for future research in Mozambique and similar mulitilingual developing contexts.

In light of some of the conflicting findings in the current research and under-researched aspects of language attitudes and classroom discourses in Mozambique, this study intends to fill the following gaps. First, many studies have attempted to investigate LPP, classroom discourses and language attitudes; however, there are methodological challenges that would still need further investigation. Ricento (2006) made an extensive critique of these methods. For example,

the use of census has many problems that may lead to lack of reliability and validity because asking immigrants about their language competence in Canada, for instance, might yield unreliable results because they may indicate that they speak French and English for the sake of avoiding possible discrimination in public spaces and workplaces. Second, critical language policy has been criticised for being too deterministic, underestimating the power of human agency and not capturing the processes of language planning (Johnson & Ricento, 2013), e.g. how teachers and students navigate, reproduce or contest language policies at the classroom level? (Lin, 2015; Palviainen & Huhta, 2015). Third, most studies on ethnography of language policy or classroom discourses have been conducted in the US, Europe, Australia, Asia and former British colonies of Africa and thus include English (Spolsky, 2017b). The present study focuses on central Mozambique as the research site and includes Portuguese and indigenous languages. Fourth, most of existing studies are cross-sectional, rely on either quantitative or qualitative approach, adopt one research paradigm, sample fewer classrooms, and ignore the role of societal norms and attitudes in classroom discourses (Lin, 2015). The present study thus investigates language attitudes and documents classroom discourses for an eight-week period.

In order to further address these research gaps, the present study integrates socio-psychological frameworks applied to language attitudes, interactional sociolinguistics and code-switching (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). These concepts aim to assess language attitudes (Garrett, 2010), challenge the socially and politically established boundaries between languages (Baker & Lewis, 2015) and advocate for the creative and critical use of linguistic repertoires to break these linguistic boundaries (Li Wei, 2011). The study also adopts a mixed-methods approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) through questionnaires (Baker, 1992), semi-structured interviews and classroom discourse analysis using translanguaging through CS (García et al.,

2017; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012) and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982, 2015) as analytical approaches. The aim is to examine language attitudes with an in-depth understanding of their manifestation in classroom discourses. Thus, the following research objectives and research questions have been developed:

Research objectives

(1) To assess teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS.

(2) To determine the impact of socio-biographical variables (gender, age, multilingualism in schools and linguistic diversity during childhood) on language attitudes.

(3) To explore the ways in which teachers and students draw on semiotic and linguistic resources through CS and translanguaging to reproduce and contest national language education policies.

Research Questions

(1) What attitudes do teachers have towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS?

(2) How often do teachers engage in CS with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in class?

(3) Are socio-biographical variables significantly related to attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS?

(4) How do teachers and students draw on the linguistic and semiotic resources in their communicative repertoires through CS and translanguaging to reproduce and contest national language policies?

1.7. Further contribution

The findings of this research study have the potential to assist policymakers and practitioners in Mozambique and similar multilingual contexts about the impact of language attitudes on policies and classroom practices. This can help them reflect on their current bilingual and multilingual education programmes and make significant changes that may ultimately help the children achieve their fullest potential. The research makes a contribution to an area that is severely under-researched. The African continent (except for South Africa) is generally under-explored in terms of sociolinguistic and applied linguistics research, and within Africa, Mozambique appears to be one of the least studied countries. Therefore, this research has the potential to make an important contribution to language and education research in an African context. Postcolonial Mozambique, like most African countries, is multilingual and multicultural, and this makes the research even more interesting. Most research on bi- or multilingualism in educational contexts was done in Western countries where two or three languages co-exist in the classroom. However, in rural Mozambique, where this research was conducted, a teacher may have to deal with 5-10 indigenous languages, and teach in a colonial language (Portuguese) that most of the students do not understand. This may explain why the dropout rate from primary school in some rural areas of Mozambique is 25-30%. Thus, the research has potential not only to contribute to academic research on multilingualism, but also to have social impact on teaching practices and language policies in Mozambique. By focusing on an under-researched developing country, many methodological (e.g. data collection and analysis) and theoretical concepts will be modified to fit and reflect the current educational practices in Mozambique. Therefore, the present study advances our understanding of research methods and theoretical perspectives.

1.8. Thesis outline and structure

This thesis consists of the following sections. Chapter II is an overview of the theoretical frameworks that guide the selection of literature, data collection, analysis and discussion. The chapter also outlines the main claims and variables of the present study, and examples of studies that have used the same theories. Chapter III reviews existing studies on language attitudes, bilingual education and classroom discourses. Chapter IV outlines the research paradigm, approaches, research design and methods. This is followed by an integrated presentation and discussion of the results and the implications of those findings.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses three concepts: socio-psychological frameworks applied to language attitudes, interactional sociolinguistics and code-switching/translanguaging, which guide the literature review, data collection and analysis, discussion and implications of the results. Interactional sociolinguistics is relevant to the current study because it outlines the role of social and cultural norms on social behaviour. In the current study, language attitudes impact education policies and classroom discourse. Code-switching and translanguaging demonstrate the use of features from different languages within a conversation. Interactional sociolinguistics highlights the role of social norms on code-switching practices. These theories, therefore, inform the selection of literature, research methods, data collection, and analysis. The chapter also reviews some studies that have used these concepts and indicates gaps in the literature.

According to Creswell (2013) and Creswell and Plano Clark (2017), a theoretical framework is an attempt to explain what we find in a study. In qualitative research, the theory usually emerges at the end of the data collection, analysis and interpretation (inductive interpretive approach). However, in some cases, researchers can propose a theory to guide the study and make modifications based on the findings (deductive interpretive approach). In quantitative research, scholars normally use the theory to identify the key variables, translate them into hypothesis or research questions, and then use the data to support or reject the theory.

Creswell (2014) and other mixed-methods theorists recommend scholars to outline the theory at the beginning of the research, and to state the primary variables of the theory and discuss some studies that have used the same theory and argue how this framework informs their research questions, data collection, analysis and interpretation. The present study adopts a

deductive interpretive approach because it identifies the theories that guide the data collection, analysis and interpretation. The present study also identifies the primary variables (attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS, gender, age, multilingualism in schools, linguistic diversity during childhood, CS frequency and L2 CS tendency), which are translated into the research questions outlined in the previous chapter.

2.2. The socio-psychological frameworks applied to language attitudes

The current study integrates the following concepts of language and bilingual education. The socio-psychological theories applied to language attitude research examine the speakers' attitudes towards languages, bilingualism/bilingual education, CS and speakers of those languages (Baker, 1992; Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972; Garrett, 2010) and attempt to explain those theories. An attitude consists of three components (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977): the affective category constitutes the feelings and emotions speakers have towards languages (e.g. I feel excited when hearing Portuguese spoken); the cognitive component constitutes the speakers' knowledge and beliefs about languages (e.g. It is important to be able to speak Portuguese); and the behavioural category involves the speakers' intended actions as impacted by the affective and cognitive dimensions (e.g. We should teach the mother tongues at school). This category also consists of the actual sociolinguistic behaviour that can be observed and recorded in different contexts such as classrooms and the school in general (Saville-Troike, 2003).

Many scholars (e.g. Coady, 2001; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Foster, 2018) have used the socio-psychological framework applied to language attitudes in various countries across the globe. Dalvit and de Klerk (2005) investigated attitudes towards Xhosa as the MoI among 352 students at the University of Fort Hare in South Africa using questionnaires and interviews. The

results show that students express favourable attitudes towards Xhosa as the MoI in the first years of university education and for specific courses such as Agriculture. These findings suggest that there would be a gradual exclusion of Xhosa as the MoI at the university level. English retains its hegemony due to the perceived benefits of advancing students' career and upward social mobility. Furthermore, the favourable attitudes towards English as the MoI for Economics and Information Technology suggest that prestigious jobs in these fields are restricted to the graduates with advanced command of English. Although research studies on language attitudes have proliferated, only a few systematic studies into language attitudes have been conducted in Mozambique and most of them tend to be qualitative (e.g. Benson, 2004; Chimbutane, 2009; Terra, 2018).

2.3. Translanguaging

Translanguaging as a theoretical framework of language is linked to code-switching in that it challenges the existing socially and politically established boundaries between languages in discourse (García et al., 2017; Lewis et al., 2012), and advocates for critical and creative use of the speakers' semiotic and linguistic resources to convey meaning and manifest social identities (Li Wei, 2011). Code-switching is the use of more than one language within a conversation and this sociolinguistic behaviour is generally discouraged, especially when teachers and students switch between an official indigenous languages (García & Li Wei, 2014; Lin, 2017). Translanguaging is different from code-switching because it questions the basic tenets of CS; that is, bilinguals switch from one language to the other (García & Li Wei, 2014). In other words, translanguaging goes beyond the traditional understanding of switching between distinct

languages. Translanguaging focuses on the fluid use of features from multiple languages to make and convey meaning (Lin, 2017).

Scholars have started to use translanguaging as a theoretical and analytical concept to examine discursive practices in the US (e.g. Garrity, Aquino-Sterling, & Day, 2015; Sayer, 2013), the UK (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010), Israel (e.g. Schwartz & Asli, 2014) and Spain (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). In an Arabic-Hebrew preschool in Israel, Schwartz and Asli (2014, p. 22) found that the teaching of language includes, 'flexible bilingualism through translanguaging that involves code-switching'. Garrity et al. (2015) conducted a mixed-methods study at a bilingual kindergarten in the US involving Spanish-English dual language programme and found translanguaging as a powerful tool for learning as they vividly state:

'the infants were not bound by implicit or explicit rules about what language to use when, with whom, or in what context, and our data highlighted the reality of a multilingual infant classroom in which both children and teachers used language fluidly as they went about their daily lives' (p. 177).

This is, of course, the case for infants; however, their perception of boundaries between languages develops as they get older. Thus, this finding might not be relevant to all schooling situations and should be discussed with this caveat in mind. Research into translanguaging in educational contexts shows that although translanguaging does not have well defined variables to measure quantitatively, many scholars across the globe have taken on the concept, and it is a valuable analytical tool to assess classroom discourses in multilingual classrooms. The contribution of translanguaging to existing frameworks is twofold: (1) to document the ways in which multilingual speakers draw on their linguistic repertoires to make and share meaning, and (2) to investigate pedagogical practices that involve the use of many linguistic features in

creating and sharing meaning in the classroom (Li Wei & García, 2017). Therefore, it is imperative to conduct more studies in other contexts such as Mozambique in order to contribute to the growing body of research evidence and any attempts to explain what the translanguaging framework adds to existing CS research.

2.4. Interactional sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), developed by Gumperz (1982), is an interdisciplinary approach that emerged from the fields of linguistics (Bloomfield, 1933), anthropology (Hymes, 1972) and sociology (Goffman, 1974). As a theoretical framework, IS contributes to the study of discursive practices by 'explaining how speakers use signaling mechanisms, or contextualisation cues often prosodic (intonation, stress, pitch register) or paralinguistic (tempo, pausing, hesitation)' (Gordon, 2011, p. 67) in order to create and share meaning and highlight multiple social identities among the interlocutors through shared social and cultural background (Gumperz, 2015).

Researchers have documented discursive practices with reference to wider societal norms and ideologies using IS as a theoretical and analytical framework. Roberts (2011) examined job interviews in the UK using IS through video recording and feedback data. Results show that ethnic minority groups are often unsuccessful because they generally do not share the 'interactional norms' and 'communicative style' expected by employers. These findings suggest that miscommunication among people of different cultures can contribute to social injustices and lack of access to opportunities in a given region. Therefore, IS can help to identify these misunderstandings and to propose ways to address them (Gordon, 2011; Gumperz, 1982, 2015; Kirilova, 2013). In the classroom, teachers use figurative language to signal students to do

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particular tasks with the idea that students have previous knowledge, and they are supposed to understand the contextualisation cues. However, sometimes students misread the teachers' cues because they might take the utterances literally, leading to misunderstanding of particular tasks and they can be unfairly penalised (Holmes, 2017). Language attitudes, interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging guide the search and selection of the literature for the present study. Interactional sociolinguistics will be used to discuss the findings by comparing code-switching practices in Mozambican bilingual classrooms with reference to wider societal norms and national language education policies with previous studies that have reported the same findings. Consistencies and inconsistencies with past studies will be highlighted and possible explanation of results from the Mozambican perspective will be provided. The following chapter reviews studies on language attitudes, bilingual education and classroom discourse.

CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews studies on language attitudes, classroom discourses and bilingual and multilingual education. The first section describes the methods and techniques used for searching and selecting the literature. The second section reviews studies on attitudes towards colonial and indigenous languages and the implications for language education policies. The third section reviews the literature on attitudes towards bilingualism and highlights the current gaps in knowledge, policy and practice. Because one of the sociolinguistic behaviours displayed by multilinguals is to engage in CS practices, the fourth section discusses the research on attitudes towards CS and identifies potential areas that merit further investigation. The fifth section provides a research synthesis on bilingual and multilingual education and highlights the current areas of focus. The sixth section describes translanguaging as a theoretical framework of language and bilingual education and reviews the studies that have documented translanguaging practices in multilingual classrooms. The last section outlines interactional sociolinguistics as a theoretical and analytical approach.

3.2. Literature search and selection

The present study adopts theoretical triangulation by reviewing and comparing key studies on language attitudes, classroom discourses and bilingual and multilingual education from all over the world. However, the literature search and selection was restricted to Scopus, Google Scholar, ScienceDirect, Web of Science and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). Backward search (e.g., Tracking publications cited by Baker 2017) and forward search (e.g., Tracking publications that cited Baker 1992) were also performed.

The literature search and selection followed two main phases. The first phase involved assembling the literature using specific keywords: 'language attitudes', 'attitudes towards CS', 'attitudes towards languages', 'attitudes towards bilingualism', 'interactional sociolinguistics', 'translanguaging', 'bilingual and multilingual education', 'classroom discourse analysis', and 'bilingual education in Mozambique'. This phase also consisted of tracking publications that have cited key studies (e.g. Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010) and seminal works (e.g. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960). Finally, more studies were located in the new handbooks of discourse analysis (e.g. Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015), encyclopedias of language education (e.g. May & Hornberger, 2017) and reputable international journals in the field based on their impact factor (e.g. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, Journal of Sociolinguistics, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Language in Society, and Language & Education*). This process resulted in over 1500 journal articles, book chapters, books, working papers and reports. In the second phase, mere commentaries and irrelevant studies for the present research were excluded after reading the abstracts. Studies that met the inclusion criteria (mostly empirical papers and in exceptional cases PhD and Masters' thesis) were included for analysis.

3.3. Attitudes towards languages

Attitude is one of the most prominent concepts in the field of social psychology (Albarracin, Johnson, & Zanna, 2005). As an interdisciplinary concept, attitude has been paramount in the fields of education (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010), applied linguistics (Dörnyei, 2010), psycholinguistics (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a), human resources development (Bailey, Yeoman, Madden, Thompson, & Kerridge, 2018), among other fields. One of the most often cited

definitions of attitude is by Sarnoff (1970, p. 279): 'a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects'. This, in the present study, attitude is defined as a positive or negative disposition (Adegbija, 1994; Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010) towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS.

Attitude research emerged in the 1920s in the field of social psychology when Thomas and Snaniecki conceptualised the discipline as the science of attitudes (Albarracin et al., 2005). Research into language attitudes emerged in the 1960s when Canadian scholars Gardner and Lambert (1959) investigated attitudes towards languages among English-speaking high school students learning French as their L2. They found that attitudes towards French-speaking guises were quite negative compared to English guises, and also that integrative orientation towards the L2 community contributed more to the learning of French. More recently, however, many applied linguists (e.g. Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Islam, Lamb, & Chambers, 2013; You & Dörnyei, 2016) have challenged the integrative construct in contexts where foreign or L2 learners are not necessarily interested in integrating to the L2 community, and argued that language learners might learn foreign languages to close the gap between their present self (e.g. language learner) and future imagined selves (e.g. proficient speaker).

As stated above, from the 1960s to the 1990s, research on the social psychology of language, focusing on language attitude research, gained ground; initially in North America and the UK, but later also in Europe, Asia and the rest of the world. Integrative vs. instrumental motivation was one of the main variables in Gardner's theory, because refugees and immigrants who were motivated to learn English and French to integrate into the Canadian community were generally displaying more positive attitudes towards the target language (Gardner, 1985, 2001). In the current age of globalisation, English and other international languages have been losing

their association with specific cultures and peoples (Blommaert, 2010) and therefore, integrative motivation appears to be less salient. Foreign and L2 scholars (e.g. Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Islam et al., 2013) have incorporated this trend of globalisation into their L2 conceptualisations and expressed concerns over the importance of integrative motivation. Many L2 learners may be motivated to learn English to bridge the gap between their current and future L2-using selves, regardless of their location (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), to access information, to find jobs in non-English speaking countries and abroad, and to enhance their social networks.

One of the aims of the present study is to examine how language attitudes are reflected in behavioural patterns by interviewing the respondents about their language experiences and attitudes, and observe and record their linguistic behaviour in the classroom and the school in general. Ladegaard (2000) investigated attitude-behaviour relations among 129 adolescents in Denmark through a verbal-guise attitude experiment, questionnaires and analysis of authentic classroom discourse. He found that 'male subjects have more vernacular features in their language and also express more genuinely positive attitudes towards the local vernaculars than do female subjects' (Ladegaard, 2000, p. 214).

There have been three main research strands investigating language attitudes globally (Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2017). The first strand involves the use of the matched-guise technique devised by Lambert et al. (1960) to determine the French- and English-speaking Montreal student attitudes towards English and French and their speakers. Lambert et al. (1960) found that French-speaking students expressed negative attitudes towards French and the speakers of French. The English-speaking students evaluated the English guises superior on most traits. A recent study using this technique is by Cavallaro, Seilhamer, Yee, and Chin (2018), who sampled 64 Singaporean Chinese and Chinese nationals to assess the recordings of standard and

colloquial Mandarin in Singapore. While both groups rated the Mainland Chinese Mandarin highly, the Singaporean Chinese expressed positive attitudes towards the standard variety and the Chinese nationals rated the colloquial Mandarin favourably. The respondents rated all the three varieties of Mandarin higher on solidarity dimension than on status traits, indicating that Mandarin Chinese is currently regarded a language of solidarity more than status (Cavallaro et al., 2018). For a systematic literature review of the studies using this research method, see Giles and Billings (2004).

The matched-guise technique has advantages and disadvantages. The benefits of the matched-guise technique include the potential to reveal the rater's private uncensored attitudes more honestly than in questionnaires using direct questions (Lambert, Anisfeld, & Yeni-Komshian, 1965) and it is more reliable because many judges can assess the same speakers' traits (Lambert, 1967). Additionally, the matched-guise appears to be an appropriate measure in stratified societies where the respondents can clearly identify the standard and nonstandard varieties of speech, and the speakers of those varieties (Kircher, 2016). However, it is unclear whether the ratings are representative of what the participants would express in public (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). More importantly, Kircher (2016) argues that depending on the domain, topic, location and interaction type, respondents may rate the same voice differently in a standard language and indigenous language because they think the use of a specific language in a given guise is not appropriate for particular domain. This does not necessarily suggest negative attitudes towards the language of the guise. The matched-guise has also been challenged for being superficial and artificial in the sense that the respondents conduct the rating based purely on the voices, which are not necessarily representative of the speakers of the guises, and the

existence of two or more languages, for instance, might influence respondents to look for differences (Kircher, 2016).

The second strand constitutes the use of questionnaires and interviews to investigate L2 and foreign language learning. Studies adopting Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System and Gardner's (1985) Socio-Educational Theory are instructive here. Many studies have used the L2 Motivational Self System to investigate language learning, including in Hungary (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006), Indonesia (Lamb, 2012), Japan, Iran (Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009), China (You & Dörnyei, 2016), Chile (Kormos, Kiddle, & Csizér, 2011), and German (Busse, 2013). A research synthesis by Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan (2015) provides an overview of these studies.

The last research strand involves the use of questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations to investigate attitudes towards languages (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010; Sharp, 1973). Many studies have been conducted in Europe (e.g. Coady, 2001; Ianos, Huguet, Janés, et al., 2017; Ianos, Huguet, & Lapresta-Rey, 2017), the US (e.g. Hurtado & Gurin, 1987), Asia (e.g. Rezaei, Latifi, & Nematzadeh, 2017) and in former British colonies of Africa (e.g. Chivhanga & Sylod, 2014; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005). In Barcelona, Woolard (2009) interviewed 24 secondary school pupils to examine their attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. The respondents regarded Catalan as more formal, sophisticated and prestigious, but viewed Spanish as more informal with lower status. However, Bernaus, Moore, and Azevedo (2007) assessed the language attitudes of 176 secondary school students through a questionnaire in the same context (Barcelona), and found that Spanish was more favourably evaluated and used on a more regular basis than Catalan. It is important to note here who these students were. The study by Bernaus et al. (2007) sampled the majority of the respondents from outside Catalonia and they were concomitantly

learning both Catalan and Spanish in addition to the English language, whereas Woolard (2009) sampled secondary school students from urban areas of Barcelona. The studies also used different research approaches. There are research studies sampling respondents from the same context with different backgrounds, which have reported conflicting findings on language attitudes. Spain is not an isolated case; therefore, it is imperative to conduct more studies on language attitudes in other contexts (Garrett, 2010), such as Mozambique. The present study adopts this research strand to investigate teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS.

According to Gillham (2008) and Dörnyei (2010), the questionnaire survey is a popular instrument used in L2 research because scholars can manage to get a significant amount of data within a short period. The data is also simple to process if the questionnaires are well developed and administered. However, we are mindful of Gillham's (2008, p. 13) warning: "people tend not to take questionnaires seriously, and their answers may be frankly frivolous". However, many people take questionnaires seriously; therefore, this criticism should be taken with caution. More importantly, research shows that people don't know how they speak, or they think they speak differently from how they actually speak (Trudgill, 1972) and this has significant implications for the findings of the present study. Overall, the matched-guise and other forms of language attitudes research use an indirect approach to attitude elicitation, whereas questionnaires and interviews usually use a direct approach.

3.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism

Language attitude research globally has generated the interest of scholars and practitioners in the fields of psychology, sociology, education, linguistics, political science and media studies

(Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Palviainen & Huhta, 2015; Wardhaugh, 2015). It is therefore salient to investigate language attitudes because they impact language learning (Baker, 1992; Dörnyei, 2010), language policy and planning (Lewis, 1981; Spolsky, 2017b), language use (Moriarty, 2010), language variation (Fishman, 1985) and social identity construction and manifestation (Lapresta Rey et al., 2010). Furthermore, language attitudes influence classroom discourses (Garrett, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2015). For example, language education policies and classroom practices that favour indigenous languages are more likely to encourage CS between colonial and indigenous languages. Moreover, Hornberger and McKay (2010) maintain that multilingual classrooms have become inevitable and it is therefore essential to examine language attitudes and ideologies behind classroom discourse. However, it is regrettable that most studies have mainly focused on attitudes towards individual languages (e.g. Chivhanga & Sylod, 2014; Foster, 2018), varieties of the same language (e.g. Cavallaro et al., 2018) and two languages separately (e.g. Ianos, Huguet, & Lapresta-Rey, 2017) without examining bilingualism or 'two languages interacting together' (Baker, 1992, p. 76) or even multiples languages in the case of multilingual developing contexts.

One of the aims of the present study is to investigate teacher attitudes towards multilingualism in central Mozambique. In the current study, multilingualism is the entity that primary school teachers evaluate favourably or unfavourably. The current study also uses the term *multilingualism* because many learners in Mozambique speak multiple home languages (all indigenous), and the there is a linguistic and cultural distance between those home languages and Portuguese. In addition, multilingual people are often quite open to learning additional languages. According to the dynamic systems theory approach to second language acquisition

(De Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007), speaking more than two languages (multilingualism) is qualitatively and cognitively different than speaking two languages (bilingualism).

The definition of bilingualism is complex and variable partly because of philosophical and ideological aims of different bilingual education programmes (Baker, 2017). The working definition for the present study is by Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 44): 'bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation'. In other words, being bilingual does not depend on the years of learning the L2 or foreign language. Instead, a bilingual is a person able to sustain a simple conversation in each of the two languages.

Throughout the years, language attitude studies have proliferated in many parts of the world and researchers often use the matched-guide technique for the respondents to rate languages and their speakers (Lambert et al., 1960) and questionnaires to investigate language learning (e.g. You & Dörnyei, 2016) and language attitudes (e.g. Ianos, Huguet, Janés, et al., 2017). It is surprising that only a few studies have been conducted to investigate attitudes towards bilingualism since Baker (1992) developed the measurement instruments over twenty years ago.

Studies investigating attitudes towards bilingualism have yielded interesting findings. Using Baker's (1992) scale, Rizqi (2017) investigated 32 Dayak students' attitudes towards Indonesian-Dayak bilingualism in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. He found that overall, the students evaluate bilingualism favourably, particularly at the cognitive level. In other words, the students have strong positive beliefs about Indonesian-Dayak bilingualism; however, they lack strong emotions and readiness to take the necessary actions to promote bilingual education. This finding is in line with Xie and Cavallaro (2016) who examined 165 students' attitudes towards Chinese-English bilingualism in Singapore, and found positive attitudes towards bilingualism. It

is difficult to compare with the context of Mozambique because Chinese and English are both standardised world languages that enjoy high prestige, unlike the case of the Mozambican indigenous languages which enjoy little prestige. While the studies conducted by Xie and Cavallaro (2016) and Rizqi (2017) are timely and paramount, there is a need to conduct similar research in other multilingual settings such as Mozambique, and supplement the questionnaire data with interviews and classroom audio-recordings in order to improve our understanding of the motivations and situations that lead teachers and students to reproduce and contest national language education policies through classroom CS and translanguaging.

Another promising line of research involves the investigation of the impact of socio-biographical variables (e.g. gender, age, social status and language proficiency) on attitudes towards bilingualism. In Singapore, Xie and Cavallaro (2016) found that self-reported language proficiency is the best predictor of positive attitudes towards Chinese-English bilingualism. However, Baker (1992) developed the attitudes towards bilingualism scale and tested it with 797 Welsh-English bilingual teenagers, and found that youth culture (e.g. Welsh traditional and literary cultural contexts) was the best predictor of attitudes towards bilingualism. Gender, age, self-reported language proficiency, type of school and home environment had little impact. These conflicting results may be partly due to lack of inclusion of youth culture as one of the predictor variables in Xie and Cavallaro's (2016) study, the use of different questionnaire items in both studies, and differences in research contexts. Therefore, more studies in African contexts would add value to the research into attitudes towards bilingualism and classroom discourse.

One of the sociolinguistic behaviours displayed by multilinguals includes CS practices. The following section reviews the studies that have reported both positive and negative attitudes

towards CS. This is followed by a new strand of research that has increasingly attracted the attention of scholars across the globe.

3.5. Attitudes towards code-switching

There are many studies on attitudes towards bilingual behaviours in postcolonial contexts (e.g. Hong Kong, India and Mozambique) with a focus on the functions of local and colonial languages (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010), motivations for CS (Li & Tse, 2002) and the number and functions of switches in the classroom (Lin, 2017). However, research into attitudes towards CS is still underdeveloped (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Lin, 2017), particularly the impact of socio-biographical variables, CS frequency, linguistic diversity during childhood (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a) and multilingualism in schools. In Mozambique, no such studies have been conducted. One of the objectives of the current study is therefore to assess the attitudes towards CS among multilingual primary school teachers.

Some monolinguals view CS as 'gibberish' and often use derogatory expressions such as 'Tex-Mex, Franglais and Japlish' (Edwards, 2004, p. 78). According to Blommaert (2010), Wardhaugh (2015) and Baker (2017), these negative attitudes towards CS are influenced by monoglossic ideologies, which support language compartmentalisation, i.e., one language at a time and linguistic purism.

Many studies have documented negative attitudes towards CS. Haugen (1977) reported a Norwegian visitor's comments on the way Norwegian immigrants in the US spoke. The visitor described the language as a 'gruesome' mixture of English and Norwegian and it was challenging to decide whether to take it as humourous or as serious. In a Hong Kong case study, Gibbons (1987) sampled 27 university students through language diaries to document their

speech repertoire involving Cantonese, English and other linguistic varieties and found that the respondents viewed CS as 'irritating' but they still used it. It is unlikely that this is still the case as CS is much more widespread and acceptable in Hong Kong than it was before. It has also been connected with the Hong Kong political movement as part of a unique identity that is separate from Mainland Chinese, so such results would depend very much on the types of people or respondents who participate in the study.

In Morocco, Bentahila (1983) surveyed 109 Arabic-French bilinguals through the matched-guise technique. The respondents rated the voices in French as wealthy, educated, open-minded, intelligent and modern. They disapproved of CS and considered the phenomenon as reflective of a colonised mindset, lack of confidence and sign of ignorance. In Nigeria, respondents regarded CS as a 'verbal salad' (Amuda, 1986 cited in Romaine, 1995). In the US, Gumperz (1982) reported that some respondents viewed CS as showing a lack of linguistic competence, bad manners and lack of education. In a pilot study, Chana and Romaine (1984) sampled 10 Punjabi-English bilingual students at the University of Birmingham in the UK through the matched-guise technique to rate Punjabi and English speech. Like in any other matched-guise study, the respondents rated the same person differently depending on the language of the speech sample. Lawson and Sachdev (2000) surveyed 169 respondents in Tunisia, and they rated CS between Arabic and French the lowest on all traits. What is interesting about this study is that the authors examined language attitudes and how the research respondents behaved linguistically in response to different language guises, including Arabic-French CS (actual CS in short interactions in the street).

Classroom-based research studies have also reported negative attitudes towards CS among teachers (Martin-Jones, 2000). Canagarajah (1995) investigated CS patterns of 24 high

school teachers of English as an L2 in Sri Lanka and found that students code-switched with low voice to make sense of the content because CS is not seen as favourable in the classroom. In a study conducted by Arthur (1996) in Botswana, the teachers often use CS for question tags, in part to elicit a 'yes' choral response from the students. Only the teachers had access to CS, but they were uncomfortable admitting using CS in the classroom, suggesting that the attitude-behaviour relationship is not always straightforward. Therefore, it is important to examine the manifestation of language attitudes in classroom discourses in order to explore the link between attitude and behaviour. Lin (1990) examined the Cantonese-English CS patterns of ESL classrooms in Chinese-medium secondary schools in Hong Kong and found that the interaction sequence (Teacher-Initiation L2-L1; Student-Response L1; Teacher-Feedback L1-L2) demonstrated the usefulness of English as the language of education by using it for initiation and feedback only by the teacher during classroom interactions. Therefore, this signals the hegemony of English as the legitimate MoI and Cantonese as a pedagogical resource. Some people construe CS as linguistic incompetence by children learning an L2 or a foreign language (De Houwer, 2009). Again, these attitudes are influenced by monoglossic ideologies (Baker, 2017; Blommaert, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2015), the lack of consideration of CS as an instructional technique and communication strategy (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a; Lin, 1990), and the institutional guidelines, which, as in the case of Mozambique, recommend the exclusive use of the colonial language as the MoI (Arthur, 1996).

Nevertheless, a growing corpus of evidence demonstrates the distinctive value of CS (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a). Li Wei (2011) drew on classroom interaction data to examine the multilingual and multimodal practices of British Chinese children in complementary schools (schools that supplement public education for disadvantaged children) in the UK and found that

CS is a manifestation of linguistic creativity and criticality. These two underexplored concepts were documented using multicompetence perspective and classroom data, which provided a holistic examination of CS and mode-switching by children who speak multiple languages. In an analysis of CS patterns, Gardner-Chloros (2009) confirms that CS displays an advanced command of the languages and sociolinguistic awareness. According to Simon (2001) and Ndayipfukamiye (1996), teachers make use of CS to create rapport with students, express identities and cultural values, and mark formal and informal frames in the classroom. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) maintain that teachers and students code-switch to (1) translate key terms, explain, elaborate and exemplify the content, to (2) mark a change in topic, and to (3) enhance interpersonal relationships. Ethnographic studies drawing on interpretive, critical paradigms (e.g. Chimbutane, 2013; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001) have reported that teachers and students use CS to appropriate or contest language-in-education policies and highlight the manifestation of broader societal norms in the classroom. In Mozambique, Chimbutane (2013) drew on classroom observations and interviews in bilingual primary schools and found that some teachers avoid CS because they are following the current language education policies, while others code-switch frequently as a way of contesting these language policies. However, these studies did not investigate the relationship between individual differences and attitudes towards CS.

A newer strand of research has begun to analyse the impact of socio-biographical variables, including linguistic diversity during childhood and CS frequency, on attitudes towards CS (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a). Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, and Finnis (2005) investigated attitudes towards CS in the Greek-Cypriot communities of London and found that the less educated respondents reported more positive attitudes towards CS than the more

educated ones because the younger generation freqnently uses CS as a communication strategy and identity marker. The older respondents disapprove of CS more than the younger ones. In the same vein, Pena (2004) surveyed 98 first- and second-generation residents of the Spanish-Galician neighbourhoods of London through interviews and questionnaires. The first-generation respondents discourage and say they avoid CS with their children because they view the phenomenon as an indication of linguistic incompetence. Although the second-generation respondents code-switch on a daily basis, they disapprove of CS. Dewaele and Li Wei (2014a) surveyed 2070 multilinguals worldwide through an online questionnaire to examine individual variations in CS patterns. They found that the respondents who speak many languages or grew up in multilingual environments, and who work and live in multilingual and multi-ethnic settings, reported more positive attitudes towards CS. Female respondents and the people of all educational levels reported positive attitudes towards CS. Older respondents appreciate CS more than the younger ones.

In light of some of these conflicting results, the present study intends to fill a gap in the literature by investigating the impact of the variables, which have been found to be significant on attitudes towards CS. These constructs include the socio-biographical variables, linguistic diversity during childhood and CS frequency (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014a) in central Mozambique. The present study adds another construct (L2 CS tendency), which measures the respondents' tendency to switch from mother tongues to Portuguese, possibly due to the impact of MoI in secondary education. The following section describes the bilingual and multilingual education philosophies, models and programmes in which CS practices regularly occur.

3.6. Bilingual and multilingual education

This section describes different types of bilingual education philosophies, models and programmes, and reviews major studies that have evaluated bilingual and multilingual education programmes in different contexts and highlights the state-of-the-art research foci.

Wright and Baker (2017) define bilingual education as the teaching and learning that involves two or more languages as the MoI in all aspects of the curriculum. Research into such education began in the 20th century (Baker & Lewis, 2015). The earliest research studies were conducted in Canada (e.g. Sissons, 1917) and South Africa (e.g. Aucamp, 1926). Like any other early research in different fields, these studies lacked rigorous research designs (Baker & Lewis, 2015). An internationally recognised and influential piece of work by Lambert and Tucker (1972) empirically documented the impact of the French immersion bilingual programmes in Canada and attracted the attention of many educational stakeholders. This study was replicated by Rosier and Farella (1976), who found that English-Navajo bilingual education in the US enhanced reading skills in both languages. More recently, August, Calderón, Carlo, and Nuttall (2006) confirmed that students in the US Spanish-English transitional programmes perform equally well in English and Spanish subjects in comparison with their counterparts in monolingual programmes.

As stated above, bilingual education entails the use of more than two languages as the MoI. Therefore, sheltered and submersion programmes (except dual or two-way bilingual programmes in the US) are non-bilingual because the content is taught in English while Spanish, for instance, remains a language subject (May, 2017). In terms of educational philosophy, bilingual programmes can be subtractive and additive (May, 2017). In additive programmes, an L2 is added as the MoI while maintaining the L1 playing the same role (Baker, 2017). Typically,

elective bilinguals (e.g. French speakers in Canada) choose to enroll into these programmes (e.g. English and French as the MoI) for educational and employment purposes (May, 2017). In subtractive programmes, however, the L2 is added as the MoI at the expense of the L1, and typically, circumstantial bilinguals are assigned the L2 in the belief that their L1 may be insufficient in terms of securing success in the labour market and upward social mobility (Baker & Lewis, 2015; May, 2017). Over the past four decades, research (e.g. Cummins, 2000; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Christian, & Saunders, 2006) has shown that additive programmes enhance the students' academic achievement, bilingualism and biliteracy while subtractive provisions contribute to low academic success and impair the students' bilingualism.

Bilingual education models can be transitional or transitional with maintenance (May, 2017). Transitional programmes are most popular, for instance, in the US and Mozambique. Baker and Lewis (2015) maintain that the aim of such provisions is to transition students from learning in L1 to L2 as soon as possible, usually in Grade three (early exit) or Grade six (late exit). Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey (1991) evaluated more than 2,000 Spanish-speaking pupils from preschool to Grade six in the US for eight years. They found that the students in late-exit transitional programmes demonstrated higher performance in English and mathematics than the pupils in early-exit provisions. As the maintenance programmes allow the L1 to continue as the MoI for an extended period, students typically develop their sense of identity and enjoy their linguistic rights. This approach is associated with additive bilingualism as described above (May, 2017).

Bilingual education programmes can also be classified as weak and strong provisions. Weak forms are associated with the transitional approaches described above (May, 2017). Strong forms are typical of Canadian immersion and US dual or two-way bilingual programmes.

Lindholm-Leary (2001) evaluated over thirty dual language programmes (e.g. Spanish-English programmes) for two decades and examined the teacher attitudes, parental involvement and the academic outcomes of nearly 5,000 students. Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that dual language programmes promote students' positive attitudes towards learning environments, academic success and English and minority language proficiency. While the students are not randomly selected to partake in dual language programmes, the longitudinal nature of the studies, number of participants and statistical analysis in accordance with the stated research objectives can attest to the fact that the programmes have distinctive advantages. Numerous studies have also examined the impact of immersion programmes over the years (Baker, 2017; Baker & Lewis, 2015). For example, Swain and Johnson (1997) showed that students in early immersion programmes often improve their listening and reading skills to the native-like level and well balanced speaking and writing skills.

Finally, research into indigenous language education from Europe (e.g. Cenoz, 2009), South America and Africa (e.g. Benson, 2004) have yielded encouraging results. According to Baker and Lewis (2015), the overall finding in these studies is that such provisions maintain the children's home language; students perform better in science, mathematics and social sciences than their counterparts in mainstream monolingual programmes, and students develop favourable attitudes towards indigenous languages. More importantly, the L2 ability of students in bilingual programmes is often at the same level as pupils from mainstream programmes. However, most of these studies evaluated bilingual education programmes in terms of academic achievement, language proficiency and student attitudes towards language learning and individual languages through language tests and self-reported data, which are not always representative of the actual language behaviour. Little attention has been paid to classroom discursive practices (Baker &

Lewis, 2015). García (2009a) and Wright and Baker (2017) call for an investigation of classroom processes, which go beyond the traditional concepts of language compartmentalisation and linguistic purism and embrace the translanguaging framework that allows students to use linguistic features readily available in their integrated linguistic system to make and share meaning. The following section describes translanguaging as the theory of language and an approach for bilingual and multilingual classroom discourse analysis.

3.7. Translanguaging in bilingual and multilingual education

The previous section about translanguaging in the second chapter outlined translanguaging as a theoretical framework of language. This extended section outlines its origins, developments and future research. This section consists of two parts. The first part provides a brief description of the traditional views of language and bilingualism and the ways in which translanguaging has transformed this paradigm into a new area. The second part describes the ways in which translanguaging as a theory of language can change traditional instructional practices in bilingual education and reviews studies using translanguaging as a theoretical framework and analytical approach.

The common misconception about bilingualism is that a bilingual is two monolinguals in one (Baker, 2017). Furthermore, mixing languages has been consistently discouraged in certain classroom environments (García & Wei, 2014) due to monoglossic ideologies, which support language compartmentalisation (e.g. one language at a time), and institutional guidelines that advocate an exclusive use of colonial languages as the MoI (Blommaert, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2015). However, translanguaging is a theoretical framework that draws on transformative and interpretive paradigms to challenge these traditional perceptions and practices in bilingual and

multilingual education (García & Lin, 2017; Li Wei & García, 2017). As detailed in the methodology chapter, an interpretive paradigm values the perspectives of the language users and the transformative paradigm challenges linguistic inequalities (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011) and proposes language education policy changes that have a positive impact on bilinguals/multilinguals (Lin, 2015).

The concept of translanguaging has challenged the traditional views of language (García & Li Wei, 2014). According to García and Li Wei (2014), the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure viewed language as a patterned system composed of signs. His work originated the field of *semiotics*, which studies linguistic signs and symbols, and their meaning. In this research tradition, language is viewed as a patterned system with established rules that are independent of the speakers (*langue*) and the essence of *parole* is the speakers' performance in discourse.

Noah Chomsky recreated this linguistic dichotomy (*langue* and *parole*) into competence and performance (García & Li Wei, 2014). For him, *competenc*e entails the knowledge of the language systems while *performance* is the use of language in real life situations. Therefore, the linguistic focus should be on Universal Grammar, the innate capacity to learn the language (Chomsky, 1965). However, this understanding of language as a structural system acquired by innate capacity did not consider contextual variables.

Various concepts and developments contributed to the emergence of translanguaging. For García and Li Wei (2014), languaging is the concept that language is not a system of rules and conventions that are separate from the speakers. Blommaert (2010) argues that languages should be viewed as resources and practices that are embedded in socio-cultural and political contexts. Scholars (e.g. Li Wei, 2011) have also conceptualised the use of many linguistic features in

discourse as a multicompetence skill used to make meaning and gain knowledge. These views about language gave birth to the term translanguaging in the late twentieth century.

Cen Williams coined the term translanguaging from a Welsh word (*transieithu*) in 1994 in his PhD dissertation supervised by Professor Colin Backer (García & Lin, 2017; Li Wei & García, 2017). Colin Baker popularised this term in his 2001 bestselling book entitled *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* and the following edition (Baker, 2017). In the context of its use as an instructional method, translanguaging involved students discussing in Welsh and writing in English and vice versa (García & Lin, 2017; Li Wei & García, 2017). For García and Lin (2017) and Baker (2017), translanguaging helps students to understand the content and develop their languages concomitantly.

Translanguaging developed alongside other multilingual instructional practices such as CS. However, CS still operates in the linguistic structural paradigm of mixing distinct languages such as L1 and L2 (Baker, 2017). Translanguaging, however, goes beyond CS and codemixing because it considers bilinguals/multilinguals as having one integrated linguistic system in which they use their linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources to make meaning and communicate ideas (García & Lin, 2017; Li Wei & García, 2017).

The concept of translanguaging has been taken up internationally by many scholars (García & Lin, 2017; Li Wei & García, 2017). For García (2009b, p. 45), translanguaging involves 'multiple discursive practices' in which multilinguals use their linguistic repertoire to understand their 'bilingual worlds', and these practices can help multilinguals to communicate and reveal their contextual and social histories that were inhibited by monoglossic policies and practices. Creese and Copland (2017) drew on ethnographic studies to advocate for classroom instructional practices that allow the use of multiple languages together. Li Wei (2011) indicates

that translanguaging involves going between and beyond the linguistic repertoires, which can help the speakers to express their multiple identities, social networks, language attitudes, ideologies and beliefs. He calls this transcendence, a 'translanguaging space'. García and Li Wei (2014) observe that the concept of translanguaging space consists of two constructs: creativity (the ability to push linguistic frontiers) and criticality (the ability to use evidence of contextual interactions to question linguistic boundaries).

The concept of translanguaging has slightly changed its original meaning and use as an instructional technique in the context of Wales in the 1980s. Currently, scholars are advancing the boundaries of knowledge using this construct. *Researching translanguaging* involves documenting the ways in which multilinguals draw on their linguistic repertoire to make meaning, while *translanguaging research* investigates the pedagogical practices that involve the use of many linguistic features in creating and making meaning in the classroom (Li Wei & García, 2017). More research is needed in traditional classrooms where colonial languages are still the norm in order to promote minority languages that were historically excluded from use as the MoI (Li Wei & García, 2017). One of the aims of the current study is to explore the ways in which teachers and students draw on semiotic and linguistic resources as they create and share meaning in order to reproduce and contest national language policies. The following paragraphs provide an overview of the theoretical and empirical studies that have found translanguaging to be a powerful tool for teaching and learning.

As articulated above, translanguaging calls for policymakers and practitioners to reconsider their bilingual education polices in order to yield positive learning outcomes (García & Lin, 2017). Baker (2017) maintains that translanguaging may have distinctive benefits in the classroom: these include deep and full understanding of the content, nurturing the minority

language, strengthening the relationship between educational institutions and parents/guardians, and integrating advanced and weak speakers of languages in the same learning environment. In Welsh classrooms, for example, students and teachers integrate and use both English and Welsh dynamically, which helps in the organisation and mediation of mental processes involved in speaking, listening, writing and reading (Lewis et al., 2012).

Translanguaging as a theoretical and analytical approach has been applied in preschool contexts. In an Arabic-Hebrew preschool in Israel, Schwartz and Asli (2014, p. 22) found that the teaching of language includes, 'flexible bilingualism through translanguaging that involves code-switching'. Garrity et al. (2015) conducted a mixed-methods study at a bilingual kindergarten in the US involving Spanish-English dual language programme and found translanguaging as a powerful tool for learning partly because the children and teachers used readly available linguistic features to make meaning of the contents.

Nevertheless, there are problems and difficulties associated with translanguaging. First, the understanding of translanguaging is still prevalent only among a small group of scholars. Most practitioners and policymakers know little about these developments and they believe that mixing languages is wrong. Therefore, translanguaging may be an illusion in many contexts where indigenous languages are still devalued. Second, a weak version of translanguaging recognises bilingualism/multilingualism in a given region as established by the Governments and gives credit to the status quo of multilinguals but calls for softening linguistic boundaries. A strong version of translanguaging advocates that multilinguals do not speak languages, but they have one integrated linguistic system where they draw on readily available features to communicate and make meaning (García & Lin, 2017). The weak version appears to be more practical and resonates with many political, linguistic and educational arrangements in different

countries, including Mozambique. I would also tend to resonate well with this weak version of translanguaging. Finally, it is still difficult for some scholars, let alone teachers, to differentiate translanguaging from CS and codemixing.

Translanguaging is an emergent theoretical framework of language, bilingualism and classroom discourse. Many researchers have adopted this term to address different issues, including language learning. As a paradigm that calls for pushing the boundaries between the languages that were historically compartmentalised as distinctive structural systems, translanguaging is a useful theory and analytical approach to think about bilingual education in postcolonial contexts. Mozambique is a relevant research site because language policies clearly delineate the separation of languages in the classroom, yet teachers and students still use CS in their classroom discourses. Translanguaging would be a good analytical framework in the context of Mozambique because multilingual teachers and learners mix multiple local languages and Portuguese inside and outside the classroom. Code-switching usually focuses on switching between two distinct languages within a conversational utterance (Lin, 2017). The following section describes interactional sociolinguistics, a theoretical and analytical approach used to examine classroom discourse while considering broader societal norms, social variables and language attitudes.

3.8. Classroom discourses through the lens of interactional sociolinguistics

Chapter II outlined IS as a theoretical framework and reviewed a few studies that have used this theory. This extended section situates IS within the field of ethnography and language policy. Ethnography emerged from anthropology and contextualises linguistic and cultural aspects, and values the views of the respondents (McCarty, 2011). McCarty and Liu (2017) maintain that

ethnographic research should challenge existing linguistic and educational inequalities and propose a change that has an impact on student's wellbeing. For Wolcott (2008, p. 72) ethnographic research is a 'way of seeing' through the human perspective and a 'way of looking', which is based on firsthand observations. For language policy ethnographers, this research involves exploring broader societal norms, ideologies, attitudes and practices that shape language change and use in a given community (McCarty, 2011). In this vein, educational linguists are interested in the de jure policies and regulations and how the key stakeholders (e.g. teachers, students and parents) reproduce, navigate or contest language policies in their everyday lives. Therefore, ethnographic studies describe and interpret these processes in all layers of the education system (McCarty & Liu, 2017). Hornberger and Johnson (2007) use the onion metaphor to describe the multilevel contexts and processes of language policy, and they argue that by slicing the onion ethnographically, researchers can critically understand the details of each level within the whole system.

Historically, ethnographic fieldwork was introduced by Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century when they were documenting cultural practices of indigenous people in colonial and postcolonial contexts and North American languages (McCarty & Liu, 2017). In contrast to Boas and Malinowski, Gumperz and Hymes proposed ethnographic research that analyses linguistic features with reference to cultural aspects of a speech community. For language policy ethnographers, this should involve well-contextualised, naturalistic, firsthand observations that gauge language use and attitudes (Canagarajah, 2006).

The central strand of research in the ethnography of language policy includes the following questions: How is linguistic diversity interpreted as a right, as a resource or as a

problem in schools and society in general? What is the role of education in the creation of linguistic inequalities inside and outside schools? How do language policy and planning endeavours reflect and reproduce linguistic disparities and relations of power? In general, this line of research has been influenced by social constructivism as a research paradigm in order to examine the relationship between identity construction and language ideologies, and the de facto and the de jure policies and classroom practices (McCarty & Liu, 2017). Many researchers (e.g. Hornberger, 1988; Jaffe, 1999b; King, 2001; McCarty, 2002) have conducted ethnographic studies of language policy since the 1990s.

A recent strand of research has explored the role of schools in language revitalisation and enhancement of student's academic achievement. For example, Hill and May (2011) conducted such a study in New Zealand and found that Maori-language immersion programmes and a careful planning of English language instruction help students to become bilinguals and biliterate. Another recent line of research investigates the role of the de facto policymakers and practitioners in planning and policy processes. In this context, teachers as the de facto policymakers and practitioners are at the centre of attention because they are responsible for the implementation of macro-level policies (McCarty & Liu, 2017). Ethnographic studies assume that researchers collect firsthand information through sophisticated approaches about language policies, processes and practices (Canagarajah, 2006). However, ethnography has been criticised for not providing a 'value free' description and interpretation of the phenomenon being examined (McCarty & Liu, 2017). Ethnographic studies should go beyond exposing existing linguistic inequalities and propose changes in policies and practices.

There are many ethnographic approaches used to document classroom discourse: conversation analysis (CA), ethnography of communication (EC), interactional sociolinguistics

(IS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Holmes, 2017; McCarty & Liu, 2017; Wardhaugh, 2015). The present study uses IS because it considers the broader contexts when analysing discourse. John Gumperz, who coined the term IS, argues that this approach aims to interpret the interlocutors' intentions as well as their identities in their daily conversations (Gumperz, 1982). He also maintains that IS has its roots in EC, CA and ethnomethodology. What makes this approach distinctive is that it considers how societal norms, ideologies and attitudes are manifested in everyday conversations (Creese & Copland, 2017; Gumperz, 2015). For Gumperz (2015), this information can be obtained from questionnaires and interviews with the respondents and by recording and analysing their actual conversations. Within this tradition, it is also salient to include an ethnographic understanding of the school, students and teachers' repertoires and the values of the community in the analysis (Wardhaugh, 2015).

The goal of IS is to understand how interlocutors create and interpret meaning in conversations (Creese & Copland, 2017; Gumperz, 2015; Holmes, 2017). In this context, the analyst uses 'contextualisation cues' to make sense of the participants' language and identity positions (Creese & Copland, 2017; Holmes, 2017). Contextualisation cues are signaling mechanisms or any linguistic feature that signifies meaning (e.g. intonation, hesitation and tempo) used by the speakers to create and share meaning (Gumperz, 1982). Contextualisation cues also take the form of supportive moves, which emphasise shared understanding (Holmes, 2017). It is the norm in Mozambican classrooms for teachers to remind students of specific material and students to perform supportive moves (e.g. yes, we got it – often in chorus) when they remember the content. The present study presents more information about this contextualisation cue in the results chapter. Furthermore, contextualisation cues can be conveyed through facial expressions, head nods, gestures and silences (Holmes, 2017). This is also true of

Mozambican secondary school teachers of English as a foreign language. They often use these contextualisation cues to signal to students that their answers are correct or wrong.

According to Holmes (2017), IS applies CA techniques in details by paying particular attention to turn-taking behaviour, hesitations, pauses and paralinguistic behavior (e.g. sighs, laughter and in-breaths) to interpret interlocutors intentions. However, unlike CA, IS takes into account the societal norms, social variables and interlocutors' knowledge when analysing conversation. IS also analyses CS behaviour (Gumperz, 2015). For example, the choice of language or code in a particular conversation can be used to influence the audience (Holmes, 2017). Code-switching between Portuguese and indigenous languages in Mozambique can also be political. Some teachers prefer to switch into the local language when discussing sensitive issues that have to do with neocolonialism in the 21st century. They intentionally use the local language to discuss such issues. The aim is to emphasise the national identity as Mozambicans by using the local language freely in the classroom.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research paradigm, approach and research design of the present study. As stated in the introductory chapter, the current study aims (1) to investigate teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS, (2) to determine the impact of socio-biographical variables on these language attitudes, and (3) to assess how teachers and students draw on the linguistic and semiotic resources in their communicative repertoires in order to reproduce and/or contest national language education policies. Three datasets are used to address these research objectives. First, the questionnaire serves the purpose of establishing general patterns of language attitudes. Second, the interviews aim to complement and explain these language attitude patterns and give opportunity to the respondents to express their views about role and status of Mozambican indigenous languages. Finally, the audio-recordings help to document the manifestation of language attitudes in classroom discourses. The classroom data might also generate questions for follow-up interviews with the respondents.

The present study chooses teachers, students and classroom interactions as units of analysis for many reasons. In Mozambique, teachers are considered role models in the classroom and in the communities where they serve. Furthermore, teachers are arguably some of the most influential stakeholders in education who shape students' views about the role of language. Classrooms are settings where language education policies are reproduced and/or contested. More importantly, a large body of research uses teachers, students and classroom interactions as units of analysis dating back to the seminal work by Lambert et al. (1960) on language attitudes, and Gumperz (1982) on interactional discourses. Replicating this research tradition allows the

findings of the current study to be compared to this growing body of research (e.g. Aikman, 1999; Arthur, 1996; Baker, 1992; Blommaert, 2008; Davis, 1994; Freeman, 1998; Garrett, 2010; Gumperz, 2015; Heller, 1999; Jaffe, 1999a; May, 1994; Meek, 2012; Patrick, 2013; Wyman, 2012).

This chapter consists of the following sections. The first section discusses interpretive and critical research paradigms as the philosophical underpinnings that inform the selection of the research approach, data collection and analysis. The second section outlines the mixed-methods approach and the convergent research design chosen to collect and analyse both qualitative and quantitative data. The last section describes the research instruments (questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and classroom audio-recordings) and the analytical procedures.

4.2. Research paradigm

According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) researchers should clearly state their philosophical assumptions or research paradigms in their research projects. The research paradigm, which is the set of shared beliefs, values and assumptions about knowledge, informs the theoretical framework, and the theory informs the methodology. For Creswell (2013), Lin (2015) and Cohen et al. (2011) scholars can apply four research paradigms: positivist, interpretive, transformative and pragmatic research paradigms. The positivist paradigm, which is associated with mostly quantitative research, makes claims for knowledge based on determinism or cause-and-effect thinking, reductionism or narrowing and focusing on select variables and measurement of variables and continuous testing of theories. The interpretive paradigm, which is associated with mostly qualitative approaches, aims to understand the meaning of a phenomenon

under study based on multiple participants' views and social and historical construction aimed at theory generation. The transformative paradigm, which is also associated with mostly qualitative approaches, is concerned with the need for social justice and pursuit of human rights. This paradigm is based on political activism, empowerment of marginalised groups, and enactment of change and emancipation, and takes social and cultural aspects of the participants into account. Finally, the pragmatic paradigm is associated with a mixed-methods approach and values both quantitative and qualitative data.

In accordance with Greene and Hall (2010) scholars can use multiple philosophical assumptions in their research projects depending on research objectives. By using multiple paradigms, researchers can generate tensions and oppositions, and these similarities and contradictions are sources of new insights (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). The current study draws one the interpretive paradigm through an attitude questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with teachers to explain and gain in-depth understanding of language attitudes using multiple perspectives. Finally, the study relies on audio-recordings and field notes to assess the manifestation of language attitudes in classroom discourses. Based on language attitudes and classroom discourse, the present study aims to examine how teachers and students are reproducing and/or contesting national language policies (Lin, 2015; Palviainen & Huhta, 2015); therefore, the transformative paradigm becomes salient to inform the current bilingual education policies and classroom practices in Mozambique and similar multilingual contexts. It is a human right to study in a language that one masters (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2015) and children from disadvantaged groups should be empowered through policy changes at the macro and micro levels to study in their mother tongues. In summary, the current study draws on several

paradigms and relies on both qualitative and quantitative data to have a more complete picture of language policies and classroom discourses in Mozambique.

4.3. Research design

According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) it is important to be cognisant of the historical development of mixed-methods research, including its recent controversies and developments, and key publications in the field. It is further paramount to examine our beliefs about knowledge and scholarship acquisition before designing and conducting our research study.

Historically, mixed-methods research began in the 1950s (formative period) when psychologists (e.g. Campbell & Fiske, 1959), sociologists (e.g. Sieber, 1973) and other scholars were formally discussing the inclusion of multiple data sources to validate research findings. These developments were a sign of what would be a systematic field (Creswell, 2011). In the 1980s (paradigm debate period), scholars from the fields of sociology in the US (e.g. Brewer & Hunter, 1989) and the UK (e.g., Fielding & Fielding, 1986), and evaluation studies (e.g. Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989) and education (Creswell, 1991) began to define and describe the nature of mixed-methods research underpinned by philosophical assumptions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). At this point, researchers were discussing how to integrate both quantitative and qualitative methods in one strand and the rationale for that approach (Bryman, 2006) and suggesting the names for the research designs (Creswell, 2007).

From the early 2000s, the field experienced more publications and funding and more research designs, which became formalised with comprehensive studies in the two editions of the SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, 2010) and the Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry

(Hesse-Biber & Johnson, 2015). During this period of expanded procedural developments, refinements and reflections, some scholars questioned the hegemony of a positivist paradigm and the marginalisation of the qualitative interpretation in the mixed-methods designs. They suggested a deeper understanding of the qualitative tradition and value of the participants' voices (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Work by Howe (2004) critiquing quantitative experimental research is instructive here. Mertens (2003) also proposed a transformative research paradigm, which values human rights as the foundation in mixed-methods research.

From a range of mixed-methods designs, the present study adopts the convergent research design, which aims to converge and compare findings from quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews and classroom audio-recordings) datasets in order to augment our understanding of language attitudes and classroom discourses. Using this design, quantitative and qualitative data are collected concomitantly during one phase, and the analysis of the data occurs during another phase. The three datasets are compared with a view to examine the link between language attitudes and classroom discourses.

4.4. Ethical procedures

The Research Ethics Committee at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University approved this research study (Appx. I) in April 2018, and the Universidade Pedagógica of Mozambique invited me (Appx. II) to take part in ongoing research projects at their institution. After the approval was obtained, the letter was presented at the Provincial Directorate of Education and Human Development (DPECH) in Chimoio city, the District Offices of Education, Youth and Technology (SDEJT) and schools. A pilot study was conducted with twelve respondents in June 2018. The respondents noted the items and questions that were not clear to them and raised the

issue of sharing their contact as a violation of privacy. The questionnaire requested the contacts of respondents who were willing to participate in follow-up interviews. However, the respondents raised the issue of sharing such contacts as violation of privacy. The results helped to remove and improve the wording of some questionnaire items and interview questions. The administration of the questionnaire, interviews and classroom audio-recordings took place in July and August 2018.

4.5. Research participants

Multilingual teachers (N=201, 88 males and 113 females) completed an attitude questionnaire and sixteen (n=16) of these respondents (nine males and seven females) participated in a follow-up interview. Two teachers (one male and one female) were audio-recorded while teaching in class during an eight-week period, but only eight hours were included in the analysis (more about the selection of episodes in the next sections). The present study adopted purposive sampling because only teachers available in schools in the Vanduzi and Manica districts had the opportunity to take part in the study. The mean score for age is 33.36 years (SD=7.116), ranging from 19 to 56 years old. The respondents are primary school teachers with different levels of education: Basic level – Grade 10 plus one year of teacher education (n=49), Medium level – Grade 10 plus two or two and half years of teacher education (n=122) and Bachelor's degrees (n=30). The respondents come from all the provinces of Mozambique: Manica (n=143), Sofala (n=31), Tete (n=11), Zambezia (n=6), Inhambane (n=4), Nampula (n=2), Cabo Delgado (n=1), Niassa (n=1), Gaza (n=1) and Maputo (n=1). The mean score for teaching experience is 10.30 years (SD=5.946), ranging from one year to thirty-five years.

The respondents teach in bilingual (*n*=25), or monolingual (Portuguese as the sole MoI) (*n*=161), or both monolingual and bilingual schools (*n*=15). In monolingual schools, the official MoI is Portuguese. Evidence from classroom audio-recordings in monolingual schools of central Mozambique, however, demonstrates that teachers code-switch between Portuguese and indigenous languages to explain key concepts, give instructions, help individual students during seatwork and engage in informal conversations outside the classroom (Luis, 2017). The respondents speak Portuguese as their L2 and indigenous languages as their L1. The average number of spoken languages is 3.37 (*SD*=1.079), ranging from two to seven languages. The respondents self-reported as bilingual (*n*=37), trilingual (*n*=91), quadrilingual (*n*= 46), pentalingual (*n*=19), sextalingual (*n*=5) and septalingual (*n*=3). The average age of L2 acquisition is 6.38 years (*SD*=3.176), with over 50% reporting L2 acquisition at the age of seven and above. This is not surprising because in Mozambique, children start Grade one at the age of six and the MoI is Portuguese, which demonstrates that many students, especially in rural areas, do not fully understand the subject content in the early grades.

4.6. Research instruments: Questionnaire

The questionnaire is a popular instrument used in L2 research because scholars can obtain a significant amount of data within a short period (Dörnyei, 2007, 2010). The data is also simple to process if the questionnaires are well developed and administered (Pallant, 2016). In the present study, some questionnaires were administered during working hours in schools. Other questionnaires were administered at a Distance Education Centre (DEC) where in-service teachers were attending classes in Summer 2018. The objectives and the educational value of the study were explained in advance, and anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed and

observed throughout the study. The introductory paragraph stated: 'This survey aims to better understand the attitudes of teachers towards Portuguese, Mozambican languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching in everyday situations and classrooms'. The respondents took about thirty minutes on average to complete the questionnaire.

The first section of the questionnaire elicited teacher attitudes towards CS on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree 2 = disagree 3 = agree 4 = strongly agree). The teachers responded to the following question: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about code-switching?' Seven items measuring this variable were derived from Dewaele and Li Wei (2014a) and Bentahila (1983).

(1) Codeswitching is a sign of arrogance.

(2) Codeswitching is a sign of lack of education.

(3) Codeswitching is a sign of linguistic incompetence.

(4) It annoys me when people switch between languages.

(5) Codeswitching is reflective of a colonised mindset.

(6) Code-switching is a is a sign of advanced mastery of several languages.

(7) Code-switching is useful to explain contents in the classroom.

Table 4.6.1. Reliability analysis of questionnaire items.

	Scale (item) designation	Number of items	Cronbach's alpha	Mean inter-item correlation	Std. deviation
1	Attitudes towards CS	5	.71	.33	.67
2	Attitudes towards bilingualism	9	.83	.37	.54
3	Self-reported CS frequency	5	.77	.42	.69
4	L2 CS tendency	5	.73	.36	.61
5	Attitudes towards Portuguese	8	.78	.31	.45
6	Attitudes to mother tongues	8	.79	.32	.54

All the five items were reversed so that higher scores could indicate more positive attitudes towards CS. The Cronbach alpha coefficient of the attitudes towards CS scale was .71 in the present study (Table 4.6.1). According to DeVellis (2012), a Cronbach Alpha above .70 is generally acceptable in the social sciences. In other words, a composite variable with an Alpha above .70 demonstrates that the items are measuring the same construct. A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.1) shows that the scores were close to a normal distribution, with a skewness of -.603 (SE=.172) and kurtosis of -.109 (SE=.341), so parametric tests were used to analyse the data (Doane & Seward, 2011). In other words, the data is not significantly skewed which would require nonparametric tests to be conducted.
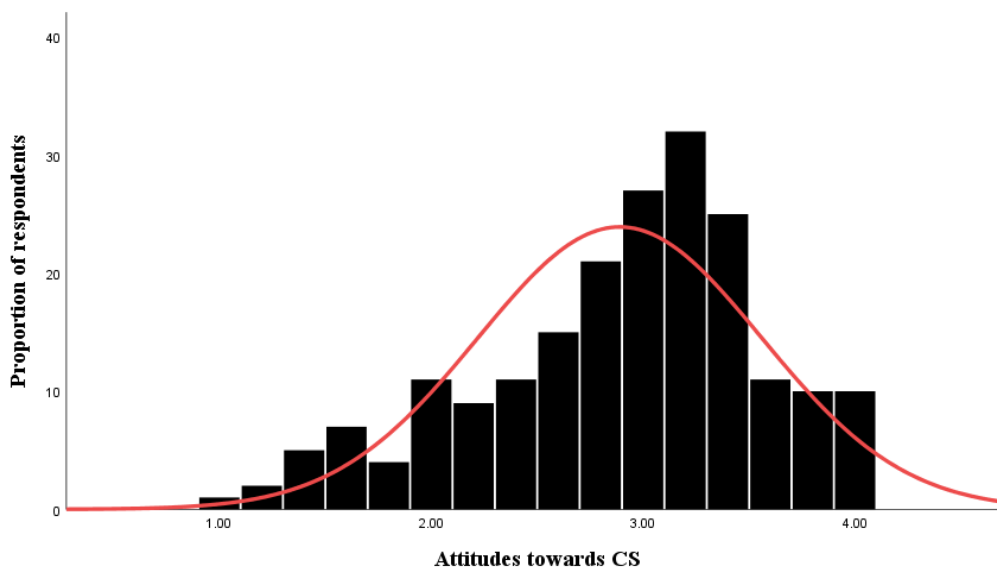
Figure 4.6.1. Distribution of attitudes towards CS as a composite variable.

The same section elicited teacher attitudes towards multilingualism. The teachers responded to the same question: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the role and use of Portuguese and mother tongues?'. Nine items measuring this variable were derived from (Baker, 1992) and modifications were made to fit the respondent's language use.

(1) I would like my students to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.

(2) It is important to be able to write in Portuguese and mother tongues.

(3) Children in our community should learn to read in Portuguese and mother tongues.

(4) It is important to be able to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.

(5) All schools in this community should teach the students to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.

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(6) All people in Mozambican communities should speak Portuguese and mother tongues.

(7) Speaking both Portuguese and the mother tongues help to get a job.

(8) Knowing Portuguese and mother tongues make people knowledgeable.

(9) Knowing Portuguese and mother tongues make people cleverer.

The Cronbach alpha coefficient of the attitudes towards bilingualism scale was .83 (Table 4.6.1). A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.2) shows that the scores were close to a normal distribution with a skewness of -.641 (*SE*=.172) and kurtosis of -.161 (*SE*=.341).
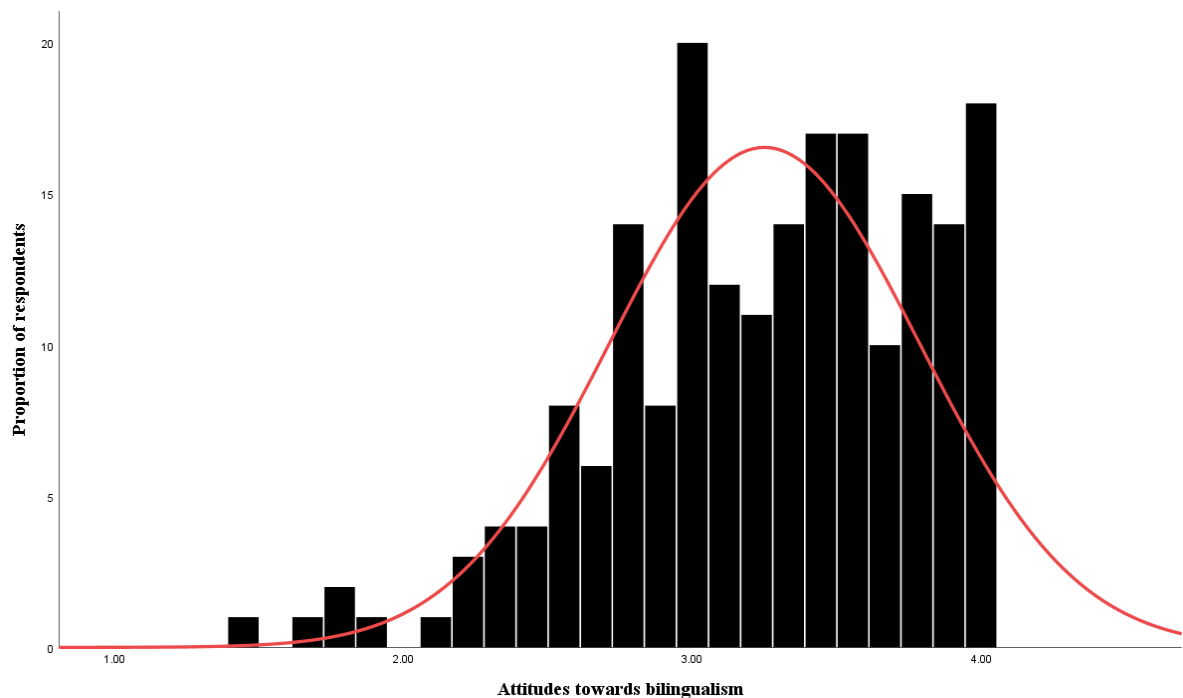
Figure 4.6.2. Distribution of attitudes towards bilingualism as a composite variable.

The first section also elicited information about attitudes towards Portuguese. In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient of the attitudes towards Portuguese scale was .78 (Table 4.6.1). A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.3) shows that the scores were close

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to a normal distribution, with a skewness of -.351 (*SE*=.172) and kurtosis of -.640 (*SE*=.341).

Eight items measuring attitudes towards Portuguese were derived from Baker (1992) and

Taguchi et al. (2009).

> (1) I prefer to teach in Portuguese.
>
> (2) It is worth learning Portuguese.
>
> (3) I like to speak Portuguese.
>
> (4) I would like my students to speak Portuguese.
>
> (5) Portuguese has a place in the modern world.
>
> (6) I feel excited hearing Portuguese spoken.
>
> (7) I like the rhythm of Portuguese.
>
> (8) Children in our communities should learn Portuguese.
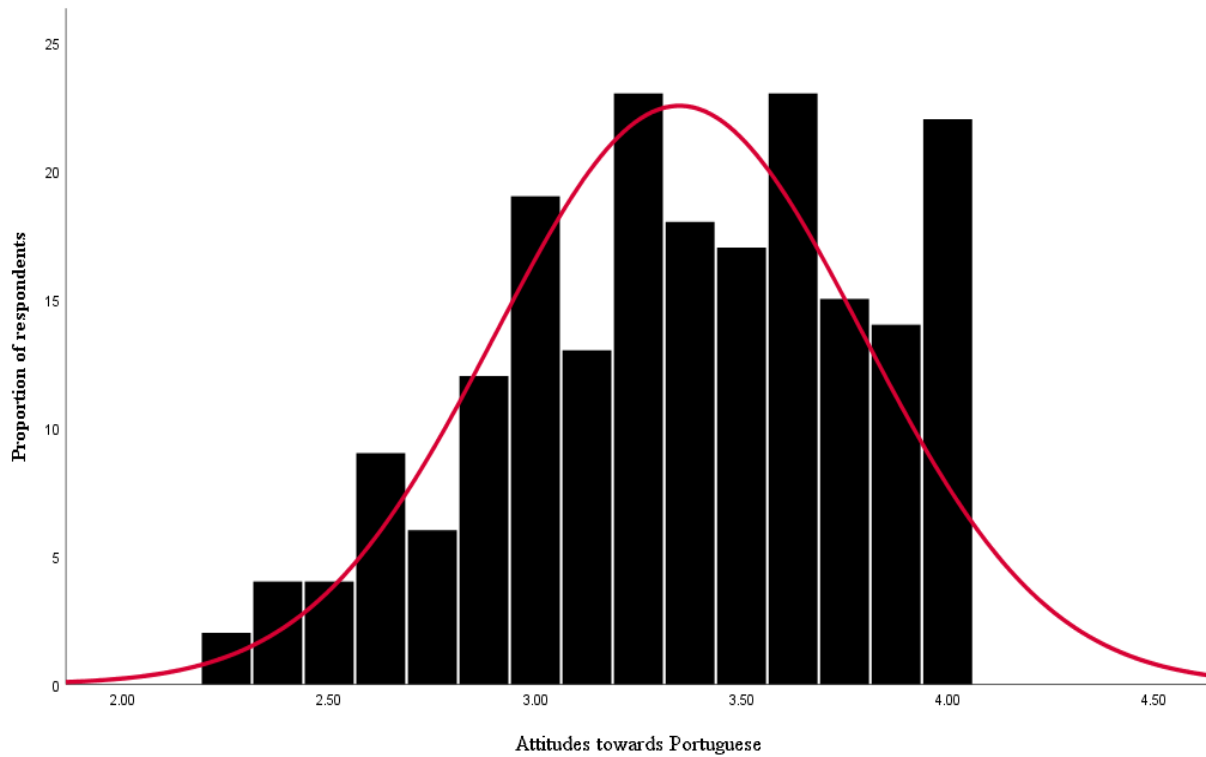
Figure 4.6.3. The distribution of attitudes towards Portuguese as composite variable.

The final part of the first section elicited information about attitudes towards mother tongues. According to Baker (1992), the attitudes towards mother tongues (Welsh) scale has good internal consistency (alpha=.93). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient of the attitudes towards mother tongues was .79 (Table 3.6.1). A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.4) shows that the scores were close to a normal distribution, with a skewness of -.388 (*SE*=.172) and kurtosis of .202 (*SE*=.341). Eight items of the attitudes towards the mother tongues were derived from Baker (1992) and modifications were made to suit the respondents' language use.
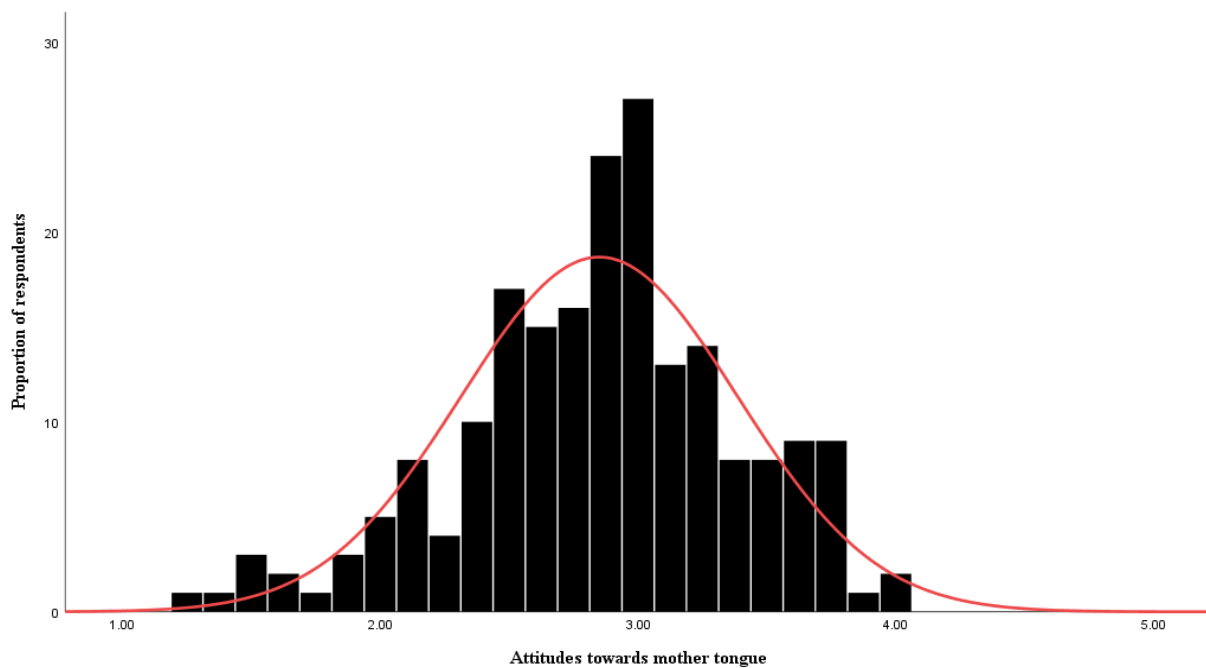
Figure 4.6.4. Distribution of attitudes towards mother tongues as a composite variable.

(1) I prefer to teach in my mother tongues.

(2) The mother tongues is worth learning.

(3) I like to speak the mother tongues.

(4) I would like my students to speak their mother tongues.

(5) We should preserve our mother tongues.

(6) The mother tongues should be taught to students in our communities.

(7) I like the rhythm of my mother tongues.

(8) I feel excited hearing my mother tongues spoken.

The second section of the questionnaire elicited information about self-reported CS frequency with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in the classroom. The

teachers responded to the following question: 'In what circumstances do you generally switch between Portuguese and mother tongues?' on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = never 2 = rarely 3 = sometimes 4 = always). Five items measuring this composite variable were adapted from Rodriguez-Fornells et al. (2012) and stylistic modifications were made to reflect the respondent's language use.

(1) I tend to switch languages when talking to some of my colleagues.

(2) I tend to switch languages when talking to some of my relatives.

(3) I tend to switch languages when talking to some of my friends.

(4) I tend to switch languages within a conversation in the classroom.

(5) I tend to switch languages when talking to strangers.

The self-reported CS frequency as a composite variable has a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .77 (Table 4.6.1). A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.5) shows that the scores were close to a normal distribution, with a skewness of .036 (*SE*=.172) and kurtosis of -.219 (*SE*=.341).
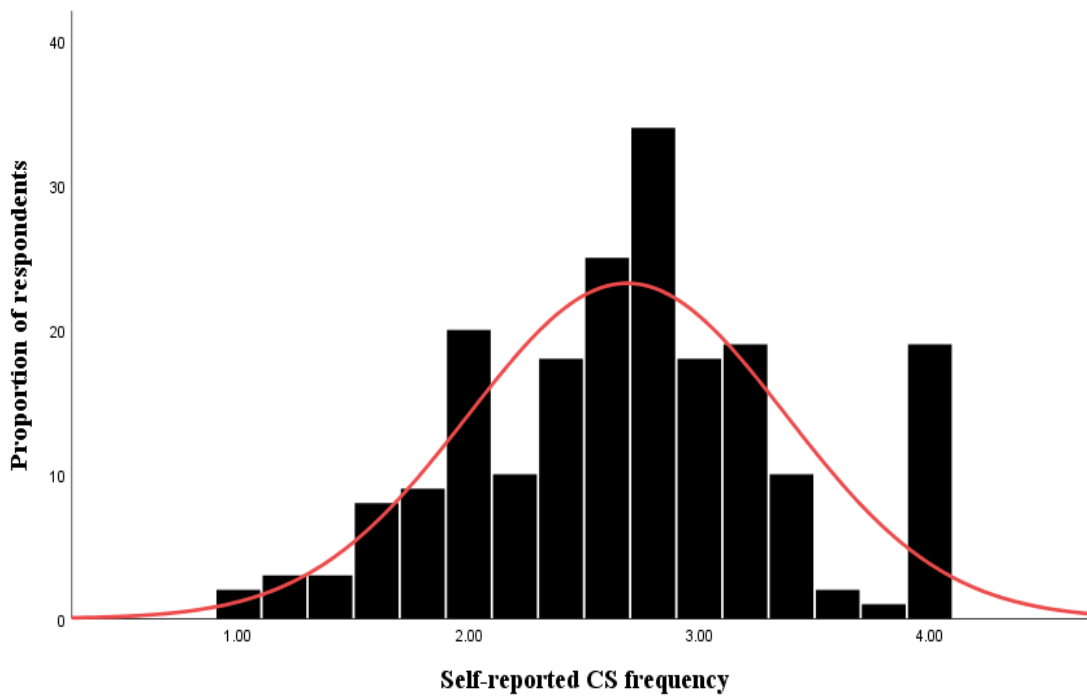
Figure 4.6.5. Distribution of self-reported CS frequency as a composite variable.

In the same section, five items elicited information about L2 CS tendency, which were also adapted from Rodriguez-Fornells et al. (2012). The Cronbach alpha coefficient of L2 CS tendency scale was .73 (Table 4.6.1). A visual inspection of the histogram (Fig. 4.6.6) shows that the scores were close to a normal distribution, with a skewness of -.692 (*SE*=.172) and kurtosis of .429 (*SE*=.341).

(1) When I cannot remember a word in my mother tongues, I tend to produce it in Portuguese immediately.

(2) When I cannot remember a word in foreign language, I tend to produce it in Portuguese immediately.

(3) I do not remember some words when I am speaking in my mother tongues.

(4) I tend to produce the Portuguese words faster than mother tongue words.

(5) I tend to produce the Portuguese words faster than the English words.
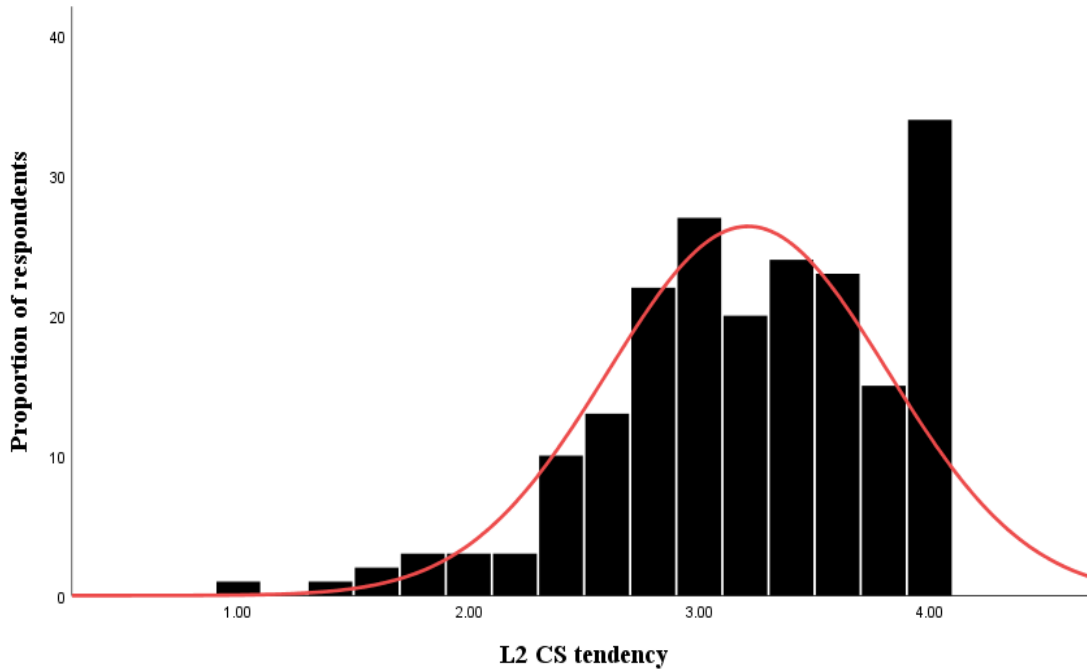
Figure 4.6.6. Distribution of L2 CS tendency as a composite variable.

The last section of the same questionnaire elicited the respondent's socio-biographical variables: age, gender, birthplace, level of education, teaching experience and the type of school where respondents teach. The same section contained two items eliciting information about multilingualism in schools where respondents teach and linguistic diversity during childhood of the respondents. The mean score for multilingualism in schools (*M*=3.43, *SD*=.852, on a 4-point Likert scale: a few=1 to almost all=4) was higher than linguistic diversity during childhood (*M*=2.71, *SD*=1.05, on a 4-point Likert scale: less diversified=1 to very diversified=4).

4.6.1. Questionnaire data analysis

The preliminary data analysis procedures involved questionnaire coding and data cleaning (Dörnyei, 2010; Gillham, 2008; Pallant, 2016). The questionnaire coding consisted of assigning numbers to all the questionnaires in order to identify individual respondents. The data cleaning involved correcting impossible data outside the permissible range (e.g. 33 instead of 3 on the SPSS data view) and handling the missing data by deleting some cases where respondents did not complete all the items in the questionnaire.

Descriptive and inferential statistics were processed using SPSS 25. Means and standard deviations were computed for each scale and item variables to determine attitudes towards Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS. Finally, Pearson correlation coefficient was used to assess the imapct of multilingualism in schools, ethnic and linguistic diversity during childhood and L2 CS tendency on CS frequency and attitudes towards CS. Two-way between-groups analysis of variance (two-way ANOVAs) was performed to investigate age and gender differences in attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS, and to examine the role of age differences on language attitudes.

The questionnaire was adapted and translated from English into Portuguese. This version was back-translated from Portuguese into English by a teacher of English as a foreign language holding a Bachelor's degree in English Language Teaching (ELT) with a minor in Portuguese. The Portuguese version of the questionnaire was administered to the respondents.

4.7. Research instruments: Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were conducted during the same time with the questionnaire study involving the same respondents from different schools to explain established patterns of language attitudes. The questions were thus tailored to the questionnaire item variables. Sixteen teachers volunteered to participate in the interviews. The interviews lasted from fifteen to forty-five minutes. Two of the teachers who were interviewed agreed to be audio-recorded four times each during lessons. Eight lessons/hours appeared to be enough for data analysis because they covered most of the variables in the questionnaire and interviews. Typically, the interviews occurred after each lesson and the topics depended on the aspects that had emerged from the lesson. For example, the discussion could revolve around CS practices that had occurred during the lesson. Overall, the interviews elicited the teachers' views on different topics, including the social, economic and educational values of Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages, the use of these languages as the MoI, language education policies and CS practices. The other 14 teachers were interviewed using pre-prepared interview protocols instead of classroom discourses.

Formal procedures were observed before the interviews. The respondents read and signed a consent form, which detailed the research objectives and issues of confidentiality and anonymity. As such, pseudonyms were used throughout the study. After the interview transcription, a few respondents had an opportunity to validate the transcripts.

4.7.1. Interview data analysis

The interviews were subjected to the following analytical steps. The steps included reading and reflecting on each answer and developing the coding. The coding involved summarising

statements from all the answers with a view to emerging themes and relating them to the language attitudes variables under investigation.

The analysis also involved checking the extent to which the data conform to, or disagree with, the current understanding of language attitudes and classroom discourses, or generates new ideas. NVivo 12 was used to identify common themes and their frequency in the transcripts. This involved a cyclical process (see Figure 4.7.1.1) of importing files into the software, exploring the documents on the system, coding or creating nodes by selecting interesting information from the transcripts that matched the CS concepts, running text searches, reviewing all the materials in nodes, visualising word trees and recording insights. For inter-coder reliability, a University Lecturer with a Bachelor's degree in ELT and MSc in Education coded four interviews, resulting in inter-coder agreement of over 80%. After analysing composite datasets collected through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, the triangulated findings helped to draw meaningful and enlightening conclusions.
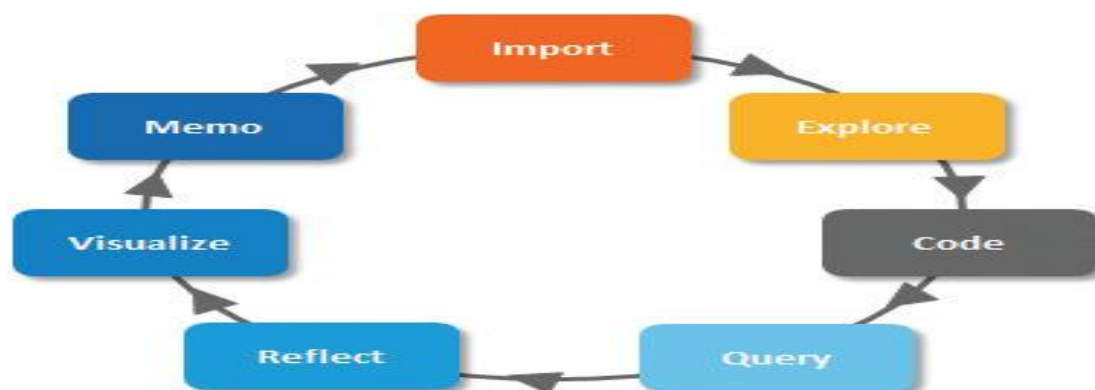
Figure 4.7.1.1. Interview data analysis cyclical process

4.8. Research instruments: Classroom audio-recordings

This section presents the procedures followed to collect and process the classroom data and argues for the choice of this research method. The first part is an overview of interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging as analytical approaches that guide the classroom data collection and analysis. The second part describes the research sites and sampling procedures and outlines the rationale for selecting these sites and samples. The third part describes the steps followed to audio-record classroom discourse and to take notes of contextual information in the classrooms and the school environment. The last part describes the process of transcribing and analysing the classroom data.

4.8.1 Interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging as analytical approaches

The present study gets insights from previous interpretive, critical studies (e.g. Heller, 2007; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Stroud, 2001, 2003, 2004) on language policy and classroom discourses. This qualitative component uses observational and discursive data to examine how societal and institutional norms are manifested in classroom discourses. This analysis can help to improve teacher training, teacher-student interactions and instructional practices (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). After establishing general patterns of language attitudes through questionnaires, the current study uses two analytical approaches: interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982, 2015) examines classroom discourses with reference to institutional and societal pressures. Translanguaging assesses how teachers and students draw on their semiotic and linguistic resources through CS practices to go beyond socially and politically established linguistic boundaries (García & Li Wei, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012) and reproduce or contest national language policies. Gumperz (1982) uses CS as an example of a contextualisation cue, e.g. a

linguistic feature used by interlocutors to construct and manifest their social identities and as evidence of their language attitudes.

4.8.2. Research sites

The classroom observation and audio-recordings occurred at two schools: Gondola Primary School (hereafter GPS) and Canyanga Primary School (hereafter CPS) in central Mozambique. The school names are pseudonyms. The two schools are the only ones where the bilingual education programme is being implemented in Manica and Vanduzi districts. The schools are located in the proximity of my residence, and I worked in these two districts as an English Teacher from 2008 to 2014. This opportunity facilitated the research ethics approval and access to the schools.

Another reason to select these schools includes linguistic diversity and sociolinguistic characteristics that exist in similar multilingual areas offering bilingual education across the country. There are many local languages spoken in these two schools: Cimanyika, Citewe, Cibarue, Nyungwe and Ndau. Citewe is the MoI in the bilingual education programme in these schools. These languages are varieties of Shona, the language spoken in Zimbabwe with a long tradition of being used as the MoI in primary schools in that nation.

I collected and audio-recorded ethnographic data from Grades one, two and three of the bilingual classrooms. The reasons to select these grades are threefold: first, the schools only have these three grades as they are in their third year of implementing the bilingual education programme. Second, early grades are paramount to capture the teacher-student interactions and can minimise previous instructional variables that could distort the data analysis. Third, early grades are the foundation of literacy and numeracy with the potential to ensure students'

readiness for further studies because there are limited preschool provisions in these locales. Many children thus start Grade one at the age of six without having participated in any form of formal education. I observed Grade one male teacher and Grades two and three female teacher for gender balance purposes. The description presented above shows that I conducted the classroom observations and audio-recordings in familiar settings. Conducting an ethnographic study in familiar places was advantageous because the process of ethical approval was smooth since I was familiar with the research sites.

4.8.3. Access to the research sites

Once the District Offices of Education, Youth and Technology certified the ethics approval letter, I presented the letter to the school directors, who directed me to their deputy directors. The deputy directors oversee the pedagogical aspects of the school, including timetabling, monitoring the academic achievement of teachers and students and advising teachers on areas of strengths and improvement. The deputy directors introduced me to the teachers in bilingual classrooms and explained the objectives and educational values of my research. I also explained the study aims to the teachers and negotiated the days they wanted me to observe and audio-record their classes. The school management and teachers were very receptive because they often received monitors and policymakers from the Provincial Directorate of Education and Human Development and Ministry of Education and Human Development.

4.8.4. The researcher-researched relationship

My relationship with the teachers was healthy because we share the same language and culture and we had worked together when I was a teacher from 2008 to 2014. This relationship helped

me to build rapport and create trust with the teachers. I also took the initiative to discuss aspects related to current debates in politics, family issues and other non-education related questions using local languages. I occasionally invited the teachers to have snacks with them during break times. I also tried my best to communicate with the students outside the classrooms using indigenous languages and called them by their names when I remembered.

It is important to note my subjectivity here. My understanding of active participation of students might be limited to the student's ability to volunteer and answer the questions posed by the teacher. A quantitative analysis of student motivation and active participation would be more appropriate than a subjective judgement. Due to my familiarity with these teachers, I might have ignored important aspects of their teaching, which would add value to the present study. For example, I focused on positive aspects of their lessons during the interviews and ignored the negative aspects such as shouting at students and spending much time outside the classrooms because I did not want to create an uncomfortable environment during my data collection.

4.8.5. Classroom data collection procedures

The present study required interactional and institutional data; therefore, data collection techniques included classroom observation, audio-recordings, field notes and follow-up interviews. These data collection techniques aimed at addressing the third research question: how teachers and students draw on their linguistic and semiotic resources through CS and translanguaging in order to reproduce and/or contest national language education policies.

The data collection procedures involved a cyclical process: first, I observed and audio-recorded classroom interactions. During classes, I took notes of the classroom contextual data, which include nonverbal behaviour, classroom organisation and management. Second, I used

these notes to conduct follow-up interviews with the teachers. For example, we could discuss an instance where the teachers used CS in a Portuguese/L2 or Citewe/L1 lesson, and occasions where students took a long time to grasp particular concepts. The classes lasted for forty-five minutes each following the current school schedules. On average, I spent three days per week in schools while other days were reserved for planning and writing reflections. In total, the fieldwork lasted for eight weeks.

The teachers I observed were familiar to me and we decided the subjects for observation and audio-recordings. In total, I observed and audio-recorded more than ten lessons, but I selected eight lessons for analysis: (four lessons for each teacher) and the subjects included Mathematics (two times), Citewe (four times) and Portuguese (two times). The MoI for Mathematics is Citewe/L1 for Grades one, two and three. Citewe and Portuguese are taught as language subjects. The rationale behind this distribution is that language classes are vehicles for learning and manifestation of socio-political ideologies and they represent symbolic and instrumental values. Mathematics has complex concepts that require higher order thinking skills. I assumed that these complex concepts might require students and teachers to resort to CS practices in order to create and share meaning.

Following previous ethnographic studies (e.g. Chimbutane, 2009), I did not have a coding scheme or 'templates' but I had a conceptual framework and preliminary aspects to be examined in the classroom (Burawoy, 1998, p. 11). With this in mind, I mainly focused on the role of Portuguese and indigenous languages, CS practices, classroom organisation and management, learning resources, instructional practices and extra-curricular contents and activities. I exclusively played the role of an observer and did not interfere with classroom activities.

At the school level, I focused on language use and attitudes. I particularly looked at the languages used at the school, the kind of information being exchanged, CS practices and how interlocutors react to these bilingual behaviours.

4.8.6. Audio-recordings

I recorded data inside and outside the classroom and used two SD-71 digital audio recorders with a good recording range. I placed one voice recorder close to the teachers' desk and the other one in the middle of the classroom. The rationale behind the use of two voice recorders was to ensure I would not lose the data if one of the audio recorders switched off for any reason. However, I made sure that I would not move around the classroom during the lessons. Therefore, I often set the voice recorders before the classes started while most students were still outside the classroom. I once showed a recorded lesson to the teachers and they admitted that they were not aware that they were being recorded. This is evidence showing that taking a long time observing and audio-recording classes makes the participants more relaxed and unaware of the presence of the researcher. However, the teachers had already signed their consent forms and had agreed to be observed and audio-recorded.

4.8.7. Field notes

I took notes during classroom observations and audio-recordings. The aim was to record contextual information that includes nonverbal behaviour, blackboard annotations, classroom descriptions, participants' names and classroom management. This information was helpful during the transcription and analysis stages because it could contextualise the classroom data. The field notes were also helpful to enrich interesting episodes that were potential evidentiary

data, and to write a research diary containing my reflections and initial data analysis.

4.8.8. Data transcription

The data transcription followed three interrelated steps. The first step involved transcribing the eight lessons in full using the standard orthographies and canonical punctuations of Portuguese and Citewe. The second step involved identifying relevant classroom episodes to be used as evidentiary data (Tannen, 1984). These episodes contained relevant information related to language attitudes and educational and economic values of Mozambican languages. According to Tannen (1984), an episode constitutes sequences of interactions that are united by a change of activity or topic. I listened to and read these selected episodes several times, and applied transcription conventions presented in Table 4.8.8.1.

As shown on Extract 4.8.8.1, the transcription includes four columns. The first column to the left records the number transcript line by line. The second column records the speakers' functional names (e.g. **M**(oses) and categories (e.g. **T**(eacher). The third column records the actual Portuguese and Citewe transcripts. The final column to the right records the English translation. The last step involved translating the transcribed and selected classroom episodes in Portuguese and Citewe into English. The transcripts resulted from cross-referencing between field notes and audio-recordings. This was a laborious and time-consuming task but worth doing because I could grasp the whole classroom audio-recorded and observed material and develop initial themes.

Extract 4.8.8.1. An example of transcripts structure (Results in the next chapter).

1	T:	Bom dia meninas e meninos!	Good morning boys and girls!
2		Como estão hoje?	How are you today?
3			
4	Ss:	Estamos bem, obrigado.	We are fine, thanks.

Table 4.8.8.1. Transcription symbols and conventions (Chimbutane, 2009, p. 315)

.	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

Italics	marks an utterance in a different language or the use of borrowed words (code-switching)
UPPER CASE	indicates louder speech than the surrounding talk
CAPITAL LETTERS	initial capitals only used for proper names, language names, place 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

4.8.9. Classroom data analysis

Robson (2016) observes that the qualitative data collection and analysis are not separate steps. This is true for the present study because when I went to the classrooms, I already had some conceptual framework and a set of questions to address. When observing and audio-recording the classroom discourses, I could make connections between what I was observing with pre-existing concepts in the literature. Furthermore, I could develop initial themes and interpretations when drafting my research diary and transcribing the audio-recordings.

The data analysis involved two interconnected steps: (1) selecting evidentiary data and (2) identifying emerging themes and undertaking the interpretive analysis. Drawing on Yin (2014), the selection of evidentiary data helps to reduce the amount of data and align with the research objectives. In the present study, the evidentiary data was tailored to the research

questions and interactional episodes that clearly showed the participants' attitudes towards Mozambican indigenous languages and bilingual behaviours such as the use of Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L2 classes, and the instrumental and symbolic representation of Portuguese and indigenous languages. I also identified evidentiary episodes based on themes: (1) instructional practices (e.g. code-switching), (2) socio-economic and pedagogical value of Portuguese and indigenous languages, and (3) socio-economic and pedagogical value of bilingualism and bilingual education. However, I maintained a balance between the perceptions of the participants in the selection of evidentiary episodes. The cross-analysis of various evidentiary episodes based on emerging themes resulted in sub-themes (e.g. Portuguese helps students to be successful in the job market) and broader themes as well (e.g. Mozambican languages represent our national identity).

CHAPTER V: RESULTS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical findings that address the four research questions outlined in the Introductory chapter. The first section addresses the first research question, which examines attitudes towards Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages. This is followed by the second part of the first research question that examines attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education and CS. The third section presents the teachers' CS frequency with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in class. This is followed by the section, which assesses the impact of socio-biographical variables (e.g. age, gender, multilingualism in schools and linguistic diversity during childhood) on language attitudes. The last section presents the results from classroom discourse analysis that primarily focuses on the ways in which teachers and students draw on their linguistic repertoires through translanguaging and CS in order to reproduce and contest national language policies.

5.2. Attitudes towards Portuguese

Table 5.2.1. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for composite variables

	Scale designation	Number of items	Mean	Std. deviation
1	Attitudes towards Portuguese	8	3.35	.45
2	Attitudes towards mother tongues	8	2.85	.54

This section addresses the first part of the research question, which deals with attitudes towards Portuguese. Descriptive statistics (Table 5.2.1) show that the respondents express favourable attitudes towards Portuguese as reflected by a higher mean score (*M*=3.35, *SD*=.45).

Thus, multilingual teachers are aware of the economic, educational and social impact of Portuguese.

Table 5.2.2. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for attitudes towards Portuguese

	Item designation	Mean	Std. deviation
1	I prefer to teach in Portuguese.	3.03	.84
2	It is worth learning Portuguese.	3.32	.71
3	I like to speak Portuguese.	3.38	.75
4	I would like my students to speak Portuguese.	3.54	.62
5	Portuguese has a place in the modern world.	3.21	.77
6	I feel excited hearing to Portuguese spoken.	3.43	.65
7	I like the rhythm of Portuguese.	3.33	.67
8	Portuguese should be taught to students in our communities.	3.54	.67

A closer analysis of the three components of language attitude (affective, cognitive and behavioural) shows (Table 5.2.2) that the respondents feel attached to Portuguese (M=3.43, SD=.65) (I feel excited when hearing Portuguese spoken). The respondents also express modest cognitive beliefs and knowledge about Portuguese (M=3.21, SD=.77) (Portuguese has a place in the modern world). Their intended actions or readiness to support the learning and preservation of Portuguese appear to be in line with their affective and cognitive dimensions (M=3.03, SD=.84) (I prefer to teach in Portuguese), with an overwhelming majority (93% of the respondents) agreeing that Portuguese should be taught to students in their communities. These findings are also confirmed by interviews conducted in Portuguese and indigenous languages. In Excerpt #1 below, Eugenia, an in-service teacher and her pre-service colleagues Jose and Julia agree that Portuguese is the best option for education, communication across the country with fellow Mozambicans who speak other Bantu languages and a vehicle for upward social mobility.

Excerpt #1: The impact of Portuguese in professional and academic contexts.

Eugenia: I would primarily advise my children to learn Portuguese at school and use mother
tongues at home. However, I would like to see local languages being taught because that
can help the kids to understand the contents though these local languages have a limited
vocabulary.

Jose: As a parent, I would like my kid to learn Portuguese because it is easy for the kid to learn
faster than those who use the local language as the medium of instruction. The kid would
need more time to learn in the local language and then translate into Portuguese. At home,
the kid uses the local language. We should also give value to our culture by using our local
languages at home. However, I would use the local language as a pedagogical resource in a
Portuguese-medium classroom.

Julia: Portuguese is the best option for employment opportunities. We still need bilingual
education in all schools. However, I could not manage to teach in the local language
because I have never learned the language in formal settings.

It is important to note that although many teachers have positive attitudes towards
Portuguese and view Portuguese as the language for professional, educational and economic
opportunities, the respondents still recognise that indigenous languages are part of Mozambican
cultural identity. These Bantu languages are thus seen as the best options to be learned and used
at home. As Julia suggests, she has never learned indigenous languages in a formal setting and
therefore, she would not feel comfortable using them as MoI. These teachers appear to accept
standard language ideologies without question. The teachers grew up using Portuguese at school
and other formal settings and speak indigenous languages at home. It makes sense for them to
hold favourable attitudes towards the use of Portuguese in the classroom. Bilingual education is

also in its infancy in central Mozambique; therefore, some teachers might be reluctant to embrace this education model that involves using indigenous languages as the MoI. More importantly, these teachers understand that Portuguese is the main language of professional and academic qualifications in Mozambique. However, these teachers also demonstrate some lack of understanding of the mother tongue's role in helping children learn literacy and academic content while learning the L2.

5.3. Attitudes towards Mozambican indigenous languages

Table 5.3.1. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for attitudes towards mother tongues

	Item designation	Mean	Std. deviation
1	I prefer to teach in my mother tongues.	2.16	.93
2	The mother tongues are worth learning.	2.96	.84
3	I like to speak the mother tongues.	2.78	.84
4	I would like my students to speak their mother tongues.	2.63	.87
5	We should preserve our mother tongues.	3.18	.82
6	The mother tongues should be taught to students in our communities.	3.11	.87
7	I like the rhythm of my mother tongues.	2.95	.79
8	I feel excited hearing to my mother tongues spoken.	3.03	.78

As shown in Table 5.2.1 presented in the previous section, the teacher attitudes towards mother tongues are favourable (M=2.85, SD=.54), but significantly lower than Portuguese. In other words, the respondents evaluate Portuguese more positively than their mother tongues as the MoI. As Table 5.3.1 demonstrates, the respondents' affective attachment (M=2.95, SD=.79) (I like the rhythm of my mother tongues) and cognitive beliefs (M=2.96, SD=.84) (the mother tongues are worth learning)) about the mother tongues are generally lower. Accordingly, the respondents do not seem ready to support indigenous languages as the MoI (M=2.16, SD=.93) (I prefer to teach in the mother tongues), with the vast majority (62.7% of the respondents)

disagreeing to teach students in their mother tongues. Support for the preservation of indigenous languages, however, is above average (M=3.18, SD=.82) (we should preserve our mother tongues), with an overwhelming majority (82.6% of the respondents) agreeing to preserve the mother tongues.

These emerging, quantitative themes agree with a number of interviews (Excerpt #2 below), in that speaking the indigenous language alone could limit communication with fellow Mozambicans from other ethnic groups and challenge national unity among Mozambicans and could hamper the manifestation of multilingual identities as part of the national culture. It is important to note that these are myths about languages and multilingualism because multilinguals can speak local languages and still be united and manifest their multilingual identities.

Excerpt #2: Limitations of using indigenous languages.

Julia: I would like my kids to learn my mother tongues, but it is not a language at the national level. For example, if my kids only learn my mother tongues, they will not manage to communicate effectively with other Mozambicans in Maputo capital city and other provinces across Mozambique.

Moses: To develop economically, professionally and socially, one needs Portuguese because our local languages do not have a labour market. Culturally, our local languages constitute part of our Mozambican identity. We are losing our culture if we ignore our mother tongues. Your culture is your culture. It is difficult to forget it.

Sergio: I speak Cimanyika and would prefer to teach in Cimanyika. However, Portuguese is the language of upward social mobility and it facilitates communication among Mozambicans. In

terms of development, some international organisations require candidates who speak indigenous languages. Speaking an indigenous language is thus an asset.

As Sergio suggests, he speaks Cimanyika and would prefer to teach in that language. Sergio is a primary school teacher serving at a monolingual school where Portuguese is the MoI. He admits using the local language as a pedagogical resource. Although he did not learn Cimanyika in formal settings, he would prefer to teach in Cimanyika. This is interesting because teacher Julia quoted in the Excerpt #1, suggested that she would not teach in the mother tongues because she did not learn it in formal environments. Lack of formal education in indigenous languages is thus not the sole variable that affects teachers to instruct students in Mozambican local languages. Perhaps teachers such as Sergio who prefer to teach in Bantu languages have genuine interest and love for indigenous languages and bilingual education.

It is important to argue that some teachers think Mozambican indigenous languages do help to obtain professional jobs as suggested by Sergio. He demonstrates that international organisations are increasingly requiring potential job candidates to speak the local language in order to communicate effectively with their target groups in the communities. Perhaps Moses is referring to the mainstream understanding that professional jobs in Mozambique depend very much on the ability to speak Portuguese. The lesson here is that speaking both Portuguese and indigenous language is an asset in the job market.

5.4. Attitudes towards CS and bilingualism/bilingual education

Table 5.4.1. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for attitudes towards bilingualism and CS

	Scale designation	Number of items	Mean	Std. deviation
1	Attitudes towards CS	5	2.89	.67
2	Attitudes towards bilingualism	9	3.25	.54

This section addresses the second part of the first research question that deals with attitudes towards CS and Portuguese-indigenous language bilingualism/bilingual education. Descriptive statistics (Table 5.4.1) demonstrate that teachers hold positive attitudes towards Portuguese-indigenous language bilingualism (*M*=3.25, *SD*=.54) and CS (*M*=2.89, *SD*=.67) and they self-reported using CS with students in the classroom, suggesting that these multilingual teachers welcome the ability of students to speak multiple languages and learn subject contents through both Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages.

Table 5.4.2. Descriptive statistics for attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education

	Item designation	Mean	Std. deviation
1	I would like my students to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.	3.31	.86
2	It is important to be able to write in Portuguese and mother tongues.	3.50	.75
3	Children in our community should learn to read in Portuguese and mother tongues.	3.40	.80
4	It is important to be able to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.	3.48	.71
5	All schools in this community should teach the students to speak Portuguese and mother tongues.	3.29	.79
6	Speaking both Portuguese and the mother tongues helps to get a job.	2.98	.87
7	Knowing Portuguese and mother tongues makes people knowledgeable.	2.91	.93
8	Knowing Portuguese and mother tongues makes people cleverer.	2.98	.94

As Table 5.4.2 presents, these multilingual teachers have positive cognitive beliefs about bilingualism/bilingual education. They believe that it is important to speak (*M*=3.48, *SD*=71) and write (*M*=3.50, *SD*=.75) in both Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages. They also think that mastering Portuguese and mother tongues helps to get a job (*M*=2.98, *SD*=.87), makes people knowledgeable (*M*=2.91, *SD*=.93) and clever (*M*=2.98, *SD*=.94). Their cognitive beliefs about bilingualism affects their readiness to support bilingual education because they self-reported strong willingness for the children in their communities to read in both Portuguese and

mother tongues (*M*=3.40, *SD*=.80), with a vast majority (87% of the respondents) agreeing to support the implementation of bilingual education.

Table 5.4.3. Descriptive statistics for attitudes towards CS

	Item designation	Mean	Std. deviation
1	Code-switching is a sign of arrogance.	2.07	.98
2	Code-switching is a sign of lack of education.	1.91	.97
3	Code-switching is a sign of linguistic incompetence.	2.10	.99
4	It annoys me when people switch between languages.	2.24	.98
5	Code-switching is reflective of a colonised mindset.	2.23	.99
6	Code-switching is a is a sign of advanced mastery of several languages.	2.82	.96
7	Code-switching is useful to explain contents in the classroom.	2.74	.99

As outlined above, the respondents have positive attitudes towards CS. Table 5.4.3 shows that the teachers view CS as a sign of advanced mastery of several languages (*M*=2.82, *SD*=.96) and an important pedagogical resource used to explain subject contents and key terms in the classroom (*M*=2.74, *SD*=.99), with over half of the respondents (62.7%) acknowledging the use of CS in the classroom. These multilingual teachers do not think that CS is a sign of a colonised mindset (*M*=2.23, *SD*=.99) and they do not get annoyed when people switch between Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages (*M*=2.24, *SD*.98). More importantly, the respondents do not view CS as a lack of education (*M*=1.91, *SD*=.97), with an overwhelming majority (76.6% of the respondents) disagreeing with that statement.

Interviews with teachers (Excerpt #3 below) who had previously served in bilingual education schools demonstrate that using the mother tongues alone as the MoI initially triggered both parents and teachers to contest such arrangement. Parents were reluctant to embrace bilingual education when the programme was introduced in central Mozambique because they perceived that arrangement as a disadvantage to their children. But they later welcomed the

programme after considerable awareness of the existence of Portuguese as a language subject in early grades, and outstanding advantages of learning in the mother tongues such as active participation during the lessons, confidence among early graders and high academic achievement in standardised tests of Mathematics held annually nationwide.

Excerpt #3: Parent reactions to bilingual education in early stages of its implementation.

Rugotwe: We had monolingual and bilingual classes. In bilingual classrooms, there were no problems for students in Mathematics, especially when engaging with vowels, writing and reading, among other areas. The students were very active in the classroom when we were teaching in Ndau. In the national exams of Grade Five, the students in bilingual classrooms were having a bit of problems in the first term because of the transition from indigenous language as the MoI to Portuguese. In Mathematics, they were very quick to learn. With the help of Ndau, the students could learn quickly. In national exams, the students in bilingual classrooms were doing well, especially in Mathematics. If I were told to teach a bilingual classroom, I could accept now because I do want to go back to that experience. I would also accept to be a teacher trainer to set the curriculum, dictionaries and instructional materials.

Rubio: When bilingual education was introduced, parents could refuse with their children to be taught in bilingual schools. We had to raise awareness of the educational values of learning in the mother tongues because parents wanted their children to learn in Portuguese. We had to explain to them that they would learn Portuguese as a subject and they could be more successful than students in mainstream monolingual classrooms. They thought that their kids could not learn Portuguese. We even integrated the kids in Ndau classrooms without telling the parents in the beginning. Many classes were empty in bilingual classrooms

because parents were reluctant for their kids to learn in the local language. Fortunately, the parents liked the programme later because of the benefits of bilingual education, including strong numeric skills and active participation during lessons.

Support for bilingualism/bilingual education is tremendous among multilingual teachers serving in monolingual and bilingual schools. For example, Julia, a teacher with 34 years of classroom experience, and her peers support bilingual education because it dignifies indigenous languages and revives their culture and helps disadvantaged children achieve their full potential.

Excerpt #4: Reasons for supporting bilingual education.

Julia: I think bilingual education is good because we need to give value to our languages. I have my grandchildren in the city who do not speak our mother tongues. They only speak Portuguese. I think we are losing our linguistic identity and culture because the younger generation, especially in the cities, are increasingly growing up as Portuguese speakers only.

Eugenia: I think bilingual education is a good model because it opens the mind of the kids because both Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages have different worldviews, cultural values and ways of life. Knowing both is thus an added advantage. The kids can easily grasp the content by using the local language.

The Excerpt #4 illustrates that teachers are worried of losing their indigenous languages. Teacher Julia raises the question that many of her granddaughters and grandsons growing up in the cities are increasingly becoming Portuguese speakers and not able to speak indigenous languages, which are part of the Mozambican cultural identity. Overall, multilingual teachers

have positive attitudes towards Portuguese, mother tongues, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching. However, they are reluctant to embrace indigenous languages as the sole MoI.

5.5. Self-reported code-switching frequency with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in class

One of the sociolinguistic behaviours manifested by multilinguals in Mozambican schools and other sociolinguistic situations include using CS as a communication and instructional strategy, a contextualisation cue to highlight multilingual identities and a tool to contest or reproduce national language policies (Chimbutane, 2013). This section presents the findings on the teachers' CS frequency in the classroom and other sociolinguistic situations. This is self-reported data, and we know that the data might not reflect what these people actually do.

Table 5.5.1. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for self-reported CS frequency

	Scale/item designation	Number of items	Mean	Std. deviation
1	CS frequency as a composite variable.	8	2.68	.69
2	CS with colleagues	1	2.67	.86
3	CS with relatives	1	2.68	.95
4	CS with friends	1	2.94	.82
5	CS with students in class	1	2.68	.10
6	CS with strangers	1	2.47	.11

The second research question deals with self-reported CS frequency with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in class. As shown in Table 5.5.1, the multilingual teachers under examination reported using CS on a daily basis as reflected by a moderately high mean score (*M*=2.68, *SD*=.69). This was also reported in the interview data. The teachers say they code-switch more frequently with friends (*M*=2.94, *SD*=.82), relatives (*M*=2.68, *SD*=.95),

colleagues (M=2.67, SD=.86) and students in class (*M*=2.68, *SD*=.10). The teachers say they rarely code-switch with strangers (*M*=2.47, *SD*=.11). For example, Albano, a novice teacher and his colleagues outlined the circumstances that lead them to code-switch on a regular basis.

Excerpt #5: The circumstances that lead teachers to code-switch on a regular basis.

Albano: I code-switch with my relatives. It is a matter of habits. I normally code-switch with my mom and grandmother like *Ndinafuna chire* (I need that). I am not comfortable with it but because of habits, I do code-switch.

Antonia: Yes, I code-switch with my relatives and the people who speak the same language with me. I code-switch because I like to remember the past and give value to our indigenous languages.

Jose: I code-switch more with my childhood friends, those friends from my village. Once we meet sometimes, we forget Portuguese. We feel good; we get strong feelings and debate our culture, our reality in our mother tongues.

Sara: I code-switch with children in the classroom because I have many students who do not speak Portuguese. Sometimes the kids say, 'we do not understand, teacher!' I then explain the meaning in the local language.

In the above extract, Jose states that when he meets his childhood friends, they immerse themselves in CS, especially when they discuss the Mozambican culture and traditions. These strong feelings about CS and the domain of the conversational utterance suggest that Mozambican indigenous languages are increasingly becoming languages of solidarity rather than status among friends and possibly fellow Mozambicans.

Regarding CS with students in the classroom, it is paramount to note that some teachers admit using CS as an instructional strategy, but when asked about CS as sociolinguistic behaviour in general, they tend to disapprove of CS (Excerpt #6). Notice that the following exchange occurred within five minutes of the interview.

Excerpt #6: Approval and disapproval of code-switching in different contexts.

1	Interviewer:	Você usa alternância de códigos com estudantes durante as aulas?	Do you code-switch with students during classes?
2	Teacher Be:	Sim! Faço alternância de códigos para explicar os conceitos chaves.	Yes, I code-switch to explain key concepts.
3		Porque a maioria dos meus estudantes falam Citewe.	Because most of my students speak Citewe.
4	Interviewer	Qual é a sua opinião acerca de alternância de códigos?	What do you think about CS?
		Você aprova esta maneira de usar as línguas?	Do you approve this type of language use?
6	Teacher Be:	Acho que não é correcto. Eu raramente faço alternância de códigos.	I think it is not correct. I rarely code-switch.

It is important to comment on the subtle inconsistency by the respondent in Excerpt #6 presented above. The teacher admits using CS as a pedagogical resource in classrooms where Portuguese is supposed to be the sole MoI (lines 2-3), but the same teacher suggests that CS as a sociolinguistic behaviour is not good (line 6). This conundrum might be explained by the fact that some teachers say they avoid CS as much as possible, thereby reproducing national language education policies (e.g. language separation policy). The use of CS in exceptional situations might be justified purely on pedagogical grounds. This conflict could be related to mixed messages coming from the Ministry of Education and Human Development.

In the classrooms, the current education policy recommends teachers to use one language at a time, but many teachers, including the interviewees in the present study consider this policy

impractical and thus engage in CS as a way of contesting this language separation policy. The teachers contest national language education policies through debates in professional development workshops when they point out that the use of indigenous languages in Portuguese-medium classroom is sometimes unavoidable, and through code-switching in the classroom with students. It is a contestation because CS should be avoided as much as possible in accordance with national orientations. Positive attitudes towards CS coupled with other individual differences in language learning contribute significantly to the frequency multilingual teachers engage in code-switching. The following paragraph discusses this relationship.

One of the aims of the present study is to assess the interconnection between individual differences and the teachers' self-reported CS frequency. There is a significant impact of individual differences (attitudes towards CS, L2 CS tendency, multilingualism in schools and linguistic diversity during childhood) on CS frequency with friends, relatives, colleagues, strangers and students in class.

Table 5.5.2. Pearson correlation of variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Multilingualism in schools										
2. Linguistic diversity during childhood	.107									
3. Attitudes towards CS	.205**	-.064								
4. Self-reported CS frequency	.266**	.170*	108							
5. L2 CS Tendency	.076	.043	.084	.419**						
6. CS with friends	.169*	.095	-.010	.689**	.401**					
7. CS with colleagues	.116	.204**	.066	.777**	.299**	.561**				
8. CS with relatives	.221**	.159*	.154*	.740**	.234**	.386**	.515**			
9. CS with students in class	.231**	.116	.100	.754**	.355**	.368**	.473**	.474**		
10. CS with strangers	.215**	.061	.070	.691**	.257**	.311**	.363**	.335*	.396**	

*$P< 0.05$ **$P< 0.01$*

As shown in Table 5.5.1, the relationship was investigated using the Pearson correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity. There is a positive significant relationship among the variables indicated above. Higher levels of linguistic diversity in schools, as measured by the linguistic background of teachers in schools, are associated with more positive attitudes towards CS ($r=.205$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$) and CS frequency with students in class ($r=.231$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$), with relatives ($r=.221$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$), strangers ($r=.215$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$) and friends ($r=.169$, $n=201$, $p>0.05$).

The teachers who grew up in ethnically and linguistically diverse settings reported using CS with colleagues ($r=.204$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$) and relatives ($r=.159$, $n=201$, $p>0.05$). This suggests that the linguistic practices that teachers might have acquired during childhood are still reflected in everyday conversations with their colleagues and family members. Most respondents reported speaking more than one language during childhood. In this vein, childhood appears to be a powerful learning environment that has the potential to nurture multilingual behaviours that will manifest for rest of the speaker's life.

Finally, the link between L2 CS tendency and self-reported CS frequency was expected. The teachers who reported using CS with friends ($r=.401$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$), students in class ($r=.335$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$), colleagues ($r=.299$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$), strangers ($r=.257$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$) and relatives ($r=.215$, $n=201$, $p>0.01$) say they have the tendency to switch from mother tongues to Portuguese, probably due to the impact of MoI in secondary education. Sara, a novice teacher, and her peers demonstrated that the CS tendency works in both ways. They resort to Portuguese when they are dealing with technical words, while switching to mother tongues when dealing with words that are culturally more appropriate to be expressed in the mother tongues.

Excerpt #7: Motivations for code-switching between Portuguese and indigenous languages.

Sara: I code-switch with my friends who speak Shona and Portuguese. When I do not identify specific words in Shona, I then resort to Portuguese and vice versa because they are specific words and expressions that sound better in my mother tongues such as *usakurumidza kumedza kutsenga uchada* (a figure of speech in Shona which states that you should not make quick conclusions before a careful examination).

Since Portuguese is used as the MoI from Grade Three onwards, students learn most technical terms and certain expressions in Portuguese; therefore, it makes sense to use Portuguese in circumstances where these technical terms and expressions are needed. This also demonstrates the negative aspect of switching to Portuguese so early because the appropriate vocabulary in L1 is not yet fully developed. Hopefully the next generations of teachers will have gone through bilingual education and will see that they have the vocabulary. There are also certain expressions, including figures of speech presented above that are learned and better communicated in the local language than Portuguese, so it makes sense that some teachers find it appropriate to use Mozambican indigenous languages to express such figures of speech.

Table 5.5.3. Descriptive statistics (4-point Likert scale) for L2 code-switching tendency

	Item designation	Mean	Std. deviation
1	When I cannot remember a word in my mother tongues, I tend to produce it in Portuguese immediately.	3.30	.79
2	When I cannot remember a word in English, I tend to produce it in Portuguese immediately.	3.17	.91
3	I do not remember some words when I am speaking in my mother tongues.	2.82	1.0
4	I tend to produce the Portuguese words faster than words in mother tongues.	3.34	.75
5	I tend to produce the Portuguese words faster than the English words.	3.41	.88

As shown in Table 5.5.2 above, the respondents reported that they do not remember some words in their mother tongues (M=2.82, SD=1.0). As a result, these multilingual teachers switch from mother tongues into Portuguese (M=3.30, SD=.79) when they do not remember/know technical words in Bantu languages. This sociolinguistic behaviour occurs on a regular basis, with a vast majority reporting the frequency as sometimes (39.3% of the respondents) and always (47.8%). These results demonstrate that CS between Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages is unavoidable based on teacher's own linguistic proficiencies, especially in informal settings. This is also evidence of one of the several motivations for CS in different sociolinguistic contexts. The present study also reveals that these multilingual teachers switch from Portuguese into mother tongues to express ideas that are culturally more appropriate to be uttered in the mother tongues. As outlined above, figures of speech are among these expressions. This sociolinguistic behaviour appears to develop positive attitudes towards the use of both Portuguese and indigenous in the classrooms and other social contexts. The following section demonstrate the impact of socio-biographical variables on language attitudes.

5.6. The relationship between socio-biographical variables and language attitudes

Table 5.6.1. MANOVA: The impact of gender on language attitudes.

	Dependent variables	Simple effect	Effect size
1	Composite dependent variable	$F_{(1, 196)}$ =6.75, p=.000	.12
2	Attitudes towards Portuguese	$F_{(1, 199)}$ =16.36, p=.000	.08
3	Support for teaching in Portuguese	$F_{(1, 199)}$ =17.78, p=.000	.08
5	Support for teaching in mother tongues	$F_{(1, 199)}$ =6.64, p=.011	.03

The third research question aimed to identify the role of socio-biographical variables on language attitudes. One-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance (One-way

MANOVA) was performed to investigate gender differences in language attitudes. Four dependent variables were used: attitudes towards Portuguese, support for teaching in Portuguese, attitudes towards mother tongues and support for mother tongues as the MoI. The independent variable was gender. Preliminary assumption testing was conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, with no serious violations noted. There is a statistically significant difference between males and females in the combined dependent variables, F (1, 196) =6.75, p=.000, Wilks' Lambda=.88; partial eta squared =.12. When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately, the only differences to reach statistical significance, using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .013, were attitudes towards Portuguese, $F(1, 199)$=16.36, p=.000, partial eta squared =.08; support for teaching in Portuguese, $F(1, 199)$=17.78, p=.000, partial eta squared = .08; and support for mother tongues as the MoI, $F(1, 199)$=6.64, p=.011, partial eta squared= .03. An inspection of the mean indicated that females reported more positive attitudes towards Portuguese (M=3.46, SD=.400) than males (M=3.25, SD=.464). More females also prefer to teach in Portuguese (M=3.25, SD=.806) than males (M=2.76, SD=.816). Males slightly favour teaching in their mother tongues more (M=2.35, SD=.983) than females (M=2.02, SD=.855).

Female teachers prefer to teach in Portuguese more than in local languages, in part, because they like to sound more formal and professional. Portuguese is associated with formality and professionalism in the context of Mozambique. Gender is not the only variable that has an impact on language attitudes. People of different age groups evaluate Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages in different ways. The following paragraph demonstrates this effect.

Table 5.6.2. ANOVA: The role of age and type of school on language attitudes.

Dependent variables	Simple effect	Effect size
1 Support for Portuguese as the MoI	$F (1, 198) =4, p=.013$	.04

A two-way between-groups analysis of variance (two-way ANOVA) (Table 5.6.2) was conducted to examine the role of age differences and type of school on language attitudes, as measured by the support for Portuguese as the MoI. Respondents were divided into three groups according to their age (Group 1: 19-29; Group 2: 30 to 39 years; Group 3: 40 years and above). There is a statistically significant difference at the $p<.05$ level in support for Portuguese as the MoI scores for the three groups: $F (2, 198) =4, p=.013$. Despite reaching statistical significance, the effect size, computed using eta squared, was .04. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for Group 1 ($M=3.25, SD=.731$) is significantly different from Group 3 ($M=2.65, SD=1.018$). In other words, younger generations of multilingual teachers support the use of Portuguese as the MoI more than older generations of teachers. Type of school was not statistically significant factor on language attitudes. This might be explained by the unequal sample size (bilingual = 25, monolingual = 161 and both bilingual and monolingual = 15). Future studies could attempt to analyse equal sample size from these three types of schools. Other socio-biographical variables such as multilingualism in schools, as measured by the linguistic diversity in schools, play an important role on language attitudes. The next paragraph shows the interconnection between language attitudes and multilingualism in schools.

Table 5.6.3. Pearson correlation coefficient of the variables

	Variable designation	1	2	3
1	Attitudes towards Portuguese	-----	-----	-----
2	Attitudes towards mother tongues	.140*	------	-----
3	Multilingualism in schools	.102	.205**	-----

$**p < 0.01$ $*p < 0.05$

Part of the third research question aimed to identify the connection between multilingualism in schools and language attitudes. As shown in Table 5.6.1 above, the relationship was investigated using the Pearson correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity. There is a small, positive linear relationship between the two variables, $r=.205$, $n=201$, $p<001$, with higher levels of linguistic diversity in schools associated with more positive attitudes towards mother tongues. However, the link between attitudes towards Portuguese and attitudes towards mother tongues is weak, $r=.140$, $n=201$, $p>.05$. This correlation appears to suggest that promoting linguistic diversity in schools could generate positive attitudes towards Mozambican indigenous languages. In turn, these positive attitudes could affect the promotion of local languages as the MoI. Teacher attitudes towards Portuguese and indigenous languages affect language education policies through classroom interactions. The next section demonstrates the ways in which multilingual teachers and students navigate and interpret these language-in-education policies in the classroom using interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging as analytical approaches.

5.7. Classroom discourses in Mozambican bilingual classrooms through the lens of interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging

The final research question examines the ways in which teachers and students draw on their readily available linguistic repertoires through translanguaging that involves CS in order to reproduce and/or contest national language education policies in central Mozambique.

The first aspect of this section includes examining contextual information of the lessons and classrooms using field notes and debriefing sessions with teachers after classes. Overall, the classes were well organised and all students could see the teacher at once. The kids volunteered to sing or go to the blackboard. There was no need to repeatedly ask students to go to the blackboard. Another aspect is that the students know the name of animals in their local language. The kids can identify the use of words in other contexts such as 'we sit on chairs and trees' during the lesson about 'the verb to sit'. Grade one students can write and read numbers, but this is rare in Grade one classes of monolingual classrooms. More importantly, the kids can speak with confidence in their mother tongues during classroom interactions with the teacher. The students are more relaxed in Citewe/L1 classes.

These positive aspects of classroom discourses extend to Grade two classes that were observed. The kids can remember the questions of a past written test after four weeks. These 2nd graders can correct each other when a mistake occurs inside and outside the classroom. Some of them have the courage to tell the teacher that she is wrong. And the students have confidence in their answers. Rosa, an experienced teacher in both monolingual and bilingual classrooms also painted a positive picture of her experience in bilingual classrooms (Excerpt #8).

Excerpt #8: Experience of teachers in both monolingual and bilingual classrooms.

Rosa: I have been teaching for the past 12 years. I was teaching Mathematics and Natural Sciences in monolingual schools. I started teaching in bilingual schools this year. First, I had the courage to teach bilingual in classrooms because of my writing and speaking skills in Bantu languages. In terms of instructional methods, I already have experience in that area, so it was not a big challenge. I had problems with the learning materials because since I started teaching, my colleague and I only received the student's book in May 2019. We also did not have grammar books and the teacher's manuals. We only had analytical plans that outline the topics. As a result, we resorted to monolingual materials and our experience as teachers in monolingual classrooms. After receiving the student's books, things became a bit easy. Only two weeks ago (May 2019), we had professional development workshops aimed to exchange experience with other experienced teachers and education officers at the provincial level.

Teacher Rose went further to compare her experience in monolingual and bilingual classrooms and noted several differences that are important to highlight, including active participation of students in the classroom.

Excerpt #9: Differences between bilingual and monolingual classrooms.

Rosa: I can note some differences between bilingual and monolingual students. I was teaching Grades six and seven and they already had an advanced mastery of basic math and reading and it was easy for them to understand the contents. For these Grades one and two students in bilingual classrooms, there is a lot of work, but they bring some knowledge with them from home. They come to complement that knowledge here at school. I think working with

kids is better than working with grown-up students. Many students are doing well in bilingual classrooms. I feel good teaching these kids as you saw during classes (…) there was not much pressure on students to answer questions. They could easily interact with me. This classroom experience encourages me a lot.

Another positive aspect of bilingual education in central Mozambique constitutes low dropout rates among primary school children. It is paramount to note that dropout rates are very high in monolingual classrooms.

Excerpt #10: Dropout rates in bilingual classrooms.

Rosa: The parents are positively contributing to this bilingual education programme. I have 27 students and since I started working with these kids none has dropped out. This means the parents are motivating the kids to come to school. The parents can see positive results. My colleague also has 30 students, and I can see that there are no students who have dropped out so far.

The second aspect of this section includes the use of CS between Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages as a contextualisation cue used to contest and/or reproduce national language education policies. There is much research into the use of L1 in L2 contexts. Research into the use of L2 in L1 contexts is still underdeveloped. The present study highlights the circumstances that lead teachers and students in bilingual classrooms to use Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 classes. Rosa pointed out that she resorts to Portuguese in order to explain the subject contents because many of her students speak Bantu languages other than Citewe, the MoI.

Excerpt #11: Classroom motivations for code-switching between L2-L1 and vice versa.

1	Interviewer:	Fala sobre a alternância de códigos na sala de aulas. Em algum momento durante a aula de Citewe, os estudates disseram,"certou" e "muito bem". Você também contou alunos em Português.	Tell me about code-switching in the classroom. There was a moment during the Citewe lesson, the students were saying "You got it right", "Very good" in Portuguese. You also counted students in Portuguese.
5	Teacher R:	Não somos aconselhados fazer a alternância de códigos com estudantes, mas as vezes HAHAHAHA ((riso)) a situação nos obriga fazer isso. As crianças conhecem os objectos na sua línguas maternas. Como professora, pergunto-lhes em Português,	We are not advised to code-switch with the students, but sometimes HAHAHAHA ((laughter)) the situation forces us to do so. The kids know the objects and key terms in their mother tongues. As a teacher I ask them in Portuguese, but they do not understand.
9		mas eles não entendem. Por isso, faço a pergunta na sua língua local. Gostaria de acrescentar que nas minhas salas, as crianças devem estudar em Citewe. Mas nos temos um número maior de criancças que não falam esta lingua local. As vezes, identifico que os estudantes não entendem a matéria que estamos abordar em Citewe. Por isso que explico o conteúdo em Português para acomodar os estudantes que falam outras línguas	I then ask them in their local language. I would add that in my classrooms, the children must learn in Citewe, but there are many children who do not speak THIS [local language]. Sometimes, I identify that some students do not understand what we are talking about in Citewe. I then explain the content in Portuguese to accommodate to the students who speak other local languages such as Chuabo,
16		locais como Chuabo, Nyungwe, Ndau e Cimanyika.	Nyungwe, Ndau and Cimanyika.

It is important to elaborate on the key findings here. Interviews and classroom debriefing sessions above (lines 9-16) demonstrate that the teachers and students use CS to indirectly contest national language education policies that recommend one language at a time. Two aspects merit attention here. Teacher Rosa argues that she uses indigenous languages in Portuguese lessons to explain subject contents and she also uses Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1

lessons in order to accommodate to students who do not speak Citewe, the language of education. This is an interesting finding that would add value to the current debate on classroom CS and translanguaging in multilingual classrooms.

Code-switching as a contextualisation cue is also used to reproduce national language education policies in central Mozambique. Chico, a primary school teacher with many years of classroom experience describes the way he contests the current education policies during classes and professional development workshops with other teachers in bilingual schools and education officials from the Provincial Directorate of Education and Human Development in Manica.

Excerpt #12: Teachers contest education policies during professional development workshops.

1	Interviewer:	Parece que está a reproduzir as políticas nacionais de educação de	You appear to reproduce national language education policies
2		línguas durante as suas aulas. Por exemplo, você raramente usou a	during your lessons. For example, you mostly used Citewe.
3		alternância de códigos durante os 45 minutos.	You rarely code-switched during the 45 minutes.
4		Quais são as recomendações em relação ao uso de Português e língua	What are the guidelines regarding the use of Portuguese
5		local na mesma aula?	and local language in the same lesson?
6			
7	Teacher C:	Tivemos um seminário no final do primeiro semestre. Debatemos sobre	We had a seminar at the end of the first semester. We debated
8		este tema e saímos sem nenhuma conclusão junto com a	about this topic, but we left with no conclusion together with
9		a equipe da direçã provincial. Nas escolas monolíngue, eles estão	the provincial staff. In monolingual education, they are
10		autorizados a usar o idioma local como estratégia de ensino nas aulas	authorised to use the local language as an instructional strategy
11		de Português com uma percentagem reduzida.	in Portuguese lessons for a reduced percentage.
12		Para as escolas bilíngue, devemos usar 100% Citewe e 100% Português.	For bilingual education, we are told to use 100% Citewe
13		Eles afirmam que as aulas de Português são focadas apenas na fala	and 100% Portuguese. They claim Portuguese lessons are
14		para os alunos aprenderem o vocabulário como porta, mãe, pai,	just focused on speaking skills for students to learn the

		vocabulary such a door, mom, dad,
15	entre outras palavras básicas.	among other basic words.
16	Houve confusão porque professores experientes disseram,	There was confusion because experienced teachers said,
17	"não, ainda podemos usar o português nas aulas do Citewe".	'yes, no we can still use Portuguese in Citewe lessons'.
18	Acabamos sem nenhuma conclusão sobre o assunto. É por isso que	We ended up with no conclusions about this issue.
19	tento usar Citewe apenas nas aulas da L1.	That is why I try to use Citewe only in L1 lessons.
20	No entanto, achei que poderíamos tirar proveito de ensinar o mesmo	However, I thought we could take advantage of teaching the
21	vocabulário, como "*Dede*", usando Citewe e Português.	same vocabulary such as *Dede* (Monkey) at once using Citewe
22	Mas eles nos disseram para usar 100% do idioma local. Na primeira e	and Portuguese. But they told us to use 100% local language.
23	segundo classes, o meio de instrução é Citewe.	In Grades One and Two, the medium of instruction is Citewe.
24	Temos Português com foco na fala. A terceira classe é a classe de transição	We have Portuguese with a focus on speaking skills.
25	onde o Português se torna o meio de instrução e o Citewe se torna uma	Grade Three is the class of transition where Portuguese becomes
26	disciplina apenas. Na sexta e na sétima classes, Citewe é uma disciplina	the medium of instruction and Citewe becomes and a language subject.
27	, enquanto que o Português é o meio de instrução.	In Grades Six and Seven, Citewe is a language subject while Portuguese
28	Durante os seminários de desenvolvimento profissional, muitos colegas me	is the medium of instruction. During the professional development
29	consideraram muito crítico, mas disse a eles que, na prática,	workshops, many colleagues thought I was too critical because I told
30	não é possível usar um idioma nas turmas multilingues.	them that in practice, it is not possible to use one language alone.

It is paramount to comment on the significance of the key findings here. Teacher Rosa's use of CS between Portuguese and indigenous languages has demonstrated that multilingual teachers and students use CS as a contextualisation cue to indirectly contest national language education policies by using Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts and vice versa. Teacher Chico's avoidance of CS illustrates that some teachers are indirectly reproducing national language education policies by using one language at a time as much as possible. The results

from debriefing sessions with teachers and contextual information using field notes have demonstrated the ways in which teachers and students navigate and interpret language education policies in Mozambique. However, interview data might have limitations because what teachers say is not necessarily what they do. The following paragraphs use classroom audio-recordings to provide additional evidence that supports the key findings of the current study: the use of L2 in L1 contexts and vice versa.

The following paragraphs demonstrate the ways in which teachers and students use Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 lessons, contesting language separation policies that recommend the use of one language at a time. It is vital to remember that this is teacher Chico who tried to follow recommendations from policymakers and argued with his colleagues during professional development workshops about the feasibility of using one language in the classroom. In other lessons, he tried to use Citewe only. The contestation of language separation policy is demonstrated in Excerpt #13, which was taken from a Grade one Citewe lesson.

Excerpt #13: The use of Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts through code-switching.

1	T:	Isusu tinoda kureketa *sobre* DEDE. (('sobre' is a Portuguese word))	Today, we want to talk *about* Monkey (('about' is uttered in Portuguese))
2		Fungurayi buku reCitewe.	Open the Citewe book.
3		Buku re^?	The book of^?
4	Ss:	CITEWE.	CITEWE.
5	T:	Citewe.	Citewe.
6	S:	Pane Dede doko ne Dede *BIG* (('Big' is an English word))	There is a small Monkey and a *Big* Monkey. (('Big' is uttered in English))
7	T:	Ngepapi pamweni panogarwa ne Dede?	What is another place do we sit?
8	S:	Passi.	On the floor.
9	S:	Pakadera.	On the chair.
10	S:	*Pabanco*. (('Banco' is a Portuguese word))	On the *bench*. (('bench' is uttered in Portuguese))
11	T:	Itai kuti CHITURU ((correcting the student)).	Say bench ((the teacher utters in Citewe, correcting the student who said bench in Portuguese))

12	T:	Imwimwi mwakagara papi.	Where are you sitting?
13	Ss:	*Pacarteira.* (('Carteira' is a Portuguese word))	On the desk. (('desk' is uttered in Portuguese))
14	T:	*Pacarteira.* (('Carteira' is a Portuguese word))	On the desk. ((the teacher repeats 'desk' in Portuguese without correcting))
15	S:	S: *Professor* (…) Mariza arikuwata. (('Professor' is a Portuguese word))	*Teacher* (…) Mariza is sleeping. (('teacher' is uttered in Portuguese))
16	T:	T: Urikuwawata ngeyi, Mariza?	Why are you sleeping, Mariza?
17	Ma:	M: Musoro uri kuwhadza.	I have headache.
18	T:	T: Mwaita bassa.	Thanks.

In the opening of Excerpt #13, teacher Chico uses the Portuguese word *sobre* (about - line 1) when telling the students regarding the content that will be covered during the lesson. Most of the interaction occurs in Citewe, however, one student utters a Citewe-Portuguese code-switching phrase *pabanco* (on the bench - line 10). Immediately, the teacher corrects the student by uttering the Citewe word *CHITURU* (bench - line 11) in a loud voice to make sure everyone in the classroom does not make the same mistake again. When the teacher asks about other places where people can sit, a student responds in a Citewe-Portuguese code-switching phrase *pacarteira* (on the desk - line 13) and the teacher repeats the same word *pacarteira* (line 14) as a way of emphasizing without correcting the student as he did a few minutes ago.

The flexibility of teacher Chico might be explained by the fact that his multilingual classroom has children who speak indigenous languages other than Citewe, the MoI, and lack of vocabulary to describe certain items in Citewe. Although he tried to enact the language separation policy, he appears to understand the need to use both Portuguese and Citewe in the same lesson for pedagogical purposes. Note that a student goes further to use an English word *Big* (line 6) when comparing Monkeys in a Citewe lesson. This is evidence to show that multilingual teachers and students fluidly use readily available linguistic resources to make meaning of the content. This trend was also observed in a Math lesson when the same teacher

was introducing numbers from one to ten. The following paragraphs illustrate the use of

Portuguese/L2 in a Citewe/L2 lesson of Mathematics, extracted from Grade one (Excerpt #14).

Excerpt #14: The use of Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts in a Mathematics lesson.

1	T:	Ndiyani anoda kuyimba?	Who wants to sing?
	Ss:	Ka Tsuro.	About Rabbit ((a song they frequently sing))
	T:	Tinoda imbo imweni.	We need another song.
4	Ss:	Isabel na Bia arikurya *musala*. (('musala' is a Citewe-Portuguese CS word))	Isabel and Bia are eating in the classroom.
	T:	Musala nengekuryira?	Do we use classrooms for eating!
6	Ss:	*NADA. (('nada' is a Portuguese word))*	No. (('No' is uttered in Portuguese))
	T:	Imbai ngoma yechizungo ((asking students to sing a Portuguese song)).	Sing a Portuguese song please.
8	Ss:	*Toma laranginha, toma-lá, toma-lá. Toma laranginha e limão já não há.*	((students singing a Portuguese song))
9		*Passou um rapaz, de calcas [azuis], chapéu ao lado e comeu bacalhão.*	((students singing a Portuguese song))
10			
	T:	Ngatiwerenge kubvira gumi kudzoka machure. Gumi, Pfemba, Sere, Chinomwe, Tanhatu,	Let us read from ten backwards. Ten, Nine, Eight, Seven, Six, Five, Four,
	Ss:	Chanu, China, Tatu, Piri, Possi.	Three, Two and One.
	T:	Ndinoda MWANA RUME.	I need a boy to read [the numbers]
	S:	Ndini!	Me!
	T:	Munoziwa ngeyi [NDATSARA] Marques?	Do you know why I chose Marques?
16	Ss:	*Nada.*	No. (('No' is uttered in Portuguese))
	T:	Uyu ayiteyi apa?	What did he do here?
	Ss:	Kutunhudzira.	Adding
	T:	Mapuwe arikudini?	What are the stones doing?
	Ss:	Kuwanda.	Increasing.
22	S:	Bia *está [a] comer na sala* ((a student speaking in Portuguese)).	Bia is eating in the classroom ((uttered in Portuguese))
	T:	Ndodazwe umweni (…)	I need another [volunteer to count]

Additional evidence of using Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 context is shown in Excerpt

#14 above. In the opening of this episode, a student tells the teacher that his colleague Bia was

eating in the classroom using the Citewe-Portuguese code-switching phrase *musala* (in the

classroom – line 4). The teacher ignores that sociolinguistic behaviour. Instead, he asks the whole class to sing in Portuguese. After singing in Portuguese (lines 8-10), the teacher proceeds with instructing students to count numbers using stones as didactic materials. In these episodes, the students utter a Portuguese word *nada* (no - line 16) and a sentence *Bia está [a] comer na sala* (Bia is eating in the classroom – line 22) but the teacher does not correct that sociolinguistic behaviour again. This trend from a Mathematics lesson provides additional evidence of the use of Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts, which demonstrate a contestation of the language separation policy. The normalisation of this fluid use of readily available linguistic resources to make meaning in a Math class might be justified by the fact that there are many multilingual students in these bilingual classrooms who do not speak Citewe/L1, the language of education, and lack of lexicon to describe particular items in Citewe. It might also be justified purely on pedagogical grounds. The classroom discourse data has also shown the use of Citewe/L1 in Portuguese/L2 contexts. The following paragraphs and episodes illustrate this sociolinguistic behaviour.

Excerpt #15 illustrates the use of Mozambican indigenous languages as a pedagogical resource in Portuguese lesson, extracted from a Grade two class. However, teacher attitudes towards the use of code-switching between Citewe and Portuguese appear to be contradicting what teachers usually say in questionnaires and interviews. In line 4 of the extract, the teacher asks the students, 'in which lesson are we going to talk about *Dongui* (Donkey)?' The students immediately respond 'CITEWE' in chorus and loud voice. Here the teacher and students seem to remind each other about the language separation policy, which will be discussed in more detail later. In lines 2-3 the teacher and some students use laughter as a contextualisation cue signaling other students about the inadequate use of a Citewe word *Dongui* (Donkey) in a Portuguese

lesson. In line 16 (I have seen a Donkey at Mr. Du's house. Who has seen [it there]?), the teacher uses the student's knowledge and context to remind students who have previously seen a Donkey. As a result, some students start describing the Donkey's colour and other characteristics. Using wider societal context thus appears to help students remember the vocabulary of terms they are dealing with in the classroom.

Excerpt #15: The use of Citewe/L1 in Portuguese/L2 contexts in action.

1	T:	Quais são os animais domésticos que nós falamos?	Which domestic animals did we talk about?
2	Ss:	Cabrito, Cão, *Dongui* HAHAHA ((students laughing at the Citewe word Dongui)).	Goat, Dog, *Donkey* (('*Donkey*' is uttered in Citewe)).
3	T:	*Dongui* HAHAHA ((the teacher also laughs at the same word)).	*Donkey* HAHAHA ((laughter))
4	T:	Vamos falar de *Dongui* na aula de oquê?	In which lesson are we going to talk about *Donkey*?
5	Ss:	CITEWE.	CITEWE.
6	T:	A ideia dela e válida mas esse *Dongui* e oquê em Português?	Her idea is valid but what is Donkey in Portuguese?
7	Ss:	Cavalo.	Horse.
8	T:	Concordam todos?	Do you all agree?
9	T:	Albertina, Dongui em Português e quê?	Albertina, what is Donkey in Portuguese?
10	A:	Burru.	Donkey.
11	T:	Albertina disse^	Albertina said^
12	Ss:	BURRU.	DONKEY.
13	T:	Já viram Burru.	Have you seen a Donkey before?
14	S:	Sim, no Televisor.	Yes, on the Televison.
15	T:	Eu já vi Burru no senhor Du ai. Quem já viu?	I have seen a Donkey at Mr Du's house. Who has seen [it there]?
16	Ge:	Eu, de cor branca.	Me! It has white colour.
17	T:	Genito disse que já viu. De que característica é?	Genito said, he has seen [a Donkey]. Which characteristics does it have?
18	G:	Tem chifres.	It has horns.
19	T:	Sabem oque são chifres? NYANGA!	Do you know what horns are? *HORNS!* ((uttered in Citewe))
20	Ss:	*Ayina.*	[The Donkey] does not have horns. ((uttered in Citewe))
21	T:	Ja estão me responder em Citewe? Eu so	Are you now answering in Citewe? I just wanted to know whether you (…)

queria ver se conhecem chifre ou não.

22	T:	Burru tem chifres?	Does a Donkey have horns?
23	Ss:	Não tem.	It does not have [horns].
24	T:	E Gato serve para oqué?	And what is the utility of a Cat?
25	T:	Gato morde oqué?	What does the Cat bite?
26	Ss:	*Maconzo.*	Rats ((uttered in Citewe))
27	T:	Então esse Maconzo chama-se oqué?	Then, how do we call these Rats [in Portuguese]?
28	Ss:	Ela disse Misconzo HEHEHE ((laughter))	She said *Misconzo* ((Misconzo has no meaning in Portuguese and Citewe))
29	T:	HEHEHE Misconzo!	HEHEHE *Misconzo* ((the teacher laughs at the non-existent word *Misconzo*))
30	T:	Em Português como se chama?	In Portuguese, what is the name of [Rats]?
31	T:	Um dia vais viajar para Maputo, os seus amigos vão entender oque é *Maconzo*?	When you will travel to Maputo city, will your friends going to understand Rats?
32	T:	Albertino, não tenha receio de falar.	Albertino does fear speaking.
33	T:	HEHEHE Também nao conheço *Maconzo*. Podemos sair sem saber?	I also don't know Rats. Can we go [home] without knowing [them]?
34	T:	Podemos ser ajudados pelo Professor Álvaro.	Can we get help from teacher Álvaro?
35	TA:	Quem ja viu rato?	Who has seen rats?
36	T:	Senhor professor falou ai mas não apanharam.	Teacher Álvaro has already given the answer. Have you found out?
37	Ss:	RATOS.	RATS.

Although the teacher attempted to establish a language separation policy during the lesson as highlighted above, the teacher herself in line 19 uses the Citewe word *NYANGA* (horns) in a loud voice to make sure the students figure out whether the Donkey as horns. In line 20, the students said, *'ayina'* (it does not have). After establishing the characteristics of a Donkey, the teacher immediately reminds students to use Portuguese in that lesson (line 21). The rest of the extract has also illustrated the use of Citewe/L1 in Portuguese/L2 (lines 26-37). Another trend emerging here is that when the teacher attempts to avoid using indigenous languages in Portuguese lessons, the communication becomes blocked in the classroom. And the teacher tends to take long time speaking alone. This pattern shows that the students might well know the key

terms in their mother tongues but do not know the meaning in Portuguese, which will take long for the teacher to get the message across.

As highlighted above, the teachers are very much aware of the language education policies and they sometimes establish such policies together with their students during the lessons. Except #16 illustrates the teacher and students agreeing on using Citewe only, which appear to legitimise the language separation policy.

Excerpt #16: The language separation policy in action.

1	T:	Mwesse tarissayi ku *quadro*. (('quadro' is a Portuguese word for blackboard))	May all of you please look at the blackboard (('blackboard' is uttered in Portuguese))
2	T:	Nguwa ino yawa yekufunda CHINYI? ((establishing a one language at a time policy))	What are we going to learn this time? ((implying the language of instruction))
3	Ss:	CITEWE. ((the students agree with one lanuage at a time policy))	CITEWE. ((the students agree with the language separation policy))
4	T:	Zuro makafundeyi *ou* makatara ngemawirirano ECHINYI?	What did you learn yesterday?
5	Ss:	Ana wakayita makore MANGANI!	How old was Ana?
6	T:	Muvunzo mawona papi?	Where did you find this question?
7	Ss:	Mu *PROVA*. (('PROVA' is a Portuguese word for test))	On the TEST.
8	T:	*Prova*, ndi CITEWE kana kuti CHIZUNGU?	Is prova (test) in Citewe or Portuguese?
9	Ss:	Chizungu.	Portuguese.
10	T:	Ne Citewe *prova* inozwi chinyi?	How do we call prova (test) in Citewe?
11	Ss:	ZEMENO.	TEST.

Excerpt #16 has shown the ways in which teachers and students establish language separation policy in the classroom, especially at the beginning of the lesson. Note that the teacher used the Portuguese word *Quadro* (blackboard, line 1) to instruct students to pay attention to what she was going to say. In Citewe, when the teacher asks *Nguwa ino yawa yekufunda CHINYI?* (what are we going to learn this time), it usually implies which language of instruction they are going to use. Instead of saying they were going to review the past test, the students

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immediately answer 'CITEWE' in a loud voice (line 3). They thus understood the teacher's contextualisation cue. Importantly, when some students utter the Portuguese word *Prov*a (test), the teacher corrects that sociolinguistic behaviour by reminding students to use the Citewe word *Zemeno* (test) instead of the Portuguese word *Prova* (lines 8-11).

Overall, this chapter has revealed positive attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and CS among multilingual teachers in central Mozambique. These multilingual teachers reported using CS with friends, relatives, colleagues and students in the classroom. However, teachers and parents are reluctant to embrace the mother tongues as the sole medium of instruction, suggesting the need to raise awareness of the benefits of bilingual education and the existence of Portuguese as a language subject from Grades one to three and Portuguese as the MoI from Grade four onwards. These language attitudes appear to manifest in classroom discourses when teachers and students use Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts and vice versa, reproducing and contesting national language-in-education policies. The next chapter attempts to explain these findings and show the interconnection between the significant research results and findings of similar studies conducted across the globe. The chapter will also discuss significant implications and limitations of the present study and propose recommendations for further research and professional practice.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the empirical results presented in the Results chapter following the four research questions outlined in the Introductory chapter. The findings are discussed in light of previous literature and possible explanations of the emerging patterns in the context of central Mozambique are provided, thereby theorising and advancing language attitude and classroom discourse research. The first section discusses attitudes towards Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages, followed by attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching. The third section discusses the teachers' self-reported CS frequency with colleagues, relatives, friends, strangers and students in the classroom. This is followed by the section on classroom discourse analysis.

6.2. Teacher attitudes towards Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages

Ideally, the findings on language attitudes and classroom discourse analysis in the current study could be enriched by comparing them with previous literature on language attitudes and classroom discourses in Mozambique, Africa and beyond. However, the lack of extensive research into in language attitudes and classroom discourses in Mozambique makes it vital to discuss the results of the present study in light of existing studies (e.g. Chimbutane, 2011) that analyse the language question as whole in Mozambique from colonial to postcolonial periods. Moving in this direction, the following paragraphs demonstrate consistencies and inconsistencies between the findings of the present study and existing theoretical frameworks and empirical studies.

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The first research question sought to investigate teacher attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching. Overall, the findings confirm those of a significant number of previous studies (e.g. Bernaus et al., 2007; Cavallaro et al., 2018; Chimbutane, 2009; Chivhanga & Sylod, 2014; Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005; Ejieh, 2004; Terra, 2018) reporting that respondents tend to express more positive attitudes towards the standard language than the nonstandard variety. Terra (2018) investigated teachers' beliefs about Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages through interviews and participant observations involving three multilingual teachers serving at a bilingual school in central Mozambique and found that the teachers express more preference towards Portuguese than the mother tongues. She argued that this pattern is largely because of language ideologies that value Portuguese over Mozambican indigenous languages. In Singapore, Cavallaro et al. (2018, p. 195) examined student attitudes towards varieties of Mandarin using a matched-guise with 64 respondents and found, 'Singaporeans rating the standard variety higher than the colloquial variety on all traits and Chinese nationals favouring the colloquial variety'. They also argued that Mandarin Chinese is increasingly becoming the language of solidarity than status. In Nigeria, Ejieh (2004) used a questionnaire to analyse attitudes towards the use of mother tongues in primary schools as the MoI among 106 student teachers. Most of the respondents expressed negative attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages as the MoI. According to Ejieh (2004), there are many reasons for the respondents to express negative attitudes towards Nigerian indigenous languages: the prestigious status of English as the official language across the country and the inferior status attributed to indigenous languages during the colonial period. The teachers were also educated in English and would prefer to teach in that language.

In agreement with Chimbutane (2009), Ejieh (2004), and Terra (2018), a possible explanation for multilingual teachers to show preference towards Portuguese over Mozambican indigenous languages is that as a colonial language, Portuguese is often used as the main official language of education at all levels, and in government administration and other formal domains. Portuguese is also associated with employment opportunities, upward social mobility and higher social status in Mozambique. Indigenous languages are largely excluded from use as the MoI and in official settings, although many people, including in parliamentary debates, tend to use CS, perhaps to mark their social identities. As in other former Portuguese colonies in Africa (e.g. Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau), the status of Portuguese and indigenous languages is probably a vestige of colonialism, because the Portuguese did not allow the use of Mozambican languages in schools, as they were considered inferior and nonstandard (Ngunga, 2011; Spolsky, 2017b).

The teachers' cognitive beliefs and emotional attachment towards standard and nonstandard languages have an effect on education policies and classroom practices (Baker, 1988, 1992; Lewis, 1981; Spolsky, 2004). For example, 93% percent of teachers in the current study support Portuguese as the language of education, and 62.7% disagree with using the mother tongues as the vehicle of learning. In Mozambique, teachers are some of the most important stakeholders in education because they are likely to influence student attitudes towards languages. And teachers are arguably the de facto policymakers and de jure practitioners who implement the curriculum in the classroom. Therefore, there might be a need to raise awareness of the cultural, social and educational values of Mozambican indigenous languages in these teachers to ensure positive support for the use of these local languages as the MoI.

It is salient to argue that the respondents self-reported positive attitudes towards indigenous languages. However, when asked whether to use indigenous languages as the MoI, most teachers disagree with that statement. When asked about using both Portuguese and indigenous languages as the languages of education, most of these multilingual teachers support such arrangement. What do we learn here? The findings (including feedback from interviewees) suggest that it is perfectly possible to have positive attitudes towards indigenous languages, but still believe that they should not be used as the only MoI. More importantly, these negative beliefs appear to emerge when the teachers are asked to evaluate indigenous languages as the MoI without mentioning Portuguese. Both teachers and parents appear to become reluctant to embrace bilingual education when they do not understand the inclusion of Portuguese as a language subject in Grades one and two, and as the MoI from Grade three onwards. It is not a surprise that many parents and teachers initially did not welcome bilingual education at the beginning because they thought that their children would be learning in the local language alone. After considerable clarification and demonstration of the values of bilingual education, the parents and teachers embraced the bilingual education programme. It is also clear that when teachers are asked to evaluate bilingualism/bilingual education, they reported positive attitudes because Portuguese is mentioned in the questionnaire items or statements.

Another significant finding, which is consistent with past studies (e.g. Baker, 1992; LaPiere, 1934; Wicker, 1969) is that the attitude-behaviour relationship is not always straightforward. A classic example is in the study by LaPiere (1934), who demonstrated that the attitudes of US hotel managers towards a Chinese couple were not in line with their actual behaviour. The couple was denied service only once in 251 restaurants, yet 92% of these establishments reported during a pre-visit phone interview that they would not serve a Chinese

couple. In the current study, attitudes towards mother tongues and readiness to support their use as the MoI are slightly low, but an overwhelming majority of teachers (82.6%) agree to preserve their mother tongues (we should preserve our mother tongues). One possible explanation for this finding is that indigenous languages are social identity markers for Mozambicans, and it makes sense for teachers to preserve their social heritage. Teachers may be reluctant to support the use of indigenous languages in education, because they think that nonstandard indigenous languages could not enhance their students' upward social mobility. For example, speaking indigenous languages in public places is associated with a lack of education and formal employment opportunities. Attitudes towards Portuguese and mother tongues have an impact on classroom discourses. The following section dives deeper into attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching.

6.3. Teacher attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching

The second part of the first research question sought to examine teacher attitudes towards bilingualism (the ability to hold a conversation in each of the two or more languages), bilingual education (the use of more than one language as the MoI) and code-switching between Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages. Overall, the results confirm a significant number of previous studies that found positive attitudes towards bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching between indigenous and official languages (Canagarajah, 1995; Chimbutane, 2009; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Li Wei, 2011; Ndayipfukamiye, 1996). Canagarajah (1995) analysed the code-switching practices of 24 secondary school teachers of English as a second language in Sri Lanka using discourse analytical approaches and found favourable attitudes towards CS because teachers largely used CS as an instructional strategy for classroom

management and delivering the subject content. Chimbutane (2009) investigated teachers' perceptions and beliefs about the value of bilingual education in southern Mozambique using interviews and classroom discourse analysis and found that teachers working in bilingual schools generally have positive perceptions of bilingual education and some of them prefer to teach in indigenous languages or use these local languages as a pedagogical resource. As the present study shows, CS as a sociolinguistic behaviour can serve as an instructional learning strategy (Canagarajah, 2011), a demonstration of linguistic creativity and criticality (Li Wei, 2011), mastery of multiple languages (Gardner-Chloros, 2009), an expression of linguistic and cultural identity (Ndayipfukamiye, 1996; Simon, 2001), and it helps to translate key terms, explain and exemplify contents (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). A possible explanation for this trend in the context of central Mozambique is the increasing validation and use of indigenous languages in formal settings, economic activities, national and local broadcasting services, and change of attitudes among speakers of these languages over their lifespan. For instance, Anita, a teacher with ten years of experience, and her colleagues argue that indigenous languages are an asset for employment and establishment of better communication with people of different age groups.

Excerpt #17: The role of Mozambican indigenous languages.

Anita: The local languages help us to interact with our elderly people. Nowadays, the local language can help to find jobs in community-based organisations and international companies. Speaking the local language is thus an asset. However, Portuguese and local languages depend on each other.

Sergio: Some companies and NGOs require candidates to speak the local language to work for them in order to interact with their participants in the communities. My brother works for an organisation that is opening water pumps in rural areas where people speak Shona.

The present study is also consistent with Rizqi (2017) who investigated 32 Dayak students' attitudes towards Bahasa-Dayak bilingualism in Indonesia and Xie and Cavallaro (2016) who examined 165 students' attitudes towards Chinese-English bilingualism in Singapore, and both studies found positive attitudes towards bilingualism. As stated above, bilingualism is the ability of speakers to hold a conversation in each of the two or more languages they speak (Baker, 2017). This is different from CS because CS is about using words, phrases or sentences of a particular language in another language within a conversational utterance (Lin, 2017). The Indonesian study, however, found a lack of strong emotions and readiness to take the necessary actions to promote bilingual education. There might be good reasons for that. Bahasa is the lingua-franca throughout Indonesia. In contrast with the Indonesian study, the present study found that teachers have strong emotional attachment to bilingualism and bilingual education, and they show readiness to support both Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages to be used as the MoI. Note that such support only emerges when the respondents are asked to evaluate items or statements that include Portuguese and mother tongues (e.g. All schools in this community should teach the students to speak Portuguese and mother tongues). When asked to evaluate items or statements that only contain mother tongues as the MoI (e.g. I prefer to teach in the mother tongues), most teachers tend to disagree with such statements.

As outlined above, it is perfectly possible to express positive attitudes towards indigenous languages but still believe they should not be the MoI. The present study has demonstrated that multilingual teachers agree to preserve indigenous languages and use them as a social identity

marker and a tool for solidarity rather than status. This trend was also reported by Cavallaro et al. (2018) who investigated attitudes towards Chinese Mandarin varieties. The respondents rated all the three varieties of Mandarin higher on solidarity dimension than on status traits, indicating that Mandarin Chinese is currently regarded a language of solidarity rather than status (Cavallaro et al., 2018). It is difficult to compare the Singaporean study by Xie and Cavallaro (2016) with the context in Mozambique because Chinese and English are both standardised world languages that enjoy high prestige, unlike the case of Mozambican indigenous languages.

The present study, however, is inconsistent with a number of previous studies that documented CS as a lack of education and linguistic incompetence (De Houwer, 2009; Gumperz, 1982), or as a sign of ignorance, lack of confidence (Bentahila, 1983), and unfavourable practice in the classroom (Arthur, 1996; Canagarajah, 1995). Note that these studies were largely conducted when many education policymakers favoured monoglossic ideologies (Baker, 2017; Blommaert, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2015) and institutional guidelines that recommended the exclusive use of colonial languages as the MoI (Arthur, 1996). Those guidelines did not consider CS as an instructional strategy. Today, many education policymakers and teachers across the globe, including Mozambique, have evolved from the colonial mindset when local languages were considered inferior to the present moment where using indigenous languages and engaging in CS might also be justified on pedagogical grounds. In the 1980s, for instance, Gibbons (1987) documented negative attitudes towards CS and the respondents described CS as 'irritating'. It is unlikely that this is still the case as CS is much more widespread and acceptable in Hong Kong's informal settings than it was before. It has also been connected with the Hong Kong political movement as part of a unique identity that is separate from Mainland Chinese, so such results depend very much on the people who participate and the time of research.

Regarding the first research question, multilingual teachers in the present study have positive attitudes towards Portuguese, Mozambican indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching. However, the teachers evaluate Portuguese more positively than the mother tongues. In light of previous studies conducted in Mozambique, Africa and beyond, Portuguese is the official and standard language of upward social mobility mostly used in education, Government institutions and other formal contexts. Indigenous languages are mostly excluded from use as the MoI as they were considered inferior and nonstandard during the colonial era. Many teachers were educated in the colonial environment and this mindset might be persisting to the present day. Interestingly, teacher attitudes are changing, and bilingual education and CS practices are being embraced as a communication and instructional strategy and a contextualisation cue to highlight multilingual identities. These findings have significant implications for the current sociopsychological theories applied to language attitudes and professional practice. In other words, the findings make an important contribution to the growing body of sociolinguistic studies in Mozambique, in particular those on language-in-education policies and practices (e.g. Chimbutane, 2013; Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Ngunga, 2011; Terra, 2018). Therefore, concerted efforts might be needed to raise awareness of the educational, social and economic values of using Mozambican indigenous languages as the MoI. Attitudes towards CS are interconnected with how often speakers engage in CS behaviour. Multilinguals who hold positive attitudes towards CS might be likely to engage in the same sociolinguistic behaviour. The next research question discusses this relationship.

6.4. Self-reported code-switching frequency with friends, colleagues, relatives, strangers and students in the classroom.

The second research question sought to examine the teachers' CS frequency with friends, colleagues, relatives, strangers and students in class. The findings are consistent with Dewaele and Li Wei (2014b) and Dewaele (2010) who found that multilingual speakers tend to code-switch more frequently with friends, followed by colleagues and relatives, and less frequently with strangers and students in the classroom. Although Dewaele and Li Wei (2014b) sampled over 2000 multilingual speakers worldwide, the teachers in the present study exhibit the same sociolinguistic behaviours of modifying their conversational speech with people after knowing which languages their interlocutors speak. All the teachers in the present study speak more than one language with the majority being multilingual in three or four languages; therefore, the probability of engaging in CS is relatively high in heterogeneous groups. Code-switching with relatives may be lower perhaps because families tend to be homogenous groups.

As Dewaele and Li Wei (2014b) argued, multilingual speakers conform to communication strategies that involve CS, except relatives. The multilingual teachers in the present study, however, conform to communication strategies that involves CS with family members and students in the classroom. Dewaele and Li Wei (2014a) sampled over 2000 multilinguals worldwide and theorised this concept as the impact of 'multilingualism in the workplace' on attitudes towards CS and CS frequency. They found that multilinguals who serve in linguistically diverse workplaces hold more positive attitudes towards CS, and frequently engage in CS with family members. The current study samples multilingual teachers in schools and theorises this construct as 'multilingualism in schools' documenting its impact on the development of positive attitudes towards CS and CS frequency in central Mozambique.

There might be good reasons for these multilingual teachers to frequently code-switch with their interlocutors. One possible explanation is the lack of technical vocabulary in Mozambican indigenous languages that lead multilingual teachers to use Portuguese when they are dealing with technical lexicon. This lack of technical terms is not necessarily their fault. These findings partially agree with Li and Tse (2002) who asked twelve university students in Hong Kong not to use English for one day and record any words they wanted to use but could not use, and share their insights in a focus-group interview. They found that because of the MoI (English), the respondents faced many challenges in their communication, including the lack of synonymous words and expressions in Cantonese that could be expressed meaningfully in English. The present study, however, shows that multilinguals also resort to the indigenous language to express particular ideas and expressions such as figures of speech while using Portuguese for technical terms.

The second research question deals with CS frequency among multilingual teachers. Overall, multilingual teachers in the current study reported using CS with friends, relatives, colleagues and students in the classroom. They rarely code-switch with strangers, suggesting that they first need to know the language of the interlocutor before engaging in CS. This is politeness in multilingual, multicultural African contexts. Multilingual teachers who work in linguistically diverse schools are more likely to engage in CS between Portuguese/L2 and mother tongues/L1. These findings have significant implications for theoretical frameworks underpinning the study of code-switching. Dewaele and Li Wei (2014a) theorised 'multilingualism in the workplace' as a socio-biographical variable that significantly contributes to speakers' code-switching practices. In the present study, this variable is theorised as 'multilingualism in schools', which significantly contributes to the teachers' code-switching frequency between Portuguese and Mozambican

indigenous languages and generates positive attitudes towards local languages and bilingualism/bilingual education. L2 CS tendency could be better theorised as 'L1/L2 CS tendency' in the present study. L1/L2 CS tendency is thus an ability to switch from Mozambican indigenous languages into Portuguese when dealing with technical lexicon and switch from Portuguese into indigenous languages when expressing ideas that could be better expressed in the local languages. This proposed definition aligns with classroom discourse data of the current study, which revealed that teachers and students use Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts because of lack of vocabulary to describe items in L1 and to accommodate to students who speak indigenous languages other than Citewe. Citewe is also used as a pedagogical resource in Portuguese lessons. Socio-biographical variables also have an effect on language attitudes and self-reported CS frequency. The following section discusses this effect.

6.5. The impact of socio-biographical variables on language attitudes

The third research question deals with the relationship between socio-biographical variables and language attitudes. The present study shows that female teachers express significantly more positive attitudes towards Portuguese than their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with a well-established sociolinguistic finding over many decades, which reveals that, controlling for other socio-biographical variables (e.g. age, education and social status), females express more favourable attitudes towards the standard language while males tend to support vernacular languages (e.g. Coates, 2016; Ladegaard, 2000; Sharp, 1973; Trudgill, 1972, 1983). Ladegaard (2000) investigated the language attitude-behaviour relationship using the matched-guise technique, questionnaire and recordings of classroom discourse and found that female participants' speech was closer to the standard linguistic variety and they also expressed significantly more positive attitudes towards the prestige standard in the matched-guise study. Female respondents

emphasised the need to sound more 'correct' and enhance career opportunities, while male respondents emphasised the cultural significance of their nonstandard variety. More qualitative studies using interviews and observation of actual sociolinguistic behaviour in the context of Mozambique may help to explain this pattern further.

Age does have an effect on language attitudes. This is another longstanding finding that is consistent with previous studies (e.g. Baker, 1988, 1992; Jones, 1949; Sharp, 1973). In the current study, for example, older teachers reported less support for the use of Portuguese as the MoI while younger teachers expressed more favourable attitudes and support for Portuguese as a vehicle of education. This trend makes sense because, like any other international language, Portuguese is associated with, for example, the modern use of technologies, social connections and continuation of further education. Young people appear to be more favourably disposed to these new developments. On the other hand, older teachers may remember colonial times when Portuguese presumably played an even more dominant role.

Finally, multilingualism in schools have an effect on language attitudes. This finding shows that higher levels of linguistic diversity in schools are associated with positive attitudes towards the mother tongues. This finding might be expected, because the teachers worked in schools where virtually everyone speaks more than one indigenous language. It makes sense that their everyday interactions in these indigenous languages partially contribute to the development of their favourable attitudes towards indigenous languages. Alternatively, their positive attitudes towards indigenous languages may influence them to speak these languages in the school environment on a regular basis, despite education policies that recommend the exclusive use of Portuguese in most educational institutions. These associations do not necessarily mean causation, however. In other words, this finding is based on self-reported data, not experimental

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or quasi-experimental data which could establish a causal relationship. Therefore, the results of the present study should be taken with caution and future studies in Mozambique could attempt to analyse experimental and quasi-experimental data. However, this finding has an educational implication. It appears that encouraging multilingualism in schools might contribute to positive attitudes towards indigenous languages, which in turn could generate support for their use as the MoI. It is perfectly possible to have positive attitudes towards indigenous languages, but still believe that they should not be used as MoI. After establishing general patterns of language attitudes in Mozambique, including the impact of socio-biographical variables, it is important to examine how these language attitudes are reflected in classroom discourses. The following section discusses the ways in which teachers and students use CS to contest and/or reproduce national language education policies inside and outside the classroom.

6.6. Classroom discourses and language education policies

The last research question sought to examine the ways in which multilingual teachers and students draw on their readily available linguistic repertoires to contest and/or reproduce language education policies in Mozambique. The present study confirms previous studies conducted in Mozambique (e.g. Chimbutane, 2013; Ngunga, 2011; Terra, 2018) and beyond which revealed that multilingual teachers and students use indigenous languages in Portuguese contexts in order to explain key concepts, provide classroom instructions, help individual students during seatwork, and highlight their multilingual identities. This pedagogical practice illustrates the ways in which teachers and students contest the language separation policies in force in Mozambique. Chimbutane (2013) examined code-switching practices of teachers working at a bilingual primary school in southern Mozambique through debriefing sessions and

classroom audio-recordings and found the use of Changana/L1 as a pedagogical resource in Portuguese lessons. Drawing on Macaro (2009), Chimbutane (2013) argued for the optimal and reflective use of L1 in Portuguese lessons, but he also took into account the caution from Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) on the disadvantages of relying heavily of the L1 to teach contents in Portuguese-medium classrooms. The present study also recommends an optimal and reflective use of Citewe/L1 in Portuguese lessons to make sense of the contents without relying excessively on this instructional practice.

There is a significant number of studies (e.g. Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003; Saxena, 2009) that have documented the positive facilitating role of L1 in L2 or foreign language classes. The optimal use of L1 in L2 contexts is also consistent with a constructivist pedagogy (e.g. Howe & Mercer, 2007), which considers the student's previous knowledge as the basis for learning new contents. Research into the use of L1 in L2 contexts has also been conducted in other postcolonial contexts in Africa and Asia. However, research into the use of L2 in L1 contexts is still underdeveloped. The following paragraph demonstrates the ways in which teachers and students use L2 in L1 contexts.

Classroom data and interviews have shown that teachers and students in bilingual classrooms often use Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 lessons in order to accommodate to students who speak indigenous languages other than Citewe, the language of education. The teachers are aware of the existence of students who speak Cibaruwe, Ndau, Nyungwe, Cimanyika, among other indigenous languages. Therefore, they explain key concepts in Portuguese to make sure those students can understand the subject contents. It is important note that some of these languages such as Cimanyika and Cibaruwe are more linguistically similar to Citewe than to Portuguese, so probably Portuguese is not always helping the students to understand the subject

contents. Chimbutane (2013) conducted a classroom discourse analysis study in southern Mozambique and found that teachers and students were using Portuguese/L1 in Shangana/L1 classes due to lack of specialised vocabulary in Shangana. The current study adds value to research into the use of L2 in L1 contexts by (1) confirming previous studies that reported the lack of technical lexicon in the mother tongues, which motivates students and teachers to use Portuguese in L1 lessons and (2) further revealing that the existence of students who speak Mozambican indigenous languages other than Citewe/L1 and teachers with limited command of Citewe constitutes additional grounds to use Portuguese in L1 contexts. Again, this fluid use of readily available linguistic resources in L1 contexts demonstrate the ways in which teachers and students contest the language separation policies in Mozambique.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section concludes the present study. The section begins with the restatement of the research objectives and an overview of the methodology. This is followed by a synthesis of the major findings in light of existing literature. In addition, the section discusses the significance and implications of the key findings for the current sociopsychological frameworks applied to language attitudes, interactional sociolinguistics and translanguaging, and professional practice. The section ends with a discussion of significant limitations of the present study and suggestions for further research.

This mixed-methods study was an attempt to investigate teacher attitudes Portuguese, indigenous languages, bilingualism/bilingual education and code-switching in central Mozambique. It also aimed to examine the impact of socio-biographical variables on language attitudes and how these attitudes are manifested in classroom discourses as a vehicle to

reproduce and/or contest language-in-education policies in Mozambique. Multilingual teachers (*n*=201) completed an attitude questionnaire, sixteen respondents were interviewed and two teachers in a bilingual school were observed and audio-recorded for an eight-week period.

The results from the present study show that multilingual teachers have positive language attitudes, which affect the way they interact with friends, colleagues, relatives, strangers and students in class. In the classroom, multilingual teachers and students use translanguaging that involves code-switching by using Portuguese/L2 in Citewe/L1 contexts and vice versa to contest language separation policies in Mozambique (Chimbutane, 2013; Terra, 2018).

These results offer several implications for theoretical developments and professional practice. Professionally, the data provide evidence that concerted efforts are needed to raise awareness of the social, educational and economic significance of Mozambican indigenous languages to promote them as the MoI. One possible way is to encourage multilingualism in schools and flexible language education policies that value both Portuguese and Mozambican indigenous languages through an optimal use of code-switching as an instructional and communication strategy. Theoretically, this interdisciplinary study draws on concepts from applied linguistics (e.g. language learning), education (e.g. education policies) and social psychology (e.g. attitude), and significantly contributes to a broader understanding of mixed-methods research and the potential impact of culture, language and identity on language policies and classroom practices. The current study makes an important contribution to the growing body of sociolinguistic studies in Mozambique, particularly those on language-in-education policies and classroom practices. More importantly, a few variables (e.g. multilingualism in schools and L1/L2 code-switching tendency) have been modified and possible explanations were presented to explain the findings of the present study.

There are several limitations to the current study that might restrict the generalization of its results. As descried in the Methodology chapter, the respondents serve in bilingual (n=25), monolingual (n=161, Portuguese as the MoI) and both monolingual and bilingual schools (n=15) because bilingual education in central Mozambique is still in its infancy. That is, 80% of the teachers surveyed were serving in Portuguese monolingual schools and only 12.4% were serving in bilingual schools. This disproportionate distribution of teachers may explain, at least in part, why an overwhelming majority of the teachers surveyed expressed preference for teaching in Portuguese. Qualitative studies (e.g. Chimbutane, 2009) have shown that teachers in Portuguese monolingual programmes tend to express negative attitudes towards teaching in Mozambican languages whereas those in bilingual programmes tend to me more favourable to this policy. This observation in is tune with the finding from the present study that higher levels of linguistic diversity in schools is associated with positive attitudes towards mother tongues, suggesting that encouraging multilingualism in schools might contribute to positive attitudes towards Mozambican indigenous languages, which in turn could generate support for their use as the MoI.

A priority in future research would be to explore the impact of social variables such as personality traits of multilingual teachers and students on language attitudes and systematically involve teachers as researchers to examine their teaching and improve pedagogical practice. Future studies in Mozambique could also attempt to analyse experimental and quasi-experimental data to establish causal relationships between language attitudes, classroom discourse and language-in-education policies. Finally, gender and languages could be explored more thoroughly particularly from an African perspective. Preliminary results from the present

study cannot be used to make generalisations about women and Portuguese (colonial/dominant language).

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Ethics approval letter from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University

THE HONG KONG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
香港理工大學

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
英文系

Hans J. Ladegaard
B.A., M.A., Ph.D
Professor and Head

30 April 2018

To Whom It May Concern

This is to confirm that our full time PhD student, Mr LUIS. Simao Elias (student ID: 1790   )
will attend the following activities in Chimoio, EN1, Mozambique in the period mentioned below:-

1 June 2018 to 24 August 2018: Field work – Data collection for the research on Multilingual
Language Policy and Classroom Practices in Postcolonial Mozambique: Exploring Teachers' and
Students' Attitudes to Bilingualism and Classroom Discourse Using Mixed Methods Approach.

Should you need further clarification, please feel free to contact me at 2766 5603.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Hans J. Ladegaard
Head
Department of English
The Hong Kong Polytechnic

Opening Minds • Shaping the Future • 啟迪思維 • 成就未来

Appendix II: Consent to participate in research for teachers

THE HONG KONG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
香港理工大學

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH FOR TEACHERS

Multilingual Language Policies and Classroom Practices in Postcolonial Mozambique: Exploring Classroom Discourses and Teacher Attitudes towards Bilingualism Using a Mixed-Methods Approach

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned research conducted by Mr. LUIS Simao Elias.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, e.g. my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the attached information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefit and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without penalty of any kind.

Name of participant _____

Signature of
participant _____

Name of researcher ___LUIS Simao Elias_____

Signature of researcher _____

Date _____June 2018_____

Appendix III: Consent to participate in research for parents/guardians

THE HONG KONG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
香港理工大學

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS
Multilingual Language Policies and Classroom Practices in Postcolonial Mozambique: Exploring Classroom Discourses and Teacher Attitudes towards Bilingualism Using a Mixed-Methods Approach

I _____ hereby consent my child to participate in the captioned research conducted by Mr. LUIS Simao Elias.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and published. However, my child's right to privacy will be retained, e.g. the personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the attached information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefit and risks involved. My child's participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can have my child withdraw at any time without penalty of any kind.

Name of participant _____

Name of Parent or Guardian _____

Signature of Parent or Guardian _____

Name of researcher ___LUIS Simao Elias_____

Signature of researcher _____

Date ___June 2018_____