LINGUISTICS INFORMING LANGUAGE EDUCATION
THE CASE OF JAMAICA

GRGC
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What's ahead

- underperformance in Jamaican primary schools
- an overview of the language situation in Jamaica – Jamaican Creole (JC) and Jamaican English (JE)
- a (rather) detailed look at JC/ JE
  - past tense formation
  - plural construction

OUR RESPONSE:
The Professional Development of Primary School Teachers (PDPST)
- goals of the project
- past activities
- the way forward being pursued

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Primary Schools in Jamaica

- children attend grades 1-6 at primary school between ages 6 and 11
- there are 760 public primary-level institutions and 161 privately-owned counterparts (preparatory schools) (Education Statistics 2018-2019 at https://moey.gov.jm)
- as far as language spoken goes, the assumption of the Ministry of Education is that the communities feeding primary schools are mainly JC-speaking, and that the children are monolingual speakers of JC (2001 Language Education Policy, pg 23)

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Tests taken in Primary Schools

- grade 1 Individual Learning Profile
- grade 3 Diagnostic Test
- grade 4 Literacy & Numeracy
- grade 6 Primary Exit Profile (PEP)

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Grade 4 Literacy Test (G4LT) results - Overall

Year	2005	2018
National average	62%	85%

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Beneath the scores

- school type:
  - the gap between public and private schools was 22 % points in 2012, narrowing to 17 points in 2018 (Patterson, 2021)
  - G4LT scores are in the 90s for private schools versus 70/80s for public schools
- this contributes to Patterson's claim that there are two extremely different school systems in the country:
  - one system that is world-class and serves mainly the 'Haves'
  - another, pertaining to the vast majority, that serves the 'Have-Nots', and is largely failing (pg 9)

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Primary Exit Profile (PEP) exam

- the PEP exam was introduced in 2019
- as the name suggests, it is taken in Grade 6 at the end of primary school
- it shifted from memorized learning to the testing of analytic thinking
- 2019 results revealed major deficiencies in the level of learning achieved by students
- pass rates were as follows:
  - 41% in mathematics
  - 49% in science
  - 55% in language arts

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The PEP exam

- a breakdown of the language arts results showed that:
  - a third of students could not read
  - 56% could not write
  - 58% could not find information on a topic in a simple passage

(Patterson 2021: 12)

- results point, then, to students being barely literate
- the report notes further that performance at the end of secondary schooling was "not much better"

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The role of language

- very disappointingly, the Patterson report did not address language as a major contributor to under-performance in schools
- however, as we have seen, children who attend public schools are likely to be speakers of JC, yet
- national school-based examinations at all levels of the education system, as well as the textbooks used to prepare for those exams, are written in English
- content is shared in English, the language of instruction, across all areas of the curriculum

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The role of language

- we look now at aspects of the language situation in Jamaica in terms of the challenges they create for the acquisition of English if they are not taken into account by the language arts teacher
- in this, I draw from presentations and articles arising out of the PDPST project, as well as my own *Child Language Acquisition Research (CLAR)* 2010 and my 2017 UWI Press book *What do Jamaican children speak? A language resource*

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The language situation

- JC has sufficient linguistic differences from English, its main lexical source, to be a language in its own right
- nonetheless, as an English-lexified Creole, it is the case that there are shared lexical items and similarities in pronunciation between JC and JE
- these cause boundaries between the languages to be blurred and very real linguistic differences at the structural level to be concealed

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The language situation

- the result is a lack of awareness among speakers that JC and JE are distinct languages, and often a conviction that they are not
- as a further consequence, there is uncertainty as to what constitutes JC as opposed to JE, and often a belief that English is being used when it is not
- an example: an exchange student assigned to our project asked a 9-year-old student to repeat what she had said in English; she replied *bot mi a spiik Ingglish* (Vintenko 2016, 10, 51)

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At the root of it all

- English, or more accurately the Englishes as spoken on the slave plantation, constitute the main **lexical source** of JC
- this is at the root of prevailing misconceptions about language in Jamaica
- in addition, therein lies the primary cause of what we have known since plantation days to be the lack of satisfactory proficiency in English by JC speakers

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The lexicon

- the majority of JC words do have their origin in English; that can readily be recognized to be the case and is undeniable
- 17% of words used by the children in my study were 'cognates' where the same form is used regularly in both JC and JE
  - JC *man* is very obviously a 'man'

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The lexicon

- cognates apart, 82.1% of all types used by the children contained one or more segment belonging to JE
  - JC *bwai* can quite easily be recognized, even by foreigners, as referring to a 'boy'
  - JC *gyaadn* is clearly a 'garden' and so on
- these words sound like the English we speak in Jamaica today (JE) … but not quite so
- the result is that, as a backwash of plantation days, what is spoken is seen by the society as falling short; as not making the mark; as bad English
- the stigma associated with JC is still very much alive today, though, like so many phenomena in post-colonial societies, language attitudes are very complex

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A result of languages in contact

- back on the plantation when an English word was incorporated into the speech of the slaves, a segment not existing in their repertoire of sounds could not be incorporated
- an example: /ɔi/ - this exists in JE, but not in JC; the JC counterpart is /ai/
- /bɔi/ was therefore imported as /bwai/
- as expected, given the systematicity of language, the differences between the two systems are quite systematic and predictable
- the same applied, therefore, to all words with the sequence /ɔi/ - /fɔil/ as /fail/ etc

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Languages in contact

- this is not a phenomenon peculiar to the emergence of a Creole language
- we don't have to look far to find examples
  - Old French *alouance* (payment) became 'allowance'
  - French *aviation* was incorporated into English with the same spelling, but pronounced as we would pronounce it

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Pronunciation

- the fact is that JC and JE have 2 different sound systems
- there are sounds which exist in JC but not in JE
  - the palatalized *ky*at and *gy*aadn do not exist in English
- there are also sounds which exist in JE but not in JC
  - *tik* is pronounced in this way because the segment 'th' /θ/ doesn't exist in the JC inventory of sounds
- so, JC has a different inventory of sounds
- it's more complex than this, though

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Variation

- it has been recognized since the beginnings of the formal study of Creole languages that extreme variation is characteristic of speech in communities where they are spoken
- speech typically involves a mixing of features of both: in my work, I refer to this mixing of features as 'weaving'

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Variation

- what happens is that speakers use combinations of segments from both language systems, without necessarily knowing which form belongs to which system
- 40.4% of nouns used by the CLAR children have at least one JE variant
- what this means is that the children use the JC forms as well as the JE
  - e.g. *biebi* (326 occurrences) *beebi* (107)

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Variants of (monosyllabic) *aas*

Occurrences			
1. aas	(**JC**- h-drop, long vowel, no 'r')	58	
2. aws	(JES- JC h-drop, no r; JE vowel)	2	
3. aars	(JES- JC h-drop, *aa*; JE 'r')	2	
4. ars	(JES- JC h-drop; JE short vowel, 'r')	13	
5. haas	(JES- JC *aa*, no 'r'; JE 'h')	1	
6. ors	(JES- JC h-drop; JE vowel, 'r')	6	
7. hors	(**JE**- all JE segments)	7	= 89

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Superficial differences

- Craig (1980) refers to differences in pronunciation and in the lexicon as being 'superficial'
- if the only differences between JC and JE were at these levels, linguists would not consider JC to be a language in its own right

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Superficial vs structural differences

- with regard to the lexicon, we saw that much of the vocabulary of JC is derived from English
- now we see that nonetheless, the syntactic environments in which lexical items appear in the languages differ in fundamental ways
  - OSS: *mi faada **chrim** mi*
  - ORR: *i kaan kaahn **iit** so*

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Structural differences

- so to begin with, the words are of ambiguous affiliation – it is not clear to the speaker the language to which they belong, since they exist in both
- but the greater danger is that because they are recognizably similar as far as sound goes, the speaker will think that they behave syntactically in the same way also

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Similarities concealing differences

- we do not need to feel special in this regard – in cases of overlaps between languages, it is to be expected that speakers will presume structural similarities
  - Ringbom (1987, 2001) found it to be the case in 2nd Language Acquisiiton (L2A) that when words are similar in the 2 languages, learners quite readily assume strong formal similarities even where no such similarities exist
  - why would anyone assume otherwise?
- and so much of the vocabulary of a Creole language is based on English

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Structural differences

- importantly, then, there is more to the notion of 'bad English' than words and their pronunciation
- it is at the structural level, that the differences are more divergent
- this is at the level of what is loosely called the 'grammar'
- but another very common misconception is that JC doesn't have a grammar
- people (including students who are new to Linguistics) tend to laugh if you speak about the grammar of Patois
- the claim is that Patois does not have a grammar, and therefore it could never be a language

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Structural differences

- that view is understandable if we think of a grammar in terms of endings, for instance
- in English there is an overt indication of
  - pastness: 'cooked'
  - plurality: 'two books'
- JC doesn't mark either of these overtly
- the cry then becomes - how could JC be a language if it doesn't have a grammar?

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JC is a language

- the answer, of course, is that the grammar of JC works very differently from that of JE, but it is a grammar and it does work
- tense and plurality as grammatical systems, for instance, work fundamentally differently in JC than they do in JE
- they are different systems, but they are both systems

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Inflections

- the use of morphemes to signal grammatical functions in JE, vs the non-use of those morphemes in JC is thought to be readily apparent
- it is the common practice of teachers to point out to students that the "endings" must be "added" for the sentence to be "correct"
- then they introduce students to "irregular" forms

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JC is a language

- there are, however, more subtle ways in which the languages differ, resulting in the L1 of (presumed JC-speaking) students influencing the English they produce as an L2
- we look now at the (past) tense and plurality in the two languages from this perspective

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Past tense

- JE they know PRESENT
  they knew PAST

  they jump PRESENT
  they jumped PAST

- JC the free morpheme *e*(*h*)*n* and its variants, including the "more JE" *did* and its variant *dii*

BUT …

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Past tense

- JC *dem nuo* PRESENT
  dem ehn nuo PAST

- so far so good; but …
  dem jomp PAST
  dem ehn jomp PAST BEFORE PAST

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Past tense

- in JE, every finite verb which represents an eventuality taking place prior to the moment of speaking must be marked for the past tense
- as such, JE is considered to be tense prominent
- JC, like other Creole languages is not tense prominent
  - temporal fixing may but need not be determined in the Syntax by grammatical marking
  - it may be set by other means such as by the inherent meaning of a verb, by the discourse and by adverbs

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Past tense

- analyses of tense systems in Creole languages have centred around discussions of absolute vs relative past tense, and interactions with the lexical or inherent aspectual properties of the predicate
- absolute tense locates the event (E) in the past with respect to the time of the utterance (S)
- in Creole languages tense is relative – the event is not necessarily located with respect to speech time S, but relative to a Reference point (R) that may (but need not) be established by the verb

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Relative tense

- a stative verb (*nuo*) establishes R as being speech time S, and therefore returns a present reading for E
  dem nuo PRESENT
- a nonstative verb (*jomp*) establishes R as prior to S, returning a past interpretation for E
  dem jomp PAST
- the result is default tense interpretations for different lexical classes of verb, in the absence of any overt tense marking
- the lexical class of the verb also contributes to a determination of when marking is present

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Relative tense

- in the presence of the preverbal marker, the event E is shifted to a point prior to R in each case
- for statives, where R is at speech time, E is shifted to a point prior to that (past)
  dem ehn nuo PAST
- for nonstatives, where R is already prior to speech time (past), E is shifted to a point prior to that also, now past before past
  dem ehn jomp PAST BEFORE PAST

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Past tense – a few notes

- with regard to the cognate of the English *did* mentioned earlier as being a variant of the JC past tense marker, this turns out to have a different function in JC than it does in JE
- in JC, it functions just like other pre-verbal markers
  - *dem did nuo* PAST
  - *dem did jomp* PAST BEFORE PAST
- in JE, however, it functions as an emphatic marker in a declarative sentence
  - He did know/ jump PAST, but "He definitely knew/ jumped"

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Past tense – a few notes

- the discussion above on lexical aspect is grounded in Reichenbach's seminal 1947 work on tense structure
- the Reichenbach model has been applied to the study of temporal interpretation in Creole languages by Bhat (1999), Lefèbvre (1996), Muysken (1981), Winford (2001) and others
- discussions have been far more fine-grained and far-reaching than what has been presented here
- Gooden (2008) discussed cases where the stative/ non-stative distinction is not a determinant of marking, and, following Chung and Timberlake (1985), adopts the term tense locus (TL) which allows for R and E to be viewed as intervals of time rather than a single point

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Past tense – a few notes

- the point is that tense systems in JC and JE differ in fundamental ways
- as a consequence, there is no Creole marker which is sufficiently isomorphic with the JE past marker (Clachar 2005, 323)
- this means that the Creole speaker will have difficulty identifying a meaning and function for the JE inflection
- it becomes clear that for the JC speaker, being taught only the forms of the JE regular and irregular past tense is not sufficient to achieve mastery of the past tense

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Plural marking

- what I thought to do for the discussion of plural marking is to (quickly) go through the slides which we provided as part of the PDPST project for trainers conducting workshops for teachers in the schools

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Focus on plural marking

- English plural marking is subject to a few restrictions and complexities – which we will go through.
- However, the most important issue arises from a mismatch between JC plural marking and JE plural marking.
  - *how* plural is marked is different
  - and even more importantly: *when* plural is marked is different
- This mismatch is what makes noticing by the learner difficult, and is why explicit teaching is needed

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How & *when* plural is marked in JC

- *dem* is the third person plural pronoun (they, them, their)
- It is also a plural marker when directly following a noun:

  the kite**s** = *di kait* ***dem***
- But plural reference can be achieved without it!
- Translate these plurals:

  That's just sticks and paper.

  They made two beautiful kites.

  Do not fly kites near busy streets.

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How & *when* plural is marked in JC

kait = 'kite' or 'kites' (singular or plural)

di kait = 'the kite' (singular only)

di kait dem = 'the kites' (plural only)

fi mi kait = 'my kite' (singular only)

fi mi kait dem = 'my kites' (plural only)

tuu kait = 'two kites' (plural only)

som kait = 'some kites' (plural only)

When is *dem* needed to create a plural?

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JC PLURAL RULE

- The plural marker is the free form *dem.*
- *dem* is positioned after the count noun.
- **It appears only when the noun is definite, i.e., it refers to a specific, known entity.**
- A noun is definite when it is
  - preceded by *di* (the definite article);
  - or preceded by a possessor.

JE PLURAL RULE

- The plural marker is the bound form *–s*.
- It is suffixed to a count noun.
- **It appears whenever the noun has plural reference.**
- Definiteness has no impact.
  - Indefinite nouns also need the plural suffix to have a plural reading.
- Redundant plural marking is required even when a plural numeral or quantifier is present.

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English plural marking: some restrictions and complexities

- semantic restriction:
  - only count nouns, which denote countable entities can take the plural
- thus:
  - not **several waters, *two soups, *the flours*; instead: *several bottles of water, two cups of soup, the brands of flour*
  - mass nouns are made countable by the combination with a count noun
- JC can make mass nouns directly countable:
  - *kopl waata, tuu suup, di difren flowa dem*

NB Linguists use * to show that what follows is ungrammatical.

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English plural marking: some restrictions and complexities

- irregular plurals:
  - vowel change (woman-women, foot-feet, mouse-mice); irregular suffix (ox-oxen, child-children); -ves ending (knife-knives, calf-calves); unmarked plural (sheep)
- irregular forms need to be rote-learned
- JC does not have irregular plurals
  - it has inherited irregular *tiit* – but without plural meaning: it means 'tooth' as well
  - just as it has inherited regular *ans* = 'ant', without plural meaning

Want to know how English ended up with all these different plural forms? Watch John McWhorter's TED Talk:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_gwJHuEa9Jc

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English plural marking: some restrictions and complexities

- complexities in pronunciation & spelling:
  - compare 'cats' (the sound is [s]) and 'dogs' (the sound is [z])
  - after 's' or 'sh', the plural suffix becomes *–es* (pronounced [ɪz]): *buses, fishes*
  - the combination of a final *–y* plus the *–s* suffix becomes *–ies* (if following a consonant): *baby-babies, story-stories*
- JC forms do not vary in their spelling

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Summary

- JC plural marking is used only if the noun has definite reference. It uses the free form *dem* after the noun.
- JE plural marking requires plural whenever the noun has plural reference. It uses a bound form *–s* (or an irregular form, or a spelling variant).
- JC speakers will not always recognize the need to mark plural in English.

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Influence of the L1 in our context

- we look now at an example of influence which might not be readily noticeable, but which is important for the language education teacher in our context to be aware of
- recall that in JC the plural morpheme *dem* is used only in definite contexts, whereas in English plurality is signalled by the plural morpheme /s/ and its allomorphs, regardless of context
- Sashann Dixon, UWI PhD student is looking at the use of the morpheme by children of Grades 4 and 6 in 2 primary schools in rural Jamaica

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Influence of the L1 in our context

- in a written closed-ended test administered by her, the overall percentage accuracy of all 127 students participating in the plural test was 63.4%
- this included environments where the morpheme was required [+Required] as well as not required [-Required]
- overall percentage accuracy in [+Required] contexts was 57.3%

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Influence of the L1 in our context

- drilling further down into the data, she discovered that of the 4 different [+Required] contexts, it was those occurring with a definite count noun which resulted in the highest accuracy (63.5%)
- these are the exact contexts in which the plural morpheme is required in JC

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Back to Variation

- we spoke earlier about the 7 variants in the pronunciation of *aas* 'horse' in the CLAR data, with a mix of JE and JC segments
- this "weaving" also exists at the level of the syntax
- the JE past tense and the plural were used sparingly by the children
- even so, here are examples of weaving in these constructions

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Variation

- an example of the weaving of JE and JC in the same conversation by a child 3;5.22 from an urban (town) school:

  mi waant i dishiz 'I want the dishes'

  wash op di dishiz dem 'Wash up the dishes!'
- DAN from an urban (city) school produces the JC past tense morpheme once in 4 30-minute interviews

  di boi mada komd

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Variation in the input

- very importantly, this is not to suggest that the children's speech today has been influenced necessarily by JE, and that, as a result, they are creating novel forms with L2 interference
- these are not child forms, but forms which may be used regularly in adult speech
- as a result, the children would have been exposed to them in the input, given the extreme variation said to characterize the speech of Jamaicans

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Variation in the input

- we note that sociolinguistic variation is a pervasive feature in natural language … and nothing new
- the literature is very clear on the ability of children, from a very early age, to discern what language system might be required, given different social situations
- what we are speaking about here, though, is situations where forms are variably or inconsistently produced by adult speakers, and where neither linguistic nor sociolinguistic factors seem to predict the alternation of forms
- in other words, situations where input is characterized by seemingly free variation as in 7 different ways to pronounce *aas* 'horse'

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Effects on Acquisition

- at least in production, studies have shown that children do not regularize variable input, but rather tend to show patterns of variability in their own speech (e.g. Labov 1989, Roberts 1994)
- Byers-Heinlein (2009) provides evidence that exposure to mixed language impedes English vocabulary development at eighteen and twenty-four months
- she suggests that this may be due at least in part to increased difficulty in language separation resulting from the mixed input

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Effects on Acquisition

- variable input and inconsistent input have also been shown to delay the acquisition of grammatical features in monolingual children
- this is because, both in L1 and L2 acquisition, the input provides evidence both <u>for</u> (the adult produces a particular form) and <u>against</u> (the adult omits the form) a particular form in the grammar the child is acquiring

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Application for the language classroom

- research has shown that for language learning, input does not actually get internalized at all —does not become intake—unless it is noticed (Schmidt 1990, 2001, 2010)
- noticing means that the input must be consciously registered, that L2A is largely driven by what learners pay attention to and become aware of in target language input
- people learn about the things that they attend to and do not learn much about the things they do not attend to

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Language Awareness

- 'noticing' becomes particularly important given our language situation where boundaries between the two languages are blurred, and often, people believe that they are speaking English when in fact they are not
- it becomes important in our situation to be on the look-out for what have been called 'teaching moments' or 'teaching opportunities' – so the language teacher must be aware enough him/herself to be able to pick up on instances in the students' speech which indicate that boundaries may be blurred
- here is a final, very important point about the value of awareness as a teaching tool

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Language Awareness

- although Language Awareness involves attention to how language works, and although it means explicit instruction about language, it is not taught by the teacher or by a text
- instead, it is developed through continuing personal insights by the learner as they are encouraged to <u>discover</u> and articulate patterns of language use
- the idea is to **<u>MAKE LANGUAGE VISIBLE</u>** (Bryan 2010 Ch 5)

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The PDPST project

- against this background, the project takes a linguistic approach to language learning and teaching, positioning "language awareness" as a foundational principle
- in the Jamaican linguistic context, what needs to be "noticed" are the differences in pronunciation, structure and usage of the two languages spoken in the society
- this ensures that JC becomes a resource for the learning of JE instead of a hindrance

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Goals of PDPST

- the primary goal of the project is to improve English language proficiency among students in the public primary schools by enabling teachers to gain the background knowledge and skills to teach English using a Linguistics-based approach
- we view such knowledge and skills to be the content which a language arts teacher must master, in the same way, for instance, that a history teacher must know the events of the period s/he is teaching
- the project twins linguistic insights with pedagogies adjusted for the Jamaican public primary classroom
- in this way, experiential learning and content knowledge are joined (Mallinson et al 2011)

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Goals of PDPST

- to bring a linguistic approach of non-judgment to teachers' understanding of the language situation inside and outside the classroom
  - this entails an approach to the language systems of JE and JC which is descriptive rather than prescriptive, making clear distinctions between linguistic systems and societal attitudes to those linguistic systems, as well as stressing standards of use in different social situations

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Goals of PDPST

- to increase teachers' comfort with their own language
  - since many teachers in these schools are perhaps best categorized as mother tongue speakers of JC and L2 speakers of English, it is important for teachers to be aware of their own language history and view it without judgement
  - this will provide the basis for promoting analysis of the forms they themselves use, and which often combine JC and JE forms

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Goals of PDPST

- to develop critical language awareness
  - this involves the knowledge that though JC and JE may sound similar and share vocabulary, there are fundamental differences between them
  - as a result, speaking JE will not be achieved by speaking with a different accent

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Goals of PDPST

- to impress on teachers the need for teaching strategies which are informed by linguistic insights
  - with the introduction of teaching strategies grounded in critical language awareness, teachers are encouraged to be reflective about their own methods and mindful of the language-learning needs of the children in their classrooms

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Project activities 1

- the project arose initially out of a concern expressed by the then Minister of Education, regarding the performance of students in the Grade 4 Literacy Test
- it enjoyed continuing support from the Chief Education Officer as well as the National Co-Ordinator of Literacy and his team of Regional Co-ordinators
- the first outcome was a small pilot fully funded by the Ministry, involving workshops conducted by the project co-ordinators in November 2015 for 33 Grade 3 and 4 teachers from six primary schools (with varying G4 Literacy test results) in one of 6 Ministry regions

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Project activities 2

- a 2nd more comprehensive pilot funded jointly by the Ministry and a UWI New Initiatives Grant followed
- this involved the creation of a UWI-approved graduate course for the training of potential trainers, and the co-teaching of that course in Semester 1 of 2017/2018
- following approval by the UWI Ethics Committee, in the next academic year, trainers conducted intensive workshops for 63 Grade 1-4 teachers of 5 urban and rural primary schools using materials and guidance provided by the project

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The course for trainers

- the course forms part of the graduate electives, and is offered regularly, but also accommodates invited participants, so that we are building up a bank of facilitators
- it constitutes a comprehensive study of aspects of the Creole environment, principles of androgogy, the acquisition of language, structural considerations and theoretical aspects of learning and their application

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Workshops for teachers

- conducted by the trainers, these consisted of an introductory unit followed by 7 units addressing aspects of Sociolinguistics, Morphosyntax, Acquisition and the lexicon
- each unit comprised 2 sessions one with linguistic and the other with pedagogical content
- sessions were scheduled at least a day apart
- between sessions, teachers were expected to implement in their classes what had been introduced to them in the workshops

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Lessons learned

- the importance of teaching the JC writing system (Cassidy/JLU Writing System) to teachers
  - the intention is not to teach it to the children or to require that they use it
  - it is crucial, though, that they see it represented
  - this will reinforce in their minds that JE and JC are different one from the other

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Lessons learned

- insufficient implementation by teachers of pedagogical strategies introduced
  - this had also been an issue in the 1st pilot, resulting in us structuring workshops with at least a day in between, to give teachers time to implement what had been introduced
  - however, most teachers admitted to having tried only some of the strategies
  - further, requirements of the curriculum and lack of time made it difficult to prepare a class and teach it before the next workshop
- this impacted student outcomes; these varied by school, but overall results, though not surprising, were disappointing

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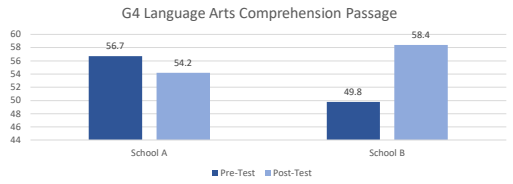
Schools A&B: G4 Language Arts Overall results



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Professional Development of Primary School Teachers

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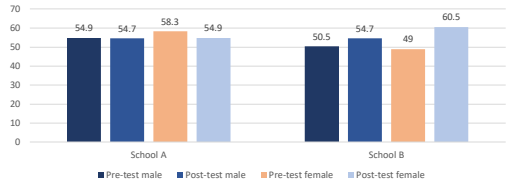
Schools A & B: G4 Language Arts by sex



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Lessons learned

- more grammatical structures need to be covered, with each developed more fully
  - the only areas of morphosyntax addressed in the 2nd pilot were plural formation & concord, vocabulary expansion and question-asking
  - in observations of classes we noted hesitancy in explanations offered to students even after exposure in the workshops

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Lessons learned

- a module on the place of JC alongside JE in the classroom needs to be included
  - we observed that most teachers use some JC, especially for class management and sometimes to check on pupils' understanding
  - discussions revealed that teachers grappled with the degree and appropriate use of JC
  - some interpreted our legitimization of JC as permission to use it extensively in classes
  - others frowned on its use other than to facilitate pupils' understanding of a particular teaching point

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The way forward

- a blended approach
- modules expanded to afford teachers more practice in expressing linguistic concepts learned
- more modules on other morphosyntactic structures, facilitated online
- creation of a manual for teachers
- focus on buy-in by administrators to help with teacher implementation of strategies learned

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Many thanks

References are available on request

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