

Negotiating a New Centre: Multilingualism and Identities in a Cape Flats Primary School

by

Bellononjengele B.O (Ms)

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Supervisor: Dr. Caroline Kerfoot

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ABSTRACT

Meaning in human relations has always been based on inferred similarities (Holyoak & Thagard, 1995). We are quick to liken the new to an old type. In this study, South African bi- or multilingual citizens post-1994 are perceived to hold the same ethno-linguistic perceptions as their progenitors. This explains the growing amount of literature on bilingual language ideology which is dissected upon the language attitude and space table. Following the same line but from a different perspective, Rampton (1995, 1999, 2003) discusses the relativity involved in labelling a bi- or multilingual repertoire. He suggests that the performative act of a bilingual through his/her linguistic repertoire should be structured according to expertise (instrumental), affiliation (integration) or inheritance (ethnicity). Starting with a note on the attitudinal myth, and closing with possible implications for various educational strata, the research explores Rampton's notions in a rapidly changing educational context and proposes a revised understanding of 'appellation' as a complementary concept, an agentive and non-essentialist form of approaching bi- or multilingual identity enactment. It asserts that each enactment is informed by and carries an element of one or all the other facets of the bi-or multilingual multiply identity. Central to the study's argument is that a bi-or multilingual is not oblivious of the socio-cultural elements that come with each linguistic capital. So, while earlier literature on identity views appellation as 'other- ascribed' identity, this study defines appellation as the construction of 'self' using all the elements provided by one's linguistic basket.

Further, with its innovative use of spoken interactional data, the study is able to contribute to the ongoing research on the appropriate medium of instruction in the South African educational system. With a special focus on the primary stage, the study sheds light on the fluidity of bi- or multilingual identity formation and enactment inside and outside the classroom. It uses an analytical framework based on Conversation Analysis, the Ethnography of Speaking, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and Critical Discourse Analysis to test the fit of Rampton's original categories of inheritance, expertise, and affiliation with learners' actual conversations.

In all, the study in a linguistically substantiated stance, argues for more situated perspectives on the mother tongue based educational policy.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that 'Negotiating a New Centre: Multilingualism and Identities in a Cape Flats Primary School' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.



Date: NOVEMBER, 2009

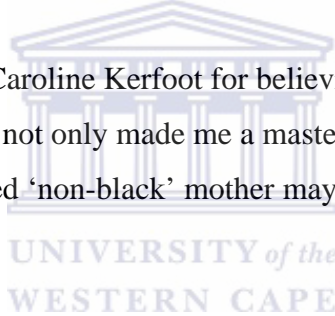
Bellononjengele B. O

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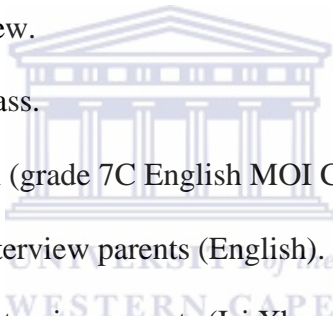
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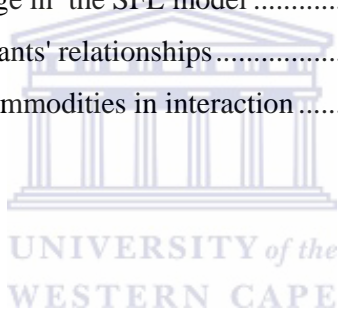
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CHAPTER 1 THE MULTIPLEX

1.0 Introduction

During the apartheid era in South Africa, cultural affiliation was very strong amongst the different ethnic groups. The need to prove the ability to stand one's ground was an imperative during this time. There was a strong sense of the need for cultural identity; the need to hold on to that which the 'slave masters' could not take away from them. People who for economic reasons had to affiliate with the white elites were often seen as outsiders. The negative experiences of these groups often instigated resentment and conflict, which led to each wanting to raise the profile of their community and culture above the others. Consequently, cultural identity was an emotional issue and language played a large part in constructing that identity. Many subscribed to Anzalda's (1987) assertion: 'I am my language'. Speaking English or Afrikaans in non-bureaucratic contexts was highly frowned upon in those days as they were considered languages of oppression and imperialism.

As much as the South African experience at the time gave rise to such strong views, more recent perspectives in South Africa, and elsewhere propose a more rounded view on what should define an individual. There is more to a person than just the language they speak. There is no question that the language a person speaks forms part of their identity but it should not be taken as the sole defining criterion (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2006). Moral, intellectual, spiritual and, of course, external intercontinental influences should all play their different roles if a person is to be identified in his or her entirety. This would no doubt have been the experience in South Africa had there not been the traumatic experience of colonization that gave birth to apartheid.

The fall of the apartheid regime in South Africa opened up a new horizon for all stakeholders. The country was integrated into the rest of the world which opened up windows of opportunity for citizens. The eyes of the rest of the world were on South Africa's government to fully imbibe democracy and join in the quest for human rights with the rest of the civilized nations of the world.

Soon, the tight grip of language as a tool for determining personal identification began to loosen as South Africa strove for acceptance by the rest of the civilized world.

Ordinary citizens of South Africa are no longer under pressure to fight for the establishment of their identity. The new pressure for most people now, especially the up-and-coming generation, is to be able to compete on the international stage. They realize that to be able to do this they will have to come to terms with the former instruments of oppression -- the English and Afrikaans languages. .

I have lived amongst the Ponds in the Eastern Cape of South Africa for six years. At first, I was so confounded by their strong sense of language identity that I felt a strange sense of resentment whelm up inside of me when family, friends and neighbours advised that I would have to learn the language if I was to survive. This was a totally different experience for me, particularly as someone who came from a multicultural country like Nigeria, a country of myriad languages and dialects. I grew up knowing that English was a unifying factor amongst the people of Nigeria. Intertribal mobility, even marriages, were commonplace; this I took for granted whilst over there. I couldn't help but think that Nigeria also went through colonialism but has been able to move on since then. Very quickly, I realized that the Nigerian experience was different to those of South Africans. I began to be more sympathetic towards the ideology of language identification. I began to learn the language and although I would not consider myself as having mastered the language, I am certainly fluent enough to interact with the Pondo people.

Going back to the new generation of South Africans wanting to play their part on the world stage of integration, a neighbour of mine once withdrew her daughter from the school she attended because of a new teacher who happened to be of Indian descent. She so much wanted her daughter to acquire the 'right' basics of the English language that she considered any variation of the English language a threat to the education of her daughter. Hence she relocated the girl to a public school in King Williamstown.

Apart from individual monological conceptions of identity, even recent governmental policies on multiracial educational reforms are said to have many oversights (Dawson 2002; 2007). Most of the current literature on education is ploughed with the discourse of the socio-economically disadvantaged group, the new term for racial

difference. One then wonders if the said governmental reforms are the right antidote for the wound inflicted by its predecessor (Dawson 2002).

To explore this issue, this study casts a litmus paper on both the reagents and the catalysts involved in the post apartheid generations who are still in primary school. It aims to investigate how they construe their identity.

1.1 Situating the study

The South African Educational (reform) policy is credited as one of the most inclusive and comprehensive multi-ethnicity policies in the world (Tollefson, 2002). The policy makes provision for teaching and learning to be provided in the demographic languages in all the schools in the country (Act 13 of 1998). A large amount of resources have been expended on this, aimed at bridging the language barrier in acquiring literacy. Schools, like the one investigated in this study, afford learners the opportunity to access learning in their 'perceived' mother tongue and also to take one of the other regional languages as an additional subject. In spite of this 'indigenized of education' (home language instructional class), school results are still interpreted ethno-demographically; for there seems to be a gap in the controversial (Mills, 2001c; 2004) home language educational policy. It fails to adequately define what a child's mother tongue is. It is assumed to be the language spoken by the parents or the caregiver of a child and, usually, the group they are affiliated to in a particular demographic area. The instructional language for that child in school will be expected to be this 'home' language. However, due to mobility and cultural diversity, the first language a child acquires is not necessarily the one spoken by their parents. They may adopt the language spoken in the area in which they are living at any particular time (Baker, 2006). Research has shown that subtractive bilingualism may lead to a total loss of the L1 (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Hence, the question is, how does a child describe his/her identity in terms of language? Should it be in relation to the language associated with the parents' ethnic origin or the current demographic area where the child is born? What about the common case of two or more languages in the home? What therefore should be the instructional language in school for such children: the language (or languages) that have become their first language, which they are fluent in, or the language associated with their ethnicity?

1.1.1 Villagers within a town

In an attempt to desegregate, rewrite, and undo the damages caused by the quasi-Whorfian language policy (UNESCO, 1967), foster unity amongst the diverse cultural groups, and eradicate the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, the government built subsidized houses (RDP) in some urban areas, allocated in a way that integrates diverse ethnic groups. However, this effort at restoring dignity to the people is not without its flaws. It has given rise to a wave of crime in the new settlement areas as people find out that, despite the new houses they are given, there is a lack of job opportunities to maintain a standard of living. For the majority of them, the government grant is not enough to survive on. The reality for most of the people in the new settlement areas is that their counterparts in the rural areas are better off as they still have the opportunity of husbandry for sustenance.

On a walk around these communities during working hours, one is faced with sights such as vultures hovering round a dying animal or men and women of productive age drowning their feeling of worthlessness in bottles and other 'idle hands' preoccupations. The atmosphere in these areas is that of uneasy calm; almost each house has a sign of prostitution hanging from its door as young girls and single married women are reduced to this trade to support their family.

Others without the benefit of the RDP houses have created for themselves what can be referred to as informal settlements alongside the RDP settlements as the promise of a new life in the city continues to draw people into it.

The children of these migrants have the opportunity of mixing with people from other parts of the country, something they might have found impossible had the government project not existed. The linguistic composition and location of the settlements create conducive platforms for amicable (and not so amicable) exchange of language codes by the offspring of the RDP settlers.

1.1.2 Geographical layout

The subjects of the study are products of the first integrated township in Cape Town, Delft, which was established in 1989. It is one of the settlements allocated to urban

migrants and coloured citizens and since expanded with the help of the post-1994 government (Futurefacts Survey, 2006).

Delft is situated approximately 34km and 7.5km north east of Cape Town and Bellville respectively. According to Statistics South Africa (2004), Delft, bordered by Belhar, Blue Downs, the Cape Town Airport and Site C in Khayelitsha has a population between 25000 and 92000 inhabitants..

Like every other artificially constituted multilingual community, Delft is currently divided into six sections: Voorbrug, Rosendal, Hague, Eindhoven, Leiden, and Delft south. A seventh section known as Symphony is now being developed. The first three are predominantly 'coloured', while Eindhoven and half of Leiden (central) has a mixed ethnic group of both 'black' and 'coloured' while the other half, (Leiden south) along with Delft south is predominantly occupied by Black Africans.

Statistically therefore, the racial demography of the inhabitants of Delft is 60% coloured and 40% Black African.

1.1.3 Economic context

Looking at the economic make-up of the settlement, almost half of the inhabitants are unemployed (43%), depending largely on government social grants. This is partly due to the fact that 43.1% have no form of formal education whatsoever and 23% have not completed secondary school education (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/delft>). (Accessed 5 April 2009)

This may explain the occupation of many RDP Houses by Somalian and Nigerian immigrants, who, according to one of the respondents, buy or lease from the recipients and operate businesses such as tuck shops and saloons in them.

1.1.4 The Focus

The study focuses on eleven learners, three of whom are bilingual and eight multilingual, attending one of the primary schools within the 'multiplex' described above. Though not a focus group in the strict sense, the eleven are linked by means of

three friendship groups as each friendship group shares one or two friends with another. Hence the study is thematically holistic, and yet particular.

I aimed to examine the effect of the current language policy on a multilingual class as well as the symbolic power of each code as perceived and upheld by the learners and the stakeholders in their lives, for example, parents/caregivers, teachers, and peers. To explore this, I carried out several months of field observations in and outside the class and conducted interviews.

The research addresses three linked issues:

- First, the situational place marking; language/s used and the assigned code of domain.
- Secondly, how language is used and perceived by learners as a symbol of group membership. Here I analyse data relating to one learner in great depth, exploring the ways in which he constructs identities for himself in different contexts. I also draw on recordings with other learners to extend and deepen the analysis.
- Lastly, I examine how learners negotiate a new centre from the periphery using language as the ticket.

This essay looks at the learning journeys of the chosen participants as they select, sort through, try on, discard, reshape, and ultimately fashion a unique sense of ‘self’ through appropriate integration of the values embedded in each code at their disposal..

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

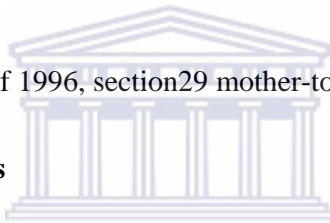
The Cape Times (April 21, 2008), wrote on the need for *Proper Use Of Mother Tongue*. It quoted the director of the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), Dr Neville Alexander, who argued that the issue of language should not just be restricted to education alone but should be debated in the country as a whole. Though the article rapidly descended into the issue of lingua franca, the central discussion from which the title is drawn forms the core of the challenges facing the development of learners in multi-ethnic schools. The current education policy gives the parents/caregivers the power to choose learners’ language

of learning. This, they often do with less regard to their ward's linguistic capabilities, but more from their own self perception and aspirations which are sculptured by their socio-political and historical 'recounts'. The question to be asked now is, do these young, bi-/multilingual learners perceive themselves ethno-linguistically in the same way as their parents/caregivers?

Hypotheses

Learning content, as posited by Halliday (1994), implies learning new ways to make meaning, and language is the tool used in construing this 'reality' (Schleppegrell, 2004). Hence my assumptions are that:

1. The bi- or multilingual learner's repertoire is a resource in negotiating identities.
2. Participants' code choices rather than institutionalized codes determine language use.
3. Lastly, that the Act 108 of 1996, section 29 mother-tongue policy is monologic.



1.3 Aims and Objectives

The overarching aim of the study is to explore how the learners living in this multiracial community use their linguistic repertoire to construct identities. The subjects of the study, like most of the children born after apartheid in South Africa, are caught between the discourses of the past and the present (Dyers, 2004).

Widdicombe (1995, p.107) defines discourse as 'reflections of social, economic and political factors and power relations'. Macleod (2002, p.8) adds that it is a reflexive process, 'the mode through which the world of reality emerges'. Thus an objective of the study was to examine the influence of the institutionalized codes and language policy on the learners' processes of identity construction. It investigates the various domains of usage and the factors underpinning the choice of language/s used by the learners in each.

1.4 Research Questions

To assess the interaction between context and identity ascription, the study was guided by the following research questions:

How do learners use their linguistic resources to negotiate new identities in multilingual settings?

How does this use impact on their processes of identity formation?

What factors define the choice of code within and outside the class?

What are the implications for language learning policy and practice?

1.5 Limitations

The time available and the scope of the study did not permit this study to adequately do justice to questions of how the identities of learners are influenced by the family domain, gender relations, or the implications of contesting linguistic capitals for language policy and practice. Also, a full, theoretical analysis could only be done on (one) the participant that completes the friendship ring of the respondents. The former, consequently affected the discursive chapter four which wraps up the social implications of the institutionalised language practice. All this will however be taken up in the near future.

1.6. A Note on Terminology

Bilingualism is a product of contact between different monolingual communities as is the case of the learners in this study. Defining bi- or multilingualism as it is found in an individual is extremely difficult, and relies on arbitrary categorizations as well as value judgements about language competence. Since the twentieth century, the understanding of the concept has undergone a metamorphosis in that it started as the 'native-like' control of two languages (Bloomfield, 1933, cited in Beardsmore, 1982), was then expanded by Haugen (1953, in Beardsmore, 1982) to the ability to produce 'complete meaningful utterances in the other language', and later was further extended to include simple passive knowledge of the written language or any contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use this in the environment of the native language (Diebold, 1961, cited in Wei, 2000). The relativity involved in assigning the term as indicated by Mackey (1967, cited by Beardsmore, 1986) is taken into consideration by indicating the learners' first language (L1) and domains of usage with supporting explanations from the learners for the choice of

code. A similar representation is made with those multilingual learners who can function in three codes.

Another concept situated within the framework of the study is that of mother *tongue*. In this study, the term is given two referents. When addressed with regard to official, governmental discourse it signifies the standardized, high (H) code of the language. When used with regard to unofficial or informal use, it implies the learners' variant of the H code spoken as the home language. In the same vein, racial appellation is assigned based on the home language. This is because, in the course of the study, it was discovered that some of the parents confuse developed acquisition (L1) (Genesee, 1989; Singleton, 1989) with the L2 (second language) in situations where their ward had an early but sequential second language acquisition (Baker, 2006). This is not surprising though, as discussions on the subject of bilinguality seem as diverse as the nerves in the brain. Following current official designations (Statistics South Africa 2004) I use the category 'coloured' to refer to learners with Afrikaans as home language and Black African to refer to speakers of Xhosa as home language.

1.7 Significance of the study

This research provides a new perspective on the study of language of learning, bringing some crucial questions on the implementation of mother tongue-based education to the fore. It offers recommendations on how to improve classroom talk in multiethnic schools, and consequently, learning. In the same light, identity which has become 'the bread and butter of our educational diet' (Hoffman, 1998, p.324) and an analytical lens for educational research (Gee, 2001) is theorized from a discursive perspective. It is hoped that the framework chosen could afford caregivers, teachers and educational administrators a better understanding of their wards' 'positions' on their various codes.

1.8 Outline of the Dissertation

The bilingual repertoire has been defined by linguists as discourse-oriented (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; 1999), context-specific (Doran, 2006) and ideologically mediated (De Klerk, 2000). According to Heller (1982), this social practice becomes a norm in communities where the codes are vested with particular symbolic (Bourdieu 1990;

1991) and emotional values (Pavlenko, 2005) and linked to preferred or less preferred identities. These interdisciplinary theories provide the framework for the research which is structured as follows:

Chapter Two

The theoretical underpinnings from which the research is conceived are examined in chapter two, starting with various discipline-oriented definitions of the concept of identity. A critical review of the various theories on language and identity is made as it applies to formal and/ or other interactive situations and consequential on the learning of 'content' in classroom situations.

Chapter Three

Here, as with every ethnographic study, an in-depth description of the participants and how they contributed to the research argument is given. A similar contextualization is done of the school in which the study was conducted. Also, the tools and modalities employed in the investigation are stated along with reasons for each choice and its effectiveness in providing answers to the research questions. The instruments used include audio-recorded classroom and recreational observation of learners, semi-structured interviews with learners, teachers and administrative staff. The chapter also illuminates the methods used in analyzing the data collected with these tools.

Chapter Four

In Chapter Four, the measures taken by the various stake holders to level the field of play in education are analysed along with the recordings made outside the class. These findings are examined using poststructuralist theories on identity formation which posits a 'constructive' approach to the study of identity. Recent work in this area argues that institutionalized discourses consist of categorical "grids of specification" (Hymes, 1972b cited in Eggins and Slade, 2004) which classify and regulate people's identities, bodies, domestic and civil spaces, and social practices in different relations of knowledge and power. These discourses, work in the local situations of social institutions in ways that cannot be explained by reference to any individual's or group's roles, intents or motivations. Indeed, post-structuralist theory

questions whether there are essential human subjects, individual agents and social realities independent of their dynamic historical construction in social and cultural discourses. They posit a discursive investigation of social variables within the context of the subject of study, so in this study an ethnographic analysis of the transcribed data is made to enumerate the various factors affecting the learners' identity formation within the school.

Chapter Five

Chapter Five presents a critical analytical picture of the negotiation of a preferred centre by the learners. Here the behaviours and measures discussed in chapter four is tested against the myth of multilingual identity alignment (Rampton, 1999) using a Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to conversation analysis (Eggins & Slade 2004 p. 36). For these authors, 'interactive styles indicate the dimensions of differences significant for cultural members'. Thus, mood choices, speech functions and attitudinal appraisal are coded to interpret processes of identity construction.

Chapter Six

Chapter Six concludes the argument on the multiplicity of learners' identities and the use of their linguistic repertoires to negotiate new territories for themselves. The chapter also draws out the implications of these findings for parents and policy makers with regard to the implementation of mother tongue instruction.

CHAPTER 2 IDENTITY ENACTMENT: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.0 Introduction

This segment of the research, presents the various literatures on the subject of identity and how it relates to language. It opens with different submissions on defining the concept, and closes on an argumentative mode on the designing factors for the enactment of the phenomenon.

Teachers, learners and policy makers in schools face a bewildering array of challenges. Van Heerden (2008, p. 8), using Macdonald's (2002) words, asks if learners are still 'swimming up the waterfall'. To her, the difficulties that learners experience are partly due to the disjunction between current educational policy and practices in the schools. She claims that apart from the challenges posed by the socio-economic status of the learners' backgrounds in integrated township schools, the frequent changes in policy makes the teachers more confused than equipped. This includes language policy.

In addition to the administrative and other difficulties faced by schools trying to meet the language needs of their learners, there are complex issues relating to the family and wider community. Dissertations by De Klerk (2000) and Hendricks (2004) point to hierarchical beliefs and attitudes towards languages by caregivers which have consequences on learners' schooling. Others like Soudien (1998), Dawson (2002), and Stoop (2005) argue that it is the teachers' attitudes that need a makeover. The latter school argues that the teacher, who hitherto has been teaching homogenous groups, needs to adjust to a multicultural class structure. Thus, as Banda (2009) points out, without a more holistic correlation of all the variables that might affect language choice and use at a personal level, the educational policy runs the risk of turning into a monolingual-designed multilingual policy.

A central issue in language choice is the notion of identity. Whereas the bilingual learners of the pre- and (immediate) post-1994 impoverishment era were compelled to

downplay and highlight particular aspects of their linguistic repertoires (Doran, 2006 cited in Heller, 2007), the new dispensation creates avenues for a multi-complex identity (Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

Bloome, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris (2005, p. 102) explaining multiple subject positions, says self (description) may be labelled on the basis of different social aspects of that individual, however, they all point to the same referent: 'who and what people are'. According to them, the particular identity an individual wants to assume in time and place is most commonly achieved through, language.

Further, they add, that these appellations, that is, the various aspects of one's identity, may evolve and change, or the social structure that generated the appellations might change along with the meanings attached to it.

In this chapter, I shall be looking at the various theories on the concept of identity, addressing its conceptualisations, processes, types, motivations and manifestations. The intention here is not to set out an autonomous definition or to re-theorise identity, but to set the scene for the study's analysis of multilingual learners' processes of identity construction. The scene unfolds from the mega-context, which is the general populace, to the macro, Delft community, to the micro context symbolized by the school, JSE. First, a link is drawn between language and identity.

2.1 Tracing the entwined nature of language and power

The names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (Hall, 1990, p. 225)

As hinted earlier in the introductory chapter of this essay, the subject of identity cannot be separated from language use and choice (Hall, 1990, 1991). Neither can language use be separated from speakers' histories, for contributions of the past, inevitably remain a resource for the present. The ethno-linguistic stratification in South Africa owes its kudos to the people who redefined black as 'colourless'. For if the clear skin Afrikaans group are termed 'coloured' due to mix bred, then one can assumed the Blacks ironically as being indeed the ones without colour-'colourless'.

Prior to 1994, South African society was structured in such a way that those regarded as 'coloured' were downgraded and social benefits awarded accordingly. A similar downgrading applied to Black Africans that are bilingual in the language of the bujiwazi [tyrant leader or capitalist]. It is not surprising that the country's language policy encompasses an unprecedented 11 official languages. Ochs and Schieffelin (1995), while discussing the intricate relationship between language and identity construction in education, suggested that such studies need to consider the prevailing social order, as a society at any time is either building on, or correcting its past.

2.1.1 Homeland Education

The sensitivity surrounding the issue of language in South Africa today is due to its longstanding position as a governmental tool in 'transformation'. The British were the first colonial masters (1854-1910) to use the English language in this way. They practised an 'Anglicisation' policy. English was the official code until the Afrikaners came on the scene when they conquered and took over government from the British in 1948 (Graham & Patrick, 1975). They not only valorised the Afrikaans language, but relegated all the African languages to homestead languages.

The Bantu Act of 1953

Aimed at regulating the development of the blacks, the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 specified eight years (primary and higher primary) of mother tongue education to adequately give the learners time to acquire knowledge in their home language. (Heugh, 2000, p. 24) The introduction to Afrikaans and English followed much later. Paradoxically, the period which Heugh referred to as 'the first phase of Bantu education' recorded a higher pass rate for the matriculation examination among Black Africans than those we see today.

In her own words:

Despite the cognitively impoverished curriculum, eight years of mother tongue instruction gave pupils the time to learn their own language through this language and to learn a second and a third language sufficiently well to make the switch in medium in the ninth year. During the first phase of Bantu

Education, 1953-76, the matriculation results improved, despite the poor curriculum.... (Heugh, 2000, .p. 24)

There was a visible (maybe coincidental) decline in the pass rate after the mother tongue system was halved to four years after the Soweto uprising of 1976. To date the solution to this still eludes the national education department.

Though the 'Bantustan' system failed to dampen the spirit of the black population (Patel, 2004, p. 16), the scarcity of English and Afrikaans, against the surpluses of the home language, left an indenture in the socio-cultural development of the citizenry, especially the black South Africans. For as, Sapir (1929, p. 208, cited in Tollefson, 2002) says:

Human beings are very much at the mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of expression for the society.... The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent built on the language habits of the group...

Sapir's comment is indeed a fact, as each language comes with the socio-cultural norm of the group it represents. Thus, as intended by that government, the language segregation system result is a typical example of what Ngugi (1981) described in his book titled; 'colonized minds'. Language group became a measure by which 'self' (esteem) was drawn.

As stated at the beginning, the issue of 'personified language' in South Africa is equal to the number of calendars flipped by the country itself. Taking a step further back, the Anglicisation policy usually referred to as 'Milnerism' (Alexander, 2003), named after the British high commissioner Lord Milner who was appointed to administer the Boer Republic after the Anglo- Boer war (1899-1902), was 'customized' on shared language, religious orientation and alleged descent (Alexander, 1989; Mesthrie, 2000). Naturally, this is the white Afrikaans speaking people [it was English for Milner – make a better link]. English and Afrikaans were (using Neville Alexander's word) 'crystallized' (1989, p. 9), privileged, and the other languages had little value subsequently, when the Afrikaner community took over, they returned the favour.

Milnerism but applied to Afrikaans was enforced giving birth to Apartheid, the cumulative effect of which was the Soweto riots of 1976.

The correlation I am trying to draw here is that on losing to the Anglo-Saxons (tracing South African history before Apartheid), Alexander (1989, 2003) reports, the ‘coloured’ downplayed their code, Afrikaans, for the then (new) language of power, English. The president of the African People’s Organization (APO), Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, in an address to the community was quoted saying:

The question naturally arises which is to be the national language. Shall it be the degraded forms of a literary language, a vulgar patois; or shall it be that language which Macaulay says is “In force, in richness, in aptitude for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator inferior to the tongue of Greece alone?” Shall it be the language of the “Kombuis” [kitchen, NA] or the language of Tennyson? That is, shall it be the Taal [Afrikaans, NA] or English? (Die Burger, 1910 in Alexander, 1989. p. 29).

International educational thinking at the time suggested:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his (sic) mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. (UNESCO, 1953, p. 11)

On the surface therefore, the mother tongue policy was well set, but in practice, under the auspices of the Bantustan commission, discussed earlier, it falls under the conditional clause from the same UNESCO publication:

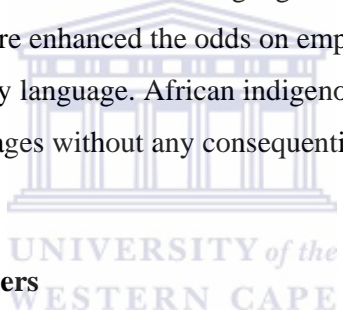
...But [...] it is not always possible to use the mother tongue in school and, even when possible, some factors may impede or condition its use. (UNESCO, 1953, p. 11)

The ‘condition or factor’ here is the government to whom education was a tool to relegate. But this is not surprising, as it a reconnection to the ideologically based

politicised linguistic situation from the anglicized era. Adhikari (1996, p. 8) cited the same APO president, enjoining his people to aspire for English in the official newsletter of the APO of 1910. He wanted them to:

endeavour to perfect themselves in English - the language which inspires the noblest thoughts of freedom and liberty, the language that has the finest literature on earth and is the most universally useful of all languages. Let everyone...drop the habit as far as possible, of expressing themselves in the barbarous Cape Dutch that is too often heard.

The general perception on language in South Africa [until the 20th century] has tended to be of a linear pattern of acquisition, a capital, an instrument, a capability. Hence, Bantu education was a mechanism to keep Black Africans out of economic and social advancement and to elevate Afrikaans as the language of value and social capital. Fluency in Afrikaans therefore enhanced the odds on employment while English continued to be the subsidiary language. African indigenous languages were stigmatized as ‘home’ languages without any consequential value in the society at large.



2.1.2 Breaking down Barriers

In recognition of the symbolic dominance of an official language and its effect on social structure (Woolard, 1985; Heller, 1999a), after the dawn of democracy South Africa expanded the two official languages (English and Afrikaans) to eleven, with the addition of nine: isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga. (Act 108 of 1996).

Table 1.1 Numbers of speakers of official languages

Languages	No. of speakers	% of total population
Afrikaans	5983426	13.3
English	3673203	8.2
isiNdebele	711821	1.6
isiXhosa	7907153	17.6
isiZulu	10677305	23.8

Sepedi	4208980	9.4
Sesotho	3555186	7.9
Setswana	3677016	8.2
Siswati	1194430	2.7
Tshivenda	1021757	2.3
Xitsonga	1992207	4.4

Source: 2001 Population Census, cited in Alexander, 2008.

However, the move to date cannot be seen to have had any major effect on the relationship between language and power. Looking at 2001 population census, research shows that the number of speakers for each language still does not corroborate with the statistical report from the census (Mesthrie, 2000, Alexander, 2008). Backed by provision section 6, sub-section (3a) of the Constitution, the language of business in all governmental sectors was extended based on demographic codes.

The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages. (PANSALB, p: 14)

A language regulatory body, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) was commissioned in 1996 to promote and create conditions for the development of all languages. In addition, 13 National Language Bodies and 11 Lexicographic Units were commissioned to ensure the implementation of the language bills. One of these bills is the right to receive education in one's own language.

Language reforms in education

In education, a new separate but equal language policy [explain this] was introduced in schools post-1994 (Tollefson, 2002). Unlike the 'Bantustan' education of the Apartheid era, the Language Task Action Group (LANGTAG) established by the

democratic government proposed a multilingual context-based policy (Alexander, 2003). They believed that everyone should be accorded equal right to:

(1) Basic education, including adult basic education; and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

(2) Receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account:

A. equity;

B. practicability; and

C. the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices

(Act 108 of 1996, section 29)



Section 29, sub-section 2, specifically states that:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable...

‘Choice’ and ‘reasonable practicability’ rather than availability seemed to be the constraining factors here, a challenge which the educational sector is yet to overcome. The reason for this is the similarity of the new system to the pre-democratic education system. Though the aim was inclusion and not exclusion, the system left room for a wide variety of interpretations and this has affected implementation (Hornberger & Johnson 2007).

Mother Tongue Education

Apart from making everyone feel welcome, affirming right to mother tongue education in the South Africa, which is anchored on Cummin's (2000) theories, needs to be review. Cummins (2000) posits that learning is more productive when structured from known to unknown. The developed first language of the child should be used as the language of learning in all subject areas in the first phases of learning. He explains that learners can easily conceptualize the content in their first language and later acquire the terms in English or other designated language. In other words, quality education depends strongly on the language of instruction.

Anyway, the success on its implementation depends on discerning the mother tongue (Mills 2001b). Most of the criticisms on the practice of mother tongue education point to the complexity of ethno-linguistic relations.

Criticism on Mother Educational Practice

First, criticism centres on the weight of the hammer chosen to break these walls. Most of the post-1994 literature zeroes in on the impact of racism on identity. Dawson (2002, p.7) in her study of a desegregated school, and in consonance with Soudien's (1998a) 'conceptions of difference', claims that government attempts at rebuilding the educational system placed too much emphasis on redressing racial inequalities and 'neglected 'other embedded inequalities which flow from class, culture, gender, religious and language disparities'. To Dawson (2002), the 'case must meet the practice'. She questions the existing loop holes noticeable in school's implementation or compiling with government reforms. . The socio-psychological aspect of identity has not been adequately addressed. Ironically, she also seems to have misconceived the major for the minor. Rather than explore the causative factors, and relevancy to multilingual setting, the study hovered on the school's 'ongoing' transformative attempt at embracing multiracial educational reforms. Her study seems to assume a monolithic view on identity in a multilingual setting.

One of my experiences on a pilot visit to my multiplex school made me question her assumption on learners' orientation to their group language. I witnessed two Xhosa L1 speakers switch to Afrikaans to argue about the reason for their disagreement in

the school to the secretary (Afrikaans L1 speaker), and a teacher (L1, Xhosa), I could not help but wonder if Dawson (2002) has placed too many ounces of race on her scale.

Others have criticised the notion of mother tongue as a gender stereotype, conceived on structural practice of motherhood (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Explaining the feminine term, MacDonald (1994) likens it to how mothers relate to their children. It amounts to the development of a special bond to the language which is acquired from her. She says 'a good mother, by definition, speaks nicely to children (p.103). Questioning this, Mackey (1992, p. 45), argues that this position reinforces traditional gender practices. Asking whether it holds that '*if we can have only one mother, we can have only one mother tongue*', she directs our attention to generational immigrants, and, 'gogo getters' as in South Africa where quite a number of children are raised from birth by the grandmother.

Providing an answer to Mackey's question above, Dyson (1994) asserts is the first language acquired. According to her, the primordial language acquired from the mother comes with the cultural undertones which define the self. She states that *the bond* with the first language *is very strong* (p. 172), it is the first contact, awareness, and the primary source for lessons on social relation and value. Hence each time the language is used, the real person comes to light (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

However, the homogeneity of the first language being the mother tongue is dismissed by Romaine (1995) who cites Malherbe's reference to white South African children that acquire Zulu first from their nannies before they could speak the parental codes of Afrikaans or English. Romaine then concludes that any general or assumptive definition of identity in a bi/multilingual can be but that 'assumptions'. For as the Xhosa spoken in Cape Town differs from that in the Eastern Cape, so can the ideological stance of these young learners from that of their parents due to situational differences (Apartheid and Democracy).

With all the twists to defining what a mother tongue is and identifying it from within a bi/multilingual repertoire, is foregrounding the learners' ethno-linguistic identity not a grave error?

2.2 The Notion of Identity

Aligning the multilingual language practice to a particular identity is compounded by the complexity involved in defining the concept. In their introductory note, Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevant, and de Levita (1994) concede that there is no consensus on the phenomenon to which identity refers. They assert that the concept is made operational in many different ways. It is seen as an ongoing process of social differentiation, deducible from interaction and from as simple a reaction as a glare. In this section I look at the various ways by which the notion is conceptualized in the literature and their implications for my research.

2.2.1 Identity: To the linguist.

Many studies still view multilingual identity enactment as an ‘either / or’, dichotomized performance. But post-modern linguists seems to be finding many reasons why the subject should be considered as ‘a two-faced mirror’ (Banda, 2005).

Ben Rampton (2003) for instance, proposes the notions of inheritance, affiliation or expertise as replacements for traditional conceptions of mother tongue and second language speakers. Dismissing the linear alignment of perfectionist with the native speaker, he proposes the three as possible categorisations for a multilingual repertoire. Explaining this, he presents the multilingual identity as one that is multifaceted, with each language serving a social role. These roles, however, are dependent on the motive or context in which the additional languages are acquired.

The first classification, inheritance, points to the language acquired from the group to which one is related by birth. The argument here is that this does not necessarily translate into or guarantee optimum competency in the language of such a group. Thus, he disagrees with the school of thought that terms this form of acquisition as mother tongue. Further, he argues that adhering to the socio-cultural norm (loyalty) of the group language is subject to the social variables as perceived by the individual. If the odds on the genetic code spill into a dissatisfactory social interpretation, there is the tendency to downplay it (Doran, 2006, in Heller, 2007).

The second notion is expertise. Rampton argues that multilinguals tend to identify with the language that they are most comfortable with. This, he explains, is the language that they have perfected, the language of expertise. Again, he cautions against foregrounding this as the L1. Using research on instrumental SLA, he claims that many L2 speakers' competency and language performance exceed that of the genetic users.

Thirdly, he labelled multilingual dissociation with the norm of his/her group for another; Affiliation. In situations where the power relation is unstable, such as South Africa, it could be argued that multilinguals tend to switch their allegiance and affiliate to a more stable or value engraved group through their choice of code.

It is a common human trait to negotiate, or associate (affiliate) with a better alternative, especially when the means is at one's disposal. However, it is worthy of note that Rampton only identifies a connection, an overlap between inheritance and affiliation. Does this mean that the language of expertise cannot be used to play ball? His categorization seems to be scaled more on ethnic group identity extension than individual agency. Some Asian immigrant children in Britain acquire and use the Received Pronunciation (RP) and still maintain their ethnic background.

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2.2.2 Ethnic Identity: Belongingness

According to Dashefsky and Shapiro (1976), the sense of 'who we are' is a feeling of belonging, an attachment to a group which is historically defined by shared values, beliefs and symbols - an ethnic identity.

Fine-tuning this, Steinberg (1996) defines ethnic identity as the aspect of one's sense of identity concerning ancestry or racial group membership. The 'aspect' depicts a part or a role in the actualization of the overall identity. He explains that the older members (parents) acculturate the young into the group, teaching them, among other things, 'certain' experiences they must have with the broader society. During this process, known as ethnic socialization (Smith, 1991), the children are made aware of their in- and out- group vitality, that is, the position of their group within the

mainstream society – either minority (low) or majority (high). By the end of this process, according to Steinberg (1996), the children will either:

1. Assimilate the culture of a more prominent, majority group, denouncing their group.
2. Separate themselves totally from all that the majority group stands for and fully embrace their group culture.
3. Accommodate the majority group, but with a detached existence.
4. Biculturalise; maintain ties with both cultures.

These four psychologically defined assertions on ethnic identification by Steinberg are equally acknowledged in linguistic quarters by believing that humans are social actors (Bloome et al, 2005). They assert that ‘self’ is articulated according to the perceived, available criteria. A weakness however is the failure of some theorists to fully account for multi-acculturalisation. For example, a child can be simultaneously socialized by both parents to two different groups, and also pick an additional third from the community as is the case with inter-continental, immigrant marriages. Here, the L1 will obviously be best defined by the child and not the parent.

From the above, it is apparent that ethnic identity is not a definite representation of the Adolescent Identity, rather a point of reference (Smith, 1991). So, how do adolescents define ‘self’ identity?

2.2.3 Identity: The concept

Definitions abound on the phenomenon, all, like the concept itself, subject to disciplinary interpretations. Looking at the lexicography of the term ‘identity’ from the Latin word, *idem*, means ‘the same’ (Bailey 2001). ‘Same’ here is an open case as it is subjective to the subscriber’s assertion of sameness. As Epstein (1993, p. 18) says;

Identities themselves are multi-faceted and contradictory [...] it is by drawing boundaries and placing others outside those boundaries that we establish our identities.

Thus, the concept attracts descriptive definitions from all disciplines, from fundamental and abiding sameness, to fluidity, contingency, negotiated, and so on.

According to Hall (1990) identity is ‘the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past’ (p. 225). He suggests treating identity as a process which can be made to manifest external or otherwise (Brooke, 1991). Identity can be marked by language, dressing, behaviour, and/ or the choice of space. These markers are used to create the boundaries that define similarities or differences between the marker wearer and the marker perceivers. However, the effectiveness of the marker is dependent on shared understanding of its meaning.

This conception seems to fit a primordial approach to identity. The sense of self and belonging to a collective group is seen as a fixed thing, defined by objective criteria such as common ancestry and common biological characteristics. The Oxford Advanced Learners’ Dictionary aptly defines it for adherents to this view as ‘all the qualities, beliefs, and ideas which make you feel that you belong to a particular group’

Another school (the social constructionist) maintains that the phenomenon should be defined multi-dimensionally (Van Leeuwen, 1996; Kress, 1996; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Bloome et al., 2005). They posit that for each of the activities in which one is involved, the ‘act of identity’ is perceivable from the same ‘self’. Thus one can enact ten identities within a day (Norton, 1995); as the context shifts so does positioning (Hall, 1992; 1996). For example, in Carrim’s (2000) study on how people define their identity, when the question ‘who are you’ was posed to his participants, he reported that they did not see themselves, or seem to experience their realities, in singular, essentialised and homogenised ways. None of his respondents articulated ‘self’ on a continuum between two extremes. One said;

I am a middle-class female. I am fourth year student and at wits. I am a fine artist. I am 21 years old. I am engaged to my fiancé. I am a licensed driver. I am outgoing and sociable. I am a sister and a daughter (p. 31).

The above quote indicates an ongoing ‘self’ that is subject to change. Carrim (2000) believes that the various responses he got were in part influenced by his position as a

lecturer and the academic domain. He concludes that identity is a constructed positioning with reference to context; within specific webs of interactions and relations.

On a similar note, Hendry, Mayer, and Kloep (2007) studied a minority group in a setting where they constituted the regional majority. By outnumbering other groups, the groups were able to dominate and control the region, even though they were smallest in number in the general national census. Thus, on the issue of identity in this study, Hendry, et al (2007) reports that the phenomenon is socially construed, situated and context-dependent.

Carrim (2000), Hendry et al (2007) and many others all point to the ‘perceptiveness’ involved in conceptualizing identity. Their definition of what identity is can equally be pinned on the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary which also defines identity as ‘*who you are*’. So the question is who or what defines who you are?

The paradox of ‘one’ and ‘many’

As stated in the introduction, the issue of identity in linguistics is an ongoing one. But central to all the submissions is that it is a form of reasoning which can either be deductive or inductive, depending on the relational *stance* of the person to others around him at a particular point in time and place (Davies & Harre, 1990).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 586) define identity as ‘the social positioning of self and other’. Again, Hall (2005) draws on the connection between ‘who we are’ and what points to that ‘who’. From an analytical perspective, social identity is what is obtainable in a particular time and space, and ‘self’ will be the individual stance in such a context. Individuals ascribe identities that are imaginable and available in a particular social and historical context. However, time and space are not static. Hence individuals subjectively negotiate new ‘stances’ by looking at the social histories through which the particular category (position) was constituted meaningfully. ‘Stance’ can then be described as a two-way mirror on which lie both the societal norm and the individual reception of it. In short, it is a paradox of one and many, because, when analyzed from the ethno-linguistic perspective, it does not rely on just

the here and now. It draws on the past, present and a procrastinated future based on the quality of power available in the 'now'.

Identity thus marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live in now (Rutherford, 1990, p. 19-20). It is what, how and where we fit into the hierarchical sociopolitically and historically defined order of relating

The above understanding came to light in the speech of former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, to FIFA during the nation's bid for the 2010 World Cup. Selling South Africa and Africa in general, the former president used a specific form of African discourse to unveil his and South African Identity in a speech entitled '**I am an African**'.

I owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land....I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape... they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence and they who, as a people, perished in the result...I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land. Whatever their own actions, they remain still, part of me....I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsa and Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the soldiers Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane taught never to dishonour the cause of freedom. My mind and my knowledge of myself is formed by the victories that are the jewels in our African crown, the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of the desert. I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas,... I am the child of Nongqause. I am he who made it possible to trade in the world markets in diamonds, in gold, in the same food for which my stomach yearns. I come of those who were transported from India and China, who's being resided in the fact, solely, that they were able to provide physical labour, who taught me that we could both be at home and be

foreign, who taught me that human existence itself demanded that freedom was a necessary condition for that human existence.

*Being part of all these people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that - **I am an African.***

The general view here is that some aspects of social reality are actually social constructions created by historical facts while others can be negotiated. The discussions on the various notions of identity show how difficult a concept it is to pin down. So what is the framework for exploring the phenomenon?

2.3 Towards an Analytical Model

Different theoretical positions have been adopted in explaining the creation, negotiation and the establishment of identities, such as language socialization, Bakhtinian semiotics, feminist scholarship and Foucauldian post-structuralism.

The most general perspective is the social constructionists (Hall, 1996; Kroskrity, 2000). According to them, identity is neither given (imposed), nor a product, but a process that not only takes place in concrete and specific interactional occasions, it yields constellations of identities instead of an individual, monolithic construct. (De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg, 2006) This is an improvement on the social psychologists paradigm on defining how an individual arrives at the subjective position of ascribing 'self'.

2.3.1 The Sociolinguistic Paradigm

As discussed above, social psychologists have posited a one-to-one correlation on language and identity, a notion described by Gilroy (1987: ch. 2) as 'ethnic absolutism'. They foreground the performative aspect of identity.

For in multilingual contexts where certain languages or forms of language are perceived and/or designated more privileged than others, speakers become social actors who draw on these languages as linguistic resources to challenge, neutralize and sustain relations of power and dominant discourse practices (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004 in press).

Consequently, the paradigm is generally criticized on its monolingual frame structure, its shallow assumptions on language use, diverse contexts and foregrounding of multiple roles (Pavlenko, 2002a). Blueprints of this approach can be traced in most neo-colonial sociolinguistic studies including South Africa.

Dawson (2007) conceives identity construction as a process relative to past and present discourses. However, her study explores the phenomenon along a unidirectional, ethno-linguistic terrain.

Identifying with Soudien (1998a), she points out that post apartheid educational reforms has failed to erode 'embedded inequalities which flow from class, culture, gender, religious and language disparities' (Soudien, 1998a, p. 126).

Like most post apartheid studies, she examines the transformed political discourse in practice and its impact within the educational terrain. Exploring class identity, using Willis (1977) as a benchmark, she maintains that the social class stratification outside the school walls along with caregivers' economic power impacts on the school discourse and invariably, learners' identity formation. This perspective is affirmed by Soudien (2001), pointing to the apartheid schools and how they help in construing 'identities and dispositions required by capitalism and the apartheid system' (p. 311).

As plausible as the interaction of the two discourses – Soudien's and Dawson's -- studies on multilingualism and immigrant bilingualism more often than not present class and race as a catalyst and not reagent in the process of identity formation (Auer, 2000; Doran, 2006).

More so, Dawson's notion of identity suggests membership identification based on pre-established categorization: the learners' identities were assumed and based on ethnic identity. The implications of SLA were foregrounded given the entwined relationship between language and culture (mentioned earlier). Thus, Dawson (2007) can as well be said to have investigated racism and not identity formation. Even with race, Kroskrity (2000), argues that even with some identities – notably race and caste – which are imposed and coercively applied, individuals are still able to manipulate the system.

In addition, Banda (2005) argues that the idea of a 'given' identity presumes that language is a bound system which ignores hybridity and social action. For even master identities (Kroskrity, 2000) which are relatively stable (gender, ethnicity, age, national and regional origins) do change in meaning across time and space.

Still on time and space, contexts are 'fluid and changeable' (Soudien, 2001, p. 312). The dust raised in the process of shedding away the 'old order' referred to by both Soudien (2001) and Dawson (2007) as the 'official discourse' has undergone several shake-ups and changes. Identity is a phenomenon that is constantly revised (Hendry et al, 2007).

2.3.2 The interactionist theory

This approach is a move away from sociopsychological approaches towards a view of identity as fluid, and constructed in linguistic and social interaction. Interactional sociolinguists such as Gumperz (1982) believe in conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relevance, and manner. They posit that identity work is situational and deducible from every conversational situation. Hence, in multilingual contexts, changes in code (code-switching) and language choice (in interaction) are the main foci of identity negotiation (Banda, 2005). Code-switching is regarded as another resource through which speakers express social and rhetorical meanings and index ethnic identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2006, p. 8). The next section provides a brief overview of research in this area.

Code switching as bilingual discourse

Prior to the 1980s, code-switching was viewed as 'possibly a somewhat peculiar act' (Luckmann, 1983, p. 97, cited by Auer, 1999), and ascribed an 'indexical value', a demonstration of the interlocutor's linguistic inadequacy (Baker, 2006).

Various pioneering empirical studies (Poplack, 1979, Blom & Gumperz, 1982, Beardmore, 1982) helped in broadening and bringing a new definition to the social indexicality of code-switching as (part of a) verbal action, the interpretation of which, according to Fishman (1976), revolves round the three main aspects of the communicative situation: the interlocutor, topic of discourse, and the situation.

In current studies on the bi- or multi-lingual utilisation of linguistic repertoires, code-switching, is defined by Auer (2000) as the use of different linguistic codes in a single conversation.

This latter conceptualisation forms the backdrop for most of the studies on the bilingual enactment of social identities. Early on, Myers-Scotton (1993) with her 'role and obligation model' enunciated the various factors that may compel the interlocutor to switch codes in any given conversation, not necessarily as a result of a deficiency in language. Her theory argued that intentional meanings are possible by both the speaker and addressee. She submitted that all linguistic choices should be seen as indexical of projected rights and obligation (RO) balances in interpersonal relations.

Each participant in any interactional situation has an expected or unmarked code drawn from the community norm. A marked choice can be defined as a deviation, a resistance to identifying with the unmarked RO balance of power relations. In other words, from this perspective, the interlocutor is obliged to use the expected code designated for the context while, depending on contextual constraints, the other participant can exert the right to switch codes in order to assert or negotiate a particular identity.

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Conversational sequences

The rights and obligations (RO) which form the basis of Myers-Scotton's model (1993), as applicable as they are to bilingual speech acts, are dismissed by Auer (1999) as they fail to account, among other things, for the bilingual's mixing or switching of codes without prior knowledge of the other participant's role in conversation.

Factors such as marking the sequential switch or the use of multiple codes in a single interactional situation involving more than two interlocutors seem beyond the scope of this theory. To overcome this, Auer (1999) suggests the conversational analysis of bilingual interaction: a systematic study of turn taking. His analysis shows that code-switching goes beyond RO to the conscious enactment of different identities.

However, he does agree with both Gumperz and Scotton that 'talk' makes available to participants and observers who the people doing the talking must be.

Even with the extensive work on bilingual language use done by the interactionalists, their understandings still fell short in explaining the relationship between language choice and discourse (Widdicombe, 1995).

2.3.3 The Constructionist Approach.

As a departure from interactional sociolinguists, social constructionists conceptualize identities as an interactional accomplishment produced and negotiated in discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

To them, practice is central to the processes of identity formation and expression; it involves not only monitoring ways in which definitions of identity change and develop in time and space but also ways in which activity systems affect the processes of identity construction.

They maintain that individuals, oppressed and subjugated groups alike, negotiate new identity options using available discourses as a resource (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2006). They contend that all identities that were formerly considered as 'given', such as gender roles, are now being contested. They are of the view that people display polyphonous identities when they represent themselves as different from what their personal visible characteristics would suggest. That is, they perform identities when they assume voices that are associated with different identity categories.

Lastly, on group identity or membership definition, they posit that identity construction is related to the definition of categories of inclusion or exclusion of self and others, and to their identification with typical activities and routines.

But like every theory, the constructionist postulations were taken further by the Poststructuralists, as they had not sufficiently theorised the possible constraining factors.

2.3.4 The Post-structuralist Approach.

Next were the poststructuralist developments building on the works of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991), who sees language as the tool, used in the construction and negotiation of particular identities. Here too, identity is addressed as

a discursive phenomenon. To post-structuralists, discourse is intricately linked to ideology. Boyes (2004, p. 110) defines *discourse* as the representation of ‘particular ideological positions and institutions and texts can both be seen as sites for struggle between opposing ideologies’. Learning or using a language goes beyond the mere act of communication, it is an extension of who we are, want to be and are allowed to become (Baker, 2006). In any given situation, speakers have choices along a paradigmatic axis to make, depending on their stance or position on the subject of the discourse (Martin & Rose, 2003). Studies have shown that in multilingual settings, language is used in making these choices with regard to group power relations (Meyer-Scotton, 1999, Caldas & Caldas, 2002).

The same hierarchical arrangement applies to language in a multiracial setting (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2006). This could be an effect of either or all the shared history, past or present political discourses, or group dynamics. The value of a language is derived from the type of accreditation accorded to it by the dominant group and/or institution (Woolard, 1998). Each language is viewed as a resource to produce or reproduce power relations between groups. As such, language is a symbolic capital used in purchasing (negotiating) new identities.

Taking Bourdieu’s work further, but unlike him, the poststructuralists believe that power relations are independent of the minority or majority number ratio but rather strongly rooted in the wide acceptance of the value and prestige legitimised on a particular language (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2006).

Secondly, they contend that Bourdieu’s metaphoric ‘market’ construes language as bounded with dichotomized options. They believe that speakers employ structural discourses in contesting stigmatized or not too desirable positions awarded to them within the society. Multilinguals activate different parts of their linguistic repertoires selectively in order to highlight particular aspects of their social identities (and downplay others) in particular settings (Doran, 2006).

Hence, to them, in some cases, the imposed identity is accepted without questioning (Blackledge, 2003), but most often the relegated position is contested in various ways (Giampapa, 2001). Ethnicity and gender apart, they argue that when this stratification

boils down to socio-economic sustenance of an individual, language becomes the ink used in construing 'self', and language on the other hand, is ideologically entrenched.

Language ideology

Kroskrity (2004), in describing language ideologies, among other submissions, asserts that speakers' perceptions of language are rooted in their social and cultural experiences which (in most cases) are a reflection of particular economic interests. In other words, the language that can elevate the socio-economic status of a people is bound to be accorded more respect and regard. Even in religion for example where the attachment is, more on spiritual upliftment than social, the value commanded by the language is bestowed on the speaker.

Cumulatively, intergroup classification in a multilingual setting reflects this. The community of users of such a language is valorised. This partly explains the shift from Afrikaans to English language at the demise of apartheid. Many caregivers now opt for the English medium for their wards. And with the environmental factor, these learners become multilinguals.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

Gee (1996), discussing the bi- or multilingual repertoire, argues that language use is synonymous with identity assertion. To him, second language acquisition (SLA) comes with the acquisition of discursive practices in addition to those already possessed. These practices, he contends, are ideologically laden, as it reflects the social context of the users. Further, he describes language as an embodiment of ethnic discourse, a kind of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act talk and even, write (p.127). From his perspective, the acquisition/ sharing of others' linguistic codes by these bi/multilingual learners goes beyond codes to include the assimilation of the salient qualities of the social group which the codes represent. This assimilation depends on the motivation for learning the language and results in the assumption of new identities.

Motivation for Learning

The extension of a speaker's repertoire is a conscious addition, an investment in the linguistic bargaining basket. Hence, the usage and other socio-psychological effects such as acculturation are conditioned by the reason behind the acquisition of the asset.

Baker (2006) points to the motivation factor and other variables such as age and physical context as likely determinants of the outcome of SLA. Gardner (1985) groups them under instrumental and integrative motives. The former has to do with instant or momentary reward such as employment or bureaucratic requirements as in the case of immigrants. Here, the individual gets socialized into the in-group norms and still maintains a reasonable attachment to the L1. For the learning is selective; only the aspect necessary to fill the gap for which the L1 has proven inadequate will be learnt. Integrative motive on the other hand, with very few exceptions, involves a total acculturation process (Hamer & Blanc, 2000). The aim is to function as a member in the target group.

SLA spun out of interest to perceive reality from the lens of the users of the target language. This 'investment' (Norton, 2000) is usually a necessity in intermarriage or friendship situations. Also in migration cases, SLA becomes a social or atimes an economic requirement.

However, the two scenarios above are not always an either/or occurrence. SLA can also be motivated simultaneously by both factors (social relation and economic sustainance). Like the learners in the multiplex in this study, SLA can be for friendship lines as well as academic purposes. Also, for communication purposes, the adults in the community have to acquire some proficiency in other codes and a beginner competency to attract employment in the metropolis. Cumulatively, one can say that the domain forms the primary factor for SLA (or additional language acquisition) and identity negotiation.

Domains of usage

Myer-Scotton's (1993) Role and Obligation theory as well as other theories on SLA, is conditioned on social norms, a grid against which language use or deviance is measured or interpretable.

The society indirectly determines the power of a language. For as the society changes its tune on the social representation of a code, so the in-group vitality of the users of such a code will also change. Stroud in Lei Wei 2007, discussing the demographics of multilingualism in ex-colonial countries, cited the use of legislative restructuring of language through shifts in domain. He reports Wei et al. (1997, p. 524) as saying:

Large scale complex changes in sociolinguistic patterns in Singapore can be attributed to the deliberate and often forcefully implemented government policies towards language and language varieties.

Invariably, domain plays a crucial role in language use and affiliation. Keith and Pole (1993) posit domain as 'space' which could either be 'real' or 'imagined'. The former refers to physical contexts such as the home, classroom and or the playground.

Bhabha (1990) refers to the imagined domain as 'the third space'. His interest is more on crossing the social boundaries created using language. This occurs in societies where language use inextricably personifies a social identity (Blackledge, 2003).

Here, the multilingual is believed to code switch or creates a sociolect, a convergent code to mark a 'we' identity (Doran, 2002).

However, for the purpose of this study, Keith and Pole's (1993) classification (above) is considered. The implications of the institutionalized code are subject to microscopic inspection in the light of the conversation participants. For by failing to spell out the difference between code-switch, code mixing and code alternation, the parallel medium is redefined.

The parallel medium, as noted by Dawson (2007), is an unconscious form of identity control. The 'clicks' of the Xhosa speakers are kept away from the Afrikaans or English speakers. In her study of a former model C school, the African language L1 learners and their English-Afrikaans counterparts take their lessons separately. The

years spent together from grade 1 to Grade7 makes the few recreational periods on the playground insignificant.

In a different and yet similar to Dawson's, this study will show how the educational policy is riding on two parallel lines.

2.5 Conclusion

Here, the various theories surrounding the conceptualisation of identity have been reviewed. A link has equally been drawn to other aspects of language that could affect identity enactment. Next, I shall discuss the research design and methods used in exploring my research questions.



CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches followed in investigating how the post 1994 multilingual learners locate and or negotiate new identity positions for themselves in mist of a multi-cultural educational policy. To explore this, Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggest living it through the learners' lens. So, the qualitative method of enquiry is employed. The study is designed round the learners' activities in and outside the classroom. They were followed from Grade 5 to 6, others from grade 6 to 7, with on the spot observation of various recreational activities engaged by these learners. Interviews were conducted to unpack the reasoning behind the choice of language at this less structured times (Fairclough, 1995a). Also the use of language was observed in more structured times i.e. lessons in class.

3.1 Accessing the field

In studies relating to human activities, Agar (1986) recommends an immersive research design. In the same vain, Pollock (1988) affirms that data collection and objective interpretation can be affected on failing to familiarize my self with the research setting. Hence arm with the various natures of inter-group relationships in South Africa; I set out to locate the field. However, I was blown away by what I witnessed on a tag along visit arranged by my supervisor to JSE as a school haunting trip. My Pilot was a then masters (student) researcher to the school. The visit was a supposed pilot study intended for me to decide on the appropriateness of the site for this study.

Being fully aware of the fact that using data in research can sometimes affect its interpretation and also, having a considerable knowledge of the different inter-group relationships in South Africa, I set out to explore the chosen field of my pilot study.

During the course of the trip, I was fortunate to witness an incident that aided the choice of field for my research.

Four young grade 4 boys, 3 Afrikaans-English bilinguals and one (relatively) monolingual Afrikaans speaker (but not of the 'standard' variety) were spotted fighting during break time by a Xhosa-English bilingual teacher. As expected, each learner was given the opportunity to state his case. I was confounded by the reaction of the monolingual learner who suddenly became silent and accepted the reprimand from the teacher. Prior to the intervention of the teacher he was not prepared to take the continuous dose of jeering from his friends.

The boy was caught between a rock and a hard place. His peers were picking on him because of his inability to pronounce word in a manner acceptable in the environment he was at that time. Also as a result of his language limitation, he found himself not able to put his case of bullying by his peers forward to the teacher and felt it was better or easier to accept the blame.

Having witnessed this incident, I approached the principal of the school and necessary letters were filed with the support of my supervisor. Identification of participants was however facilitated by one of the class teachers who coincidentally was an in-service students in my university. The whole programme was coordinated by my supervisor.

3.2 The Research Site: JSE

The name of the school used in my research would be referred to as JSE, for the purpose of confidentiality. The participants have been given fictitious names from their various ethnic backgrounds for the same reason.

JSE was established in 2004, to cater for the growing number of children in the community. JSE, structurally, can be describe as slabs of bungalows built from silver baked bricks, laid out like a set of cooking pots, each representing a learning phase enclosed with iron fence and gate (a signature of the area) leading into the next phase.

Vendors can be seen around mid-day along the fence catching in on the learners' cravens for little delights. At the center of these units lies a rectangular concrete slab used for spotting and recreational activities. Each phase has a side gate that leads out into the major equally iron walls separating the school from the community. As expected, the principal's office is positioned at the front as the shielding dock.

The government, in conjunction with the Peninsula provided a multifunction hall for the school. Part of the hall is used as a soup kitchen amongst other things. With the support of the Peninsula scheme the soup kitchen feeds 98.9% of pupils daily. Other infrastructures include a decorated staffroom that also doubles up as a seminar room. There is the counselling room which is also used for storage, a well equipped kitchen for the staff and a room for two vice principals, heads of departments and secretary, each individual having their own table.

When the school first started, there was shortage of Xhosa language teachers, Afrikaans and English were the two instructional classes pupils have access to. Pupils, irrespective of their background were offered Afrikaans as an additional subject/ language. Most of the teaching and non teaching staff were Afrikaans first Language (L1) speakers.

Presently however, the school runs both parallel (lower and upper grades) and dual (intermediate medium with instructional classes in the three demographic languages (Act 108 of 1996). The principal as well as the male deputy are Afrikaans L1 speakers, while, the second female deputy is a Xhosa L1 speaker. The latter's position was specifically advertised by the department of education.

Though, by educational constituted guide, the school ethno-population should determine (advice) the racial background of a second vice principal, but the unfortunate demise of the first Xhosa L1 Vice principal (also advertised) resulted in the school body requesting for an Afrikaans L1 (capitalizing on the first who died before resuming for duty). Hence the school had to advertise for a (presupposed third) Xhosa L1 vice principal to balance the scale. On the whole, the make up of the population JSC is 795 isiXhosa, 526 Afrikaans, and 91 English L1 learners. There are 23 isiXhosa and 16 Afrikaner L1 Teachers respectively.

Going by what Blackledge (2003) referent, 'an imaginary identity aspiration', the language classes in the school do not reflect this configuration. The Grade R, introduced in 2008 has one Afrikaans and Xhosa classes respectively. Grade 1 has two Afrikaans and four Xhosa classes, Grade2; two Xhosa, and Afrikaans, Grade3, two Xhosa, one Afrikaans and a multi-grade. Grade 4 also has two Xhosa, two Afrikaans and an English class.

The regular progression seems to break from Grade5 onwards with three Xhosa, one Afrikaans, and English. The English however shares a class with the Xhosa, and the teacher in practice uses dual medium and students regularly cross from one end to the other depending on how well they grasp the teachers' translation.

Consequently, the Xhosa class reduces to two in Grade 6, and one in Grade 7. Even with this trend, the school was unable to certify the educational policy requirement of a complete switch to English instruction in Grade7; rather it maintains a class for each language. This, according to chair of the school's language co-ordination, should not be seen, as 'malpractice' as each instructional class decision is arrived at democratically.

Questionnaires (approximately 2778 in number) were sent home to parents and submissions from teachers on language preference for communication, assessments, LOLT, extra mural activities and their proficiency. This indeed is still in accordance to the educational policy as provided for in the constitution (Act No. 108 (1996), section 4 and section 6(3) (b).

3.3 Rationale on Methodology: Qualitative Design

Sherman and Webb (1988) defines qualitative research as an inquiry into people's experience and other social phenomena in natural settings with the aim of understanding how meaning is construed and interpreted within their value systems. Also, Coolican (1990) while making a distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches, states

'Quantification' means to measure on some numerical basis....whenever we count or categorize we quantify [...]. A qualitative approach, by contrast, emphasizes meanings, experiences, [...] descriptions and so on. Raw data will be exactly what people have said (in interview or recorded conversation) or a description of what has been observed. (pp. 36-7)

I have chosen to use a qualitative rather than a quantitative one because the former will afford me an understanding of language choice and interaction from the participants' perspectives. The phenomena investigated in this study can be describe as

an 'act', a performative phenomena (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) of which performance can be verbal (Auer, 1999), non-verbal (Pavlenko, 2002; 2005) or both. The focus in this investigation is predominantly on verbal interactions. The use of statistical inference to measure the intent behind each conversation as outlined in quantitative research methods would not have been appropriate because it would not have allowed me to gain an in-depth contextual understanding or to infer meaning appropriately from different contexts.

My understanding of the use of qualitative research ensures that I am able to discern 'what it means for the participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks in that particular setting...' (Patton, 1985. P.1). This method allows the learners to voice their views rather than giving answers to questions based on cognition or theorized ideas on multiracial interactions.

In addition, following Constantinidou's (1994) suggestion on the need to examine each case in the light of all its peculiarities, I used interviews and observations to make a holistic appraisal of the teacher's and learners' code-switching in lessons as well as caregivers' (different) perceptions on languages of instruction.

However, irrespective of the positives embraced in the use of qualitative research method in social research, I am not oblivious of the constraints associated with this method.

One of the disadvantages to note is that there is often no clear line of separation between the different approaches used under this method. Unlike quantitative research method which proceeds from the particular to the general, qualitative explores all the variables within the context, accumulating themes as the research progresses. For example, when I observed one of the learner's classroom participation compared to his low grades in exercises, I decided to also examine the issue of mother tongue. This was done with utmost objectivity.

On validity, Hammersley (1992) argues that qualitative research methods cannot guarantee a completely neutral, objective assessment. This is due to the level of

subjectivity involved in analysis, equally, in part because qualitative involves on-the-spot observation.

It is also argued that the researcher runs the risk of affecting participants due to what is referred to as the 'observer's effect' (Landsberger, 1958) It is believed that the participants will tune their reactions accordingly as a result of being aware of the researcher. For this research however, the data collection was spread over a period of six months, enough time for the subjects to get over their initial attempt to please me.

In rounding up the debate on the choice of research method used in the thesis, I employed Tripp's (1998) suggestions on making a continuous, conscious, and critical reflection on interpretation of data.

3.4 Sampling the research participants

As vital as the research design is, so is the appropriateness of the sampling strategy. A sample, according to Webster (1985), is a finite, minute part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information on the whole. A purposive sampling was used in selecting both school and participants for the study.

Dyers (2008) when describing her participants, says young learners will not only reflect the linguistic identities of their families but likely to be more responsive to the rapid societal changes in South Africa than their older counterparts.

Therefore, unlike many studies on identity, I choose a primary school and the intermediate phase class as the site of my study. More so, the school was chosen in part because of its multi ethno-linguistic constitution, and secondly, its proximity to the multilingual community for which it was established.

However, the choice posed a lot of challenges as the participants, due to age and exposure, needed constant education on research modalities. A wide sample of fifteen participants was initially selected from the two major ethno-linguistic groups- Afrikaans and Xhosa- represented in the school. This is to give room for possible natural lost of participants (Ogunniyi, 2003). One more participant was later added from the Xhosa instructional class.

The addition is necessary to give room for adequate representation of all ethnic groups in the school. The additional participant named Lebo, is of Sotho background; one of the minority groups in the country. The initial fifteen are all from the same multi-grade English class.

By the end of the research, as anticipated, one dropped out due to transfer, one withdrew his participation when in Grade 7 and I dropped an additional three from the data base.

For the remaining eleven below I have used fictitious names.

Table 3.1 Linguistic identities of participants

The Eleven Participants and Linguistic Repertoire arrange according to proficiency						
	Names	Age	Gender	Ethnolinguistic Background	Linguistic Repertoire	
					Caregivers	Learner
1	Zinzy	14	Female	Xhosa	Xhosa both	Xhosa English and Afrikaans
2	Lebo	15	Female	Sotho	Xhosa grandmother, Sotho mother	Sotho, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans
3	Mpho	15	Female	Xhosa	Xhosa-English single mother	Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English
4	Entsha	15	Female	Xhosa	Xhosa both parents	Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English
5	Zoliswa	15	Female	Xhosa	Afrikaans Xhosa, and English (single mother)	Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English
6	Xolani	15	Male	Xhosa	Mono Xhosa Mother,	Xhosa, English, and relative

					Bilingual Xhosa- English father	Afrikaans
7	Sharon	14	Female	Afrikaans	Afrikaans both parents	Afrikaans and English
8	Ismail	14	Male	Afrikaans	Afrikaans both parents	Afrikaans, English and Xhosa
9	Tracy	15	Female	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans and English
10	Michelle	13	Female	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	English and Afrikaans
11	Abdul	14	Male	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans, English and Xhosa



3.5 Data collection procedure

Wolcott (1994) describes data collection in qualitative as asking, watching, and step by step reviewing of the subject's intent. To do this an array of instruments were suggested such as face to face and electronic interviews, participant and non-participant observations, audiovisual materials, documentations, and indigenous unwritten documents (folklores). The adaptation of all the instruments used for this study was done along Silverman's (2003) words of caution on data collection. He alerts us to the impact of the researcher's senses and perceptions which should be seen as part of the research instruments. He explains that notes from observation and interview are dependent on the researcher's impartial, objective recording, and therefore researchers should try to make their own potential biases explicit. This is in consonance with Tripp (1998) above.

Also on data collection, Lankshear and Knobel (2003) argue that a good interview question should be unambiguous, culturally sensitive and ethically upright, and non-leading.

To satisfy the above, the wordings of the interview prior to it being conducted were vent by my supervisor who is a professional ethnographic researcher. I also used a combination of participant and non-participant (Vierra, and Pollock, 1988).

Vierra, and Pollock, (1988) explains in their discussion on the role of the researcher, they maintain that both complements each other in ethnographic research, as 'participatory observation yields knowledge and data that are unavailable to the non-participant observer' (p. 194). Participant observation ensurea the respondents' trust after which a non-participant role is switch into to maintain focus and avoid becoming one of the factions in the research or what Rossman and Rallis (1998, as quoted by Richard, 2003) refers to as 'going native' (p.122).

On this, I alternate my once a week visit to the school between Tuesdays and Thursdays, except when there is a special function (fund raising programme or evaluation periods). Similarly, my participation with the members of staff was very selective and minimal. I was conscious of the possibility of being observed by those I study.

3.5.1. Observation

Cohen et al. (2000) describe observation as a firsthand encounter with the phenomenon of interest; a hands- on witness to the natural interaction between the participant and the various elements in his or her natural context, live data from live situations. This, Patton (1990) believes, allows for better assessment of knowledge and understanding of the context.

On the same topic, Richards (2003) maintain that effective observation is central to research in education. He argues that effective classroom teaching and learning is attributive to the keen observing quality of the teacher.

These scholars noted that even studies based only on interviews; employ some observation technique to make sense of body language and other gestures that lend meaning to the words of the person being interviewed. The researcher is afforded the opportunity of seeing things that the participants might not be too comfortable to share during interview, recount in questionnaires or missed out in diaries/records.

Furthermore, Annsi (1989, cited by Silverman, 2003) using the hospital environment, shows how space allocation spells out the existing categorization in a particular environment. Peräkylä contends that a look into the physical arrangement of the field of study will give a clue to the identity pattern of such setting.

In this research, a similar identity pattern can be read from the sitting arrangement of the learners when in grades 5 and 6 multi-grade, English class. The round dinner table design tells a different story from the reason given by the class teacher for this classification. They sat in clusters of five and six.

According to Ms Cecil (the participants, multi-grade class teacher), seating arrangement is based on student ability. She says the arrangement is to encourage class talk; it gives her room to concentrate on each group adequately, since they have been arranged accordingly.

On observation however, I realized that the arrangement could also be ethno-linguistically interpreted with each group having a dominant of 4:2 or 5:1 L1 language ratio. Hence, the learners always discuss answers in the majority L1 at that table before attempting the teacher's question in English.

The minorities either tag along or draw the attention of a fellow minor from the desk behind them. As a result, rather than encourage or improve his or her acquisition and use of English, the outnumbered learner at each table starts using the majority code in use (Gardner, 1982).

This must have become obvious to the teacher as this seating arrangement was reviewed the following academic year. Now, the former Grade5 respondents now in Grade6 all sits in a single extended boardroom fashion.

3.5.2 Interviews

These have been claimed to be a better mode of collecting data (Dexter, 1970, Rubins, 1985, Bateson, 1990), especially in studies involving human behavior, for it allows the interviewer to 'enter into other person's perspective' (Patton, 1990, P.196).

Interviews put clarity on observable activities and equally provide the researcher information on behaviors that happened in time past, feelings, thoughts and intentions.

On the appropriate type of interview, Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggest the use of group interviews to gain insights into themes that might be pursued in subsequent individual interviews.

Lewis (1992) also adds that group interviews generate a wider range of responses than individual interviews. But as Morgan, (1988) cautioned on the use of focus group, the Afrikaans participants were very reluctant to air their views while one of the Xhosa participants actually dropped out as a respondent when the method was used at the beginning of the study. This is understandable, for most of the participants are at the period referred to by the psychologists as a neither youth nor adult developmental stage.

Thus, a one on one interview questions were conducted with the learners, teachers and some of the caregivers living within the community. Using a semi structured interview, a mix of the two extremes, I was able to solicit responses to the hypothesis set for the research.

A semi-structured interview according to Cohen *et al*, (2000) allows the interviewer to keep the interviewee responses within the context of the research question and at the same time give room for the respondent to add other themes. So, rather than direct, closed questions, carefully worded open- ended probing questions were used, on the participants, their class teachers, the dance instructor, the principal, and her two deputies.

As is the nature of qualitative research, the emergence of new themes in the research, prompted the earlier respondents that were scheduled for interview to be extended to the class teachers of the Xhosa and Afrikaans grade 7 instructional classes.

The learners probe includes questions on their home background, linguistic repertoire, and relation with (class) peers, teachers, friendship ties, recreational activities, and food. That of the teachers and admin staff alike, centers on efforts at achieving the government's multi-ethno-linguistic education. All were electronically recorded and transcribed.

3.5.3 Audio Recordings

The use of audio recording is to allow for in-depth analysis and at the same time a point of reference and backup on notes taken from observation. As observed by Silverman (2003), taking notes and making observations at the same time by a researcher cannot be done without missing out some valuable data in the process. But with the use of an electronic recorder, one is able to pick on this as it makes room for endless listening and giving additional comments (Graddol, 1994).

With due consent from the two class teachers involved, some lessons were recorded and the participants' activity during intervals were also recorded, some were in IsiXhosa and Afrikaans. Only the lessons and interviews are in English. For the recreational recordings, the participants were given the recorder while I keep a distance look on the activities. Though, most of the recordings reflects an initial uneasement of the participant and his/her friends on the knowledge of being watched and recorded, they usually get back into their natural character after some few minutes. And after some few weeks, they equally got used to 'watchful eye'.

The common argument on the use of audio recording as a tool is that audio recording reduces data value as it omits non-verbal activities and that the researcher runs the risk of juxtaposing participants voices, especially in a classroom situation. To preclude this, each file was noted against the names of the interlocutors, and the spatial structure of the study made the voices detectable. Each recording was done along with field notes. For further clarity, Swann, as cited in Graddol, 1994) recommends transcription of recorded data.

3.5.4 Transcription

Transcription is a 're'-presentation of an event in a text format. It goes beyond talk; it is a situated act (Van Dijk, 1985). In this study, transcriptions were made word for word, with no corrections of grammar or for clarity in order to be sure that constructions reflected the discourse and identity of the participants (Fairclough, 2003). As a result, the objectivity of any research in linguistic is largely affected by the ability of the researcher to capture the social essence in each utterance when transcribing (Temple & Young, 2004). Failure to do this, the researcher will otherwise

be transcribing a personal or discipline conceptualization of reality. Arm by this logic, the recorded utterances were represented in written form using the conventional transcription keys. Following Eggins and Slade's (2004) recommendation, the exact code (variant) was used. Each audio recording was transcribed taking into consideration the difference in isiXhosa syntax rule and that of English. And to avoid 'telling my own story' rather than the informants, I diffused what Mehan (1993) calls the politics of representation by making double transcriptions of each data commissioned to native speakers. The key used include:

= = overlapping

[] pauses

... hesitations

Mmm, mhm agreement

() not clear

! surprise, shock

NV Non verbal moves.



However, the use of an interpreter, as Holmes,(1992) has warned, resulted in the lost of some vital connotatively structured intra-sentential code switching (Abdullah, 1979). This is taken into account when choosing the tools for data processing.

3.6 Data Processing

3.6.1 Introduction

The subject of this study, as discussed in the literature review chapter, is a 'performative' context bound 'act' and the objective is to examine how language is use in constructing this phenomenon, not (only) how it reflects and reveals it. Hence, the use of a pure language base (grammar, syntax, and semantics) method may not fully capture the socio-political factor underpinning its manifestation. Equally, as

Gilbert and Mulkay (1984, PP. 1-2) points out in their criticism of traditional qualitative analyses:

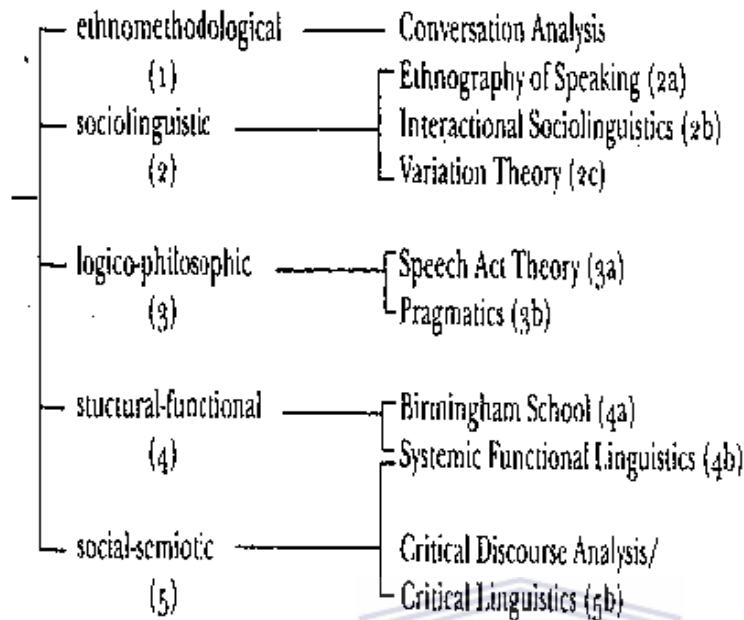
.....one of our central claims in this book is that sociologists' attempts to tell the story of a particular social setting or to formulate the way in which social life operates are fundamentally unsatisfactory. Such 'definitive versions' are unsatisfactory because they imply unjustifiably that the analyst can reconcile his version of events with all the multiple and divergent versions generated by the actors themselves. (pp. 1-2)

They dismiss the traditional discourse analysis method as susceptible to the production of the researchers' unitary interpretation of reality. Thus, in this session, an attempt is made at elucidating the method used in interpreting the data collected.

3.6.2 Analytical Tools

An eclectic theoretical approach is employed in analyzing the data collected. This is to allow for a complete synthesis of the findings. Most of the analytical tools on casual interaction are effective but to a limit. Hence, to investigate the role structure, I used the conversational Analysis (CA) as explained by Eggins and Slade (2004), Ethnography of speaking for speech acts, the grammatical, semantic and discourse characteristics is considered as informed by the systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Martin and Rose, 2003), and inferences on the social semiotic of the findings are drawn from the Critical Discourse Analysis theoretical frame work on talk.

Figure 1 Approaches to analysing casual conversation



Source: Eggins and Slade, 2004

3.6.3 Conversation Analysis

According to Eggins and Slade (2004), conversation should be view as a generative, turn taking mechanism aimed at maintaining the flow of talk. The continuity is ensured by the ability of the speaker to know the appropriate time to transfer the role of speaker and who the next speaker should be. They explain that the conversation is structure along these two parameters. Speakers uses elements such as falling intonation, grammatical structure of a completed sentence, gaze, posture, names or vocatives to do this. As to the question on the end of the talk (Turn conversational units), Eggins and Slade (2004) citing the works of the proponents of CA; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), says, since each speech and the next (response) are connected (adjacency pair) the entire pairs in a conversation are interrelated (sequential implicativeness). Even when a question is followed by a command rather than an answer, it is believe to be a ‘recipient design’ (p. 29) answer to the ongoing conversation. In other words, with CA, the researcher is able to analysis the micro structure in casual conversation. I am able to deduce each appropriate turn and one that could be termed a violation to the expected reaction.

However, most of the data collected were as different as the linguistic codes in the school; they *were not amorphous* (Jefferson and Lee, 1992, p. 521-3). Thus the (limited) adjacency pairs recommended by CA for analyzing talk could not provide for the diversified data. Also, with CA, inferences on the macro structure of the conversation could not be made. The approach is grounded in conversational organization and fails to link up to language organization which is backed by the speaker's linguistic expertise. Language organization on the other hand is informed by the speaking grid (Hymes, 1972b) for that interaction.

So, to link the conversational units to a macro structure; connect the various sequences, I also used the ethnography of speaking.

3.6.4. Ethnography of Speaking

Ethnography of speaking is *concerned with understanding the social context of linguistic interactions* (Egins and Slade, 2004, p. 33). Each language organization is conditioned by the speech event. Hyme, (1972b, p. 56), describes speech event as activities...directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. To him, contextual variables influence the use of language and invariably the type of conversation that will ensue.

With this theoretical frame, I was able to situate each utterance, and as such, identify the violations to the rule rather than misconstrue it as a lack on linguistic expertise. The tool combined with others, actually helped in the identification and differentiation of role and the linguistic construction of the participants in different contexts.

However Ethnography of speaking points to genre, but fall short in pointing out the grammatical composition of 'genre'. It does not adequately explain the reason for a particular building block instead of another in a conversation. To give a detailed description on how the genre is developed, I analyzed some of the data collected using the SFL model.

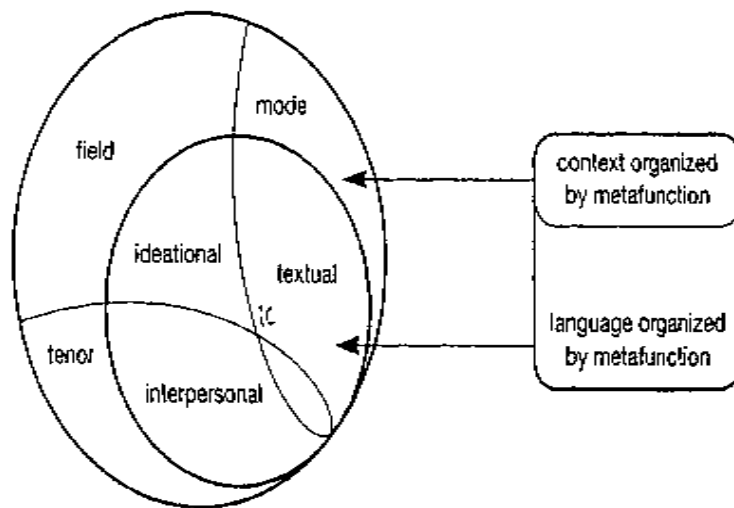
3.6.4 Systemic Functional Grammar. (SFL)

The systemic functional model portrays language as a social semiotic. Their framework on analyzing conversation is descriptive and unlike the two methods discussed earlier, encompasses context, register and the genre. SFL is based on Halliday's (1994) work on language. He claims that language is a semiotic resource. It is so structured as to perform a 'metafunction' (Eggins and Slade, 2004 P.48). Conversation is an act of making meaning. He posits that when we talk, we simultaneously make three types of meanings. Namely;

- I. Ideational meaning (topic of discourse, by whom, when, transition and closure)
- II. Interpersonal meanings (kinds of role relation established, kinds of attitudes expressed and turn negotiation)
- III. Textual meanings (types of cohesion used, patterns of salience and foregrounding)



Figure 2 Context and language in the SFL model



Source: Eggins and Martin [in press]

He explains that the social life is defined (and negotiated) against the backdrop of a shared understanding of an ideational world (ideational). At the same time, continual renegotiation of our position in that world is required (interpersonal) to (re) construct our interpretation of the world (text).

Halliday's proposition on the SFL theory is grounded in his claim that language relates naturally with the semiotic environment, therefore, the tripartite structure he outlined is embedded in the tripartite structure of the contexts in which language is used. He analyzed these contexts as

- I. Field (activity or topic focus)
- II. Tenor (roles and role relationships)
- III. Mode (extent and type of feedback possible)

The three are realized through the three metafunctions (respectively).

Thus, the SFL offers the study a framework for describing the interpersonal meanings expressed in the data and a platform to discuss the ideational and textual patterns used as resource in deriving these meanings. Also, Halliday's context register; tenor, field, and mode added credibility to attempts made at bringing to life the findings to the research hypothesis. The analytical interpretation of the context as organized by metafunction shall be expanded upon later as they are used in chapter five.

However, the semiotic-contextual model of the SFL also requires a discourse analysis to draw the link between the social effects of the linguistic choices at both micro and macro levels.

3.6.4 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis, according to Van Dijk, (1991) is a ray of methods used for studying 'the structures, functions, and processing of text and talk' (p:108). It is an interdisciplinary family of methodologies and approaches used in the study of language and text draws on linguistics, literary theory and cultural studies, philosophy of language, sociology and psychology.

Phillips and Hardy, (2002) argue, that in contrast to other qualitative methodologies which strives at understanding or interpreting social reality as it exists, discourse analysis endeavors to uncover the way in which it is produced (p.6). However, this is termed traditional discourse analysis and critiqued on been limited to the analysis of surface structure and meaning of isolated sentences (conversational analysis).

Critical discourse is preferred in its place as it reconnects the derived semantics systematically to larger ideological issues. With critical discourse analysis (CDA), one is able to challenge theorized assumptions on human activities; deconstruct assumptions (Derrida, mmmmm), identify and explores silences or 'taken-for-grantedness', correlate the relationship between language and other social processes or practices (Foucault 1972). The study circles on this, thus I employ the use of critical discourse analysis in processing the data collected.

Apart from its incorporation of various discourse analysis methods, in CDA, three modes of interpretation can be used mainly descriptive, interpretive and explanatory. Descriptive refers to the linguistic features (Critical linguistics/Language analysis). Interpretation refers to the meaning given by the writer /speaker on the on going discussion (Conversation Analysis). While the third, allows for a link between the particular discussion, and the broader social context. PE

Here, one is able to establish and explain the position and viewpoints from which the person speaks, as well as the various factors prompting this stand (Deconstructive analysis).

Due consideration to power relations underlying the choice and use of language is also made possible by this method. This is essential in conceiving language use in multilingual settings for power has been acclaimed the chisel which structures relationships among people (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto and Shuart-Faris, 2005).

Invariably, by adopting critical discourse analysis, I was able to contextualize the transcribed data as it relates to the prevailing discourse and the social context of the participants (ethnography of speaking). As Graham (2005b) expressed, whatever is observed is best appraised in the light of that which is absent.

The various activities engaged in by these learners are viewed in the light of a possible parallel or alternative foregone. The choices made, including friendship and preference on food is analyzed against the school and community perception on these, to make a factual interpretation on how the learner has located his/herself in the school.

3.7 Validity and Reflexivity

Due to the foreign status of the researcher, the assistance of a language interpreter was employed to transcribe and translate some of the data that were in languages other than English. This may lead to slippages in trustworthiness. However, this was taken care of by contracting the Xhosa and Afrikaans data to the university's language centre, Iliwimi Sentrum. To further minimize the issue of translator's subjectivity, the transcribed along with the translations was given to an independent Isixhosa native speaker, conversant with the urban variant, for a second translation.

Secondly, in the wake of the recent wave of xenophobia, anticipating some forms of impassiveness in responses from some of the parents or community members, the parent interview was restricted to those who came to the school to collect their wards report cards (most sent the elder siblings, while most did not come).

Subsequently, this delimits, in part, the contextualization of the societal factors. At the same time my own subject position as a foreigner in this context may offer interpretive angles that are not available to the insiders but this and other aspects of my identity will have to be constantly interrogated for ways in which they might be shaping my interpretations.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Language issues are sensitive, especially in communities where their co-existence is not voluntary. Optimum consideration is given to this when consulting with all the respondents.

At a very early stage of the research, as suggested by Bell (2000), permission was obtained from the Western Cape Education department (WCED) to access one of institutions under the department. In the same vain, a prior (informed) consent equally

obtained from the school principal, teachers, and caregivers, seeking their cooperation and request to engage the learners as participants for the research. This was done in line with Hart and Bond (1995, p.199) advice on ethical guidelines:

.... give the respondent time to read and re-read the protocol for himself or herself at his or her own pace, and to negotiate any additions or changes to it with the researcher. We would also recommend that the respondent should have a signed copy of the form as a record.

They argue that the respondents may conceit out of curiosity and anxiety to familiarize themselves with the researcher. So, the learners were given a letter home clearly stating the aims of the study and how the researcher intends finding answers to the research questions.

Only learners who were positive, and who came back with signed consents forms from their parents were consulted for voluntary participation. They were briefed on what the research entails. This was reiterated at the beginning of each interview sessions to alleviate the learners' fear and avoid 'true' responses from the learners and teachers alike. And at the end of the first phase of the study when the learners graduated to another Grade, a second letter, requesting interview with the parents was send via the learners.

Also, the study adhered to the school code of conduct and treated all socio-cultural interviews questions with the optimum sensitivity they deserve. All consultations with learners were conducted during class intervals, while they observe their lunch or snacks. While the teachers' interview, with the exception of the principal and the two deputies, took place at the end of the school day.

Confidentiality of identity and information given was assured along with the right to withdraw from the research at any point that they may wish without facing any consequences. All participant details, including the site, were given fictitious names and the original transcripts were accessible to my supervisor and I only.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has shed light on reasons for the choice and occasional changes made on carrying out the research. From the above, it is clear that the study is not linearly structured as the data collection process seems more of an eclectic rather than fully theoretical process. The approach used eventually in soliciting response could not be credited for the entire data received. The little information collected earlier were used as backdrops during subsequent interviews and observations. This will be better explained in the next chapter dealing with data analysis.



CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: LEVELLING THE PLAYING FIELD

4.0 Introduction

Meaning in human relations has always been based on inferred similarities (Holyoak & Thagard, 1995). We are quick to liken the new to an old type. Language use and perception of the post 1994 is presupposed in line with that of their progenitors. It was a foregone conclusion that each learner's identity ought to be marked along his / her ethno-linguistic background, but the change in government has equally effected a change in the social order. The cumulative effect of the later is translocation and transnational. Different ethnic groups that were formally segregated now reside together, acquiring each others' codes.

Thus, in the new South Africa, the orienting 'self' has become even more complex. Most post-1994 children are multilinguals who are very much conscious of the language/power relation and the greater fluidity of ethnic group boundaries compared to pre-1994. Naturally, they strive to position themselves in a favourable light using their linguistic ticket. Like others, the learners in JSE had to find a balance between the challenges posed by a shared socio-cultural background, the new multiracial society set by the government, and the demands of global competitiveness.

In this chapter, I will be looking at the various modes employed by the participants, caregivers and school in levelling the playing field. I shall be making a discursive link between the class observations and the interviews conducted with caregivers, administrative staff, teachers, and learners in order to adequately function in the multilingual community

4.1 The home structure: 'putting new wine in an old skin'

The findings reveal the caregivers' language perceptions as one of the major factors in identity construction in the school. The caregivers' perception of the multicultural educational reforms can be categorized under two positions. First is the group who seems to hold on to the pre-1994 era, nursing the wounds made by Apartheid. The

second are those who believe in strategic positioning. These are in the minority though. Their view is equally linked to the apartheid era. To them, many is more; they maintain, to a great extent, their ethnic code and conduct but also push for the acquisition of the other dominant group code.

To avert a repeat of social stratification as was the case in apartheid era, the first group enjoined their wards to be in the English class and equally encouraged the acquisition of Afrikaans viewed as a more empowering code in the province, and Xhosa, the new ruling class code. To this group, as reported by De Klerk (2000), and Hendricks (2004) on Xhosa and Afrikaans parents, the home language has no additional value other than for 'basic' communication purposes in the home domain. English was perceived as a language for social mobility (Banda, 2008). The arguments on the cognitive and scholarly benefits of multilingualism and mother tongue education were lost on them (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004). Rather, language was seen as a symbol of social identification (Edwards, 1977 cited in Auer & Wei, 2007). As such, the demand was for English as the medium of instruction.

Even with the glaring implications of their stance, most parents are adamant that this clause is only a secondary infringement. To them, the school's inability to educate the learners is the main cause of failure for learners. They lay the blame on the teacher and system. In an interview with Entsha's mother's, I enquired from her (through an interpreter) if Entsha's having to repeat Grade 6 might not be a result of being changed to an English class.

Table 4.2 Parental factor in MOI

Turn	speaker	Data	Translation
15	interpreter	Kulonyaka uphelileyo uNtombentsha ebesenza uGrade 6 mos.	Last year Entsha was doing Grade 6 of course.]
16	Ma Entsha	ewe	yes
17	Int.	Nakulonyaka wenza uGrade 6.	Even this year she is still in Grade 6
18	Ma Entsha	Ewe	yes

19	Int.	Ucinga ukuba kulonyaka uphelileyo yintoni ebeyenzekile... erongo ebangele intokubana kulonyaka makabe kanti usaphinda uGrade 6?	What do you think happened last year... that is wrong to cause her to repeat Grade 6 this year?
20	Int.	Okay. Ukunabisa lambuzo uthi, ucinga ubana into eyabangela ubana uNtombentsha uphinda uGrade 6 kulo nyaka	To expand on this question, do you think the reason that caused Entsha to repeat Grade 6 this year
	Ma Entsha	Mhmm.	
	Int.	Yinto edibene nolwimi? Yintobana efundiswe ngeEnglish na?	Is it something to do with language? Is it because she had been taught in English?
	Ma Entsha	...Mhmm, kuba kaloku ngephindwe wafundiswa ngesiXhosa not nge English, yilento embhidisileyo uNtombentsha ubamakaphinde le klas.	[She takes a couple of seconds before answering.] Mhmm, because she should have again been taught in Xhosa not English, that is what confused Entsha and caused her to repeat the class.]

Although Entsha's mother acknowledged the effect the language of teaching and learning - English- had on Entsha, that is, her inability to make the promotion to grade 7, she like most of the other mothers blames the teacher for not making an effective use of the intervention period created by the system to assist learners like Entsha. But, as stated in the table on the linguistic and identity profile of the participants in chapter 3, Entsha's parents are Xhosa monolinguals and the children of Entsha's age in their section of the multiplex are Afrikaans L1 speakers. Thus, there was no support from the home front to consolidate the teacher's effort. Rather, the Afrikaans she picked up

during her hospitalization in Grade 5 was being fortified. As a result, the class observation in the year prior to her repeat shows zero participation in class talk, a negative response to correction during lessons, and a confrontational attitude to other learners. However, the next year when she repeated Grade 6, she became the class governor. So how did Entsha negotiate a new centre?

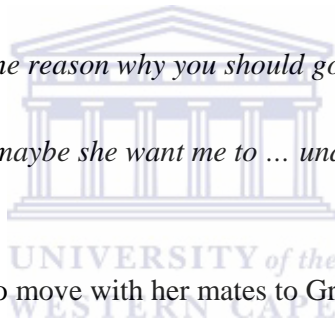
Before going into detail on Entsha's strategy to overcome the challenges posed by the official class code, I would like to provide evidence that it was her mother who drove her to the English MOI class. The following is an extract from an interview with her:

Interviewer: *When you were in Grade 5, why did you change to the English class?*

Ensha: *because my mother says I must go to English class*

I: *did she tell you the reason why you should go to English class?*

E: *umm ... no. maybe she want me to ... understand and ... to talk English*



The question on her failure to move with her mates to Grade 7 and her low class participation during the last session were asked for clarification. She says:

I: *what do you think must have made you to fail and repeat grade 6?*

E: *ummm (she bent her head)*

I: *Did you repeat grades 3 or 4?*

E: *No.*

I: *What do you think went wrong?*

E: *last year, I didn't know the name of English and last year I like to play must!*

The hole in the intervention program was also brought to the fore. The teacher was expected to have a one-on-one lesson with selected learners after school. This is a

program created by the system to help learners such as Entsha to cope with the academic challenges. However, the effectiveness of this intervention depends on home support.

Interviewer: *Do you have anybody helping you with English at home?*

Ensha: *umm ... nobody.*

I: *which language do you use at home?*

E: *Xhosa.*

I: *last year, you don't raise your hand in class to participate in class, why?*

E: *maybe the teacher asked me the question last year, if am telling the answer, the learners will laugh at me.*

I: *do you think they laughed because you are telling the wrong answer or the way you tell the answer?*

E: *the way I tell the answer*

Before wrapping up the interview, I tried to seek Entsha's opinion on the appropriate instructional class for her;

I: *if your mother can say, Entsha, when you go to grade 7, will you go to Xhosa class or English class. Which will you prefer?*

E: *Xhosa.*

Some researchers argue that the choice of an English class by mothers like Entsha's can be seen as identifying with the prestige and global status of English. While this may be so in some cases, this study finds otherwise. To substantiate, let's look at Zoliswa's interview

Interviewer: *... your parents wanted you to be in which class?*

Zoliswa: *My mother...as far as my mother, she didn't have a problem. Once I was in Grade 4, me and Mpho and other friends so that we chose to do Afrikaans but our parents didn't agree, they said we must do Xhosa not Afrikaans. Now so my mother said she didn't have a problem if am in English Class. But mustn't do Afrikaans! I must do Xhosa in the place of the home language.*

I: *Does your mother understand English very well?*

Z: *She does and she understands Afrikaans very well.*

I: *Then why did she say that you mustn't do Afrikaans as a subject?*

Z: *I don't know*

I: *You never asked her why?*

Z: *[shook her head]*

I: *What about your sister? Does your sister also understand Afrikaans?*

Z: *Both of my sisters do understand Afrikaans... we all understand Afrikaans at home... but then one that understands Afrikaans best is my mother. For she grew up where there are a lot of Afrikaans people.*

I: *where*

Z: *she said in Graff Reinet...now, when she grew up. She spoke Afrikaans not Xhosa, now, when she came here to Cape Town, she married my father who spoke Xhosa, that's when she understood Xhosa and the rest.*

Zoliswa's mother like Entsha's wanted to avoid a repeat of the challenges she herself went through to reconnect with her Xhosa (inlaws') background. Apparently, her expertise in Afrikaans and little understanding of Xhosa culture causes her a lot of embarrassing moments at gathering at her in-laws. Anyway, going by the daughter's response, the daughter's success in her instructional class was of lesser concern. To this domestic worker, the absence of Afrikaans from the daughter's academic list was

her priority. The irony of this is that Afrikaans and not Xhosa happened to be her language of expertise. A similar trend could be seen in most of the learners interviewed. The caregivers belonging to this group viewed language through the Apartheid lens.

Before moving on to the second group of parents on language ideology, I shall quickly look at how Entsha regained his classroom confidence and academic excellence. The classroom observations prior to her repeating the year show very little academic participation but high levels of participation in non-academic arenas. The implication of this is that the classroom code does affect her. As rightly suspected, by the following year, she seemed to have adjusted and strategised a means to ensure the acquisition of new knowledge through English language.

Although, the class teacher's (Ms Cecil, the English multi-grade teacher for grades 4, 5, and 6) use of language in a way could equally be said to have contributed to her late adjustment, for unlike others, she adhered to the class MOI (see Appendix J).

On Entsha's negotiations, she as informed by Cummins (2000), (in chapter 2) on bilingual language processing, translates and conceptualized each stage necessary to complete any given task first into Xhosa before attempting to solve them. Doing this, she gradually became a facilitator at her table, and could equally be seen at study time acting the role of a teacher to the grade 5 learners.

Back to the caregivers, the second group, as I said earlier, were more flexible than the first. The caregivers in this group encouraged their wards to offer in school a different language as a second additional subject. This was to ensure the development of the additional language already acquired from the environment. They were of the opinion that language is the capital with which one can buy into the social benefits commanded by a particular group, or required in a particular space. To them, language is a tool and not a label. However, they continued to keep tabs on the ward to ensure that this did not result in total assimilation.

Like the first, the wards of this group are also faced with the challenge of balancing the actual linguistic practices with the institutionalized code.

4.2 Governmental reforms

In this section, I shall be looking at some of the findings that have a bearing on the governmental reforms aimed at making education inclusive.

4.2.1 Imposed identity: Standardized code

The linguistic configuration of the institutionalized language and that practiced by the learners and community forms another disparity discovered in the study. Stroud and Wee's (2006) assertion on the connection between learners' community and peer experiences and identity construction in the classroom speaks volumes on the possible effects of the institutionalized codes and attested mother-tongue practice. As Banda (2009) states in his argument on the monolingual design of South African education, the unknown cannot be built on the known (Cummins, 2000) without using the language in practice. According to him, the institutionalized code, otherwise known as the standard language which is used in teaching and learning in schools, has in a way, established the mother-tongue in the school as different from that of the learners' home variety. A similar point was raised by Stroud and Wee (2007) in their study on identity construction in a Singaporean classroom. They equally report on the failure of language policy in postcolonial states to account for the multilingual realities in such societies. The disregard and dismissive perceptions of hybridity or indigenous languages, in more ways than one, misrepresents the linguistic composition of the people for whom the policies are made. Their argument, and that of Banda stated earlier, in a way, legitimized the issue I raised in chapter 2 about the complexity of what counts as mother tongue or home language in the school.

I tried to verify this disparity in views of language varieties in an interview with Tracy, a thirteen year old with an Afrikaans L1:

Interviewer: *what language do you use at home?*

Tracy: *Afrikaans*

I: *then why are you in English class and not in Afrikaans?*

T: *because I don't understand Afrikaans so well.*

I: *you don't understand Afrikaans so well?*

T: *yes some words I don't understand*

I: *but you speak Afrikaans at home = =*

T: *then my mother thought I should be in English class because I don't understand Afrikaans.*

I: *is it not the same Afrikaans you speak at home that is used in teaching at school?*

T: *it's the same but sometimes they use some other words that we don't use at home.*

I: *so you are saying the Afrikaans they use in teaching in the school is not the same you use at home?*

T: *yes*

I: *is the Afrikaans you speak in your house different from the one other people speaks in your community?*

T: *it is the same.*

I: *but is it different from the one used in the school?*

T: *yes.*

To my surprise, however, the teachers are oblivious of this factor. In one of the interviews, the Afrikaans teacher for Grades 4 and 5 was asked to comment on the learners' submissions that Afrikaans taught in the school was difficult. He said the learners 'lack the proper way of speaking'. Rather than recognizing their language as a hybrid or a different variety, he condemned the Afrikaans spoken by the learners as a reflection of the community constituted by (mixed) very low class people. To the Afrikaans L1 speakers like Tracy, then, the Afrikaans taught in the school was different from that which she and her community speak. And if it indeed is same

Afrikaans, then she is better off as an English speaker, because she performs better in English subject than she does in Afrikaans.

4.2.2 Policy meets practice: Linguistic code of conduct

Apart from the institutionalised code, the educational policy equally leaves room for customized interpretations. The linguistic code in the class has always been pinned on the teachers' limitations and teaching materials. Yang (2008), investigating second language classroom interaction, emphasizes the importance of maintaining a good interactional pattern in class (especially in a second language class). According to Yang, to avoid unpredictable responses, teachers minimize learners' involvement in lessons (Walsh, 2002) and or inhibit their opportunities to use language for communication (Hassan, 2006). This may be a resort to hide teachers' inadequacy in the subject content or in the language of learning and teaching. On a similar note but from a broader linguistic perspective, the conversationalists (Auer, 2000; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002, Wei, 2005) conceive of classroom talk as conversational strategy, one that is participant-oriented.

Active classroom participation in education is indeed the main recipe for productive teaching. To achieve this, the policy gives room for the teacher to tap into the linguistic resources of the learners in an attempt to aid cognition during lessons. Such strategies in South African schools generally involve code switching. But then, the difference between language alternation and switch is of a degree and not meaning, as discussed below.

4.2.3 Amplified code-switching

Language alternation is a generic form used in referring to a conscious form of code-switching (Gafaranga, 2001). While (code) switching may be generalized as a permanent change in (code), alternation signals intermittent use (Collins Essential English Dictionary). According to the language coordinator of the school, with reference to code switching, it is an 'occasional' expectation in an English medium class, that is, minimal switches to learners' L1 is expected of the teacher to assist a learner struggling to conceptualize in English during lesson. In fact, (relative)

bilinguality in two of the regional languages is now a prerequisite for a teacher's certificate in South Africa.

However, this same policy stipulates the use of English as medium in Grade 7. The Grade 7 learners are required to be taught in English in preparation for high school. The latter seems to require a crystal ball to determine in JSE. For while both vice principals maintain that the Grade 7 stream is in compliance with the policy, the Grade 7a Afrikaans LI teacher affirms to teaching his learners in their mother tongue. He said:

'I am fortunate to teach my learners (class) in my first language'.... I teach all the learning areas in my class.

Anyway, the question here is on the degree of alternation required, the determining factor for language use in class. Gafaranga (in Auer & Wei, 2007) relates language preference or change to competency or an ideological preference. Either way, Gafaranga (2001) believes it demonstrates the interlocutor's stance.

On observation, however the lessons taken by Mr Kwena, the grade 7c teacher with the learners from grade 7b (who graduated from 6b Xhosa MOI) could be said to have been conducted in both teacher and learners' shared L1. However, other observations made in the same learning area with his class, that is, learners who were promoted from the English MOI in grade 6, here, he seems to maintain a minimum level of code-switching to Xhosa (see appendix for the full lesson);

K: you know castle?

Std3: yes, tishala {teacher}

K: castle li phi? {the castle is where?}

Std 3: castle, casino

K: casino, aiyo heritage site. [Casino is not an heritage site]

K: ne?

K: Unathi, yintoni ngoku? , yintoni ngoku?

K: bona. (look)

K: mhlekazi? {gentlemen}.

Std5: = = Jonga. (look)

K: val'umlomo [shut your mouth].

K: hello, keep quiet.

K: jonga ngapha [look over here]

K: val'umlomo

K: abdul. jonga



In an earlier interview, Mr Kwena, the Grade 7C English MOI class teacher, explained the difference as:

Mkwena: *yes...yes...emm..if I compare the general class from the multigrade class, you see those learners are doing much better than the learners that are doing Xhosa. Emm ... those that are not coming from multi-grade.*

Interviewer: *emm.*

M: *You see, they are doing much better as compared to them. Because you see, the thing is, you see...the Xhosa have this mother tongue you see, that we are using I don't know that grade 6 teachers are teaching them using their mother tongue. You see, when they reach Grade 7, they are struggling you see... because they have been doing everything in the mother tongue. You see... so now when they get here they are struggling a bit, that is the thing.*

What Mr Mkwena is pointing to here is one of the primary disadvantages of the parallel MOI system referred to earlier in Banda's (2009) research. The learners, through the school's management, have been conditioned to a monologic teaching and learning situation, for example, the restriction and allocation of subject areas to teachers in accordance to their L1 and the class to be taught.

Thus, this teacher's switch to isiXhosa cannot be said to be politically motivated (Auer, 1995) nor a reflection on his competency, for when teaching the same lesson to his class of 95 % Xhosa L1 learners, he maintained the class code of English. Rather, Mr Kwena seems to draw a lot on his ideological conceptualisation of the 7b learners.

Further, in the interview, he said that officially the other Afrikaans and Xhosa grade 7 classes are English medium; however, in reality, dual medium is practiced because the learners had difficulty grasping content in English language. He added that, in comparison to their counterparts in his class coming from the English multi-grade class, the grade 7 pupils used their L1 in both formal and informal settings. He concluded that a way forward would be for learners to have English as language of learning at a very early stage in their education.

His view is in line with scholars such as Krashen (1975, cited by Hoffman, 1989) on the subject of lateralization (the brain dominance of language completion). However, as plausible as his explanation is, in practice, the two classes in question (Afrikaans and Xhosa) employed single medium and minimal code switching in English. This will no doubt pose a challenge to these learners if they choose to proceed to high school.

4.3 Negotiating the centre from the periphery

In the light of the complexity involved in identifying the learner's mother tongue, or language of expertise, and the peculiar social context of the school environment, the school also put in some measures to balance the scale. One of such measures was the use of dual medium in the intermediate phases to help learners change to other MOI's than the one signed in by their caretakers.

One of the beneficiaries of this was Xolani whom his mother placed in the Xhosa MOI class. The mother insisted on a Xhosa class for him (though, he claims she was oblivious of the existence of an English MOI in the school), but through his participation in the dual MOI class, he was able to sign himself into the English MOI class. As helpful as the system was, at the parents' growing preference on parallel MOI, the school stopped it.

Another strategy employed by the school to help the learners, was having an undocumented mother tongue MOI in Grade 7. I say undocumented because interviews with the deputy principals and some teachers gave contrary information. Observation shows that the three Grade 7a, b, and c classes were Afrikaans, Xhosa, and English MOI respectively. The school liaised with the junior high schools around them to arrange for Grade 8 mother tongue classes for their learners in the following year. This according to the language coordinator was the practice. For her, this practice was one of the reasons for matric failure.

With the various helping hands from both parents and the school, how did the learners in JSE negotiate the boundaries between the 'prescribed' social status and the preferred?

4.4. Negotiating social boundaries

Most of the learners were very aware of the symbolic power of their linguistic repertoire. As such, they strove to develop and use different codes in negotiating or changing their social status within the school. To expand on this, I shall be looking at the data from Mpho. This Xhosa-speaking girl, who came from Gugulethu township, acquired Afrikaans while residing in Mannenberg for obvious reasons, and took lessons in the English MOI class (in accordance with her mother's wishes).

4.4.1 Class migration

Mpho was one of the people described by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) as those who acquire, develop and adopt the cultures of a group due to the perceived difference in class structure. Mpho, on joining the school in grade 4, had many Xhosa friends (according to Zoliswa, Xolani, and Tracy), but, at the time of the research, all

her recreational friends were Afrikaans L1 speakers. She claimed not to be interested in Xhosa friends because they ‘gossiped behind her back’. Meanwhile, all correspondence to her mother relating to this research was in the Xhosa language (at Mpho’s request).

Also, during my observations when she was in Grade 5, she sat at a table which had two multilinguals (Zoliswa and Entsha) with a similar Xhosa background, one other Xhosa bilinguals and an Afrikaans L1 multilingual (Ismail) learner. Mpho spoke Xhosa with Zoliswa but, escaped as soon as the bell rang to join her L1 Afrikaans friends. Also, during study time she read English literature along with the L1 Afrikaans learner at the table, while her fellow Xhosa-speakers at the table chatted on in Xhosa or read Xhosa translated literature. Her case could be seen as one of an imagined identity (Blackledge, 2004).

Further, her Afrikaans was at beginner level when she joined JSE. As Xhosa was the language of the home domain, developing a higher competency in the code must have taken a lot of determination and aspiration. From interviews, it was indicated that the school’s dance group is constituted by Afrikaans L1 speakers except for Mpho who is Xhosa. Reasons for this range from the language of instruction being just Afrikaans, to the dress code being out of tune with Xhosa culture, to the perception that the songs and dances were pro- Afrikaans (see appendix on Mpho’s interviews on this). This made most of the Xhosa learners withdraw after a few days of joining. However, Mpho stood and weathered the code of the instructor until she perfected the language.

A similar trend applied to her participation in the school’s basketball team. She seemed to have identified and associated with programmes in the school that signified the Afrikaans group. She even tried smoking in public which the Grade 7 teacher stated as one notable difference between Xhosa and Afrikaans-speaking women in the community.

In short, all the social traits demonstrated by Mpho point to an affiliating orientation to Afrikaans membership. One can therefore infer that she seemed to consider her L1 group as one of a lower status in relation to Afrikaans in that context, hence the need to negotiate through her acquired linguistic capital.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has enumerated the various concerns and attempts by the various stakeholders in education to ensure an all inclusive education suitable for a diversified, multilingual society such as South Africa. The shortfalls of each ‘prescriptive’ measure have been highlighted. The entire findings presented in this chapter are each necessitated by different educational role players, but each contributed to the evolvement of the other.

Starting with the ideologically based mother tongue code and MOI class placement by the parents, the chapter was able to draw a link on all the factors affecting the learners’ use of their linguistic repertoire. The use of the standardized code and the parents factor, both constrained the school to result to a peculiar adaptation of the parallel medium. It also reflects in the misconception of the linguistic capabilities of the bi-multilingual learners by the teachers. And in the same pattern, the structures employed by the school which were substantiated from interviews and observations with teachers and learners made for the need for the latter to negotiate a new centre.

However, in order to have an in-depth understanding of how learners negotiate status relations in different contexts, it is necessary to focus on the micro-linguistic aspects of their interactions. This is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

NEGOTIATING A CENTRE

5.0 Introduction

To decode issues of identity in language, Eggins and Slade (2004, citing Kress 1985: 53) suggest an analytical appraisal of casual conversation as this relates strongly to social structures. Kress suggests that the nuanced registration of power difference in social hierarchical structures is expressed through language. Explaining further the significance of an analytical appraisal, Eggins and Slade (2004, p. 61) also cite Fairclough (1995a, p. 34) who claims an inextricable link between every conversation (regardless of the situation of occurrence) and the macro structure.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall be looking at the different types of identities signalled by learners in their interactions in different contexts. The macro factors that possibly contribute to this enactment will equally be highlighted. This will be done using Conversation Analysis (CA), the Ethnography of Speaking (ES), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as proposed by Eggins and Slade, (2004). The combination of these approaches in my analytical framework serves to buttress the weaknesses of each with the strengths of the others. As hinted in chapter 3, I shall use the CA theoretical framework to identify the moves in each interaction (adjacency pairs). The Ethnography of Speaking aided the identification of genre, without which the identification of conformity with or deviance from the perspective of SFL may not have been valid. Lastly, the CDA theoretical framework is employed to relate the discursive interpretation of both semantics and grammatical patterns expounded within SFL to the macro setting.

Although I have recorded interactions for 11 learners as described in chapter 3, in order to limit the scope of this thesis, I have decided to focus on data from one participant, Xolani, collected in three different contexts.

5.1 Rationale for the data focus

Xolani, in more ways than one, completes the circle of friendship for all the participants. The 11 participants in this study at the commencement of the research, all shared a multi-grade English class (Grade 4, 5, and 6), thus having some form of relationship in the class apart from those in the close friendship ring. On moving to Grade 7, those that were formerly in Grade 6, with the exception of Entsha who repeated the Grade, still received lessons in the same (Mr Kwena's) class with Xolani again as the class captain.

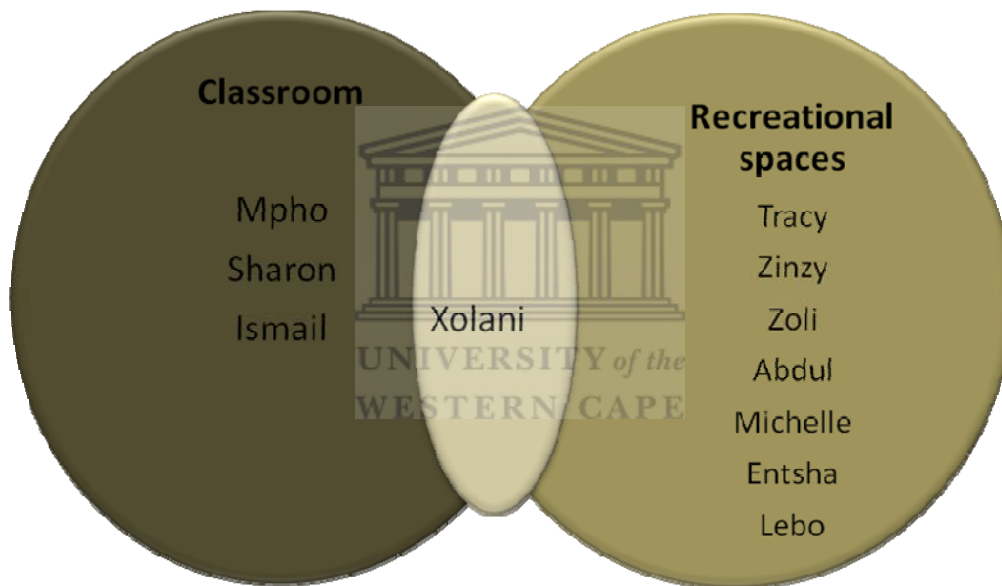


Figure 3 Diagram of participants' relationships

Apart from his institutional relationship with the other participants in class, Xolani holds the position of a prefect in the school. This further ensures and grants him the privilege of being able to interact with all learners. All through the research, he maintains contact with the other ten participants as intimate friends (Appendix M) and acquaintances (Appendix N & O). Consequently, all the data collected on him not only feature one or two other learners involved in the research but also help bring to light many of the factors constraining or enhancing identity alignment in the school.

Thus, by analyzing the conversation of the same participant in three different contexts, the study is able to test Rampton's (2003) revised notions on multilingual language strategies. Which group language intent indices Inheritance (identifying with in-group identity), Affiliation (identifying with another group), and expertise (the language with the most competency).

5.2 Xolani the Prefect.

In this extract, Xolani is on duty as a prefect during the school interval. He is positioned by the small gate erected to prevent the senior learners from harassing the foundation phase juniors. Here, he comes in contact with both the senior and junior Afrikaans and isixhosa language speakers. His job is further cut out for him as the foundation phase playground also doubles as the school's netball pitch.

Table 5.1 below presents his interaction with Xhosa L1 speakers. Though the conversational pattern follows a typical prefect- junior learner genre (Bakhtin, 1986) in that he uses the imperatives while the latter explains with declarative moods. , an analysis of linguistic forms illuminates in greater depth the relations of power and distance between Xolani and Thibaza. In the sections that follow, I will first summarise and discuss this interaction in relation to the mood choices by each participant. Then I will go on to present and discuss how these choices, semantically relate to their status role. Finally, I will analyse each speech function against possible affiliation orientation. These three analytical lenses enable me to critically examine Rampton's assertion on the bi-multilingual's language use and identity.

To interpret Xolani's recreational interaction with the Xhosa L1 speakers in Table 5.1 below, I turned to Martin and Rose's (2002:1) argument drawn from SFL. In linking the interpretation of casual talk to social structures and culture, they claim that

social discourse rarely consists of just single clauses, rather social contexts develop as sequences of meanings comprising texts. Since each text is produced interactively between speakers, and between writers and (potential) readers, we can use it to interpret the interaction it manifests. And since each interaction is an instance of speakers' culture, we can also use the text to interpret aspects of the culture it manifests.

Accordingly, I look at the discourse, semantic and grammatical patterns embedded in the interaction. I identify each mood in turn and situate them in the interlocutors' linguistic discourse (Gee, 2001). Mood here is regarded as patterns of clause type such as declarative, interrogative and imperative (Thompson, 2004). A reciprocal mood choice indicates functional equality roles, while non-reciprocal indicates a difference (Eggins & Slade, 2004, p. 53). The Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3...) illustrates 'turn numbers' and the lower case roman numerals (i, ii, iii ...) indicates clause numbers.



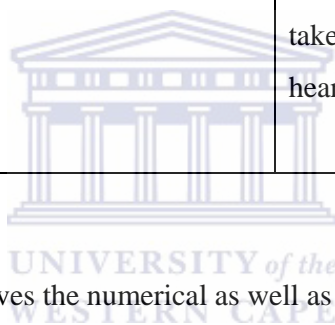
Table 5.3 Recreational data with IsiXhosa L1 interlocutors

The 'Comments' in the table carry the mood analysis.

Turn	Speaker	Data	Translation /Clauses
1	Xolani	Nimeleni apha?	What are you standing here for?
2	Thibaza	Sitshiswa lilanga qha... nabaya nabanye.	We're being baked by the sun... others are over there.
3	Xolani	Sukani apha... Hampa.	Move here... Go.
4	Thibaza	HAYI nditshiswa lilanga; uyayazi uba... uba ndi-allergic kwilanga (laughs).	NO (pleading) I'm burning from the sun; you know that... that I'm allergic to the sun [laughs].
5	Xolani	Hambani.	Go.
6	Thibaza	He hayi bo! Ndiyakucela wethu Xolani = =	Come on now! I beg you Xolani= =
7	Xolani	= =HAMBA.	= =GO
8	Zoli	Ndiza kuphuma ezazinto Xolani... Xolani.	I'm gonna have a break out of funny things Xolani, Xolani.
9	Xolani	Uza kuphuma izinto?	You are going to have a break out of something?
10	Zoli	Ewe.	Yes
11	Xolani	I-allergy? U-allergetic	Allergy? Are you allergic?

12	Thibaza	Ewe	Yes
13	Xolani	Thibaza JONGA... suba yi kwekwe aphe sikolweni yiba yikwekwe ngaphandle, khulula lo kepsi... Awuzondishiya mos noba sewubaleka, ndiyakuxelela ndithi khulula lokepsi... ubakhe ndakubona uyithwele ndakusa e-ofisini okanye ndiyi thathe, uyeva?	Thibaza LOOK... do not be a boy here at school go and be a boy outside the school, take off that cap... Even if you run I'll catch you, I'm telling you take off that cap... if I see you wearing that cap I'm taking you to the office or I'm taking it, do you hear?
14	Zoli	(Laughs)	NV
15	Xolani	UYEVA?	DO YOU HEAR?
16	Thibaza	Hayi Xolani	No Xolani.
17	Xolani	Uba andikusanga e-ofisini ndizakuyithatha uyeva?	If I don't take you to the office I'm gonna take the cap, do you hear?
18	Thibaza	Ndakuxela kubhuti wam.	I'm going to tell my big brother.
19	Xolani	Ubani? ... ubhuti wakho ufunda apha? Ufunda apha? Ndiyamoyika kengoku mna ubhuti wakho? Ndingubhuti nam... kwabanye abantwana... so ubhuti wakho akayonto Xolani. Akanamthetho wakundenza nto. Uyeva? Uzumxelele ubhuti wakho uba nditshilo; umxelele uba aze apha Xolani uzakuyifumana into ebeyifuna uyava?	Who? ... does your big brother come to this school? Does he come to this school? You think I'm afraid of your big brother. I'm a big brother myself to other kid... so your big brother is nothing to me. He does not have a hold over me. Do you hear? Tell him I said so; tell him to come to me and... he'll get what's coming to him, do

			you hear?
20	Zoli	Yhuu.	yhuu!
21	Xolani	ndiza kumbetha, uyeva? Ndzamxelela indaba zakhe, uyeva? Sundixelela ngobhuti wakho mna... andikhange – asoze ndikubethe. Suyicinga nokuyicinga into yobetha wena, andisoze ndikubethe naninina qha ndiyakuxelela uba ndiyakucela khulula ikepsi esikolweni. Ukuba ndikhe ndaphinda ndakubona uyinxibile ndizakusa e-ofisini, uyeva?	I won't beat him up, okay? I'm going to give him a piece of my mind, you hear? Don't tell me about your big brother...I did not – I won't hit you. Don't even think that I'd hit you, not ever but I want to tell you take off your cap on school premises. If I see you wearing it again, I'm going to take you to the office, do you hear?



The table below; table 5.2 gives the numerical as well as the percentage summary of each mood in the interaction in Table 5.1. The percentages are calculated against the total number of clauses obtained by each participant (Eggins & Slade, 2004)

Table 5.4 Summary of mood choices

IsiXhosa L1 interlocutors			
	Xolani	Thibaza	Zoli
number of turns	11	5	3
number of clauses	52	10	4
Declarative: full	11 (21.2%)	3 (30%)	
elliptical	1 (1.9%)	1 (10%)	1 (25%)
incomplete	1	1 (10%)	1 (25%)
polar interrogative	11 (21.2%)		
full	9 (17.3%)		
elliptical	3 (5.8%)		

tagged declarative: full		1	
Elliptical		2	
wh- interrogative: full	2 (3.8%)		
elliptical	1 (1.9%)		
Imperative: full	7(13.5%)	1 (10%)	1 (25%)
minor	7 (13.5)	2(20%)	
most frequent subject choice			
	you (Thibaza)=28	you (Xolani)=4	You (Xolani)=1
	you (Zoli)= 1	We= 1	
	I =13	I.= 4	I.= 1
	3 rd person sg.= 9	3 rd person sg=1	
negation	1	2	
adjuncts			
circumstantial	4		
interpersonal	1		
textual	4		
exclamation (full)	2		1

5.2.1 Summarizing mood choices

This section summarises the information in Table 5.2 above. The interactive implications of each mood, as prescribed by the SFL paradigm is given and an attempt is made at the end to infer the findings on one of Rampton's three assertions- inheritance.

Number of turns: The number of turns gives a numerical overview on the moves made by each participant in the interaction. Xolani, seems to have made more than the average number of moves available in the discussion. Zoli number (3) is quite close to that of Thibaza's (5) considering the fact that he is just a side participant. Also, Thibaza's number points to his control, domination of the interaction.

Number of clauses: this is a quantitative representation of the clauses produced by each participant in the conversation. It reflects the number of contributions and the periods for which they took the floor. There is a very wide margin between the amount of speech produced by Xolani as opposed to Thibaza and Zoli. Zoli's case can be excused as he is more of a bystander in the conversation, but Thibaza's strikingly fewer number of clauses difference goes to show the dominatory role striven for by Xolani as the one with 'power' (e.g. turns 13, 16, 20). This difference could be seen as taking the conversation out of dialogue into a monologue'.

Declaratives: - declaratives are statements. The subject comes before the finite elements of the clause. They are used in giving information, hence in any conversation a speaker who seems to make more of these generally points to the level of control s/he has on the floor. Xolani produces more declaratives. Going by Eggins and Slade's (2004) interpretation, this means he initiated most of the exchanges and gave the most information. Thibaza's lower numbers further points to the complete control of the conversation enjoyed by Xolani. This also negates the marking of positive solidarity expected from shared values (as reflected in turns 6, 7, 8, and 9). This will be further debated when presenting the analysis of another 'official' interaction with Afrikaans L1 learners.

Polar interrogative: polar interrogatives are questions without the wh- marking. According to Eggins and Slade (2004), it is used to seek clarification, and the initiator either loses the floor or continues in the direction indicated by the information given by the respondent. The fact that Thabaza does not use any, while Xolani's polar interrogatives constitute 21.2% of the whole interaction further establishes the existence of shared values and beliefs about their respective roles. In the same vein, Xolani expresses a consciousness of the social implications of his way of speaking with the use of this mood (Taylor & Cameron, 1987 cited by Eggins & Slade, 2004). This choice displays a disinclination to affiliate.

Tagged declaratives: the tagged declarative is structured like the declarative mood but has a tag mood inflection. It becomes like an 'almost' polar interrogative. It has been used in analyzing gender roles in talk (Lakoff 1975 in Eggins & Slade, 2004) but for my purposes, the attention is on status role of each participant. Xolani did not make use of this mood anywhere in the conversation, but Thabaza made relative use

of it. Eggins and Slade (2004) opine that he uses this to gain Xolani's attention (to draw on their shared values) without appearing too vulnerable.

Wh-interrogative: Wh- interrogative are questions with the wh- word such as what, when, where, how, for what reason, and so on. In conversation, they are used to elicit additional information, challenge prior talk, or in some cases, wield command (Eggins & Slade, 2004). Xolani's use of wh- interrogative helps to situate the genre of the conversation (Bakhtin, 1986): being the prefect, he retains the right to interrogate Thibaza. This he did with the use of the wh- probes (turns 1, 18). He also used this to challenge Thibaza's noncompliance with the 'office rule' and to assert his official role (command). The wh- clauses were accompanied by a lot of adjuncts (circumstantial and textual) which are usually 'used to expand on the field of subject' (Eggins and Slade, 2004: 84). With this, Xolani was able to fully establish his command of the power to which the office represents.

Imperatives: the primary function of imperatives is to command (Thompson, 2004), to negotiate a compliant response. They typically do not contain the elements of subject or finite, just a predicator. The use of this mode points to the dominant position of such a participant in the conversation (Eggins & Slade, 2004: 88). Xolani's use of the imperative mood indexes his assumed prefect role (turn 6, 10) and his differentiation of it from Thibaza's in that context ('bhuti kwabanye abantwana', turn 19). Thibaza's effort at solidarity (turn 4) was dismissed in an encoded piece of advice (turn 13). The latter can be argued as Xolani's rejection of 'we- group' identification (Wei [date, sp?] in Auer, 1999).

Elliptical clauses: Elliptical clauses are clauses that could be termed subordinating clauses; they are responses, so constructed that they depend on prior information in order to form a full response. These can take the form of a response with embedded additional information (declarative ellipses) or questioning the turn (polar or wh-interrogative). In either case, the prior turn supplies the subject, finite and complements to complete the intended information. In the conversation, the ellipse that is worthy of note is the use of polar interrogative ellipses by Xolani. He uses this (turn 19) to question Thibaza's information on his big brother. This marks a solidarity function for him. As a participant covering all bases of the interaction and equally, directing the flow of the conversation.

Adjuncts: [define] Xolani produces as many circumstantial as textual adjuncts. This means that he is as concerned about adding extra details as in the coherence and continuity of the conversation (Eggs & Slade, 2004). The details were elaborated to ensure that Thibaza understood his status and role.

Most frequent subject choice: Xolani is mostly the subject of his own clauses and he speaks directly to Thibaza which reflects his control of the interaction. However, he also makes 'the office' the subject of his clauses. . Deductible from this is that he aligns his status as a prefect in the school to the symbolic power represented by the office. This he uses to justify his power and command Thibaza. Also, speaking directly to Thibaza and Zoli suggests some egocentricity in his role [how? Explain]. But then, this can equally be interpreted as 'status relation' and having confidence in the code of conduct, in other words, expertise (Harris & Rampton, 2003) (Eggs & Slade, 2004: 52). The use of the 3rd person singular further expresses the degree of affective involvement he has with his L1 group. Thibaza is the only one who appeals to the collective pronoun –'we' - to make his case with Xolani.

5.2.3 Summary

However, the above dialogue cannot be dismissed as *merely local significance to the situation* or event (Fairclough, 1995 p: 34). It scaffolds my argument on Xolani's inclination or disinclination to affiliate to other groups in the school through his linguistic capital. His encounter with other Xhosa L1 speakers (Table 5.1) in the same capacity as a prefect shows that he is not oblivious of the social implications of his mood choice (see further p. 36).

5.2.4. Inheritance?

Table 5.1 provides analytical evidence of Xolani's utilization of his linguistic assets in constructing his social status and affective involvement (the latter expanded upon in a comparative Afrikaans mood analysis further below) in the school. It buttresses the argument of the study in its challenge to the appropriateness of Rampton's (2003) modulated multilingual alignment to inheritance. For though Xolani categorically affirms his loyalty to his L1 (cf. Appendix D), he seems to condition this on the role he wants to portray, rather than the general social assumption on language hierarchy. I

shall expand on this in the next set of data, also taken from his officiating role in the school.

5.2.4 'Being official'

In this section, the aim is to provide a basis for comparing Xolani's identity enactment through his linguistic repertoire in different contexts. I say comparison because here, though the physical context is the same; that is, the small connecting gate erected to keep the seniors from intimidating the younger learners. Here he 'performs' his official role with Afrikaans rather than isiXhosa L1 speakers.

Again, some of the interlocutors are co-participants in the study. Other than Xolani, and Unathi in Grade 6, all the other participants were in grade 5 (Michelle and Nazli) while Raushan and Ryan were in grade 4 at the time this recording was made. It will be worth noting his conduct with his junior -- Raushan -- in contrast to that with Thabiza above.

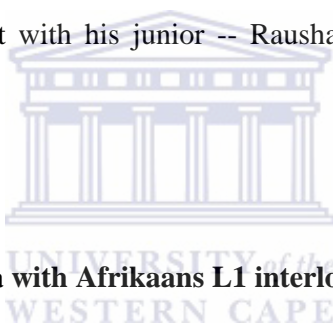


Table 5.5 Recreational data with Afrikaans L1 interlocutors

Turn	Speaker	Data	Translation/ clauses
1	Xolani	Hey you! The principal told you to come here?	
2	Ryan	yes	
3	Xolani	To do what?	
4	Ryan	(not clear)	
5	Xolani	And the others?	
6	Ryan	Just followed	
7	Xolani	Hayi kaloku Unathi ungakhe	(turning to another learner from his class knocking into

		ulinge uzimisele andiyondodakho.	him as he passes by)Wait now. Unathi don't get cheeky with me. I'm not your boyfriend
8	Unathi	Ndiyaphandle kaloku NDIYAPHANDLE	I'm going outside, I AM GOING OUTSIDE
9	Xolani	Ngenani, ngenani. [not clear]	Go in, go in.
10	Unathi	Ngobakutheni? Ndinentloko for music ngoku. Oh please Xolani ndiyacela.	Why? I got a headache can't go to music. Oh, please Xolani I plead.
11	Xolani	Ngxal'shethi yakho, ngxal'ishethi yakho, NGXALA.	Tuck in your shirt, tuck in your shirt, TUCK IT IN
12	Unathi	Ndiyay'ngxala.	I'm tucking it in. (hands on his shirt)
13	Xolani	Uba awuyingxali ndiyakukhupha. Ndiyayeka kengoku ukuthetha.Uzowbona, hambowtshiswa lilanga.	If you don't tuck it in I'm chucking you out. I will say no more now. You're going to see, go get sun burned.
14	Xolani	Molweni!, nizokuthini kwelicala?	[meets other learners] Hello!, what do you want this side?]
15	Nazli	Huh?	Huh?
16	Xolani	What is your problem with this side?	
17	Nazli	Nothing, we're just watching netball.	
18	Xolani	No you can't just come here and watch... netball.	

19	Michelle	Why not?	
20	Xolani	Because it's not allowed , because you're not allowed in the... in the foundation phase area. Understand what I'm trying to say guys so stand up and go. Don't you understand what I'm trying to say? Or must I = =	
21	Nazli	= = Why can those ...but us can... can't sit?	(making reference to turn 149- 159)
22	Xolani	They say ...they are waiting to play... to play netball	
23	Michelle	No, they praat kak.	No, they talk shit
24	Xolani	What is a kak? I don't know kak = =	
25	Nazli	Um,...eh, it's kak... Look here = =	Um, ...eh, it's shit... Look here
26	Michelle	If they can't go, I'm also not going to go because it's unfair.	
27	Xolani	Unfair for who? = =	
28	Ryan	= =THE PRINCIPAL SAY I MUST STAY HERE AND	

		WATCH NETBALL, UNDERSTAND ME? [They all laughed]	
29	Michelle	Ooh ya reh!	Really!
30	Xolani	(moving closer to Raushan) What are you talking about in English? What were you saying in English? You say you don't understand English but you're talking in English?...ha: ha:, jonga, Please don't talk about = = [School bell rings]	
31	Michelle	= = You see the bell is ringing but they are still sitting here. Just don't make a move `cause the stuff is gonna go away now.	
32	Xolani	They want Aunty Meme! (the netball coach)	
33	Nazli, Michelle & Raushan	Whooo-hoo see you when we see you ne. [scream and laugh]	
34	Xolani	Once upon a ti::me, ye::s	
35	All	Once upon a time! (laugh)... once upon a time (laugh)	
36	Michelle	Its not once upon a time, its once	

		off upon a time.	
37	Raushan	(Laughs very loud)	
38	Xolani	Why are you laughing?	
39	Raushan	Jy's mal	You're crazy
40	Xolani	I'm mal ne?	I'm crazy ne?
41	Raushan	No, you're not (laughs) [speaks in Afrikaans, not clear] you're not (laughs).	
42	Raushan	(looking at him) You're not	
43	Xolani	Now you're talking to be like that (not clear)	
44	Raushan	I'm sorry... Okay?.	
45	Xolani	No, I'm just talking to you= =.	
46	Raushan	(laughs) ==Why you only talking to me?	
477	Xolani	They say don't point fingers at people because when you point, four fingers point back at you... So don't point fingers.	

Table 5.3 above illustrates the dynamics of the bi-multilingual repertoire (Banda, 2005, Rampton, 2008). As mentioned in chapter 2, code switching is one of the resources by which the bi- or multilingual enacts identity (Auer & Wei, 2007).

Xolani, again transgressing the social perception on code, used Xhosa and not English (perceived H code) nor Afrikaans (accredited language of power in the school) in turn 30- 'jonga'- to enact authority. He seems to be saying to these interlocutors; 'I am ready for what ever you throw at me. The mood summary also tells a similar story.

Table 5.4 Summary of mood analysis

Afrikaans L1 interlocutors						
	Xolani	Ryan	Unathi	Nazli	Michelle	Raushan
number of turns	22	3	3	6	8	8
number of clauses	50	4	6	10	12	8
(incomplete clauses)	7	1				
Declarative: full	8 (16%)	1 (25%)	3 (50%)	1 (10%)	4 (33.3%)	
elliptical	4 (8%)	1 (25%)		2 (20%)		
incomplete	6	1		2	2	2
polar interrogative: full	3 (6%)					
elliptical	1 (2%)			2 (20%)		
tagged declarative: full	4 (8%)			1 (10%)	2 (16.7%)	3 (27.5%)
Elliptical		1 (25%)				
wh- interrogative: full	6 (12%)					
elliptical			1 (16.7%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
imperative	7 (14%)					
minor	4 (8%)			1 (10%)		
most frequent subject choice	You (Raushan)= 5			You (Xolani)=1	You (Xolani)=	You (Xolani)=

	(Ryan) = 1 (Unathi) = 4				2	4
	Principal = 2 Admin = 2	1				
				We = 2		
	I = 6		I = 6		I = 1	I = 1
	1 st person sg. = 3 3 rd person sg. = 1					
	2 nd person plural = 6	2 nd person plural = 1			2 nd person plural = 1	
	3 rd person plural = 4	1		3 rd person plural = 1	3 rd person plural = 3	
negation	1		1		1	2
adjuncts						
circumstantial						
interpersonal					1	
textual	5			2	2	
exclamation (full)	2		4		1	

The attitude displayed here would have been expected of him when dealing with an L1 group member. For here, looking at the grammatical pattern, there is more evidence of solidarity marking and minimal use of imperative mode.

5.2.5 Summarizing the grammatical patterns in Table 5.3.

Number of clauses: just like the interaction with the Xhosa L1 participants, Xolani has the largest volume followed by Michelle and Nazli. The contributions of Unathi, Raushan, and Ryan are proportionate with their roles in the conversation as bystanders. Notwithstanding, the number of clauses produced by Xolani once again signals a dominant role played in the conversation (Eggins & Slade, 2004).

Incomplete clauses: Incomplete clauses traditionally are the result of interruption from other speakers. CA analysts agree and further suggest that they are an indication of not having to compete for the floor. This analysis seems to hold for Table 5.3. The strength of the argument in the conversation (contributions from Nazli and Michelle) seems to be built on Xolani's uncompleted clauses. Their defensive and challenging moves are taken (like ellipsis) from Xolani's. Further, after each response or evaluative elaboration (Eggins & Slade, 2004), he makes an unchallenged comeback to the floor.

Declaratives: Xolani's complete control of the conversation can be deduced from his having the highest number of declarative moods. One could argue on the basis of differentiation with regard to the adjacency pair featured here, compared to that of table 5.1. But only four of the total declaratives made comes outside the main sequence with Nazli, Michelle, and Raushan. Secondly, with Ryan as connective between the pairs, the mood can still be interpreted thus [how?], for it is not an amorphous [without structure] conversation (Jefferson & Lee, 1992). It shows that his contribution in the conversation is more initiating than responsive. Of the girls, however, Michelle who shares the same number of turns with Raushan, has more value for her turns than Raushan (Eggins & Slade, 2004). For, unlike Raushan, she makes full comments rather than elliptical or incomplete reactions

Wh-interrogative: Again Xolani claims the role of one with authority with his use of the wh- interrogatives. However, the 'existential' number of wh-interrogatives from Nazli, Unathi, Michelle and Raushan to challenge his stance in a way negates a

relational affiliation. This is because, by using a large number of attitudinal vocabulary in the conversation (such as in turns 13, 20, 23, 24, 32), he maintained his position just as he did with the Xhosas. It goes to show his asymmetrical differentiation of ethnicity and linguistic capital. I shall expand on this argument later.

Polar interrogatives: Polar interrogatives, according to Eggins and Slade (2004), condition the initiator as dependent on the response of the other speaker. Xolani's initiation- 3 (turns 3, 20, 27) and Nazli's 1 (turns 21), can be interpreted to have two related meanings. First, Xolani is trying to make them understand his rejection of their offer. Secondly, and simultaneously, he uses this to signal solidarity or intimacy with the interlocutors.

Tagged declaratives: As mentioned during the mood analysis of the Xhosa participants, tagged declaratives are used to avoid asserting opinion (Lakoff, 1975). Xolani uses this mood as if he is trying to make them understand his reason for denying right of entrance and to soften his authority (turn 20). This 'understanding' also explains Raushan's usage, and the three girls' tagging in turn 33, with the use of the Xhosa emphatic 'ne'. In a collaborative way, they all tap into the special relationship between them. In comparison to his interaction in table 5.1, one may say that Xolani is affiliating towards the Afrikaans group, hence the softness. But let's have a look at the imperative mood before endorsing this interpretation.

Imperatives: The imperative mood as posited by the SFL paradigm is used to compel a response from other speakers. Other than Nazli who has one minor imperative mood (turn 25), none of the other speakers uses the mood. Interpretatively, Xolani's distinct use of this mood portrays him as the speaker with command (the prefect). Of notable difference is the higher number of imperatives here (14%) compared to the 9.6% in table 5.2. Even though he makes room to accommodate the speakers through the use of tagged declaratives, the imperatives still feature to affirm his role.

Most frequent subject choice: The equal number of personal pronouns used by both Unathi and Xolani signals a balanced involvement in the conversation. This role is further confirmed with Xolani opening (turn 7) and closing of the adjacency pair (turn 13). In SFL, Ryan, Michelle and Nazli's generalization with the use of second and

third person plurals would stress their lack of personal engagement: they argue, but at the same time allow for Xolani's control of the floor. Though Nazli made Xolani the subject, she also used the collective pronoun twice as subject, indicating a supportive orientation (Eggins & Slade, 2004).

Compared to table 5.1, which focuses on one single speaker, the talk here (table 5.3) is more evenly distributed among the four participants (although Raushan's inclusion is relatively sparse). However, the semantic pattern employed depends on the degree of affective involvement existing between them (Eggins and Slade, 2004). This affective involvement seems to mark the difference between the post 1994 learners and their progenitors. To many of these learners, language is a tool, while those before them perceived it as a marker of ethnic identity. To shed light on this, I shall take an analytical look at the interview with Xolani next.

5.2.6 Language, power and the interlocutor

Typically, in multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are highly complex. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p.1) point out, these are inseparable from all social variables such as ethno-linguistic power relations operating within the society. De Klerk (2000), Mesthrie (2000), Canagarajah (2006) and many others discuss the social prestige of English among the other ten languages that hold official status in South Africa. Surprisingly, as in most of his data, Xolani seems oblivious of English as a language of power. To him,

- 1) Xolani: it is **necessary** for me to use English when am answering question during the lesson that maybe is in English so I must answer in English. But during isiXhosa, am answering in [hand to the chest] my language. So if I answer in Xhosa, they will complain that ...why i:...what have you heard?... what, what, what are you saying...and all **that stuff**. So, I don't want to **be like that**. So that is why I'm Um.
- 2) R: who are they that will complain?
- 3) X: the others... the Afrikaans

English is rather seen as an inter-group language, customised by domain. Judging by his response in the same interview when I challenged his linguistic territorial

'marking' on English, the other learners can be said to create a similar territorial marking:

- 4) R: but some other learners answers in Xhosa?
- 5) X: because it's difficult for them to answer in...in English. After they answer in Isixhosa, the teacher will... will= =
- 6) R: = =interpret? = = or ask them to repeat in English?
- 7) X: = = yes...yes.
- 8) R: does the teacher ask them to interpret or does he interpret it himself?
- 9) X: he will interpret it himself. Even if you're trying English, he will say just try to talk English, then he will **do a favour** for you. Like some words, some other words.

The point I am trying to make here is that, Xolani's switches in codes in his conversation with the Afrikaans L1 speakers have connotative meanings (Abdulahi, 1979). For example, his use of Xhosa in turn 14 as an opening, from a CA point of view, may be interpreted as a proposition which *demand*s response (Eggins and Slade, 2004, p.194). But if we place this under the SFL lens, (Halliday, 1994, pp. 68-71), the choice of Xhosa spoken to participants when he is fully aware of their English-Afrikaans bilingualism can be seen as an expression of his perception and assertion of interpersonal relations.

The next section takes this further by employing the CDA tool in appraising the affective involvement and to further clarify the study's call for a broader framework for classifying bi- or multilingual identity enactment.

Constructing solidarity and affiliation: Involvement and appraisal

Halliday, in his reinterpretation of the CA's sequential implicativeness, argues that speakers, with their turns, position themselves and simultaneously assign a role to the listener (Halliday, 1994, as cited in Auer, 1999a). To do this, speakers sometimes employ humour, swearing, and slang. Rampton (2008) in his paper on the multilingual strategic avoidance of racism similarly argues that bi-multilinguals in settings where language is intertwined with ethnic identities use humour, metaphors, and in-group lexis (swearing, slang) to avoid racist tags. This desire to avoid explicit

racist tags is very apparent in intergroup relations in the JSE. As a reporter from SABC2 once said while reporting on a recent racial incident at the Free State University, 'we no longer talk race in this country'. The Afrikaans L1 learners, as seen in Xolani's interview extract, make reference to '**that stuff**' (line 1) and Michelle's response to Xolani in the recreational data in table 5.3 (turn 31). To consolidate his role in the school, as a Xhosa ethnic member, prefect, and friend to learners across races, he needs to be conscious of his lexis. To explore Xolani's not wanting to **be like that** (line 1), Eggins and Slade (2004) advise looking at the interpersonal semantics in his interaction. In the next paragraph, I shall try to correlate intent with his choice of words.

Looking at table 5.3, to construct solidarity with Unathi, Xolani tapped into their shared interpersonal world. In turn 7, he said that he was not Unathi's boyfriend (**andiyondodakho**). He said this while his hands were on Unathi's shoulders to stop him moving away. Before that clause, he 'warned' Unathi not to get 'cheeky' with him. According to Biber and Finnegan (1989, as cited in Eggins & Slade, 2004), Xolani's feelings and judgment concerning the propositional content of the message is embedded in his choice of word. Thus, the first clause -Unathi ungakhe ulinge uzimisele andiyondodakho- can be treated as the 'official' message, the foundation for turn 9 through the use of the word. it can be argue that this choice serves as a move to register his role as a prefect, with the power to compel a response. To support this, on move analysis, Eggins and Slade (2004) argue that interlocutors use expressions like that in turn 7 (humour) to 'get the listener(s) on-side' (p. 161). Xolani,'s choice of words orients the purported meaning on subject of discourse. In the interview, the word '**necessary**' (**line 1**) attests to his attitudinal judgment on the relevance of the English code to his existence. To him, it is marked by domain; each aspect of his life requires selective use of his repertoire. For instance, the class code of conduct is English and he, being a 'big boy' (table 5.1, turn 19), does not want any **favour** (line9) from the teacher. At home with his largely monolingual mother, Xhosa is the code because to her:

- 10) X: = = I didn't take it as a language **because my mother told me** that I must take Isixhosa as my first language. **She felt** that if I took Afrikaans it will **spoil me**.

11) R: spoil you how?

12) X: yes I will **undermine** my language just that I can talk Afrikaans, so that's why I didn't take Afrikaans. Anyway, I do **prefer** English as my second language. (Emphasis added for appraisal).

Nevertheless, assigning a code to the recreational domain is not without some challenges. Due to the ethno-linguistic set-up of the school, adhering to the mother's ideological stance would restrict his ability to engage in interactions in the school. As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, the principal, along with the main administrative staff are Afrikaans L1, as such, the (undocumented) language of power is Afrikaans. Thus, to relate with the group affiliated to the 'office', he sometimes employs humour. This is discussed in the next section.

Constructing solidarity and affiliation: Humour

Humour is used in casual conversation to make it possible for interactants to do serious work while being able to distance themselves from it (Eggins & Slade, 2004, p.166). It is a tool for making 'face' (Brown & Levinson, 1978). It portrays multiple (at least two) meanings, which in most cases, are opposing and operates within the same text. In other words, humour is polysemantic; 'serious' and 'non-serious' meanings can be recognized. Thus, to determine Xolani's orientation to the other ethnic group (Afrikaans), the role of this semantic pattern will also be analyzed.

In turn 14, of table 5.3, Xolani's 'molweni, greeting and 'nizokuthini kwelicala?' probe, as I hinted earlier, is an evaluative wh-interrogative. It is so structured because of an expected challenge (turn 19, 21, 26) to his stance and his non-affiliating orientation towards the group. To buttress this, in turn 20, he started the move with an elliptical declarative, proceeded with an incomplete declarative. A similar broken move happened in turn 22. It could be argued that these indicate affective orientation; however, in one of the interviews conducted to validate transcribed data from each participant, he said;

Xolani: The senior thing, if I come this side, I must not always smile because they will irritate you or they will make you irritable. They will just make you to be... because they are doing something that I do not know, they are old but they pretend as

if they are the young ones. But when I am there at that side I just feel I just smile. Not at this side they are very old and they must know what to do

Interviewer: They don't know what to do?

Xolani: No they pretend as they are the young ones

Interviewer: They pretend? (Both laughing)

Xolani: (still laughing) they pretend as they are the young ones, I do not know how to put it.

His selective mood paralleled in his choice of code and style is taken as a necessary skill to perform his official duty. It is an occasioned performance, and not an ideological conception.

Of notable interest is the closing he gives to each official encounter. To Unathi, he said 'go get sun burn' (taken from Thibaza's refusal in table 5.1). For apart from Ryan, prior to meeting the Afrikaans L1 girls, a group of Xhosa L1 girls also came to stand by the foundation phase gate with the same excuse of being invited to join netball (that is why the Afrikaans girls kept using the 3rd person singular in table 5.3) and the equally talked of getting sunbath. To the Afrikaans girls, it is 'once upon a time' (table 5.3). It seems that he design his encounters to end on a light mood with the learners. The use of humour also featured in turn 23 of table 5.3. Here, rather than pick a fight on the use of the Afrikaans, derogatory, dismissive lexis 'kak', he responded with an interrogatory mood, feigning ignorance of the implications of the word. The scope of the study limits the number of data/sequence analyzed so I am not able to discuss this other interaction in detail. However, I hope that the analysis of Xolani's discursive and semantic patterns in the next section will help to identify his linguistic strategies for construction of status.

5.2.5 Affiliation?

The analysis above displays the dynamics of this multilingual interaction. Even though Xolani employs no vocatives, and rather uses more ellipses here, he still maintains the same level of imperative and wh- interrogative as with the Xhosa

interactants. His stylistic command of status with Unathi through humour is an added argument to his distinct appraisal of ethnic identity. The consistency of this reaction with the Afrikaans L1 speakers further confirms that he is not affiliating towards the perceived language of power in the micro-setting (school).

5.3 Xolani the colleague

Banda (2005, p. 218) urges us not to assign a priori categorizations on identity. He asserts that 'identity is created and designated during interaction and used as a resource'. So far, the study has shown how the learners' identity is made relevant to two of Rampton's postulation. The third category specified by Rampton is 'expertise'. This will be considered in relation to data in this section to bring the argument full circle.

Xolani, in the validation interview carried out to check my interpretation of some of his recordings, affirmed that expertise in English was not a prerequisite for being a prefect in the school. But then his disregard of his mother's opinion and his acceptance of the school's suggestion that he change from the Xhosa medium of instruction class to the English one may be interpreted as carrying a special touch for the language. After all, he did say: 'I do prefer English as my second language'. More so, he seems to exhibit a good command of English compared to his Xhosa L1 and Afrikaans L1 colleagues. So I decided to cast a litmus paper on his perception of English.

To do this, I used a classroom recording made at Xolani's worktable while in his multi-grade class. The data is appropriate as the teacher literally told the grade 6 learners to engage their linguistic capital in discussing the task. The teacher gave the Grade 6 learners (after a spelling exercise) the task of itemizing the products placed on each table. They were to work in groups but to make individual submissions. Xolani's group consisted of Ismail, Zolile, and Khanyisa, a female classmate. The analysis is done using Halliday's (1994) prescribed functional-systemic mode of describing a dialogic structure in an explicit and quantifiable way. His four basic speech functions are used to explore how the three boys, Xolani, Ismail, and Zolile, negotiate moves and control the floor using their repertoires.

Figure 4 Speech roles and commodities in interaction

Speech role	Commodity exchanged	
	Information	Goods-and-Services
Giving	statement	offer
Demanding	question	command

(Source: Eggins and Slade, 2004: 181 based on Halliday 1994: 69)

Halliday (1994, p. 69) posits that interaction is a *giving and demanding* situation, and the mode of giving reflects on the (next) demand and vice versa. The choice of responding moves is constrained by the initiating move that has just been made (Eggins & Slade, 2004). I shall expand on this when discussing the analysis of table 5.1. However, I have to note that the switch in code or prosodic variations (in Xhosa language) that can be linked to a difference in English is also considered in allocating the speech functions. For example the articulation of English words using Xhosa pronunciation. Moreover, to aid semantic discourse analysis, the responses are linked to their initiating function with the use of the first letter of the initiator's name slash the move. For example, a response to Xolani's particular turn will be attached to the speech function, as (X/109).

Below are the teacher's instructions on what they are expected to do while she continues with another lesson with the grade 5 learners. The focus is on the discussion among these learners; hence the teacher's lesson with the other grade will be omitted in the analysis.

T: Grade 6 you have different types of objects in front of you. What I want you to do for me; I want you to look closely at the objects in front of you ...Try and observe what it can be, either chips or a plastic container or whatever. As you see, you write down everything that you can observe. Some of you have one, those of you who have two must now indicate this information is for this and

the other one is for this and then you write, ne? Five minutes, we talk about it and then we write. You can use your language of choice.

Table 5.6 Classroom data

Turn	Speaker	Talk	Speech function
1	Xolani	You can use your language even Italian wara, wara, wara. Even (not clear)... even Chinese.	offer
2	Ismail	Heh! (light laugh)	acknowledgement
3	T	[Talking to a learner] Stop drawing on the board; we have renewable and non-renewable resources.	
4	Khanyisa	(talking to Zoliswa) Uzakuyithini iten cents yam [what do you need ten cents for?]	question
5	Xolani	Ndifun'ipen. (not clear) [I need a pen]	statement
6	Teacher	When we say renewable what kind of resources are we talking about? The kind of resource we talk about when we say renewable Thulani is what kind of resources? Stop Thulani stop, stop, stop. If we say a resource is renewable what do we mean? If we say it is renewable Thulani what do we mean?	
7	Thulani	: It can be used again	
8	Teacher	You can use it again. If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? What does that mean?	
9	Zolile	[Speaking to his friends at the next table] What do we say? What do we say? ...Hayi ke apha, (not clear) hayi ke apha kule group. [No, not here, ... not in this group]	refusal
10	Teacher	If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? What does that mean?	
11	Xolani	I, I, I think (not clear)	offer

12	Zolile	I thi:nk it is manufacture= =.	acceptance
13	Teacher	= = What happened to the resource along the way?	
14	Zolile	= = I see a picture of chips	Statement
15		(other laughs)	
16	Zolile	I see mielies, I see mielies.= =	statement
17	Ismail	= =Fruit chutney	offer
18	Xolani	= = Maize.	rejection
19	Zolile	Yinntoni? [What?]	disclaimer
20	Xolani	Milize	Compliance
21	Zolile	Yimialies, yimieliies. [It's mielies, it's mielies.]	Command
22	Xolani	Jonga yimaize leyo [Look that is maize].	Refusal
23	Zolile	Hayi yimieliies Xolani [No it's mielies Xolani]	Rejection
24	Ismail:	Mielies	Acknowledgement(z/23)
25	Zolile	ndithi mna yimieliies [I say mielies]	Command
26	Ismail	[sings] Me::ali::es::	Acknowledgement
27	Xolani	mielies	Acceptance
28	Ismail	Must we write the date?	Question
29	Zolile	No we never write the date, just write a chip	Answer
30	Ismail	Hey man, what type resource is chips?	Question
31	Zolile	okay= =	Acceptance
32	Xolani	= =Siza kwenza njani (not answering the question). [How are we going to do this?]	Question
33	Zolile	Wakhe wayibona a wena i-date kwincwadi zika Miss? Wakhe wayibona a wena i-date kwincwadi zika Miss? Kwinotes? Oh. [Have you seen the date from the teacher's note]	Offer

34	Ismail	How much is the date?	Question
35	Zolile	How much is the date? R20.	Command
36	Ismail	(laughs) Hahaha R23... Hey, Xolani ?	Answer/offer
37	Xolani	Mhmm?	Question
38	Ismail	Do you know how much is the date? [no answer]	Question
39	Teacher	(continuing with grade 5 lesson) Now let's give examples of renewable resources. Give me an example of renewable resources.	
40	Zolile	Yintoni kanene le khayinsa? [What is it again kayinsa?]	Rejection
41	Ismail	Bar code	Statement
42	Xolani	Weight.	Statement
43	Ismail	Bar code.	Statement
44	Zolile	Ayo bar code... ibar code, nantsi ibar code. [It's not a bar code... a bar code, here is a bar code].	Contradiction
45	Ismail	Kilograms!	Statement
46	Zolile	yeah	Acknowledgement
47	Teacher	That is very loud man!.	command
48	Ismail	Sorry Miss.	compliance
49	Zolile	Additional information.	Statement
50	Teacher	An example of food that is renewable. Give me an example.	
51	Xolani	(To his friends) Ndiyi bona a imaize uba ngumbona a, ndibona a umbona a. Ufuna ndithethe i-Afrikaans? Ndibona a umbona a. [I see maize (maize in Xhosa), I see maize. Do you want me to speak Afrikaans? I see maize.]	Offer/ command
52	Zolile	You most bala, ngumbona, umbona la?	Refusal
53	Ismail	You must write here ney? I see maize	Command
54	Xolani	Ndibona :a Umbona.. (writing) [I see maize].	Compliance

55	Ismail	fruit chutney?	Question
56	Xolani	ndibona Umbona [I see maize]	Statement
57	Zolile	I see mielies	Contradiction
58	Ismail	Oh ho lombo:na:: [Imitates ladies that sell mielies]	Statement
59	Xolani	I see maize	Statement
60	Zolile	milies	Contradiction
61	Xolani	maize	Refusal
62	Ismail	Yimielies leya. [that is mielies]	Acceptance(z/60)
63	Xolani	maize	Refusal
64	Ismail	You see the lady who works here says. “Mie::li:es:: Mie::li::es:: ubo:na eh::, ubo;na::	Acknowledgement (z/60)
65	Xolani :	Uyaphosisa wena. [You lie.]	Disclaimer
66	Zolile	Yivule mfondini uzoyibona ishushu. [Just open it my friend and you will see its hot!]	Command
67	Xolani	Intoni? ...i see chips [what?...] CAPE	Statement
68	Ismail	chips, no I see mielies = = ubona a yeh, ubona a [...this is mielies]	Contradiction
69	Zolile	: = No, I see mielies	Contradiction (x/67)
70	Xolani	I see mielies.	Acceptance
71	Zolile	I see mielies... and the name of the chips.	Statement
72	Ismail;-	that's right ney?	Offer
73	Xolani	hey, weight, = = wait yenh...umm [checking the product] = = yes	Command
74	Ismail;-	= =yes, weight	Compliance
75	Ismail:	That's t right. = =Yes?	Acceptance
76	Xolani	I see mielies and weight, ingredients, guarantee, bar	Statement

		code, barcode and the = =name of the chips.	
77	Zolile	= = name of the chips	Acknowledgement
78	Ismail	weight? = =	Offer
79	Xolani ;-	= = ingredient, guarantee, bar code	Statement
80	Zolile	Khawuyibhale phantsi lento uyithethayo. [Please write down what you're saying.]	Command
81	Xolani	I see mielies and weight, ingredients, guarantee, = = bar code,	Statement
82	Zolile	= =Expiry date.	Statement
83	Xolani	National information er manufactur:ers = =	Statement
84	Ismail	= = And the name of the chips = =	Statement
85	Xolani	= = And the name of the chips...Good.	Acknowledgement
86	Xolani	and the color	Question
87	Ismail	And the color is green (not clear)	Answer
88	Zolile	icolor	Statement
88	Xolani	And the color.	Contradiction (z/87)
89	Ismail	the color is green and there is a place = =	Statement
90	Zolile	I see mielies and the weight... ha-a bona andingayibeki la 'and' mandiske ndibeke lawey... I see mielies and the weight... no let me not put in that 'and' I should just out that thing.	Offer
91	Xolani	eh: eh: siti:...Yintoni na lanto kanene? ismail at is is this? [...What is that thing again?]	Command
92	Ismail	What?	Question
93	Zolile	What is this?	Question
94	Ismail	The gram	Compliance (x/91)
95	Zolile	The weight,...I see mielies, weight,... ndibhale uweight?	Refusal (I/94)

96	Ismail	Comma weight?	Question
97	Xolani	Weight= =	Answer
98	Ismail	= =comma... hu:..WAO, where is weight	Offer
99	Xolani	emm ingaurantee= =	Statement
100	Zolile	= =Ha-a this is wrong...(looking at his book)	Offer
101	Xolani	ndibhale ntoni? [What should I write?]	Question
102	Ismail	Weight	Answer (x/101)
103	Khayisa	(talking to learners at the next table) na we [and you?]	Offer
104	Xolani	Weight, emm	Offer
105	Ismail	comma	Statement
106	Xolani	comma Ingredients.	Contradiction (I/105)
107	Zolile	Ingredients,...ingredients, manufacture = =manufacture	Acknowledgement (x/107)
108	T	(To grade 5 learners) = =Which part is renewable and which part is non- renewable?	
109	Xolani	Continuation of the sequence) and I guarantee...	Statement
110	Zolile	date of expire	Contradiction(x/10 9)
111	Ismail	date expire	Acceptance (z/110)
112	Zolile	Idate yona? [What about the date?]	Command
113	Xolani	Iguarantee.	Statement
114	Zolile	Ipi date?	Question
115	Xolani	Ayikho, igurantee	Answer (z/114)
116	Ismail	This is the date, the expiry date.	Disclaimer (x/ 115)
117	Zolile	Expiring date?	Question
118	Xolani	No expiring date. Khawuthi...iguarantee. [No expiring date. Let's see. ...guarantee.]	Answer (z/117)
119	Xolani	ubhal'isentence uKhanyisa beth'nana... Nutritious	Statement

		information. [Khanyisa is writing sentences... Nutritious information].	
120	Zolile	Bendimxelele abhali into yakhe, umntu angabhali into efanayo (not clear) = = [I told her not to write her thing, and people should not write similar things.]	Command
121	Ismail	What is she writing?	Question
122	Zolile	khawuveze? (he flips through what she has written) [Let me see]	Command
123	Ismail	woa	Acknowledgement (z/120)
124	Xolani	uKhanyisa beth'nana [ho Khanyisa]	Acknowledgement (z/120)
125	Khayisa	(not clear)	
126	Ismail	moenie lieg nie (Afrikaans) [Don't lie]	Command (k/125)
127	Xolani	(picking up the product again) Nutrient information	Statement
128	Ismail	Nutritinal information= =...	Contradiction (x/127)
129	Zolile	= = Heh? Nutrient information and nutritional information... And andiyazi ngoku [..i don't know now]	Offer
130	Xolani	(taking the product) kandi bone? [let me see]	Statement
131	Xolani	Bar code... manufacturer.	Statement
132	Khayisa	Yima ndizakuxelela= =	Statement
133	Ismail	Nutritional information.	Statement
134	Khayisa	Heh?	Question (I/133)
135	Zolile	Nutritional information.	Answer (k/134)
136	Xolani	balise entu kalise, metu nana	Command

137	Ismail	I will tell her	Compliance (x/136)
138	Zolile	nutritional information	Acceptance (I/133)
139	Xolani	nutritional information	Acceptance (z/138)
140	Ismail	nutritional information	Answer (k/134)
141	Xolani	Emm...	Offer
142	Zolile	ibarcodes	Acceptance (x/141)
143	Xolani	manufacturer	Contradiction
144	Xolani	Bar code... and barcode	Statement
145	Ismail	Not “and”; bar code, comma bars code.	Contradiction (x/144)
146	Xolani	And the name of the chips.	Command
147	Ismail	And?	Question (x/146)
148	Xolani	And the name of the chips.	Answer (I/147)
149	Zolile	And the colour.	Answer (I/147)
150	Ismail	And the manufacture.	Answer (I/147)
151	Zolile	Hayi, just leave the manufacture [No]	Contradiction (I/150)
152	Zolile	... bala icolor [...write the colour]	Command
153	Ismail	And the name of the chips.	Question
14	Zolile	And the name of the... chips.	Answer
155	Khanyisa	[Sings that she wants to be a Simba Chippie].	Statement
156	Ismail	Are you writing a poem?	Question (k/155)
157	Xolani	Sesigqibile apha. [We're finished here.] (noise)	Statement
		End of group discussion	

5. 3.1 Negotiating the code of conduct

The beauty of this discussion in Table 5.3 lies in the humorous way the conceptual argument is being played out. Maize, in 'deep' isiXhosa is known as 'Umbona' and in the urban version; it is referred to as 'mielies', a borrowing from Afrikaans. Here Xolani seems to be once again correlating code with domain. To him, they should focus on the maize used in making the chip snack given to them and not the 'comb' mielies sold by the street vendor. Zolile on the other hand, also of Xhosa L1, operates on a concept-meaning relation. He tends to affiliate the task at hand to what he already know in his L1 to analysis the lesson. Between the two, Ismail, an Afrikaans L1, is made the middleman who either accepts, acknowledges, or offers a truce. Khanyisa, is, unlike the other three, a girl and also Xhosa L1. She was the first scribe before they all decided to take individual notes.

Xolani starts in English (turn 11), Zolile accepts, (turn 12-14) but initiates Xhosa in turn 16. Ismail makes an offer of (English) 'fruit chutney in turn 17. Xolani rejects Zolile's Xhosa (Mielies) and Ismail's offer at first (turn 18), but complies with Zolile in turn 20. Xolani tries again in turn 22 which Zolile rejects (turn 23) and Ismail acknowledges Zolile's stance (turn 24). Both go on to make their case (turns 25-26), but again Xolani concedes to Xhosa at the end of the adjacency pair (turn 27).

Ismail opens another English pair in turn 28 and in turn 32, one could say Xolani is making another go at changing the code, but the move is a question expressing his confusion about how to proceed. Here, I argue the use of Xhosa is as a result of it's being the language in which emotions and moral values were acquired and registered (Pavlenko, 2002). Xolani equally realizes this deviation from the lesson at hand in turn 42 and switches back to English. Going back to the three boys' chess moves, in turn 51, Xolani makes another English offer to Zolile and Ismail. Zolile responds with a refusal while Ismail (turn 54) commands him to write what he likes, and so he does (turn 54). Once more, Ismail tries a fresh opening (turn 55), but Xolani refuses to budge (turns 59, 61, 63, 69). But Zolile equally stands his ground on 'mielies', enjoying Ismail's support (turns 62, 64, and 68). His appeal to Ismail (turn 67) is contradicted (turn 68) and he again concedes in turn 70, only to try a new approach.

After failing to co-opt Ismail to his side, Xolani opts for a mixed-code approach. He now uses both Xhosa and English (turns 76, 81) in his initiating moves (statements). He even uses Xhosa intonation to hold on to the floor (Eggins & Slade, 2004, p. 188). This yields him positive responses from Ismail (turns 84, 87, 89) and Zolile has to look for a seconder (turns 87, 90).

5.3.2 Summary

From the above, it can be argued that Xolani is very much conscious of the negotiating power of his repertoire. In the same vein, he also comes across as one who employs this ticket to construct different identities. We can conclude that he does not seem to view these identities as static but rather fluid, with each facet complementing the other.

5.3.3 Expertise?

So far, the pattern above, follows Rampton's (2003) assertion with regard to bi- or multilinguals' identification with the language of expertise. It is obvious that Xolani is more proficient in English than the other two (especially Zolile). The logical conclusion is that he would want to impress upon them his performative difference. Zolile too could be said to be doing the same with Xhosa, his L1. The argument on Zolile can be backed by his comment when I expressed surprise on knowing that he has been a student of Afrikaans since Grade 4. He says the L1 Afrikaans speakers mock his Xhosa L1 interference. As such, he desists from using Afrikaans in the school; either in the class or outside it. Ismail is obviously the silent participant as he engages his entire repertoire in this interaction (turns 126, 62, and 68). So, asserting Rampton's language of expertise on him would not be a solid conviction. But if we say his identity enactment here (Afrikaans for emotions, English and Xhosa to negotiate between Xolani and Zolile) is influenced by and drawn (appellate) from all the different facets of his repertoire, then, we would have given a comprehensive description of his language use here. As for Xolani, before a conclusion can be drawn, there are some factors that needed to be highlighted.

First, ethnographically, the interaction is a 'class talk', and as Eggins and Slade (2004) point out, social context helps to determine the choice of language and

therefore, information (statements) should be in English which is the official code for the class. Group deliberations leading up to the answer (thanks to the teacher) can be made in Xhosa (turns 22, 32, 51, 65, 91, 101, 118, 119, 130, 136, 157) or Afrikaans (turns 126, 173). This Xolani is quite aware of this and adheres to (interview extract above).

Below is an extract of a lesson in Xolani's class illustrating the code of conduct and to further argue on his use of English as reason other than language of expertise as suggested by Rampton (2003).

Table 7.5 Class talk in English MOI

158	Teacher	(Back to Grade 6) Okay, what did we notice there?
159	Xolani	The colour is green
160	T	people with the chips, what is there?
161	Ismail	the colour is green
162	Teacher	Grade 6! ... 40 minutes is over.
163	Xolani	And the chips are yellow
164	Ismail	And the flavour... And the flavour is...
165	Xolani	The chips are yellow. ...and...= =
166	Ismail	= =the flavour... = =
167	Xolani	= = the ... flavour
168	Ismail	Is:: the fruit chutney... (noise from grade 4)
169	Xolani	Fruit chutney.
170	Ismail	Let me see; let me see how you spell it. Let me see.
171	Xolani	The name of the chips...
172	Zolile	The name of the chips is Snack Attack... Snack Attack
172	Ismail	the name of the chips(noise)
173	Ismail	Oooh! Ek het mos vergeet the name of the chips. [Oooh! I have forgotten the name of the chips.]
174	T	(Back to teacher) What have you notice about this cabbage?.. One thing,

		Vuziwe that you have noticed. One thing you will have noticed- we write in one page. Besides the plastic that you will have picked up because some of the people they use paper to package it. The other stuff that is noticeable about the stuff that is on your table. What did you write down Yolanda?
--	--	---

Secondly, looking at the quantitative analysis (Table 5.6) of the speech functions in table 5.5, Xolani's status relation here orients towards that of a normal conversation among friends with equal status. Eggins and Slade (2004, p.183), while relating speech function to role status, maintain that *social roles constrain grammatical choices*; consequently, speech function is an alignment to a typical mood structure. The mood choice here is quite different from that used when constructing the role of a prefect.

Table 5.8 Summary of speech functions

Speech functions	Typical mood structure	Xolani	Zolile	Ismail	Khanyisa
Offer	Modulated interrogative	6	3	5	1
Acceptance		3	4	3	-
Rejection		1	2	-	-
Command	Imperative	5	9	2	-
Compliance		2	-	3	-
Refusal		3	3	-	2
Statement	Declarative	18	7	7	-
Acknowledgement		2	3	5	-
Contradiction		3	6	3	2
Question	Interrogative	4	3	11	-
Answer		4	4	5	-
Disclaimer		1	1	1	-

The moods here affirm Xolani's role in the conversation. He produces more declaratives than the other three. These points to his giving the highest amount of

information compared to the others. Zolile has the highest number of imperatives confirming my earlier suggestion of his expertise in Xhosa (since most of his declaratives are in Xhosa). Ismail's interrogative mood surpasses that of the other remaining participants. I relate this to the moderator role he played between Xolani and Zolile. He constantly asks for clarification from both of them on each move made.

Now, to conclude on Xolani's status orientation, an analysis of the ratio of his rejections, refusals, and disclaimers in relation to those of the others shows that he was not enacting a hierarchical status (prefect) role as in tables 5.1 and 5.2. In addition, modulated interrogatives subject the speaker's information to scrutiny by the other participants. Thus, the fact that Xolani had the highest number shows that his status orientation here was not to dominate or to impress with his expertise. Further, it situates the interaction as a discussion with each of the participants having equal status.

5.3.4 Negotiating a new centre

The various interactions analysed above demonstrate the intricacy of the relationship between language and ethnic identity. Each usage seems to come with an in-group (socio-cultural) interpretation; hence the learners had to find an appropriate response to balance the scale on a space, topic, and participant continuum. Even when the convergent code, English, or the language of expertise is being used, each interactant still traverses semantically his or her repertoire. In this way, Xolani and his companions can be seen to negotiate a new centre from the periphery.

5.4 Conclusions

So far, this chapter has provided evidence to argue that the enactment of identities by Xolani and his co-participants confirms the hypothesis set at the beginning of the study that the uses of linguistic capital by young bi-/multilinguals are considerably different from those of the previous generation. The import of the social context on grammatical patterns and the ways in which both individual uses and perceptions translate into social roles have equally been highlighted. The analysis and inferences draw heavily on the relation established between language and the multicultural context in which the learners co-exist. Invariably, the bi-or multilingual learners'

individual ‘identification’ with the existing codes seems to traverse the three categorizations highlighted by Rampton, depending on context and co-participants. However, in this context the fluidity involved in a bi- or multilingual speaker’s decision on the selection of code from his/ her linguistic basket demands a broader and more flexible range of categorization than that suggested by Rampton (2003).

Appellation: Ascribing identity to self and others

While Rampton noted the possible overlapping of loyalty and affiliation, I would like to argue that in this emergent multilingual setting, affiliation cuts across inheritance and expertise. For at every point in time and place, a bi-multilingual orients to a particular identity. However, unlike Rampton’s ‘closed’ type of affiliation, the study maintains that bi- or multilinguals orient or affiliate to an identity with the aid of another.

Further, post-structuralist approaches to identity have described social identity as a multifaceted phenomenon (Bloome et al., 2005). In relation to linguistic identity, Alev Tekinay (1997 cited in Kaikkonen, n.d., p. 3) relates that

with two languages I was two different persons, I had a Turkish and a German self that were continually in conflict with each other and never agreed to reconciliation. The third language, neutral, is like an unwritten page and it acts as a mediator, through which peace is restored. It is my third self, and it is like a new stage of life.

Therefore, as amply illustrated in my data, a (multilingual) identity is never linear or mono-faceted. Heller (2007, p. 11) in her discussion of identity as a social practice argues that ‘the speech of bilinguals goes against the expectations that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains and stay put where they are meant to stay put’. As Xolani’s linguistic practices have shown, there exists an ongoing complementing and contrasting exploitation and often conscious selection of all forms of linguistic capital to negotiate roles in each context. Identity is thus more about ‘doing’ than ‘being’ and is the outcome of engagement and social practices mediated by language (Butler, 1993; Weedon, 1997). It is however still constrained by social structures as evidenced in Xolani’s

awareness of the power and influence of the office and the constraints on communication in the classroom context.

From this perspective, I would like to suggest a revised notion of ‘appellation’ (Bloome et al., 2005) to characterise the agentic nature of Xolani’s identity construction through language. Bloome and his co-authors describe appellation as belonging to a more essentialist understanding of identity and understand it as a label ascribed by others. However, from a post-structuralist perspective one can see Xolani’s conscious, agentic use of his multilingual repertoire as a way of implicitly calling up a desired role in a particular context.

This redefined understanding of ‘appellation’ can act as a complement to Rampton’s three categories of inheritance, affiliation and expertise. In the next chapter, I will synthesise all my findings in an attempt to answer my research questions. I will also point out the possible implications of these findings along with some recommendations for various stakeholders in education.



CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

From the foregoing, the research has shed light on the peculiar multilingual context of the learners in JSE. Various theoretical paradigms on the implications of this setting for the linguistic capital of the learners have been explored, based on the findings which were interpreted on the basis of three different but related analytical tools. Now, in this chapter, I shall try to make a correlation of all these aspects and link them to my research questions.

The chapter starts with answers on the question on the defining factors for the choice of code within and outside the class. This is followed by answers to the first and second research questions, that is, the questions on how the learners use their linguistic resources to negotiate new identities in multilingual settings, and how these resources impact on their processes of identity formation. The two are addressed under the same heading because of their intertwined nature. The learners' language use and identity negotiation is purposive. The intended or desired status guides the choice of code and grammatical patterns that adequately situate them in that role (Halliday, 1994).

In a similar pattern, the fourth research question on the implications of these factors and negotiations on learning policy and practice is noted as the discussion unfolds. However, the research contribution to this is given under the session on recommendations and conclusion. Again, it should be noted here that, the issue of MOI as spelt out in the educational policy is one that requires a full and separate investigation. The aim here is to attest to a connection between bi/multilingual language ideologies, practices and national educational policy (Heller, 2007). Thus, an elaborate research into the implication is intended in the near future.

6.1 The defining factors: The defective MOI policy

JSE is one of the pilot schools for the Western Cape's Language Transformation Plan in which learners can be taught in a language of their choice until the end of Grade 6. As such, one of the teachers was sent in for training at the university and given necessary workshops to be the language co-coordinator in the school. Her task was to ensure the effective use of the mother tongue in the foundation phase and in some subject areas at the intermediate and senior phases. The school used dual medium at the intermediate phase to introduce learners to the English class. This was how learners like Xolani got baptised into the English instructional class.

Ms. Cecil also assisted the teachers in scaffolding lessons using Xhosa and Afrikaans alike. As for the parents, through questionnaires and regular correspondence, she advised them on (instructional) language-related matters. Though, the major challenge to her office was the limitation of text books in Xhosa, her power seems limited mostly by contextual factors.

6.1.1 The ambiguity

First, the school decided to place together in same grade 7 all the learners coming from the Xhosa MOI and Afrikaans MOI alike. The explanation given by the school for this was that it facilitates class talk. However, as Auer (1999) says, interlocutors' shared code is a major factor for code-switching. The majority code in each class sways the code of conduct away from the institutionalised code. In grade 7c, the teacher code-switches in Xhosa during lessons to the detriment of the five Afrikaans L1 Learners coming from the multi grade, English class. The import of this is seen in Xolani's interview and reference to 'what, what' (line 1) enquiry when answer is given in Xhosa.

6.1.2 Overgeneralization

Secondly, the L1 of a bilingual has been argued to come to the fore in favourable interactive situations (Wei, 1998). The three grade 7 classes all have teachers having the same L1 with 98% of their learners. As a result, grade 7c which comprises of learners from the English multi-grade, now have lessons in 90% Xhosa code. Apart

from Lebo (with Sotho L1), both grade 7a and b class, are perfect Afrikaans and Is Xhosa classes. All the efforts made by the language coordinator to institute a redress proved abortive.

However, to make up for this, the school tries to enter into a gentleman's agreement with the neighbouring high schools to provide for an illegitimate mother tongue grade 8 class for these learners the following year. So in a way, there is a big disjunction between the educational policy and practice. It is anyone's guess the impact of this on junior and senior school results in years to come.

Outside the class, learners are free to engage any of the three codes represented in the school, and in most cases, the linguistic composition of the interlocutors channels the grammar (standard code or otherwise). The fact that most of the learners' are bi-multilingual adequately provides for the metafunction engagement of their repertoire. True to Myers-Scotton's (1993) claim, the code dominating the managerial posts is perceived as the language of power in the school. As such, the learners usually code-switches to Afrikaans in conflict situations.

6.1.3 Recontextualised

Still on the use of the learners' repertoire in the school, another notable finding is the 'form' of the language used in the school. Stroud and Jaffe 2001), cited in Heller (2007: 32), discussing linguistic practices and ideologies in former colonial countries, identified colonial entrenched language perception. They say, the language in practice is usually considered as 'dialects', corrupt, and inadequate forms of speech' while the standardised language is deemed essential (Makoni, 1998). The language variant used for teaching in JSE is quite different from the hybrid spoken in the community for which the school was established. The parents and teachers seem oblivious of the impact of this difference. To the teachers, the standard variant is the bona fide language. They feel that the learners will perform better if the parents do more to assist their wards in academic literacy. The parents, on the other hand, perceive the variant as civilised coding of their linguistic identity. This can be explained on the low educational status of most of these caregivers but not their socio-historical entrenched language stratification ideology. According to the principal, the parents' choice on MOI for their ward is not a decision based entirely on the learners'

development; rather, it is to reconnect a personal lost opportunity. Mothers who could not hold a conversation in English, signs the school's questionnaire, claiming English to be the language used in the home domain of the child. Taking Zoliswa as an example, her mother grew up in Graff Reinet; in predominantly Afrikaans speaking area. Her marriage brought her back into the Xhosa fold in Cape Town, and the challenges of marrying the two cultures. She insisted on Zoliswa taking isiXhosa as a second language even though she and her siblings are very fluent in Afrikaans.

6.1.4 Summary

The various (agentive) factors that that define the use and choice of code in and outside the class have been discussed earlier in chapters 4 and 5. The factors revolve around the national educational policy, through the language coordinator, the school language management strategy, the parents' socio- historical entrenched language ideology, and the learner's ethno-linguistic relation within the school. However, the above points to the ambiguity involve in interpreting the policy, the over generalization of bi/ or multilingual identity, and lastly, inadequate sociolinguistic considerations on the part of the policy makers.

Next, I shall be making a submission to the question on how the learners use their linguistic capital to navigate out of these factors and the implications on their identity construction.

6.2 Learners' linguistic repertoires: Orienting identity - Tool or Label?

The language perception of the learners, as expected, is different from that of their parents. To the learners, language is identified with usage while the parents view it in two distinctly different ways. The first opinion sees language as a license to ethnic identity while the second perceives language in a hierarchical way. That is, one language is more important than the other. It then follows that the language attachment of the learners is different from that of their parents. However, the educational policy gave the parents autonomy on choosing the language of instruction for their wards. Thus, the disparity, effects on the learners in school. Most of the learners acquire or employs their repertoire to navigate out of this ideological constituted constrain.

6.2.1 Selective engagement.

To learners like Ensha, who has to buy her way into the linguistic market of the class, she resorted to the 'positive benefit' of bilingualism (Stroud & Jaffe, 2007, in Heller, 2007:63). She tries to situate each concept in the language of which she has a better competency- Is Xhosa, and then translate into the language marked for the class- English. This translates positively in her academics, restored her confidence and consequently improves her performative ability in English.

To establish 'face' (Brown & Levinson, 1978) in the school, the linguistic basket also comes very handy. Through her Afrikaans, Ensha was able to hold her fort in recreational domain. This can not be label under Rampton's affiliation nor expertise as her continua use of Xhosa for group discussions was observed in the class .Even with Michelle (recreational friend and classmate) sitting beside her.

Similarly, Mpho uses her performative ability in Afrikaans to engage in extra-curricula activities that are Afrikaans-oriented in design. She was able to feature prominently amongst the two major groups represented in the school. As a result, her popularity is as high as that of a prefect although she is not one.

Also on face marking, Xolani's change to an English class in a way empowered him as a prefect. Though performative ability in English was not on the list of criteria for the office, good control of the code imbued professionalism into the role for him. Unlike other prefects allocated to duty posts base on the basis of their repertoires, he chooses and usually works close to the admin office. With his strategic and conscious use of his repertoire, he usually gets the votes of both Afrikaans and Xhosa teachers to represent the school in educational outreach programmes such as the soul's buddy.

6.2.2 Social Security

Zakir and Ismail equally used linguistic capital as a negotiating tool. Though I lost the recorded interview, I have decided to include their response (and that of Zoliswa) to this question in my discussion for two reasons. First, they were willing participants to the study till the last day of data collection. Secondly, they have agreed to another

interview to revisit the same question. So, this makes this submission as valid as those included in the Appendix.

Taking Zakir first, when questioned on his interest in Xhosa Language since his home and class domains demands otherwise. He cited the communal socio-cultural aspect of the Xhosa group as the primary reason. According to him, when one has an issue with a Xhosa L1 learner/ friend, others join in in solidarity! So, he decided to perfect his use of Xhosa in other not to be at a disadvantage on such occasions. Zakir's reason in a way is similar to that of Ismail.

To Ismail, the country now recognises the divergent linguistic composition; as such the more one has the better. He buttresses his argument with a comparison of his two teachers in grade 6 and the teaching method of his present grade 7 teacher. The former adhered strongly to the language of domain, while the latter, uses more Xhosa than the assigned code-English. Also, majority of the population of learners in the school are Xhosa L1 speakers, hence he would be at a disadvantage at so point.

6.2.4 Translocation

Zinzi is another story. She was in grade 5 when others along with Ensha were in Grade 6 last year. Her additive bilinguality in Afrikaans was as a result of their prior Afrikaans neighbourhood being relocated to the community for which JSE was built. The same reason was given by Xolani (see Appendix) for not taking Afrikaans as second additional language. Anyway, with Zinzi's Afrikaans, she was able to escape Ensha's intimidation and allied with Michelle and other Afrikaans L1 as friends outside the school. Transcribed data from her recreational recordings shows discussions on Afrikaans soapies. She also topped the class in Afrikaans as a second language. And going by the interview with her mother, her perception of Afrikaans is not one of an 'imagined identity' (Blackledge, 2003) as is the case with Mpho. She can not be said to be aspiring towards the Afrikaans class status (and culture). According to the mother, Zinzi's behavioural pattern is not affected in anyway by her socialization into the Afrikaans circle (friends). She makes purposive use of her repertoire. She went further to explain that the language is used by all her children at school and their environs. Xhosa is the family code as she is a monolingual Xhosa.

6.3 Implications and Recommendations

Here, a holistic evaluation of the research findings is made, with recommendations for policy makers. The emerging themes from the research are highlighted and possible areas for further research noted.

6.3.1 Wrong tools for the right job

First, the teachers were trained in English but now have to dispense their teaching in a mother tongue. This put the teachers in a handicap situation in that they have to translate or adapt English resources to a local language. The cultural difference makes appropriating words without an understudy in translation modules a great challenge for them. There is a great difference between content based knowledge and methodological processing and dissemination. Most of the teachers never took courses in methods of Xhosa, nor language related pedagogical modules. Some of these teachers, according to the language coordinator, make their (Xhosa) lesson plans in English.

Unlike the Xhosa MOI class, the Afrikaans class, since the predemocratic era, has been well developed for learning and teaching purposes in schools. There are materials for all learning areas. However, it shares with the Xhosa class the difficulties of marrying the institutionalised code to the learners' linguistic practices.

6.3.2 Standardisation

Again the standardised code is being used in the school while the learners are exposed to the hybrid version in the community. This does not encourage a sound understanding of the medium of instruction. Rather, the learners can as well be said to have been taught in another language and not the mother tongue. The panacea for this is for more indigenous language resources to be made available for both learners and teachers along with workshops aimed at expanding teachers' horizons on ethno-linguistic issues.

6.3.3 Language implementation strategy

The school's strategy of negotiating the centre from the periphery is a spanner in the educational policy wheel. The school's implementation of the educational policy is not thorough in that they fail to introduce the learners to English based on their interpretation of bilingualism. Secondly, the school is not in tune with the bilingual ability to actively engage in class talk in intergroup situations. So, they group the learners and allocate classes on L1 bases. Thirdly, the learning areas were shared by the teachers in each grade by appropriating the (majority) class code composition to the teacher's L1.

The general assumption in all the above seems to be that the learners' low performative ability in English is an indication of their intelligence (Appendix I). The language processing of a bilingual is being equated to that of a monolingual. The bi-multilingual learners were denied the opportunity of grasping the content in English through conceptualisation in their mother tongue, and consequently to have a more comprehensive cognitive development and execution of knowledge (Lee, 1996). Instead, they were taught along a monologic design (Banda, 2009), defeating the central objective of the educational policy- additive bilingualism.

However, the school can not solely shoulder the blame on turning the well intended policy into a monological one. It is a fact in mathematics that two parallel lines do not meet. The policy on its own part seems to have foregone some contextual factors peculiar to South African. The policy, in the South African heteroglossic setting (Ferguson, 1976), has an open ended interpretation.

6.3.4 Policy interpretation

The policy has an oversight on the part of the learners in that they are classified under the monolingual lens and the dynamics of multilingual repertoire is foregrounded. The complexity of family background, translocation and rural urban migration are some of the factors that were not given detailed attention in the policy. For in a complex multilingual context such as is the case in South Africa, a learner's L1 does not always translate into the mother tongue. That is, if the policy's term of definition for the concept is language with most proficiency. Then, learner's class (MOI)

allocation is incompatible with the reality. This is because; most of the learners' linguistic capability is influenced by the family structure and aspiration to catch in on the ongoing democratic transformations. As a result, some has better proficiency in their ground mother's language (Lebo's Sotho and Michelle's English) while others do in the language of the immediate community (Zinzi's Afrikaans). Invariably, a child's mother tongue can as well be the mother's own tongue.

Furthermore, the awareness of the existing power relations of the languages at a child's disposal may equally affect the level of proficiency of his or her mother tongue. Most middle-class Black African parents now send their children to formerly white schools for reasons highlighted above. These factors explain the recorded difference in language perception of the learners and their parents.

6.3.4 Shift in language ideology

To avoid the transmission of the unpalatable past inter-group relations in the country's history to the young generations, South African government used the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The recorded success of the commission can not be denied, but the shift in language ideology of these learners, owes credit to the change in the socio-political order and governmental reforms. Changes like the elevation of (most) indigenous languages to official status, the government multi-group housing allocation, and the establishment of multilingual schools. This is apparent in the various reasons given by the learners to justify the interest and attached importance to the languages in their basket. Their reasons ranging from social mobility to security confirms Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2006) claim to identity enactment. It is borne from the assumption that the practices and positions of individuals are limited within their social and historical context. It is a (continuous) process, subject to the range of identities available to any individual; indexed by particular practices, especially linguistic behaviour and the selection of language varieties. Language varieties on the other hand are valued differently in the linguistic market, and this dissimilar valuation; consequently, result in the unequal status of individuals and groups within a given society. To balance or sought a favourable position, individuals negotiate a new centre.

6.4 Conclusions

The research has been able to substantiate the poststructuralists' assertions that the bi-multilingual use their linguistic repertoire to assume, and negotiate new identities. The context prescribed at the beginning of the study- socio-political language power entwined- has equally been presented in the study. The findings have shown that the dynamics of these two factors points to a potential fluidity involved in classifying the multilingual identity enactment. While the learners in this study use their linguistic repertoires to index affiliation, expertise and inheritance (Rampton, 1995), they also enact identities outside these three categories. To this, the study proposes 'appellation' as a complementary concept, an agentic and non-essentialist form of approaching bi- or multilingual identity enactment. Each enactment is informed by and carries an element of one or all the other facets of the bi-or multilingual multiple identity. Central to this assertion is the fact that a bi-or multilingual is not oblivious of the socio-cultural elements that comes with each set of linguistic capital. So, while earlier literature on identity views appellation as 'other-ascribed' identity, this study offers a redefinition of this concept from a poststructuralist perspective: Appellation as the conscious construction of 'self' in different spaces using all the elements provided by one's linguistic basket.

Although, many of the broader interrelated factors – policy and home -- were not extensively explored due to the scope of the study, the study was still able to accept the null hypothesis set at the beginning, that is, the language ideological difference between the post-1994 bi-multilingual learners and their progenitors.

Thus, to wrap up, the study calls on all the concerned parties -- caregivers and government -- to take into consideration these factors and their possible effect on the learners in educational decisions and reforms. I shall equally join in the campaign in my future studies.

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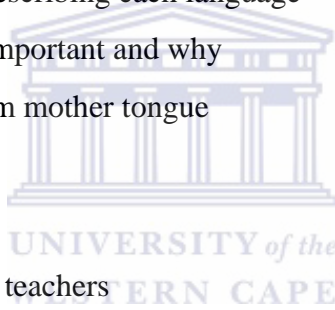
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Appendix A

Learners Semi structured interview probes

1. Age
2. Linguistic repertoire
 - How each was acquired
 - Spoken
 - Written
 - Domains of usage with reasons
 - Self assessment of fluency
 - Terms used in describing each language
 - Which is most important and why
 - Describe the term mother tongue
3. Instructional classes
 - Placement
 - Experience with teachers
 - Particular clash with classmates
 - First language subject
 - Parent reason on choice of instructional class
 - What is your view on this?
4. Activities involve in at school
5. Friendship, in and out of school
6. Food and fashion
7. Others



Appendix B

Ensha's interview.

- 1) Researcher: when you were in grade r, which class were you?
- 2) Ensha: Xhosa class
- 3) R: grade 1?
- 4) Z; xhosa class
- 5) R: grade 2
- 6) E: xhosa
- 7) R; grade 3?
- 8) E: xhosa
- 9) R: grade4?
- 10) E: in xhosa class
- 11) R: in this school?
- 12) E: yes
- 13) R: then when you were in grade 5, why did you change to English class?
- 14) E: because my mother say I must go to English class.
- 15) R: did she tell you the reason why you must go to the English class?
- 16) E: ...Mmm no.
- 17) R: and you never asked her that oh, always I am in xhosa class, now why do you want me to go to English class?
- 18) E: may be she want me to.. understand and... to talk English.
- 19) R: but even the school allows you to write in xhosa, so what is special with English? To you, what do you think?
- 20) E: sorry, I don't understand the question
- 21) R: you said may be she wanted you to understand and be able to write in English, but the government allows you to write in xhosa?
- 22) E: to know the name of English when I play with the child at school.. maybe they talk in English, maybe I will not understand.
- 23) R: what do you think must have made you to fail and repeat grade6?
- 24) E: ummm (she bent her head)
- 25) R: did you repeat grade 3 or 4?
- 26) E: no.
- 27) R: what do you think went wrong?
- 28) E: ... last year I didn't know the name of English and last year I like to play .. must!
- 29) R: what did your mother say or think?
- 30) E: my mother say I must do all my homework.
- 31) R: do you have anybody helping you with English at home?
- 32) E: ...Mmm nobody.
- 33) R; which language do you use at home?
- 34) E: xhosa.
- 35) R: last year, you don't raise your hand in class; to participate in class, why?
- 36) E: matbe the teacher asked me the question last year, if an telling the answer, the learners will laugh at me.
- 37) R: do you think they laughed because you are telling the wrong answer or the way you tell the answer?
- 38) E: the way I tell the answer

- 39) R: if your mother can say, zukiswa when you go to grade 7, will you go to xhosa class or English class. Which will you prefer?
- 40) E: xhosa.



Appendix C

Interview Zoliswa (Parent factor)

- 1) **Interviewer:** - Have you always been in English class?
- 2) **Zoliswa:** - No, from grade 2
- 3) **I:** - Did your parents ask you to change to English class or did they change your class?
- 4) **Z:** - Yes
- 5) **I:** - What reason did they give
- 6) **Z:** - [shook her head]
- 7) **I:** - You don't know? ... but your parents wanted you to be in which class
- 8) **Z:** - My mother...as far as my mother, she didn't have a problem. Once I was in grade 4, me and Mpho and other friends so that we chose to do Afrikaans but our parents didn't agree, they said we must do Xhosa not Afrikaans. Now so my mother said she didn't have a problem if am in English Class. But mustn't do Afrikaans! I must do Xhosa in the place of the home language.
- 9) **I:** Ok
- 10) **I:** but in grade 2 the school changed
- 11) **I:** What does your mother do?
- 12) **Z:** My mother is a domestic worker ... I don't stay with my father.
- 13) **I:** who assist you with your homework?
- 14) **Z:** My sister and my mother
- 15) **I:** Does your mother understand English very well?
- 16) **Z:** She does and she understands Afrikaans very well.
- 17) **I:** Then why did she say that you mustn't do Afrikaans as a subject?
- 18) **Z:** I don't know
- 19) **I:** You never asked her why?
- 20) **Z:** [shook her head]
- 21) **I:** What about your sister? Does your sister also understand Afrikaans?
- 22) **Z:** Both of my sisters do understand Afrikaans... we all understand Afrikaans at home... but then one that understands Afrikaans best is my mother. For she grew up where there are a lot of Afrikaans people.
- 23) **I:** where
- 24) **Z:** she said in graff Reinet...now, when she grew up. She spoke Afrikaans not Xhosa, now, when she came here to Cape Town, she married my father who spoke Xhosa, that's when she understood Xhosa and the rest.
- 25) **I:** You mentioned that when you were in grade 2, that you were friend with Mpho
- 26) **Z:** ==No, I started being friends with Gihle in grade 3
- 27) **I:** = but you are no longer friends, or together like before
- 28) **Z:** no, ever since we got to grade 5, we weren't friends
- 29) **Z:** I became friends with Mpho and Ensha we do speak in class except that we don't play together
- 30) **I:** Umm
- 31) **Z:** [raising her head in a retrospective gesture] in netball we do play as friends except like play together in our areas.
- 32) **I:** what do you think might be the reason, for your not playing together any longer?

33) **Z:** [with thoughtful expression, smiled]

34) **I:** what can you tell me about Gihle?

35) **Z:** She's a good person...she...she...she always understand, she is a good friend...she...she...she is a good person.. not that...she...but most of her friends are Afrikaans people.

36) **I:** why?

37) **Z:** (lowers her gaze, smiling),



Appendix D

Xolani's Interview

Interviewer: unlike other students, you don't seem to use xhosa when answering questions

Xolani: it is necessary for me to use English when am answering question during the lesson that maybe is in English so I must answer in English. But during isiXhosa, am answering in [hand to the chest] my language. So if I answer in Xhosa, they will complain that ...why i:...what have you heard?... what, what, what are you saying...and all **that stuff**. So, I don't want to **be like that**. So that is why I'm Um.

I: who are they that will complain?

X: the others... the Afrikaans

I: but some other learners answers in Xhosa?

X: because its difficult for them to answer in...in English. After they answer in Isixhosa, the teacher will... will= =

I: = =interpret? = = or ask them to repeat in English?

X: = = yes...yes.

I: does the teacher ask them to interpret or does he interpret it himself?

X: he will interpret it himself. Even if you're trying English, he will say just try to talk English, then he will **do a favor** for you.. like some words, some other words.

I: so, do you see yourself as a Xhosa person or English?

X: as a Xhosa person... I see myself as a Xhosa person **even though** I speak English. I still **love** myself.

I; why are you not offering Afrikaans as a subject? Why Xhosa?

X: **because, Isixhosa is my language**. I grew up in the rural area, so they were speaking Isixhosa, that is why **I prefer** to take Isixhosa as my first language and English as second. Afrikaans... I got Afrikaans here. Because, past, I used to stay in Langa. Langa, there are lots of Xhosa speakers, that's why **I prefer** to take Xhosa as first language. Because if I took Afrikaans I won't know anything about it.

I: definitely you wouldn't know anything about it but gradually you get to know.

X: but I am in a higher grade now so I can't ...am not= =

I: even when you were in grade four you= =

X: = = I didn't take it as a language **because my mother told me** that I must take Isixhosa as my first language. **She felt** that if I took Afrikaans it will **spoil me**.

I: spoil you how?

X: yes I will **undermine** my language just that I can talk Afrikaans, so that why I didn't take Afrikaans. Anyway, I do **prefer** English as my second language.

I: do you think that you're undermining your language if you take Afrikaans as a subject?

X: yes, **but** I took English as my second language.

I: is that why they placed you in the Xhosa class?

X: in the first place, my mother didn't know if the school has English class. She thought that its only Xhosa and Afrikaans classes that were. That is why she request me in the Xhosa class, but as time goes on in grade 5, they saw my participation, so they asked me if I don't want to be place in English class and I say I do, and they placed me in English class.

I: so in short your mother makes all the decisions?

X: not really, because to be in the English class, that was my decision.

Appendix E
LETTER TO THE PARENTS

Dear parents,

Reference: Application for Permission to interview parents and children

I am a Master student at the University of the Western Cape and I am carrying out a research based on language and literacy studies at your child' school. My main interest is to focus on how the students use the various languages acquired in different spaces. My main objective is to find out the factors affecting their individual development and consequently impact on their literacy studies. I have chosen your child's classroom as one of the classes to study.

Apart from the children as participants, I would also like to interview you as the parents. This will help me to get a background of how you interact with the child at home and what language or languages you use with the child at home. This will also include the challenges you face in helping the child to accomplish his or her homework, which is based in English.

Like all reports from the students, your identity and comments will not be revealed, either to your child's school nor any other person other than me and my Supervisor.

If the need for more information may rise, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor, Ms C. Kerfoot, at the Faculty of Education, University of Western Cape, Bellville. On 0219592565. My contact details are cell number 0722660922 or email address is 2832009@ uwc.ac.za.

May you please fill in this slip and return it to the school in response. Thank you in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Bello Ola.

(The University of Western Cape student)

I/ We as...(child's name).....parents/guardian accept your request and are willing to be interviewed as you requested. **OR**

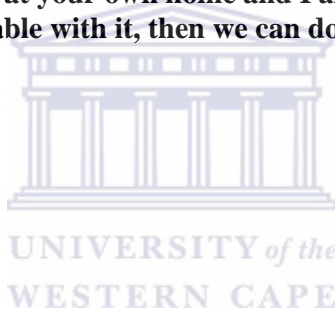
We as...(child's name).....parents/guardian **do not** accept your request and are not willing to be interviewed as you requested.

Interview place/s (choose one)

At the child's school (tick)

At our home..... (tick)

(I will be very happy to interview you at your own home and I am willing to come there personally but if you are not comfortable with it, then we can do it at your child's school.)



Ulwazi lwemvume evela kubazali

Isihloko sophando: **Onobangela abakhuthaza ukwakheka kwezimo kwizikolo ezilwimi zingaphezu kwesinye.**

Umphandi: **Alexandra Bello**

Amanani okunxulumana: **0722660922 okanye 2832009@uwc.co.za**

Molo Mzali

Ndicele imvume yokujonga abafundi bebanga 4-7 kwisikolo samabanga aphantsi aseKairos kuphando lweelwimi ezingaphezu kwesinye kwiyunivesiti yeseNtshona Koloni eMzantsi Afrika. Imvume yenu ebhalwe phantsi iyafuneka khon'ukuze ndikwazi ukuqhubeka nolu phando.

Injongo yesi sifundo

Olu phando lukhangela indlela abafundi abalusebenzisa ngayo ulwimi kumagumbi okufundela nangaphandle kwawo.

Iindlela zophando

Ndiyakube ndisequmbini lokufundela iyure ezilishumi. Ndiyakubajonga ndithabathe nevidiyo. Andisayi kuziphazamisa izifundo nangayiphina indlela.

Ndiyakushicilela neentetho zabafundi ngethuba lekhefu.

Iqaqobana labafundi liyakuthi lithabathe inxaxheba kudliwanondlebe ukuzama ukufumana izimvo zabo kusetyenziso lweelwimi.

Akubhaliswa magama yaye isimahla

Umntwana wakho akanyanzelekanga ukuba athabathe inxaxheba. Akuyi kumiselwa sohlwayo ngasemntwaneni ukuba akathabathanga nxaxheba. Abafundi bayakuthi baphendule imibuzo abafuna ukuyiphendula bayeke nangaliphi ixesha befuna. Injongo yophando iyakuchazwa kubafundi yaye bayakufumana ithuba lokuba babuze imibuzo.

Umntwana wakho uya kukhuseleka. Akukho magama ayakushicilelwa okanye abhalwe kwingxelo yophando.

Ikopi yokugqibela yengxelo yophando iyakunikezelwa esikolweni.

Enkosi,

Bello B.O

Nceda utyikitye kule fomu wakugqiba unike umntwana ayibuyisele esikolweni. Enkosi ngoncedo lwakho.

Mna, (igama).....ndiyavuma/andivumi(nceda ukhethe ibenye)ndikezela imvume yokuba umntwana wam athabathe inxaxheba kuphando.

Umzali atyikitye:

Igama lomntwana:

Umhla:

Appendix G

Tracy Interview.

- 1) **Interviewer:-** How old are you?
- 2) **Tracy:-** I am 13 years old
- 3) **I:** when you were in grade R, what class were you
- 4) **T:** English
- 5) **I:** How about grade 1
- 6) **T:** English
- 7) **I:** so till you got to grade 7, you have always been in English class
- 8) **T:** yes
- 9) **I:** what language do you use at home?
- 10) **T:** Afrikaans
- 11) **I:** then why are you in English class and not in Afrikaans?
- 12) **T:** because I don't understand Afrikaans so well.
- 13) **I:** you don't understand Afrikaans so well?
- 14) **T:** yes some words I don't understand
- 15) **I:** but you speak Afrikaans at home = =
- 16) **T:** then my mother thought I should be in English class because I don't understand Afrikaans.
- 17) **I:** is it not the same Afrikaans you speak at home that is used in teaching at school?
- 18) **T:** it's the same but sometimes they use some other words that we don't use at home.
- 19) **T:** ... Mmm because sometimes they use some English words.. sometimes when they talk Afrikaans they use English words.
- 20) **I:** so you are saying the Afrikaans they use in teaching in the school is not the same you use at home?
- 21) **T:** yes
- 22) **I:** is the Afrikaans you speak in your house different from the one other people speak in your community?
- 23) **T:** it is the same.
- 24) **I:** but is it different from the one used in the school?
- 25) **T:** yes.

Appendix H

Mpho's interview

- 1) **Interviewer:** I learnt that you now smoke?
- 2) **Mpho:** yes
- 3) **I:** why do you==
- 4) **M:** == I only smoke once.
- 5) **I:** why do you like it?
- 6) **M:** my friend do say so.
- 7) **I:** I understand you are part of the dance class
- 8) **M:** yes
- 9) **I:** are there many xhosa learners there?
- 10) **M:** no, only me alone.
- 11) **I:** why don't they take xhosa learners?
- 12) **M:** they do but the xhosa learners only practice maybe today and tomorrow and then.. tomorrow they don't come.
- 13) **I:** and what reasons did they give?
- 14) **M:** because... say because they are talking Afrikaans and when we talk and when we ... laugh, they think we are talking about them.
- 15) **M:** because.. they don't understand.
- 16) **I:** how many teachers are in charge of the dance group?
- 17) **M:** its aunty Beety and a sister, but the sister is not in this school, she is in high school.
- 18) **I:** they are both Afrikaan speakers?
- 19) **M:** yes.
- 20) **I:** so you are the only xhosa speaker there?
- 21) **M:** yes.
- 22) **I:** is it because they speak Afrikaans?
- 23) **M:** I don't know aunty Beety is always speaking Afrikaans. She doesn't talk English.

APPENDIX I

Mr Mkwena's Interview

Interviewer: Is just some few questions.

Mkwena: Ok

I: What are the subject areas that you teach?

M: Am teaching Lang Xhosa, Social Science, Natural Science, Art and Culture.

I: At Art and Culture class, are there difference in the participating of Afrikaans and Xhosa learners?

M: Participate ... they are all participating, they are all the same.

I: How long have you been in the school?

M: Since 2005.

I: Do you stay around here in Delft?

M: Yes, here in Laden.

I: Now, you are taking grade 7?

M: Yes.

I: total number of the class?

M: 55

I: What would you say is the major factor that hinders classroom participation?

M: Yes...yes...emm...if I compare like I have general class from the multi-grade class, you see those learners are doing much better than the learners that are doing Xhosa, emm those that are not coming from multi-grade.

I: emm

M: If I compare my class with other eh... grade 7 learners, you see, they are much better because of those who are coming from multi-grades with English speak, you see ehh English learners. Those who are using their mother tongue.

I: If am to get you correctly,



M: You see they are doing much better as compare to them because you see; the thing is you see...have this mother tongue uses thing that we are using, I don't know, that grade 6 teachers are teaching them using their mother tongue. You see when they reach grade 7 they are struggling you see... because they have been... doing everything in the mother tongue. You see... so now when they get here they are struggling a bit, that is the thing.

I: With the switch?

M: The code- switch

I: So you have learners that were from Xhosa medium... that they did Xhosa till grade 6?

M: Umm... those are the ones who are struggling in grade 6, they have been doing all learning areas, some learning areas in Xhosa.

I: Do you have those that have been doing learning areas in Afrikaans before?

M: No, not here in this class

I: not in this class?

M: Yes

I: So, it's only those that have been doing Xhosa before and that of multi-grade?

M: Yes, those from English class

I: Okay

I: Talking about the mother tongue classes, those coming from mother tongue I understand that the policy gives room for the mother, it's the caregiver to say I want that decide that okay I want my child to be in English class or I want them to be in mother tongue class up to grade 6.

M: Yes...no you see the... this policy was introduced last year, then parents are aware of it and some of them they don't like it because what they want is their learners, they... you must teach them in English because that is what they want... but some, it depends, because some parents they ask teachers to teach their learners to multi-grade or to ... they want their learners to do...or to be in Afrikaans class or in English class like that.

I: This desire to place their children in multi-grade or Afrikaans or mother tongue medium by the parents, in your own opinion what are the factors that brings about such decisions by the parents.

M: What I can say is that, most of the time the parents they are confusing the learners, their children. Because sometimes they want them to be in Afrikaans class and some of them they don't even understand...like for example, the () some they want their children to be in English



class although they don't even understand you see, some they don't have foundation, the basic, you see? So that is confusing about for a child. Yeah that's my opinion.

I: This wanting their child to be in English class. What do you think is the () motivating factor?

M: For the parents?

I: Yes, for the parents.

M: I think, it's because of the () that we live in and the community, because we are a diversity, because of a diversity, they don't want their children to suffer in the near future. English is ... we all know that English is---we all know that Eng is the International language. So for them I think is good for their learners to understand from their early age.

I: I notice that is the dance group for example, there isn't==

M: Xhosa learner, only one... Lihle ...yeah...

Eh, ((Laughing) may be they don't I can say, the Xhosa learners they are not used to that style of you see... of dancing that they are using you see... because that dancing is only for the er... Afrikaans speakers, speaking people... because you see, if we go back, the dance that they are doing, you see has history they are...they do it... it is their festival. What do they call it?... I don't know what they call it, it's their festival. But I can't say that is their reason because we have one learner, one Xhosa learner who is also part of their group. Yeah.

I: You say the type of dance is taken from the Afrikaans culture?

M: Yes. From their culture, I think it's from their culture.

I: You don't think it has something to do with their couch?

M: The person couching them? (Laughter) I don't know, I cant say.

I: I don't think.

M: What is affecting our learners I think is the community that they are coming from.

I: In what way?

M: You see, they are learning--- you see peer pressure, and the community you see is playing a vital role, you see to our learners you see because they are coping everything that they see outside.

I: Like what?

M: Like emm----the thing of gangsterism, smoking and doing drugs, so I think those things they pick from outside into the school their they---- may be they teach, other learners also, so peer pressure and society is also affecting our learners.

I: Only one try to learn Xhosa in my class, Zakir-----, only one



Appendix J

MS Cecil's English Class.

T: Spell for us the word increase.... We don't raise our hands mos... Zaheer spell the word increase.

S2: I-n-c-r-e-a-s-e.

T: Nosiphenkosi, exaggerate.

S3: E-x

T: I did not even notice you started... spell the word. (Silence)... Thulani spell the word exaggerate.

S4: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Tiffany exaggerate.

S5: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Vuziwe exaggerate.

S6: (Spells but spells wrong).

T: Chante exaggerate.

S7: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Masixole the break is over. Qhama exaggerate. Do we have two chairs there? They must separate. (movement to separate the chairs.) Exaggerate

S8: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Daluxolo exaggerate.

S9: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Nosihle exaggerate.

S10: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Zinzy, exaggerate.



S11: (Spells.)

T: Again.

(03:19)

S11: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Christen.

S12: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Odwa.

S13: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Taslyn.

S14: (Spells it correct.)

T: Thank you... Kitchen Ismael.

S15: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Thulani.

S16: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Ensha..

S17: (Spells it correct.)

T: Yolanda er:: recycle... don't bother to stand up man it takes time.

S18: (Spells.)

T: Spell that word for us... clearly, recycle.

S19: ([Xolani] Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Khaya recycle.

S20: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Lihle.



S21: (Spells correct.)

T: Compost Zizipho.

S22: (Spells but spells wrong.) [Teacher coughs involuntarily].

(06:04)

T: Sit properly.

S23: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Tashan, compost.

S24: (Spells correct.)

T: Environment... why are your hands going up? Jojo.

S25: (Spells.)

T: Again.

S25: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Supian.

S26: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Tyrone.

S27: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Masakhane... Sit down

S28: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Lindelani.

S29: (Spells but spells wrong.)

T: Qhama... Environment.

S8: (Spells correct.)

T: Manure. Nosiphenkosi (She spells)... sorry?



S3: (Spells correct.)

T: Littering. Netho.

S30: (Spells correct.)

(08:41)

T: Chemical. Thobela

S31: (Spells correct.)

T: Take your technology books outside... take your technology books outside... (not clear) Not everybody can come, not everybody can come. Bring the book... Don't eat the chips, don't eat the contents inside Grade 6 don't eat the contents inside. I need to observe some stuff for you. Take all the stuff you're not using, take it away. (Shuffle as kids take out books.)

S27: (not clear) Tiffany she's stabbing me with a pen teacher.

T: Grade 5, let's take the technology text book... Grade 5, take the technology textbook.

S27: What did she say? (not clear)

T: Khawucime ibhodi maan. [Erase the board.] *TY of the*

(school bell rings)... We don't have all day. Grade 5, Grade 5... GRADE 5... [not clear]

... name the two types of resources you know, don't page your books. Name the two types of resources you know. Don't page, don't page the book. Name two types of resources, name two types of resources that you know. The two types of resources that you know Ismael.

S15: (Silence)

T: Khaya the two types of resources that you know? (Silence) Ismael, two types of resources that you know. (Silence)... Lihle stop your nonsense... The types of resources ish- renewable... Thank you. Yintoni (not clear) apho? Khawuhlale phantsi maan. Hlala phantsi, hlala phantsi. (What (not clear) there? Sit down man. Sit down, sit down).

(A boy speaks in Afrikaans) Xolani , Hayi suka. (15:16)

T: Grade 6 you have different types of objects in front of you. What I want you to do for me; I want you to look closely at the objects in front of you ...

Try and observe what it can be either chips or a plastic container or whatever. As you see you write down, everything that you can observe. Some of you have one, those of you who have two must now indicate this information is for this and the other one is for this and then you write, ne? Five minutes, we talk about it and then we write. You can use your language of choice.

Xolani : You can use your language even Italian wara, wara, wara. Even (not clear)... even Chinese.

Ismail : Heh! (light laugh)

T: [Talking to a learner] Stop drawing on the board; we have renewable and non-renewable resources.

Khanyisa: Uzakuyithini iten cents yam?

Xolani: Ndifun'ipen. (not clear)

T: When we say renewable what kind of resources are we talking about? The kind of resource we talk about when we say renewable Thulani is what kind of resources? Stop Thulani stop, stop, stop. If we say a resource is renewable what do we mean? If we say it is renewable Thulani what do we mean?

Thulani: It can be used again.

T: You can use it again. If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? What does that mean?

zolile i: [Speaking to his friends] What do we say? What do we say? ...Hayi ke apha, (not clear) hayi ke apha kule group.

T: If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? If we say it is non-renewable what do we mean? What does that mean?

Xolani : I, I, I think (not clear)

zolile : I thi:nk it is manufacture= =.

T: = = What happened to the resource along the way?

zolile : = = I see a picture of chips.

(others laughed)

zolile : I see mealies, I see mealies.

Ismail: = =Fruit chutney

Xolani = = Maize.

Zolile i: Yintoni?

[What?]

Xolani : Milize

Zolile i: Yimealies, yimealies.

It's mealies, it's mealies.

Xolani: Jonga yimaize leyo

(Look that is maize).

Zolile i: Hayi yimielies Xolani .

No it's mealies Xolani ,

Ismail: milies

Zolile i: ndithi mna yimealies

(, I say mealies)

Ismail: [sings] Me::ali::es::

Xolani : milies

Ismail: Must we write the date?

Zolile g: No we never write the date, just write a chip

ismail: Hey man, what type resource is chips?

Zolile i: okay= =

Xolani: = =Sizokwenze njani (not answering the question).

Zolile: Wakhe wayibona a wena i-date kwincwadi zika Miss? Wakhe wayibona a wena i-date kwincwadi zika Miss? Kwinotes? Oh.

ismail: How much is the date?



Zolile : How much is the date? R20.

Ismail : (laughs) Hahaha R23... He, Xolani ?

Xolani : Mhmm?

ismail: Do you know how much is the date? [no answer]

T: (continuing with grade5 lesson) Now let's give examples of renewable resources. Give me an example of renewable resources.

zolile : Yintoni kanene le khayinsa?

What is it again kayinsa?

Ismail: Bar code

Xolani : Weight.

ismail: Bar code.

zolile : Ayo bar code... ibar code, nantsi ibar code.

It's not a bar code... a bar code, here is a bar code.

ismail: Kilograms!

Zolile i: yeah

T: that is very loud man.

ismail: Sorry Miss.

zolile : Additional information.

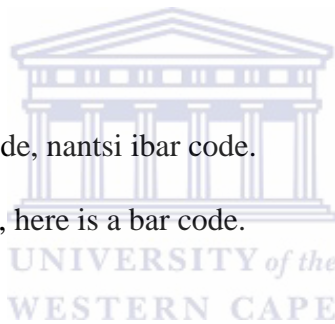
T: An example of food that is renewable. Give me an example.

Xolani : (To his friends) Ndiyi zolile a imaize uba ngumbona, ndibona umbona a. Ufuna ndithethe i-Afrikaans? Ndibona umbona la.

(I see maize (maize in Xhosa), I see maize. Do you want me to speak Afrikaans? I see maize.)

Zolile: you must bala ndibona umbona la?

Ismail;-: You must write here ney? I see maize



Xolani : Ndibona :a Umbona la.

[I see maize].

Ismail: fruit chutney?

Xolani: ndibona Umbona

Zolile: I see milies

Ismail : Oh ho lombo:na:: [Imitates ladies that sell Mielies}.

Xolani :- I see maize

Zolile: milies

Xolani : maize

Ismail : Yimielies leya.

[That is mielies].

Xolani :maize

Ismail;-: You see the lady who works here says. "Mie::li:es::. Mie::li::es:: ubo:na eh::, ubo;na::

Xolani : Uyaphosisa wena.

[You lie].

zolile : Yivule mfondini uzoyibona a ishushu.

Xolani: intini? ...I see chips

Ismail: chips, no I see milies = =

Ismail:- = = uzolile a yeh, uzolile a

zolile : No, I see mielies.

Xolani : I see mielies.

zolile : I see mielies... and the name of the chips.



Ismail;- that's right ney?

Xolani : hey, weight,= = wait yenh....umm [checking the product] = = yes

Ismail;- = =yes, weight

Ismail: That's t right. = =Yes?

Xolani : I see mielies and weight, ingredients, guarantee, bar code, barcode and the =
=name of the chips.

zolile : = = name of the chips

Ismail:- weight? = =

Xolani ;- = = ingredient, guarantee, bar code

zolile : Khawuyibhale phantsi lento uyithethayo.

Please write down what you're saying.

Xolani : I see mielies and weight, ingredients, guarantee, = = bar code,

zolile : = =Expiry date.

Xolani : National information er manufacturers err.. = =

Ismail: = = And the name of the chips = = .

Xolani : = = And the name of the chips...Good.

Xolani :- and the color

zolile :- icolor

xolani: And the colour.

Ismail: the color is green and there is a place = =

zolile : = = I see mielies and the weight... ha-a mandingayibeki la 'and' mandiske
ndibeke lawey...

I see mielies and the weight... no let me not put in that 'and' I should just out that thing.

Xolani : eh: eh: siti:...Yintoni na lanto kanene? ismail what is this?

[...What is that thing again?]

Ismail: what?

Zolile: What is this

Ismail::- the gram?

zolile : The weight,...I see milies, weight,... ndibhale uweight?

Ismail: : Coma, weight?

Xolani : Weight= =

Ismail:- = =comma... hu...WAO, where is weight?

Xolani : emm ingaurantee= =

zolile : = =Ha-a this is wrong...(looking at his book)

Xolani: ndibhale ntoni?

[what should I write?]

ismail : Weight..

khanyisa: (talking to leaners at the next table) na we

[and you]

Xolani: weight, emm...

Ismail: Comma.

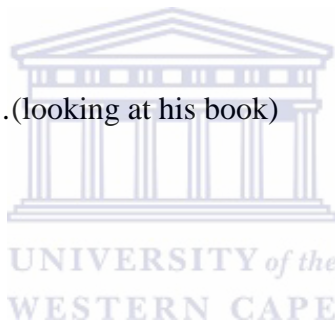
Xolani : comma Ingredients.

zolile : Ingredients,...ingredients, manufacture = =manufacture

T: [To grade 5 learners] = =Which part is renewable and which part is non- renewable?

[Continuation of the sequence] Xolani : and: Iguarantee...

zolile : date of expire



Ismail: date expire

Zolile: Idate yona?

(What about the date?)

Xolani : iguarantee.

Zolile: ipi date?

Xolani: ayiko, Iguarantee

Ismail : This is the date, the expiry date ney.

Zolile: expiring date?

Xolani : No expiring date. Khawuthi... iguarantee.

(No expiring date. Let's see. ... Guarantee...(checking what is written so far by Khanyisa)

Xolile: ubhal'isentence uKhanyisa beth'nana... Nutritious information.

Khanyisa is writing sentences... Nutritious information).

zolile : Bendimxelele abhali into yakhe, umntu angabhali into efanayo (not clear) = =

(I told her not to write her thing, and people should not write similar things.)

Ismail: what is she writing?

Zolile: khawuveze? (he flips through what she has written)

[Let me see]

Ismail: woa!

Xolani: uKhanyisa beth'nana

[ho Khanyisa]

Khanyisa: (not clear)

Ismail: moenie lieg nie (Afrikaans)

[Don't lie]

(They all try to check what she was writing)

xolani : (picking up the product again) Nutrient information

zolile : Nutritional information= =...

zolile: = = Heh? Nutritional information and nutritional information... And andiyazi ngoku

Xolani: (to khayinsa) kandi bone?

[let me see]

Xolani : Bar code... manufacturer.

Khanyisa : Yima ndizakuxelela= =

Xolani : Nutritional information.

khanyisa: Heh?

Zolile: nutritional information

Xolani : balise entu kalise, metu nana

[write what we tell you]

Ismail: I will tell her

Zolile: nutritional information

Xolani: nutritional information

Ismail: nutritional information

Xolani: emm...

Zolile: ibarcode

Xolani: manufacturer

Xolani: Bar code... and barcode

ismail: Not "and"; bar code, comma bar code.

Xolani : And the name of the chips.



Ismail: and?

Xolani : And the name of the chips

zolile : = =And the co:lor.

Ismail: = =And the manufacture!.

zolile: Hayi (No) just leave the manufacture... bala icolor
...write the color]

Ismail : And the name of the chips.

zolile : And... the name ...of the... chips.

Khanyisa : Sings that she wants to be a Simba Chippie.

ismail: Are you writing a poem?

Xolani : Sesigqibile apha.

(We're finished here.) (noise)

(Back to teacher)

T: Okay, what did we notice there?

Xolani : The color is green.

T: people with the chips, what is there?

Ismail: the color is green

T: Grade 6! ... 40minutes is over

Xolani And the chips are yellow

Ismail: And the flavor...

ismail: And the flavor is...

Xolani : The chips are yellow. ...a:nd...

ismail: = =The flavor...



Xolani: the:... flavor

Ismail: is:: the fruit chutney... (noise)

Xolani: fruit chutney.

ismail: Let me see, let me see how you spell it... Let me see.

Xolani : The name of the chips...

Zolile : The name of the chips is snack attack... snack attack

Ismail: the name of the chips(noise)

Ismail : Oooh! Ek het mos vergeet the name of the chips.

(Oooh! I have forgotten the name of the chips.)

(Back to teacher)

T: What have you notice about this cabbage? ..One thing, Vuziwe that you have noticed. One thing you will have noticed- we write in one page. Besides the plastic that you will have picked up because some of the people they use paper to package it. The other stuff that is noticeable about the stuff that is on your table. What did you write down Yolanda?

T: What did you notice?

yolanda: Ingredients.

T: yes, Ingredients... What else did you notice about the things?

T: zolile?

Zolile: : Bar code

T: What else did you notice about the things?

Xolani: nutritional information

T: nutritional information

T: The bar code. What else did you notice about these things?... What else is there, Khaya?

khaya: guarantee(very quiet)

T: Can't you read? What else is there?

(32:41)

Vusi : (Whispering) Igama layo

(It's name)

T: Mehlo ?

Mehlo: Barcode. (Class laughs)

(noise)

T: Daluxolo?

Daluxolo : customer service line

T: Sorry?

Daluxolo : customer service line

T: What else is there? (Some learner says flavor)

T: what else is in those packages?... Khanyisa?.

khanyisa: Guarantee.

T: yes?

T: Guarantee... What else is there?

Nosihle?

Nosihle: Maize

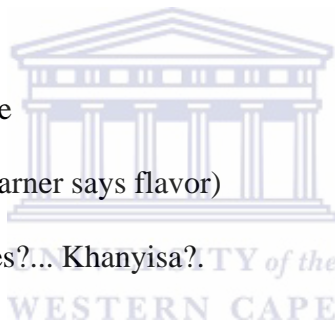
(the teacher writes on the chalkboard)

T: What else is there? ... Ismail?. What else did you see? (he tries to read from his note)
... put the paper down. What else is there, what else did you notice?

ismail: the colour

t: huh?

Ismail: The colour of the package



T: The colour of the?... (the teacher writes)

ismail: The colour of the package

(xolani laughs at khayinsa's note)

T: What else did you notice Charmaine?

Charmaine: The name of the product.

T: The name of the product...

(teacher writes)

T: Why do you think there's anything....?...is there anything else?

(The teacher looks at the diagram used to illustrate the itemized detail)

T: what else is there?

khanyisa: (not clear)

T: Some of them... Some of the stuff that you have does not have this information but some does. What else is there?

(murmurings)

Vusi : The size.

T: Sorry.

Vusi: The size.

T: The size of the package. What else?

Ismail: I think expiring date

Zolile: there is no expiring date!

T: is there anything else?

Xolani: Yes Miss, the advertising.

T: What about the advertising?



Ismail: the picture?

Xolani: It advertises the package.

ismail: The picture on the packet of cheese.

T: Anything else, anything else? Anything else? Anything else? What else is there?

(khanyisa whispers to xolani)

Ismail: say the picture, xolani..xolani?

Xolani: intone?

[what?]

T: hello?....anything else?

Vusi :the person in the picture.

T: huh?

Vusi: the person in the picture



T: That's for advertising, that's for advertising is there anything for the colouring... Is the colourants written there? Is there anything about the colourants? Is there colourants in one of these chips... written down?

ismail: Ja here. Ja it's written falvourants and colourants.

(38:20)

T: Okay. What about preserving? These are the things you normally see or find in the packages. If you look at the stuff at the back, why do you think they have nutritional there? Why do they tell you about the nutritional value? Why do they put that down? And write down a:ll the stuff energy, protein, carbohydrates, saturated fats, fatty acids, fibre, vitamins; why do you think they write all that stuff down, the nutritional value?

S19: Because not all the people eat the stuff or maybe you have high blood so you shouldn't eat them or something like that.

T: What do you say zolile le? Why do they write down the nutritional value. They specifically write it down, what do you think they want to achieve? Do you know energade?

All: Yes.

T: What is energade?

S4: It's a drink.

T: Who has drank that? When you drink energade what happens to you or your system?

S19: You get energy. Do you get energy?

T: You get energy.

(41:20)

CG: You get strong.

T: You get strong... (not clear) it will make you cool down. Who else has drank energade? Have you drank it? How did you feel? What did it do to you?

S27: I had energy to run.

T: You had energy to run? Who else has drank e:r energade? It is a high energy drink = =

CB: You feel strong.

T: Eh, eh you feel stronger. Okay you want to – Let's give each other an experiment. You drink a glass of energade one day and then drink a glass of orange juice the other day; see if there's gonna be a difference. Cause really energade does not give what it says, it doesn't give energy. You can drink a glass of orange juice and get that energy. It's just psychological. You think you're going to be like that but not necessarily – it's not necessarily like that. And there are millions and millions of them.

CB: Like that adverts where they say redbull give you wings (laughs).

T: Yes.

CB: If you drink it then you don't get wings. (class laughs)

T: (not clear) when we talk of labels, why do we have labels we have different kinds of chips (...snekotekos), samba chips, nknaks (learners call them with the teacher... razzle dazzle, nknaks. Why do we have different labels? Aren't they serving the same purpose? When you buy these chips what do you want from them?

CB: The taste.

T: The taste, what else do you want from them?

S19: Just for fun Miss.

T: Just for fun. What else are you looking for when you buy chips? I don't want this I want Simba chips, I want – don't you have e:r onion whatever flavor; cheese and onion.

S19: You want different flavours or you want to taste all the chips, ma'am.

T: Okay. Why then do we have different names? I don't know about the razzle dazzle. What do they use to make these chips, nikhaks?

All: Cheese.

T: What else?

All: Corn.

T: Corn. They used corn. What did they use to make the other one? What did they use to make the other one?

All: Mealies

T: Mealies and?

CG: Maize vegetables.

T: Maize. And this one? (Leaners call different kinds of flavourants randomly) Okay let's give a chance to Masixole first. What did they write there? Give the ingredients.

Masixole: Pure steak

T: Pure steak. What else?

Masixole: (not clear)

T: Stabilizer.

Masixole: (not clear)

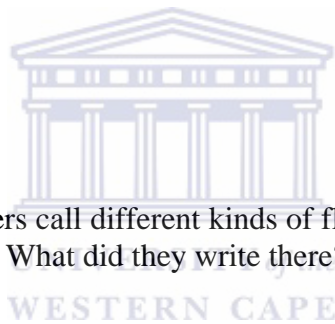
T: Okay they used fruit there. What did they use there? Give the ingredients.

Charmaine: Glucose.

T: Glucose. Okay what did they use there?

(46:09)

CB: Colourants.



[Noise not clear]

T: Okay what did they use there?

S19: Maize vegetables, anti, anti

T: Anti-oxidants.

S19: Yes anti-oxidants, flavourant and colourant.

CG: Flavourants.

T: What is common about these chips?

S4: Maize.

T: Maize all of them come from maize. Why then do they have different names? Why do you think they have different names.

S4: Cause they are made by different companies.

T: What else?

S4: They use different flavourants.

T: They use different flavourants. And what else?

S4: different tastes.

T: Different tastes and what else?

S19: Separate the (not clear).

T: Separate the (not clear). Now all of that, so now we see the purpose of labeling. When you go and buy. Let's say your mother gives you twenty rands to go and buy... a packet of biscuits. Do you read the packet of biscuits?

All: No

T: Now you must start reading, the labels. Cause there are 15, I'm making an example, 15 kinds of biscuits and all have different flavours. There's Marie biscuits, There's blue... (learners randomly call the ones they know)... STOP. There are different kinds of biscuits; now there's Marie biscuits, there's e:r Blue label er Marie biscuits, there is... (Some learners suggest Lemon Creams)... I'M TALKING ABOUT MARIE BISCUITS, MARIE. Zaheer. They have their different kinds of plastic that they use to package them. There's a reason for that, there's a reason for that. Now from now on you must read the

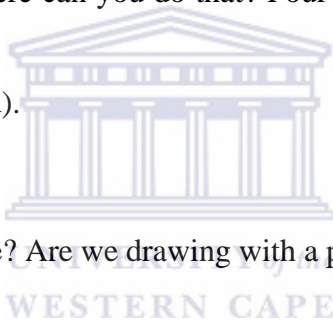
labels and you must take extra note of the expiry date. Don't buy stuff that is going to expire two days when it's at home. You must start now to look carefully, you must help out when they do the groceries. Okay? Open the door please. Hello. Ndakukhanda Khaya zolile anje. (I'll beat you up Khaya you'll see). You understand people, can you do that now?

All: Yes Miss.

T: The flies must not tell you now that the stuff is expired, because the flies do tell. The flies do tell when the stuff has expired. Tell your mother you can't buy this because it's gonna expire Friday, so it's already spoilt, ne? Even if it is cheaper, the more it gets cheaper the more you're going to get sick because the stuff has expired. Okay, now... now what I want you to do for me – you write that butter fly whatever that is on the board. You write everything that is there – it's about the labels. After you have done – it's gonna take you exactly four minutes to do that. After that you think of your favourite whatever chips or whatever and you draw for me a label of your choice. Everything that needs to be on the label you draw, you package and then you label. You fit in all the information that needs to be there can you do that? Four minutes you copy, five minutes you draw.

S19: Apha (whispers to a friend).

(Here)



T: How are we doing grade five? Are we drawing with a pencil?

All: Yes.

T: Oh just making sure, make sure that you remember. (Learners whisper not clear). (To Alex). I wish I were you guys doing your Master's. I have to go to the university sometime

[END]

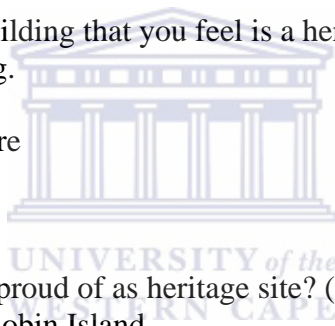


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WESTERN CAPE

Appendix K

Mr Kwana's language use, grade 7 (English class).

- 1) kwana: Ubani tetha yo ? { who is speaking }
- 2) k: [writing on the board]
- 3) Student1: hai {no}
- 4) K: ok, shhh... our heritage is our birth place... heh?
- 5) K: our heritage is our birth place
- 6) Std: hey.. our heritage.
- 7) K: where are we coming from?
- 8) Std: our = = heritage
- 9) [reading from the board]
- 10) K: = = heritage
- 11) K: it is something that has been pass down to us by our = = Ancestors.
- 12) Std: = = Ancestors.
- 13) K:so, if south Africa ... we are to make certain examples of heritage, such as buildings..
- 14) K: give example of a building that you feel is a heritage site.
- 15) K: building? ... building.
- 16) K: Abdul?
- 17) Abdul: community centre
- 18) Student2: like what?
- 19) Std3: like a hotel.
- 20) Std4: a prison
- 21) K: buildings we can be proud of as heritage site? (noise)
- 22) K: okay, building like Robin Island
- 23) K: but Robin Island is a place... hey?... also a heritage place, heh?
- 24) K: it can be building, castle ... a castle hey?
- 25) Std3: castle? Ne, casulino?
- 26) K:You know where is castle?
- 27) K: you know?
- 28) K: phi?
- 29) Std4: heh
- 30) K: phi? { where?}, ... e paruw? { at parow?}
- 31) Std5&6: cape town.
- 32) K: okay, cape town.
- 33) K: you know castle?
- 34) Std3: yes, tishala { teacher }
- 35) St3: you know where it is?
- 36) K: castle li phi? { the castle is where?}
- 37) Std3: castle, casino
- 38) K: casino, aiyo heritage site. [casino is not an heritage site]
- 39) K: ne?
- 40) K: std3... heh?
- 41) (Whispering and laughter)



- 42) K: std4 intoni gogu? , intoni gogu?
- 43) (Murmurs)
- 44) K:bona. (look)
- 45) Std2: Ismail?
- 46) (A learner whistles)
- 47) K:mthlekaz? {gentlemen}.
- 48) Std2: abdul, abdul, = = abdul?
- 49) Std5: = = Jonga. (look)
- 50) K: valimlomo [shut your mouth].
- 51) K: hello, keep quiet.
- 52) K: jonge ngapha [look over here]
- 53) K: valimlomo
- 54) K:abdul.. jonga
- 55) K: heh
- 56) Std3: uyatoka {you are lying}
- 57) K: listen, listen
- 58) Std: hello!
- 59) Std: na we {its you}
- 60) K: when you go to Cape Town... when you go to Cape Town
- 61) K: hello?
- 62) K: when you go to Cape Town, you don't go to the cape peninsula
- 63) (murmurings)
- 64) K:uya teta, ya teta [am talking, I am talking!]
- 65) K: you don't go to the cape peninsula... when you turn... heh?, you see, you can turn left then you see golden arrow bus, and then you see golden arrow bus, then structure, heh? [drawing on the board]
- 66) Std: a very old structure.
- 67) K: ubani nclekha? {who's laughing}
- 68) [teacher attends to a learner sent from next class by the door].
- 69) K: thala phansi!, jigela, [sit down!, turn]
- 70) Std: nytoni, siph? [what is it Siph?]
- 71) Siph: hai suka! [oh, what the hell!]
- 72) (teacher back to class)
- 73) K: where was I?
- 74) Std: what you saying = =
- 75) K: = = I was saying... this is a very old hey?
- 76) (pointing to the diagram on the board)
- 77) K: = = structure
- 78) Std: = = structure
- 79) K: castles and traditions has = = stories to tell
- 80) Std: stories to tell
- 81) K: as we are from different race groups, we have different cultures. Hey? ...we have= = different = = cultures
- 82) Std: = = cultures.
- 83) K: if am performing my culture and you don't belong to my race group, you have to respect my culture. Even if it is not your culture. Is it not so?

- 84) All std: yes
85) K: you are to respect it
86) Std :hamba khaya [go khaya]
87) St: lumka, that thing
88) K: mamela
89) K:we are going to do an acting tomorrow. But you must first bring..
90) (teacher write out the list on the board.



Appendix L
LETTER TO THE PARENTS

Dear parents,

Reference: Letter of request to interview parents

I am a Master student at the University of the Western Cape and I am carrying out a research based on language and literacy studies at your child' school. My main interest is to focus on how the students use the various languages acquired in different spaces. My main objective is to find out the factors affecting their individual development and consequently impact on their literacy studies. I have chosen your child as one of the participants for the study.

Apart from the children as participants, I would also like to interview you as the parent. This will help me to get a background of how you interact with the child at home and what language or languages you use with the child at home. This will also include the challenges you face in helping the child to accomplish his or her homework, which is based in English.

Like all reports from the students, your identity and comments will not be revealed, either to your child's school nor any other person other than me and my Supervisor.

If the need for more information may rise, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor, Ms C. Kerfoot, at the Faculty of Education, University of Western Cape, Bellville. On 0219592565. My contact details are cell number 0722660922 or email address is 2832009@ uwc.ac.za.

May you please fill in this slip and return it to the school in response. Thank you in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Bello Ola.

(The University of Western Cape student)

I/ We as...(child's name).....parents/guardian accept your request and are willing to be interviewed as you requested. **OR**

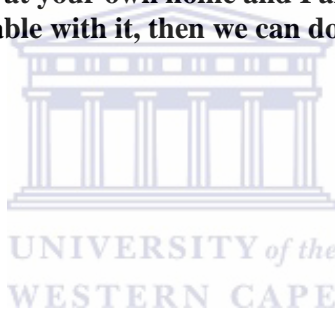
We as...(child's name).....parents/guardian **do not** accept your request and are not willing to be interviewed as you requested.

Interview place/s (choose one)

At the child's school (tick)

At our home..... (tick)

(I will be very happy to interview you at your own home and I am willing to come there personally but if you are not comfortable with it, then we can do it at your child's school.)



Molweni Bazali

Isikhokelo: Isicelo semvume sokuqhuba udliwanondlebe kubazali nabantwana

Ndingumfundi owenza imastazi kwiDyunivesiti yephondo leNtsona Koloni yaye ndenza uphando kwilimi nakwizifundo zokufunda nokubhala kwisikolo afunda kuso umntwana wakho. Umdla wam uqonde ngqo kwimbangela ezikhuthaza ukuzimela kwizifundo zokufunda nokubhala. Ndikhethe igumbi afundela kulo umntwana wakho njengelineye lamagumbi endiyakuthi ndifunde kulo.

Ngaphandle kwabafundi njengabathabathi nxaxheba, ndingathanda ukwenza udliwanondlebe nawe mzali. Lento iya kundinceda ndibe nolwazi lwendlela eninxibelelana ngayo ekhaya nokuba loluphi okanye zeziphi iilwimi enizisebenzisayo khaya. Olu phando luya kuquka neengxaki enithi nihlangabazane nazo xa umntwana efumene umsebenzi wasekhaya osekelwe kulwimi lwesiNgesi. Njengazo zonke iingxelo ezivela kubafundi, igama nezihlomlo zakho azisayi kuchazwa esikolweni okanye nakuye nawuphina umntu ngaphandle komphathi wam.

Ukuba ulwazi olungolunye luthle luyimfuneko, nceda ungangabazi ukuqhagamshelana nomphathi wam unkosokazi C.Kerfoot,kwiSebe lezeMfundo kwiDyunivesiti yeNtshona Koloni kwezinombolo zomnxeba zilandelayo 021 9592556. Ezam inombolo zezi 0722660922 okanye kwi imeli ehti 2832009@uwc.ac.za

Nceda uphendule ngokutyikitya iphepha ulibuyisele esikolweni. Enkosi

Owakho wenene

Bello Alexandra
(umfundi kwiDyunivesiti yeNtshona Koloni)

Thina (igama lomntwana).....bazali/mntu
onelungelo lomthetho lokukhulisa umntwana ndiyasamkela isicelo sakho yaye
ndinakho ukwenza udliwanondlebe nanjengoko ulicela. **OKANYE**

Thina (igama lomntwana).....bazali/mntu
onelungelo lomthetho lokukhulisa umntwana **andiyasamkeli** isicelo sakho yaye
andinakho ukwenza udliwanondlebe nanjengoko ulicela.

Indawo yodliwanondlebe(kheta ibenye)

Esikolweni

Ekhaya

(Ndingakonwabela ukwenzela udliwanondlebe ekhayeni lakho yaye ndinakho
ukuza kuwe ngokunokwam kodwa ukuba awuthandi singalwenzela esikolweni
afunda kuso umntwana wakho.)

Appendix N

Vorm vir ingeligte toestemming (ouers)

Titel van die navorsingsprojek: **Veeltaligheid en identiteite binne en buite die skool**

Navorsers: **Ola Bello**

Kontakbesonderhede: **021 9592442 of ckerfoot@uwc.ac.za**

Beste Ouer

Ek het aansoek gedoen om toestemming om die Graad 5 - 7 leerders by u kind se skool waar te neem as deel van my navorsing oor veeltaligheid aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland in Suid-Afrika. Ek het u skriftelike toestemming op hierdie vorm nodig om hierdie navorsing te kan doen.

Doel van die studie

My oogmerke met die studie is om vas te stel hoe leerders verskillende tale binne en buite die klaskamer gebruik.

Navorsingsmetodes

Ek sal vir 10 ure in u kind se klaskamer teenwoordig wees. Ek sal die klas waarneem en een video-opname maak. Ek sal op geen manier die onderrig onderbreek nie. Ek sal ook sommige leerders se spraak gedurende speletye opneem. Ek kan ook onderhoude met 'n paar leerders voer om hul beskouinge oor taalgebruik vas te stel.

Dit is vrywillig en naamloos

U kind hoef nie deel te neem nie. Daar sal geen straf wees as u kind nie deelneem nie. Leerders hoef net die vrae te beantwoord wat hulle wil beantwoord en hulle kan op enige stadium stop. Die doel van die navorsing sal aan die leerders verduidelik word en hulle sal vrae kan vra.

U kind se privaatheid sal beskerm word. Geen name sal aangeteken of by die navorsingsverslag aangeheg word nie.

'n Afskrif van die finale navorsingsverslag sal aan die skool verskaf word.

Dankie.

Caroline Kerfoot

Teken asseblief hierdie vorm en gee dit aan u kind om terug te bring na die skool toe. Dankie vir u hulp.

Ek, (naam) gee toestemming / gee nie toestemming

(omsirkel een) dat my kind aan die opname mag deelneem (nie).

Ouer se handtekening:

Kind se naam:

Datum:

Appendix O

Xolani's Validation Interview

Interviewer: (noisy background) you are only referring to work, your responses for work. But you said who was here to beg. Who was here to beg, to beg?

Xolani: (inaudible) Mhh... One or two andikucenganga

I: What did you say who was saying? You we just saying when do you see her

X: Yha! When I see. Eh maybe a boy say that to another boy that andikucenganga then I asked who said ngubani obethe ndicenge?

I: Why do you say that?

X: Just to...how can I call this again? Just just ah....how can I put this again? How can I put this again ngubani obethe mcenge like, how can i put this again?

I: Who said who won't asked to be

X: Mhm.. ngubani obethe mcenge like?

I: Whether it's kind to do that

X: I'm just trying to make the boy feel, feel ... feel ashamed of what he has done because ngubani obethe mcenge like. Maybe this boy interrupted me when I was saying something, then he said andikucenganga and I asked ngubani obethe ndicenge? Yhaa all the stuff, because when they are arguing with something they will always interrupt, so you must I just don't know how to call it. You must just be bossy; I don't know to put it I don't know.

I: for juniors they do or everybody?

X: Not everybody, I worked very nice with the young ones, but when I come to this side they= =

I: = = Which side?

X: the senior thing, if I come this side I must not always smile because they will irritate you or they will make you irritable. They will just make you to be... because they are doing something that I do not know, they are old but they pretend as if they are the young ones. But when I am there at that side I just feel I just smile. Not at this side they are very old and they must know what to do

I: They don't know what to do?

X: No they pretend as they are the young ones

I: They pretend? (Both laughing)

X: (still laughing) they pretend as they are the young ones, I do not know how to put it.

I: Ok

END



Interviewer: I have just now that you are afraid of the senior ones. What I have notice as same is that most of the people that you go to perform your duty Xhosa speakers you do not go to the Afrikaans.

Xolani: I also go to the Afrikaans but I don't talk a lot

Interviewer: Why?

Xolani: Some of them they are not always roots. Maybe I will and train you must be two Afrikaans and Xhosa, so that...(interrupted)

Interviewer: What do you mean by two Afrikaans?

Xolani: Because some students around school they don't understand, maybe if you are Xhosa, you cannot, you only understand English a bit, you don't understand as other. You don't understand English you only understand there and there. So if is a Xhosa you must speak Xhosa and if is Afrikaans you must speak Afrikaans. Because if I speak English with an Afrikaans I will get ignored because somewhere they don't understand all the stuff.

Interviewer: So are you saying that for somebody to be a prefect the person must speak good English

Xolani: Not, even though you are not good in English you must try to speak, you must always communicate, you must be able to communicate maybe in English and IsiXhosa. If you are an Afrikaans speaker you must communicate in English and IsiXhosa because there are sometimes where there is no Afrikaans speaker with me so I must speak English with the Afrikaans speakers. Maybe they have done something so I must..(Interrupted)

Interviewer:...so do you think it's because you speak English very well that's why they make you a professor? Do you think so?

Xolani: No it's not that, it's how I behave, it's my behaviour the way I am, that is what they look not the performance in the books, but my performance

Interviewer: so are you thinking that there are some prefects the academic performance, performance in the books is not fine?

Xolani: Yhaa!yha! There are

Interviewer: So what do you think why they chose those as prefects?

Xolani: It's because of their behaviour. They behave very well in class, they tried, they are trying to answer questions. So someone like that have symbols of becoming a prefect because he/she can communicate, just make peace, it's so because it's not always about books.

Interviewer: So, ok I just want to get this, you are saying now among the prefects there are prefects that their English is not so good as yours.

Xolani: you can say so but mine is...

Interviewer: I just want to know if there are prefects that stick on Afrikaans or Xhosa more than English.

Xolani: Yes there are, there are

Interviewer: So it's not, choosing to be a prefect is not that you have to speak English very well?

Xolani: No is not about that, because if you can be, if-if they are choosing, how can I put this again? If they are choosing that way it will be unfair, it will be.

Interviewer: Why do you say it will be unfair?

Xolani: Beacuse I cannot,maybe I cannot speak English bbut i have that i want to be a prefect and Imm....I can be a prefect because I perform, I behave. Yes you can be there are no sequence.

Interviewer: who do you, if somebody outside the school asks you what, how can you describe a prefect in your school? Who is a prefect in your school?

Xolani: Is someone that is caring, love sharing most of the time sharing information, like he manages and organise. Some one that can organise someone that can speak out, someone that- someone that can lead something maybe, some one that knows how to grab attention. Yha a prefect is someone like that because there are times that you must do something for a class in front, maybe you want to present a poster. Like today I am suppose to do a talk show myself but not as a prefect but a soul buddy.

Interviewer: As a what?

Xolani: Soul buddy

Interviewer: The talk show you will present it in English or in Xhosa?

Xolani: It will depend, if...

Interviewer: Depend on what?

Xolani: If I am at in IsiXhosa class i will talk in IsiXhosa but if I am in English class I will talk in English but I cannot go in Afrikaans class because I can't speak Afrikaans. I only understand Afrikaans a bit. I can't even talk Afrikaans.

Interviewer: If somebody asks you who is Khumbulani, how can you describe Khumbulani?

Xolani: O!Khumbulani, ok, ok,ok Khumbulani. Khumbulani is someone that is loving, some loving yes; I am caring I am sharing. I like to love a lot, I like peace, I like fun. He has some me; I am not shy not shy of something that is not necessary. What to call that dignity, no not dignity. I have tat dignity, I am well respected, I can put it that way because I respect so I am respect most of the time.

Interviewer: You don't get into; you never got into fight with Afrikaans speakers that are your meets?

Xolani: Yha! Yes sometimes you are its just...(interrupted)

Interviewer: Can you give me an incident what happened?

Xolani: Most of the time I like to fight with Yolanda



Interviewer: Yolanda, why?

Xolani: yes, Yolanda sometimes she get like she has hormones, I don't know how to put this thing. She is like when you sitting over there then you just, maybe you are sitting next to her maybe just playing with her then she will just become angry and that. She likes a attention. She likes to be yes I am Yolanda I can bit everyone. She is like that so we are not that fast with Yolanda

Interviewer: You fight a lot?

Xolani: No we don't fight, yes we fight but we do not physically fight. It's just talk and talk, shout and shout. Sometime she gets just bossy; she can bit other boys in class. They cannot fight with her she is just very bossy maybe a teacher is teaching and we are arguing about something, maybe a boy talk about something. Maybe we are arguing and when we are arguing she can import the fight, she is just Yolanda (both laughing)

Interviewer: (still laughing) wait wait I

END

Xolani: Haybo! Because I am not allowed to stand in girls toilet

Interviewer: Do prefects did girls toilets?

Xolani: No only girls standing in girl's toilet and boys in boys toilets

Interviewer: What do you mean standing in toilets?

Xolani: They just see if the children are not playing with the toilet paper. They just make the toilet paper worthy and they recording up they will write others entering up the toilet paper

Interviewer: Why do need to go and stand there?

Xolani: I don't know maybe she was joking, I really do not know

Interviewer: Who allocate the prefects work?

Xolani: Eh—m who do

Interviewer: Like someone who say you did this, who allocate that?

Xolani: It's Mr Botha, but the things change this, just maybe last week it became Andy and Mr Botha.

Interviewer: When do they tell you when to stand if its Monday or?

Xolani: Yha! we have group A and group B, maybe if group A is standing today, tomorrow is group B.

Interviewer: When do you get to know where can you be?

Xolani: We have a list, each one of us has a list of names

Interviewer: Ok, this list when do the review it, is a weekly or they make a new list

Xolani : No the old list they were just writing duties, toilet main gate what, what, what and you write y our name.

Interviewer: Where are the places?

Xolani: It toilet gate, I mean its girl's toile, senior or junior and also boys. There is computer room gate, back fans, it a main gate junior phase gate there is lot of gates around this school.

Interviewer: It's like you are always at the junior gate?

Xolani: Because I like to work with the young ones

Interviewer: You just told me they allocates

Xolani: Yes they allocates

Interviewer: So now you have to go where they allocates you?

Xolani: The location is the gate and the toilet and I do my duties for the day. I like to do duties with the grade ones

Interviewer: Is it because the senior grades they don't listen to control that?

Xolani: Most of them they don't listen

Interviewer: Are you afraid of them?

Xolani: I am not afraid of them; well when I am on this side I just do my duty. I will tell you to do something and if you don't want to do leave it. But if it's very wrong maybe you do not want to close the door I just take you to the office

Interviewer: Who do you report?

Xolani: The principal or Mr Parin, maybe someone is fighting with someone, so i take them to Mr Parin. Mr Parin will just sort them out.

Interviewer: What do you mean by sort them out?

Xolani: If the boys were fighting very very -very, even the blood was involved they will get a hiding, maybe if they were fighting with stones, like I don't know how to put it. Ok they will get a hiding, but if its first time they will not get hiding but second they will get hiding

Interviewer: Ok who are these people you were talking about the name of your

End