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Language-in-Education Policy in Nigeria: The Reality of Teachers' Language Choices

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Abstract

The study investigated teachers' choice of the medium of instruction in public primary schools in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. The study specifically identified the languages used in mathematics classrooms in the selected schools, examined the reasons for teachers choices of language, and determined the effects of these choices on the teaching-learning process. The data for the study were obtained from five mathematics teachers and fifty pupils from five purposively selected primary schools through ethnographic observation and structured interviews. Data collected were analysed using Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework model, as well as descriptive and inferential statistics. The results showed that teachers in the schools used both English and the pupils' regional languages (such as Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa), where the regional languages were the matrix language and English was the embedded language, as the media of instruction in their classrooms. The teachers surveyed claimed that their choice of the pupils' regional languages was necessitated by the fact that it allowed each pupil to learn effectively in his/her languages in a natural, meaningful way as the various classroom activities were being implemented. The study concluded that the use of pupils' home languages in multilingual classrooms does not result in a deficiency in learning, but is a useful strategy in classroom interaction and an efficient way of transferring knowledge to primary school pupils.

Keywords: Language Choice, Code Switching, Medium of Instruction, National Policy on Education

I

Background to the Study

Earlier, in 1976, the cultural charter for Africa, articulated by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Article 6(2) stated that member states should promote teaching in national languages in order to accelerate their economic, political and cultural development (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994:135). Musau (2003:156) observes that the implementation of these charters and declarations has, however, been a mirage. According to him, in Africa only, the languages of the former colonial masters seem to be favoured, while the indigenous languages seem to be losing out. Adegbite (2003:186) notes that the dominance of the language of the former colonial masters matches the status of English in Nigeria. Apart from the generally positive attitudes that Nigerians have towards English, they tend to have a negative attitude towards their indigenous languages (Adegbija, 1994:47; Babajide, 2001:3 & Afolayan, 1999:83). In order to free its citizens from the yoke of an imperial language, English, the Nigerian Government at various times proposed various forms of language policies to encourage and stimulate the growth and development of its over 400 indigenous languages. According to Ajayi and Oyetayo (2002: 61), all these policies are geared toward strengthening the indigenous languages and particularly the three majority languages recognized by the Nigerian constitution, namely lgbo, Hausa and Yoruba.

The principles on which the educational language policy is based are equal opportunity of access to the language of education, thorough grounding in the child's own language, thorough mastery of English, and bilingualism in two Nigerian languages (Ajayi and Oyetayo, 2002:62; Jegede, 2011). However, the role of language in education is usually taken for granted by linguists (Bamgbose, 1994:2). Since acquisition of knowledge is most effectively carried out through the mediation of language, it comes naturally to linguists to assume that any educational policy must devote a substantial part to language.

The little attention given to language in the National Policy on Education (NPE, 2004) is as a result of the nature of the Report of the 1969 curriculum conference from which the NPE emerged. According to Bamgbose (1994:2), the main pre occupations of the Report are with purpose, objectives, goals, structures, teacher training, ownership,

funding etc. He notes that only one paper in chapter one has a section on the 'Language of Instruction' arising from which there is a recommendation that the Nigerian primary school child should be wellgrounded in his mother tongue as well as learning English and/or any of the regional languages as second and/or third language. Against this background, the few language provisions in the NPE could be seen as major advances on the Report of the 1969 curriculum conference.

The NPE is one of the various forms of language policies proposed by the Nigerian Government to encourage and stimulate the growth and development of the over 400 indigenous languages in it. The NPE stipulates a mother tongue or the language of the immediate community as a medium of instruction both at pre-primary and primary levels of education, except that at a later stage in the primary school, English will become a medium of instruction. In other words, as Salami (2008:3) and Omoniyi (2003:135) have noted, the mother tongue or the local indigenous language is expected to be used for content area instruction in all subjects, except English, from pre-primary and primary I to 3, and later English takes over from primary 4 to 6 while the mother tongue is taught as a subject.

This policy envisages a transitional bilingual education model. According to Adetuyi (2012) and Salami (2008:4 citing Putz, 2004:76), the model allows children, temporarily, to use their home languages, and they are taught through that medium until they are considered proficient enough in the official language (English) as their new teaching medium. In transitional bilingual education programme, teachers are bilingual. They are able to switch from the learners' mother tongue to English according to the learners' needs. It is observed that a child who acquires basic literacy or numeracy concepts in one language can transfer these concepts and knowledge easily to second or third or other lateracquired languages (Fafunwa, 1998:98; Salami, 2008:3; Adetuyi, 2015).

However, Odumuh (2002:260) observes that one major problem with the model is that it does not necessarily guarantee the mastery of English and even the learners' mother tongue. Another problem is the duration of the use of the mother tongue. Akinnaso (1993:255) observes that Nigeria's language-in-education policy envisages early exit as the

use of mother tongue medium stops at age 8 or primary three. He notes, however, that studies have shown that children between 9 and 12 years old make more rapid cognitive and academic progress in literacy acquisition in both the L1 and L2 than do children between 5 and 8 years of age. Thus, Jegede (2012) suggests that the critical period for effective transition to literacy be extended from the first 9 years to the first 12. He observes that children ought to learn in their L1 until the age of 12 before shifting to L2 education. He also notes that it is at this age that children would have acquired enough concepts in their mother tongue and would thus be ready to transfer the acquired knowledge in the medium of their second language.

Salami (2008), in his study of mother tongue education and bilingual classroom practice in Nigeria, observes that rather than implementing the transitional bilingual education policy envisaged by the NPE, practitioners in the field have resorted to evolving a varied 'policy' of bilingual instruction. According to him, English is used as early as the first year of the child's primary school education while the mother tongue continues to be used throughout the fourth year when the transition to English should have commenced. The reason for this is that using English in multilingual context often leads to unsatisfactory quality of educational performance (Kyeyune, 2003:174). For instance, studies (such as Setati, 2002, 2005; Adler, 1998, 2001;) on Mathematics learning in multilingual classrooms have shown that pupils perform poorly in mathematics due to the specialised concepts such as divisor, denominator, standard deviation, quotient, radius, circumference, etc, which cannot be well explained in English.

If the use of English as a medium of instruction creates a learning problem in multilingual mathematics classrooms, then it is necessary to find solutions which are workable in the classrooms. Salami (2008), Setati, M. (1998), Setati and Adler (2001), Ncedo, Peires & Morar (2002) and Moschkovich, (2004) have advocated the use of the learners' first language to supplement English. These studies have presented the learners' main languages as valuable resources for learning mathematics. This study supports these earlier studies and also tries to show code switching as a valuable communicative resource in mathematics classroom.

Review of Related Literature

Code-switching and the English Language

Apart from the fact that English is our official language, it has also become the language of global communication as it is constantly used in the field of science, technology, medicine, law, journalism, world politics e.t.c. In order for someone to be abreast of the happenings both at home and in the outside world, one should be able to communicate in English. It is no longer seen as a language of colonialism as some of its words have gone through the process of domestication. By this, it can be said that English has come to stay. Even five decades after independence, English Language is still waxing stronger and stronger.

Despite the status of the English language in Nigeria, especially in the area of formal education, indigenous languages still hold their strong positions, especially in the area of literacy. With the two languages used side by side, there arises the issue of language choice and code switching or code-mixing. Code-switching is the mixing of more than one language in a discourse and it is an evidence of language contact. In Nigeria situation, the contact is often between one local language and English regardless of one's tribe or background. Many people see code-mixing as a sign of linguistic decay, the unsystematic result of not knowing at least one of the involved language very well. (Hornberger, 1998).

The use of more than one language alternatively in a discourse situation can further be explained if a distinction is made between codeswitching and borrowing. Borrowing is an importation of certain linguistic items from one language to another. This phenomenon is as a result of language contact which happens mostly in bilingual communities.

Akindele & Adegbite (1992) defined code-switching as "a means of communication which involves a speaker alternating between the language and the other in communication events,... someone who code switches uses two languages or dialects interchangeably in a single communication". This switching, they said, can be inter-lingua or intralingua.

According to Trudgill (2000), code-switching can be discussed from two different perspectives: the functional and formal perspectives. The functional types are the conversational, situational and metaphorical.

In conversational code-switching, the same speech act is involved ... the bilingual is involved in the discussion of a particular topic. Such an individual may also be involved in a casual talk in an attempt to carry out the communication; he employs items from two different languages and ties them together by syntactic and semantic relations.

In situational code-switching, two different languages are assigned to two or more different situation. The setting, activities and participants in such situations remain the same. An individual may have knowledge of all the languages associated with different situations. However, conversational etiquette requires the use of only one language at a time.

Metaphorical code-switching involves the use of two different languages which serves as a metaphor representing different situations. This may be due to a change of subject matter or new set at role relations set up. The situational factors such as setting activities and participants also remain the same. Each of the two languages in alternation could be assigned to identifiable stages or episodes of the same speech event.

The formal code-switching on the other hand refers to the linguistic realization of code-switching from one language to the other. There are three sub-types under this category. Code-switching is the first sub-type and it refers to a complete change from one language to another language. There is inter-sentential code change which realizes a switch that takes place across sentences with a blend of the two codes of communication that are involved in the communicative process.

The Use of Code switching in the Primary School

Many teachers, who are in favour of the applications of communicative techniques in the language teaching environment, oppose any form of native language use during classroom instruction. Contrary to this, supporters of the use of native language in the form of code switching, suggest that it may be an effective strategy in various aspects. Following the ideas of these two parties, some weak and strong sides on the use of code switching in foreign language classroom settings will be mentioned with a critical perspective.

Cook (2002:333) handles the subject matter considering multilingual classrooms in saying that the application of code switching in classes which do not share the same native language may create problems, as

some of the students (though few in number) will somehow be neglected. So, at this point, it may be suggested that the students should share the same native language, if code switching will be applied in instruction. Another point to consider in this respect is that the competence of the teacher in the mother tongue of students also plays a vital role, if positive contributions of code switching are expected.

A further discussion is put forward by Eldridge, as he suggests "the learners have no guarantee that their audience will share knowledge of their mother tongue" (1996:309). This perspective concerns the interaction of students with native speakers of the target language, as mutual intelligibility may not be possible if the learner switches his language during communication.

In supporting the existence of code switching in language classrooms, Skiba (1997) suggests that in the circumstances where code switching is used due to an inability of expression, it serves for continuity in speech instead of presenting interference in language. In this respect, code switching stands to be a supporting element in communication of information and in social interaction; therefore serves for communicative purposes in the way that it is used as a tool for transference of meaning. Additionally, the functions of the teacher's code switching stand as supportive explanations for the strong sides of the phenomenon. All these in general lead to the idea that the use of code switching somehow builds a bridge from known to unknown and may be considered as an important element in teaching when used efficiently.

Aim and Objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to investigate Language-in-Education Policy in Nigeria and the Reality of Teachers' Language Choices in multilingual classrooms in Nigerian public primary schools. The specific objectives are to:

- a) Identify the languages used in mathematics classrooms in the selected schools,
- b) Examine the reasons for teachers' choices of language, and
- c) Determine the effects of these choices on the teaching-learning process.

Research Methodology

Research Design

This study focused on teachers language choices in multilingual mathematics classrooms in Ile-Ife. Questionnaires were designed to elicit responses from teachers (respondents). We also attended lessons and took notes of classroom interactions between the teachers and the pupils. This design enabled us to be able to identify the languages used by the teachers in context; we were also able to analyse the features of these languages and discuss their effects on the teaching and learning of mathematics.

Research Population and Sampling Technique

The research population included five public primary schools in Ile-Ife, five mathematics teachers (one from each school) and fifty pupils, ten from each school. These teachers and pupils were chosen from primary four. We chose primary four because it is at this level that the teachers are expected to transit from the use of the mother tongue to English. Five schools of the thirty-eight public primary schools in Ife Central Local Government are chosen. These five schools are used to represent the three major languages in Nigeria. Two schools, Anglican Central School, Sabo and St. Peters Primary School, Sabo, were taken from the area where we have people of Yoruba extraction; another two schools, A.U.I. Primary School, Sabo and Methodist Primary School, Sabo, were taken from the area where we have people from Hausa extraction, while one school, St. Bernard's Primary School, Lagere, was taken from the area where we have people from Igbo extraction. However, the schools have a good number of pupils and teachers who are predominantly Yoruba speakers, as well as Hausa and Igbo children who are also able to speak and interact in Yoruba in and outside the classroom.

Data Collection

Data for this study were gathered through both structured and unstructured interviews and participant observation. The interviews contained questions regarding language use in multilingual mathematics classrooms. A teacher of mathematics and ten pupils, five boys and five

girls, were interviewed from each school. The teacher's interview contained questions on (1) what language(s) they usually use during mathematics lessons and why they use it/them, (2) whether they code switch or not, (3) why they code switch if they do, and (4) what they think are the effects of using code switching as a communicative strategy in mathematics classrooms. The pupils' interview contained questions regarding their preference for or against code switching and the reasons for their preferences.

Data Authentication

To ensure that the respondents give authentic responses, we sat in the classrooms for the mathematics lessons in the schools. During each lesson, we observed and took note of classroom practices regarding language use. After each lesson and interview with the respondents, we compared and contrasted their responses with what actually took place in the classroom.

Procedure for Data Analysis

The language(s) used in the mathematics classrooms visited were identified. The features of the languages were analysed and their effects on the teaching and learning of mathematics were discussed. Incidences of code choices were also analysed and their effects on mathematics learning were discussed. The implications of code choice in English as Second Language classrooms were also discussed. The analysis of the data was carried out using the matrix language framework model proposed by Myers-Scotton (2001).

Data Analysis, Findings and Discussion

Teachers' Choices of Language

Table I below shows languages mostly used in the classroom from the schools and lessons sampled in Ile-Ife. Question I a was asked to find out, from teachers, what language they tended to use most for instructing pupils during mathematics lessons.

Table I:	Languages Used in the Classrooms	

Question	English	English & Yoruba	Yoruba & Hausa	Total
Q1a. Mol mostly used by teachers				
No	2	2	I	5
%	40	40	20	100

Note: Mol = Medium of Instruction

The data show that all the five teachers responded to the question. Two teachers (40%) claimed to use English; two teachers (40%) claimed to use English and Yoruba, while one teacher (20%) claimed to use Yoruba and Hausa. Our observation and record from sitting in at the lessons show that the claims of the first two teachers are true because the teachers taught the greater part of the lesson in English. The two teachers are from Ansarul Islam Primary School, Sabo and St Bernard Primary School, Lagere. The claims of the two teachers that they taught mostly in the mother tongue and English are also right. The teachers actually taught the lessons in English and interpreted each sentence in Yoruba. The teachers are from Anglican Central School, Sabo and St. Peters Anglican Primary School 'A', Sabo. The only teacher that claimed to use Yoruba and Hausa as the main medium of instruction was from Methodist Primary School, Sabo. The teacher, being a Yoruba man, had to learn Hausa to be able to teach the pupils, because most of them were Hausas.

Table 2 shows the other languages used in the schools sampled.

Question 2a was asked to find out the other languages used by the teachers during mathematics lessons.

Question	English	Yoruba	Total
Q2a. Other language(s) used			
in the classroom			
No.	I	4	5
%	20	80	100

Table 2: Other language(s) Used in the Classrooms

The data collected show that all the five teachers responded to the question. The table above shows that Yoruba is the other language mostly used in the schools surveyed. Four teachers (80%) claimed that they used Yoruba while one teacher (20%) claimed that he used English. Our observation shows that the four teachers used Yoruba as a supplement because majority of the pupils in their classrooms were of Yoruba extraction. The only teacher that indicated that he used English as an additional language had pupils from Hausa extraction. As noted earlier, the pupils did not understand English and solely relied on Hausa their mother tongue. The teacher, thus, taught in Hausa and Yoruba in order to make the pupils learn, and occasionally switched to English when the content could not be interpreted in both Yoruba and Hausa.

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Reasons for Teachers' Choices

From table I, we observed that two teachers indicated that they tended to use English most as the medium of instruction in mathematics classrooms. The teachers are from Ansarul Islam Primary School, Sabo and St. Bernard Primary School, Lagere.

Question 1b was asked to find out the reasons for the teachers' preferences in question 1a.

The teacher from Ansarul Islam Primary School, Sabo responded that:

English Language is an official language in Nigeria and it enables pupils to do external exams. We also use English because we are not expected to use Yoruba language to teach in upper classes.

The teacher observed that the status of English in Nigeria should not be underrated by using the language of the immediate environment solely as the medium of instruction in education at the expense of English, which is Nigeria's official language. She also observed that external examinations are in English, as a result, pupils should be taught in the medium of English for the greater part of their lessons. She noted this would allow the pupils to be able to read and write in English during the exams.

The teacher from St. Bernard Primary School, Lagere responded that:

English is the medium the school authorities and local inspectors said we should be using and that is why it is the main language.

The teacher observed that the school authorities and the local inspectors of education (LIE) said the medium of instruction from primary four upward should be English. During the lesson, the teacher tried to teach in the medium of English alone. The teacher was trying to conform to the instructions of the LIE. However, the pupils had a hard time coping in the medium of English. The teacher had to switch back and forth between English and Yoruba for the pupils to really understand what she was teaching them.

Table I also shows that two teachers indicated that they tended to use both English and Yoruba most in the classroom. The schools involved are St. Peters Anglican Primary School 'A', Sabo and Anglican Central Primary School, Sabo.

The teacher from St. Peters Anglican Primary School 'A', Sabo responded that:

It would let them (the pupils) understand the teaching.

The teacher believed that the use of Yoruba together with English would aid the pupils understanding of the topic taught. Our observation and record show that the pupils actually enjoyed the lesson more in their mother tongue (Yoruba) than in their second language (English). Their responses also show that they had some measure of understanding of the topic.

The teacher from Anglican Central Primary School, Sabo responded that:

If we use only English, they will not cooperate.

The teacher observed that the pupils show more cooperation when she used their mother tongue (Yoruba) than when she taught in English. Our observation and record also confirmed this. The pupils paid more attention to the teacher each time the teacher switched from English to Yoruba. This showed that they were ready to cooperate with the teacher, provided she taught them in Yoruba.

We will also observe from table I that only a teacher (from Methodist Primary School, Sabo) indicated that he used Yoruba and Hausa most. He responded that:

The pupils show low interest in the English Language.

Our observation from sitting in at the mathematics lesson in this school showed that the pupils did not understand English at all. The way they watched the teacher teach them in English showed that they did not even have interest in the English-medium. They were all from Hausa extraction and only speak Hausa at home, and Yoruba, only when they are interacting with pupils from Yoruba extraction. Their major language is Hausa while their second language is Yoruba. As a result of this, the teacher used Yoruba and Hausa as media of instruction. Question 2b was asked to find out the reasons for the preferences of the teachers in question 2a. The teacher from Anglican Central Primary School, Ilare, Ile-Ife said that she used Yoruba because "it makes the lesson more effective. The Pupils will be able to contribute more to the lesson". According to her, the use of Yoruba makes her teaching effective, such that the pupils will be made to learn in the language they are familiar with. As a result, they will be able to give their feedback in the language they understand fluently. Through this, the teacher is able to really determine which pupil is doing well and which of them is not doing well.

The teacher from Ansarul Islam Primary School, Sabo, Ile-Ife said that she used Yoruba "to enable them understand very well. It facilitates the teaching of mathematics." From the response of this teacher, we could observe that the teacher used Yoruba to help the pupils understand what she taught them in English. The teacher believed that a subject such as mathematics needed to be taught in a language that the pupils were familiar with.

The teacher from St Bernard Primary School, Lagere, Ile-Ife said that she used Yoruba because "the best way to teach the pupils effectively is to interpret what you teach them in Yoruba, their mother tongue". This teacher believed that the best way to teach pupils mathematics is by using their mother tongue as the medium of instruction. This is also the idea of the two teachers discussed earlier.

Similarly, the teacher from St Peters Anglican Primary School 'A', Sabo, Ile-Ife said that she used Yoruba "to arouse their interest because it is their mother tongue." This teacher believed that the best way to attract the pupils' attention in the classroom is by using their mother tongue. This makes the pupils feel at home and forget the tension and anxiety they usually have in their English classroom. It is worthy of note that speaking English in answering questions in English could be a dilemma for a pupil. However, answering questions or giving comments in Yoruba makes things easier for the pupils, and even, the teachers.

The teacher from Methodist Primary School, Sabo, Ile-Ife is the only teacher who indicated that he used English as an additional language. The reason he gave was that "English is an official language. So, must force them to learn it." Our observation during the lesson was that

English was used only when some concepts could not be taught in Yoruba and Hausa.

Tables 1 & 2 show that code switching has become a common practice in Nigerian classrooms.

Summary of Findings and Conclusion

The teacher we interviewed in Anglican Central Primary School, Ilare, lle-lfe said that CS improves the pupils' academic performance; and as a result of it, many of them scored high marks in their class work and continuous assessment. Our observation show that the pupils responded well to the teacher's questions.

In Ansarul Islam Primary School, Sabo, Ile-Ife, The teacher we interviewed said that CS aided teaching and learning in the school. The teacher emphasized that she used CS to make them understand the contents thoroughly. She added that using CS made the pupils to have interest in mathematics. Our observation showed that CS aided the teaching and learning of mathematics in the classroom. The teacher was able to teach well and fluently. The pupils were also able to respond to the teacher's questions. The pupils were at home with the use of Yoruba during the lesson and this really aroused their interest in the lesson. Another interesting thing we observed was that the pupils always expected the teacher to explain in Yoruba whenever they didn't understand a particular aspect of the lesson. It seems that the use of CS in multilingual classrooms is more effective than teaching in English-only medium.

Methodist Primary School, Sabo, Ile-Ife was a little different from other schools. The teacher we interviewed in this school said that the pupils were not ready to learn in English because their minds were biased. As a result of this, he compared English with Hausa when teaching them. This is because the pupils were of Hausa extraction. Our observation showed that the pupils didn't understand English. They could only speak Hausa and Yoruba fluently. Thus, learning in the medium of Hausa and Yoruba make them more comfortable with the teacher and the lesson. The teacher in turn alternated between Yoruba and Hausa to make sure that the pupils understood what he was teaching them.

In the case of St. Bernard Primary School, Lagere, Ile-Ife, the teacher we interviewed in this school said that the use of CS in the school was effective. She said that the use of code switching in the lessons gave the pupils understanding of the content being taught. She also said that alternating between English and Yoruba enabled her to explain to the pupils very well, and as a result, the pupils had retentive memory. Our observation shows that the teacher code switched at some key points, when explaining important concepts, when the pupils were getting distracted and when praising and reprimanding them. The use of CS in this classroom reduced the overall comprehension burden and made it easier for the pupils to concentrate on the message conveyed.

In St. Peters Anglican Primary School 'A', Sabo, Ile-Ife, the use of code switching in the school enabled the pupils to understand the contents being taught very well, according to the teacher. She said that CS also enabled the pupils to participate well in the classroom. Our observation also shows that the use of CS in this classroom gave room for the teacher to maintain solidarity and express emotional understanding with the pupils by switching to their mother tongue. This also contributed to the smooth flow of the classroom interaction and communication.

In a nutshell, what obtains in public primary schools is different from what is stipulated in the National Policy on Education. This is because both the teachers and the pupils have different abilities to use language in the classroom setting. The ability to use a language goes beyond the ability to manage its structural components. Communicative language competence includes the ability to use a language in appropriate ways in various contexts. Bilingual teachers or pupils may therefore choose to use two languages in the same sentence, or between sentences to achieve a communicative goal. This is generally systematic and indicates linguistic sophistication.

This study as well as recent research studies provides evidence that bilingualism enhances academic success when it is additive rather than subtractive in nature. Our findings in this study are going to open new aspects of research for linguists to examine the relevance of code switching as a learning resource in Nigerian primary schools. The study offers useful suggestions to teachers on how to promote effective teaching and learning process.

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